
THE ELEBAETHAN

A Journal of History



Volume 46 (2019)

California State University, Fullerton

Department of History

Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society)

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First published in 1974, *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History* is named after Shirley A. Weleba (1930-1972), a faculty member in the Department of History at California State University, Fullerton. Weleba, a scholar of African history, had received her Ph.D. from the University of Southern California in 1969 for her dissertation "Trial by Jury in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1912."

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Editors' Preface

As editors of *The Welebaethan*, we are excited to present our journal's Volume 46 (2019). For the first time since its inception in 1974, *The Welebaethan* is without a print edition. Moving the journal to an online/digital platform has provided us with opportunities to expand our scope, increase our accessibility, and include features that would have been cost-prohibitive in a print edition. Thus, this volume contains twenty-two articles and essays that range from ancient Greece to modern Mexico, showcasing some of the best research that both undergraduate and graduate historians at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), have to offer. In addition, our journal features ten editions of thus far unpublished archival documents and oral histories from our University Archives and Special Collections, as well as CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, namely, manuscripts from late-eighteenth-century North America; letters from 1850s California (in Spanish, with English translations); wartime correspondence from the 1940s addressed to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup of the Pasadena Playhouse; correspondence from science-fiction author Philip K. Dick; and oral histories from European immigrants to California and from an Orange County political activist. This volume's original cover art is based on a collection recently donated to CSUF, the Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings. Finally, our journal's extensive review section encompasses a fascinating collection of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, and, yes, games of potential interest to historians. The opinions expressed in these reviews are, of course, those of the reviewers, and may or may not be shared by the editors.

An undertaking such as this would not have been possible without the determined assistance of our faculty advisor, Jochen Burgtorf, and his commitment to producing an online/digital student journal that rivals professional publications. We would also like to thank our fellow editor, Geoffrey Gue, for all his hard work in so adeptly redesigning and managing the submission process. Creating the inaugural online/digital edition of our journal has been a daunting task, and we could not have done it without the generous support of the faculty and staff in our university's Division of Information Technology, Paulina June and George Pollak Library, Faculty Development Center, and Department of Online Education and Training. Their expertise and patience has allowed us to turn our dream into a reality. We would also like to thank the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History, as well as University Archives and Special Collections, for their support in making our new "editions" section possible. Their training and mentoring has helped us bring unseen and unheard primary sources to the world. To our dedicated reviewers, including the esteemed faculty members of CSUF's Department of History and a great group of alumni, we owe an enormous debt of gratitude for their

meticulous attention to detail in the triple-blind review process. We would be remiss if we did not acknowledge the tireless efforts of the members of the "History and Editing" class without whose devotion this volume could not have been completed. Above all, we express our deepest gratitude to the authors, primary-source editors, transcribers, and consultants, as well as reviewers of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, and games: Your words fill the pages of this journal, and we hope that you are as pleased as we are to see your work in (online/digital) print. Finally, to our readers: Enjoy.

Fullerton, June 8, 2019

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Christopher E. Ortega

*The Mother Goddess and Her “Metragyrtai”:
Cultural Gender Norms and Eunuch Priests
from Sixth-Century BCE Greece to the Early Roman Empire*

ABSTRACT: This article examines what modern terminology would call “transgender” individuals in ancient Greece and Rome. It explores attitudes about sex and gender through the discourses surrounding the castrated and feminized priests of the Mother Goddess. There is a particular focus on identifying similarities and differences in gender systems through textual, ritual, and archaeological evidence. The author argues, on the one hand, that Greek religion strategically employed sexual ambiguity, and, on the other hand, that transgender priests and eunuchs threatened Roman masculinity ideals associated with male privilege.

KEYWORDS: antiquity; Greece; Rome; sex; gender; transgender; metragyrtai; galli; LGBT; Cybele

Introduction

Οὐκ ἀπὲι ἐντεῦθεν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δυνάμενος!

“Get away from here, you who cannot play a woman’s part either!”¹

While current political debates over transgenderism are raging, this quote from a Spartan woman recorded by the first-century CE Greek biographer Plutarch is a reminder that contestations over “proper” gender norms and performance are nothing new. In this regard, literary and cultural critic Marjorie Garber has argued that anxiety about the appearance of transvestite figures in larger discourses indicates a *category crisis*, “an irresolvable conflict or epistemological crux that destabilizes comfortable binarity and displaces the resulting discomfort onto a figure that already inhabits, indeed incarnates, the margin;” further, Garber states “transvestism is a space of possibility structuring and confounding culture: the disruptive element that intervenes, not just a category crisis of male and female, but the crisis of category itself.”² In other words, debates about those in liminal categories represent concerns about larger issues of categories in general. This article, therefore, sets out to do two things. Firstly, studying the eunuch priests of Cybele to understand how and why Greeks and Romans viewed them differently better enables us to comprehend the relationship between gender, power, and politics. Secondly, some historians point out that early Greek writers, while hostile to Cybele’s eunuch priests, were not critical of

¹ Plutarch, *Moralia*, 240.4. Translation from Plutarch, *Moralia: The Sayings of Spartan Women*, trans. Frank C. Babbitt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 240.4. Ancient sources are cited in traditional format (book, chapter, line number). I would like to thank the members of the California State University, Fullerton, Spring 2018 graduate seminar in World History for their insightful input.

² Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 17.

these eunuchs' gender performance.³ However, previous scholars have not offered any explanations for why Greeks, in contrast to Romans, did not find these priests' gender performance distasteful. One explanation for the lack of Greek discomfort over eunuchs' liminal gender status can be found in the Greek religion's frequent acceptance of ritual gender ambiguity. In contrast to the Romans, Greeks celebrated gender-bending. In this way, a clearer line between the differences of Greek and Roman gender norms can be drawn, contributing to our understanding of sex and gender in antiquity.

The Greeks often called her Cybele, while the Romans referred to her as *Magna Mater* (Great Mother). Yet, the Mother Goddess was not indigenous to Greek or Roman religion. Both cultures included her in their pantheons from Phrygia, Anatolia, in what is now Turkey.⁴ One element that accompanied the goddess was the presence of her eunuch priests, called *metragyrtai* (plural; or *metragyrtes*, singular) in Greek and *galli* (plural; or *gallus*, singular) in Latin.⁵ As Greek colonists settled western Anatolia from the eighth century BCE, they increasingly came into contact with Phrygians. Archaeological and textual evidence demonstrates that worship of the Mother Goddess herself appeared in Greece in the sixth century BCE,⁶ yet explicit references to her eunuch priests did not surface until the fourth century BCE.⁷ In Rome, her cult was accepted around 204 BCE.⁸ Not only was her cult assimilated into the two cultures at different times, but it appears that the element of eunuchism was viewed differently in the two societies.

The primary sources concerning these eunuch priests can be categorized as, firstly, early Greek references in philosophical and medical treatises which are *not* hostile to eunuchism; secondly, a collection of Greek epigrams and a myth that both express aspects of the eunuchs' gender ambiguity; and thirdly, later

³ Lynn E. Roller, "The Ideology of the Eunuch Priest," *Gender & History* 9, no. 3 (November 1997): 542-559, here 546.

⁴ Lynn E. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁵ *Metragyrtes* is often translated as "begging priests" or priests who beg for alms for the mother/*metra*. The etymology of *gallus/galli* is uncertain, though some suggest it reflects the belief that Gauls who moved into Anatolia were the bearers of this type of priesthood. Another possible source for the term may be in a similar sexually ambiguous priesthood in Mesopotamia, called *gala* in Sumerian (*kalu* in Akkadian). This priesthood, attested in the third millennium BCE, survived at least into the Seleucid period (fourth to first centuries BCE) and also engaged in ambiguous gender and the ritual beating of drums. The Seleucid empire claimed Babylon in 312 BCE.

⁶ Lynn E. Roller, "The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991): 128-143, here 135-136; see also Roller, "Ideology of the Eunuch Priest," 544.

⁷ Roller, "Ideology of the Eunuch Priest," 544.

⁸ Livy, *History of Rome*, trans. Benjamin O. Foster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 29.10-14.

Roman sources which are mostly hostile to the presence of eunuchs in *Magna Mater's* ritual life. In early Greek philosophical and medical sources, *metragyrtai* are castigated not for their gender status, but rather for their social and religious practices. They are portrayed as conmen and fraudsters.⁹ These same sources do not mention their gender or sexuality as something negative.¹⁰ What is particularly negative in these early sources is the foreign nature of these priests and their “odd” ritual behavior.¹¹ These sources roughly belong to the fourth century BCE.¹² Roman sources, on the other hand, are mostly hostile to these eunuch priests, even when they are enthusiastic about the *Magna Mater* herself.¹³ Most scholars comment on the *metragyrtai* in discussing Cybele in Greece, yet fail to contextualize this “foreign cult” within the larger indigenous religious and gender norms. For this reason, a fourth source type is added here, namely one which has been neglected in previous studies and reveals that Greece had a long history of ritual transvestism and gender-bending.¹⁴ Latin sources from late

⁹ Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, trans. John H. Freese (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 3.2.10; Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, trans. Charles Burton Gulick (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 6.9, 12.58, while writing in the second or third century CE, cites lost sources from the fourth or third century BCE; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, trans. George W. Butterworth (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 2.20, citing Herodotus; Hippocrates, *Volume II: Prognostic, Regimen in Acute Diseases, The Sacred Disease, The Art, Breaths, Law, Decorum, Physician (Ch. 1), Dentition*, trans. William H. S. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923); Plato, *Republic*, trans. Christopher Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 2.364.

¹⁰ Roller, “Ideology of the Eunuch Priest,” 546.

¹¹ With the exception of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, which criticizes *αγορταί* for being charlatans, not true physicians.

¹² Plato's *Republic* ca. 380 BCE; Aristotle's *Art of Rhetoric* ca. 320 BCE. Athenaeus used sources from the fourth century BCE, such as Clearchus of Soli; and Clement of Alexandria cites Herodotus. The Hippocratic text *On the Sacred Disease* appears to be a fifth-century BCE text, see Jacques Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, trans. Malcolm B. DeBevoise (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 373-416.

¹³ Livy, *History of Rome* 37.9, 38.18, mentions *galli* priests as respected members of their communities in Asia; see also the parallel account in Polybius, *The Histories: Volume V: Books 16-27*, trans. William R. Paton, revised by Frank W. Walbank and Christian Habicht (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 21.6, 37. Otherwise, the Roman sources are hostile to *galli*: Catullus, *Poems*, trans. Francis W. Cornish (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 63; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 2.19; Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. William H. D. Rouse (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 6.621-643; Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. James G. Frazer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 4.181-190; Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, ed. George P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916). Later Rome also forbade castration, as attested in various laws such as *Codex Iustinianus* 4.42.1, 4.42.2; *Digesta* 48.8.3-4; *Novellae Iustiniani* 9.25.1-2; *Novellae Leonis* 60; Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5.23.13.

¹⁴ Herodotus, *The Histories*, ed. Robert B. Strassler, trans. Andrea L. Purvis (New York: Anchor, 2009), 1.105, 4.67; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, trans. Robert A. Kaster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 3.8.1-3. Macrobius cites a source from the fourth to third century

antiquity are not considered here since they largely consist of Christians engaging in polemics against paganism and are biased in their portrayal of *galli*.

Scholarly works tend to look at responses to the *metragerytai* as uniformly negative and with little differences between earlier Greek and later Roman views. Yet, Greek and Roman gender norms were different. While most scholars note some of these differences, most do not examine the prevalence of ritual transvestism in early Greek religion, much less in connection with the *metragerytai*.¹⁵ Greek culture adopted the Cybele cult centuries before Rome and already had a long tradition of gender fluidity in religious practice. This fact may explain why early Greek sources are not hostile to the gender performance of *metragerytai*. Few scholars, among them Robert Sturges, have taken up Garber's *category crisis* framework to examine anxieties that may be illuminated by discourse surrounding gender,¹⁶ yet most have not done so regarding ancient Greek and Roman societies.¹⁷ Some scholars have also examined how eunuchs threatened Roman notions of masculinity and political power, while intersex conditions proved to be less problematic for Roman gender ideals.¹⁸ Yet the *Magna Mater* and her *galli* have not been compared with the response to Cybele and her *metragerytai* to clarify gender norms between Greece and Rome.

This article demonstrates that Greek and Roman responses to *metragerytai* and *galli* differed, firstly, because of the prevalence of religious transvestism in Greek religion, which did not feature in Roman religion, and secondly, because Greece and Rome did not view masculinity and gender in the same way. For example, pederasty was, in some cases, acceptable in Greece, yet was unacceptable in Rome. Rather than looking at gender on its own, as if it exists in a vacuum, this article uses Foucauldian discourse analysis, which has "an increased focus on how knowledge is produced and represented, rather than simply whether or not something is 'true'."¹⁹ Discourse itself is defined as "fields of meaning and power

BCE, namely Philochorus's *Atthis* (a history of Athens and Attica); Plutarch, *Moralia*, 304c-e; and Plutarch, *Life of Lysurgus*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 15.6-9.

¹⁵ Roller, "Ideology of the Eunuch Priest," 542-559. Roller examines the differences in Greek and Roman attitudes but does not address possible cultural and religious causes for such differences, particularly the presence of ritual transvestism in Greek religion. She also does not address *why* earlier Greek views differ from later Greek views.

¹⁶ Robert S. Sturges, "The Crossdresser and the Juventus: Category Crisis in Silence," *Arthuriana* 12, no. 1 (2002): 37-49. Sturges uses Garber's theoretical framework to discuss crossdressing heroines in medieval romance.

¹⁷ Mathew Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), is one exception.

¹⁸ Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*. However, Kuefler's focus is on eunuchs in Rome in general, and little attention is given to *metragerytai* and differences between Greek and Roman gender norms.

¹⁹ Allison Lee and Alan Peterson, "Discourse Analysis," in *Theory and Methods in Social Research*, ed. Bridget Somekh and Cathy Lewin, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 139-146, here 139.

that categorize and regulate social processes and kinds of people” and as “specific forms of meaning-making (*semiosis*).” Discourse analysis is therefore, “concerned with how social phenomena are named and organized.”²⁰ What discourses are in play? Medical? Legal? Religious? Who is writing these discourses, and what classes, ideologies, or interests do these authors represent? What overall patterns of discourse surrounding biological sex and cultural gender appear in the early Greek sources as compared to the later Roman sources? This methodological approach is supplemented with social constructionist theories, such as Butlerian gender performativity and Queer theory.²¹ This theoretical stance “problematizes and historicizes the foundational assumptions of all categories.” These are categories which members of a culture take for granted or consider “natural.” These theories address the processes of normalization, which create cultural categories of “normal and deviant” and of race, class, sex, gender, and “proper or improper” gender performance and sexual desire. In short: how is subjectivity constructed through discourse?²² Queer theory is also acutely interested in how cultures “deal with difference,” or alterity.²³ What kinds of gender norms are performed and in what contexts? How does occasional ritual transvestism performance differ from permanent ritual castration from the Greek perspective? How did Roman culture differentiate between “natural” eunuchs and castrated eunuchs, and why was one a form of alterity while the other was not? Butler’s notion of gender as performance (performativity) informs the analysis of the processes through which various genders—including the neither female nor male *metragyrtai*—are reified and expressed through “proper” cultural performance of the various gender categories in play in Greek and Roman societies.

The sources in this article are treated diachronically (early to late) for change over time. Firstly, early Greek ideals show a hostility to the unorthodox religious practices of the *metragyrtai*. Secondly, examples of ritual gender-bending in Greek religion provide context for wider religio-sexual norms which found the *metragyrtai* consonant with indigenous ritual practices. Thirdly, Roman writers depict the *galli*’s gender performance as hostile to cultural and sexual values. Fourthly, later Greek sources reflect the influence of Roman hegemony, mention *metragyrtai* for the gender performance. This chronological approach facilitates

²⁰ Lee and Peterson, “Discourse Analysis,” 140.

²¹ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Joan W. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075; Gloria Filax, Dennis Sumara, Brent Davis, and Debra Shogan, “Queer Theory/Lesbian and Gay Approaches,” *Theory and Methods in Social Research*, ed. Bridget Somekh and Cathy Lewin, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 86-93; Riki Wilchins, *Queer Theory, Gender Theory: An Instant Primer* (Bronx: Magnus Books, 2014).

²² Filax, Sumara, Davis, and Shogan, “Queer Theory,” 86.

²³ Wilchins, *Queer Theory*, 49.

cross-cultural comparison since early sources display Greek views less hostile to gender ambiguity, while later sources view the presence of the *galli* as hostile to narrower Roman views of femininity and masculinity.

I. Classical Greek Sources

The earliest evidence for the Mother Goddess in Greece comes from archaeological and epigraphical data in the Greek colonies of western Anatolia from the sixth century BCE.²⁴ Temples to her appear in Athens, Olympia, and Kolophon, and by the fourth century BCE, “the cult of the Mother Goddess was known in virtually every Greek city,” as attested by inscriptions, references in Greek literature, and hundreds of votive reliefs and statuettes.²⁵ Given the prevalence of the Mother’s eunuch consort Attis and her eunuch priests in her Greek and Roman cultus, it is surprising that there is little evidence of eunuchs in earlier Phrygian material. The Phrygian textual evidence is sparse, lacking any reference to Attis or to eunuchs. Only one site, Bayandir (Elmalı in modern Turkey), contains limited iconographic evidence, namely two figurines, one of the Mother with two young beardless males and the other of an image of a lone eunuch priest.²⁶ It must be noted that both examples are from a single site, Bayandir, and while beardlessness was often used to depict eunuchs, the beardless males in this example appear to be children. A single silver figurine may be a eunuch priest, and “if so, [...] is one of the few pieces of evidence within Anatolia for the eunuch priesthood” of the Phrygian Mother.²⁷

Possibly the earliest Greek reference to *metragyrtai* can be found in *The Sacred Disease*, a treatise on epilepsy from the second half of the fifth century BCE in the Hippocratic corpus.²⁸ However, the text does not directly reference *metragyrtai*, though it does mention the Mother Goddess. The Hippocratic author expresses doubt that epilepsy is an affliction caused by the Mother Goddess (or any other gods/goddesses, for that matter). Instead, it is argued, that “men,” possibly *metragyrtai* (though, not explicitly mentioned as such), in “need of a livelihood, contrive and devise many fictions of all sorts, about this disease among other things, putting the blame, for each form of the affection, upon a particular god.”²⁹ Thus, some individuals (possibly *metragyrtai*) were indirectly condemned as fraudulent healers, claiming the Mother Goddess was the source of epilepsy and as her representatives they offer a “cure,” for a price of course.

²⁴ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 119.

²⁵ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 119-120.

²⁶ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 104-105.

²⁷ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 105.

²⁸ Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 411-421. See also Hippocrates, *Volume II: [...] The Sacred Disease*, 129-132. Its close association with *Airs, Waters, Places* may reflect common authorship, or it may be the work of a student and written soon after *Airs, Waters, Places* had been composed.

²⁹ Hippocrates, *Volume II: [...] The Sacred Disease*, 4.

The next reference, Plato's *Republic*, dates to the early fourth century (between ca. 380 and 378) BCE.³⁰ In a larger discussion on justice, Plato writes:

But the strangest of all these speeches [about justice] are the things they say about the gods and virtue, how so it is that the gods themselves assign to many good men misfortunes and an evil life, but to their opposites a contrary lot; and begging priests and soothsayers go to rich men's doors and make them believe that they by means of sacrifices and incantations have accumulated a treasure of power from the gods that can expiate and cure with pleasurable festivals any misdeed of a man or his ancestors, and that if a man wishes to harm an enemy, at slight cost he will be enabled to injure just and unjust alike, since they are masters of spells and enchantments that constrain the gods to serve their end.³¹

There is no reference to gender performance. Rather, as with the previous Hippocratic source, begging priests are criticized for fraudulently separating rich citizens from their wealth by claiming to have "magical" powers which they are believed to use to manipulate the gods in favor of their clients.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, written around 330 BCE,³² contains a reference to *metrageritai*. Here, as with the previous two sources, Aristotle criticizes the *metrageritai* for their religious practices, but not for their gender performance:

Thus, to say (for you have two opposites belonging to the same genus) that the man who begs prays, or that the man who prays begs (for both are forms of asking) is an instance of [juxtaposing two contrary items]; as, when Iphicrates called Callias a mendicant priest instead of a torch-bearer, Callias replied that Iphicrates himself could not be initiated, otherwise he would not have called him mendicant priest [*μητραγυρται*] but torch-bearer; both titles indeed have to do with a divinity, but the one is honorable, the other dishonorable.³³

Thus, Aristotle places begging priests in a position of less dignity than torch bearers in the mystery cults, yet not explicitly for their gender performance.

Writing in the second to third century CE, Athenaeus, in his *The Deipnosophists*, quotes earlier sources regarding the *metrageritai* in two instances. Firstly, he quotes from the comic poet Antiphanes's (408 to 334 BCE) *Hater of Wickedness* or *Hater of Vice*. In comparing "the greatest criminals who exist among men," Antiphanes writes:

Are not the Scythians of men the wisest? Who when their children are first born do give them the milk of mares and cows to drink at once, and do not trust them to dishonest nurses, or tutors, who of evils are the worst, except the midwives only. For that class is worst of all, and next to them do come the begging priests [*μητραγυρται*] of mighty Cybele; and it is hard to find a baser lot—unless indeed you speak of fishmongers, but they are worse than even money-changers, and are in fact the worst of all mankind.³⁴

³⁰ Plato, *Republic*, vol. 1, trans., Paul Shorey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), xxiv-xxv.

³¹ Plato, *Republic*, 2.364.

³² Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, xxii.

³³ Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, 3.2.10.

³⁴ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 6.9.

According to this hierarchy, fishmongers are the apex of “evils,” followed only by midwives and *metragyrtai*. Next are nurses and tutors, then money changers. Here Antiphanes does not explain why *metragyrtai* are so “base.” However, clues to their low status are to be found in the surrounding context. This statement of judgment is embedded in a larger (comic?) rant against fishmongers, particularly for their price gouging, both before and after this reference to *metragyrtai*.³⁵ Apparently, fishmongers were the used car salesmen of Antiphanes’s world. While the quote from Antiphanes fails to explain why *metragyrtai* are judged so harshly, Athenaeus likewise fails to include any editorial commentary. This is surprising, given Athenaeus’s proclivity to discuss topics such as sexuality (particularly homosexuality) at length.³⁶ The diatribe against fishmongers for their exorbitant prices, as well as the mention of money-changers, in addition to professionals hired by wealthy patrons (tutors, nurses, and midwives), is reminiscent of the criticism of eunuch priests in the Hippocratic *Sacred Disease* and Plato’s *Republic*. Athenaeus and his source Antiphanes see the *metragyrtai* not as sexual deviants, but rather as belonging to the same class as a variety of swindlers, including fishmongers and money-changers. This may be due to the perception that *metragyrtai* overcharged for their services, or possibly because the authors considered the services themselves to be fraudulent, or both.

Athenaeus’s second reference to *metragyrtai* is found in a quote from the fourth-century BCE philosopher Clearchus of Soli. Here the wife and children of Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, are prostituted, tortured, killed, and dismembered by his enemies. Whatever the historicity of this account, the moral of the story is to avoid excessive luxury, something for which several tyrants, including Dionysius, are condemned. The worst element of this story, according to Athenaeus and Clearchus, is that Dionysius ends his life in shame as a *metragyrtes* of Cybele. His previous alleged abuses of luxury as a tyrant are cited as the reason for his disgraced state, yet nothing of castration or *metragyrtai* gender performance is mentioned:

But Dionysius himself, at last going about as a begging priest of Cybele, and beating the drum, ended his life very miserably. We, therefore, ought to guard against what is called luxury, which is the ruin of a man's life; and we ought to think insolence the destruction of everything.³⁷

Both times Athenaeus mentions *metragyrtai*, he uses much older sources, both from the fourth century BCE (Antiphanes and Clearchus). In using these sources, no reference is made to the sex or gender of the *metragyrtai*.

In sum, in all of our early sources, the *metragyrtai*’s sexuality and gender performance are never cause for alarm. Rather, it is the perception that they are either fraudsters (e.g., the Hippocratic *Sacred Disease*, Plato’s *Republic*, and

³⁵ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 6.4-8, 10-12.

³⁶ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 13.601-605.

³⁷ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 12.58.

Athenaeus/Antiphanes in *Deipnosophists*) or they perform “magic” rather than “real religion” (Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*).

II. Ritual Transvestism in Greek Religion

Lynn Roller categorizes Greek distaste for the *metragyrtai* in these sources as xenophobia toward “oriental” aspects of the Mother Goddess cult.³⁸ When placed in the larger religio-sexual context, the adoption of the Mother Goddess can illuminate cultural gender norms, thus further clarifying the differences between Greek and Roman ideals.

The fifth-century BCE historian Herodotus mentions Scythians worshipping the Greek goddess Aphrodite: “That is their ancestral technique [for divination], but the Enarees, the men-women [literally *andro* + *gynes*] say that their own technique was given to them by Aphrodite.”³⁹ Earlier, Herodotus had provided an etiological myth for these Enarees or “men-women” according to which Aphrodite had “inflicted the female disease” on the Scythians for plundering her temple in the Syrian city of Ascalon.⁴⁰ It is therefore difficult to determine, whether Herodotus considered that the Enarees were born male, castrated themselves, and dressed in female clothing like the *metragyrtai*—or if they were intersexed, being physically born with ambiguous sex characteristics. In any case, they appear to have made up a distinct priestly class that transcended binary gender norms. While not Greek, Herodotus syncretized their religion in his own Greek cultural terms, namely the worship of Aphrodite who, as we shall see, was involved in ritual sexual ambiguity in Greek religion.

Closer to Greece, Plutarch attests to ritual transvestism in the Spartan marriage rite. The night of a Spartan wedding, the bride was to have her hair cut in the fashion of men and wear men’s clothing while consummating the marriage:

For their marriages the women were carried off by force, not when they were small and unfit for wedlock, but when they were in full bloom and wholly ripe. After the woman was thus carried off, the brides-maid, so called, took her in charge, cut her hair off close to the head, put a man’s cloak and sandals on her, and laid her down on a pallet, on the floor, alone, in the dark. Then the bride-groom, not flown with wine nor enfeebled by excesses, but composed and sober, after supping at his public mess-table as usual, slipped stealthily into the room where the bride lay, loosed her virgin’s zone, and bore her in his arms to the marriage-bed.⁴¹

Thus, according to Plutarch, ritual cross-dressing was part of every Spartan marriage ceremony. While Sparta differed from other Greek city-states, a similar wedding practice was also found in another Greek society: Cos.

³⁸ Roller, “Ideology of the Eunuch Priest,” 546.

³⁹ Herodotus, *Histories*, 4.67.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.105.

⁴¹ Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 15.1-5.

In explaining contemporary (first or second-century CE) rites on the island of Cos, Plutarch recounts the following etiology:

Why is it that among the Coans the priest of Heracles at Antimacheia dons a woman's garb, and fastens upon his head a woman's head-dress before he begins the sacrifice? Heracles, putting out with his six ships from Troy, encountered a storm; and when his other ships had been destroyed, with the only one remaining he was driven by the gale to Cos. He was cast ashore upon the Laceter, as the place is called, with nothing salvaged save his arms and his men. Now he happened upon some sheep and asked for one ram from the shepherd. This man, whose name was Antagoras, was in the prime of bodily strength, and bade Heracles wrestle with him; if Heracles could throw him, he might carry off the ram. And when Heracles grappled with him, the Meropes came to the aid of Antagoras, and the Greeks to help Heracles, and they were soon engaged in a mighty battle. In the struggle it is said that Heracles, being exhausted by the multitude of his adversaries, fled to the house of a Thracian woman; there, disguising himself in feminine garb, he managed to escape detection. But later, when he had overcome the Meropes in another encounter, and had been purified, he married Chalciope and assumed a gay-coloured raiment. Wherefore the priest sacrifices on the spot where it came about that the battle was fought, and bridegrooms wear feminine raiment when they welcome their brides.⁴²

Here sacrifices are performed by men in drag and, in a mirror image reversal of the Spartan marriage, men at Cos dress as women on their wedding nights.

Macrobius (in the fourth/fifth century CE) notes "there is also a statue of Venus on Cyprus that is bearded, shaped and dressed like a woman, with a scepter and male genitals, and they conceive her as both male and female." He points out that the fifth/fourth-century BCE Greek playwright Aristophanes had called her "Aphroditos," and that the first-century BCE Latin poet Laevius had said "worshipping, then, the nurturing god Venus, whether she is female or male, just as the moon is a nurturing goddess." Macrobius completes his reference to Venus on Cyprus by quoting the third-century BCE Greek historian Philochorus: "in his *Atthis* Philochorus, too, states that she is also the moon and that men sacrifice to her in women's dress, women in men's, because she is held to be both male and female."⁴³ Venus was syncretized by the Romans with the Greek goddess Aphrodite—the same goddess Herodotus conflated with the Scythians and their sexually ambiguous Enarees.

Two additional Greek sources regarding the Mother Goddess's consort Attis must be mentioned. The first-century BCE historian Diodorus Siculus provides two myths for the origin of the Mother Goddess. The first version states that the Mother Goddess was the daughter of Uranus. There is no mention of Attis.⁴⁴ According to the second version, the Mother Goddess was a human born to human parents, a king and a queen, who abandoned her to die of exposure on the mountain of Cybelus (thus her Greek name Cybele). Wild animals nursed

⁴² Plutarch, *Moralia*, 304c-e.

⁴³ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.8.1-3.

⁴⁴ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, trans. Charles H. Oldfather (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 3.56.

Cybele to health and into adulthood. She was renowned for her spells that saved infants' lives. A Phrygian man named Marsyas was her devoted companion. As a sign of his devotion, he voluntarily "lived in abstinence from sexual pleasures until the day of his death."⁴⁵ This is the only reference in this myth to sexuality within Cybele's cult. Attis (also a mortal human) then appeared and became Cybele's lover. Pregnant, Cybele was reunited with her family. Her father was outraged to discover she had lost her chastity and had Attis executed. In grief, she wandered the landscape with her hair unkempt, playing the kettledrum in a frenzy – practices also attributed to her real-life eunuch priests.⁴⁶

The second Greek source also contains two alternate versions of the myth. The second-century CE Greek geographer Pausanias cites Hermesianax as his first source, which reaches back to approximately 300 BCE. In this early version of the Attis myth, Hermesianax claims that Attis was a human who was "a eunuch from birth," in other words, an individual intersex at birth – not someone who self-castrated as an adult. Here Attis is etiologically described as the founder of the rites to the Mother Goddess.⁴⁷

The second version, which Pausanias calls "the current view," begins when Zeus had a nocturnal emission, with his semen falling to the ground. From his seed and the earth sprang the being Agdistis, who was another form of the Mother Goddess in some traditions. Agdistis possessed both female and male genitalia. Because of this, the gods feared Agdistis and cut off her male sexual organ. From this organ an almond tree sprang up. The daughter of the River Sangarius clutched one of the tree's fruits and immediately became pregnant. Her miraculous child was none other than Attis. As Attis grew, he was betrothed to a king's daughter. Agdistis, in love with Attis and madly jealous at his pending nuptials, crashed the wedding party. Her divinely chaotic presence sent Attis into madness, whereupon he castrated himself immediately, and the narrative comes to an abrupt end.⁴⁸ The earlier myth is relatively benign – there is no self-inflicted violence, and Attis was a "eunuch from birth," i.e., intersex. The second myth reflects the increasing influence of Rome over the Greek world in portraying castration as a violent and tragic aspect of Mother Goddess worship.

A similar picture is found in the *Greek Anthology*, a collection of epigrams from several centuries. Several epigrams regarding *galli* appear to date to the first century BCE or CE.⁴⁹ Like Pausanias's second Attis myth, they reflect

⁴⁵ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 3.56.

⁴⁶ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 3.56.

⁴⁷ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. William H. S. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 7.17.9.

⁴⁸ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 7.17.10-13.

⁴⁹ *The Greek Anthology*, ed. and trans. William R. Paton, vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), 6.217-220, 234. Rhea was syncretized with Cybele.

contemporary first-century norms and as such mention *metragyrtai* sexuality. Most contain the theme of a *metragyrtai* encountering dangerous wild animals in rural areas and using ritual drums to scare away these predators. While their sexuality is lampooned, the vitriol of later Roman sources is lacking. These epigrams represent a transitional period in Greek writing about *metragyrtai*, which began after the Greek world had come under Roman hegemony after the Battle of Corinth (146 BCE).

To summarize, the ancient Greek world appears to celebrate gender transgression in at least four documented cases: firstly, the Scythian men-women of the goddess Aphrodite;⁵⁰ secondly, the Spartan wedding night ritual;⁵¹ thirdly, male transvestism on Cos during sacrifices in honor of Heracles and the wedding ceremony;⁵² and fourthly, on Cyprus where male and female transvestism was part of the rituals surrounding the dual-sexed god/dess Aphroditos (also known as Aphrodite or Venus).⁵³ Diodorus and Pausanias reflect traditions of etiological myths seeking to explain the origins of Cybele's *metragyrtai* and her ritual practices. Herein we see the possibility that some of her priests may have not been castrated, but rather born intersex. In Pausanias/Hermesianax's early Attis myth, Attis is born intersex and does not engage in castration. Likewise, in Pausanias's second version of the Agdistis/Cybele myth, the goddess herself is intersex, just like Aphroditos. Whether these individuals engaging in Greek rituals (for Cybele, Heracles, Aphroditos, or otherwise) would be characterized as "transgender,"⁵⁴ biologically intersexed, or merely performing occasional cross-dressing for ritual purposes, Greek religion was comfortable with what later Romans would consider "gender transgressions." It is possible that transgender, intersex, and other non-heteronormative individuals in the ancient world may have found a safe place in the cult of the Mother Goddess.

III. Roman Sources

The Mother Goddess was known in Etruria (north-central Italy) as early as the sixth century BCE, as attested by an Etruscan vase depicting her; likewise, she was also known in Sicily by the early third century BCE.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, even though she was well-respected and known in Italy, Roman writers often portrayed her cult as foreign. Yet, her "foreign" traits may not have been so foreign, and she was heartily welcomed into Roman religion. Her temple on the Palatine, originally built in 194 BCE and rebuilt after a fire in 111 BCE, has been

⁵⁰ Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.105, 4.67.

⁵¹ Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 15.1-5.

⁵² Plutarch, *Moralia*, 304c-e.

⁵³ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.8.1-3.

⁵⁴ A historically anachronistic term, since "transgender" is a modern word. Nevertheless, individuals we might refer to as "transgender" in modern parlance may have found a welcome place in Greek culture on the basis of respected and accepted religious practice.

⁵⁵ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 281.

excavated.⁵⁶ Despite the widespread hostility to *galli* and Attis in our Roman sources, Attis figurines outnumber Mother Goddess figurines ten to one, indicating that “Attis was an essential part of the Mother’s cult from its inception at Rome.”⁵⁷ Additionally, several of these figurines draw attention to Attis’s genitals (or lack thereof), something “found only infrequently in Attis figurines from the Greek world.”⁵⁸ In Rome, legends of the Mother Goddess’s arrival in the city were tied to equally legendary myths about Rome’s origins—she was claimed to have hailed from Mount Ida, near Troy, the legendary home of the founders of Rome.⁵⁹ Despite the anxiety over eunuchs, the *Magna Mater* was given a shared Roman origin myth, and the castrated Attis seems to have been central to the Roman version of her cult.

The *Magna Mater*’s celebrations were thoroughly Roman. Her festival, the *Megalesia*, were observed from April 4 to April 10. Plays, the *ludi scaenici*, were composed by various authors, including Plautus and Terence, specifically for performance at the *Megalesia*. “By the first century BCE, chariot races [held in the Circus Maximus] had been added to the *ludi scaenici*.”⁶⁰ These races were accompanied by a ritual procession of the image of the Goddess by *galli*. This type of procession was absent in Phrygia (though it was present in Greece).⁶¹ Wealthy Romans threw grand banquets called *mutitationes* during the first day of the *Megalesia*, even prompting sumptuary legislation to curb displays of conspicuous consumption in 161 BCE. Thus, the *Magna Mater* and her *galli*’s participation were Romanized in her festivals.

While much of the *Magna Mater* cultus was culturally Roman, her *galli* nevertheless created anxiety. The first-century BCE poet Catullus explores questions about Roman masculinity in a poem written from the perspective of Attis: after castrating himself, Attis regrets his decision, loses his country, possessions, friends, and parents and is left wondering if he is a female or a “barren man.”⁶² He is in an uncomfortable liminal position. This crisis over which category Attis belongs to mirrors the anxiety many Roman writers expressed over castration and eunuchs in general. Keufler points out that the presence of people with intersex conditions caused discomfort, yet was more or less easily resolved by arbitrarily assigning femininity or masculinity.⁶³ However, “the amputation of the genitals of eunuchs also questioned the fixed

⁵⁶ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 271-278.

⁵⁷ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 277.

⁵⁸ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 278.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Virgil’s *Aeneid*.

⁶⁰ See Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 289, for primary sources and discussion.

⁶¹ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 295. The procession of the images of deities is also a common feature of Mesopotamian ritual, reaching back to Sumer.

⁶² Catullus, *Poems*, 63.

⁶³ Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*, 22-23.

nature of sexual identity in an unsettling way.”⁶⁴ Indeed, “effeminate men” in general (and eunuchs in particular) were denied the usual rights of men.⁶⁵ Since masculinity was equated with virtue in ancient Rome, eunuchs also took on stereotypes common to women: they were believed to lack morals and self-control.⁶⁶ In fact, most of our Latin sources employ these very stereotypes about eunuchs that portray them as immoral and lacking self-control.

While Kuefler focuses on late antiquity,⁶⁷ the horror over castration is visible in earlier sources. For example, in an epitome of a lost portion of Livy, Julius Obsequens mentions that a slave castrated himself for the *Magna Mater* in 101 BCE and was exiled for doing so.⁶⁸ Likewise, Valerius Maximus relates that, in 77 BCE, a foreign-born slave who had apparently already been castrated as a priest to *Magna Mater* was legally barred from receiving an inheritance from a freedman and could not even plead his own case since he was neither a man nor a woman.⁶⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in describing the rituals and public processions for *Magna Mater* in the first century BCE, notes “but according to law and the Senate’s decree, no native Roman walks in procession through the city” in the apparel of the *galli*, playing ritual instruments, and begging for alms.⁷⁰ Attis was popular, and the *Magna Mater* cult was highly respected, but Roman men were prohibited from castrating themselves for her cult.

General distaste for castration often obscures other glimpses of *galli* that depict them in less scandalous terms. Livy recounts two stories of the Roman army encountering foreign *galli* in 190 and 189 BCE. They acted as envoys and dignitaries for cities in Asia.⁷¹ Cicero denounces Clodius for using the cult of *Magna Mater* to further his own political career. Cicero especially condemns Clodius for his disrespectful treatment of *galli*, inveighing that he dragged a *gallus* “priest from the very altar and cushion of the [Mother] goddess,” as well

⁶⁴ Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*, 32.

⁶⁵ Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*, 30. These included the right to witness wills, be a witness in legal trials, bring legal complaints against others to magistrates, plead on behalf of others in court, and other rights.

⁶⁶ Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*, 19-21, 35.

⁶⁷ See *Codex Iustinianus* 4.42.1, 4.42.2; *Digesta* 48.8.3-4; *Novellae Iustiniani* 9.25.1-2; *Novellae Leonis* 60; Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5.23.13, for Roman jurisprudence on eunuchs in late antiquity.

⁶⁸ Livy, *History of Rome, Volume XIII*, trans. Alfred C. Schlesinger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 278-279; Julius Obsequens, *Epitomes*, 44a.

⁶⁹ Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings, Volume II*, trans. David R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 7.7.6.

⁷⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 2.19.3-5

⁷¹ Livy, *History of Rome*, 37.9; 38.18; see also Polybius, *Histories*, 21.6, 37.

as for perverting “those omens which all antiquity [...] have always venerated with the greatest piety.”⁷²

Writing in the first century BCE, Lucretius implies that, despite their raucous and disturbing appearances and behavior, the *galli* were the children of the *Magna Mater* and served to remind those who were ungrateful to her and to human parents that they did not deserve children of their own. The Mother Goddess and her retinue were honored for teaching “men to be eager with armed valor to defend their motherland, and ready to stand forth, the guard and glory of their parents’ years.”⁷³ Lucretius also connects the *Magna Mater* with fecundity—both human and agricultural—something lacking in Phrygian and Greek Mother Goddess worship.

Diodorus and Plutarch both tell of a *gallus* who traveled from Phrygia to Rome in 102 BCE to implore the Senate to perform expiation rites to cleanse the temple in Pessinus of ritual impurity which was threatening the entire Roman state (fl. 60-30 BCE).⁷⁴ In this story, some elements of the *gallus* are condemned, yet in the end the *gallus* is respected as a representative of the Mother Goddess herself. As Diodorus describes, “the robe he wore, like the rest of his costume, was outlandish and by Roman standards not to be countenanced, for he had on an immense golden crown and a gaudy cape shot with gold, the marks of royal rank.” Yet, the *gallus* created “in the crowd a mood of religious awe,” and “he was granted lodging and hospitality at the expense of the state, but was forbidden by one of the tribunes, Aulus Pompeius, to wear his crown.” He later returned to consult with the Senate, “when he was thereupon attacked in a partisan spirit by Pompeius and was contemptuously sent back to his lodgings.” After this, the *gallus* “refused to appear again in public, saying that not only he, but the goddess as well, had been impiously treated with disrespect.” Pompeius was then “straightway smitten with a raging fever, then lost his voice and was stricken with quinsy, and on the third day died.” Finally, the *gallus* “was granted a special dispensation in regard to his costume and the sacred robe, was honored with notable gifts, and when he started homeward from Rome was escorted on his way by a large crowd, both men and women.”⁷⁵ While this account displays ambivalence toward *galli* whose appearance “was outlandish by Roman standards,” it also demonstrates that a foreign *gallus* could be granted an audience with the Senate itself and was popular among the crowds. This

⁷² Cicero, *On the Responses of the Haruspices*, 13.28, in Cicero, *Pro Archia, Post Reditum in Senatu, Post Reditum ad Quirites, De Domo Sua, De Haruspicum Responsis, Pro Plancio*, trans. Neville H. Watts (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923).

⁷³ Lucretius, *Nature of Things*, 6.621-643.

⁷⁴ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 36.13; Plutarch, *Marius*, 17.5-6, in Plutarch, *Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony, Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920).

⁷⁵ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 36.13.

particular narrative also seems to imply that *Magna Mater* was more popular among the lower classes than among the ruling elite.

Wealthy families patronized the *Magna Mater* cult, and Augustus claims in his funerary inscription to have renovated her Palatine temple.⁷⁶ Her Roman festivals were an occasion for rich and poor to celebrate her, and “the prominent role of the Roman aristocracy in the *Magna Mater*’s rites was surely a further source of prestige for the cult.”⁷⁷ Thus, the educated literati (Livy, Cicero, and Lucretius) and the political elite (Augustus) were respectful of *Magna Mater* and were generally tolerant of her ritual personnel’s place in Roman religion.

Most sources, however, are not as friendly to the *galli*. As indicated earlier, Catullus (84-54 BCE) portrays Attis’s castration as a bitter crisis of identity, an action to be regretted deeply. Similar sentiments can be found in a fragment of Varro’s *Eumenides* (composed ca. 70-60 BCE). In this satire, the protagonist dresses as a woman, perhaps to avoid detection, and enters *Magna Mater*’s temple. He is mesmerized by the ecstatic drumming and music. Lulled in by the spectacle, he is “impressed by the delicacy and beauty of the *galli*.”⁷⁸ He then “curses the insanity he finds in the cult as the *galli* try to pull him down from the altar, where he has perhaps taken refuge to avoid forcible castration.”⁷⁹ Yet, again, in this terrifying narrative the stamp of official Roman state approval is still visible: an aedile participates in the rituals, placing a crown on the head of the goddess’s statue.

In Virgil’s *Aeneid* (composed ca. 29-19 BCE), the Mother Goddess is depicted as a powerful deity, one originating in Troy, where Roman tradition places the origins of Rome’s legendary founders (Aeneas et al.). On the other hand, her *galli* are held up as examples of unmanly behavior; as Roller states, in the *Aeneid* “her priests, the *galli*, exemplify weakness and effeminacy, values which stand in stark contrast to the stalwart nature and noble virtue of the Italians whom Aeneas will soon lead to form the new Roman state.”⁸⁰ Roller draws attention to both direct and indirect references and comparisons of characters in the *Aeneid* with *galli*. The *galli*’s wild unkempt hair, brightly colored feminine clothing, ecstatic drumming, and castrated state are recurrent themes throughout the *Aeneid*.⁸¹

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has already been mentioned for his etiological myth of Cybele herself. He also mirrors Diodorus and Plutarch in portraying the *galli* in paradoxical terms. Like Virgil, he connects the Mother Goddess directly

⁷⁶ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 19, in Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, trans. Frederick W. Shipley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924); Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.348.

⁷⁷ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 283.

⁷⁸ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 308.

⁷⁹ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 308.

⁸⁰ Roller, “Ideology of the Eunuch Priest,” 553.

⁸¹ Roller, “Ideology of the Eunuch Priest,” 552-554.

to Roman forebears in Troy. He then claims that her rituals follow good and traditional Roman form: “for the praetors perform sacrifices and celebrate games in her honor every year according to the Roman customs.” Yet he distances some aspects of her cult from Roman customs. Among these are the processions of the image of the goddess, carried by “her priest and priestess” who play the drum and beg alms for her. Dionysius then notes that there were Roman laws prohibiting citizens from these particular rituals.⁸² Here again, we have an example of tacit state approval. We have already seen above that Diodorus and Plutarch wrote about a *gallus* meeting with the Senate, Catullus pointed out the participation of an aedile, and Dionysius in turn mentioned the participation of praetors.

Ovid, in his *Fasti* describing the *Megalesia* festival, paints a horrific picture: “eunuchs will march and thump their hollow drums [...] seated on the unmanly necks of Her attendants, the goddess herself will be borne with howls through the streets in the city’s midst.”⁸³ Ovid then concedes that he is terrified by the loud rites—rites that included “unmanly” attendants banging on drums and cymbals and carrying an image of the goddess.

There may already be allusions to *Magna Mater*’s appeal to the lower classes in Diodorus. Juvenal likewise pokes fun at the *galli* in his sixth satire:

And now, behold! in comes the chorus of the frantic Bellona and the mother of the Gods, attended by a giant eunuch to whom his obscene inferiors must do reverence. Before him the howling herd with the timbrels give way; his plebeian cheeks are covered with a Phrygian tiara.⁸⁴

“Inferiors” and plebeians pay reverence to the *gallus*. Thus, these three authors draw our attention to social class, which reminds us that our sources are all elite, literate males. Greek sources condemn *metragyrtai* for violating their upper-class sense of religious propriety, while Roman sources condemn *galli* for violating their upper-class sense of proper gender performance. We must exercise caution, as these sources probably do not reflect the views of the lower classes. Indeed, Mother Goddess worship was widespread in both Greece and Rome—both at the city-state and state level, as well as the private, domestic level.

Nevertheless, elites were also drawn to the Mother Goddess. During the *Megalesia*, aristocrats threw lavish banquets, just as plebeians and lower classes were entertained by the *ludi scaenici* and chariot races. Cicero condemned those who disrespected the sacred office of the *galli*, and Augustus bragged about renovating *Magna Mater*’s temple. Contrary to the impression left by Diodorus and the explicit denunciation of the *galli* as winning approval from the ignorant masses by Juvenal, the Mother enjoyed the patronage of upper and lower classes

⁸² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 2.19.

⁸³ Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.181-190.

⁸⁴ Juvenal, *Juvenal and Persius*, trans. George G. Ramsay (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928), 6.513. On Diodorus, see above, in part II of this article.

for nearly a millennium, from the sixth century BCE down to the Christian era in the fourth and fifth centuries CE.

A clear paradox emerges: Attis was popular, and the *Magna Mater's* *galli* were respected as foreign diplomats and as ritual specialists, while at the same time they were threatening the very notions of Roman masculinity.

Conclusion

Eunuch priests were conspicuously absent from Phrygia before Roman hegemony over Asia. In Greece and Rome, however, *metragyrtai* and *galli* are well attested. In *Magna Mater's* temple in Rome on the Palatine, Attis figurines outnumber those of the goddess ten to one. Those found in Rome often explicitly drew attention to Attis's genitalia (or, more accurately, his lack thereof), whereas those in Greece often did not.⁸⁵

In contrast, the element of gender ambiguity was part of a long tradition in Greek religion. Therefore, the gender status of Attis was taken for granted. In Rome, it was emphasized (in negative terms), but in Greece it was simply a given. In Rome, paradoxically, discomfort over Attis's gender was discussed frequently, yet it is apparent that he played an important role in the Roman version of the Mother Goddess's myths and official rituals. For early Greek commentators, *metragyrtai* were castigated not for their gender performance, but rather for their unorthodox practices such as mechanical manipulation of the gods/supernatural and their exploitation of a gullible clientele. In Rome, however, gender performance was central to the negative views of *galli*. Indeed, Rome prohibited its citizens from castrating themselves and from dressing or performing as *galli* in religious rituals—legislation that was lacking in Greece. Similarly, the Roman *Magna Mater* emphasized fecundity—both in matters of human reproduction and in agriculture. However, as Roller points out, “this forms a contrast with both Phrygian Matar and Greek Meter, for whom fertility was rarely an issue.”⁸⁶

It is therefore clear that Greeks and Romans selectively adopted elements of the Phrygian Mother Goddess while including their own Greek or Roman practices and myths. Less important for our purposes here are the etiological myths and the role of fertility (in Rome, or lack thereof in Phrygia or Greece). More important for our purposes, in this syncretism the mythic figure of Attis and the real figures of the *metragyrtai* and *galli* are seemingly new, or at least much more in focus, in Greco-Roman versions but apparently lacking in the pre-Roman Phrygian version.⁸⁷ Utilizing Garber's *category crisis* and Foucauldian Butlerian discourse analysis in this regard can shed light on cultural difference.

⁸⁵ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 278.

⁸⁶ Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 280.

⁸⁷ These figures only appear in Phrygia after the establishment of Roman hegemony over Asia.

Greek discourse found *metragyrtai* gender unproblematic as part of a larger tradition of ritual transvestism. The only *category crisis*, to borrow Garber's term, for Greeks was that of "proper" religious practice and "improper magic" performed by the *metragyrtai*. The paradoxical appearance of *galli* in Roman discourses, however, seems to have been fixated on their gender performance. It is here that differences in Greek and Roman gender norms are most apparent. The *galli* provoked a *category crisis*, a crisis that exposed the fragility of Roman masculinity, threatened by *galli* who destroyed the neat divide between Roman masculinity and femininity. Previous scholars have ignored the differences in reception of facets of the Mother's cultus, especially the long tradition of gender ambiguity in Greek religion. In doing so, the lines between the two cultures have been blurred. Contrary to early scholarship, which has often conflated the two distinct societies into a homogeneous "Greco-Roman" bloc, Greek masculinity encompassed a wider range of expression, while Romans were fascinated with the *galli* and their perceived threats to Roman gender norms.

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Charles Cauffman

*"The strong do what they will, and the weak do what they must":
Spartan Imperialism and Political Transformation (405-395 BCE)
after the Peloponnesian War*

ABSTRACT: This article explores the effects of empire on Spartan institutions between 405 and 395 BCE (after the success of the Peloponnesian League over Athens and the Delian League). It analyzes the transformation of the Spartan state through the lens of international Realism to explain why Spartans abandoned customs that had been upholding their acclaimed mixed (oligarchic, democratic, and monarchic) government. The author argues that Sparta's abandoning of Lycurgan traditions and uncharacteristic imperialistic foreign policy fit a pattern of behavior consistent with a realist model of interstate relations.

KEYWORDS: antiquity; Greece; Sparta; Peloponnesian War; Lycurgus; Agis; Lysander; empire; international relations; Realism

Introduction

Why is war inevitable, and why does it appear as quickly as it seems to disappear? One answer might be that the original cause of conflict has not been resolved and that further fighting is necessary to settle the dispute. Another reason might be that there is something inherently belligerent about the nature of men and the systems in which they live. The latter was the case in classical Greece, where war was constant, diplomacy was erratic, and alliances were, at best, temporary. Following the conclusion of the Greco-Persian Wars (499-449 BCE) and the subsequent end of Persian hegemony in the Aegean Sea, the city-state of Athens quickly built up an empire and became the most powerful entity in the Greek world.¹ The Spartans, a former member of the Delian League, feared Athenian hegemony and formed a coalition of Greek city-states as a countermeasure. This coalition included the powerful city-states of Thebes and Corinth, and the recently defeated Persians.² Between 431 and 404 BCE, the two leagues fought against each other in the Peloponnesian War, submerging the entire Greek world in conflict. The subsequent defeat of the Athenians and the destruction of their naval power left the Spartans and their allies with a vacuum of power, which resulted in a power grab. This period of history after the Peloponnesian War is the focus of this article.

¹ Thucydides lays out the reasons for the Peloponnesian War and the growth of the Athenian Empire in the Aegean. Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, in *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Robert B. Strassler and Richard Crawley, rev. ed. (New York: Free Press 2008), 1.1.23-24. Ancient sources are cited in traditional format (book, chapter, line number).

² The first Delian League was a coalition of allied Greek forces during the Persian Wars. After the war had concluded, the Athenians continued to maintain and dominate the Delian League while Spartan and the stronger Greek powers left the league. Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1.1.17-19.

The ancient sources employed here include Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenika*, Diodorus Siculus's *Library of History*, Aristotle's *Politics*, and Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* for the biographies of Lycurgus and Lysander.³ In addition, Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War* is relevant, as some of the relationships and events that shaped the political landscape during the Peloponnesian War impacted the post-war period.⁴ As Xenophon was a participant in the war, his works are contemporary accounts of the events. Xenophon wrote from a pro-oligarchic and arguably Laconophile (or pro-Spartan) perspective, and he had the experience of a soldier. Diodorus composed his *Library of History* after this period, namely during the late Roman Republic (first century BCE). This work is valuable because Diodorus had greater access to different accounts of the war and the events after the war. However, scholars are suspicious of his usefulness because his work occasionally paraphrases and simplifies the work of the anonymous author of the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia*, whose work survives in fragments.⁵ The works of Aristotle and Plutarch are necessary for our understanding of the constitution, political actors, and institutions in the Spartan *polis*. Aristotle wrote during the fourth century BCE and praised the Spartan state, but he criticized their shortcomings in his peripatetic style. Plutarch, meanwhile, wrote during the first-century CE's *Pax Romana* for both Roman and Greek audiences, and he was probably influenced by the anecdotes and prior histories that he would have read as an educated Greek.⁶

Since I am approaching the subject from a Realist perspective, I am considering scholarship from both the Realist and the Idealist schools of thought. For the Realist camp, I am relying on the works of Kenneth N. Waltz and Arthur M. Eckstein. Waltz has been a leading figure in Realist thought for the better part of the twentieth century and has influenced authors such as Eckstein to apply Realist theory to other fields in history.⁷ Eckstein applies Realist theory to the ancient world, and he primarily looks at the Romans and the qualities that allowed them to dominate the Mediterranean region. Eckstein's work,

³ Xenophon, *Anabasis: Books I-IV*, ed. Maurice W. Mather and Joseph W. Hewitt (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1962); Xenophon, *Hellenika*, in *The Landmark Xenophon's Hellenika*, ed. Robert B. Strassler and John Marincola (London: Quercus, 2011); Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History: Volumes V and VI*, ed. Charles Henry Oldfather (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950 and 1954); Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. Thomas A. Sinclair (London: Penguin Group, 1981); Plutarch, *Lives: Volumes I and IV*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914).

⁴ Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1-7.

⁵ Vivienne J. Gray, "The Value of Diodorus Siculus for the Years 411-386 B.C.," *Hermes* 115 (1987): 72-89.

⁶ Christopher B. R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99 (1979): 74-96.

⁷ For more information on the tenets of Realism see Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome (2007), has been the source of inspiration for this article and its analysis of state behavior in classical Greece according to Realist paradigms.⁸ I have also consulted scholars who do not agree with the monocausal Realist thesis of international relations, including Polly Lowe's monograph, *Interstate Relations in Classical Greece* (2009), as well as articles by Jon E. Lendon and Stefan Dolgert.⁹ For the political history of this period, Charles D. Hamilton's *Sparta's Bitter Victories: Politics and Diplomacy in the Corinthian War* (1979) and Jon Buckler's *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century* (2003) are indispensable.¹⁰ Peter Krentz's dissertation, "The Thirty in Athens" (1979), examines the events in Athens during the short-lived reign of the pro-Spartan Thirty Tyrants (404 BCE).¹¹ Articles by Caroline Falkner and Herbert Parke discuss the changes in Spartan and Persian relations, and Iain A. F. Bruce has studied the internal politics and overall public sentiment among the Athenians after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants.¹²

This article analyzes the political history of Sparta between 405 and 395 BCE from the perspective of international theory. There is a debate between Realist and Idealist political theorists concerning the question of whether classical Greek city-states existed in a state of international anarchy, or whether cultural norms and shared history shaped state behavior. Even though there is strong evidence that the Corinthian War (395-387 BCE) happened primarily because of a security dilemma, this form of analysis is arguably too simplistic when assessing the political institutions and players in Sparta after the Peloponnesian War. Following their great victory, the Spartans became the unquestioned leader of the Hellenic (ancient Greek) world, but the political institutions that had made them successful in war were ill equipped to handle the administration of an empire; this created internal political strife and resulted in inconsistent policy

⁸ Arthur M. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California, 2009; first published 2006).

⁹ Polly Lowe, *Interstate Relations in Classical Greece: Morality and Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jon E. Lendon, "Xenophon and the Alternative to Realist Foreign Policy: *Cryopaedia* 3.1.14-31," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 126 (November 2006): 82-98; Stefan Dolgert, "Thucydides, Amended: Religion, Narrative, and IR Theory in the Peloponnesian Crisis," *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 3 (2012): 661-682.

¹⁰ Charles D. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories: Politics and Diplomacy in the Corinthian War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979); John Buckler, *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century BC* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

¹¹ Peter Krentz, "The Thirty at Athens" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979).

¹² Caroline Falkner, "Sparta and the Elean War, ca. 401/400 BC: Revenge or Imperialism?" *Phoenix* 50, no. 1 (1996): 17-25; Herbert W. Parke, "The Development of the Second Spartan Empire (405-371 B.C.)," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 50 (1930): 37-79; Iain A. F. Bruce, "Athenian Foreign Policy in 396-395 B.C.," *The Classical Journal* 58, no. 7 (1963): 289-295.

decisions.¹³ While the Spartans' actions and their former allies' responses were predictable within a system of international anarchy, there was a serious debate within Spartan leadership on strategy.¹⁴ There were different political coalitions within the Spartan *polis* that ranged from being idealistic to being imperialistic. This raises the question which international model might best describe the behavior of Sparta after the conflict. There appears to be truth on both sides of the debate: the physiological and rational aspect of the Realist theory appears to explain why naval commander Lysander and King Agis supported policies that were aggressive and imperialistic.¹⁵ The democratically elected *ephors* (overseers) responded to the popularity of these leaders and shifted Spartan foreign and domestic policy toward avarice. Yet, in 402 BCE, they curbed Lysander's influence by sending King Pausanias to relieve him of his command when he had returned to Athens after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants.¹⁶ Later, swayed by King Agesilaus's influence, they sent an army against the Persians on the principle that they owed the Ionian Greek city-states freedom from the oppressive satrap Tissaphernes.¹⁷ In a sense, King Agis and Lysander represented the unbridled aspiration of the state, while King Pausanias became the voice of the conservative order which desired to return Sparta to its isolationist roots.¹⁸ I argue that the Spartans' behavior fits a Realist model. Even though many of their decisions were justified by reasons of community, reciprocity, and shared history, it appears that their new role as *hegemon* (leader) of the Hellenes (Greeks) and their fear of losing that advantage corrupted the institutions that had formerly made peaceful coexistence with the other Greek city-states possible.

I. International Politics

The ancient Greek world was a harsh place where war was commonplace and long-term security fleeting. In a famous quote from Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, "The strong do what they will and the weak do what they must," an Athenian emissary describes the tough reality that the Melians were

¹³ Aristotle writes that the Spartan state was designed for fighting wars, but comments that the austere institutions made it hard to prosper during peacetime since they traditionally did not save much in the public treasury. Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.9.

¹⁴ Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 41-42.

¹⁵ Spartan foreign policy was dictated by the democratically elected *ephors*. The two kings were in charge of all military decisions while on a campaign. Aristotle, *Politics*, 3.14.

¹⁶ King Pausanias convinced the *ephors* to send him with an army to relieve Lysander of power for he feared that the latter would be able to create an oligarchic coalition in Athens loyal to him. Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 2.4.29.

¹⁷ There are multiple accounts of Spartan leaders deciding to reverse their promise to hand over the Ionian Greeks to the Persians following the defeat of the Athenians. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 108; Lowe, *Interstate Relations*, 41.

¹⁸ Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 39-41.

facing: they were under siege by the Athenians and would later be enslaved because they had refused to join the Athenian side in the conflict.¹⁹ The emissary's statement does not just describe the reality for the unfortunate Melians; it also characterizes the harsh reality of ancient international politics: the strong do whatever they want to a weaker power.²⁰ The basic principles of international Realism are that state actors act within a landscape of international anarchy where long-term security is a scarcity and states actors are compelled by necessity to act decisively in order to promote their own short-term security.²¹ Imbalances of power, opaqueness of military capabilities, and territorial ambitions are realities that states face in a landscape of international anarchy.²² At a more basic level, international Realism does not have a set philosophy or ethics; it is a paradigm of behavior that is deterministic and tilts toward immorality. In such an anarchic reality war is inevitable, and state actors are inherently self-interested because human nature is predictably rational. Thus, human psychology and social institutions make war almost certain when there is internal political strife as a result of disagreement within the state; war helps unify the state against a common threat.²³ With these ideas in mind, I will demonstrate that the Spartans did not act in the spirit of a Greek community or shared history, but, rather, for the sake of impressive empire and to resolve internal political conflicts.

The constructivist/Idealist scholar examines shared histories, community, and identity as explanations of state behavior in international relations. To use the "Melian Dialogue" as an example, the Melians made a plea for their autonomy and for justice in order to avoid being crushed.²⁴ While this failed to persuade the Athenians from killing the Melian men and selling the rest of Melos's population into slavery, it shows that the Greeks were aware of higher ideals in interstate action that did not involve coercion. Since our information regarding the events surrounding the Peloponnesian War comes from a mere handful of sources, careful examination is required when searching for the causes of state action. Stefan Dolgert writes that religion has been overlooked as a possible factor in the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War since the Spartans had been banned from the Delphic *amphictyony* (league of neighbors), a religious

¹⁹ Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 5.89.1.

²⁰ The "Melian Dialogue" provides two interpretations of international politics: the Athenians gave an account of political Realism, while the Melians made a plea for justice and freedom as their rationale why they should not be compelled by the Athenians to be slaves. W. Julian Korab-Karpowicz, "How International Relations Theorists Can Benefit by Reading Thucydides," *The Monist* 89, no. 2 (2006): 232-244.

²¹ Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy*, 21.

²² Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy*, 38-39.

²³ For a discussion on the relation between internal politics and the international community, see Lowe, *Interstate Relations*, 24-25; Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, 80.

²⁴ Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 5.98.1.

assembly of city-states that decided the rites performed at Delphi.²⁵ There was perhaps a strong sense of community among the Greeks, but there were no mechanisms to enforce international law; instead, there were customs and practices that were considered in decision-making.²⁶ In addition, *hybris* (pride/shame) and honor played an important role in relations between states, and reciprocity or goodwill was conventional during the classical Greek period.²⁷ Plato and Aristotle recognized that enslaving other Greeks was so abhorrent that it should never be practiced.²⁸ Soft norms were prevalent in Greek thought, even though they were not always practiced. Yet, there is a paradox between Realist and Idealist theories and international relations more generally, and that is moral relativism.²⁹ Moral relativism challenges observers to understand the true motivation of the state, yet one cannot only explain state actions on the basis of moral reasoning, but also through rationalism. Two things can be true at the same time: firstly, that the lack of international law prevents an orderly and moral character of states, and secondly, that there can be order within states because there are laws with weight behind them. Classical Greek thinkers were pessimistic about the prospect of preventing war. In Plato's *Laws*, a Cretan lawgiver claims, "What most people call 'peace' is nothing but a word, and in fact, every city-state is at all times, by nature, in a condition of undeclared war with every other city-state."³⁰ Morality within a state can rationalize the actions of state actors who are operating in a proverbial state of nature. In order to apply a theoretical approach to classical Spartan international relations, we must look at the institutional change of the Spartan *polis* after the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami (405 BCE).

The Spartan government was ill-equipped to restrain the ambitions of the military and to manage a naval empire. In earlier times, Lycurgan tradition had kept the state in friendly relations with its neighbors and resisted intervention in politics overseas, but the influx of wealth and responsibilities overseas challenged the balanced Spartan political system. Both Aristotle and Plutarch praised the Spartan government for having oligarchic, democratic, and monarchic divisions of government. Five democratically elected *ephors* were

²⁵ Dolgert, "Thucydides, Amended," 661-682.

²⁶ The concept of *koine eirene* (common peace) was known during the fifth century BCE, but it was never implemented. Hamilton argues that the Corinthian War happened because of Sparta's "abandonment of self-restriction" or an abandonment of the austere Lycurgan constitution. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 17-18.

²⁷ For a discussion of *hybris* and reciprocity in classical Greek foreign policy, see Lendon, "Xenophon and the Alternative to Realist Foreign Policy," 97; Lowe, *Interstate Relations*, chap. 2.

²⁸ For a discussion of Greek thought on slavery see Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.4; Plato, *The Republic*, trans. George M. A. Grube, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1992), 469b.

²⁹ Lowe, *Interstate Relations*, 29.

³⁰ Plato, *Laws*, trans. Thomas L. Pangle (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987; first published 1980), 626a.

responsible for diplomatic and foreign policy decisions, two hereditary kings conducted the military campaigns, and there was an advisory council of twenty-eight elders.³¹ Even though the *ephors* made decisions pertaining to affairs abroad, the kings and military commanders wielded considerable power since they led the military campaign. Before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, the land of the Spartan polity had been divided equitably among the populace in order to curb avarice, and the currency had been switched from gold and silver bullion to worthless steel pieces in order to reduce the influence of foreign powers.³² However, following the Gylippus affair, which had involved Athenian bribes, the Spartan state abandoned its policy of only using steel pieces as currency, and used the silver and gold collected from the war for public funds.³³ These funds were necessary to fund a navy for the empire that Sparta had inherited. The traditional Spartan values of non-interventionism and modest wealth were challenged by newfound wealth, power, and ambitious military leaders. Admiral Lysander directed most of the Spartan policy after the defeat of Athens, setting up *harmosts* (military governors) in the colonies that had previous been allied with Athens.³⁴ Thus, Sparta's policy began to be impacted by the aspiration of its military leaders.

II. Spartan Aggression

Lysander's involvement in post-war Athenian politics and reconstruction illustrates how the natural ambition of human nature corrupted the Lycurgan tradition of non-interventionism. In 404 BCE, the Peloponnesian fleet surrounded Athens, and leading Athenian politicians were unwilling to discuss peace terms. However, after Lysander sent the Athenian prisoners and exiles from Byzantium to fill the Athenian port city of Piraeus with hungry prisoners of war, Athenian leaders became more willing to talk.³⁵ As the political situation in Athens continued to deteriorate, oligarchic factions seized control over the city's affairs,

³¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.9, 1270b6-28; Plutarch, *Lives [Lycurgus]*, 5.

³² Lycurgus thought that he could control the moral character of the populace by artificially controlling the currency in Sparta, so that Spartans would not be tempted by treasonous offers of money. Plutarch, *Lives [Lycurgus]*, 8-9.

³³ Gylippus was a Spartan general who had embezzled bullion sent from Lysander to the Spartan government. However, Lysander left receipts on the sums of gold and silver sent to Sparta. There was a debate on how to handle the newfound wealth without corrupting the whole *polis*. Lysander convinced the *ephors* to allocate the newfound treasure to public funds only. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 13.106.7; Plutarch, *Lives [Lysander]*, 16-17; Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 55.

³⁴ It had been Spartan policy to set up military governors in territories previously controlled by Athens, however, the difference now was that Lysander was arguably setting up these *harmosts* with leaders personally loyal to him. The sources disagree on his true motivations, but Parke believes that this aligned with his personal ambitions. Parke, "Development of the Second Spartan Empire," 51-52.

³⁵ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 2.2.1-4.

blaming its democratic leaders for the current situation. They resolved to negotiate with the Spartans to obtain terms of surrender. The Spartan fleet and army found themselves in an ideal position in which they could simply starve the city, plunder it, and share the spoils with their allies. However, Lysander's personal ambitions influenced the decision to sway the *ephors* in another direction, namely by choosing the more moderate route of being lenient with Athens and making it a protectorate. Xenophon claims that these terms were reached because Sparta and Athens had a shared history of fighting against the Persians during the Greco-Persian Wars:

The Spartans, however, said they would not enslave a Greek city that had accomplished so much for Greece during the time of its greatest dangers; they preferred, rather to offer peace with Athens upon the following conditions: that the Athenians take down their Long Walls and fortifications of the Peiraieus; that they hand over all their ships except twelve; that they allow their exiles to return to Athens; that they have the same friends and enemies as the Spartans; and that they be willing to follow the Spartans as their leaders on land or sea, on whatever campaign the Spartans should order them.³⁶

Xenophon claims that the Athenians had supported the Spartans during the greatest time of danger for the Hellenes, namely the war against the Persian invasion. It is difficult to accept this as the reason for benevolence, since Lysander had been rather ruthless after the battle of Aegospotami and executed all three thousand Athenian prisoners. On the one hand, Xenophon's statement could be interpreted to say that there was an international norm of respecting legacy or *hybris*. Lysander's popularity played a role in the *ephors* offering such lenient terms, showing how fragile and insular the Spartan constitution was in handling new conquests.³⁷ One of the difficulties of using a modern approach to international relations is that it might appear anachronistic when dealing with ancient Greek city-states.³⁸ The division of power in the Spartan government was undoubtedly complex, which led to many executive decisions by kings and generals without direct approval from the *ephors*. This is understandable, though, because kings and military leaders needed to act decisively in crucial military situations. According to Aristotle, one of the flaws of the Spartan kingship was that it was hereditary and permanent, thus allowing kings more long-term influence on the state.³⁹ The institutions of the Spartan *polis* were designed to wage war successfully, but after a war was won, the opinions of the triumphant commander must have played a significant factor in policy decisions. In this case,

³⁶ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 2.2.21-23.

³⁷ Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 39; Buckler, *Aegean Greece*, 1-2.

³⁸ International Relations as a field of study began shortly after WWI when actors in foreign relations were nation states. The ancient Greek *polis* varied greatly in institutions and mechanics. Sparta, in particular, had a unique separation of powers, namely the elders, the kings, and the *ephors*, which makes it difficult to analyze it as a cohesive political unit. Lowe, *Interstate Relations*, 9-10.

³⁹ Aristotle, *Politics*, 3.14, 1285a3-16.

Lysander appears to have had considerable influence because Theramenes, the leader of the moderate oligarchs in Athens, approached him first before deciding to persuade the other members of his political faction to send delegates to the Spartan *ephors*.⁴⁰ Understanding the motivations of the military leaders in Sparta is crucial for our understanding of state decisions in this period because these military leaders were at the forefront of the new empire and drove the political discussion in Sparta. Thus, the Spartans offered lenient terms to the Athenians not out of altruism or *hybris*, but for personal gain and empire in light of a new political frontier.

Following the capitulation of Athens, Sparta's political leaders were split on how to proceed as *hegemon* of the Greek city-states. There were arguably three distinct factions within the Spartan *polis*. One group was led by King Agis who advocated for a robust foreign policy that involved Spartan intervention not only in mainland Greece but also in the former *poleis* of the fallen Athenian empire. King Pausanias, meanwhile, supported a non-interventionist policy, and Lysander proposed establishing more *harmosts* in the Aegean without direct involvement in the local affairs of these allies.⁴¹ Lysander arguably had the most influence right after the Peloponnesian War, since he had enormous personal popularity and was involved in establishing an oligarchy in Athens and many of the latter's allied city-states.⁴² Lysander's ambitions were transparent when he attempted to change the Spartan tradition of hereditary kingship to secure constitutional power.⁴³ But after Lysander had been relieved of his command in 402 BCE, Agis gained more influence on the political stage.

III. Persian Opportunism

The Spartans now directed their imperialist aims at the settlement of Elis (northwestern Peloponnesus) at the behest of King Agis who sought to assert Spartan power in the region after Sparta had lost its control over Athens in 402 BCE. Xenophon claims that this intervention occurred for religious and historical reasons:

Then, in a later incident, when King Agis had been sent to sacrifice to Zeus in accordance with an oracle, the Elisians prohibited him from praying for a victory in war, saying that it had long been established that Greeks should not consult oracles about a war with other Greeks. He was forced to depart without having made his sacrifice.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Theramenes was a moderate oligarch who had been instrumental in curtailing the earlier oligarchic revolution in 411 BCE. It is likely that Theramenes sought Lysander out first because he had a record of establishing *harmosts* that were pro-oligarchic. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 47.

⁴¹ Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 88.

⁴² Plutarch, *Lives [Lysander]*, 19; Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 2.3.6-10, 2.4.29-31.

⁴³ Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 89.

⁴⁴ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.2.21.

Shortly after Elesians had repelled King Agis, the Spartan *ephors* declared that they themselves should have autonomy over their region. In addition, the Spartans cited the fact that Elis had joined an alliance with Athens, Argos, and Mantinea when Sparta had been banned from participating in the Olympic games after the Peace of Nicias in the summer of 420 BCE.⁴⁵ While the Spartans were certainly irritated that the Elesians had not respected Spartan power and reputation, it seems more probable that King Agis, an advocate of an aggressive Spartan foreign policy, cited these reasons as a pretext to convince the *ephors* to intervene in areas that were strategically important to Sparta's northern border. The Spartans were successful in compelling Elesian loyalty after raiding the latter's territory. Caroline Falkner has argued that this attack on Elis was indicative of imperialism in the wake of the victory over Athens, but I believe that the Spartans were flexing their muscles to show that they had not lost their determination even though they had lost influence in Athens which had briefly acted as a buffer against the Thebans.⁴⁶ Yet, sentiment in Athens continued to be pro-Spartan among the elites even after democracy had been restored.⁴⁷

After these aggressive acts, the Thebans, Corinthians, and other Greek allies conspired against Spartan hegemony. Power transition theory explains that weaker states will act aggressively in the face of a rising and powerful state, thus increasing the likelihood of war.⁴⁸ After the Spartans had established a pro-Spartan regime in Athens, the Thebans and Corinthians conspired against them. According to Diodorus, the aforementioned Greek polities opposed the Spartan decree to return the Athenian democrats who had fled Athens during the reign of the Thirty Tyrants:

Though this was an outrageous decree, the other cities, terrified by the soldier power of the Spartans, complied with it. The sole exception was Argos, whose citizens were the first to offer these fugitives compassionate asylum—moved by hatred of Lacedaemonian cruelty as well as by pity for the fate of the unfortunate. The Thebans, too, voted that anyone who witnessed an exile being arrested and did not offer him all possible assistance should incur a fine.⁴⁹

The other Greek city-states became resentful when the Spartans involved themselves in Athenian internal politics. According to Xenophon, "[t]hose thus evicted fled to the Piraeus, but the Thirty evicted many from there too, and so both nearby Megara and Thebes were full of refugees."⁵⁰ Xenophon agrees with Diodorus that this welcoming of refugees went on during the reign of the Thirty in Athens. The Athenian democrats, backed by former Spartan rivals, defeated

⁴⁵ Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 110; Buckler, *Aegean Greece*, 13.

⁴⁶ Falkner, "Sparta and the Elean War," 24-25.

⁴⁷ Bruce, "Athenian Foreign Policy," 289-295.

⁴⁸ Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy*, 24.

⁴⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 14.5.5-6.

⁵⁰ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 2.4.1.

the army of the Thirty and reestablished a democracy.⁵¹ Further, Thebes refused to join King Agis in his raids against Elis, as well as the Spartan expedition to Persia led by King Agesilaus in the spring of 396 BCE.⁵² The Spartans' former allies took bold action to weaken the security of the Spartan border by forming a coalition. According to Diodorus, the "Boeotians and the Athenians, and the Corinthians and the Argives besides, made a collective alliance. Since the Lacedaemonians were detested because of their oppressive domination, it would, they thought, be easy to break their rule if there was a general agreement between the principal cities."⁵³ By 395 BCE, the former Peloponnesian League had disbanded. Sparta's aggression in the region had been met with an aggressive realignment of power by its former allies and adversaries.

Spartan intervention in Asia Minor and Persia demonstrates how dominant imperialist factions during the early post-Peloponnesian War period and Persian political leader used the division of the Greek city-states to further their interests in Ionia.⁵⁴ After his appointment as admiral, Lysander established a friendship with the Persian prince Cyrus (the Younger) who had considerable influence in the region of Ionia. It was agreed that Cyrus would have control over the Greek city-states in Ionia in exchange for bankrolling the Spartan fleet during the Peloponnesian War.⁵⁵ Cyrus had wanted a Spartan pledge of friendship so that he could call upon the Spartans to support him in his battle for the throne after the death of King Darius II.⁵⁶ In fact, Cyrus planned to use Spartan hoplites in order to wrestle control back from his brother, King Artaxerxes II.

Lastly, as regards his Greek force, he proceeded to collect it with the utmost secrecy, so that he might take the King as completely unprepared as possible. It was in the following way, then, that he gathered this force: In the first place, he sent orders to the commanders of all the garrisons he had in the cities to enlist as many Peloponnesian soldiers of the best sort as they severally could, on the plea that Tissaphernes had designs upon their cities.⁵⁷

The Persians used the conflict in mainland Greece to further their own interests in Anatolia. Prince Cyrus of Persia had provided crucial naval support for the Peloponnesian League at the battle of Aegospotami, which had led to the final defeat of the Athenian navy. Yet, Cyrus's plan failed, and he was killed by the army of King Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa in 401 BCE. As a result, Tissaphernes, a loyal satrap, took revenge against the Greek *poleis* that had sided

⁵¹ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 2.4.43.

⁵² Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 152-153.

⁵³ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 14.82.12.

⁵⁴ The Persian empire was the largest and richest in the ancient world but was incredibly fragmented and politically divided. Local wars were common between the satraps or governors and were actually encouraged by the kings at times. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 100-101.

⁵⁵ Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 106-107.

⁵⁶ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.1.1-2.

⁵⁷ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.1.6.

with Cyrus and demanded that the Greek city-states submit to him. In response, the Greek Ionians called for Spartan help:

The cities, however, would not receive him, because they wished to be free and because they feared Tissaphernes's wrath since, when Cyrus was alive, they had preferred him to Tissaphernes. They, therefore, sent ambassadors to Sparta, asking the Spartans, since they were now the leaders of all Greece, to protect them, the Greeks in Asia, so that their land would not be ravaged and they themselves would be free men.⁵⁸

The newly crowned Spartan king Agesilaus decided to respond to the plea of the Greek city-states, despite the fact that they had rescinded their original pledge. This decision to lead an expedition to Ionia has confused scholars because it was impractical logistically and could be interpreted as coming from an idealistic reason, namely to save fellow Greeks from barbarians, but the expedition itself was a result of Lysander's influence over the young king.⁵⁹ This presents the relativist problem when studying state action since, on the one hand, the Spartans appear to have led an expedition to save the Greeks in Ionia, but on the other hand, Lysander seems to have been manipulating military leaders to fulfill his own ambitions of empire.⁶⁰ Lysander must have realized the hopelessness of war against the Persians. Ironically King Agesilaus betrayed Lysander and deprived him of power over the expedition. What remains to be explained is why the Spartan *ephors* were convinced that such a policy against the Persians would be beneficial, since victory was only a distant possibility.

Conclusion

The emergence of conflict after the Peloponnesian War and the outbreak of the Corinthian War shows that the harsh nature of international diplomacy was the main reason why peace could not be achieved for a long period of time. Sparta's political traditions and institutions were ill equipped for self-restraint when Sparta was in a position of power during times of peace. The Realist tenet of human behavior, being self-interested and naturally immoral, seems to best describe the attitudes of Sparta's political and military leaders. Arguably, Lysander's unique position as a supreme naval leader in the Aegean after the battle of Aegospotami allowed him to establish an empire for Sparta, which created such factionalism at home that it dramatically changed Spartan foreign policy during this period. On the other hand, the fact that Sparta had practiced self-restraint in its earlier history shows that a case can be made for Idealist principles of international relations. The personal popularity of Sparta's military

⁵⁸ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.1.4.

⁵⁹ The Spartans did not have the navy, the treasury, or the manpower to take on the Persian empire which was the largest and richest in the region. Buckler contends that the Spartans were able to maintain an army of 13,400 hoplites, which might have been enough to enforce their dominance in Greece, but not to take on the Persians. Buckler, *Aegean Greece*, 42; Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, 130.

⁶⁰ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.4.2.

leaders effectively gave them political influence over the democratically elected *ephors*, which shaped major policy decisions until the Corinthian War. Advocates of imperialist policies were favored over the conservative faction of Pausanias. Victory and opportunity impaired the integrity of Sparta's government, alienated it from its traditional allies, and stretched its social fabric to a point from which it would never recover. These leaders reversed years of Lycurgan conservatism and isolationist policy that had allowed Sparta to co-exist with its allies.

Future research might explore how culture and religion affected the decisions of state actors during this period. While I am convinced that the security concerns of states were the driving force behind major policy decisions in classical Greece, imagination and concepts of community would be worthwhile areas of study for classical Greek international relations. In addition, it would be beneficial to the field of international relations to investigate the respective diplomatic ties between mother city-states and their colonies.

The Peloponnesian War resulted in a power vacuum which Spartan military leaders took the initiative to fill. These leaders, despite living in a society that carefully instilled values of honor, restraint, and discipline, advocated for a policy that was ambitious and against Spartan tradition. The moral decay within the Spartan state is indicative of how human nature, when left to its own devices, is inclined toward rational self-interest. To answer the question of why war is inevitable, men fight wars because they are concerned for their security and survival, because they possess human ambitions, and perhaps because their nature is inherently belligerent.

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Geoffrey Gue

*Brunanburh (937 AD):
The Battle That Made England*

ABSTRACT: *This article investigates the Battle of Brunanburh (937 AD) and its impact on the history of England. Based on contemporary and later chronicles, charters, and poems, it first analyzes King Aethelstan's reign prior to the battle, then the battle itself, and finally its medieval legacy. The author argues that Brunanburh (much more so than Hastings in 1066 AD) was the battle that made England.*

KEYWORDS: *medieval history; tenth century; Europe; England; Northumbria; Battle of Brunanburh (937); Aethelstan; Danes; chronicles; charters*

Introduction

Sometime in the summer of 937 AD, two armies gathered on a field in England, ready to fight. One force consisted of a coalition of Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and Norsemen from Dublin, the other mainly of West Saxons and Mercians, led by their King Aethelstan. The clash that ensued was the Battle of Brunanburh, a conflict that is shrouded in mystery with regard to its whereabouts and the meaning of its name, but that would be of considerable significance for the future of England.¹ When the two armies met at Brunanburh, both opposing forces knew that the victor would be the one to rule the land. The event was so momentous, in fact, that there are various accounts of Brunanburh in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC),² the most important primary source of the period. The ASC contains a poem that gives a vivid description of the battle, but there are over fifty additional primary-source references to this military encounter.³ This article argues that the Battle of Brunanburh was decisive and the reason why England became unified: an army came together to defend the land against an opposing force that had intended to end Aethelstan's rule in Northumbria.

The reason why this battle occurred takes us back to the year 925 when Aethelstan had just been crowned king. His father Edward had launched a campaign to gain territory in the northern part of England, Northumbria. He had been victorious, but near his death, in 924, revolts had broken out, and all that he had conquered was lost and would have to be regained by his son Aethelstan.⁴

¹ There are different theories regarding the battle's location and the meaning of *Brunanburh*. See Alistair Campbell, *The Battle of Brunanburh* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1938).

² Four of the various manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC) mention the Battle of Brunanburh; this article uses the following edition: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. George N. Garmonsway (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1960). For another edition, see "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," ed. Dorothy Whitelock, in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1 (c. 500-1042) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 135-235.

³ See *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

⁴ David P. Kirby, *The Making of England* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1967), 86-87.

King Aethelstan began his reign by courting favor in Mercia. Aethelstan had been raised in Mercia by his aunt Aethelflaed and her husband Aethelred.⁵ With this Mercian upbringing, Aethelstan was able to deal with Northumbrian affairs better than his father Edward. Aethelstan made an alliance with Sithric, king of York/Northumbria, by marrying him to his sister (whose name is unknown) in 926. Sithric died within the year, and Olaf, Sithric's son from a former wife, became king. Guthfrith, king of Dublin and Olaf's uncle, came to his nephew's aid.⁶ However, Aethelstan responded by invading Northumbria in 927, driving out both Olaf and Guthfrith. On July 12, 927, Aethelstan convened Hywel, king of the West Welsh, Constantine, king of the Scots, Owain, king of Gwent, and Ealdred Ealdulfing from Bramburgh at Eamont where they made peace with Aethelstan, gave pledges, swore oaths, and renounced idolatry.⁷ Aethelstan's supremacy in the North lasted until 934 when Constantine, king of the Scots, broke his oath, forcing Aethelstan to lead an army both by land and sea to counter Constantine's resistance.⁸ The result of this was the 937 Battle of Brunanburh. All of these developments contributed to the creation a unified realm under King Aethelstan. Brunanburh was the final push needed for Aethelstan to secure the land and drive out his enemies to "make" England.

The medieval sources on Brunanburh provide insight into the battle's significance. The main text used here is the ASC's poem about the battle.⁹ In Anglo-Saxon history, poems were only used for something (or someone) truly extraordinary. Historical events celebrated in poems, rather than just recorded, were deemed especially important and further legitimized by such poetic renditions.¹⁰ Other sources relate the battle in roughly the same way as the ASC, among them the tenth-century *Chronicle of Æthelweard*, the "Annals of Ulster" (recorded later, but based on contemporary texts), as well as Simeon of Durham's twelfth-century *Historia Regum* ("History of the Kings") and other "Works" (*Symeonis Monachi Opera*).¹¹ William of Malmesbury's twelfth-century work *De*

⁵ For a genealogical table of Aethelstan's family, see Sarah Foot, *Æthelstan: The First King of England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), xv.

⁶ Both "Olaf" and "Anlaf" are names used in this article; while they are variants of the same name, they refer to different people, namely Olaf Sithricson and Anlaf Guthfrithson.

⁷ *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 107.

⁸ The ASC gives a brief account of this event. For more details, see Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 342; as well as Kirby, *Making of England*, 87. Stenton indicates that this event occurred in 924; however, this appears to be incorrect since both the ASC and Kirby give 934 as the year.

⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 106-110.

¹⁰ Paul Hill, *The Age of Athelstan: Britain's Forgotten History* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2004), 123.

¹¹ *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. Alistair Campbell (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962); "Annals of Ulster," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 145; Simeon of Durham, "Historia Regum," ed.

Gestis Regum Anglorum ("On the Deeds of the Kings of the English") contains an account of King Aethelstan's reign and a good description of the battle.¹² Many of these materials are assembled in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, edited by Michael Livingston and published in 2011.¹³ Livingston's anthology also contains several essays which address a number of controversial issues associated with the event. An additional text examined here is *Egil's Saga*, an Icelandic narrative that follows the life of Egil Skallagrimsson.¹⁴ In 937, Egil supposedly fought on King Aethelstan's side.¹⁵

Scholarship on the Battle of Brunanburh has generally focused on identifying where it took place and on the meaning of its name. John Henry Cockburn's *The Battle of Brunanburh and Its Period* (1931) and Alistair Campbell's *The Battle of Brunanburh* (1938) describe the event and attempt to identify its location; Cockburn, in particular, provides information about the period's main characters, towns, and people.¹⁶ Works by Frank M. Stenton (3rd edition, 1971) and David P. Kirby (1967) offer general accounts of Anglo-Saxon history, as well as useful reflections on Aethelstan's life and the Battle of Brunanburh.¹⁷ Paul Hill's (2004) and Sarah Foot's (2011) monographs focus on Aethelstan's life.¹⁸ Stating that scholars have proposed over forty different possible battle sites, Foot discusses the most "popular" among these, but then settles on Bromborough as the most likely one.¹⁹ Bromborough is located south of Liverpool near the River Mersey and would have provided invading forces from Ireland with suitable access to the western side of the island.

I. Aethelstan before Brunanburh

Aethelstan came to believe that his rule would be different from that of his predecessors. Before 927, Aethelstan had followed in his father Edward's and grandfather Alfred the Great's footsteps by calling himself "king of the Angles

Dorothy Whitelock, in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1 (c. 500-1042) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 253; *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, ed. Thomas Arnold, vol. 1, Rolls Series, vol. 75.1 (London: Longman and Co., 1882).

¹² William of Malmesbury, "De Gestis Regum Anglorum," ed. Dorothy Whitelock, in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1 (c. 500-1042) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 277-283.

¹³ *Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Livingston.

¹⁴ *Egil's Saga*, trans. Gwyn Jones (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1960).

¹⁵ In this saga, the battle is called *Vinheithr*. The respective account shares similarities with what we know about Brunanburh, and it can be assumed that these battles were one and the same. However, *Egil's Saga* dates this battle between 925 and 934, yet there was no battle on the scale described in the other primary sources during these years, suggesting that the saga's date is off by a few years. See *Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Livingston, 207.

¹⁶ John Henry Cockburn, *The Battle of Brunanburh and Its Period Elucidated by Place-Names* (London: Sir W. C. Leng and Co., Ltd., 1931); Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*.

¹⁷ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*; Kirby, *Making of England*.

¹⁸ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*; Foot, *Aethelstan*.

¹⁹ Foot, *Aethelstan*, 179.

and Saxons.”²⁰ After 927, however, Aethelstan realized that Alfred the Great’s vision of a united land was within reach. Thus, he claimed to be “king of England,”²¹ even though he did not yet fully control the northern part of the island. Aethelstan used the title “king of England” in various post-927 charters, land grants, coins, and manuscripts. One of his charters, addressed to Milton Abbey in Dorset, starts with the statement, “In the name of God, I, Aethelstan, by the grace of God king ruling the whole of Britain.”²² Presumably issued in 934,²³ this charter gave land to the abbey. Aethelstan granted the land not just on behalf of himself, but also on behalf of the future kings of England. He was clearly confident in his rule and various campaigns. A grant to the Minster in Winchester in 934 includes the title “king of England” as well,²⁴ leading to the assumption that these documents were drawn up after Aethelstan’s invasion of Scotland. After his victory, Aethelstan was confident in his power over the territories that were now under his control. From the beginning of his reign, Aethelstan had made it a priority to recover lands that had been lost after his father’s death. Aethelstan declared himself king of England because he was convinced that he would be successful in reclaiming lost territory.

Scholars have pointed out that Aethelstan made these high claims for different reasons. According to David P. Kirby, Aethelstan held grand assemblies, namely ecclesiastical events that subjected rulers would sometimes attend. Kirby argues that Aethelstan received his royal titles from these assemblies.²⁵ Aethelstan presided over numerous gatherings of his court meetings and was involved in many donations to and dedications of churches. The people were grateful and wanted to thank Aethelstan by giving him titles such as “king of England.” Herbert Finberg writes that Aethelstan used “lofty” titles like *basileus* (Latinized Greek for “king”) to express his overlordship, and that his charters indicate that he considered his land untouchable.²⁶ Another reason why Aethelstan believed his rule to be different from that of other kings was that he considered himself

²⁰ Foot, *Aethelstan*, 26.

²¹ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, 209-211, contains a list of the titles Anglo-Saxon kings used in charters, based on *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. Walter de Gray Birch, 3 vols. (London: Whiting, 1885-1893).

²² “Charter of King Aethelstan to Milton Abbey, Dorset,” in *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. Agnes J. Robertson, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 45.

²³ The charter is dated to the year 843: *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. Robertson, 45. However, this date appears to be incorrect as Aethelstan was not yet king or even born at this time.

²⁴ “Grant of Lands by King Aethelstan to the Old Minster, Winchester,” in *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and trans. Robertson, 49.

²⁵ Kirby, *Making of England*, 88.

²⁶ Herbert P. R. Finberg, *The Formation of England, 550-1042* (London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1974), 153.

worthy to take his grandfather's throne.²⁷ According to Stenton, Alfred had regarded young Aethelstan as his heir and had given him a belt with gems, a red cloak, and a Saxon sword with a gold hilt.²⁸ Thus, Aethelstan saw himself as a king like none before him, as the "chosen one" or something of that nature, and he expected his advisors, subjects, and other leaders to hold him in high regard. However, Kevin Halloran has emphasized the most plausible reason for these titles, namely "Aethelstan's political and military achievement in creating an English monarchy," as well as "the importance of Aethelstan to the early Anglo-Norman kings both in his capacity as founder of the English state and for his claims."²⁹ According to David N. Dumville, Aethelstan was the "father of medieval and modern England" and made a claim "to overlordship of the surrounding Celtic peoples."³⁰ To gain support for his campaign to Brunanburh, Aethelstan provided gifts and manuscripts to St. Cuthbert's church in Northumbria,³¹ since many in Northumbria were resisting his push into the region. Aethelstan was a religious man, and he relied on God and the saints for help in his military endeavors. Thus, he gave gifts not only to gain a political advantage in the area, but also to show the community how devout he was.³²

By 937, King Aethelstan had secured much territory and earned considerable prestige in Europe. In various charters and grants, he was already referring to himself as "king of England," convinced that he had a higher purpose in his kingdom. His grandfather Alfred the Great had thought of him as the worthiest heir, and, indeed, Aethelstan would be the king to make Alfred's vision of a unified England come true.

II. The Battle Begins

Even though it lasted only for one day, the Battle of Brunanburh was the reason why England became unified. Two large forces clashed on a field that, by the end of the day, would be soaked with the blood of both friend and foe. Believing that this battle would be the hardest fought yet, Aethelstan, in a "Prayer" ascribed to him, asked God to grant him the victory:

²⁷ Foot, *Æthelstan*, 11.

²⁸ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 339.

²⁹ Kevin Halloran, "The Brunanburh Campaign: A Reappraisal," *The Scottish Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (October 2005): 133-148, here 134.

³⁰ David N. Dumville, "Between Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peacemaker: Athelstan, First King of England," in David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1992), 141-171, here 168, 170-171.

³¹ David A Woodman, "Charters, Northumbria and the Unification of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Northern History* 52, no. 1 (2015): 35-51, here 45.

³² Andrew Breeze, "Communication: The Battle of Brunanburh and Cambridge, Css, Ms 183," *Northern History* 53, no. 1 (2016): 138-145, here 145.

Grant to me, Lord, that your might may strengthen my heart so that through your strength and through my hands and powers I may fight well and act manfully, so that my enemies may fall in my sight and may collapse just as Goliath collapsed before David your servant.³³

Aethelstan makes other Old Testament references about large forces being crushed by those who have God on their side. His prayer continues,

[T]hus let my enemies collapse beneath my feet, and let them come on one path against me and let them by seven paths run away from me. And may the Lord burst their weapons and break their swords and melt them in my sight [...] So that all the peoples of the earth may know that upon me is placed the name of Our Holy Lord Christ. And so let your name, Lord, be increased upon my adversaries.³⁴

This suggests that Aethelstan was somewhat worried about the coalition that he was up against and aware that victory would be necessary if he wanted to secure the land. Aethelstan, like his grandfather, was a devout Christian and trusted in God for his decisions. From the beginning of the battle, both sides had a sense of how important this encounter would be for the future of England.

Little is known about the size of the forces that clashed at Brunanburh, but it is safe to assume that both armies were quite large in number. Various sources give rather inflated estimates.³⁵ According to Simeon of Durham, a twelfth-century chronicler from Durham who wrote roughly 170 years after Brunanburh, Anlaf Guthfrithson brought 615 ships to the battle, in addition to the troops furnished by the Scots and Cumbrians.³⁶ Both William of Malmesbury, a twelfth-century monk, and Simeon of Durham provide reliable descriptions of the battle, but are probably not accurate with regard to troop strength. Primarily, they recorded the

³³ "Aethelstan's Prayer" [from London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A.xiv, ms. s. XI, fol. 4v], in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 51. For further information on this text and manuscript, see *Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Livingston, 185-186.

³⁴ "Aethelstan's Prayer," in *Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Livingston, 51.

³⁵ William of Malmesbury, "Gesta Regum Anglorum," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 59; "Annals of Clonmacnoise," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 153. William of Malmesbury states that there were around 100,000 troops, while the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" state that the forces numbered around 30,000. It is unknown how large the armies were; while 30,000 troops sound more reasonable, the numbers are inflated in both cases.

³⁶ *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, ed. Arnold, 76: *Quarto post hæc anno, hoc est, DCCCCXXXVII. Dominicæ natiuitatis anno, apud Weondun, quod alio nomine Etbrunnanwerc, vel Brunnanbyrig appellatur, pugnavit contra Onlaf, Guthredi quondam regis filium, qui DC et XV. Navibus advenerat, secum habens contra Ethelstanum auxilia regum præfatorum, scilicet Scotorum et Cumbriorum.* "In the fourth year thereafter, that is in the 937th year since the birth of the Lord [i.e., Christ], he [i.e., Aethelstan] fought at Weondune, which is otherwise also called Etbrunnanwerc or Brunnabyrig, against Anlaf, the son of the late King Guthred [i.e., Guthfrith], who had come with 615 ships, and who had with him, against Aethelstan, the aid [i.e., the troops] of the aforementioned kings, namely of the Scots and the Cumbrians." Translation provided by Jochen Burgtorf.

battle to propagate its legendary status.³⁷ These authors exaggerated to show that this battle was still considered significant, even in their twelfth-century lifetimes.

The ASC's poem mentions the key players and underscores the battle's significance for the people and the land. It describes the Anglo-Saxon leaders, Aethelstan and his young brother Edmund,³⁸ as the victors of the Battle of Brunanburh. They defended their land from the Scots and the Norse, led by Anlaf Guthfrithson and Constantine, king of Scots. The poem goes on to say that both West Saxons and Mercians came together and fought hard against their enemies. Five kings and seven of Anlaf's jarls fell on the battlefield. Many lives were lost, and the remainder of the enemy force fled. Anlaf went back to Dublin, and Constantine, leaving his dead son, fled to the North. The brothers, Aethelstan and Edward, were victorious and went back home.³⁹ In the oldest version of the ASC,⁴⁰ the author of the poem uses the phrase "Anlaf's warriors, who invaded our land."⁴¹ This is noteworthy because the ASC was compiled by contemporaries⁴² who, in this case, point out that different people, namely West Saxons and Mercians came together to defend a land that they saw as their own, a unified force to push back an enemy that was threatening their land.

Egil's Saga also describes the fighting at Brunanburh, even though it refers to the battle as *Vinheithr*. The saga, written sometime in the mid-thirteenth century, gives a more narrative account of the battle and provides evidence that there were Norse mercenaries among Aethelstan's ranks.⁴³ It is more of a literary creation than a historically reliable narrative.⁴⁴ Alistair Campbell agrees that the battle related in the saga is that of Brunanburh, but the story of the saga is not accurate. Campbell states that many sagas cast their heroes into the great battles of their time.⁴⁵ While this may be the case, the saga indicates that the battle was of great significance, possibly because England was born from it.

There are also accounts of Brunanburh from the opposing side which indicate that this battle was significant not just because it was a harsh defeat for the Norse

³⁷ Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*, 54-55.

³⁸ Edmund would have been around the age of 15 or 16 during the battle. This is known because the ASC also states that, once Aethelstan had died in 939, Edmund took the throne at the age of 18.

³⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 106-110.

⁴⁰ The Parker Chronicle, which is the oldest rendition of the ASC: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, ms. s. XI.

⁴¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 108.

⁴² Generation after generation, scribes added events to the chronicle as they unfolded; see *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, xvii.

⁴³ "Egil's Saga," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 69-81.

⁴⁴ Foot, *Aethelstan*, 180.

⁴⁵ Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*, 72-73.

in Ireland, as well as the Scots, but of its aftermath. *The Annals of Ulster*, compiled in the fifteenth century on the basis of much older texts, describe it as a

huge war, lamentable and horrible which was cruelly waged between the Saxons and Norsemen. Many thousands of Norsemen beyond number died although King Anlaf escaped with a few men. While a greater number of Saxons fell on the other side, Aethelstan, king of the Saxons, was enriched by the great victory.⁴⁶

This is a small entry in the overall text, but nonetheless important because the *Annals of Ulster* were written in Ireland. Even though the battle had been lost by the Irish, it was still mentioned. Many times, after a disastrous defeat, the losing side does not want to remember the event, but with Brunanburh it is different, presumably because of the battle's impact on the British Isles and the rest of Europe. The *Annals* were compiled hundreds of years after the battle, yet even then the Battle of Brunanburh was still considered important enough to be recorded. The *Annals* would, of course, have sounded quite differently if Anlaf Guthfrithson and his forces had won at Brunanburh.

In sum, the Battle of Brunanburh was of paramount importance for the unification of England. If not for Aethelstan's victory, England would have remained in disarray with several small kingdoms fighting for power. The outcome could have been that the Norse and the Scots would have ruled the land, and England would have never been born. Aethelstan's defeat would have gone down in the history books as a major victory for the Scots and the Norse. According to Foot, if there had been a Scottish-Norse victory, the kingdom of York would have been restored and would have threatened Mercia and the land to the east known as the Danelaw.⁴⁷ The ASC's poem elaborates that, "Never before in this island, as the books of ancient historians tell us, was an army put to greater slaughter by the sword since the time when Angles and Saxons [had] landed."⁴⁸ This suggests the sentiments of the people at the time. The poet wanted to emphasize how significant Aethelstan's victory was, as England had been unified.

III. The Battle's Impact

Brunanburh had a significant impact on the history of England and, by extension, the world. One contemporary text that highlights this is *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*. It dates from around 980; thus, some time had passed since the battle. Aethelstan had passed away in 939, and his brother Edmund had taken over. In 940, Anlaf Guthfrithson saw his opportunity, and he returned to England where he retook York, and the Five Boroughs of the Danelaw.⁴⁹ This

⁴⁶ "Annals of Ulster," in *Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Livingston, 145.

⁴⁷ Foot, *Æthelstan*, 171-172.

⁴⁸ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 109-110

⁴⁹ See Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 357-358. The Five Boroughs were Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Stamford.

threatened everything Aethelstan had fought for but, luckily for Edmund, Anlaf died in 941, and Edmund was able to retake the territory that had been lost.⁵⁰ According to Aethelweard, Brunanburh⁵¹ was the “great battle” or “great war:” “the fields of Britain were consolidated into one, there was peace everywhere, and abundance of all things, and since then no fleet has remained here, having advanced against these shores, except under the treaty with the English.”⁵² This shows the battle’s impact. According to Paul Hill, Aethelweard knew that the Battle of Brunanburh had been more than just another military victory.⁵³ It brought the land under one king’s rule and awareness of the English as a unified people. Thus, the battle certainly had more significance than any other battle that had preceded it.

Excerpts from other annals and chronicles also state that this battle was of great importance. Henry of Huntington’s *Historia Anglorum* (“History of the English”), written in 1133, states that, “King Aethelstan engaged in battle at Brunebirih [Brunanburh], the greatest of battles.”⁵⁴ Henry uses the Latin phrase *preliorum maximum*⁵⁵ (“the greatest of battles”) to describe the event, which shows that this battle was held in high regard. In fact, Henry’s statement appears to suggest that he considered Brunanburh as greater than the Battle of Hastings (1066). When Henry was writing, almost seventy years had passed since the Norman Conquest. And it is noteworthy that Brunanburh receives this Latin title in other medieval sources as well. Another source that uses the phrase “greatest of battles” is Bartholomew of Cotton’s *Historia Anglica* (“English History”).⁵⁶ Bartholomew was a historian and monk of Norwich in the mid-to-late thirteenth century. Additionally, the *Annals of Waverly*, written in the late thirteenth century, record Brunanburh as the “greatest battle.”⁵⁷ One would think that chroniclers after Hastings, especially Anglo-Norman writers, would have seen Hastings as more significant. Yet, as recently as 2016, historian Andrew Breeze referred to Brunanburh as the Hastings of the tenth century.⁵⁸ According to Michael Livingston, what Aethelstan won on the field of Brunanburh was not

⁵⁰ Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1977), 88-89.

⁵¹ Aethelweard calls the battle *Brunandun* and states that it happened in 927, but various other accounts of the battle affirm that it occurred in 937.

⁵² *Chronicle of Aethelweard*, ed. Campbell, 54.

⁵³ Hill, *Age of Athelstan*, 154.

⁵⁴ Henry of Huntington, “*Historia Anglorum*,” in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 61.

⁵⁵ Henry of Huntington, “*Historia Anglorum*,” 61.

⁵⁶ Bartholomew of Cotton, “*Historia Anglica*,” in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 82-83.

⁵⁷ “*Annals of Waverly*,” in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 88-89.

⁵⁸ Breeze, “Communication: The Battle of Brunanburh,” 138.

just land: he won a kingdom of heart and mind, meaning that those who would succeed him as king were not just kings of Wessex, but kings of Britain.⁵⁹ Livingston goes on to say that, even though the key figures, location, and name of the battle faded out of memory in the years after Brunanburh, what the battle represented remained.⁶⁰

Let us now consider the Battle of Hastings (1066). The latter did have an impact on the history of England and brought about significant change for the English people. In 1066, William the Conqueror attacked a largely unified country, and he did not have to fight a lengthy series of wars to conquer one kingdom after another. After the battle, William was crowned king, but soon there was rebellion throughout the land.⁶¹ The difference between Hastings and Brunanburh was that Brunanburh, a victory for the Anglo-Saxons, had united the insular kingdoms and expanded the realm, while Hastings, a defeat for the Anglo-Saxons, had made England merely a part of the Norman (and soon to be Angevin) empire. The Normans brought their own way of government, culture, literature, and ecclesiastical policies. According to Richard Huscroft, after 1066, the English Church had its personnel “decimated and its buildings destroyed.”⁶² The history of England was taken over by the Normans. They were in control of what was being documented, meaning that the perspective on English history was now a Norman rather than an Anglo-Saxon one. Therefore, much was recorded about the Battle of Hastings and William the Conqueror.

According to Stenton, “events were to show that he [William the Conqueror] had won one of the battles which at rare intervals have decided the fate of nations.”⁶³ Granted, this turned over a new leaf for England’s history, but it would take some time for the Normans to gain full control over the conquered land. Another reason why Brunanburh has been pushed into the shadow of Hastings is the *Bayeux Tapestry*.⁶⁴ This beautiful embroidered cloth depicts the events of the Norman Conquest and the Battle of Hastings. It is nearly 70 meters (230 feet) long and 50 centimeters (approximately 20 inches) high, and it is currently on display in a museum in Bayeux, Normandy (France). Not only does it record the events surrounding the Battle of Hasting, it also references eleventh-century culture and life. Commissioned shortly after the Norman Conquest, the *Bayeux Tapestry* was first mentioned in a 1476 inventory list for Bayeux

⁵⁹ Michael Livingston, “The Roads to Brunanburh,” in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 25.

⁶⁰ Livingston, “Roads to Brunanburh,” 25.

⁶¹ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 599-600.

⁶² Richard Huscroft, *Making England, 796-1042* (London: Routledge, 2019), 269-270.

⁶³ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 596.

⁶⁴ *The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Lucien Musset, trans. Richard Rex (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005).

Cathedral,⁶⁵ and historians began to take an interest in the *Bayeux Tapestry* when the artwork reemerged in the eighteenth century, as it connected Norman and English history. Due to its many detailed scenes, the *Bayeux Tapestry* is one of the most significant sources for the Battle of Hastings. In addition to the *Bayeux Tapestry*, there are numerous written accounts, recently compiled in Stephen Morillo's anthology *The Battle of Hastings* (1996),⁶⁶ among them William of Poitiers' *Gesta Willemi ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum* ("Deeds of William, Duke of the Normans and King of the English"),⁶⁷ William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* ("Deeds of the Dukes of the Normans"),⁶⁸ the ASC,⁶⁹ Florence of Worcester's *Chronicon ex Chronicis* ("Chronicle from Chronicles"),⁷⁰ and the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* ("Song about the Battle of Hastings").⁷¹ Various chroniclers in the twelfth century and beyond also wrote about Hastings, but they took much of their information from these contemporary accounts. The overall scholarly assessment of Hastings is that it is one of the most significant battles in English history. However, without the Battle of Brunanburh, Hastings could not have happened. A West Saxon defeat at Brunanburh would have meant that England would have most likely fallen into Danish hands. In reality, the West Saxon victory at Brunanburh preserved the mints, laws, government, and foreign relations that Aethelstan had established prior to the battle.

Returning to Brunanburh and its legacy, the twelfth-century chronicler Simeon of Durham relates that, after Brunanburh, Aethelstan was "terrible to his enemies on all sides, [but] he was peaceable to his own people. Afterwards he ended his days in peace, leaving the rule of his empire to his brother Edmund."⁷² After the victory at Brunanburh, there were apparently no more major conflicts as Anlaf Guthfrithson had been driven back to Dublin and Constantine back to the North, leaving Aethelstan as ruler over Northumbria and a now united

⁶⁵ *Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Musset, 14.

⁶⁶ *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Stephen Morillo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996).

⁶⁷ William of Poitiers, "Gesta Willemi ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum," in *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Stephen Morillo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), 3-17.

⁶⁸ William of Jumièges, "Gesta Normannorum Ducum," in *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Stephen Morillo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), 17-19.

⁶⁹ *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 194-201.

⁷⁰ Florence of Worcester, "Chronicon ex Chronicis," in *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Stephen Morillo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), 29-33.

⁷¹ "The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*," in *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Stephen Morillo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), 45-53.

⁷² Simeon of Durham, "Libellus de Exordio," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 55.

land.⁷³ Simeon clearly viewed Aethelstan's reign as mighty, otherwise he would have used the term "empire."

Rex Pius Aethelstan ("Pious King Aethelstan"), a poem written around the time of Brunanburh (roughly 937-939), was composed in response to Aethelstan's donation of a gospel book to Christ Church, Canterbury.⁷⁴ It gives praise to Aethelstan, stating that he is famous across the world and a glorious king whom God has put on earth to rule England.⁷⁵ The poem states that, "this king himself, strong in war, might conquer defiant kings, treading upon their arrogant necks."⁷⁶ This means that the people, even though they loved Aethelstan, saw him as fierce and highly respected. Opposite this poem in the manuscript is a preface to the gospel book. This preface states that Aethelstan was the guardian of all Britain.⁷⁷ Both the poem and the preface show the impact that Aethelstan, as well as his victory at Brunanburh, had on the English people of his time.

Another significant piece of evidence for the battle's impact can be found in a charter issued in 940, three years after the battle.⁷⁸ In this document, Aethelstan grants land in Eaton (near modern Derby) to a knight (or soldier) named Byrhtelm. Most land grants at that time pertained to the Church, so it is surprising to see a knight receiving a grant in this territory. Byrhtelm must have been a successful warrior at Brunanburh to be given this land and the responsibility of watching over it. The charter states:

The lands of eternal heredity and the privileges of perpetual prosperity, which Christ Jesus is already granting to the great designs of the deserving [people], must be distributed, wherefore Edelstan [i.e., Aethelstan], namely the king [*rex*] of Anglosaxonia and emperor [*imperator*] of Northumbria, ruler [*gubernator*] of the pagans and defender [*propugnator*] of the Britons, contributes with a generous hand the gains [i.e., conquests] to be enjoyed most generously, so that he can most definitely be lifted up by the government of the kingdoms. Therefore he now already enriches that knight Byrhtelm by giving him land, namely five pieces of land [*cassatos*] at the place which the locals call Eatun, for his faithful service and as his acceptable payment, so that he [i.e., Byrhtelm] may own it [i.e., the land] with all—that according to custom belong to it—meadows, pastures, fields, woods, and [with the right] to

⁷³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 108-109.

⁷⁴ "Rex Pius Aethelstan" [from London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.ii, ms. s. X, fol. 15r], in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 39; see *Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Livingston, 172-173.

⁷⁵ Several scholars, including Stenton, Kirby, Hill, and Foot, state that Aethelstan made quite the effort to secure a name for himself and his country on the continent of Europe. Aethelstan's father, Edward the Elder, had many daughters whom Aethelstan used to create marriage alliances and peace with other nations. Moreover, Aethelstan received an annual tribute from the Welsh; see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 340.

⁷⁶ "Rex Pius Aethelstan," in *Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. Livingston, 39.

⁷⁷ "Preface to Aethelstan's Gospel" [London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.ii, s. X, fol. 15v], in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 173.

⁷⁸ The date here seems to be inaccurate as Aethelstan died on October 27, 939.

leave it, after his death, to whichever heir he wants. And the aforesaid land shall be free except for the construction of those three arched bridges for the military campaign.⁷⁹

At the beginning of this charter, Aethelstan pays his respects to Jesus Christ. After this, he lists his titles. Among the ones that stand out are the labels “emperor of Northumbria” and “ruler of the pagans;” both show that Aethelstan’s victory at Brunanburh had a major impact on the territory of Northumbria because he is the one ruling the area now, including the (presumably heathen) Danes still living in the territory. The king’s title as the “defender of the Britons” underscores the impact that Brunanburh had on the people. This title makes clear that, at one point, the people had been at risk from an invading force, but now Aethelstan and his forces are there to defend them. The grant goes on to talk about Byrhtelm receiving land, stating that he owns all of it except for three bridges that are being constructed for a military campaign. This shows that King Aethelstan was preparing for a campaign, possibly to make troop mobility more efficient and to suppress any threats or invasions.

In sum, Brunanburh played a major role in shaping England into what it is today. The battle consolidated power into one figurehead, King Aethelstan, and unified the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia into (what would become) England. By controlling the entire island, Aethelstan was able to gain renown on the European continent, indicating that the emerging realm was ready to play politics on the continent. Brunanburh had a key impact not only on England’s history, but on the history of the world, for without England much of the world (for good or ill) would not be what it is today.

Conclusion

The Battle of Brunanburh was a decisive moment in history for it “made” England. Brunanburh saw different people from both Mercia and Wessex fighting for a common cause, namely to defend their land from invading forces. With the help of King Aethelstan and due to his great military prowess, Brunanburh was won and went down in history as the battle that defined and created England. Brunanburh, however, is not the only battle that created or unified a country. The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 “made” the country of Spain as it consolidated the reconquest of Spain by the Christians. Another battle that created a nation was the 1870 Battle of Sedan during the Franco-Prussian war: this battle unified the German states into one nation. Brunanburh, like the aforementioned battles, defined a country and is a significant event in world history. Future research on the battle of Brunanburh will likely continue to study the question of the battle’s actual location or what the countries on the European continent thought about the battle. Without Brunanburh and without

⁷⁹ “Grant by King Aethelstan to Byrhtelm, “miles” [i.e., knight, soldier], of land at Eatun, or Eaton, co. Derby, AD 850 for 940,” in *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. De Gray Birch, 2: 466-467. Translation (above) by Jochen Burgtorf.

King Aethelstan, England would have looked significantly different than what it is today, and this is why Brunanburh is arguably more important than the Battle of Hastings. Brunanburh shows that people can join together to fight for a common cause. In modern times, this may be opposite political parties joining together to help their nation's economy, food shortage, or the like. Brunanburh can be seen as a great example for different factions to come together if they want their community to survive.

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Zachary John Guillaume

*An Emperor's Journey with Trauma:
Basil II of Byzantium (b. 958, r. 976-1025)*

ABSTRACT: *This article evaluates the Byzantine emperor Basil II's (b. 958, r. 976-1025) experience following the Bulgarian ambush at Trajan's Gate in 986. On the basis of contemporary chronicles and manuals of strategy, as well as modern psychological research, the author draws parallels between eleventh-century evaluations of Basil's character and modern conceptions of psychological processes, evaluates the trauma Basil endured, and deciphers the potential long-term effects of that trauma. The apparent influence of trauma on Basil serves as an example of the positive effects of adversity on the overall functioning of an individual.*

KEYWORDS: *medieval history; tenth century; Byzantium; Basil II; Battle of Trajan's Gate (986); chronicles; military manuals; trauma; posttraumatic stress disorder; posttraumatic growth*

Introduction

The Byzantine emperor Basil II (b. 958, r. 976-1025) experienced a change of character during his late twenties.¹ This change is visible in the contrast between his early life and his actions later as an established emperor.² The eleventh-century chronicler Michael Psellus recognized this change of character, labeled it a "mind-change," and bolstered his claim by referring to Basil's contemporaries and their paralleling conclusions.³ Modern psychology offers explanations for similar processes of transformation, rooted in trauma's ability to both shatter and shape perspectives.⁴ When identifying Basil II's defeat at the Battle of Trajan's Gate (986) as traumatic—he was ambushed by Bulgarian forces under Samuel of the Cometopuli dynasty—the possibility arises that Basil experienced *posttraumatic growth*. This psychological phenomenon is characterized by the experience of trauma leading to the development of coping strategies that result in higher levels of functioning following the traumatic incident.⁵ By identifying

¹ On Basil II, see especially Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 519; Paul Magdalino, *Byzantium in the Year 1000, The Medieval Mediterranean 45* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 255-263; Catherine Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of the Empire (976-1025)*, *Oxford Studies in Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3-31.

² This contrast is also visible in the public image he put forward in his Psalter, his 996 Novel, the various wartime atrocities he committed, and the actions he chose not to pursue (such as marriage and the propagation of his family line). Treadgold, *History*, 524-525; Magdalino, *Byzantium*, x-xi, 263; Holmes, *Basil II*, 5-22.

³ Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. Edgar R. A. Sewter (London: Penguin Books, 1996; first published 1953, revised 1966), 29.

⁴ Stephen Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us: The New Psychology of Posttraumatic Growth* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 68.

⁵ As for Basil's experience with trauma, this article evaluates his ability to rule as an emperor, his effectiveness as a commander in the field, and his diplomatic maneuvers.

the mechanism of Basil's change, this article attempts to further illuminate the historical realities that shaped Basil II and his reign, granting a fuller picture of the emperor and his influence on the empire.

This study recognizes that a theoretical framework focusing on trauma gives little attention to other potential explanations of Basil's midlife transformation. Yet, while other psychological processes may have played a role in Basil's shift in character, this article rejects conventional explanations. First, the notion that Basil was simply growing into himself seems unlikely given his age of twenty-seven at the beginning of his proposed "mind-change." At twenty-seven, Basil would have been in or at least entering middle age (considering the life-expectancy of contemporary Byzantines). Secondly, suggesting that Michael Psellus's "mind-change" was exaggerated propaganda would fail to account for the stark contrast between the two lives Basil lived, namely a first one of courtly passivity and a second one that is a testament to will power. Finally, while other occurrences—both intrinsic and extrinsic—may have contributed to Basil's character shift, their potential existence does not detract from this article's central argument with regard to trauma's impact on the emperor. This is especially true when considering trauma's co-occurring nature; many who experience trauma also experience a multitude of interrelated and tangential symptoms. To the point, this article has two central topics: Basil and trauma. Given that Basil's reign is the longest in Byzantine history, the challenge of addressing every aspect of his life that potentially contributed to his "mind-change" belongs to a much longer biographical work. Despite the fact that this article does not explicitly address all facets of Basil's reign, the behaviors and actions discussed here are consistent and reflect larger modes of functioning throughout Basil's life.

Basil's fifty-year reign has received substantial scholarly attention, despite the limited historical record that addresses Basil's life. The works of just two medieval chroniclers, Michael Psellus and John Skylitzes, provide the bulk of the Greek evidence for Basil's reign.⁶ Neither chronicler was a true contemporary.⁷

Undeterred by such sparse evidence, historians from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century pieced together coherent narratives reconstructing Basil's reign and times. A common thread runs through these traditional narratives: the assessment of Basil's reign as the golden age, or apogee, of the Byzantine state.⁸ There is tangible evidence for such a conclusion: by the time

⁶ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter; John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*, trans. John Wortley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁷ Michael Psellus was still a child when Basil died in December 1025, and John Skylitzes composed his chronicle nearly a century after Basil's reign. Paul Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3; Holmes, *Basil II*, 29-35.

⁸ Gustave Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle, Seconde partie: Basile II le tueur de Bulgares* (Paris: Hachette & Compagnie, 1900), 603-636; George Ostrogorsky and Peter Charanis, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957-1958), 298-299, 315; Alexander Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*,

Basil died, Byzantium's borders were more extensive than they had been in centuries, the state's gold reserves were immense, and the landed elite had been checked into submission.⁹ The lauding of Basil's rule in these traditional narratives is an echo of the primary sources from which their authors worked, which celebrate the centralization of authority that took place under Basil.¹⁰

Historians publishing in the mid-to-late twentieth century produced studies that were more critical of Basil's reign. Their works highlight the subjectivity of Byzantine success by arguing against an overemphasis on political and military history.¹¹ Scholars now claimed that Basil's military expansion left the empire overextended, and that his Novel of 996 crippled Byzantium's elite power base.¹² One historian even questioned Basil's lack of foresight regarding the succession of his family's dynasty.¹³ Although scholars of this era were more critical of Basil than their predecessors, their works were still largely shaped by the rhetoric of the original Greek chroniclers who had written about Basil.¹⁴

Byzantinists publishing on Basil during the last three decades have taken the critical view of his reign to new extents, deconstructing the primary sources that address his life in terms of context, bias, and chronological fallacies. This study pays close attention to modern works produced in this vein of analysis as they utilize the traditional narratives but view them through a new analytical lens and often introduce archaeological evidence into the discussion. Paul Stephenson's *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (2003), Paul Magdalino's *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (2003), and Catherine Holmes's *Basil II and the Governance of the Empire (976-1025)* (2005) represent some of the key interpretations that deserve attention.¹⁵

Stephenson's study rejects the characterization of Basil as a conqueror by demonstrating that he spent less time campaigning in the Balkans than primary

Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), 303-330; Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1956; first published 1933), 48-49.

⁹ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 298. See Treadgold, *History*, 532.

¹⁰ Magdalino, *Byzantium*, x.

¹¹ Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), 256-260; Alexander Kazhdan, "Approaches to the History of Byzantine Civilization: From Krause to Beck and Mango," in *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* ed. Alexander Kazhdan and Simon Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1-22, here 1; Warren Treadgold, *Why Write a New History of Byzantium?* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, 1997), 3-22.

¹² Jonathan Shepard, "Byzantium Expanding, 944-1025," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick and Timothy Reuter, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 586-604; Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: A Political History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1997), 24-34.

¹³ Treadgold, *History*, 532-533.

¹⁴ Holmes, *Basil II*, 10-15.

¹⁵ Stephenson, *Legend*, xi-11; Magdalino, *Byzantium*, ix-xiv; Holmes, *Basil II*, v-14.

sources and past historians have suggested.¹⁶ Ultimately, Stephenson attempts to highlight Basil's glorification over time, culminating in his claim that Basil's epithet of "Bulgar-Slayer" came centuries after his death and largely reflects nineteenth-century Greek efforts toward nation building.¹⁷

Although Holmes's study agrees with Stephenson's on multiple levels—Basil's limited time in the Balkans and his glorification in past historiography—her work's main goal is to analyze the political, literary, and historical context that shaped the works of the medieval chroniclers who wrote about Basil.¹⁸ Holmes concludes that Basil's reign was not as harsh and repressive as once thought. This article's analysis of Basil's shifting character challenges Holmes's critical view of the "shifting sands of personality" and their role in history.¹⁹

Finally, Magdalino's work utilizes eschatology—a branch of theology that deals with the final events of mankind and the end of days—by examining apocalyptic trends in Byzantine literature and culture around the year 1000.²⁰ In his analysis, Magdalino speculates on the psychological state of Byzantine culture during the years of Basil's reign, suggesting that Basil's actions were influenced by his possible belief that the "End" was very near.²¹ While Magdalino's focus on eschatology differs from this article's emphasis on trauma, both studies agree on the importance of understanding the psychological state of historical subjects, especially when considering their motives.

By attempting to identify the mechanism and specific qualities of Basil's midlife transformation, this article is a continuation of the current historiographic pattern of primary-source deconstruction.²² It also attempts to fill a gap in the historiography by paying more attention to the Battle of Trajan's Gate (986) and its impact on Basil. At its core, this study aims to increase our understanding of Basil "the emperor" by producing a more accurate portrayal of Basil "the man" and the adversity that shaped him.

¹⁶ Paul Stephenson, "The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 24, no. 1 (2000): 102-132, here 102-104; Stephenson, *Legend*, 22. Stephenson claims that a liminal peace between Basil and Samuel, not mentioned in the historical record, lasted from 1005 until 1014.

¹⁷ Stephenson, *Legend*, 9.

¹⁸ Holmes, *Basil II*, 4-30.

¹⁹ Holmes, *Basil II*, 31-32.

²⁰ Prior to applying eschatology to Byzantium during the first Christian millennium, Magdalino establishes a historiography of precedential eschatological studies: Magdalino, *Byzantium*, 234. See also Mango, *Byzantium*, 211-212; Richard Landes, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern," *Speculum* 75, no. 1 (2003): 97-145.

²¹ Magdalino, *Byzantium*, 263-265.

²² Anthony Kaldellis, *The Argument of Psellos' Chronographia*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 68 (Leiden: Brill 1999), 22-24. Kaldellis's work is a comprehensive attempt to deconstruct *The Chronographia* and identify its philosophical merits.

In an effort to analyze Basil and his reign from a fresh perspective, this article adopts the methodological approach proposed by Donald Brown in his essay “Human Nature and History,” published in the journal *History and Theory* in 1999.²³ Brown addresses the crossroads between science and history, arguing for a symbiotic relationship between the two fields where their lines blur. Brown’s concept of “Human Nature” encompasses the complex theory of evolutionary psychology, which attempts to identify inherent motivators of human behavior that have shaped human existence. To Brown, attempting to evaluate the realities of history without taking into consideration the biological and psychological factors that explain their existence would be doing a disservice to the writing of an accurate history. Therefore, Brown’s theoretical perspective offers an additional lens that can be used to scrutinize the limited historical record of Basil’s reign, namely modern psychology.²⁴

In pursuit of this vein of historical investigation, this article employs a combination of diverse sources. The historical record for Basil’s life and reign has its basis in medieval Byzantine chronicles. The first of these is *The History of Leo the Deacon*, which offers contemporary insight into a specific aspect of Basil’s life, as Leo personally served Basil during the 986 campaign that saw the Battle of Trajan’s Gate.²⁵ Leo’s writing on Basil is, however, limited, as his history concludes soon after this eyewitness account. The second is Michael Psellus’s *Chronographia* which covers the reigns of fourteen Byzantine rulers from Basil II to Isaac I Comnenus (r. 1057-1059).²⁶ Although Michael Psellus’s life hardly overlapped with Basil’s—he lived from 1018 to 1096 and moved in Byzantium’s highest intellectual circles as a philosopher, historian, and, at one point, chief minister to the emperor—his use of earlier eyewitness testimonies bolsters the accuracy of his history.²⁷

The third chronicle utilized in this article is John Skylitzes’s *Synopsis of Byzantine History 811-1057*, composed during the reign of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (r. 1081-1118).²⁸ Even though John Skylitzes created his *Synopsis* well after Basil’s life, his work synthesizes multiple histories, many of which are no longer available, which adds to its value as one of the few surviving accounts from the period. It should be noted that although these chronicles—especially the latter two—represent the most complete Greek historical record surviving today,

²³ Donald E. Brown, “Human Nature and History,” *History and Theory* 38, no. 4 (December 1999): 138-157.

²⁴ Brown, “Human Nature and History,” 153.

²⁵ Leo the Deacon, *The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, trans. Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis F. Sullivan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2005), 214-215.

²⁶ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter.

²⁷ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 15.

²⁸ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley.

their chronologies consistently disagree with one another.²⁹ Beyond these chronological limitations, there is distinct personal bias in all three works. While Leo's writing is littered with astrological events that reveal his belief in the approach of the Apocalypse, Michael Psellus's and John Skylitzes's histories betray the courtly context in which they were composed.³⁰

In addition to these chronicles, an anonymously authored Byzantine manual of strategy—taking the form of military treatises dating to the tenth century—offers further insight.³¹ Specifically, "Skirmishing" translated by George T. Dennis, details skirmish style warfare techniques common in the tenth century.³² Its use aids in our understanding of the combat to which Basil was exposed.

The Byzantine Empire's internal state and external relations in the tenth and early eleventh century provide the temporal and political context for this study. Prior to Basil's rule, tenth-century Byzantium experienced considerable internal instability.³³ A brief overview detailing the dynastic equation leading to Basil's eventual position of power clarifies the political complexities of his early life.

Basil II was born in 958 to Emperor Romanus II and his wife Theophano. In 963, five years after Basil's birth, his father died of a mysterious illness.³⁴ That same year, the Byzantine general Nicephorus Phocas (r. 963-969) marched on Constantinople, took the throne, married Theophano, and ruled with Romanus II's sons (Basil II and Constantine VIII) as his co-emperors.³⁵ Six years later, in 969, an assassination squad led by the Byzantine general John Tzimiskes (r. 969-976) and harbored by Theophano slipped into the palace and murdered Nicephorus in his sleep.³⁶ In the aftermath of the assassination, Theophano was exiled and John Tzimiskes was proclaimed emperor, with Basil and Constantine as his co-emperors.³⁷ When John died of natural causes in 976, Basil and Constantine retained their status as co-emperors, now with their bastard eunuch great-uncle Basil Lecapenus³⁸ controlling the government through his position as chief minister.³⁹ In the same year of John Tzimiskes's death and Basil Lecapenus's rise to power—976—yet another Byzantine general, Bardas Sclerus,

²⁹ Holmes, *Basil II*, 7.

³⁰ Magdalino, *Byzantium*, x-xi.

³¹ George T. Dennis, trans., *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), 137.

³² Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, 140-141.

³³ Vasiliev, *History*, 300-351; Holmes, *Basil II*, 450.

³⁴ Treadgold, *History*, 498; Holmes, *Basil II*, 449-449.

³⁵ Treadgold, *History*, 499; Holmes, *Basil II*, 449.

³⁶ Treadgold, *History*, 505; Holmes, *Basil II*, 449.

³⁷ Treadgold, *History*, 506-507; Holmes, *Basil II*, 449.

³⁸ An illegitimate son of Romanus I Lecapenus (r. 920-944), castrated to subvert dynastic goals.

³⁹ Treadgold, *History*, 513; Holmes, *Basil II*, 450.

revolted with his sights set on the throne.⁴⁰ It took three years for Lecapenus to quell Sclerus's rebellion, which split the empire in half until 979.⁴¹ Lecapenus's hold over the Byzantine government lasted for seven more years after Sclerus's failed rebellion. Finally, in 986, at the age of twenty-seven, Basil II moved to consolidate his power through the removal of his uncle from office – eventually exiling him completely – and the launching of his first military campaign.⁴²

Rampant internal instability in the empire did not diminish the importance of foreign relations throughout this period. The sheer size of the empire, coupled with its central location in and around Asia Minor, impacted Byzantium's relationship with its neighbors. Two geographic and diplomatic neighbors deserve attention here. First, there is Bulgaria and its Balkan mountain range, where Basil was originally ambushed and would later spend the majority of his military campaigns.⁴³ Consequently, Bulgaria's ruler, Samuel of the Cometopuli dynasty, is of considerable relevance. Secondly, there is the Kievan Rus' and its ruler Vladimir. Through the strategic marriage of Basil's sister Anna Porphyrogenita to Vladimir in 988, Basil expanded his political and social support network after the 986 ambush at Trajan's Gate.⁴⁴ Due to internal conflict between Muslim rulers, Basil saw relatively little hostility from the East.⁴⁵ This lack of political and military pressure from the East influenced Basil to focus on other matters.⁴⁶

I. An Imperial "Mind-Change"

This study is not the first to examine Basil's midlife transformation.⁴⁷ The latter has been a topic of conversation among historians for a thousand years.⁴⁸ In his *Chronographia*, the eleventh-century chronicler Michael Psellus draws attention to this profound character shift early on in his discussion of Basil's reign:

[I]f I am to believe the historians of that period who wrote about him, he was not at all like that when his reign began. A change took place in his character after he acceded to the throne, and instead of leading his former dissolute, voluptuous sort of life, he became a man of great energy. The complete metamorphosis was brought about by the pressure of events.

⁴⁰ Treadgold, *History*, 514-515; Holmes, *Basil II*, 450.

⁴¹ Treadgold, *History*, 515; Holmes, *Basil II*, 450-451.

⁴² Treadgold, *History*, 517; Holmes, *Basil II*, 458.

⁴³ Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; first published 2000), 47-80.

⁴⁴ Magdalino, *Byzantium*, 3-12; Holmes, *Basil II*, 460; Stephenson, *Legend*, 33.

⁴⁵ Stephenson, *Legend*, 32.

⁴⁶ Stephenson, *Legend*, 33.

⁴⁷ Holmes, *Basil II*, 6-7.

⁴⁸ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 28-29.

His character stiffened, so to speak. Feebleness gave way to strength and the old slackness disappeared before a new fixity of purpose.⁴⁹

Although Psellus's evaluation of Basil's "metamorphosis" (the Greek original actually uses variants of the verb μεταβάλλω, i.e., "to change [one's mind]") is highly detailed, his explanation as to why the transformation occurred is not. Despite pointing to a culminating "pressure of events," Psellus fails to convey the specifics of the "pressure" and the "events" that led to it.⁵⁰ Although most Byzantine emperors experienced pressures related to ruling, few—if any—were granted historical assessments describing a complete transformation.⁵¹

So, what was Psellus attempting to describe? With the intent of answering this question, and in line with Brown's methodology, this investigation now turns to psychological research for clarification.

Clinical psychologist Stephen Joseph has focused much of his work on tracking the transformations individuals are capable of following adversity, and the pressures that accompany them.⁵² In *What Doesn't Kill Us: The New Psychology of Posttraumatic Growth* (2011), Joseph challenges contemporary expectations regarding trauma's debilitating potential. He argues that some individuals can eventually harness the change wrought by trauma's perspective-shattering effects.⁵³ A comparison of Joseph's description of this process of transformation with Psellus's proposed "mind-change" reveals strong parallels:

There is a group of people who [...] grow following adversity. They remain emotionally affected, but their sense of self, views on life, priorities, goals for the future, and their behaviors have been reconfigured in positive ways in light of the experience. It is to these changes that the term *posttraumatic growth* refers.⁵⁴

As Basil's "character stiffened," his sense of self reoriented. In deciding to leave his "former dissolute, voluptuous sort of life" behind, Basil's life views and priorities progressed. In discovering "a new fixity of purpose," Basil ultimately set new, long-term goals for the future which were more compatible with his new perspective on life. Psellus's and Joseph's works find agreement on the relationship between adversity and the potential for growth.

Before further discussing the potential psychological mechanism of Basil's transformation, the "mind-change" ascribed to him by Psellus deserves more

⁴⁹ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 29. For the Greek text, see *The History of Psellus*, ed. Constantine Sathas (London: Methuen & Co., 1899), 3 (book 1, chapter 4). In the New Testament (Acts 28:6), the form μεταβαλόμενοι is used in the sense of "having changed their minds." Michael Psellus would have been familiar with this reference and the term's Biblical usage.

⁵⁰ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 29.

⁵¹ Justinian I's experience during the Nika Revolt (532) and its immediate aftermath deserves its own investigation into potential trauma. See Treadgold, *History*, 181-182.

⁵² Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, xi.

⁵³ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 99.

⁵⁴ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 68. Italics added.

attention.⁵⁵ Juxtaposing some of the ultimate successes tied to Basil's reign—seen in the discussion of his historiography—against an examination of his early life grants a fuller picture of his transformation.

II. Basil's Changes

From the age of five to the age of eighteen, Basil existed as a mere symbol of dynastic continuity, serving as co-emperor to two usurping Byzantine generals.⁵⁶ For nearly a decade and a half, neither usurper saw the need to remove young Basil from the dynastic equation, which casts doubt on Basil exhibiting any strong aspirations toward rule during this time.⁵⁷ In 976, the second usurping general died, leaving the title of emperor to Basil and his younger brother Constantine.⁵⁸ Despite being at an age at which several previous emperors had taken the reins of rule—namely eighteen—Basil continued to exhibit a lack of ambition.⁵⁹ Rather than seizing the opportunity to rule unimpeded, Basil allowed the government to be controlled by the grand chamberlain Basil Lecapenus.⁶⁰

The medieval chronicler John Skylitzes offers a commentary on the beginning of Basil's rule in his *Synopsis of Byzantine History*. Skylitzes paints a harsh picture:

But they [Basil and Constantine] only became emperors in appearance and name, for the administration of the affairs of the state was undertaken by Basil [Lecapenus] the president on account of the youth of the emperors, their immaturity and their as yet developed aptitude. As soon as the right to rule had passed to the sons of Romanus [II], [the president] sent messengers speeding to bring their mother back from exile and into the palace.⁶¹

Skylitzes reveals that, beyond immaturity and the absence of aptitude, Basil had failed to save his mother from the fate of exile, despite his title of emperor. Instead, Theophano's return to Constantinople had been motivated by the grand chamberlain's strategy of projecting dynastic continuity. Basil Lecapenus had dominated Byzantine government for a decade following his rise to the position of chief minister in 976.⁶² Ten years later, in 986, at the age of twenty-seven, Basil removed his great-uncle Basil Lecapenus from office, took control of the government, and launched his first military campaign.⁶³

⁵⁵ While Michael Psellus addresses other instances of character change in his work, he does not equate them to transformations. Kaldellis, *Argument of Psellos' Chronographia*, 23-24.

⁵⁶ Holmes, *Basil II*, 3.

⁵⁷ There is evidence of Basil at least observing the mechanisms of government during his stint as co-emperor to Nicephorus II Phocas. Henry Mayr-Harting, "Liutprand of Cremona's Account of his Legation to Constantinople (968) and Ottonian Imperial Strategy," *The English Historical Review* 116, no. 467 (2001): 539-556, here 539-540.

⁵⁸ Treadgold, *History*, 513; Holmes, *Basil II*, 450.

⁵⁹ Treadgold, *History*, 513-514.

⁶⁰ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 27-28. See Holmes, *Basil II*, 469.

⁶¹ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 298.

⁶² Treadgold, *History*, 513-514; Holmes, *Basil II*, 457.

⁶³ Treadgold, *History*, 517; Holmes, *Basil II*, 458.

This break in courtly passivity pre-dating Basil's traumatic ambush could potentially be confused as the beginning of his "mind-change." Here it is key to acknowledge that the sudden performance of a few new actions is not synonymous with a complete shift in character. This is especially true in the case of Basil's first attempts at power consolidation, which were encouraged by rumors of a palace coup orchestrated by Basil Lecapenus.⁶⁴ The manner in which Basil pursued this new course of action is hardly representative of his later modes of functioning as an established emperor. A primary example of this is that Basil Lecapenus's removal from power did not include the violent reprisal Basil consistently turned to later in life in the face of perceived betrayal.

Discussion of Basil's existence as a passive background figure after his father's death focuses more on what Basil *was not* than what he *was*. Predicting that his immaturity and underdeveloped aptitude would eventually give way to a reign unparalleled by any previous Byzantine ruler in terms of longevity, territorial consolidation, wealth accumulation, and centralization of authority would have been nearly impossible.⁶⁵ Basil's hollow title and façade status early in life raises the question: How did he spend his time between the ages of five and twenty-seven? A return to Psellus's character commentary illuminates Basil's early lifestyle. The *Chronographia* reports:

In his early days he used to feast quite openly and frequently indulged in the pleasures of love; his main concern was with his banqueting and a life spent in the gay, indolent atmosphere of the court. The combination of youth and unlimited power gave him opportunities for self-indulgence, and he enjoyed them to the full.⁶⁶

The Basil whom Psellus goes on to characterize in his later years is almost unrecognizable from this pleasure-loving, free-spirited, court-residing youth.⁶⁷

Basil replaced his fondness for courtly life with a soldier's life, as he lived amongst his troops during the many military campaigns he waged.⁶⁸ The bachelor side of Basil, who had once been involved in multiple love affairs, also vanished. He never took a wife or produced an heir, despite social and cultural pressures to do so.⁶⁹ According to Psellus, Basil's personality was eventually stripped of all "self-indulgence," to the extent that Basil not only disdained ornamental jewelry but even refused to shroud himself in imperial purple cloaks, choosing instead to wear drab clothing.⁷⁰ While the full spectrum of Basil's transformation may be lost to history, the contrast between his two lifestyles demonstrates the extent of his "mind-change."

⁶⁴ Holmes, *Basil II*, 457.

⁶⁵ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 298. See Treadgold, *History*, 532.

⁶⁶ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 29.

⁶⁷ Treadgold, *History*, 513.

⁶⁸ Stephenson, *Legend*, 15-20; Treadgold, *History*, 515-520.

⁶⁹ Treadgold, *History*, 532-533; Magdalino, *Byzantium*, 263.

⁷⁰ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 39.

III. Basil's Ambush: Confronting Mortality

In 986, at the age of twenty-seven, Basil was not yet the cautious conqueror he would eventually become.⁷¹ If trauma is indeed the catalyst for his eventual shift in character, the question must be addressed: What happened to Basil? A return to the historical record unearths an isolated traumatic incident. On the homeward march from his first campaign, Basil suffered the first, last, and only ambush of his long reign at the 986 Battle of Trajan's Gate (in Bulgaria).⁷²

This ambush took place just months after Basil had exiled Lecapenus. With Lecapenus gone, Basil sought to validate his position of authority through control of the military.⁷³ He set his sights on the rebellious and recently expanding Bulgarians, led by Samuel of the Cometopuli dynasty. This campaign ended in tragic failure due to Basil's secretive planning that excluded his most effective military commanders, his use of inexperienced Western regiments when battle-tested Eastern troops were available, and his mismanagement of supplies during the campaign.⁷⁴ These factors provide further support for the argument that his sudden attempt at power consolidation was not his eventual dramatic shift in character, as he bypassed multiple campaign behaviors and habits that would later define both him and his successes.

When returning to Byzantium following this poorly managed expedition, Samuel and his Bulgarian forces caught up with Basil and his army in the Balkan mountain pass of Trajan's Gate. *The History of Leo the Deacon* includes an valuable eyewitness account of the event. Further bolstering the potency of Leo's testimony is his status as Basil's attendant:⁷⁵

Here the Mysians⁷⁶ attacked the Romans, killing huge numbers of the men and seizing the imperial headquarters and riches, and plundering all the army's baggage. I myself, who tell this sad tale, was present at that time, to my misfortune, attending the emperor and performing the service of deacon. And my steps had well-nigh slipped and I would have fallen victim to a Scythian sword [...]. The remains of the army, going through [nearly] impassable mountains, barely escaped the Mysian attack, losing almost all their horses and the baggage.⁷⁷

Not only does Leo describe a devastating defeat—characterized by the slaughter of “huge numbers” of soldiers and a humiliating loss of imperial regalia—he also reveals that he almost fell victim to the ambush himself while attending Basil.⁷⁸

⁷¹ Treadgold, *History*, 532.

⁷² Treadgold, *History*, 517; Holmes, *Basil II*, 492.

⁷³ Stephenson, *Legend*, 14-15.

⁷⁴ Treadgold, *History*, 517; Holmes, *Basil II*, 424-427.

⁷⁵ Leo the Deacon, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, 214.

⁷⁶ “Mysians” refers to Bulgarians and the space they occupied at the time of Leo's writing.

⁷⁷ Leo the Deacon, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, 214-215.

⁷⁸ There is a potential relationship between Basil's loss of imperial status symbols and his eventual rejection of imperial regalia.

In combination, Leo's claims of attending the emperor and being only a few steps away from death reveal, to an extent, Basil's own proximity to the ambush. Basil's exposure to the ambush is further corroborated by Leo's assertion that Basil's headquarters, which often served as living quarters during campaigns, also fell victim to the Bulgarian ambush.⁷⁹

Primary-source evidence addressing the ambush at Trajan's Gate is sparse. John Skylitzes's *Synopsis* offers further detail. While Leo's work attributes Basil's retreat to the complete mismanagement of the campaign and to a general sense of strategic inexperience, Skylitzes suggests that rumors of betrayal spurred the withdrawal.⁸⁰ After detailing the night-shrouded encounter where Basil was told of possible intrigue, Skylitzes discusses the ambush:

The emperor was frightened [...] and signaled immediately for camp to be struck. Now Samuel suspected that their disorderly withdrawal was a retreat (as well he might), so he attacked in full force with yelling and shouting, thoroughly scared the Romans and forced them to run for their lives. He captured the camp and took possession of all their baggage, even the emperor's tent and the imperial insignia. The emperor was just only able to get through the passes and find safety in Philippoupolis.⁸¹

Whereas Leo took center stage in his own account, Skylitzes's assessment grants more insight into Basil's reality during the ambush. Not only does Skylitzes reference the emperor's mental state, he also confirms what could only be inferred from Leo's testimony: Basil was both present during the attack and nearly became one of its casualties. The historical record is consistent on three counts: the ambush resulted in heavy Byzantine casualties, there were material losses, yet Basil escaped physical harm. However, not all wounds are physical.

Today, military researchers utilize animal models that attempt to isolate and identify variables of trauma related to combat exposure in a lab setting.⁸² By analyzing the Battle of Trajan's Gate in accordance with the conclusions drawn from animal models, the trauma Basil experienced can be better understood. The use of these models is justified beyond the reasoning that military historians can and should use the same studies the actual military employs. Coalescing animal

⁷⁹ Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, 259-263. See Michael J. Decker, *The Byzantine Art of War* (Yardley: Westholme Publishing, 2013), 48.

⁸⁰ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 313. See Holmes, *Basil II*, 224-227.

⁸¹ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 314.

⁸² Rianne Stam, "PTSD and Stress Sensitisation: A Tale of Brain and Body Part 2: Animal Models," *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 31, no. 4 (2008): 558-584, here 561; Hagit Cohen, Nitsan Kozlovsky, Cramer Alona, Michael A. Matar, and Zohar Joseph, "Animal Model for PTSD: From Clinical Concept to Translational Research," *Neuropharmacology* 62, no. 2 (2012): 715-724, here 715-716; Nikolas Daskalakis and Rachel Yehuda, "Principles for Developing Animal Models of Military PTSD," *European Journal of Psychotraumatology* 5, no. 23825 (August 2014): 1-8, here 2; Phillip R. Zoladz, Colin R. Park, Monika Fleshner, and David M. Diamond, "Psychosocial Predator-Based Animal Model of PTSD Produces Physiological and Behavioral Sequelae and a Traumatic Memory Four Months Following Stress Onset," *Physiology and Behavior* 147 (2015): 183-192, here 184.

models and a deconstructive approach to primary sources is congruent with this article's theoretical anchor of evolutionary psychology, where human development is echoed in other species. Furthermore, the limitations of animal models relating to trauma parallel the limitations of historical case studies of trauma: direct insight into the subjects' mental processing and dreams are unobtainable. Just as researchers using animal models look to patterns of behavior in their subjects, so too do historians dealing with trauma.

The application of these animal models reveals that Basil was exposed to at least three types of traumatic stimuli during the ambush: *predator stress*—which relates to a hostile entity threatening one's life, *social defeat stress*—where the psychological impacts of defeat are compounded by the negative social ramifications that follow it, and *witnessed social defeat stress*—which refers to the vicarious psychological impacts of watching a friend or ally endure trauma.⁸³

Basil's presence at the ambush—witnessing the massacre of his soldiers—may have been just as psychologically influential as the experience of physically fighting during the ambush.⁸⁴ Although neither medieval chronicler cited previously commented on Basil's role during the battle, his presence alone dictates his exposure to traumatic stimuli. Moreover, while Basil witnessed physical defeat, his defeat, too, was witnessed. Instead of his first campaign serving as the desired status-solidifying endeavor, it resulted in failure witnessed by his contemporaries (namely both the Byzantines and their enemies).⁸⁵

Beyond animal models, a more comprehensive understanding of the experience of the Battle of Trajan's Gate is gained through an examination of Byzantine military manuals. Specifically, the text on "Skirmishing," produced by a high-ranking military commander who attributes his military education to Bardas Phocas, proves useful in further understanding tenth-century mountain pass ambushes.⁸⁶ Although its author references the struggle between Byzantium and its Eastern Muslim neighbors, he insists that his work is applicable in both the East and the West, qualifying this assertion with personal experience in both

⁸³ Stam, "PTSD and Stress Sensitisation," 561-562; Daskalakis and Yehuda, "Principles for Developing Animal Models of Military PTSD," 5-6; Zoladz (et al.), "Psychosocial Predator-based Animal Model," 184.

⁸⁴ Leo the Deacon, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, 214-215. See Albert Bandura, Dorothea Ross, and Sheila Ross, "Vicarious Reinforcement and Imitative Learning," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67, no. 6 (1963): 601-607; Michael Christopher, "A Broader View of Trauma: A Biopsychosocial Evolutionary View of the Role of the Traumatic Stress Response in the Emergence of Pathology and/or Growth," *Clinical Psychology Review* 24, no.1 (December 2003): 75-98, here 75-76.

⁸⁵ Holmes, *Basil II*, 458; Stephenson, *Legend*, 15-16; Nicholas A. Troop, and Syd Hiskey, "Social Defeat and PTSD Symptoms Following Trauma," *British Journal of Clinical Psychology* 52, no. 4 (2013): 365-379, here 65-368.

⁸⁶ Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, 139, 147.

theaters.⁸⁷ The geography agrees.⁸⁸ In detailing the intricacies of mountain pass ambushes, the manual's author asserts that, when properly conducted, ambushes are intended to be traumatizing: they aim to instill a lasting state of fear and terror in the survivors, with the intent of deterring future incursions.⁸⁹

In sum, Basil's first campaign ended in failure. His first homebound march ended in ambush. He personally witnessed the slaughter of many of his troops, along with the theft of his army's baggage, his headquarters, and his imperial insignia. He narrowly escaped, but it is doubtful he would forget these events.

IV. What Is a "Mind-Change?" Understanding Trauma

The psychological impacts of war on combatants have been documented for centuries.⁹⁰ The social recognition of combat trauma follows an ominous pattern: after major military conflicts, societies often introduce differing contemporary diagnoses for the many veterans who suffer from non-physical wounds.⁹¹ In deciphering this trend, "military history suggests that these disorders, which coexist in the civilian population, reflect popular health fears and emerged in gaps left by the advance of medicine."⁹² Each society that has conceptually confronted trauma has done so through its own lens and with its own medical language. Today's cultural recognition of trauma is known as *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder* (PTSD).⁹³ PTSD was introduced into the American Psychiatric Association's third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM) in 1980 following the United States' withdrawal from a bloody conflict in Vietnam.⁹⁴ The DSM's most recent edition defines PTSD's symptoms as re-experiencing phenomena, avoidance behaviors, and over-arousal symptoms, all of which are experienced to an extreme.⁹⁵

While these diagnostic criteria prove useful in identifying some of the debilitating effects of trauma, they are not without flaws. Despite being

⁸⁷ Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, 140, 149.

⁸⁸ Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, 138. The Taurus mountain range that separated Byzantium from its eastern and southern neighbors was the equivalent of the rugged Balkan mountain range that separated Byzantium from western neighbors like Bulgaria.

⁸⁹ Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, 209-211.

⁹⁰ Edgar Jones, "Historical Approaches to Post-combat Disorders," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 361, no. 1468 (2006): 533-542, here 533.

⁹¹ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 28-31.

⁹² Edgar Jones and Wessely Simon, *Shell Shock to PTSD: Military Psychiatry from 1900 to the Gulf War* (Hove, East Sussex, and New York: Psychology Press/Taylor and Francis, 2005), 113-114; Jones, "Historical Approaches," 533.

⁹³ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 23, 32; *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5* (Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Pub., 2013), 271.

⁹⁴ Ronald J. Glasser, *Broken Bodies, Shattered Minds: A Medical Odyssey from Vietnam to Afghanistan* (Palisades: History Publishing Company, 2011), 110.

⁹⁵ *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*, 271.

contemporary Western culture's standard for psychological health practices, the DSM's cultural limitations have been thoroughly scrutinized.⁹⁶ Diagnoses do not escape the bias of the cultures that produce them.

Historians identifying past conceptions of trauma make room for cultural variability in their interpretations of symptoms. Scholars working with Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets, dating back to 3200 BCE, conceptually link the haunting actions of "roaming ghosts" to the flashbacks and psychosomatic qualities of PTSD recognized today.⁹⁷ Combat trauma's existence is also visible in the Greek historian Herodotus's description of the Athenian soldier Epizelus and his sudden blindness after witnessing a "phantom" at the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE.⁹⁸ Past conceptions of trauma are imbedded in literary works, too.⁹⁹ Historian Jonathan Shay's work parallel the soldiers in Homer's *Iliad* with Vietnam War veterans suffering from PTSD.¹⁰⁰ Scholars studying the Hebrew Bible and early Christianity point to traumatic incidents that served to unite and galvanize people groups and their belief systems.¹⁰¹ Just one century ago, during WWI, combat's psychological impacts were linked to exploding artillery shells—"shell shock."¹⁰² While humanity's understanding of trauma continues to morph and evolve, its historical existence is consistent.¹⁰³

Today, culture continues to change how trauma is interpreted.¹⁰⁴ New developments in the sub-field of positive psychology have resulted in conclusions that challenge the notion of trauma as an entirely adverse

⁹⁶ Gary Greenberg, "The Trouble with the DSM," *Popular Science*, May 7, 2013, accessed May 14, 2019.

⁹⁷ Walid Khalid Abdul-Hanid and Jamie Hacker Hughes, "Nothing New under the Sun: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in the Ancient World," *Early Science and Medicine* 19 (2014): 549-557, here 550-551.

⁹⁸ Yulia Ustinova and Etzel Cardena, "Combat Stress Disorders and Their Treatment in Ancient Greece," *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice and Policy* 6, no. 6 (2014): 739-748, here 746.

⁹⁹ Richard Warshak, "Batman's Traumatic Origins," *The Atlantic*, May 6, 2014, accessed May 14, 2019.

¹⁰⁰ Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 5-10.

¹⁰¹ Aiton Birnbaum, "Collective Trauma and Post-traumatic Symptoms in the Biblical Narrative of Ancient Israel," *Mental Health, Religion, and Culture* 11, no. 5 (May 2008): 533-546; David Carr, *Holy Resilience: The Bible's Traumatic Origins* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Elizabeth Boase and Christopher G. Frechette, eds., *Bible through the Lens of Trauma* (Williston, VT: Society of Biblical Literature Press, 2016).

¹⁰² Glasser, *Broken Bodies, Shattered Minds*, 110-112.

¹⁰³ Chris Cantor, *Evolution and Posttraumatic Stress: Disorders of Vigilance and Defense* (Hove, East Sussex: Brunner-Routledge, 2005), 2-5.

¹⁰⁴ Carolyn Smith-Morris, "The Cultural Context of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," *Philosophy, Psychiatry and Psychology* 16, no. 3 (2009): 235-236, here 235.

phenomenon.¹⁰⁵ Clinical research produced in this vein argues that trauma can actually result in higher levels of overall psychological well-being.¹⁰⁶ The relationship between trauma and personal development is so intertwined that psychologists conclude that levels of increased functioning correlate directly to the degree of trauma to which an individual is exposed.¹⁰⁷ Research argues that symptoms of *PTSD*—such as intrusive re-experiencing phenomena and avoidance behavior—reflect the psychological process of “working through” an adverse event, and can eventually result in a healthier understanding of the event and how that event affects one’s perception of the world.¹⁰⁸ Thus *PTSD* is now argued to be a potential engine of *posttraumatic growth*.¹⁰⁹

Culture’s role goes beyond its shaping of trauma diagnoses. It also greatly affects each individual’s experience and perception of trauma.¹¹⁰ Military historians have substantiated the variability of cultural views regarding violence, courage, and warfare.¹¹¹ Thus, Basil’s experience of trauma cannot be fully understood without accounting for his culture. In attempting to do so, this study focuses on Basil’s social status as emperor, which was inherently attached to his relationship with religion, and personally tied to beliefs of authority derived from military success.¹¹²

The context of Basil’s ambush illuminates the influence of his cultural status as emperor on his experience of trauma. The Battle of Trajan’s Gate punctuated Basil’s first attempt to cement his status. While military might was an avenue to authority, military defeat could be damning. Contemporary poetry reveals cultural concern regarding Basil’s reign at this time.¹¹³ Basil’s defeat at Trajan’s

¹⁰⁵ Joseph, *What Doesn’t Kill Us*, 73; Christopher, “Broader View of Trauma,” 76.

¹⁰⁶ Stephen Joseph, David Murphy, and Stephen Regel, “An Affective-Cognitive Processing Model of Post-Traumatic Growth,” *Clinical Psychology & Psychotherapy* 19, no. 4 (2012): 316-325, here 316-317.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph, *What Doesn’t Kill Us*, 69; Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, “Affective-Cognitive Processing Model,” 316.

¹⁰⁸ Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, “Affective-Cognitive Processing Model,” 318-319.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph, *What Doesn’t Kill Us*, 85; Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, “Affective-Cognitive Processing Model,” 315, 319.

¹¹⁰ Smith-Morris, “Cultural Context of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder,” 230.

¹¹¹ Inga Clendinnen, “The Cost of Courage in Aztec Society,” *Past & Present* 107, no. 1 (May 1985): 44-89; John Keegan and Richard Holmes, *Soldiers: A History of Men in Battle* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1986); Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Randall Collins, *Violence: A Micro-sociological Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Dave Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*, 3rd ed. (New York: Little, Brown, & Co., 2009), 5.

¹¹² See Basil’s epitaph for the clearest evidence of this three-part relationship. Stephenson, *Legend*, 49.

¹¹³ Marc Lauxtermann, “John Geonetes: Poet and Soldier,” *Byzantion* 68, no. 2 (1998): 356-380; Magdalino, *Byzantium*, 234-235; Holmes, *Basil II*, 60-61.

Gate—complete with the loss of his imperial insignia—threatened more than his life: it jeopardized his very dynastic purpose.¹¹⁴

V. Avoidance Behavior and Over-Arousal

The psychological impact of Basil's experience at the Battle of Trajan's gate cannot be assessed with absolute certainty. However, some of his actions and tendencies later in life echo today's criteria for *PTSD*.¹¹⁵ In terms of limitations, self-reported aspects of combat trauma, such as night terrors or vivid flashbacks, elude us here.¹¹⁶ In an effort to promote accuracy, this study focuses on broader aspects of Basil's behavior that he likely presented on more than one occasion.

The caution with which Basil approached his military endeavors is revealing. No sweeping victories or brilliant tactics are attached to his military credentials.¹¹⁷ Instead, his campaign style was characterized by a patient cautiousness, manifesting itself in slow and steady military movements that disregarded traditional temporal constraints.¹¹⁸ Basil's caution also extended to his military commanders whom he kept on short leashes.¹¹⁹ Even though Basil lived amongst his men during arduous forays into hostile territory, he preferred to keep his distance once combat actually ensued, dictating troop movements from afar.¹²⁰ While Basil did not explicitly avoid activities related to his original ambush, the hypervigilance he practiced did spare him from any other ambush—despite campaigning for years in unfamiliar mountain territory.

Further insight into Basil's avoidance behavior—taking the form of hypervigilance—is found in Michael Psellus's *Chronographia*.¹²¹ Psellus articulates that Basil's symptoms played a role in his interaction with others:

The careful inspections he made before battle used to aggravate the soldiers and they abused him openly, but the emperor met their scorn with common sense. He would listen quietly, and then with a gay smile point out that if he neglected these precautions, their battles would go on forever.¹²²

Psellus reveals the monotony produced by Basil's meticulous inspections which were so drawn out that they aggravated soldiers to the point of verbally abusing their commander. The scrupulous nature of these inspections demonstrates the extent of Basil's hypervigilance. The fact that Basil performed these inspections

¹¹⁴ Holmes, *Basil II*, 287.

¹¹⁵ Stephen Regel and Stephen Joseph, *Post-Traumatic Stress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3.

¹¹⁶ Regel and Joseph, *Post-Traumatic Stress*, 5-7.

¹¹⁷ Treadgold, *History*, 532.

¹¹⁸ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 45-46.

¹¹⁹ Treadgold, *History*, 532-533.

¹²⁰ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 46.

¹²¹ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 11, 30, 37.

¹²² Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 47.

himself, as well as his prediction of perpetual war should he fail to do so, is of dual importance. He seemingly believed that victory was dependent on *his* scrutiny; at the same time, he hoped to avoid future battles through this very same scrutiny.

Even more visible in the historical record than Basil's avoidance and hypervigilance is his tendency toward over-arousal. In the face of betrayal, Basil consistently responded with calculated viciousness and public displays of brutality.¹²³ The various impalings, crucifixions, beheadings, and blindings he performed served as a type of propaganda, promoting his authority through the rhetoric of fear.¹²⁴ While brutality was not Basil's preferred means of foreign policy, such acts occurred with enough regularity for John Skylitzes to structure his history around the theme of Basil's retribution,¹²⁵ and Michael Psellus's character commentaries further illuminate this side of Basil:

Outburst of wrath he controlled, and like the proverbial 'fire under the ashes' kept anger hidden in his heart, but, if his orders were disobeyed in war [...] [t]errible then was the vengeance he took on the miscreant.¹²⁶

While Basil was, in large part, in control of his emotions, instances of military vulnerability resulted in outpourings of rage. Basil was seen in his most aroused state when his authority, either through disobedience or perceived betrayal, was challenged. These instances of vulnerability parallel the jeopardy Basil's reign experienced following his ambush at Trajan's Gate.¹²⁷

A defining example of Basil's hyperarousal—taking the form of brutal retribution—took place later in his life, near the age of fifty-six. Following years of bitter campaigning in Bulgaria, Basil and his forces engaged Samuel and his barricaded army at the Balkan mountain pass of Clidium in the summer of 1014.¹²⁸ While Basil attacked Samuel's fortified position, a Byzantine commander under him performed a flanking maneuver that resulted in a Bulgarian defeat complete with fifteen thousand prisoners and a slew of casualties.¹²⁹ Following this victory, Basil sent the duke of Thessalonica, Theophylact Botaneiates, to disrupt and burn the fortifications left behind by the Bulgarian rout, as Basil's campaign moved forward.¹³⁰

While performing their duties, Botaneiates and his forces were ambushed and slaughtered by a Bulgarian army.¹³¹ Enraged by the news and intent on revenge,

¹²³ Stephenson, *Legend*, 33; Holmes, *Basil II*, 5.

¹²⁴ Holmes, *Basil II*, 5.

¹²⁵ Holmes, *Basil II*, 106-107.

¹²⁶ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 47.

¹²⁷ Holmes, *Basil II*, 287.

¹²⁸ Treadgold, *History*, 520-526.

¹²⁹ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 331. See Treadgold, *History*, 526.

¹³⁰ Treadgold, *History*, 526.

¹³¹ Treadgold, *History*, 526.

Basil had nearly all of his fifteen thousand Bulgarian prisoners blinded, leaving one in every hundred with sight in one eye to serve as a guide to lead his maimed comrades back to Samuel.¹³² Here, Basil's over-arousal, triggered by yet another Bulgarian mountain pass ambush, contributed to an act of calculated and extreme brutality, leading to his eventual epithet, "the Bulgar Slayer."¹³³ Although some of Basil's behavioral tendencies show trauma-related cues, the successes attached to his reign indicate his ability to function effectively as an emperor.

VI. Basil's Growth

"What does not kill me makes me stronger."¹³⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche's dictum resonates with the psychological concept of *posttraumatic growth*. Adversity can lead to learning. Humanity often finds meaning in tribulation. The experience of trauma can be devastating. Working to understand that trauma and its impacts can lead to new insight and ways of functioning. This is *posttraumatic growth* in its rawest conceptual form.

Posttraumatic growth is a broad psychological construct, and the understanding of its intricacies remains a developing field. Its literature thus far focuses on three main aspects of development: changes in perception of self; changes in relationships with others; and changes in philosophy of life.¹³⁵ Personal development is associated with both positive features—such as a sense of increased self-worth and strength—as well as a recognition of one's own limitations.¹³⁶ Relationship growth is characterized by an intensified valuing of friends and family, as well as an increased reliance on support networks.¹³⁷ Finally, changes in philosophy of life can effectively be summarized as a "re-evaluating of understanding what really matters in life."¹³⁸

Emblematic of the concept of *posttraumatic growth*, Basil's confrontation with mortality at Trajan's Gate forced him to reassess his world and ultimately changed the ways he chose to interact with it.¹³⁹ These changes are visible in his handling of the events following the Battle of Trajan's Gate. Here, Basil's actions provide compelling evidence of his growth.

¹³² John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 331. See Treadgold, *History*, 526.

¹³³ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 245.

¹³⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, trans. Duncan Large (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998; first published in German 1889), 6.

¹³⁵ Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, "Affective-Cognitive Processing Model," 318.

¹³⁶ Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, "Affective-Cognitive Processing Model," 317-318.

¹³⁷ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 122.

¹³⁸ Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, "Affective-Cognitive Processing Model," 317-318.

¹³⁹ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 99-102; Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, "Affective-Cognitive Processing Model," 324.

Upon news of Basil's defeat by the Bulgarians, Bardas Sclerus initiated his second revolt in the winter of 986.¹⁴⁰ In a dramatic contrast to his secretive planning of the Bulgarian campaign, Basil, recognizing his own tactical limitations (and in no hurry to return to combat after the ambush), tasked the Byzantine general Bardas Phocas with subduing Sclerus's rebellion.¹⁴¹ However, in the summer of 987, Phocas proclaimed himself emperor and offered Sclerus domains in Byzantine Syria and Mesopotamia in return for joining forces.¹⁴²

Phocas's abrupt uprising, taking Byzantium's Eastern armies along with him, left Basil's reign in an extremely precarious position, as the Western forces at his disposal had been greatly diminished by their defeat in Bulgaria.¹⁴³ In a second effort to address his strategic limitations, Basil turned to the expansion of his support network. Unprecedentedly, Basil offered his sister's hand to the pagan prince Vladimir of Kiev, extending both his familial relations and his military allegiances in one broad stroke.¹⁴⁴ In return, Basil's new kinsman performed mass baptisms of his Russian nobles and sent Basil six thousand troops.¹⁴⁵ These Russian auxiliary forces eventually became Basil's personal bodyguards and the famed Varangian Guard of future emperors, alluding to the value Basil personally placed on the growth of his support network at this time.¹⁴⁶

Utilizing his Russian auxiliary forces, Basil attained his first military victory in 989 by launching a surprise attack across the Bosphorus on the rebel forces at Chrysopolis.¹⁴⁷ Shortly after, in the spring of the same year, Basil's army met Phocas's forces at Abydus where they faced off for several days.¹⁴⁸ Upon charging Basil's position, Phocas fell from his horse, dead, untouched.¹⁴⁹ Sclerus's official pardon by Basil in the fall of 989 signaled the final consolidation of Basil's status as emperor of Byzantium.¹⁵⁰

Basil's development can be detected at several instances in his dealings with Sclerus's and Phocas's revolts. Both his original promotion of Phocas and his eventual turn to Vladimir represent his personal growth, as he recognized his own limitations.¹⁵¹ Rather than planning secretly and relying on

¹⁴⁰ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 33; John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 316. See Treadgold, *History*, 517.

¹⁴¹ Treadgold, *History*, 517.

¹⁴² John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 318. See Treadgold, *History*, 517-518.

¹⁴³ Holmes, *Basil II*, 460.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 34; John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 319.

¹⁴⁵ Treadgold, *History*, 518.

¹⁴⁶ John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 319. See Treadgold, *History*, 518-519.

¹⁴⁷ Treadgold, *History*, 518.

¹⁴⁸ Treadgold, *History*, 518.

¹⁴⁹ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 35.

¹⁵⁰ Treadgold, *History*, 519.

¹⁵¹ Joseph, Murphy, and Regel, "Affective-Cognitive Processing Model," 318.

inexperienced commanders (as seen in his previous Bulgarian campaign), Basil turned to his most experienced general in Phocas for aid, and he identified a formidable ally in the Rus', Byzantium's longtime adversary.¹⁵² Basil's relationship growth is seen in his extension of familial and military ties to Vladimir, which aided in his eventual victory. Finally, Basil's change in life-philosophy is visible in his commitment to leadership through control of the army. This last assertion gains merit when considering that four years before the end of these revolts Basil had still been leading his indulgent courtly life while the grand chamberlain had been running the affairs of the government.¹⁵³

Michael Psellus's *Chronographia* reveals further potential instances of Basil's experience of *posttraumatic growth*. Specifically, Psellus offers examples of Basil's development in the later years of his life, validating the notion of trauma's long-term effects. Pertaining to Basil's formation of relationships and support networks, Psellus comments on Basil's quality as a military commander:

[T]he emperor, being personally conversant with the character and combat duties of each individual, knowing to what each man was fitted either by temperament or by training, used him in the capacity and made him serve there.¹⁵⁴

By emphasizing Basil's ability to accurately assign the soldiers under his command to their proper roles, Psellus reveals the intimate relationships Basil formed with his men. Not only was he personally conversant with each soldier, he was also knowledgeable of each soldier's character, temperament, and training. When evaluating this excerpt alongside instances of Basil meeting his soldiers' verbal abuse during meticulous inspections with a smile and a patient explanation, it becomes evident that Basil's relationship with his soldiers transcended surface-level interaction.¹⁵⁵ Clearly, Basil invested in his relationship with his soldiers in order to solidify his support network.¹⁵⁶

Michael Psellus's evaluation of Basil's personal development is far more direct than his allusion to Basil's preferred form of relationship formation:

Basil did not follow the customary procedure of other emperors, setting out at the middle of spring and returning home at the end of summer. For him the time to return was when the task in hand was accomplished. He endured the rigors of winter and the heat of summer with equal indifference. He disciplined himself against thirst. In fact, all his natural desires were kept under stern control, and the man was as hard as steel.¹⁵⁷

Basil's rejection of customary procedure reflects a strong sense of self. He did not conform to previous emperors' behavior. Moreover, Basil's development of an unrelenting drive, obtained through the denial of worldly comforts, highlights

¹⁵² Decker, *Byzantine Art of War*, 30; Holmes, *Basil II*, 510, 513.

¹⁵³ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 29; John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 298.

¹⁵⁴ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 46.

¹⁵⁵ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 47.

¹⁵⁶ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 122.

¹⁵⁷ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 45-46.

his finding meaning in new life goals, replacing his old courtly habits.¹⁵⁸ Michael Psellus's description of Basil's transformation remains consistent with today's understanding of *posttraumatic growth*. Fittingly, Psellus's "steel" simile captures the intense forging process that Basil's character had undergone as he had moved from one lifestyle to the next.

Finally, Basil's change of life-philosophy is evident in his conceptual melding of his status as emperor and his role as leader of Byzantium's military might. The association between domestic control and military prowess was made clear to Basil upon witnessing two generals—Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiskes—succeed in grabbing power, followed by two more revolts led by Byzantium's military elite after his first campaign's failure.¹⁵⁹ Basil's incessant campaigning—he was even planning an expedition against the Arabs in Sicily at the time of his death—reflects the desired military prestige he hoped to display to the world.¹⁶⁰

Basil's life-philosophy of imperial status validated by military command is clear in the *Psalter* he commissioned (and which is now preserved in Venice).¹⁶¹ On its front, Basil is found decked in military garb, spear in hand, crowned by Christ, flanked by military saints, and being paid tribute by those beneath him.¹⁶² Basil's *Psalter* grants an optimal view into the image he hoped to project, characterizing himself and his reign through the power derived from his military ability. The epitaph on Basil's tomb is congruent with his *Psalter*'s message:

Other past emperors previously designated for themselves other burial places. But I Basil, born in the purple chamber, place my tomb on the site of the Hebdomon and take Sabbath's rest from the endless toils which I fulfilled in wars and which I endured. For nobody saw my spear at rest, from when the Emperor of Heaven called me to the rulership of this great empire on earth, but I kept vigilant through the whole span of my life.¹⁶³

The words Basil chose to guard his grave define him by his military action which he had vigilantly endured. Further, they reveal that, in the final days before his death, he changed his burial location from a tomb located at the elaborate Mausoleum of Constantine, found at the Church of the Holy Apostles, to a location close to the imperial parade grounds, the Hebdomon.¹⁶⁴ Even in death, Basil continued to keep watch over his troops.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 29.

¹⁵⁹ Treadgold, *History*, 502-503.

¹⁶⁰ Treadgold, *History*, 530.

¹⁶¹ Treadgold, *History*, 524-525.

¹⁶² Holmes, *Basil II*, 528.

¹⁶³ Stephenson, *Legend*, 49. While the physical epitaph was destroyed during the Fourth Crusade, it is mentioned in textual sources and ascribed to Michael Psellus.

¹⁶⁴ Holmes, *Basil II*, 524-525.

¹⁶⁵ Holmes, *Basil II*, 525.

Conclusion

Evaluating historical agents through modern conceptions of psychological processes is by no means an exact science, given the limitation of direct insight into past individuals, the relativity of individual susceptibility, and the subjectivity of contemporary cultural concerns. What can be said with certainty is this: Basil II experienced a change in character and mode of life in his late twenties.¹⁶⁶ Modern scholarship in the field of psychology focusing on the human experience of trauma has recorded similar processes of transformation, as well as the evolutionary mechanisms that encourage them and validate their historical presence.¹⁶⁷ According to primary-source evidence, the traumatic ambush Basil suffered coincided with the beginning of his shift in lifestyle.¹⁶⁸ Taken together, these facts suggest that trauma and its psychological repercussions played a role in defining Basil and his reign.

The evaluation of Basil offered above differs from precedential historical works studying combat trauma for three primary reasons. First, Basil's status as an emperor differs from the subject matter of other works that focus on the common soldiers' experience with trauma. Second, this article has evaluated the long-term impact of trauma on Basil's development, compared to previous studies that examine immediate repercussions of trauma on combatants. The biographical style of this study is justified by the more complete narratives of an individual's life that history offers. Finally, this is the first investigation to apply the concept of *posttraumatic growth* to the historiography of combat trauma.

At the very least, the "mind-change" ascribed to Basil by Michael Psellus represents an eleventh-century Byzantine recognition of a psychological process still being conceptually explored today. In drawing attention to Basil's shifting character, Michael Psellus highlights a real example of someone who experienced trauma but did not succumb to its debilitating potential. Contemporary understanding of trauma stands to benefit from historical examples such as this, given the role culture plays in diagnosing and alleviating trauma. By challenging today's assumptions regarding trauma with historical case studies that provide differing interpretations of the human experience, the complexities of trauma are further revealed.

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¹⁶⁶ Michael Psellus, trans. Sewter, 29-30.

¹⁶⁷ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 68.

¹⁶⁸ Leo the Deacon, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, 214-215; John Skylitzes, trans. Wortley, 314.

Gareth O'Neal

"Witness in Brass":

The Funerary Monuments of English Knights (ca. 1300-ca. 1600)

ABSTRACT: *This article explores the depictions of English medieval and early modern knights on funerary brass etchings. On the basis of the brass rubbings in the Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection at California State University, Fullerton, it analyzes the religious symbolism, the armor, and the heraldic devices used to portray the knights' pious loyalty to God and king. The author argues that the etchings characterize the knights in a positive light in an attempt to have viewers pray for their souls.*

KEYWORDS: *medieval history; early modern history; Renaissance; England; knights; monumental brasses; funerary monuments; effigies; brass rubbings*

Introduction

The medieval and Renaissance mind found solace in the permanency offered by funerary brass etchings. In William Shakespeare's *Henry V*, the English king promises that such monuments will act as "witness[es] [...] in brass" to the soldiers' actions, and that the markers for those who will have lost their lives at the Battle of Agincourt (1415) will be admired by future generations.¹ Monumental brasses feature "an inscription, figure, shield of arms or other device engraved in flat plate brass for a commemorative purpose."² Most act as markers over burial plots, depicting the deceased entombed below in the prime of life and how they hoped to appear at the resurrection.³ They were placed in churches from about 1250 until 1650,⁴ and they provide an excellent window into medieval and early modern culture, as they illustrate individuals wearing the clothing, arms, armor, and accoutrements of their profession as well as their status in life. Extant depictions range across the social strata, from duchesses, archbishops, and knights to university masters, brewers, and yeomen, the only exception being the king and the royal family.⁵ While the brasses once numbered around 250,000, only 8,000 remain in England today due to early modern

¹ William Shakespeare, "Henry V," in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 1528, 4.3.96-101: "A many of our bodies shall no doubt/Find native graves, upon the which, I trust,/Shall witness live in brass of this day's work./And those that leave their valiant bones in France,/Dying like men, though buried in your dunghills, They shall be famed." See George Vane, "[Brass Rubbings Collection: Introduction](#)," Hamline University, Archives, Brass Rubbings Collection, accessed May 17, 2019.

² Malcolm Norris and Michael Kellett, *Your Book of Brasses* (London: Faber, 1974), 13.

³ Fr. Jerome Bertram, "The Iconography of Brasses," in *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, ed. Fr. Jerome Bertram (Stroud: Sutton, 1996), 62-63.

⁴ Clare Gittings, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (London: Blandford Press Ltd., 1970), 5.

⁵ Vane, "Brass Rubbings Collection: Introduction." While there are monumental brasses of kings, such as Robert the Bruce, they are anachronisms made during the nineteenth century or later. No medieval brass survives of an English king or his immediate family.

iconoclasm and war.⁶ These brass engravings can be replicated with the application of paper and grease pencil or heelball to create so-called "brass rubbings." In 2016, California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) received a sizable donation of such rubbings from the 1960s, the Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection (RBC) of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings, which serves as the primary-source basis for this article.⁷

Most of the RBC rubbings are in excellent condition and provide a clean facsimile of the memorialized deceased. They are based on etchings that range from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century, and they affirm trends found in other contemporary depictions. While the RBC includes knights, ladies, clergy, and academics, this article will focus on the brass rubbings of knights. The selection provides an excellent survey of differing artistic qualities throughout the period of their creation, ranging from the earliest known extant brass⁸ until late into the fashion of funerary brasses.⁹ One textual source that provides context for the later periods of monumental brass manufacture and the iconoclastic defacement in the Renaissance is the diary of William Dowsing, a Puritan who was given the duty of destroying idolatry and superstition under Oliver Cromwell, a task that he recorded diligently in his journal.¹⁰

Scholarship of monumental brasses can generally be divided into that of the late Victorian era, when the importance of the brasses was re-assessed and found meritorious for research, and that of the 1950s through the 1970s, when knowledge of the monuments and collecting rubbings became a hobby for many living in or visiting England. From the first wave of scholarly interest, the works of Herbert Haines (1826-1872)¹¹ and Herbert Druitt (1876-1943)¹² continue to be useful. While Druitt was more of a collector than a scholar, Haines was one of the seminal authors for the study of brasses, using an art-historical methodology and

⁶ Vane, "Brass Rubbings Collection: Introduction."

⁷ Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings, University Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Fullerton; in citations below abbreviated as "RBC."

⁸ Sir John d'Aubernoun (Daubernoun) (1277), RBC; original brass: St. Mary's Church, Stoke D'Abernon, borough of Elmbridge, Surrey, England.

⁹ William Wightman and Wife (1579), RBC; original brass: St. Mary's Church, Harrow on the Hill, London, Middlesex, England.

¹⁰ *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001).

¹¹ Herbert Haines, *A Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses: With a Descriptive Catalogue of Four Hundred and Fifty "Rubbings" in the Possession of the Oxford Architectural Society* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1848); Herbert Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses: Comprising an Introduction to the Study of these Memorials and a List of Those Remaining in the British Isles* (London: J. H. and J. Parker, 1861; reprinted Bath: Adams & Dart, 1970).

¹² Herbert Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd./De La More Press, 1906).

attempting to identify styles of engraving.¹³ Haines brought a new methodology, and he added to the legitimacy of studying funerary monuments seriously rather than as a mere fancy or hobby. However, Haines's studies are less accessible to a modern readership due to their highly technical and antiquated descriptions of armor. Fr. Jerome Bertram's scholarship emerged during the second wave of scholarly interest in funerary brasses, namely in the 1960s and 1970s, and his publications continue into the early 2000s.¹⁴ His work connects the researchers since the 1970s and is frequently cited by contemporary scholars. Nigel Saul has contributed both books and articles that range from medieval views of death to the monuments themselves; his analysis focuses more on societal views and the reasoning of the individuals in question, reading the deceased's will and the writings of their family within the context of their religious and secular constraints.¹⁵ While Paul Binski's works do not focus exclusively on monumental brasses, they provides an interpretive context to medieval funerary rites.¹⁶

The monumental brass rubbings reflect the medieval and early modern past to which we have a tenuous connection through culture but that is nonetheless centuries removed. However, there is a connection through the cultural need for memory, entreating the living to commemorate the dead in the same way that those alive will want to be remembered. This article argues that the knights of the Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection entreat viewers to remember and pray for the deceased as they portray pious loyalty to God, king, and family through religious symbolism, armor, and heraldic devices.

I. Hic Iacet Peccator ("Here Lies a Sinner")

While grave markers, in the simplest and most literal form, serve as a boundary and reminder that a body is buried beneath and should not be disturbed, in the context of faith, they connect the dead with the living. Though actions and charities may be listed, according to Fr. Jerome Bertram,

[t]he purpose of a medieval brass is more than just to mark a grave or glorify a dead person; it is, in common with every branch of church art, a visual lesson in the meaning of life, seen always in the context of faith. It is there to show us 'how shall all dead be': to give us the

¹³ Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5.

¹⁴ Fr. Jerome Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England* (New York: Great Albion Books, 1971); Fr. Jerome Bertram, ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud: Sutton, 1996); Fr. Jerome Bertram, "From Duccius to Daubernoun: Ancient Antecedents of Monumental Brass Design," in *Pagans and Christians: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Papers in Honour of Martin Henig, Presented on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Lauren Adams Gilmour (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 219-228.

¹⁵ Nigel Saul, "Parchment and Tombstone: Documents and the Study of English Medieval Monumental Sculpture," *Archives* 27 (October 2002): 97-109; Saul, *English Church Monuments*.

¹⁶ *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts/Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 2001; first published 1996).

destiny of the human person beyond death, to encourage us to live worthily of such a destiny, and to pray for the dead that they might be swiftly purified in fulfilment of that destiny.¹⁷

This point is often overlooked, or is deemed trivial in secular academic study, but Fr. Jerome Bertram, himself an ecclesiastical scholar, reminds readers that these depictions served as reinforcements of faith and religious practices. This may have been especially true for the illiterate who relied on the artistic imagery and symbolism to learn the doctrines of their faith. Thus, both the deceased etched into brass and the living were connected.¹⁸ The image not only assured and reinforced the belief in everlasting life after death, but was also a reminder that the dead, too, had once been of flesh, and that the acts of the living influenced the fate of the soul.

Even the *memento mori* ("Remember that you will die.") that the brass etching provided to observers reinforced the temporality of the earthly body and its resurrection on Judgment Day. The knights in the RBC share characteristics of individuals depicted in early to mid-adulthood. There is a consensus among scholars regarding the reason for this commonality in depictions in brass. It remains likely that the engraved effigies "were not portraits in the modern sense. Rather, they were idealized figures in the prime of life that represented the deceased as she or he would appear at the resurrection."¹⁹ It follows that the effigy represented the body of the individual and not the soul. The portrayal of the dead by the living carefully circumvented the issue of pre-supposing the post-mortem fate of the individual. While inscriptions frequently asked viewers to pray for the souls of the individuals depicted (to shorten their time in Purgatory), the images did not depict the dead in Paradise, though they could involve heavenly imagery, such as angels flanking the burial pillow.²⁰ The depiction of the deceased in the prime of life and awoken after the slumber of death reflected the desire for God's mercy and for salvation, interpreting the metaphysical redemption through the physicality of the body.

To the medieval Christian, prayers for dead were salvific. According to Malcolm Norris and Michael Kellett, "during [spiritual purification], the dead, unable to help themselves, may be helped by the prayers and devotions made on their behalf by living Christians. Most people [...] were deeply concerned to ensure that their memorials would attract attention and inspire the viewer to prayer. They similarly wished to be as close to the most holy places."²¹ This

¹⁷ Bertram, "Iconography of Brasses," 62-63.

¹⁸ One could even make an argument that the brass would be an act of charity or evangelization, as the image provided instruction to Christian beliefs.

¹⁹ Barbara J. Harris, "The Fabric of Piety: Aristocratic Women and Care of the Dead, 1450-1550," *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 2 (2009): 308-335, here 316.

²⁰ Margaret Cheyne (1419), RBC; original brass: St. Peter's Church, Hever, Sevenoaks district, Kent, England.

²¹ Norris and Kellett, *Your Book of Brasses*, 23.

shows one of the major beliefs of medieval Christianity: those still alive had some degree of control over their state of grace with God while the dead were stagnant in that they could do nothing else to influence their fate. The individuals tried to depict themselves to viewers and church patrons as pious and worthy of prayer (that might lessen their suffering in Purgatory).²² These public displays, as well as the endowments paid to install brasses and sing Mass for the deceased, kept the public aware of these influential families and earned prayers due to their charity to the Church.

The placement of the burial sites was extremely important to the cleansing the soul. While benefactors devoted considerable attention to the symbolism that reflected the deceased depicted on the engraved brass, they cared at least as much about the deceased's placement in relation to the chapel and the objects that aided in the celebration of the Mass. The original brass of Sir Edmund Flambard (1370) can be found in St. Mary's Church, Harrow on the Hill, in London.²³ The brass rests in the chancel,²⁴ the section of the church near the altar, which was reserved for the clergy, and which physically separated the latter via divider or raised steps from the laypeople in the nave during Mass. Even though the brass may have been visible to congregants while receiving Holy Communion (and, thus, may have inspired them to pray for the deceased), access to it would have been restricted to the clergy. This is significant since the altar was the location of the Transubstantiation, the transmission of a sacrament of great mystery and a powerful symbol of the Catholic faith. One of the most important of these holy sites was the Easter sepulcher:

[Some] monuments resembled altars that functioned as Easter sepulchers and were located either in the chancel or a niche at the east end of the church's north wall. These tombs became the site of the central dramatic ritual that marked the Easter holiday. On Good Friday, the priest placed the host on the altar and covered it. A candle burned in front of it, and members of the parish kept vigil at the altar until Easter morning, when the cover on the host was removed and Mass celebrated.²⁵

The location of the tomb entailed a weighty choice, as placement close to sites of religious significance could only benefit the soul of those buried close by as they would be close to the Eucharist.²⁶ The Easter sepulcher marked the most significant site within the chapel as it symbolized Christ's death and

²² Jacques Le Goff argues that it was in the twelfth to thirteenth century that Purgatory was "born." If this is true, this might also explain why there are no funerary brasses that pre-date this time. See Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984; first published 1981 as *La naissance du purgatoire*).

²³ Sir Edmund Flambard (1370), RBC; original brass: St. Mary's Church, Harrow on the Hill, London, Middlesex, England. See Ben Weinreb, Christopher Hibbert, Julia Keay, and John Keay, eds., *The London Encyclopaedia*, 3rd ed. (London: Pan Macmillan, 2011; first published 2008), 788.

²⁴ Pauline Chandler, e-mail message to author, September 6, 2017.

²⁵ Harris, "Fabric of Piety," 315.

²⁶ Harris, "Fabric of Piety," 325.

resurrection.²⁷ Placing wealthy patrons into sacred spaces not only privatized the space but also reinforced the existing relationship between villeins and manorial lords. Those who could afford it were separated from the lower classes of society not only in life but also in eternal rest.

II. From Crusade to Tournament

Depictions of arms and armor showed the prowess of a knight and the affluence of a king even after mounted knights were no longer used on the battlefield, changing from a presentation of martial expertise to one that emphasized wealth and athleticism. The memorial to Sir John d'Aubernoun (1277) in Surrey is the earliest known extant brass (see Figure 1 below).²⁸ His armor consists mainly of chainmail, with a heater shield that would likely be used in both mounted and infantry combat, as well as a lance with banner, shrunk in scale to fit the length of the brass.²⁹ While d'Aubernoun was unlikely to have participated in a Crusade,³⁰ his armor resembled that of crusaders.³¹ D'Aubernoun's brass depicts an individual of the military class whose armor was practical for what he may have encountered in battle during his lifetime. There were major changes in armor between the thirteenth century and the sixteenth century, and the brasses reflect this.³² The ornateness of the helmet in comparison to the simplistic design of the plate armor pictured on the Westminster Abbey brass of Sir John Harpedon (1437) shows the transition away from the martial armor and toward protection designed for the joust (see Figure 1 below).³³ This is consistent with changing military tactics and their effect on the socially elite knights; thus,

²⁷ Harris, "Fabric of Piety," 325.

²⁸ Norris and Kellett, *Your Book of Brasses*, 14.

²⁹ Sir John d'Aubernoun (Daubernoun) (1277), RBC.

³⁰ Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, 79.

³¹ See, for example, Sir Roger de Trumpington (1289), RBC; original brass: St. Mary and St. Michael Church, Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, England.

³² During this period, between the earliest extant brass (1277) and 1437, Sir Roger de Trumpington (1289), RBC; Sir Robert de Septvans (1306), RBC; original brass: St. Mary's Church, Chartham, Kent, England; Sir Edmund Flambard (1370), RBC; Son of John Peacock (1380), RBC; original brass: St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, Hertfordshire, England; and John Hadresham (1417), RBC; original brass: St. Peter's and St. Paul's Church, Lingfield, Tandridge district, Surrey, England, all have what the author would qualify as practical armor meant for actual use. This practical armor can be identified by the simple mail coif, great helm, or bascinet helmet without decoration and without the "frog mouth"-shaped visor that would enclose the face and be secured to the breast plate via buckle or other closer. The shape of the tournament helmet provided extremely limited view but superb protection from a wooden lance splintering upon impact on an opponent's body armor at full gallop. The shape would have been almost useless in combat where the knight would have been nearly blinded by the limited field of vision and at a disadvantage by the numerous points that a decorated and ornate helm would provide an enemy to grab in close quarters.

³³ Sir John Harpedon (1437), RBC; original brass: Westminster Abbey, London, Middlesex, England.

brasses from the first half of the fifteenth century focus on jousting suits since plate armor was becoming obsolete due to the proliferation of firearms on European battlefields.³⁴

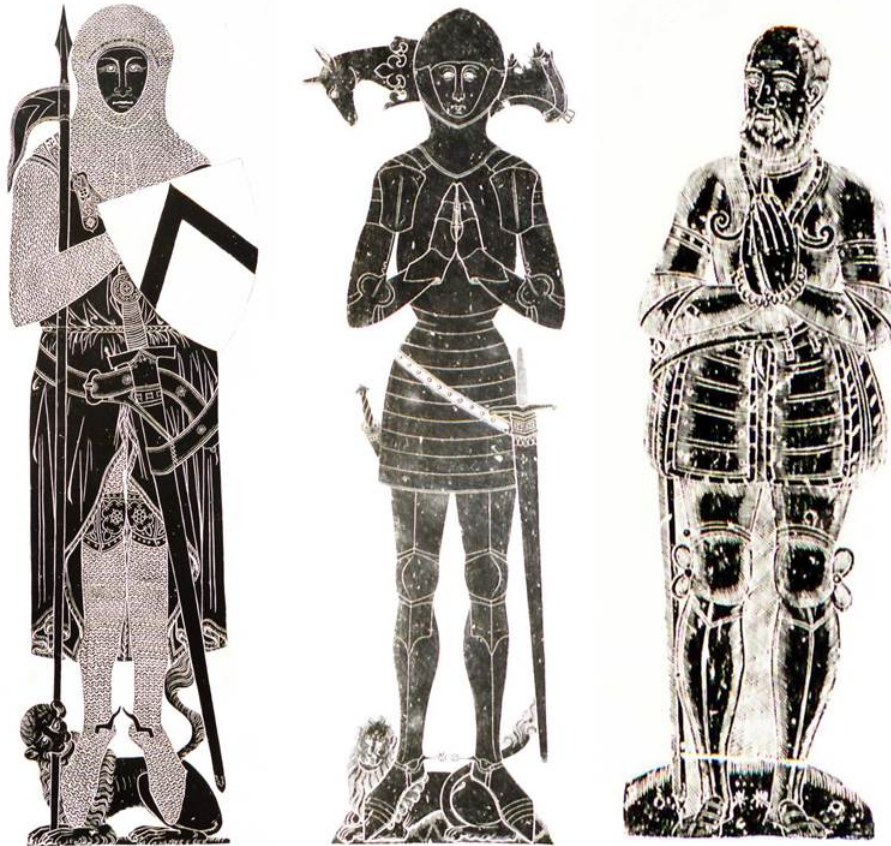


Figure 1: Brass rubbings (from left to right) of John d'Aubernoun (1277), John Harpedon (1437), and William Wightman (1579). Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings. © University Archives and Special Collections, CSUF.

Even amidst the military conflicts of the last quarter of the Hundred Years' War and just decades after Agincourt, there was a shift away from the societal importance of the knight as a combatant. Tournament armor was expensive and not usable in battle. Thus, the change from military use to sporting use showed a societal shift in the importance of the tournament for the knight and his pursuit of sporting honor rather than glory through martial prowess and service to the king. Knights no longer had to participate in military campaigns to provide dutiful service. The honors, investitures, and trappings of the knight maintained their importance in funerary depictions, but the semiotic connotations changed to emphasize wealth and athletic prowess rather than military duty.³⁵

³⁴ Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, 86.

³⁵ The permanency of this armor also carried religious connotations. According to Ephesians 6:10-18, every Christian is, metaphorically, a warrior in eternal service to God.

Eventually, the significance of the tournament in the identity of the knight changed, but armor continued to be depicted even after its near-complete disuse or even when it is doubtful that the man depicted had participated in battle during his lifetime. Knights continued to be depicted in full plate armor even though they likely did not participate in military campaigns. The brass of William Wightman (1579) in St. Mary's Church, Harrow on the Hill (London), shows him in full Elizabethan armor (see Figure 1 above).³⁶ William was a prominent Member of Parliament, serving as clerk to Sir Anthony Browne and secretary to Baron Seymour of Sudeley before becoming teller of the change of coin Tower mint in 1551 and high treasurer of the army in 1557.³⁷ While it is entirely possible that Wightman had served in military campaigns in his twenties before becoming involved with London politics and the army treasury, it is more likely, given his high positions involving royal treasuries as well as the lack of England's involvement in major wars during his youth, that the young man was occupied learning the skills necessary for his future *métier* in secretarial and exchequer matters. Thus, the plate armor on Wightman's memorial probably had ceremonial significance as a mark of status (rather than the purpose of identifying him as a veteran). Suits of armor reflected a societal and political tradition. While earlier knights had a practical necessity for them, they also marked their status and affluence, as only those with sufficient land or rents could afford a custom-made suit and the constant upkeep of arms and armor. While the purpose of the full suit of armor had changed, the image held cultural significance: armor still marked the status of the individual, fealty to the king, and service to the Crown, even if its military function had since been lost.

The suit of armor indicated a fulfillment of the feudal contract. It proved an important symbol, though it changed from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century. Only one brass depicts a confirmed crusader, Roger de Trumpington (1289) (see Figure 2 below), and the majority of other military brasses are not those of dubbed knights but rather those of "country squires" who may not have fought or even possessed a full suit of armor.³⁸ In addition, large-scale combat was likely not seen again until the English Civil War,³⁹ and even then the primary method of protection was mostly leather with few, if any, large metal plates.⁴⁰ Contemporary society expected that the manorial lord would be depicted in full armor. Individuals needed to observe the inherited connection of

³⁶ William Wightman and Wife (1579), RBC.

³⁷ R. J. W. Swales, "Wightman, William (by 1517-80) of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Mdx," *The History of Parliament: British Political, Social & Local History*, accessed May 17, 2019; S. T. Bindoff, "Wightman, William (bef. 1517-80), of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Mdx," *The History of Parliament: British Political, Social & Local History*, accessed May 17, 2019.

³⁸ Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, 79.

³⁹ Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, 79.

⁴⁰ Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, 86.

their social class to the traditions of service in times of need. When their memorial remained as the only object commemorating their life, they would continue to be known as warriors or otherwise loyal servants. As their memory faded, their only depiction was that of men armed for war. Their depiction as cavalymen or crusaders stressed their role after death, as they or their family wanted posterity to know them as warriors, however dubious that claim may have been.

III. Trumpets and Lions

Heraldry aided in the identification of individuals, and the conventions in design changed drastically as they increasingly served to establish familial or dynastic connections. The depictions of heraldry on brasses indicate the identity of the deceased, as well as their social position, so that the descendants could substantiate their own situation within the local parish and social strata. Individuals could fabricate inherited titles or honors to fortify their status or fraudulently claim inherited honors. For example, Sir Edward Dering, First Baronet, commissioned a series of brasses for his ancestors, several of whom were invented by the nobleman to enhance his pedigree.⁴¹ While his actions are deplorable in their particular context, the emphasis on and determination with regard to lineage showed the importance placed on familial connections and obligations. It especially shows a loyalty to family as the commissioner of such (fraudulent) monuments was willing to risk his social standing and the wrath of the authorities to shore up the social position of his descendants. Due to such invented lineages, it was necessary to establish regulations, especially as inheritance and heraldic practices were changing throughout the period.

The conventions of heraldry became more complex from their initial use as simple identifiers in battle to methods of tracking lineage through familial coats of arms. The visual art and use of early heraldry varied greatly from what it transformed into around the time of the Hundred Years' War. John d'Aubernoun's shield (1277) features the simple design of a chevron on a solid field (see Figure 2 below).⁴² Roger de Trumpington (1289), the only confirmed crusader in the RBC, holds a shield displaying a considerably more complex design than d'Aubernoun's, namely a trumpet alongside stylized crosses (see Figure 2 below).⁴³ Meanwhile, Robert de Septvans brass (1306) features a knight in chainmail with winnowing fans⁴⁴ not just on his shield, but also on his surcoat and ailettes (see Figure 2 below).⁴⁵ These three knights share a certain simplicity

⁴¹ Sir Anthony Richard Wagner, *English Genealogy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 358.

⁴² Sir John d'Aubernoun (Daubernoun) (1277), RBC.

⁴³ Sir Roger de Trumpington (1289), RBC.

⁴⁴ A tool used to separate the grain from the chaff.

⁴⁵ Sir Robert de Septvans (1306), RBC.

in the design of their heraldry. Early heraldry was merely intended to identify the knight quickly and reliably on the battlefield, and carried no family significance, as fathers and sons often used different heraldry.⁴⁶ The images might pun on the knight's name, which was known as "cant" or "rebus."⁴⁷ This provided an easily remembered connection between the symbol and the wearer, which can be seen in the case of both Roger de Trumpington and Robert de Septvans. Trumpington displayed trumpets on his heraldry, and Septvans played on the French word "sept," meaning "seven," and the similar pronunciation of "van" and "fan."



Figure 2: Brass rubbings (from left to right) of John d'Aubernoun (1277), Roger de Trumpington (1289), and Robert de Septvans (1306). Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings. © University Archives and Special Collections, CSUF.

Heraldic displays became more complex as the conventions around their use changed. The brass rubbing of Eleanor de Bohun, the Duchess of Gloucester (1399), features five shields⁴⁸ which show the heraldry (from top to bottom, left

⁴⁶ Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, 118.

⁴⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed., database, s.v. "rebus, n.," accessed May 13, 2018.

⁴⁸ Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester (1399), RBC; original brass: Westminster Abbey, London, Middlesex, England. Originally there were six, with three flanking the Duchess of Gloucester on each side. One has since been lost to time, possibly due to her husband's tomb,

to right) of her husband Thomas Woodstock, the Bohun family, the Earl of Hereford, the Woodstock quartered with Bohun, and her parents.⁴⁹ Of note is the heraldic evolution from marking knights to indicating familial ties. From its initial creation for the individual knight, the heraldic display became an emblem that was inherited from both mother and father. No longer just a quick identifier in battle, the heraldic display provided proof of (legitimate, noble) identity in a non-centralized political system and a mostly illiterate populace. Though the brass of Eleanor was created in 1399, less than a century after that of Robert de Septvans, much had changed: heraldry was now identifying familial ties and proving hereditary titles and honors. Even to modern scholars, heraldry often remains "the only clue to the identification of a figure."⁵⁰ This iconography became important enough to place one's coat or coats of arms for descendants to chart genealogy and provide a clear proof of identity within the community.

Outside of heraldry, other signs also carried weight that espoused both familial and community connections. Many early brasses of knights portray an animal beneath the knight's feet due to the heraldic importance of the beasts, as well as the cultural connotations they carried.⁵¹ The brass of Sir John d'Aubernoun shows the knight using a lion as a footrest (see Figure 2 above).⁵² Drawing from heraldic connotations of courage and regality, d'Aubernoun appears to have pacified the creature, though it still nips at the end of the his banner. Thus, the nobleman's courage and strength display his ability to subdue the lion, even as it still attempts to break free from its pacified position. Another common animal found in the etchings are dogs, which may show the animal's popularity as loyal pets and companions much like in today's society.⁵³ Sir Roger de Trumpington lays his feet on his hound, which playfully bites at the knight's sword (see Figure 2 above).⁵⁴ Also of note are the animal's large and ferocious feet, which may have been stylized to show its usefulness as a guard and hunting dog. The association of man and dog affirms their working relationship on the hunt and while guarding the home, as well as their companionship. This display of animals, especially the domestic partnership with canines, is important to note since it emphasizes that these brass etchings were not holy images, though they were allowed in sacred ground. Catholic doctrine "has never allowed animals to have souls to be prayed for," but has acknowledged their importance and

originally laid alongside her own, being relocated after her death. His brass, that of Thomas of Woodstock, is also lost. Only descriptions remain of the etching as that of a warrior and a crusader.

⁴⁹ "Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester," brass rubbing, Hamline University, Digital Collections, Brass Rubbings, accessed May 17, 2019.

⁵⁰ Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, 15.

⁵¹ Gittings, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing*, 53.

⁵² Sir John d'Aubernoun (Daubernoun) (1277), RBC.

⁵³ Gittings, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing*, 54.

⁵⁴ Sir Roger de Trumpington (1289), RBC.

allowed their memorialization in these monuments.⁵⁵ The animal displayed reflected not just the power or courage of the knight, but also the home life or playfulness of the deceased. They were not religious symbols: rather, they were glimpses into a knight's personality and helped to humanize or show a small part of familial or domestic life. These images suggested loyalty to family, which the deceased or their families desired to etch permanently into their memorials.

Conclusion

While the brass rubbings in CSUF's Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection are relatively few compared to the number of extant brasses, the range of those depicted, from the earliest known surviving brass until late in the trend of memorializing the deceased on an inlaid etched brass slab, provides an excellent survey of the period from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century. The knights or the survivors of the deceased commissioned these plates to solicit prayers for the deceased's souls through the depictions of a pious attitude toward the Christian faith, the kingdom, and the family. The religious iconography and placement of the slabs attempted to draw the living's attention and solicit intercessory prayers from the pious. The image of the knight resting in the prime of life reinforced the belief in the afterlife, acting as a reminder for the living to contemplate their fate after death. It reminded worshippers of the corruptibility of the body and the temporality of life, as well as the chance at renewal at the resurrection. The funerary memorial also functioned as a type of receipt for charity to the Church, and its endowment allowed the deceased of the elite to privatize sacred space. Above all, it called to the living to pray for the dead depicted and to earn grace through charitable prayer.

The depictions of armor showed the prowess of knights even after significant changes in warfare and the knightly classes due to the increasing ineffectiveness of heavy cavalry in a new method of warfare focusing on pike and shot. The change in the depiction of knights from armor functional for war to tilting helmets meant only for the joust illustrates how the expectations toward the knights had altered as well; no longer did they have to serve in war to fulfill their social duties to their lords. Instead, they could bring honor to themselves and the kingdom by competing and proving their athletic mettle by unseating their opponents in sport rather than through lethal violence. The knights' continued depiction in full plate armor even after the disuse of full armor, or despite the depicted men's unlikelihood of having participated in military campaigns, proves the continued ceremonial and metaphorical importance of such armor. It had since become a symbol of loyal service to the king or one's own country in the fulfillment of social expectations, just as these men's ancestors may have worn their armor in military service. The battlefield had changed to the realm of

⁵⁵ Gittings, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing*, 55.

the political, but being depicted in armor continued to be a social expectation for knights.⁵⁶

As the signified connotations of the armor changed, so did the use and purpose of heraldry. Simple icons punning on the wearers' names or geometric symbols over solid fields had previously identified individuals in the chaos of war. However, they changed to become coats of arms and grew increasingly complex with each generation as they were inherited from parents and combined with those of spouses. This complexity and change in customs came about due to heraldry acting as proof of identity and a simple method of tracking genealogy in a largely illiterate society. The transition to an inherited coat of arms, as well as complex rules governing the use of heraldry outside its initial military purpose, ensured the succession of honors and titles to descendants. Yet even with the complex symbolism in heraldic devices and their use on funerary monuments, brasses featured animals that connoted courage, loyalty, and familial connections. Such animals reflected the personality or achievements of the knights and perhaps the desire, in the case of the dog, to etch the domestic connection between man and beast into brass and from life into afterlife.

Much of this article could have been written on medieval Christian funerary practices and the respective symbolism in each act and image; indeed, scholars have filled entire books on the subject.⁵⁷ While the knights are some of the most visually striking brasses due to the detailed and realistic depictions of their armor, they only account for around a quarter of CSUF's collection of brass rubbings. Ladies, academics, and clergy account for most of the rubbings and still need to be analyzed. Thus, many lords and ladies wait patiently in archival tubes to have their lives described and their secrets uncovered.

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⁵⁶ Though after the "Rough Wooing," with the installation of James I of England and the violent reign of the Cromwellian Protectorate following the execution of Charles I, the political arena may have been no less bloody than the battlefield.

⁵⁷ See Philippe Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); Bertram, ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*; Danielle Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008); Miri Rubin, *Medieval Christianity in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Matthew M. Payan

*The Fifth Vow:
Ignatian Pedagogy and the Impact
of the "Constitutions," "Ratio Studiorum," and "Spiritual Exercises"
on Liberal Education in the Sixteenth Century*

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the development of colleges and universities as a ministry of the Jesuit Order, as well as their influence on the spread of liberal education in sixteenth-century Europe. On the basis of the *Constitutions*, *Ratio Studiorum*, and *Spiritual Exercises*, it first analyzes school administration, then pedagogy, and finally curriculum. The author argues that the uniformity of Jesuit institutions and the desire to educate the "whole" student – mind, body, and spirit – led to the rapid spread of Jesuit schools throughout the world, fueled the Counter-Reformation, and inspired the next generation of scholars.

KEYWORDS: early modern history; sixteenth century; Europe; Society of Jesus; Jesuits; Ignatius of Loyola; *Constitutions*; *Ratio Studiorum*; *Spiritual Exercises*; pedagogy

Introduction

Soon after receiving their Master of Arts degrees from the University of Paris, ten dedicated young men arrived in Venice in 1537, seeking ordination and an opportunity to live as Jesus had on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Unable to obtain passage to the East, these ten decided to put their fate into the hands of Pope Paul III, and on September 27, 1540, the papal bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* ("For the Government of the Church Militant") gave approval to the foundation of the *Societas Iesu* or "Society of Jesus" (Jesuits). In addition to the typical monastic and mendicant vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the Jesuits took a fourth vow, a dedication to take "missions anywhere in the world."¹ Yet, almost immediately after their foundation, the Jesuits also began to implement what I would call their fifth vow, namely a dedication to formal education as a ministry of their Order.

The Society of Jesus recognized that it needed a way to educate its younger members to ensure that they could handle the intellectual requirements for the "help of souls."² Being learned men themselves, the founders of the Order decided that their members had to undergo similar academic training if they, too, were going spread the word of God, and they began enrolling their novices in local colleges and universities.³ From 1542-1544 on, the Order sought endowments to purchase "houses" near prominent universities where young Society members, called "scholastics," could live free of charge while obtaining

¹ John W. O'Malley, *The Jesuits: A History from Ignatius to the Present* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 4.

² O'Malley, *Jesuits*, 8.

³ John W. O'Malley, "Historical Perspectives on Jesuit Education and Globalization," in *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2016), 147-166, here 149.

their education.⁴ Finding their education lacking, Jesuits in Padua (Italy) started to supplement their lessons by teaching the younger scholastics by means of the “Parisian method” (*modus Parisiensis*) which they had learned while at the University of Paris.⁵ Almost simultaneously, in 1543, Jesuits in Goa (India) were teaching humanities and Christian doctrine to Portuguese and Indian youths with a fair amount of success.⁶ By 1545, those two types of Jesuit institutions were joined by a third, when the Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, founded a college where Jesuits were employed to teach both Society members and lay students (externs).⁷

Recognizing the importance of education was not a new idea. Colleges and universities were already well established throughout Europe by the 1540s, and the Jesuits were not even the first religious Order to establish their own system of education.⁸ What made the Jesuit schools so unique, though, was their ability to adapt the pedagogical principles of the schools already in existence into a uniform system of educating both laymen and Society members. Utilizing the best teaching practices of the Humanist and Latin schools, the Jesuits formed a new brand of education that permanently changed the culture of early modern Europe and the Society itself.

⁴ While these houses were common, it was clear that the Jesuits at this time preferred to establish their own institutions of learning as Juan de Polanco, Ignatius’s secretary, wrote after Ignatius’s death: “Our father’s intention is that, especially in these initial stages, the colleges must multiply rather than the houses.” Quoted in John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 201.

⁵ Christopher Carlsmith, “Struggling towards Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540–1600,” *History of Education Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (2002): 215–246, here 231. Gabriel Codina describes the *modus Parisiensis* as this: 1) Good order in the studies, arranged in a systematic and progressive form; 2) Separation and gradation in the studies of the subject matter; 3) Settled duration of course and examinations for the mastery of each of them; 4) Insistence on the necessity of establishing good foundations before going ahead; 5) The division of students into classes, according to their levels of knowledge; 6) Abundance and frequency of exercises, with great activity on the part of the students; 7) The use of emulation; 8) Strict discipline and regimentation of student life; 9) Study of the liberal arts with a humanistic and Renaissance content with a Christian inspiration; and lastly, 10) Insistence upon joining virtue with letters. See Gabriel Codina, “‘Our Way of Proceeding’ in Education: The *Ratio Studiorum*,” in *Ignatian Pedagogy: Classic and Contemporary Texts on Jesuit Education from St. Ignatius to Today*, ed. José Mesa (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2017), 103–127, here 107.

⁶ George Ganss, *Saint Ignatius’ Idea of a Jesuit University*, 2nd ed. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956), 21.

⁷ Ganss, *Saint Ignatius’ Idea*, 23.

⁸ Jozef Ijsewijn and Jacques Paquet, eds., *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978); James M. Kittelson and Pamela J. Transue, eds., *Rebirth, Reform, and Resilience: Universities in Transition, 1300–1700* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984); Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski, eds., *Medieval Education* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005).

The primary-source documentation for research on Jesuit education is rather daunting. By 1565, the Society numbered around 35,000 members, and they endeavored to maintain constant communication through a system of regular reports with the Jesuit leadership in Rome; this has been compiled into the more than 125 volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* ("Historical Monuments of the Society of Jesus") including twelve volumes of the letters of Saint Ignatius.⁹ For the purposes of this article, the essential texts can be found in Part IV of the *Constitutions* (1556),¹⁰ which laid the foundation for the Jesuit educational mission; the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* ("The Method and Manner of Studies of the Society of Jesus;" 1599),¹¹ which is the amalgamation of the best teaching practices of a variety of educational systems into a codified set of rules for Jesuit institutions to follow; and the *Spiritual Exercises* (1548),¹² which outline the intrinsic spiritual retreat meant to help students become closer to each other and to God. In addition to these three texts, letters from various Jesuit leaders provide contextual and intellectual understanding of the formation of Jesuit educational institutions.¹³

Scholarly interpretations of Jesuit education are abundant. Because education formed such an integral part of the Jesuit mission, any scholarly attempt to examine the Jesuits' role in society devotes at least one chapter to their establishment of schools throughout the world.¹⁴ In 1933, Edward A. Fitzpatrick

⁹ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 2. For a translated version, see Ignatius de Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, ed. George Ganss et al. (New York: Paulist Press, 1991). For the actual letters, see *Monumenta Ignatiana: Scripta de S. Ignatio* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1934-1977). Much of the Jesuit primary-source material has been digitized and is available online at the [Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu](http://www.romanum.societatis-iesu.org), accessed May 18, 2019.

¹⁰ Ignatius de Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, ed. George Ganss (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), hereafter *Constitutions*. All subsequent citations of the *Constitutions* refer to section and paragraph numbers, not page numbers.

¹¹ For the purposes of this article, I rely on the *Ratio Studiorum* reprinted in Edward A. Fitzpatrick, ed., *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933), hereafter *Ratio*. All subsequent citations of the *Ratio* refer to page numbers.

¹² Ignatius de Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius: A Literal Translation and A Contemporary Reading*, ed. and trans. David L. Fleming (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1978), hereafter *Spiritual Exercises*. All subsequent citations of the *Spiritual Exercises* refer to paragraph numbers, not page numbers.

¹³ Ignatius de Loyola, *Letters of St. Ignatius Loyola*, trans. William J. Young (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959); Juan de Polanco, *Year by Year with the Early Jesuits (1537-1556): Selections from the Chronicon of Juan de Polanco, S.J.*, ed. and trans. John Patrick Donnelly (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004); *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540-1640*, ed. and trans. John Patrick Donnelly (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006).

¹⁴ Much has been written about the early history of the Jesuits; see especially O'Malley, *First Jesuits*. For further reading, see René Fülöp-Miller, *The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Frank S. Flint and Dorothy F. Tait (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963); Joseph de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice: A Historical Study*, trans. William J. Young (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1964); James Brodrick, *The Origin of the Jesuits* (Westport, CT:

studied the role of Saint Ignatius in the development of the *Constitutions and Ratio Studiorum* in *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*, and soon after, in 1938, the prominent Jesuit education professor Allan P. Farrell reevaluated the *Ratio Studiorum* in *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education* and detailed its development as well as its connections to contemporary education.¹⁵ In 1956, George Ganss, a Jesuit classicist, wrote a useful history of Catholic education in *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, and posited that it was Ignatius's goal to not only establish secondary education but higher education as well, which is neglected in most scholarly examinations of Jesuit education.¹⁶ The chief Jesuit scholar referenced in this article is John W. O'Malley who has written numerous books and articles on the Jesuits and their contributions to education.¹⁷ Essays by both O'Malley and Thomas Banchoff in *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges* (2016) outline the Jesuits' global approach to education and its legacy.¹⁸ Lastly, an article by Christopher Carlsmith, "Struggling towards Success: Jesuit Education in Italy 1540-1600" (2002),¹⁹ and Vincent J. Duminuco's

Greenwood Press, 1971); Louis Châtellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Jean Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography*, trans. Jeremy Leggatt (Washington: Counterpoint, 1995); John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

¹⁵ Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*; Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1938).

¹⁶ Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*.

¹⁷ John W. O'Malley, "Some Distinctive Characteristics of Jesuit Spirituality in the Sixteenth Century," in *Jesuit Spirituality: A Now and Future Resource*, ed. John O'Malley, John W. Padberg, and Vincent T. O'Keefe (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1990), 1-20; John W. O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education," in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 56-79; John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, eds., *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005); John W. O'Malley, "The Distinctiveness of the Society of Jesus," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1-16. See also Christopher Chapple, ed., *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-Year Perspective* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1993); George W. Traub, ed., *A Jesuit Education Reader: Contemporary Writings on the Jesuit Mission in Education, Principles, the Issue of Catholic Identity, Practical Applications of the Ignatian Way, and More* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2008); Christopher Chapple, ed., *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-Year Perspective* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1993).

¹⁸ O'Malley, "Historical Perspectives;" Thomas Banchoff, "Jesuit Higher Education and the Global Common Good," in *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2016), 239-260.

¹⁹ Carlsmith, "Struggling towards Success," 215-246. See also Christopher Carlsmith, "Schooling and Society in Bergamo, 1500-1650" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Virginia, 1999).

“Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach” (1993),²⁰ provide the methodological framework and contemporary reevaluations of Jesuit pedagogy for this article.

A thematic analysis of the goals of Jesuit pedagogical principles allows us to see how the Jesuits were able to differentiate themselves from the various colleges and universities that were already in place throughout Europe, and it explains their ability to educate the “whole person” in a way that transcended religious, cultural, and economic considerations, accounting for the rapid growth and establishment of the Jesuits as an Order founded on the principle of educating the masses. This article argues that the uniformity of school administration, pedagogy, and curriculum established by the *Constitutions*, *Ratio Studiorum*, and *Spiritual Exercises* allowed for the creation and proliferation of the liberal education of the whole student – mind, body, and spirit – which led to the rapid spread of Jesuit schools throughout the world, simultaneously fueled the Counter-Reformation, and inspired the next generation of scholars.

I. School Administration

While colleges and universities had been well established throughout Europe by the 1540s, each school was relatively unique and utilized its own system of teaching and administration. With the global focus and centralized nature of the Society of Jesus, if education was going to be a major focus of the organization, a structure needed to be drafted for how education would fit into their mission for the “help of souls.” This led to the formal adoption of the *Constitutions*, making education the primary ministry of the Order and creating a uniform set of rules for school administration focused on enriching the whole student, whether Jesuit or lay person, in mind, body, and spirit.

With the increasing emphasis on education as a ministry of the Order, the founders drafted the *Constitutions* to begin the process of organizing school administration. Part IV of the *Constitutions* established the Society’s mission to “aid its own members and their fellow men to attain the ultimate end for which they were created [...] to know and serve better God, our Creator and Lord”²¹ by looking at:

First of what pertains to the colleges, and then of what concerns the universities. With regard to the colleges, we shall discuss first what has relation to the founders; secondly, the colleges founded, in regard to their material or temporal aspects; thirdly, what pertains to the students who will study in them, that is, their admission, well-being, progress in learning and in other means of helping their fellow men, and their removal from studies; fourthly, what pertains to the government of the colleges.²²

²⁰ Vincent J. Duminuco, “Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach,” *Jesuit Institute*, 1993, accessed May 18, 2019.

²¹ *Constitutions*, Part IV, Preamble, 1.

²² *Constitutions*, Part IV, Preamble, 4.

The first part, concerning the founders, played a significant role in the rapid establishment of Jesuit universities throughout the world.²³ The *Constitutions* make clear that the Rector, or president of the college, was to ensure that the founder and benefactors of a college were to be commemorated during an annual Mass and that the establishment of a new college should be celebrated throughout the Order.²⁴ Thus, a considerable number of people was praying for these benefactors, and they and their relatives would continue to have prayers said on their behalf well after their death. Establishing funding for institutions went hand in hand with the second part of the passage: if an institution was deemed a burden on the Society or not in the greater service of God, then it would be up to the General and the Society to determine whether to close the school. The third part dealt directly with the teaching and experience of the students, which will be addressed more thoroughly below. Lastly, the fourth part pertained to how the schools should be run and administered. The development of the *Constitutions* altered the structure of the Society to emphasize the need for education to “have good and learned men” in their ranks.²⁵

Modeled in a military fashion, the Jesuit Order was a highly centralized organization even in its administration of schools. In the educational hierarchy, the General of the Society in Rome reigned supreme with various provincial authorities in charge of certain regions below him, and with the Rector of the college or university below them. Each of these authorities had various consultants whom they could rely on for advice as well.²⁶ According to Edward Fitzpatrick, what is interesting about the structure of the *Constitutions* is that, while administration was strongly centralized, “there was very little real absolute direction of the administrative officer in his duties. The duties assigned to him were vested, it might be said, in his discretion. His prudent judgement was appealed to. It was definitely a hierarchical system where authority went with responsibility.”²⁷ This individual discretion given to Rectors and provincial administrators allowed for the flexibility and adaptability of their educational

²³ Following the first Jesuit school at Messina in 1548, the Jesuits established 245 schools by 1600, and more than 700 by 1700. See Carlsmith, “Struggling towards Success,” 218; O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 208-209.

²⁴ *Constitutions*, Part IV, 1, 1.

²⁵ Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*, 17.

²⁶ In addition to a Rector, there was typically a Collateral, a counselor of the Rector; a Chancellor in charge of records and degrees; a Secretary in charge of student registration and maintaining the seal of the Rector; a Notary to give public certification to degrees and other matters; two or three Beadles, non-society members who filled various roles from Doctor’s assistants to correctors in charge of punishment; a General Censor to keep the Rector and Provincial informed of all school matters; and lastly the Deans of each department and their respective Doctors and Masters: *Constitutions*, Part IV, 17, 1-8. See also Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*, 20.

²⁷ Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*, 20-21.

programs to fit the needs of their students while still upholding the Jesuit mission in a cohesive manner.

In addition to a governmental framework, the *Constitutions* also developed the framework for the treatment and care of individual students. What is especially striking about the *Constitutions* is their concern for the students' physical and emotional well-being. As Chapter 4 states:

Concerning the care of those who are in the colleges in matters which pertain to the bodily health [...] that the Scholastics do not study at times detriment of their health, and that they give sufficient time to sleep and to observe moderation in their mental labors. Thus it may be that they can persevere longer as well in learning letters as in exercising them for the glory of God.²⁸

It was recognized by the Jesuits that the methods being employed by other institutions at the time were not the most effective in creating the motivated, lifelong learners that the Jesuits sought to develop. While other religious Orders focused on lengthy meditations or depriving themselves of food or sleep, the Jesuits focused on the maintenance of the body as more important to the overarching goal of achieving an education to exercise their learning "for the glory of God."²⁹

In addition to maintaining a healthy balance of academic rigor and self-care, the Jesuits also refrained from corporal punishment of any of their students by members of the Order. Ignatius was adamant that "physical punishment diminished the respect for the one administering it and ruptured the bond of affection between Jesuits and those they were trying to 'help.'"³⁰ Discipline still remained an issue, so many schools chose to hire "correctors" whose job it was to mete out punishment, especially amongst unruly younger students. The Jesuits sought to encourage students to seek out learning and take care of themselves so that they could continue their studies and better serve God. While they still found ways to punish students for misbehaving, they were careful to not have punishment associated with the Order and with its overall mission of leading the students by example.

The establishment of school administration as laid out in the *Constitutions* firmly established the importance of education as a ministry of the Order. Chapter 10 of the *Constitutions* states,

In accordance with the Bulls of the Apostolic See, the Professed Society will hold the superintendence of the colleges. Since it cannot seek any gain for itself from the income nor avail itself of it, it is probable that in the long run it will proceed with greater integrity and a more spiritual attitude in providing for the colleges unto the greater service of God our Lord and for their good government.³¹

²⁸ *Constitutions*, Part IV, 4, 1.

²⁹ *Constitutions*, Part IV, 4, 1.

³⁰ See O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 230.

³¹ *Constitutions*, Part IV, 10, 1.

There was a recognition that, as Ignatius writes, “From among who are at present merely students [...] in time some will depart to play diverse roles—one to preach and carry on the care of souls, another to the government of the land and administration of justice, and others to other occupations.”³² This recognition of the importance of their roles as educational administrators and also of the lasting legacy of their charge was key to the widespread success of Jesuit institutions.³³ By focusing on the development of the mind, while respecting the body, the Jesuits were able to influence the spirit of the students they taught.

II. Pedagogy

While the Society did not invent their system of school administration nor their pedagogical methods, they found ways to incorporate existing best practices into their colleges and universities. Trained at the University of Paris in the Humanistic method known as the *modus Parisiensis*,³⁴ the Jesuits adopted various teaching methods to create something entirely new, namely the *Ratio Studiorum*. Through these “best practices,” the Society was able to attract and maintain students at a rate that other colleges and universities could not keep up with, earning them both praise and disdain from the educational community. It was their focus on educating the whole student—mind, body, and spirit—that ensured that Jesuit teaching methods had a major impact on liberal education.

Intentionally focused on school administration and school foundation, the *Constitutions* left much to be desired with regard to pedagogy and proper teaching methods. While the *Constitutions* laid out the three faculties, namely languages (Humanities), arts (philosophy), and theology, and stated that pupils would progress through each stage as they achieved mastery in each subject, usually around two to three years per faculty, they said little about *how* each subject should be taught.³⁵ Based on years of experience in colleges around the world, and written by six of the premier Jesuit educators, the first draft in 1591 and the second draft in 1599 of the *Ratio Studiorum* established the curriculum and pedagogy of the Society for adoption in all of its schools. According to Robert Rusk, “the *Ratio Studiorum* is one of the first attempts on record at educational organization, management, and method, at a time when it was unusual to even grade pupils in classes; and one is tempted to compare it, not always to the disadvantage of the *Ratio*, with the regulations of the modern school system which have only after some generations been evolved and

³² Letter from Ignatius de Loyola to Antonio de Araoz, December 1, 1551, quoted in Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*, 28-29.

³³ O'Malley, “Historical Perspectives,” 155, argues that with over seven hundred schools in operation worldwide by 1773, “no such network of schools under a single aegis had ever been known before.”

³⁴ For details on the *modus Parisiensis*, see above, note 5.

³⁵ *Constitutions*, Part IV, 10, 1.

perfected.”³⁶ What the *Constitutions* had initiated by making education the focus of the Society, the *Ratio* accomplished. It demonstrated a combination of the scholastic and humanistic traditions that had come before them “to ensure high standards and uniform practices in Jesuit schools in different parts of the world.”³⁷

A major emphasis of the *Ratio Studiorum* and indicative of the success of the Jesuit pedagogical model was the focus on student learning and *cura personalis* or the “care for the (whole) person.”³⁸ The *Ratio Studiorum* is basically a series of rules and best practices structured according to the hierarchy of school administration: Provincial, Rector, Prefect of Studies, Professors (according to subject), and so forth. Each topic opens with a description of the importance of its role in helping to achieve the mission of the Society and its role in helping save souls while undertaking the work of teaching.³⁹ For the Jesuits, teaching revolved around student learning, and each member of the school administration was responsible for some aspect of that learning with the goal of forming a student capable of better serving others.⁴⁰

To accomplish this goal, the methods of scholasticism and instruction were not enough. Methods of instruction needed to revolve around the development of students in service to others. Therefore, the Jesuits modeled themselves after the *modus Parisiensis* with the additional added structure of the character development tenets laid out in the *Spiritual Exercises*. In the Annotations to his work, Ignatius had laid out the duties and roles of the retreat instructors and participants, which would become the basis for the spiritual aspect of the *cura personalis* method of instruction adopted by Jesuit institutions:

The first Annotation is that by this name of Spiritual Exercises is meant every way of examining one’s conscience, of meditating, of contemplating, of praying vocally and mentally, and of performing other spiritual actions, as will be said later. For as strolling, walking, and running are bodily exercises, so every way of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all the disordered tendencies, and, after it is rid, to seek and find the Divine Will as to the management of one’s life for the salvation of the soul is called a Spiritual Exercise.⁴¹

According to Edward Fitzpatrick, these Annotations meant:

1. There is such a thing as spiritual development, spiritual exercises, spiritual progress, spiritual ends.
2. The function of teacher or retreat-master “should necessarily be passive, following (only guarding and protecting), not prescriptive, categorical interfering,”

³⁶ Robert R. Rusk, *The Doctrines of the Great Educators*, 4th ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1969), 76-77.

³⁷ O’Malley, “Historical Perspectives,” 159.

³⁸ Banchoff, “Jesuit Higher Education,” 239.

³⁹ *Ratio*, 121, 137, 143, 150, 155-190.

⁴⁰ Duminuco, “Ignatian Pedagogy,” 4.

⁴¹ *Spiritual Exercises*, 1.

3. To carry out that function, the master needs a personal knowledge of the student.
4. The nature of this process is one of self-education, through self-activity.
5. A certain passivity, or better, receptivity, is an immensely important germinal opportunity for soul development.
6. The process must be adapted to the age, education, capacity, and condition of life of the person making the retreat.⁴²

Fitzpatrick details that what made the Jesuit teaching method markedly different from the schools that had come before them was their focus on the character and self-education of the individual. The Jesuit model developed teaching methods that focused on a passivity of teachers in order to shift the responsibility of learning to the students. Traditional universities relied heavily on teachers lecturing and students reciting or memorizing what they had learned. What made the Jesuit pedagogical model different was their focus on *disputationes*, or student discussion about the material they were learning, in order to develop a deeper student experience and thus a deeper understanding of the implications of their learning. Through this method of teaching, Duminuco argues, students develop “a carefully reasoned investigation through which the student forms or reforms his or her habitual attitudes towards other people of the world.”⁴³

The *Ratio Studiorum*, combined with the character development of the *Spiritual Exercises* provided the uniformity and adaptability of the Society as an organization that was focused on education and whose emphasis on pedagogy and teaching methods was central to student success. This framework provided the structure that was needed to ensure that Jesuit teachers would focus on the *cura personalis* and develop the whole student through methods of experience and student-centered learning. While the pedagogy was borrowed from the *modus Parisiensis* and other humanist schools of the time, the curriculum and the way in which it was taught was uniquely Jesuit.

III. Curriculum

The *Ratio Studiorum* and *Spiritual Exercises* did not just establish Ignatian pedagogy, they also managed to refine and elaborate on the curriculum established by the *Constitutions*. Because of the codified nature of the *Constitutions* and *Ratio Studiorum*, all Jesuit schools, regardless of location, followed a similar curriculum for the education of mind, body, and spirit.⁴⁴ This curriculum provided for a secular as well as religious education, and it did so without any cost to the participants, making Jesuit colleges extremely popular throughout Europe.

The *Ratio* outlined a “graded curriculum” that focused on the humanities, philosophy, and theology, with pupils graduating to higher levels of education and classes based on their performance and readiness for the next course of

⁴² Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*, 41.

⁴³ Duminuco, “Ignatian Pedagogy,” 4.

⁴⁴ Carlsmith, “Struggling toward Success,” 222.

study.⁴⁵ According to Carlsmith, students entered the colleges between the ages of eleven and fourteen, and

the first three years were devoted primarily to the study of the grammars of Donatus and Despauterius. Students were promoted as soon as they demonstrated mastery of a particular subject or author. Following completion of the grammar courses, students devoted a year to poetry and history, followed by a year of rhetoric. These two years emphasized *eloquentia*, the ability to move and convince one's audience [...]. Exceptional students who had completed the five-year sequence could move on to a triennium [i.e., three years] of study that concentrated on philosophy (e.g., logic, metaphysics) and the natural sciences (e.g., mathematics, natural history). This blend of humanist and Christian elements set Jesuit education apart from its peers in the Catholic world and contributed to both popular acclaim and pointed criticism.⁴⁶

This method of promotion through courses of study was not unique to the Jesuits, but it formed the basis for the compendium of study for students in Jesuit colleges. Those wishing to enter the Society would also spend four years studying theology: two years of moral theology and two years of Sacred Scripture.⁴⁷ As a result of the diversity of the Jesuit curriculum, their colleges attracted a wide range of scholastics and externs alike, leaving tutors in other colleges and universities throughout Europe scrambling for pupils to teach.⁴⁸

The Jesuit curriculum has as its goal to equip students for their roles later in life in the service of their communities. Thus, the Jesuit curriculum began with an intensive study of languages, namely Greek, Latin, and the local vernacular.⁴⁹ This mastery of language allowed the Jesuits abroad to be the principal academics to develop “grammars and dictionaries of the respective indigenous languages” they encountered on their missions in foreign lands.⁵⁰ While other religious Orders tended to teach the indigenous peoples Latin, the Jesuits used their mastery of language to develop ways of better communicating with the peoples they encountered and learn the languages of the people amongst whom they resided. Thus, these early Jesuits learned the “importance of accommodation to times, places, cultures, and circumstances if they wanted their message to be heard.”⁵¹ This was especially important to the Jesuits, as their goal was not only to educate students, but to enable them to better facilitate the Society's mission of saving souls throughout the world.

The Jesuit curriculum did not just stress the importance of subject mastery and language learning, but also of teaching students how to live and how to earn a living after they left the college. According to George Ganss, by focusing on the

⁴⁵ For the various curricula and a sample student day in each, see Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 342-353.

⁴⁶ Carlsmith, “Struggling toward Success,” 223.

⁴⁷ Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 342-343.

⁴⁸ Carlsmith, “Struggling toward Success,” 230.

⁴⁹ *Constitutions*, Part IV, 5, 1.

⁵⁰ O'Malley, “Historical Perspectives,” 158.

⁵¹ O'Malley, “Historical Perspectives,” 158-159.

liberal studies of the Humanities the Society was preparing graduates (in the words of Ignatius) for a “road to economic betterment and the security without which a man can scarcely lead a fully human life, much less function as a social leader. Neither can a man without such economic security become a scholar, pursuing learning for its own sake.”⁵² By extending education to laymen free of charge, the Society was able to draw in people who might otherwise not have had access to education, to develop them into the next generation of civic and religious leaders. According to Thomas Banchoff, “the rigor of the *Ratio* was designed to build character as a means of furthering both the salvation of the soul and the improvement of society. Thus, Jesuit education incorporated what today would be called the ‘co-curriculum’, encompassing student organizations and activities such as theater and ministry to the local poor.”⁵³ Bringing in students from the local community, educating them according to a strict curriculum of the Humanities, philosophy, and theology, and then having them give back to their own communities taught these students how to be leaders and further extended the reach of the Society throughout the world.

Conclusion

The decision to establish a uniform set of rules for school administration, teaching methods, and curriculum enabled the Jesuits to create a system of colleges and universities that focused on educating the whole student—mind, body, and spirit. The *Constitutions*, *Ratio Studiorum*, and the *Spiritual Exercises* facilitated a method of attracting students from diverse backgrounds, educating them at no cost, and offering them the well-rounded moral and academic education needed to thrive in the early modern world, thus contributing to the Counter-Reformation and providing the next generation of scholars.

While there is much interest in the Jesuit educational model, there seems to be little research on individual Jesuit educators and their experiences. Given the wealth of primary-source material, scholars should be inclined to undertake cultural history examinations of Jesuit educators in the early modern period as they endeavored to implement the *Ratio Studiorum*. Carlsmith, O'Malley, and Farrell address many of the challenges of implementing the Jesuit educational system, but it would be beneficial in the post-structural sense to see how Jesuits themselves viewed and grappled with the problems they faced in the classroom and the communities they served.⁵⁴

⁵² Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*, 163.

⁵³ Banchoff, “Jesuit Higher Education,” 243.

⁵⁴ See Carlsmith, “Struggling toward Success,” 219-220; O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 227-232; and Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 98-106. While all three of these studies mention the difficulties of establishing the Jesuit schools, there is little else in terms of scholarship that addresses the difficulties faced by the Society and the backlash from fellow scholars and communities alike as the Jesuits rapidly spread across Europe.

What is striking about the Jesuit pedagogical model is its lasting legacy and the qualities of liberal education that are still applicable today. The Jesuits based their adoption of the *Constitutions* and *Ratio Studiorum* on their personal experiences in education and only after years of experience as teachers of the Humanist curriculum. Their work represents a collection of best teaching practices that can almost be viewed as universals and that can be found in any pedagogical text today.⁵⁵ The Jesuits' desire to educate students regardless of religious, cultural, and economic considerations, and to educate the whole person, to take action in society to help one's neighbors, represents the democratization of educational ideals found in public education today. Focusing on the needs of their students, getting to know them as individuals, adapting the curriculum to fit their level of education, taking care of the students' physical and mental well-being, making their own role as instructors a passive one, and informing students of their role in the world are all qualities of great educators and things from the Jesuit pedagogical model that instructors today should strive to emulate to better serve their students.

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⁵⁵ The California Common Core State Standards share many similarities with the *Ratio Studiorum* especially considering the skills and content knowledge that students should acquire by grade level, as well as how teachers should teach and assess mastery of said instruction. See *California Common Core State Standards: English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects* (Sacramento: California Department of Education, 2013), [online](#), accessed May 18, 2019; print version, ISBN 978-0-8011-1740-4.

Nicole Sueda

*Foundations for Modernity:
The Impact of the Battle of Sekigahara (1600)
and Tokugawa Ieyasu on Japan*

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the impact of Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) on the history of Japan. On the basis of Tokugawa-era primary sources, including government regulations, financial documents, philosophical and moralist texts, cultural observations, memoirs, and diaries, the author argues that the Battle of Sekigahara led to the creation of the Tokugawa shogunate, which set the stage for modern Japan during its years of relative isolation by fostering proto-nationalism, modernization, and demobilization.

KEYWORDS: early modern history; modern history; Japan; Battle of Sekigahara (1600); Tokugawa Ieyasu; Meiji Restoration; proto-nationalism; modernization; demobilization

Introduction

At the height of the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), seventeen-year-old Kobayakawa Hideaki ordered his men to change sides and spurred the forces of Tokugawa Ieyasu on to victory, ending a time of civil war in Japan.¹ The influence of this battle on the creation of modern Japan extends beyond the Tokugawa era (1603-1868), *sakoku* ("closed country," 1633-1853),² and the Meiji Restoration (1868) into the twentieth century. A turning point in history, the Battle of Sekigahara directly impacted the world stage by adding Japan to it as a powerful nation.

In Japan, the "Warring States Period," the *sengoku* era, lasted from the mid 1500s until 1600, an era full of battling *samurai* (professional warrior) clans, as the Emperor lost power and various *daimyo* (fief holders and warlords of their own domains called *han*) fought to become *shogun* (feudal military leader).³ The *bakufu* (tent or military government) served as the *shogun's* base of operations. In the late 1500s, Oda Nobunaga (1532-1582) began the process of unifying the

¹ Paul K. Davis, *100 Decisive Battles: From Ancient Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 206; Stephen Turnbull, "Sekigahara, Battle of (1600)," in *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, ed. Richard Holmes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 116; Martin J. Dougherty, *100 Battles: Decisive Conflicts That Have Shaped the World* (London: Parragon, 2012), 77; Mikiso Hane and Louis G. Perez, *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2015), 181.

² *Sakoku* refers to the period during which Japan closed its borders to foreign commerce and interaction. The government evicted all foreigners and priests, except for the Dutch who were permitted the use of Nagasaki as a trading port. For Japanese terminology used in this article and exact translations, see David J. Lu, ed., *Japan, A Documentary History: The Dawn of History to the Late Tokugawa Period* (New York: Routledge, 2015; first published 1997), iii; see also David J. Lu, ed., *Japan, A Documentary History: The Late Tokugawa Period to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2015; first published 1997), iii.

³ For a list of shoguns, see Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 325-326. For a chronology of the Warring States Era, see Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, xii-xiv.

country.⁴ After Nobunaga's death, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), Nobunaga's most loyal vassal, took up the reign and united Japan under his rule.⁵ Two years after Toyotomi's death, the *daimyo* split into two factions, the Western and Eastern forces. The Western forces, led by Ishida Mitsunari, supported the young heir, Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-c.1615), and the Eastern forces supported Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), one of the vassals tasked with watching over the heir.⁶ On October 21, 1600, the Western and Eastern Forces met in the modern-day Gifu Prefecture of Japan at the Battle of Sekigahara in a decisive match to determine the next leader of the newly unified state.⁷ Tokugawa and the Eastern forces' victory led to the creation of the Tokugawa rule over Japan, spanning the next 250 years until the last Tokugawa *shogun* resigned in 1868.⁸

For the *sengoku* and *sakoku* eras, government documents, scholarly essays, and personal journals make up the majority of the primary sources available to us. Unlike earlier eras such as the Nara (710-794) or Heian (794-1185), for which women's personal diaries supply rich information,⁹ sources from the Tokugawa or Edo period (1603-1868) were mostly written by men. Some sources also came from foreigners. One such source supplied information for the next generation of Dutch traders who stayed at Dejima¹⁰ as the only outsiders to interact with Japan during its state as a relatively isolated country.¹¹ A collection of diaries from the Dutch at Dejima between 1700 and 1740, called *The Deshima Diaries*, provides a perspective on Tokugawa Japan from a European merchant viewpoint. Many of the Dutch traders who authored these diaries encountered both the Japanese elite and the everyday Japanese around Dejima. Letters, documents, and census reports reflect the state of post-Sekigahara Japan and provide insight into life under the various Tokugawa *shoguns*.¹² Documents from the *bakufu*, as well as

⁴ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013; first published 2002), 12-13.

⁵ Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978), 78.

⁶ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 179-182.

⁷ Turnbull, "Sekigahara," 116. For a map of the modern-day prefectures of Japan and their traditional names, see Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, xvii-xxi.

⁸ Arthur L. Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan: The Life of Tokugawa Ieyasu* (New York: Routledge, 2011; first published 1937), 17-36.

⁹ *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*, trans. Karen Brazell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), vii-xxvii.

¹⁰ Dejima, also spelled Deshima, was an artificial island created off the coast of Nagasaki Bay where Dutch traders could conduct business without entering or residing in Japan. Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie [NOIC], *The Deshima Diaries: Marginalia (1700-1740)*, ed. Paul van der Velde and Rudolf Bachofner, (Tokyo: Japan-Netherlands Institute, 1992), xiii-xvi.

¹¹ NOIC, *The Deshima Diaries*, xiv-xviii.

¹² James L. Huffman, *Modern Japan: A History in Documents*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11-20.

personal journals, also offer perspectives on this time period. Opinion pieces by Confucian scholars advocating for social change became more common in the late 1700s.¹³ Confucian philosophers like Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) and Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728) wielded influence during the Tokugawa period when the state was backing Confucianism. The basic beliefs of Confucianism legitimized the *shogunate* (government of the shogun) by encouraging the idea of knowing one's place and justifying class structure.¹⁴

Scholarship on this era includes the works of Mark Ravina, a specialist in modern Japanese history. Ravina's 2016 article "Tokugawa, Romanov, and Khmer" compares Tokugawa rule with the rule of other Asian leaders during the eighteenth century,¹⁵ while his 2017 monograph on the Meiji Restoration explains Japan's role on the world stage.¹⁶ Sarah C. M. Paine's recent work, *The Japanese Empire*, covers Japanese history from the Meiji Restoration until World War II.¹⁷ Historians of the Tokugawa and Meiji eras agree that Tokugawa Ieyasu created the modern state, although there is some debate over how he accomplished this. Another point of agreement among scholars is that, despite the small skirmishes after 1600, the Battle of Sekigahara was the decisive victory Tokugawa Ieyasu needed to consolidate power.¹⁸ Scholars believe Japan's nationalism developed with the restoration of the Emperor,¹⁹ but its formation began under the Tokugawa and evolved to complement the new regime.

Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at the Battle of Sekigahara served as his gateway to institutionalize the Tokugawa hegemony. While this battle allowed the Tokugawa to become the epitome of the era of *shoguns*, it would eventually lead to the end of the *shogunate* system. Japan underwent social, political, economic, and military change because of the Battle of Sekigahara that would fundamentally alter the state. This article argues that the Battle of Sekigahara led to the creation of the Tokugawa *shogunate*, which set the stage for modern Japan during its years of relative isolation by fostering proto-nationalism, modernization, and demobilization.

¹³ Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 243-244.

¹⁴ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 221.

¹⁵ Mark Ravina, "Tokugawa, Romanov, and Khmer: The Politics of Trade and Diplomacy in Eighteenth-Century East Asia," *Journal of World History* 26, no. 2 (2015): 269-294.

¹⁶ Mark Ravina, *To Stand With the Nations of the World: Japan's Meiji Restoration in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 207-214.

¹⁷ Sarah C. M. Paine, *The Japanese Empire: Grand Strategy from the Meiji Restoration to the Pacific War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1-8.

¹⁸ To understand the battle itself, a map recreating the battlefield, illustrating battle pathways and tactics, contributes to a better overall picture of the main decisive moment, and can be found in Dougherty, *100 Battles*, 77.

¹⁹ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 135-137.

I. Proto-nationalism

The Battle of Sekigahara created a unique national identity. Isolation from the rest of the world allowed the Japanese to further develop their societal and cultural landscape. A new sense of unity grew amongst the *chonin* (townspeople) and peasants. Under the Tokugawa peace, new forms of art and entertainment surfaced in developing urban areas. *Kabuki* (a form of theater), the tea ceremony, woodblock printing, and puppet shows became commonplace within the cities. While some of the rising forms of art and entertainment that made up the culture of this time had existed before the Tokugawa era, these practices gained widespread acclaim and new heights under the Tokugawa.²⁰

Unity and uniformity were key concerns for the *bakufu*. Following the Tokugawa's rise, Western ideas and Christians became taboo. The *bakufu* advocated for unity by telling the people how to live their lives. Every Japanese citizen had to be affiliated with a Buddhist or Shinto temple, and Christianity was declared illegal.²¹ Governmental regulations were implemented to bring a sense of unity and hierarchy. One set of Tokugawa regulations in 1655 detailed how the familial disputes of peasants, merchants, and city folk would be handled and settled by the *bakufu* and *daimyo*.²² The "Regulations of Villagers" in 1643 outlined the way of life for villagers and prohibited villagers from building houses inconsistent with their station in life, brewing or selling *sake* (rice wine), or dying clothing purple or crimson.²³ These regulations remained in place throughout the Tokugawa era. In the early years, *samurai* and *daimyo* strictly enforced the regulations, but they became relaxed as time went on. Stemming from pre-modern "House Codes," these regulations controlled the population and informally carried over into the Meiji era. "House Codes" had differed from clan to clan during the earlier "Warring States Period." Modeled after the reigning *bakufu* in most cases, "House Codes" were standards of conduct.²⁴ While they had been around for centuries, the Tokugawa regulations achieved their goal of unity by instilling in the lower levels of society a unifying feeling of resentment. For the first time, the *shogunate* exercised authority over each *han*, a

²⁰ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 237-243.

²¹ Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 89-90; Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 171-174.

²² "Regulations for the Residents of Edo, 1655," in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 215-218.

²³ "Regulations for Villagers, 1643," in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 213-215. See also Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, ed., *Voices of Early Modern Japan: Contemporary Accounts of Daily Life during the Age of the Shoguns* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2014; first published 2012), 28-31.

²⁴ Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 61. For more information on Edo's laws for the military class, see Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 82-84.

system called *baku-han*. Before the creation of the Tokugawa *baku-han*, the various *hans* had remained separate and answered only to their respective *daimyo*.²⁵

In an effort to increase unity and loyalty in order to prevent rebellions, intellectuals supporting the *bakufu* used Confucian philosophies as methods of propaganda. "The Heaven-Appointed Duty of Subjects," a document from the *Daigaku Wakumon* of Kumazawa Banzan and written between 1686 and 1691, outlined the duty of the Japanese people to revere and aid the *bakufu*. Kumazawa wrote this piece in a question-and-answer format. When asking the question of what the duty of a subject was, he answered, "He should impute goodness to his lord and take mistakes upon his own head. He should not assume authority for himself, but impute all authority to his lord."²⁶ Kumazawa detailed how he felt the relationship between subject and ruler should work, but his arguments were full of contradictions. First, he advocated for individual responsibility, but in the next sentence he advised to pass all authority on to the leader. Aside from his championing of obedience, Kumazawa also supported the idea of a ruler who would earn the obedience of his people, a Confucian concept known as *jinsei* (benevolent rule). According to the Japanese Confucian philosopher Ito Jinsai (1627-1705), it was the "Heavenly-appointed duty of subjects [...] to help his lord exercise benevolent government (*jinsei*) by obeying the judgment and commands of his lord, or making up for his shortcomings."²⁷ Such notions regarding obedience toward one's lord easily transferred over to the Emperor after the Meiji Restoration, yet the idea of *jinsei* would continue to be an ideal.

While the *bakufu* attempted to achieve national unity through policies, the people in cities came together naturally as different forms of art gained popularity and a type of popular culture emerged. The growing population of the *chonin* allowed the arts to flourish with the creation of pleasure quarters in the cities. One of these art forms was the "tea ceremony," detailed, for example, in the recollections of Chikamatsu Shigenori (1695-1778) about the tea room, as well as viewing and participating in a tea ceremony.²⁸ Pulling from aspects of Zen Buddhism, tea ceremonies offered a ritualistic, calming atmosphere that even the *samurai* favored.²⁹ Entertainment became an important aspect of society within cities, so much so that areas of the larger cities were designated solely for such purposes and referred to as pleasure, amusement, or entertainment quarters, thus turning into the main cultural hubs.³⁰ The entertainment quarters in Edo (renamed Tokyo in 1868) were particularly famous and known as the

²⁵ Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 204-205.

²⁶ "Heaven-Appointed Duty of Subjects," in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 248-251.

²⁷ "Ito Jinsai's Daily Observance," in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 249.

²⁸ "The Tea Ceremony," in Vaporis, *Voices of Early Modern Japan*, 173-175.

²⁹ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 141-142.

³⁰ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 38-39.

Yoshiwara District.³¹ Since this area was intended for the amusement of the *chonin*, *samurai* were not allowed there, but they nonetheless regularly infiltrated the premises to enjoy the various forms of entertainment on display.³² The upper class favored *no* drama (a form of theater featuring masks), while the *chonin* preferred *kabuki* plays and puppet shows with *yoruri* (small, hand-controlled puppets) and *bunraku* (puppets two-thirds the size of humans).³³

Tokugawa and Meiji historians consider Japanese nationalism a phenomenon that occurred after the Meiji Restoration. When they examine the *hans* and *daimyo* within the centralized *bakufu*, the semi-autonomous status of the various domains seems to suggest that the Tokugawa era lacked national unity.³⁴ Thus, scholars believe that the newly empowered Emperor of the Meiji period brought the Japanese people together and instilled a sense of unity that had been lacking during the earlier feudal period.³⁵ Admittedly, nationalism evolved and changed to fit the new Meiji state, but proto-nationalism did exist during the Tokugawa era in the form of Japanese culture. Entertainment and art brought the people together and thus contributed significantly to their collective identity.

A unique national identity replaced the warring clans who had only been loyal to the *daimyo*. Government policies aided in this transition, but the urban population was the driving force. By the mid 1700s, pleasure quarters in larger cities became so popular that the *bakufu* had them moved to the outskirts.³⁶ Pleasure quarters drew all walks of life: city dwellers, merchants, nobles, and *samurai* traveled to the edges of cities to see a play, shop, or indulge at a bar or restaurant. And cultural ideas, like the tea ceremony or *kabuki*, have prevailed until the present day.

II. Modernization

The Battle of Sekigahara created a governing body that provided all the tools needed to modernize. Tokugawa Ieyasu developed methods of quelling insurrections before they could begin. Unwittingly, these policies established the means to modernize, which the instigators of the Meiji Restoration, the *tozama* clans (outsider *daimyo* who had been on the losing side at the Battle of Sekigahara), would later use to their advantage. During this time of relative rather than complete isolation (due to trade with the Dutch and interaction with foreign fishermen in the Sea of Japan), the elite of the Tokugawa era knew of the

³¹ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 18.

³² Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 105.

³³ Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 107-109; Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 145.

³⁴ Mark Ravina, "State-Building and Political Economy in Early-modern Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 4 (1995): 997-1022.

³⁵ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 68-69.

³⁶ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 18.

outside world's happenings.³⁷ And, as will be shown below, *sankin kotai* (alternate attendance, requiring the *daimyo* to reside at the Tokugawa court every other year) ultimately led to an improved infrastructure and a money economy.

Rangaku (Dutch learning) was a common practice of the Tokugawa era; it entailed studying texts from the Dutch to be educated in Western knowledge.³⁸ The scholar Sugita Gempaku (1733-1817), who trained in medicine and specialized in surgery, wrote a memoir in 1815 that explains when his interest in the field had first started. Sugita reminisced about his pursuit of knowledge with friends regarding *rangaku* by asking each other questions:

If we can directly understand books written by them, we will benefit greatly. However, it is pitiful that there has been no one who has set his mind on working in this field. Can we somehow blaze this trail? It is impossible to do it in Edo. Perhaps it is best if we ask translators in Nagasaki to make some translations. If one book can be completely translated, there will be an immeasurable benefit to the country.³⁹

Sugita's recollections demonstrate how young people viewed and participated in *rangaku*. Since not all students were learning Dutch, translators were a necessity, yet academics knew the value of learning from the texts and information that the Dutch provided. Dutch merchants brought tradable goods besides books with them. In spite of their relative isolation, educated Japanese learned about science, philosophy, and history from the West. *Rangaku* allowed the elites of the Tokugawa to build an awareness of the rest of world and stay up to date with the newest information.

Government documents and academic testimonials written by Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728) and Mitsui Takafusa (1684-1748), as well as the *Osaka Shogyo Shukanroku* or "Records of Business Practices of Osaka," follow the emergence of a new money economy. Before the practice became inconvenient, the Japanese had used rice as a currency and determinant of wealth. Coin money had existed since the Nara period, but was not widely used.⁴⁰ The amount of rice the land of a *daimyo* produced determined a *daimyo's* status. According to Ogyu Sorai, "[i]n olden days, the countryside had hardly any money and all the purchase was made with rice or barley but not with money."⁴¹ To be considered a *daimyo*, one had to produce ten thousand *koku*, or 51,200 bushels [of rice], each year.⁴²

³⁷ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 290.

³⁸ NOIC, *The Deshima Diaries*, xv-xvi.

³⁹ "The Beginning of Dutch Studies in Japan," in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 258-266, here 264.

⁴⁰ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 137.

⁴¹ "Spread of Money Economy, 1716-1735," in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 228-241, here 229.

⁴² Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 81; Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 127-130. For a chart featuring the equivalents of Japanese measurements in the metric and U.S. systems, see Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Late Tokugawa Period*, i.

Contemporary documents affirm the growth of commerce during the Tokugawa era and the switch to a money economy.⁴³

Following the increase in commerce, the merchant class gained power over the rest of the society. Merchant firms flourished and provided loans, for example the funds to improve Tokugawa society for public works such as schools.⁴⁴ Ogyu explained that, with the new economy, “merchants become masters while samurai are relegated to the position of customers, unable to determine prices fixed on different commodities.”⁴⁵ Traditionally, merchants had been considered lower class due to Confucian beliefs that found money-making distasteful.⁴⁶ Now, as the merchant class rose to power, the *samurai* class declined. Under the Tokugawa, merchants came to dominate Japan’s cultural world.⁴⁷ This rise of commerce would eventually speed up the Meiji agenda, but the lengthy process of change from the *koku* (a measurement of rice) to a money economy was already occurring under the Tokugawa *bakufu*.

After the Battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu knew he had to keep the *daimyo* in line to prevent a challenge to his rule. One of his solutions was known as *sankin kotai* which required *daimyo* to live in Edo every other year, while the family of the *daimyo* had to stay in Edo full time.⁴⁸ In accordance with this practice, *daimyo* heirs lived their life until they became *daimyo* with little knowledge of the *han* they would soon be expected to oversee. *Daimyo* families passed their titles and positions down through hereditary lineage. Since *Sankin kotai* forced the families of *daimyo*, including the future *daimyo*, to stay in Edo year-round, almost like hostages,⁴⁹ when the title was passed on to the new *daimyo*, the latter became responsible for running a fiefdom that he knew little about and had perhaps only briefly, sometimes never, visited before.⁵⁰

On the other hand, *Sankin kotai* brought about the beginning of public works and infrastructural improvements. From all over Japan, *daimyo* were forced to travel to the capital, meaning new structures were required. The *daimyo* needed roads to travel with their large parties to and from their *han*. Alongside these new roads, hostels and supply stores were built, and new villages arose where before there had only been farmland. Farmers and peasants of *hans* were forced

⁴³ “Growth of Commerce,” in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 228-236.

⁴⁴ Huffman, *Modern Japan*, 18.

⁴⁵ “Spread of Money Economy, 1716-1735,” in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 228-241, here 229.

⁴⁶ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 204.

⁴⁷ Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 207.

⁴⁸ David B. Carpenter, “Urbanization and Social Change in Japan,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (1960): 155-165, here 158-159. A document with specific instructions for this system can be found in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Dawn*, 208.

⁴⁹ Hiroaki Sato, *Legends of the Samurai* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 1995), xxii.

⁵⁰ Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 86.

to comply with these needs. A text by the *daimyo* Matsudaira Sadanobu (1759-1829), "Tax Burdens Suffered by the Farmers" (1781), targeted the burdens put onto the peasants that Matsudaira advocated should change. Matsudaira wrote of the high taxes endured by the farmers that made them fear officials to the point that farmers did anything they could to keep officials happy: "When *corvée* [forced] labor is imposed on them [i.e., farmers], they build highways, bridges, and dikes, and send off travelers."⁵¹ To avoid higher taxes, the peasants built all the infrastructure that the *daimyo* demanded. As a direct result of *sankin kotai*, public works such as roads and bridges were built, which would facilitate further modernization during the Meiji era.

Through policies meant to strengthen the power of the *bakufu*, the Tokugawa laid the foundations of a modern state. The people of the state learned from the West, despite their relative isolation. Instead of exchanging rice, *sankin kotai* forced the *bakufu* to change to a money economy and improve infrastructure, which aided urban development. Years later, after the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853, when the new Japanese government decided to modernize, they found only few aspects of the economy and country that needed to change.

III. Demobilization

The Battle of Sekigahara created a period of peace that severely weakened the military. The few skirmishes that occurred after the Battle of Sekigahara, such as the Siege of Osaka (1614-1615) and the Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638), happened before 1700 and caused little trouble for the *bakufu*'s forces.⁵² With the rise of the Tokugawa, demand for *samurai* plummeted. Tokugawa Ieyasu significantly decreased the number of *samurai* and *daimyo* after assuming the position of *shogun*. The majority of former *samurai* were recruited into the bureaucracy. The remaining *samurai* accompanied *daimyo* during *sankin kotai* or stayed behind to watch the *han*. Few *samurai* retained their battle prowess, and even fewer took advantage of their status to become educated. Declining and entitled, the *samurai* were a dying class in Tokugawa society. By the Meiji era, the military knew less about warfare and weaponry than the warlords of Japan's distant past.

The eighteenth-century *Deshima Diaries*, a logbook that follows the daily life of Dutch traders at Dejima, an artificial island off the coast of Nagasaki, contain a diary kept by the *opperhoofd* (Dutch for "chief trade officer") Ferdinand de Groot. The diaries follow the Dutch's daily interaction with the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean merchants, and their fellow Dutch traders. De Groot's diary chronicles three years of his time at Dejima. Unlike his fellow traders' diaries, his involves more of his interaction with the Japanese than his livelihood. In April 1705, De

⁵¹ "Tax Burdens Suffered by the Farmers, 1781," in Lu, Japan, *Documentary History: Late Tokugawa Period*, 279-280.

⁵² Hane and Perez, *Premodern Japan*, 290-293.

Groot recorded a fight he had witnessed between two Japanese men: “The clerk, Moeimon, tried to intervene but he was trampled underfoot, so one of the *stadsbongioisen* [Japanese town commanders/officers/*samurai*] tried to frighten them by pulling out his sword. However, suddenly the sword slipped from the scabbard and others had to hold the *stadsbongiois* back who would have surely attacked the fighters. As a result, the *norimon* [Japanese palanquin] carrier of the *opperbongiois* [Japanese senior commander/official] has been dismissed.”⁵³ The scene De Groot depicted showcased the *samurai*’s loss of their warrior status. Any *samurai* prior to 1600 knew that control over their movements and *katana* (the traditional samurai sword) meant the difference between life or death in any dangerous situation. After his embarrassment, another *samurai* kept the first from attacking. During the “Warring States Period,” any offense by the lower classes to a *samurai* would have resulted in death or heavy punishment.⁵⁴ By the time of De Groot’s memory, the *samurai* had lost their revered status to the point at which they were unable to stop a simple street fight between *chonin*.

Samurai relied on their lord to pay their stipend and lacked other formal sources of income.⁵⁵ In a text written in 1796, the academic Takano Tsunemichi (1729-1815) mentioned *samurai* bowing and kneeling to merchants and peasants as they engaged in handicraft to sell their wares because of inadequate income from the *daimyo*. Takano made the analogy that “the *samurai* spirit is constantly on a downward trend, as if pushing a cart downhill.”⁵⁶ A once prominent and privileged social class declined as the era progressed because of impoverished *daimyo*. Debts increased amongst the *daimyo* and *samurai* because, despite their reduced wealth, they were unable to adopt a different lifestyle. Furthermore, as the *samurai* spirit declined, it faced corruption. In 1855, Fujimori Taiga (1799-1862) wrote that *sankin kotai*, which allowed *han samurai* to live in Edo, led to *han samurai* discovering bad habits, indulging in debauchery, and living frivolously rather than becoming literate.⁵⁷ By 1800, warriors were no longer needed within the *bakufu*, which further eroded the self-respect of the remaining *samurai*.⁵⁸

In 1853, the *daimyo* Tokugawa Nariaki (1800-1860) wrote a resolution for the arrival of U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew C. Perry to aid the *bakufu* in their decision over whether or not the country should be opened. Nariaki’s response to the crisis addressed Japan’s policies regarding coastal defense and advocated for the policy of *joi* (“expelling the barbarians”). Nariaki recalled Japan’s former

⁵³ NOIC, *The Deshima Diaries*, 64. For an explanation of Dutch words and a glossary, see NOIC, *The Deshima Diaries*, xii-xiv, 561-569.

⁵⁴ Reischauer and Craig, *Japan*, 49.

⁵⁵ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 30.

⁵⁶ “Decline in Samurai Morale, 1796,” in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Late Tokugawa Period*, 277.

⁵⁷ “Corruption of Samurai, 1855,” Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Late Tokugawa Period*, 276.

⁵⁸ Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Late Tokugawa Period*, 274-275.

military prowess from 1200 to 1600. In his first reason for refusing a policy of peace, Nariaki adamantly claimed that “foreigners both fear and respect us” because of Japan’s past military achievements, ranging from the conquest of Korea in ancient times, the repelling the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and the invasion of Korea in the sixteenth century, to the suppression of Christianity from 1596 to 1644.⁵⁹ By listing military feats that had largely been accomplished before the establishment of *sakoku*, Nariaki implicitly acknowledged that for the past two (Tokugawa) centuries, Japan’s military had not really engaged in any acts of valor to recommend them.

Scholars agree that the poor military of the Tokugawa at the time Commodore Perry arrived aided the United States in achieving their goal to reopen of Japan for the purpose of trade and port access to resupply. The majority acknowledges the link between the demilitarized state and the acceptance of the “Unequal Treaties,” but not all connect this to the modern state.⁶⁰ The “Unequal Treaties” were a set of seventeen treaties that Japan signed with foreign powers following the reopening of the country that shifted the balance of power heavily in favor of the Europeans. The first treaty that set the tone for the rest of the “Unequal Treaties” was the Treaty of Shimoda with the United States (1858).⁶¹ Japan only managed to modernize after the Tokugawa had resigned their power to the instigators of the Meiji Restoration and the *sonno joi* (“revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians”) movement.

The *samurai*, the great warriors who had prepared for each battle to be their last, had become politicians or peasants. Few *samurai* still carried *katana* and believed in *bushido* (“the way of the warrior”), while the rest waited for their next stipend and for orders from the *daimyo* or *bakufu*.⁶² Demobilization drove the Japanese into a corner when, in 1853, Commodore Perry arrived with a fleet of U.S. Navy ships and an ultimatum from U.S. President Fillmore regarding the opening of the country.

Conclusion

The decisive victory at Sekigahara in 1600 allowed Tokugawa Ieyasu, albeit inadvertently, to set the stage for modern Japan. Governmental policies meant to maintain the state’s stability laid the foundations for modernity, the political evolution that the *bakufu* had intended to stifle by enacting the policy of *sakoku*. Under the Tokugawa *shogunate* the emergence of proto-nationalism, modernization, and demobilization paved the way for the rapid modernization of the Meiji era.

⁵⁹ “Tokugawa Nariaki to Bakufu, 14 August 1853,” in Lu, *Japan, Documentary History: Late Tokugawa Period*, 282-286.

⁶⁰ Ravina, “State-Building and Political Economy,” 999-1004.

⁶¹ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 50-51.

⁶² Sadler, *Maker of Modern Japan*, 389.

The descendants of those who had fought against the Tokugawa at the Battle of Sekigahara, the *tozama*, had to bide their time for 250 years. Incensed by their helplessness at the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853, the Japanese began a campaign for rapid militarization and industrialization. Elites from the *tozama* clans, specifically the Choshu, Satsuma, Tosa, and Hizen clans, instigated the beginning of the Meiji era through a “revolution from above.”⁶³ During the reign of Emperor Meiji (r. 1867-1912), the *genro* (oligarchs/elder statesmen functioning as the emperor’s advisors) used rapid modernization and westernization to create the Japanese Empire of the World War II-era.

Following the Meiji restoration (1868), Japan entered the world stage as a prominent player during World War I and later became a charter member of the League of Nations (1920). Brief international confrontations and naval successes against Russia and China bolstered the Japanese morale on the journey to gain further global recognition. The Japanese Empire subsequently conquered and annexed the surrounding areas, including Korea, parts of China, and the Kurile islands. Thus, not only did the Battle of Sekigahara impact the future of Japan, but that of the entire Asian continent.

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⁶³ Mark Ravina, *The Last Samurai: The Life and Battles of Saigo Takamori* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2004), 151-159.

Noah Stevens

The Role of Fences in the American Revolution

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the devastation of agrarian communities in the middle colonies during the American Revolution, 1776-1783, by focusing on the utilization and destruction of fences. Based on civilian and soldier eyewitness accounts, as well as newspaper articles and maps, it first investigates the obstructive role of fences at the battles of Bunker Hill (1775), Germantown (1777), and Brandywine (1777), and then analyzes the agricultural and financial losses incurred as a result of soldiers plundering civilians' fenced enclosures. Employing an archaeological-material methodology, the author argues that scholars should examine the varied costs of war and demonstrates that focusing on fences allows historians to uncover more comprehensive accounts of wartime devastation and loss of individual property.*

KEYWORDS: *American colonial history; American Revolution; middle colonies; Philadelphia; fences, Battle of Bunker Hill (1777); battlefield obstruction; agrarian devastation; financial loss; archaeological-material methodology*

Introduction

On September 23, 1776, a speaker read to the Continental Congress several complaints made by rural residents seven days earlier. He alerted Congress that the inhabitants of Amboy, New Jersey, lacked firewood, which had resulted in the rampant destruction of wooden fixtures in farm communities. They demanded that Congress “immediately make some law for protecting the little property still left in the town; the means must leave to them, but wood is the grand article.”¹ The speaker informed the Congress that, according to the letter from Amboy, this was a problem that could not be overseen by any one quartermaster, as the “destruction and havock made here with fences and houses is great.”² On September 19, a member of the New Jersey assembly had concurred with the September 16 complaint, stating: “the inhabitants of Amboy are great sufferers by their houses and fences being destroyed by the troops now there, owing in a great measure for the want of proper persons being appointed for purchasing a sufficient quantity of wood.”³ The resolution was to have Congress quickly appoint one Samuel Serjeant, Esq., “or some other suitable person or persons in Amboy” to oversee and “furnish” firewood to troops in order to settle complaints, remedy grievances, and preserve the “peace.”⁴ Both American and British leaders assigned quartermasters to their camps to oversee

¹ Speaker of the Assembly of New Jersey to Richard Stockton, delegate in Congress, read September 23, 1776: “Extract of a Letter from Amboy, dated September 16 1776,” in Peter Force, ed., *American Archives: Consisting of a Collection of Authentick Records, State Papers, Debates, and Letters and Other Notices of Publick Affairs, the Whole Forming a Documentary History of the Origin an Progress of the North American Colonies; of the Causes and Accomplishment of the American Revolution; and of the Constitution of Government for the United States, to the Final Ratification Thereof*, 5th series, Vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Peter Force, 1851), col. 365-366.

² Force, *American Archives*, col. 366.

³ Force, *American Archives*, col. 366.

⁴ Force, *American Archives*, col. 366.

wood distribution and inventory in attempts to prevent their troops from entering private properties and plundering enclosures for firewood.

Accounts like this were all too common throughout the colonies during the American Revolution, however, not all accounts of fence destruction were due to cold weather, and not all accounts involving fences were stories that included acts of violence. Fences were integral to the functioning of agrarian communities and the maintenance of farmland. Destroying them consequently left gardens, orchards, animal pens, pastures, and once beautiful landscapes desolate. The plundering of fences during the American Revolution not only caused disruption and devastation for colonists living in rural areas, but affected the war militarily by obstructing battlefields.⁵

Scholars have yet to explore the significance of fences during the American Revolution. To develop an inclusive picture of fences, this article utilizes accounts of rural and domestic destruction, as well as financial and agricultural loss, to catch glimpses of fences, revealing that during war these material objects were influential fixtures and not just discarded props left in the backdrop of war. Employing an archaeological-material methodology, this article suggests that scholars should examine the varied costs of war and demonstrates that focusing on fences allows historians to uncover more comprehensive accounts of wartime devastation and loss of individual property. Civilian and soldier eyewitness accounts, as recorded in diaries and journals, reveal the role of fences in battles and their effect on the countryside, particularly within the middle colonies between 1776 and 1783. The examination of fences during the Revolution may prove valuable for future studies involving other American wars.

This article builds on the studies of three authors who have focused their recent works of the Revolution around violence and destruction as the main factors which contributed to the disruptiveness of war as well as America's formation of collective identity and democracy. Allan Kulikoff's 2000 monograph *From British Peasants to Colonial Farmers* and his 2002 article "Revolutionary Violence and the Origins of Democracy" significantly expand our knowledge about the disruptive effects of war on agrarian economies.⁶ In both of these studies, Kulikoff focuses on "the sounds, sights, and smell of war that drifted just outside the homes of" its observers, but he rarely mentions fences.⁷ Allan Taylor's 2016 monograph *American Revolutions* and Holger Hoock's 2017 study *Scars of Independence* are the two most recent additions to the trend of examining civilian disruption through the lens of violent acts. Taylor argues that the "harsh

⁵ In this article, "fences" mean any natural or artificial barrier or fixture used in the separation of any size of land or body of water. They include felled trees, hedges, ditches, and stone walls, as well as piles of loose sod and other earthly materials.

⁶ Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Allan Kulikoff, "Revolutionary Violence and the Origins of American Democracy," *Journal of the Historical Society* 2 no. 2 (Spring 2002): 229-260, here 258.

⁷ Kulikoff, "Revolutionary Violence," 231.

experiences of war shaped the legacies of the revolution. More than by-products of war, civilian sufferings helped to define the new Republican government.”⁸ Hoock goes one step further than Kulikoff and Taylor by explicitly adopting violence as his “central analytical and narrative focus.”⁹ There is not much separating these three authors from each other. All have paid attention to the varied, costly disruptions of daily life, but none have done so utilizing a archaeological-material methodology that uses the fence as both the focal point of analytical research and a measurement of the Revolution’s wanton destruction on farm communities.

I. Battlefield Obstructions: Bunker Hill

Throughout the American Revolution patriots tore down fences to stop British troops from flanking their forces and capturing their land. This strategy was never more apparent than during the Battle of Bunker Hill, the first major confrontation of the war, beginning on the midday of June 17, 1775, in Charleston, Massachusetts. It was also both the shortest and deadliest of the revolutionary battles, ending hours later in complete bloodshed. Holger Hoock, who has extensively covered this revolutionary war from both the American and British perspectives, reminds us “that more than one-eighth of all British officers killed in the entire war had indeed died at Bunker Hill or as a result of injuries received that day.”¹⁰ These high casualty numbers were indicative of the rough geographical terrain of this small peninsular battlefield. A topographical map of the area (see Figure 1 below) from the collection of nineteenth-century American archivist Peter Force provides a visual representation of this battle’s landscape, which consisted of rolling-hills, stonewalls, hedges, post and rail fences, and several redoubts that impeded Britain’s army of experienced linear fighters from effectively navigating the partitioned landscape. The Patriots were led into battle by Israel Putnam and John Stark. They readied their position at the southeastern base of Bunker Hill, protected behind a distinct system of fenced fortifications involving a main redoubt, several lines of extending breastworks, a reinforced half-stone, half-wooden rail-fence, and a stone wall on the beach of the Mystic River.¹¹ The British stationed their redoubt about three quarters of a mile east of this, at Breeds Hill. Because of the extensive network of fenced barriers on the battlefield, the British had two options to make their way to the peninsula’s neck on foot. The British’s right column was led by General William Howe.

⁸ Allan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016), 5.

⁹ Holger Hoock, *Scars of Independence: America’s Violent Birth* (New York: Crown, 2017), xi.

¹⁰ Hoock, *Scars of Independence*, 75.

¹¹ Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, 2 vols., ed. John Richard Alden (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952), 2: 86, 87.

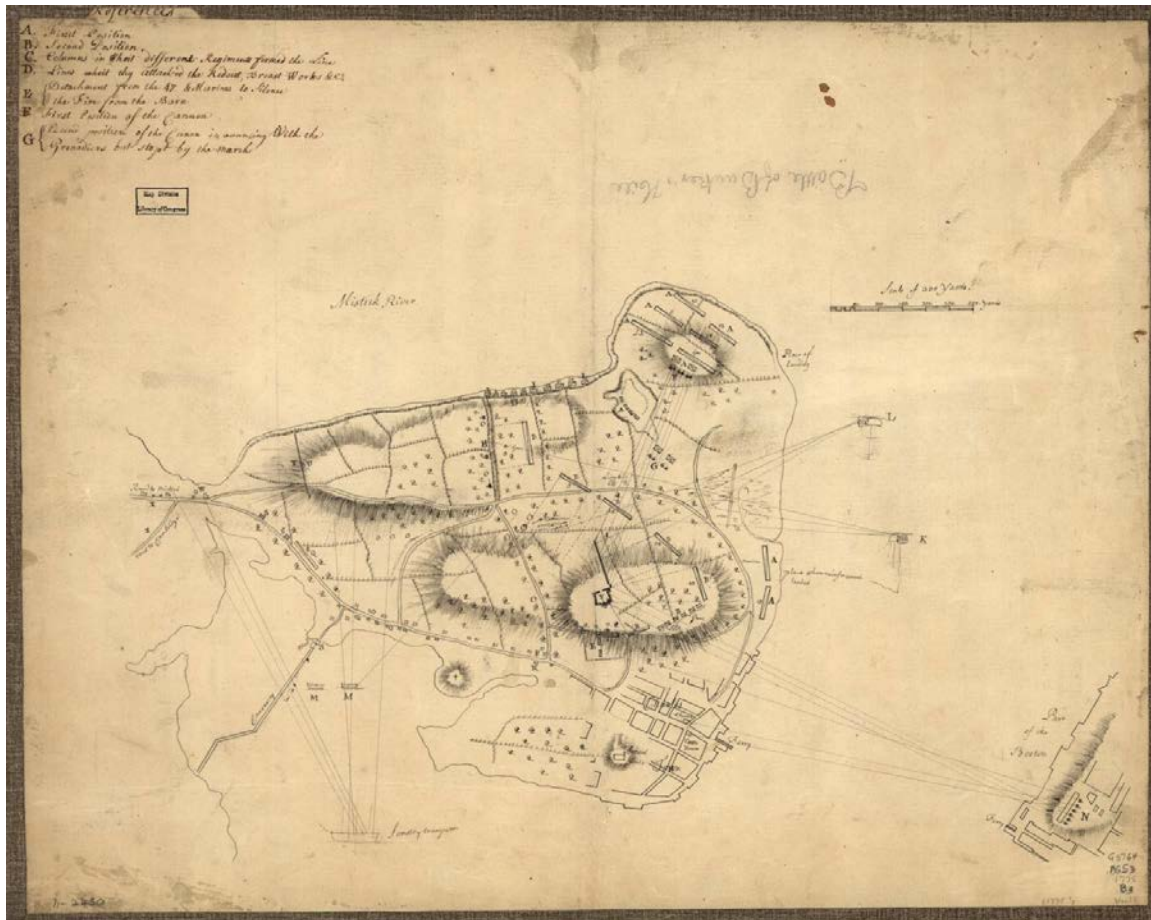


Figure 1: "Battle of Bunker Hill," map [manuscript] (ca. 1775), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G3764.B6S3 1775 .B3, accessed May 24, 2019.

Peter Oliver was a Loyalist who witnessed this battle. He described that, while Howe's column was doing this, British army officer Robert Pigott led the left column to burst through the multiple lines of breastwork that existed in-between and around "Dwelling Houses, from whence they [i.e., the Americans] fired with great Security; by which Means they could take Aim at the Officers of the British Troops, whom they made the particular Objects to be fired at."¹² A 1775 New York broadside article titled "Fresh News" supports Oliver's account and names others involved in the bloody battle. The eyewitness account comes from Captain Elijah Hide who was stationed at Winters Hill. He describes that "Captain Nolton, of Ashford, [arrived] with 400 of said forces, immediately repaired to, and pulled up a post and rail fence, and carrying the posts and rails to another fence, put them together for breastwork."¹³

¹² Peter Oliver, "The Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion" [1781], in *The American Revolution: Writings from the War of Independence*, ed. John H. Rhodehamel (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 2001), 44-52, here 45.

¹³ "Fresh news. Just arrived an express from the Provincial camp near Boston, with the following interesting account of the engagement at Charlestown, between about three thousand

By maneuvering fenced structures around this small battlefield and rearranging them when needed, the patriots in particular and the British in general obstructed each other's advancements. With Thomas Knowlton's arrival, the arrangement of fences proved to be a major hindrance for the British. The first two attempts by British troops to pierce the fence-work and win the peninsula proved to be bitter progress. In the span of one day, that progress cost them supplies, manpower, and spirit, resulting in the exhaustion, malnourishment, and death of many men. Hoock includes evidence of "some Americans" charging "some of their muskets with old nails and other pieces of iron," and firing from behind the protective cover of fences in order to maim British soldiers.¹⁴ Evidence of maiming due to the effectiveness of these unconventional tactics were the numerous veterans who returned home with missing limbs or with symptoms of severe sickness.¹⁵

Further corroboration illustrating Americans "owning to that savage Way of fighting, not in open Field, but aiming at their Objects from Houses & behind Walls & Hedges" comes from the aforementioned Peter Oliver's vantage point.¹⁶ He explains that American troops used a several hundred-yard-long "impenetrable hedge" to conceal their numbers as well as cannons.¹⁷ Upon the British's third successful flank on the main redoubt at Bunker Hill, they finally got through the hedge and developed a "Passage through the Fences."¹⁸ Having mounted the parapet in front of the redoubt, Howe's troops drove out the Americans. Casualties for the King's troops, says Oliver, amounted to about "1000 killed & wounded & of the latter many died of their wounds, through the excessive Heat of the Season. The rebels did not lose half that Number."¹⁹ This was, in part, due to fence placement by the Americans, which segmented entire battlefields into enclosed subsections of deadly engagements. This sectionalizing of fields into deadly networks of fenced blockades and barbed hurdles proved effective, and both sides took notice of using fence technology to create obstacles and entrapments.

Roughly forty days after the Battle of Bunker Hill, fence technology continued in the area. An extract of a letter from Cambridge, published in an

of the King's regular forces, and about half the number of Provincial," New York, 1775, *broadside*, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Printed Ephemera Collection, Portfolio 108, Folder 15, accessed May 24, 2019.

¹⁴ Hoock, *Scars of Independence*, 75-76.

¹⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, September 21, 1775; *London Evening Post*, September 23-26, 1775; *Middlesex Journal*, September 21-23, 1775; *Craftsman*, September 23, 1775; *Chester Chronicle*, September, 1775; *Daily Advertiser*, October 11, 1775; *Morning Chronicle*, October 19, 1775, as cited in Hoock, *Scars of Independence*, 439 note 36.

¹⁶ Oliver, "Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion," 44.

¹⁷ Oliver, "Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion," 45-46.

¹⁸ Oliver, "Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion," 46.

¹⁹ Oliver, "Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion," 46.

August 9, 1775, Philadelphia newspaper notes the British “had cut down several large trees, and were busy all night in throwing up a line and abbatis in front of it.”²⁰ Orders were later given to the “York county Rifle company to march down to our advanced post on Charlestown Neck [...] and to bring off some prisoners, from whom we expected to learn the enemy’s design in throwing up the abbatis on the neck.”²¹ The “abatis” (see Figure 2 below), based on old French “abateis” (meaning “thrown down”), was a very simple, yet effective technology that slowed down regiments and blocked key sites for advancement. These devices became more prevalent as infantries moved across bodies of land and water. The publication of this device’s relevance attests to the growing use of fence technology in the Revolution, particularly in Pennsylvania.

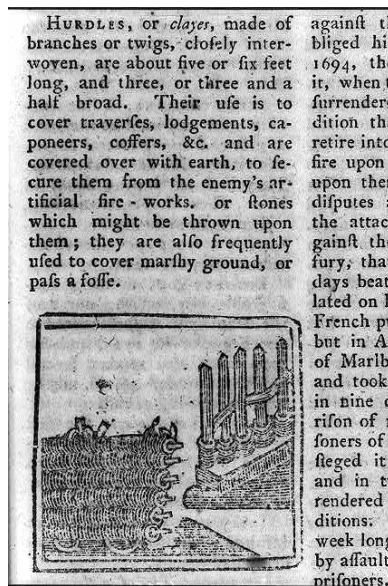


Figure 2: “Hurdles, or clays, made of branches or twigs [...],” book illustration/woodcut (1776), from Thomas Simes, *A new military, historical, and explanatory dictionary: including the warriors gazetteer of places remarkable for sieges or battles* (Philadelphia: Sold by Humphreys, Bell, and Aitken, 1776), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Illus. in U24 .S6 Am Imp [Rare Book RR], accessed May 24, 2019.

II. Battlefield Obstructions: Brandywine and Germantown

Fences divided landscapes into segmented battlegrounds, as seen in the 1777 battles of Germantown and Brandywine, both of which took place in Philadelphia. The 1782 painting of the “Battle of Germantown” by the Italian artist Xavier [Saverio] della Gatta (see Figure 3 below) reveals how prevalent fences were during this battle. What is not shown in this painting are the forks, fords (shallow part of ditches), roads, deep streams, and rail-fenced enclosures

²⁰ “Philadelphia, August 9. Extract of a Letter from Cambridge, Dated July 31,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, PA, August 9, 1775, page 2, *America’s Historical Newspapers* [database], accessed December 26, 2018.

²¹ “Philadelphia, August 9. Extract of a Letter from Cambridge, Dated July 31.”

that spanned many fields, “stretching for two miles along the Skippack Road which ran northwest from Philadelphia to Reading.”²² Lieutenant Captain Hinrichs, a Hessian who had joined the British army to sightsee America, described Pennsylvania as having many “defenses, which make this country so cut up that one cannot maneuver with cavalry, even where it is level.”²³



Figure 3: “The Battle of Germantown,” painting (1782) by Xavier [Saverio] della Gatta, Philadelphia, PA, Museum of the American Revolution, accessed May 24, 2019. Image Courtesy of the Museum of the American Revolution. Used by Permission (Museum of the American Revolution).

These *defenses*, Hinrichs wrote, were “merely wooden fences around tilled fields,” but because farmers rotated their cattle in fields that had been harvested, “nearly every field has its own fence.”²⁴ There are not many portraits of battle scenes involving fenced landscapes. Della Gatta’s painting is exemplary of the Revolution’s segmented battlefields, and how one material object can greatly affect both sides during a war in mostly agrarian environment.

Not only did fences divide and obstruct fields, they were ripped apart to make innovative devices, such as bridges, barbed fixtures, and barricades. For example, George Washington ordered a bridge to be constructed over the

²² Ward, *War of the Revolution*, 2: 362-363.

²³ “From Captain Hinrichs, On the Neck Near Philadelphia, January 18, 1778,” in *Letters from America, 1776-1779: Being Letters of Brunswick, Hessian, and Waldeck Officers, with the British Armies during the Revolution*, trans. Ray W. Pettengill (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1924), xviii, 184-185.

²⁴ “From Captain Hinrichs, On the Neck Near Philadelphia, January 18, 1778.”

Schuykill River in order to get heavy supplies across the various fords. This fixture, according to the diary of Albigeance Waldo, Washington's surgeon, consisted "of 36 waggon, with a bridge of Rails between each one."²⁵ Another example comes from Lieutenant William Beatty of the Continental Army who wrote in his diary about "throw[ing] up Breastworks in front of their respective Camps," as well as sharpening the branches from "felled trees" and fence posts and tangling them into *abatis*.²⁶ These large "spike strips," as seen at Bunker Hill, were used to obstruct the British marching toward Philadelphia. Pictures taken of *abatis* during the American Civil War (see Figure 4 below) provide visualization of how effective this device was in carving up the terrain.



Figure 4: "Petersburg, VA: View from breastworks of Fort Sedgwick," photograph [stereograph/wet collodion negative] (April 3, 1865), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-B811- 3209 [P&P], accessed May 24, 2019.

The second device represents the *chevaux-de-frise* (see Figures 5 and 6 below), meaning "Frisian horses." It was used for fencing off fields, particularly waterways. These crate-like structures looked like large spiked rolling pins. The logs were often capped with iron tips and weighted down with stones to sink

²⁵ Quoted in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. II: *Building of the Republic, 1689-1783* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1908), 568. For further information on this bridge, see Thomas J. McGuire, *The Philadelphia Campaign*, Vol. 1: *Brandywine and the Fall of Philadelphia* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2006), 171.

²⁶ McGuire, *Philadelphia Campaign*, 158.

just below the water's surface to rip open the bottom of British vessels as they passed.²⁷



Figure 5: "*Chevaux de frise in front of Confederate fortifications, Petersburg, VA,*" photograph [photographic print] (between 1861 and 1865) by Andrew J. Russell, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 4166-E, no. 33 [P&P], accessed May 24, 2019.

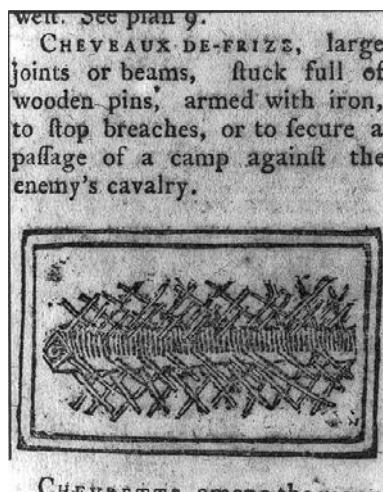


Figure 6: "*Cheveaux de-frize, large joints or beams [...]*," book illustration/woodcut (1776), "from Thomas Simes, *A new military, historical, and explanatory dictionary: including the warriors gazetteer of places remarkable for sieges or battles* (Philadelphia: Sold by Humphreys, Bell, and Aitken, 1776), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Illus. in U24 .S6 Am Imp [Rare Book RR], accessed May 24, 2019.

Washington noted that he directed "the Works upon and obstructions in the Delaware," stating that the construction of them "should be carried on with Spirit and compleated as far as possible lest they should visit that quarter."²⁸ In

²⁷ Michael C. Harris, *Brandywine: A Military History of the Battle that Lost Philadelphia but Saved America, September 11, 1777* (El Dorado Hills: Savas Beatie, 2014), 64-65.

²⁸ "To the President of Congress" [Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 7, 1777], in *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscripts, 1745-1799*, Vol. 8: May 1, 1777-July 31,

an October 1777 British correspondence between Lord Viscount William Howe and one Mr. Stephens, Howe describes the locations of both Billingsport and the Schuylkill River as having several protective defenses, with each one consisting of “several rows of the chevaux de fries.”²⁹ He elaborates that the devices had been sunk in a way “as to render the nearer approach of ships impracticable and [that] no attempt could be made for moving the sunk frames [...] till the command of the shores on each side of the river could be obtained.”³⁰ Rising tides and prevailing winds turned these dangerous devices into deadly obstacles.

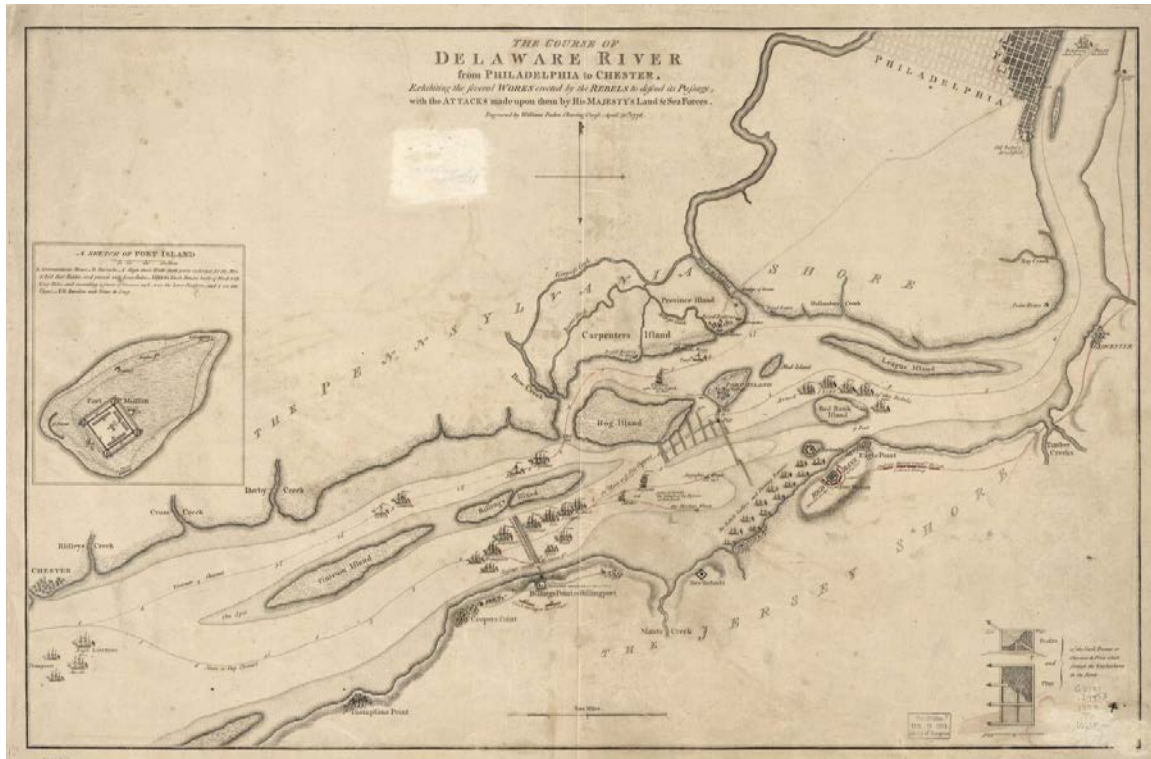


Figure 7: “The course of Delaware River from Philadelphia to Chester, exhibiting the several works erected by the rebels to defend its passage, with the attacks made upon them by His Majesty’s land & sea forces,” map [engraving] by William Faden (London, 1778). Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G3792.D44S3 1778 .F3, accessed May 24, 2019.

The map of the “Course of the Delaware River” (see Figure 7 above) features the areas consisting of three *chevaux* sites, guarded by several redoubt spots. The lower site had a double line strung from Billings Island to the Jersey Shore. The second site had 30 *chevauxs*, extending from Mud Island halfway across the Delaware River, guarded by redoubts on both sides. Mud Island itself consisted

1777, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), 366-367, here 366.

²⁹ “Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe, to Mr. Stephens, Dated on Board His Majesty’s Ship,” *Pennsylvania Ledger*, Pennsylvania, PA, March 7, 1778, issue CXXXIII, page 1, *America’s Historical Newspapers* [database], accessed December 26, 2018.

³⁰ “Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe, to Mr. Stephens.”

of a main enclosure, comprised of earth and fences to make *ravelins* (triangular fortifications). The land and water areas seen in this map all had their own *abatis* and fenced obstructions. The thousands of troops that fought within the divided, spiked landscape of Brandywine and Germantown had faced similar challenges in preceding battles. While various forms of obstructions played important roles during these specific battles, their use during the Revolution was not singular. Rail-fencing, ditches, rivers, redoubts, hedges, and spiked-devices of all kinds were fabricated for the hindrance of military advancement. The fabrication of these devices helped fuel the devastation of beautiful landscapes and fenced enclosures.

III. Fences in War: Accounts of Devastation from Fence Destruction

The destruction of fences for battlefield tactics brought about the devastation of the surrounding farmland. This can be seen in the journal entries of civilians who lived through these battles. William Brooke Rawle was a young man when he experienced the British occupation of Philadelphia (September 1777-June 1778). After escaping to London, he wrote of his observations at Germantown. He described the city as exhibiting

a dreary picture of want and desolation; houses empty and abandoned with windows taken out and floors pulled up; enclosures levelled to the ground; gardens ravaged and destroyed; forests cut down, opening an extensive prospect of a silent and deserted country. Such was the change from what, a few weeks before, were the most beautiful, the best cultivated and the most fertile environs of any city in America.³¹

Sarah Logan, the wife of a wealthy Quaker, Thomas Fisher, also recalled scenes of destruction as a result of losing her fences. According to the November 1, 1777, entry in her diary “everything is almost gone of the vegetable kind, plundered, great part of it, by the Hessians, as there can be nothing brought into the city except from down in the Neck [...] Fences torn down, cows, hogs, fowls & everything gone.”³² The disruption caused by losing fences often resulted in losing animals. Because of this, a broken (trading and bartering) economy set in wherein “butchers obliged to kill fine milch [i.e., milk] cows for meat.”³³ The absence of adequate food sources caused monetary inflation to soar and local town markets to shut down. Sarah Fisher observed a woman paying “7 hard dollars for a quarter of pork, common fowls 15 a couple, neither eggs nor butter at any price.”³⁴

³¹ William Brooke Rawle, “Plundering by the British Army during the American Revolution,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 25, no. 1 (1901): 114-117, here 114-115.

³² Nicholas B. Wainwright and Sarah Logan Fisher, “A Diary of Trifling Occurrences:” Philadelphia, 1776-1778, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82, no. 4 (October 1958): 411-465, here 455, 464.

³³ Wainwright and Fisher, “Diary of Trifling Occurrences,” 455.

³⁴ Wainwright and Fisher, “Diary of Trifling Occurrences,” 455.

At the time of Brandywine, a band of British deserters known as the 4th Georgia Battalion left destruction in its wake. "The Petition of Divers Inhabitants of the Townships of Lower Merriion & Blockley," addressed to Thomas Wharton, the president of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, on August 15, 1777, reflects the grievances that thirty-six Philadelphian property holders from two locations voiced against this battalion:³⁵

[They were] Robbing the neighborhood of everything they could lay their hands on, pillaging their dwelling houses, Spring Houses and Barns, Burning their Fence rails, Cutting down their Timber, Robbing Orchards and Gardens, Stealing their Pigs, Poultry & Lambs, and sometimes killing them through wantonness or bravado, & when complaints were made, they, with the most unparalleled impudence, would threaten the lives of the Complaints or their Houses with fire, frequently damaging the Congress, and Swearing they will never fight against King George.³⁶

Answers to why British soldiers in particular sought and dismantled fences for firewood and makeshift shelters can be found in Arthur Bowler's 1975 study *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army in America, 1775-1783*.³⁷ Although he focuses on the greater New York area, his evidence reflects the general lack of provisions of the British, such as tents, firewood (fuel), and fodder for their horses. The lack of necessities led to the mass destruction of fences and theft of grain outside the New York area.

Bowler explains that, as early as 1775, fences in the middle colonies were torn up by the mile to keep the army warm during freezing temperatures and that grain was stolen by the wagonload to keep their horses fed. Until 1780, troops were "paid one dollar a head for enemy cattle rounded up during a campaign."³⁸ Financial incentives like these helped fuel the wreckage of enclosures. In the case of shelters, particularly in Brandywine, troops broke down fence rails, cornstalks, tree branches, and other timbered sources to make "wigwams" or "booths," which were tiny huts used as shelter from the hot sun and heavy downpour.³⁹ A resident of Yorktown Virginia, Dr. Robert Honyman, noted in his diary on June 8, 1781, that British soldiers had set up camp on his neighbor's plantation and, as a result, "the fences [were] pulled down & much of them burnt; Many cattle, hogs, sheep & poultry of all sorts killed [...] there was not one Tent in the British army, all of them lying under temporary sheds or arbours, made with boughs of

³⁵ See McGuire, *Philadelphia Campaign*, 118.

³⁶ "The Inhabitants of Montgomery County to the President," Lower Merriion, August 15, 1777, in *Pennsylvania Archives: Second Series, Published under Direction of Matthew S. Quay, Secretary of the Commonwealth*, ed. John B. Linn and William H. Egle (Harrisburg: B. F. Meyers, State Printer, 1875), 118-119.

³⁷ Arthur Bowler, *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army in America, 1775-1783* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

³⁸ Bowler, *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army*, 57-61, 80.

³⁹ McGuire, *Philadelphia Campaign*, 135.

Trees, fence rails &c.”⁴⁰ The lack of adequate provisions for British troops led directly to the breakdown of wooden enclosures for shelter, causing the theft and slaughtering of livestock.

American troops were also guilty of plundering their own people’s fences for firewood, risking alienating their own supporters in the process. Quartermasters played an important role in the maintenance of camp provisions. In 1780, General Nathanael Greene requested that on Continental Army campsites “proper places” were to be selected for kitchen sites and “camp and quarter guards are to confine every person detected either in moving or burning fence stuff.”⁴¹ In the same year, Deputy Commissary General of Purchases for New York, Udney Hay, sent a letter to Governor George Clinton, requesting to revive “the laws for obtaining firewood for the use of the army” to stop the damages that arise from “the burning of fences, and losing or killing Horses & Oxen when Impressed for the use of the army.”⁴² In 1778, George Washington tried to keep his troops from “marauding” and destroying “Inclosures, Fruit Trees or other Property of the Inhabitants.”⁴³ This is a stark contrast to what, roughly two years earlier, he had condoned as necessary, for depriving the enemy of their provisions and food sources was a vengeful act that hurt both Loyalists and Patriots and a strategy of warfare that he was never really able to control among his troops.⁴⁴ Washington and other American leaders were aware that plundering and marauding among their people was a detriment to maintaining support amongst Patriot communities. The 1776 American *Articles of War* state:

All Officers and Soldiers are to behave themselves orderly in Quarters, and on their March, and whosoever shall commit any Waste or Spoil, either in Walks of Trees, Parks, Warrens, Fish-Ponds, Houses, or gardens, Cornfields, Enclosures, or Meadows, or shall maliciously destroy any Property whatsoever belonging to any of our subjects, unless by Order of the

⁴⁰ Richard K. MacMaster and Robert Honyman, “News of the Yorktown Campaign: The Journal of Dr. Robert Honyman, April 17-November 25, 1781,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79, no. 4 (October 1971): 387-426, here 401-402.

⁴¹ George Washington Greene, *The Life of Nathanael Greene: Major-General in the Army of the Revolution*, 3 vols. (New York, NY: Hurd and Houghton, 1871), 3: 219. The author notes that this quote is under the year 1780.

⁴² A letter from Colonel Udney Hay to Governor George Clinton: “Colonel Udney Hay’s Valuable Suggestions” [Poughkeepsie, September 7, 1780], in *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777-1795, 1801-1804*, Vol. 6 (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, 1902), 177-178, here 177.

⁴³ *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscripts, 1745-1799*, Vol. 12: June 1, 1778-September 30, 1778, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939; first published 1934), 93, see also 106, 147.

⁴⁴ Sung Bok Kim, “The Limits of Politicization in the American Revolution: The Experience of Westchester County, New York,” *The Journal of American History* 80, no. 3 (Dec. 1993): 868-889, here 879.

then Commander in Chief of Our Forces to annoy Rebels, or other Enemies in Arms against Us.⁴⁵

That American leaders created laws such as these to stop the plundering of farm enclosures by their own troops was a sad attempt to control their actions during a war involving harsh weather and significant lack of provisions. While these *Articles of War* were noble and prepared early on in the war, they nonetheless did not have much effect on those who chose to steal, kill, or destroy.



Figure 8: *"British Heroism," print [engraving] (1795) by Elkanah Tisdale, from John Trumbull, M'Fingal: a modern epic poem, in four cantos (New-York: Printed by John Buel, no. 132, Fly-Market, 1795), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, illus. in Rare Book Division [Rare Book RR], accessed May 24, 2019.*

We know from historians such as Stephen Conway that the British's growing dependency on alcohol was an additional cause for plundering fences. During long periods away from home, it was sometimes the only drink available.

⁴⁵ Journals of the Continental Congress, Articles of War, September 20, 1776, Article 16, Section XIII, The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, accessed May 6, 2018.

Because of their developed dependency, the British often sold their own provisions, including food and firewood, for cash to buy more liquor.⁴⁶ They then went out on foraging expeditions to raid fences, crops, and animals, only to plunder or sell them to other neighbors for cash. Elkanah Tisdale's 1795 engraving "British Heroism" (see Figure 8 above) provides a visual impression of what such raiding looked like. Loyalist gangs known for their violent expeditions included the De Lancey brothers, John and James. They belonged to the Queens Rangers and often acted on their own as "Cowboys," plundering homes in New York for mere sport and leaving behind skinned Patriots.⁴⁷ There was little that General Alexander McDougal could do to save the American inhabitants of New York from gangs such as these. Within a two-week span in the spring of 1777, the De Lancey gang hauled away over 500 animals, including horses, hogs, and sheep.⁴⁸ Down in Pennsylvania, the raiding became so pervasive that General William Howe protested that "soldiers make a practice of going out of the Lines to bring in Fences &c. to sell to the Inhabitants."⁴⁹

The war's cold-weather seasons only fueled competition and consumption of fences and foodstuffs, particularly around Boston in 1775-1776 and New York in 1779-1780.⁵⁰ By 1779, the British had consumed so much timber that New York had been completely stripped of trees and bushes and fences.⁵¹ Sung Bok Kim has done extensive research on New York during the Revolution. He explains that in the town of Peekskill around sixty homes were deserted by their residents because American soldiers had ruined their wooden enclosures, leaving their land unfit for livestock farming.⁵² Westchester was hit the hardest by devastation due to the prolonged battles of the Revolution. The city's farmers came together in 1779 to petition their Commissioners of Sequestration for financial compensation in the range of £70,000. The total sum reflected the loss of 3,000 cords of firewood and 350,000 fence rails.⁵³ Adding insult to injury for these poor Yankee farmers were the Commissioners of Forfeiture who, in that same year, resold the encompassing territory to several wealthy landowners, among them

⁴⁶ Stephen Conway, "'The Great Mischief Complain'd of': Reflections on the Misconduct of British Soldiers in the Revolution War," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (July 1990): 370-390, here 382-383.

⁴⁷ Kim, "Limits of Politicization," 880, 884-885.

⁴⁸ Kim, "Limits of Politicization," 880.

⁴⁹ Kim, "Limits of Politicization," 381.

⁵⁰ Conway, "'The Great Mischief Complain'd of,'" 383.

⁵¹ Bowler, *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army*, 57-61.

⁵² Kim, "Limits of Politicization," 881.

⁵³ Otto Hufeland, *Westchester County during the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (White Plains: Westchester County Historical Society, 1926), 444-445. The Commissioners of Sequestration were in charge of adjusting claims for damages done to property and for material taken during the war. Such claims involved the stealing or destroying of fences, fields, wood, forage, and provisions.

James De Lancey, for £723,385 and divided that large territory into more than three hundred farms.⁵⁴

As early as 1776, both sides ravaged communities. Farms on Long Island were treated no differently. Loyalist Lydia Minturn Post wrote in her diary (October 1776) of Hessian soldiers cutting down “all the saplings they can find” and piling “them along the road about twelve feet high” to be picked up by wagons and then hauled away to their “forts and barracks at a distance.”⁵⁵ She also recalled that the Hessians were keeping fires “a-going all night,” and that “many a poor farmer rises in the morning to find his cattle strayed miles away, or his grain trampled down and ruined!”⁵⁶ A 1780 entry in her diary reflects how commoners, like herself, viewed the actions of soldiers and were relieved to see them leave: “The neighborhood has been more quiet for a week past, and the Hessians have really left, bag and baggage, for which Heaven be praised! They are like the locusts of Egypt, desolating the land, and eating up every green thing.”⁵⁷ For both Patriots and Loyalists who were trying to survive this war, the constant threat against their fences and animals never stopped. While these accounts of physical destruction illustrate why fences were vital to farming organization and maintenance, financial accounts are harder to come by, but not impossible to find.

IV. Fences in War: The Financial Cost of Destruction

From an article by Jason R. Wickersty, we learn that, on June 27, 1777, as 13,000 British troops were leaving their Westfield, New Jersey, campsites to march to Brunswick to fight Washington’s army, they left behind such destruction that it could only be described as a natural disaster. They plundered 92 homes, stole over 1,000 animals, and robbed the residents of 2,365 fence rails, and there were 13 instances of plundering fences.⁵⁸ While only a few residents filed for compensation, their total losses were high. Mr. Corbet Scudder’s loss, for example, was over £1,062. Two other residents lost a combined total of £1,267, 18 shillings, and 7 pence in cash. Altogether, the plundering at Westfield cost nearly £8,703. “The damages from that single day,” Wickersty calculates, “accounted for eighteen percent of the entire damages in Essex County during the war.”⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Hufeland, *Westchester County*, 445. The Commissioners of Forfeiture were in charge of seizing and selling real estate.

⁵⁵ Lydia Minturn Post, *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution: A Private Journal, Prepared from Authentic Domestic Records, Together with Reminiscences of Washington & Lafayette*, ed. Sidney Barclay (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1859), 26.

⁵⁶ Post, *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution*, 26.

⁵⁷ Post, *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution*, 140.

⁵⁸ Jason R. Wickersty, “A Shocking Havoc: The Plundering of Westfield, New Jersey, June 26, 1777,” *Journal of the American Revolution*, July 21, 2015, accessed May 7, 2018.

⁵⁹ Wickersty, “Shocking Havoc.”

Around the same time, several miles away, Trenton's numerous residents suffered heavy losses resulting from Hessians raiding their small local farms during twenty-six days of violent skirmishes. Patriot Jonathan Seargant, Esq., lost £620 in property damage, £18 of which was from his garden and "75 Panel of Post & Rail Fence."⁶⁰ Major William Scudder of Windsor incurred £1118 worth of damage, £19 of which were for his garden tools, 7 rail fences, and 180 panels for his post-fences.⁶¹ Joseph Olden from Middlesex only lost £31 worth of property, but all of it was farming material, including 5 hogs, 1 ton of hay, 150 fence rails, and 2 cords of fresh wood.⁶² However, Nathanael Littleton Savage of Virginia perhaps takes the prize for the greatest number of fence rails lost by one individual.

Hoock notes Nathanael Savage's damages caused by Loyalist soldiers in 1781, listing them at £583. This was for his numerous horses, livestock, tobacco, grain, and 10,000 fence rails.⁶³ Loyalist and Hessian involvement in Trenton equated to little more than burning fenced enclosures, as well as stealing and killing sheep, cattle, cows, and other livestock. Like the inflated prices and scarce foodstuffs Sarah Logan was encountering in Pennsylvania, these residents also suffered inflation as a result of these Hessians' actions: beef went up from 12 to 18 pence per pound, veal from 18 to 24 pence, and two fowls cost 10 shillings.⁶⁴ All this suggests that fences were valuable necessities that kept farmers' livelihoods safe from harm. The constant plundering of these objects caused monetary inflation to rise and the supply of perishables and animals to dwindle. Fences were, and still are, fundamental to the functioning of a healthy and properly sectionalized society, especially in times of war and civil conflict. As these staple fixtures were plundered, stolen, and burned for either depriving the enemy of foodstuff, generating revenue, producing warmth, or obstructing battlefields, society was thrown into a state of chaos and economic uncertainty. Residents who lost their fence stuff and livestock during the Revolution faced the difficulty of gaining back their lost inventory of perishables and outdoor property.

⁶⁰ *A Brief Narrative of the Ravages of the British and Hessians at Princeton in 1776-1777: A Contemporary Account of the Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, ed. Varnum Lansing Collins (Princeton: The University Library, 1906), 4-5 note 2, quoting from Trenton, New Jersey, State Library, Ms. "Damages Done by the British" in Middlesex Co., 278.

⁶¹ *Brief Narrative of the Ravages of the British and Hessians at Princeton in 1777-1777*, ed. Collins, 6-7 note 1, quoting from Trenton, New Jersey, State Library, Ms. "Damages Done by the British" in Middlesex Co., 235.

⁶² *Brief Narrative of the Ravages of the British and Hessians at Princeton in 1777-1777*, ed. Collins, 10-11 note 1, quoting from Trenton, New Jersey, State Library, Ms. "Damages Done by the British" in Middlesex Co., 256.

⁶³ Hoock, *Scars of Independence*, 323.

⁶⁴ *Brief Narrative of the Ravages of the British and Hessians at Princeton in 1777-1777*, ed. Collins, 12 note 1, quoting from *Historical Anecdotes Civil & Military in a Series of Letters Written from America in 1777 & 1778* (London: n.p., 1779).

Conclusion

Before and after the Revolution, fences kept livestock and cattle enclosed, and vegetation separated and protected. During the Revolution, they were either plundered for scrap wood, sold for cash, or burned for firewood. This plundering often resulted in the ravaging of crops and grain and animals. Future authors who choose to focus on the varied devastation of the Revolution should utilize physical objects as material witnesses to evaluate the American Revolution in new ways. By putting the fence at the forefront of analysis, we uncover new perspectives we can use to measure the varied effects of this Revolution as well as other American wars, whether they are foreign or domestic. By approaching research such as this from an interdisciplinary angle, while using an archaeological-material methodology, scholars may realize how much fences meant to the organization and maintenance of farming communities and the preservation of luscious landscapes.

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Louis Filliger

*"A Roman would turn back":
Napoleon Bonaparte's Invasion of Russia (1812)*

ABSTRACT: *This article revisits Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Russia (1812) from a psychological perspective. Based on eyewitness accounts from both sides, including the memoirs of Philippe-Paul de Ségur, Armand de Caulaincourt, and Carl von Clausewitz, it first discusses Napoleon's reasoning for the campaign, then the actual invasion, and finally its outcome. The author argues that Napoleon's arrogance and habit of making rash decisions, against the advice of the majority of his military staff, led to his decision to invade Russia.*

KEYWORDS: *nineteenth century; Europe; Napoleon Bonaparte; Russian campaign (1812); Battle of Borodino (1812); Grande Armée; Philippe-Paul de Ségur; Armand de Caulaincourt; Carl von Clausewitz; psychology*

Introduction

In the early morning of June 23, 1812, the French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte rode his horse toward the banks of the Niemen River to inspect the frontline. The river was all that separated Russia from French-controlled Europe. Of an army of 600,000 men that would be invading the next day only 70,000 would return alive five months later. As Napoleon approached the river, he was violently thrown from his horse. Someone cried out, "This is an ill omen! A Roman would turn back!"¹ No one knows who uttered these words, "whether it was Napoleon himself or one of his retinue."² Great effort had been put into amassing such a large number of troops in one single area along this river between the newly created duchy of Warsaw and Russia. Troops had been marching for months from all over Napoleonic Europe, converging on this one point. But what had led to such a drastic undertaking as this, unique in the history of modern Europe? In Napoleon's arrogant desire to control every last country in Europe, there was one he had still left to conquer: Russia. At the zenith of his power and living comfortably at his palace in Saint-Cloud near Paris, Napoleon sought one more campaign, a campaign to end all campaigns.

The historical sources for Napoleon's Russian campaign are extensive, especially on the French side. One of the most accurate accounts of Napoleon's behavior before and during the invasion is the diary of Philippe-Paul de Ségur (1780-1873), Napoleon's aide-de-camp who was almost always at the Emperor's side; in fact, it is most likely Ségur's account, first published in French in 1824, that the Russian author Leo Tolstoy consulted while writing *War and Peace*

¹ Philippe-Paul de Ségur, *Napoleon's Russian Campaign*, trans. J. David Townsend with an introduction by William L. Langer (London: Michael Joseph, 1959), 17.

² Ségur, *Napoleon's Russian Campaign*, 17: "It is not known whether it was Napoleon himself or one of his retinue who uttered these words." See Laimonas Briedis, "European Crossings: Vilnius Encounters," (D.Phil. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2005), 199.

(1869).³ For Napoleon's thinking and psychological bent at the time before the invasion, the personal writings of Armand de Caulaincourt (1773-1827), Duke of Vicenza and French ambassador to Russia, offer the best insight.⁴ On the Russian side of the conflict, the testimony of a Prussian officer in the service of Tsar Alexander I, Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831),⁵ provides a very tactical view of the invasion. For a more "on the ground" perspective, the accounts of French officer Raymond Fezensac (1784-1867)⁶ and Russian officer Denis Davidov (1784-1839)⁷ are invaluable. Fezensac's text gives us a sense of the feelings of French soldiers on the march and of the hardships they endured, while Davidov's testimony chronicles his Russian partisan guerilla tactics against Napoleon. From the personal journal of Emmanuel, Count de Las Cases (1766-1842), who stayed with Napoleon on the island of Saint Helena, we get a firsthand account of Napoleon's later views on the campaign.⁸

Up until the turn of the twentieth century, scholarship on the subject seems to have been relegated to the prefaces and authors' notes in new editions of the diaries from the campaign, which almost always contained an updated introduction. Interest in the story of Napoleon's invasion of Russia reemerged after Hitler's disastrous invasion of Russia (1941) had been processed by the world. Alan Palmer wrote one of the earlier renditions of the invasion, *Napoleon in Russia* (1967).⁹ More recently, monographs by Adam Zamoyski (2004) and Charles Esdaile (2007) have contributed in-depth analyses of the campaign.¹⁰ To understand the psychological disposition of Napoleon on the eve of his invasion, one may defer to an article in *The Academy of Management Executive* by Mark

³ Ségur, *Napoleon's Russian Campaign*, v, viii-ix.

⁴ Armand de Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia: The Memoirs of General de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza*, ed. George Libaire (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1935). Caulaincourt stipulated in his will that a certain amount of money be set aside to write his personal history and reproduce his writings. It is by mere luck that his writings are left to us. They were hidden behind a wall in his estate which was bombed by the Germans in World War I. It was not until 1933 after rummaging through the wreckage that they were found. Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, xxiii.

⁵ Carl von Clausewitz, *The Campaign of 1812 in Russia*, trans. Forrestt A. Miller (Hattiesburg: Academic International, 1970). Clausewitz's recollections were first published in German in 1835.

⁶ Raymond de Montesquiou-Fezensac, *The Russian Campaign, 1812, by M. de Fezensac*, trans. Lee B. Kennett (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970).

⁷ Denis Davidov, *In the Service of the Tsar against Napoleon: The Memoirs of Denis Davidov, 1806-1814*, trans. and ed. Gregory Troubetskoy (London: Greenhill Books, 1999).

⁸ Emmanuel, Count de Las Cases, *Memorial de Sainte Helene: Journal of the Private Life and the Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn & Co., 1823).

⁹ Alan Palmer, *Napoleon in Russia* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967).

¹⁰ Adam Zamoyski, *Moscow 1812: Napoleon's Fatal March* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), 186; Charles Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars: An International History 1803-1815* (New York: Penguin, 2007).

Kroll, Leslie Toombs and Peter Wright (2000)¹¹, which compares Napoleon's arrogance to that of high-powered company executives. Tsar Alexander I rose to prominence during this trying period for his country. With regard to his life, Henri Troyat's *Alexander of Russia: Napoleon's Conqueror* (1982) offers great insight.¹² Lastly, for more recent views of Napoleon's occupation of European countries and the reactions of foreign leaders, Harold Parker and Paul Schroeder have published in-depth articles in *The Journal of Military History* (1990).¹³ While the topic of Napoleon's erratic and domineering personality, and the effects it had on his empire, are well documented, this article hopes to delve a little bit deeper into the personality flaws and traits Napoleon exhibited, particularly in the months leading up to the invasion.

I argue that Napoleon's arrogance and habit of making rash decisions, against the advice of the majority of his military staff, led to his disastrous decision to invade Russia on June 24, 1812. A lot has been written on the consequences of Napoleon's campaign in the East, but I would like to look at Napoleon's thinking process and hone in on specific conversations with staff during the months prior to the war. When examining the sources, especially Caulaincourt's diary, one gets a sense that Napoleon had completely become a prisoner of his own arrogance. There are numerous instances of Napoleon yelling and raving, as if possessed, for extended periods of time.¹⁴ The sources suggest that he only used his staff to find agreement with his ideas, and when he was met with opposition to his ideas he would fly into a rage. To begin, this article looks at Napoleon's line of reasoning with regard to the Russian question and how it correlates with the four main causes of the war. The second part considers the immediate impact of Napoleon's decision-making and some of the early blunders of his campaign which could have been avoided if it had not been for his personality faults. The third and final chapter addresses the overall effect of Napoleon's campaign on his control over Europe. Clausewitz has a lot to say about the faultiness of Napoleon's decision-making in regards to his invasion. Contemporary viewpoints that were critical of Napoleon's decision-making prove to be the most useful evidence for this analysis.

¹¹ Mark J. Kroll, Leslie A. Toombs, and Peter Wright, "Napoleon's Tragic March Home from Moscow: Lessons in Hubris," *The Academy of Management Executive* 14, no. 1 (2000): 117-128.

¹² Henri Troyat, *Alexander of Russia: Napoleon's Conqueror* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1982).

¹³ Harold T. Parker, "Why Did Napoleon Invade Russia? A Study in the Motivation and the Interrelations of Personality and Social Structure," *The Journal of Military History* 54, no. 2 (1990): 131-146; Paul W. Schroeder, "Napoleon's Foreign Policy: A Criminal Enterprise," *The Journal of Military History* 54, no. 2 (1990): 147-162.

¹⁴ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 18.

I. An Unnecessary War

In June 1811, Napoleon recalled Armand de Caulaincourt, his ambassador, from Russia.¹⁵ Caulaincourt was a highly capable man and respected by both the French and the Russians, which was no easy task at the time. Born of noble heritage, he had been named Napoleon's aide-de-camp in 1802, a move designed to show the French people that Napoleon would take in the men of the old regime of the Bourbons.¹⁶ It was Napoleon's intention to speak with Caulaincourt about the mounting tensions between both countries. In 1807, Caulaincourt had been sent to Russia as an ambassador to watch over the enforcement of the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) between France and Russia, which guaranteed Russia's involvement in the "Continental System" with the intent of ending the British monopoly on trade.¹⁷ Napoleon relied heavily on Caulaincourt's advice because he counted on him to always say, in very blunt terms, what was on his mind. It is because of this intimate relationship between Napoleon and Caulaincourt, and due to Caulaincourt's obsessive habit of keeping a journal, that we get some of the best insight into Napoleon's psychology immediately before the invasion.¹⁸

Napoleon knew his line of reasoning for invading Russia was faulty but went ahead with it anyway. Central to his reasoning for the recall of Caulaincourt and invading Russia was his disappointment in that country for not adhering to the Continental System. The Continental System and its banning of British ships in Russian ports had a tremendous effect on the Russian economy. At this time, Russia had not much in the way of industry and was highly dependent on British imports. The value of the Russian rouble (currency) declined substantially, and this made the imports Russia could receive very expensive. Customs revenue decreased from nine million roubles in 1805 to a mere three million in 1809.¹⁹ Prices for sugar and coffee increased exponentially as colonial imports were very hard to come by. Caulaincourt related to Napoleon that it was difficult for a country so far away from France, and in dire financial straits, to maintain such a rigid embargo.²⁰ It was in this scenario that, in 1810, Alexander decided to act on French imports and Russia's captive market.²¹ He implemented a "Ukase," a Russian edict of law, which raised taxes on land imports while cutting taxes on

¹⁵ Curtis Cate, *The War of the Two Emperors: The Duel Between Napoleon and Alexander, Russia 1812* (New York: Random House, 1985), 43.

¹⁶ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, xiv.

¹⁷ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, xix.

¹⁸ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, xxiii.

¹⁹ Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars*, 434-435.

²⁰ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 24. Napoleon's power of manipulation was such that Caulaincourt states on one occasion that he had overheard Napoleon say, "When I need anyone, I don't make too fine a point about it; I would kiss his [...]." He leaves the last word blank.

²¹ Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars*, 434-437.

imports by sea. This new Ukase infuriated Napoleon to no end, and he challenged Caulaincourt: "[A]dmit frankly that it is Alexander that wants to make war on me."²² Caulaincourt emphatically related to Napoleon that Alexander had made it clear to him that Russia would not fire the first shot, and that the decision was in Napoleon's hands. At this point in time, Caulaincourt communicated to Napoleon that the bad weather and overall vastness of Russia would aid the Russians. He also pointed out that Alexander knew that Napoleon could not politically afford to be away from Paris for long, since he had not yet dealt with the Spanish insurrection.²³ Napoleon listened intently, and his demeanor seemed to soften, so that Caulaincourt thought his words had an effect on him, but then Napoleon suddenly erupted into a tirade about all the troops at his disposal, and how just one decisive battle would knock Russia out. He placed the blame for his troubles in Spain on his brother Joseph (king of Spain 1808-1813), one of the many times when Napoleon did not take responsibility for his decisions and placed the blame on others.²⁴

The other three factors that led directly to the tensions before the outbreak of war were far more trivial in nature. These were the annexation of the duchy of Oldenburg, Napoleon's betrothal to Marie-Louise of Austria, and the use of the word "Poland" in public documents. Napoleon's marriage to the Austrian princess Marie-Louise embarrassed the Russian court because Napoleon had been in negotiations with Alexander to marry the Tsar's sister Catherine, and when that stalled and eventually failed, the Tsar's younger sister Anna. Russia was buying time but felt this was a slight by Napoleon because he was playing both Austria and Russia.²⁵ It was in the midst of the conversation with Caulaincourt that Napoleon said something very strange: "It is the Austrian marriage which has set us at a variance. The Tsar Alexander was angry because I did not marry his sister."²⁶ In his memoirs, Caulaincourt notes that he bravely reminded the Emperor that Russia had not been excited by the prospect of his proposal to Catherine and, in fact, relieved when he had married Marie-Louise.²⁷ It could be proposed that Napoleon was still embarrassed over this snub by the Russian court, and this could have influenced his plans for invasion.

The next incident that angered the Russians was Napoleon's pointless annexation of the small duchy of Oldenburg (in northwestern Germany). Peter, the Duke of Oldenburg, was Tsar Alexander's uncle, and his son had married the Grand Duchess Catherine, Alexander's sister. The freedom of Oldenburg had

²² Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 4.

²³ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 6.

²⁴ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 7.

²⁵ Zamoycki, *Moscow 1812*, 56.

²⁶ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 10.

²⁷ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 10.

been secured by Alexander in the Treaty of Tilsit (1807).²⁸ It was at this juncture in the conversation that Caulaincourt pleaded with Napoleon to avoid war, reinstate the Duke of Oldenburg, move troops out of Prussia, and promise not to reinstate the kingdom of Poland as a buffer state. Napoleon's response was: "[Y]ou speak like a Russian."²⁹ After this five-hour conversation, Napoleon became so displeased with Caulaincourt that he withheld his salary and pretended to not know anything about it.³⁰ This seems to be another instance when Napoleon sank to childlike behavior. At this point Caulaincourt attempted to resign, but Napoleon would not let him.³¹

Not only did Napoleon's closest advisors see the fault in his reasoning for invasion, but it was evident to many others on both sides of the conflict. On this subject, General Carl von Clausewitz, who was in the service of the Tsar during Napoleon's invasion, said that Napoleon seemed to seek decisive battles, profit from the treaties that came from the outcome of those battles, and then seek other battles. This worked very well for Napoleon until he ran into Spain where he became bogged down. Napoleon should not have started a new campaign in the East when there was one he could not finish right at his doorstep in Spain. Clausewitz stated: "It is extraordinary, and perhaps the greatest error he ever committed, that he did not visit the Peninsula in person in 1810."³² There seems to be a tendency of people imbued with hubris to twist the truth in order to achieve their goals.³³ There were other instances of the common soldier critiquing the famous ruler of Europe. The Russian officer Denis Davidov said of Napoleon: "being a poet at heart, he fell victim to his own flights of fancy and gradually convinced himself of the truth of these false assertions which he had made in order to mislead others."³⁴ Even the common French knew that Napoleon's pressure on the Russian government was forcing Russia to war. In his memoirs, Raymond Fezensac, an aide-de-camp in Napoleon's general staff, remarked: "Emperor Alexander refused to persevere in a system which would have brought total ruin to the commerce of his empire."³⁵

It was Napoleon's insistence on invading Russia, even in the face of the many obstacles pointed out by Clausewitz, Caulaincourt, and others, that we begin to see the faults in his personality. It could be argued that Napoleon's drive to invade Russia was brought on by extreme arrogance, hubris, or even a sense of

²⁸ Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars*, 432. It was Napoleon who initially had eyes on marrying the Tsarina Catherine.

²⁹ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 11.

³⁰ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 11.

³¹ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 15.

³² Clausewitz, *Campaign of 1812*, 252.

³³ Kroll, Toombs, and Wright, "Napoleon's Tragic March Home," 122.

³⁴ Davidov, *In the Service of the Tsar*, 162.

³⁵ Fezensac, *Russian Campaign*, 4.

boredom. As Napoleon experienced more success in the field, he became more arrogant,³⁶ and it was this arrogance that drove him to invade countries just for the sake of invading countries.³⁷ By late 1811, war was imminent. Napoleon dramatically made his intentions with regard to Russia known when, at a grand ball on August 15, 1811, he publicly scolded the Russian ambassador, Prince Alexander Kurakin, in front of all the guests. He shouted that France and Russia were no longer in an alliance since the Tsar had permitted foreign ships into Russian ports. He then said: "According to Monsieur de Caulaincourt, the Tsar wishes to attack me."³⁸ This was a blatant lie, as Caulaincourt had explicitly told him that the Tsar would never attack him. Napoleon was obviously planting his pretext for invading Russia by using Caulaincourt as a scapegoat.

II. Crossing the Niemen

The Grande Armée experienced many problems even before crossing into Russian territory on June 24, 1811. Preparing for the campaign all throughout 1811 and during the early months of 1812, soldiers from all over Europe were to march to the Niemen River at the border between the duchy of Warsaw and Russia. Getting to the Niemen was a difficult task in itself. The river was approximately one thousand miles from Paris, with the last three hundred miles of this in Prussia, an area not known for its rich agriculture.³⁹ Prussia's acquisition of Polish territory in the third partition of Poland (1795) had weakened the Prussian state by overstressing its economic abilities to maintain these new territories. According to historian William Hagen, "in the years when the Polish partitions virtually doubled its size and population, the Prussian state was experiencing profound strains in political and social structure."⁴⁰ In a twist of irony, another reason for this lack of production was the Continental System itself, with much land being left uncultivated since its owners were unable to access outside markets.⁴¹ Whatever the exact reasons, soldiers were starving. One German soldier reported in his diary that men had already begun shooting themselves before crossing the river, and one officer had slit his own throat.⁴² The Grande Armée was composed of troops from all over Europe. French, Prussians, Bavarians, Westphalians, Saxons, Dutch, Swiss, Italians, Austrians,

³⁶ Kroll, Toombs, and Wright, "Napoleon's Tragic March Home," 120.

³⁷ Kroll, Toombs, and Wright, "Napoleon's Tragic March Home," 118.

³⁸ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 18.

³⁹ Zamoyski, *Moscow 1812*, 93.

⁴⁰ William W. Hagen, "The Partitions of Poland and the Crisis of the Old Regime in Prussia 1772-1806," *Central European History* 9, no. 2 (1976): 115-128, here 117-118.

⁴¹ Zamoyski, *Moscow 1812*, 136.

⁴² See John Eisenhower, *"A Common Soldier's Grim Account of Napoleon's Invasion of Russia,"* review of Jakob Walter, *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier*, ed. Mark Raeff (New York: Doubleday, 1991), *Chicago Tribune*, September 22, 1991.

Poles, and even Spanish.⁴³ Thus, with so many nationalities, linguistic confusion became an issue immediately. What is more, on the first three days of the march, a severe storm caused the loss of over 25,000 horses.⁴⁴ These horses were needed to transport artillery, food, and supplies.⁴⁵ It almost seemed as if the omen of Napoleon falling off his horse was beginning to play out immediately

Napoleon had many occasions to turn back after crossing, but due to his impatient nature he decided to carry on against the pleas of his general staff. While stalling at the city of Vilna (Lithuania), soon after the Grande Armée's push into Russia, Napoleon received a letter from Alexander saying that if he removed his troops behind the Niemen the Tsar would agree to meet for peace talks.⁴⁶ Napoleon adamantly refused and lost the opportunity to end the terrible conflict.⁴⁷ Had Napoleon wanted to prevent the war, as he had said many times to Caulaincourt, here was his chance. It is evident that Napoleon never had any intention of not invading Russia and was just really testing his ideas against Caulaincourt's logic. Napoleon was furious that Alexander tried to dictate terms to him and let his ego get in the way of making the right decision to postpone the invasion. One may wonder where these arrogant tendencies came from. A brief look back at Napoleon's childhood might help explain some of these personality quirks. His birth had allegedly not been an easy one. According to some observers, he came out looking slightly deformed, with "spindly legs and an abnormally large head."⁴⁸ His mother and father seemed to favor his older brother Joseph, and this led Napoleon to literally fight for attention.⁴⁹ Napoleon's struggle for attention continued throughout his life. One scholar has even suggested an "Oedipal situation" in which Napoleon did not just have to compete for attention with his brother, but also with his father.⁵⁰ When he enrolled at the military college of Brienne (in northeastern France) (1779), he was taunted by the more "French" students: the fact that he was Corsican did not make life easy for him, and he constantly fought with this insecurity.⁵¹ After being named First Consul (1799) and then declaring himself Emperor (1804), Napoleon had to legitimize himself against Bourbon supporters and the other

⁴³ Alexander Mikaberidze, *The Battle of Borodino: Napoleon against Kutuzov* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2010; first published 2007), 51.

⁴⁴ Zamoyski, *Moscow 1812*, 156.

⁴⁵ Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars*, 463.

⁴⁶ Palmer, *Napoleon in Russia*, 52.

⁴⁷ Troyat, *Alexander of Russia*, 143-144.

⁴⁸ Parker, "Why Did Napoleon Invade Russia," 133.

⁴⁹ Parker, "Why Did Napoleon Invade Russia," 133.

⁵⁰ Harold T. Parker, "The Formation of Napoleon's Personality: An Exploratory Essay," *French Historical Studies* 7, no. 1 (1971): 6-26.

⁵¹ Parker, "Why Did Napoleon Invade Russia," 134.

monarchs of Europe.⁵² This perpetual need to prove himself, in combination with an arrogant personality, led to many disasters not just for him, but for millions of people. His decision to invade Russia was the greatest symptom of this arrogance.

Napoleon stopped at Vitebsk (Belarus) in late July 1812 and decided to conclude the campaign until the following spring, but after two weeks of preparing the town with defenses, he made the disastrous decision to head toward Moscow. Being a student of history, he proclaimed to his generals: "We shall not repeat the folly of Charles the XII."⁵³ He was alluding to the disastrous campaign of King Charles XII of Sweden who had attempted an invasion of Russia one hundred years earlier (1708-1709).⁵⁴ Napoleon's initial decision had been to stop, rest, and wait for next year's spring, but his indecisiveness and habit of changing his mind got the better of him. As in Vilna, he wasted another two weeks by just sitting around in Vitebsk, a total of one whole month. All the while, his troops grew hungrier and more tired. He did make genuine attempts to see that the injured men were taken care of. He was even seen yelling at the top of his lungs at the doctors in the hospitals, but this, too, seemed like some exercise in delusion. In the words of the French officer Raymond Fezensac, an eyewitness to these events: "It is not enough to give orders: the orders must be capable of execution."⁵⁵ It is as if Napoleon clearly saw what needed to be done in any given situation, but that at the last minute he would change his mind and could not be persuaded to change it back.

III. The Outcome

After the pyrrhic French victory at the battle of Borodino (September 7, 1812), Napoleon was convinced that if he could just occupy Moscow the war in Russia would end immediately. Napoleon waited a fateful month in Moscow in hopes of reaching a plea deal. Clausewitz noted that it was Napoleon's strategy to "beat the enemy—to shatter him—to gain the capital—to drive the government into the last corner of the empire—and then, while the confusion was fresh, to dictate a peace."⁵⁶ It was Napoleon's arrogance and carelessness in not deciding to wait out the winter in Vilna or Vitebsk, where he could have restocked and resupplied, that caused his army the most harm. As Clausewitz pointed out, "he reached Moscow with 90,000 men, he should have reached it with 200,000. This would have been possible if he had handled his army with more care and forbearance. But those were qualities unknown to him."⁵⁷ At times, the qualities

⁵² Parker, "Why Did Napoleon Invade Russia," 135.

⁵³ Ségur, *Napoleon's Russian Campaign*, 29.

⁵⁴ Zamoyski, *Moscow 1812*, 92.

⁵⁵ Fezensac, *Russian Campaign*, 20.

⁵⁶ Clausewitz, *Campaign of 1812*, 253.

⁵⁷ Clausewitz, *Campaign of 1812*, 255.

that Napoleon did not possess were actually his greatest strengths. According to Clausewitz, it was Napoleon's lack of care and forbearance that, many times in his life, gave him a distinct advantage over his opponents.⁵⁸ Eventually, this impulsive way of acting caught up with him and cost him his empire. For his Russian campaign, it was now too late: Napoleon waited a careless month in Moscow and became frightened at the first sign of snow on October 13, 1812.⁵⁹ The Grande Armée departed Moscow with some 100,000 men, and three months later crossed back over the Niemen with only 50,000 men from the original 600,000. All was lost due to the arrogance of one man, and the landscape of European politics would never be the same: the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) strengthened the traditional monarchies and ended the Age of Enlightenment, at least in government.

The end of the Russian campaign saw many harrowing scenes. Napoleon departed from his army on December 5, 1812, in great secrecy, along with Caulaincourt and members of his staff. Once he had entered the duchy of Warsaw, Napoleon became very cheerful and mused how "the reverses that France has just suffered will put an end to all jealousies and quiet all the anxieties that may have sprung from her power or influence."⁶⁰ Napoleon thought Europe would see Russia as the enemy.⁶¹ Yet again, Napoleon was showing signs of delusion of grandeur. Caulaincourt answered Napoleon with what can only be described as historical frankness: "[A]s a matter of fact, it is your majesty they fear. It is your majesty who is the cause of everyone's anxiety and prevents them from seeing other dangers."⁶² Still, Napoleon was not phased and went for his usual antics when dismissing Caulaincourt by pinching Caulaincourt's ear.⁶³ Napoleon just laughed as though he had not just lost over 400,000 men.

Reminiscent of the destruction of entire towns in the Rhineland during Louis XIV's Nine Years' War against the Holy Roman Empire (1688-1697), Napoleon's troops, too, laid waste to whole cities in the course of massive sieges, but most of these had little to no strategic value. The siege of Smolensk (southwest of Moscow) (August 16-18, 1812) was so ghastly and brutal that many of its citizens chose to die fighting with Russian troops rather than burn alive in the fire that overtook the ancient city. Moreover, it only diverted Napoleon's advance against Moscow.⁶⁴ Adding to this brutality on the part of the invaders was the complete destruction of the Russian countryside by its own citizens, along with the full

⁵⁸ Clausewitz, *Campaign of 1812*, 259.

⁵⁹ Zamoyiski, *Moscow 1812*, 352.

⁶⁰ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 278.

⁶¹ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 278.

⁶² Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 278.

⁶³ Caulaincourt, *With Napoleon in Russia*, 278.

⁶⁴ Zamoyiski, *Moscow 1812*, 218.

mobilization of the population on both sides to carry out the war effort.⁶⁵ Thus, much of Napoleon's Russian campaign points to the kind of "modern" warfare that would wreak havoc in Europe well into the twentieth century.

Conclusion

By December 1812, Napoleon's empire had slipped from his hands, and one of the most arrogant displays of power and hubris in the history of mankind had ended with dramatic results. The Russian army's chase of Napoleon's forces almost all the way back to Paris had a revolutionary effect on Russian society. For the first time, Russian soldiers saw what it was like to live in relative freedom, and they would take what they had learned and bring it back home with them to Russia.⁶⁶ The victory of an ancient monarchy over the upstart Napoleon was seen as a point of validation for the divine right of rulers,⁶⁷ paving the way for Prussian and Russian dominance in Europe for much of the remainder of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ For the returning French, their experience in Prussia was especially disconcerting: as they were traveling back through Prussia they were spat on by the citizens there.⁶⁹ Most detrimental to Napoleon were the actions of a Prussian general, Count Johann David Ludwig Yorck von Wartenburg (1759-1830). Wartenburg had refused to cover the Grande Armée's retreat along the Prussian and Polish border, and on December 30, 1812, he signed an agreement with the Russian field marshal which in effect made his troops neutral in the conflict. Here we see the total and complete breakdown of Napoleon's control of his German satellites. The consequences of his unwise invasion were becoming painfully apparent.

Perhaps future research on this topic can take a more scientific approach with regard to Napoleon's physical and mental state. There is the possibility that he might have been afflicted by some kind of mental disorder brought on by an underlying illness, especially during his listless periods of wandering the halls for hours on end. Also, there are obvious signs that Napoleon's personality could have bordered on sociopathy. Whatever it was that afflicted him, be it mental lapses or flat-out hubris, it caused him to make the biggest mistake of his career.

In the end, it was Napoleon's erratic behavior that ended his empire. His genius was never in question, but it was his habit of pursuing military and political actions against his better judgment that eventually were his undoing. Had Napoleon not invaded Russia in the summer of 1812, there is no way of knowing how that might have affected the world today, but his empire likely

⁶⁵ Zamoyski, *Moscow 1812*, 233.

⁶⁶ In fact, over 65 officers present at the Battle of Borodino would be involved a Palace Coup in St. Petersburg after the death of Tsar Alexander I in 1825.

⁶⁷ Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars*, 550.

⁶⁸ Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars*, 550.

⁶⁹ Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars*, 534.

would have stood strong for many more years. There is no telling what Napoleon could have done with the 400,000 troops he had lost during the campaign. It was toward the end of his life, when talking about the Russian campaign with a confidant at his island "prison" of Saint Helena, that Napoleon seems to have echoed the sentiments of history: "I was incessantly compelled to exercise an equal degree of address and energy. In all these enterprises I found it necessary to maintain a strange character; to evince singular acuteness of perception, and great confidence in my own plans; though they were perhaps disapproved by everyone around me."⁷⁰

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⁷⁰ Count de Las Cases, *Memorial de Sainte Helene*, 102.

Rebecca Stolzer

*The Romanticist's Cure for Cholera:
An Alternative Reading of
Alexandre Dumas's "Travels in Switzerland" (1834)*

ABSTRACT: This article addresses how the nineteenth-century French writer Alexandre Dumas applied Romanticist ideals in his work "Travels in Switzerland" (1834). Based on *Travels in Switzerland*, biographies of Dumas, and scholarly assessments of Romanticism, it first analyzes Dumas's intellectual depression and his "Romanticist Cure," then moves to the specific ways in which Romanticism cured Dumas's intellectual depression – namely by focusing on nature, heroism, and individualism, and finally provides examples of specific individuals Dumas met during his travels, who aligned with his own Romanticist ideals. The author demonstrates that – to Alexandre Dumas – Romanticism was both the cause and cure for his "cholera," or what can be interpreted as his depressed mental and artistic state.

KEYWORDS: nineteenth century; Paris; Switzerland; Alexandre Dumas; François-René de Chateaubriand; travel; *Travels in Switzerland* (1834); Romanticism; existentialism; cholera

Introduction

Alexandre Dumas's *Travels in Switzerland* (1834) details his trip to Switzerland following a bout of cholera while living and working in Paris. Although it does discuss his travels abroad, *Travels in Switzerland* does not belong to the "travel narrative" genre. Rather, it must be evaluated primarily as a Romanticist's journey to self-realization and spiritual awakening. Through an examination of Dumas's travel account, this article will address the following question: In what ways did Dumas's Romanticist lens provide him with a cure to his "cholera," that being a metaphorical representation of his intellectual depression, as well as the general sickness in nineteenth-century French society? This question serves as a foundation for analysis, as Romanticism—relating to society—proves to be the central worldview under which Dumas operated while on his journey. During his time in Switzerland, Romanticism provided Dumas with a personal cure to his intellectual and artistic depression, which had manifested itself as a product of the illness in nineteenth-century French society, through his return to nature and encounters with individuals who displayed heroism and individualism. The approach used to analyze *Travels in Switzerland* is to evaluate how a Romanticist abroad found a cure for both personal and societal psychological ailments through Romanticist ideals.

Travels in Switzerland was first published in 1834, and it relates a vacation to Switzerland that Dumas had taken beginning in July 1832. At first glance, the narrative describes Dumas's adventures with locals through the various natural and geographical features the country had to offer, including his daily itinerary and meetings with both locals and other foreigners. Fundamentally, this narrative provides insight into the mental and emotional state of Dumas upon his departure from Paris. It is, first and foremost, an account of the self-reflection that Dumas came to have as a result of this change of scenery. This self-reflection

concerned the French politics and lifestyle that Dumas had left behind, as well as a deeper contemplation of his intelligence relative to that of others, and the significance of his existence in the world that God had provided for him.

In the foreword, Dumas stresses that it was the ultimate result of his trip that he found a cure for cholera.¹ The focus of this article is the analysis of this statement. I assert that “cholera” stands for the mental, emotional, and artistic state Dumas was in following his experience with the sickness, and as a result of living in Parisian society. I will explore the psychological, emotional, and artistic state in which Dumas found himself as a result of living in Paris and his decision to leave, as life in Paris was the cause of this crisis, and leaving to Switzerland proved to be the logical remedy for his “cholera.” This analysis demonstrates the impact of the Romanticist movement in nineteenth-century France on everyday experiences that shaped human intellectualism.

Romanticism was a movement that demonstrated a shift away from classicism or neo-classical movements in western attitudes toward politics, society, and the arts. It was a result of the decline of monarchies and therefore called for self-determination and independence, leading to hero worship among those who followed their convictions. Romanticism also emphasized returning to nature as a source of personal growth and spiritual freedom. It emphasized living a natural life—unrestricted by the exploitations of man, with the freedom to achieve personal spiritual fulfillment and the opportunity to express oneself freely, particularly through the arts.² Dumas identified himself as a follower of this movement and therefore viewed the world with a Romanticist outlook.³ Having a Romanticist outlook—or what I will refer to as a Romanticist lens—while on his trip affected him differently in mind and spirit. It was responsible for Dumas's self-reflection during his journey that ultimately led to profound conclusions about his place in the world and the true nature of his intelligence. A Romanticist perspective also provided Dumas with newfound inspiration to write out of desire rather than obligation.

I. Alexandre Dumas

Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870) was a French Romanticist writer of novels, plays, and newspaper publications. He was born in Villers-Cotterêts (northern France) to a French mother and a half French and half Haitian father who was a general in the French army under Napoleon.⁴ Upon the general's death, the family experienced financial distress as the army awarded the family the honor of the

¹ Alexandre Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland* (London: Read Books Ltd., 2013, first published 1834 in French as *Impressions de voyage*), 7.

² See Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), published online, s.v. “Romanticism.”

³ Craig A. Bell, *Alexandre Dumas: A Biography and Study* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1950), 40.

⁴ Lora Pierce, “Celebrating our Multicultural Heritage,” *Biracial Child* (January 31, 1994), 12.

father's title rather than monetary compensation.⁵ Dumas received an extensive education, as his tutors soon recognized his talents in reading and writing. During his early childhood, Dumas experienced the progression of Napoleon's army through Europe and later saw the sacrifices the French people had to make due to the collapse of their empire. Seeing the military action in his home country from a young age had a lasting influence on his political and social opinions, and later shaped his involvement in the Romanticist movement. Having moved to Paris to work as a clerk for various attorneys, Dumas made an impression, through his writing and excellent penmanship, on the royally-connected Maximilian-Sébastien Foy who was more than happy to "ask the Duc d'Orléans for a position for the Republican General's son."⁶ A position working as the Duc d'Orléans's clerk gave Dumas connections and opportunities to begin writing literature, which had been the reason for his move to Paris.⁷ As he transitioned from adolescence to adulthood, Dumas's development as a Romanticist playwright and novelist was influenced by his depressed social status after his father's death, as well as the political upheaval and military action that followed his family throughout his childhood and adolescence.⁸

At the start of his career, Dumas experienced his first successes amongst the middle-class, theater-going audience through his various commissions to write for the stage. Some of his most popular plays were *Antony* (1831), *Napoleon Bonaparte* (1831), and *Catherine Howard* (1834), historical Romanticist plays that Dumas was able to adapt to the popular tastes of his audience.⁹ The 1830s marked a change in French theater as the Romanticists seized the day to take over the popular theater.¹⁰ However, the Romanticist playwrights faced an unresponsive audience, as the general public had a hard time relating to the themes of Romanticist plays which were primarily anti-bourgeois and anti-social.¹¹ Dumas had the most success of all the Romanticist playwrights because he assimilated to fit his work to align with popular theater while still staying within the genre. He first earned his fame and fortune through his dramatic writings and was soon seen walking around Paris in the newest fashion or being carried around in his personal carriage drawn by the horse he owned.¹² Yet French Romanticist theater was ultimately a failure due to the middle-class audience's unwillingness to hear Romanticist social ideas that called for the

⁵ Claude Schopp, *Alexandre Dumas: Genius of Life*, trans. A. J. Koch (New York: Franklin Watts, 1988), 11.

⁶ Schopp, *Alexandre Dumas*, 51.

⁷ See Pierce, "Celebrating our Multicultural Heritage," 12.

⁸ Schopp, *Alexandre Dumas*, 17-29.

⁹ Barry V. Daniels, *Revolution in the Theatre: French Romantic Theories of Drama* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), 229.

¹⁰ Daniels, *Revolution in the Theatre*, 9.

¹¹ Daniels, *Revolution in the Theatre*, 229.

¹² Bell, *Alexandre Dumas*, 61.

rejection of conventional nineteenth-century themes, championed the expression of individual emotion, and rejected the expectation to live according to the constraints society placed on the individual.¹³ Therefore, Dumas had a greater and lasting success within the realm of the historical novel.¹⁴

Today, Dumas is mostly remembered for his most popular historical novels, *The Three Musketeers* (1844) and *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844). Dumas transitioned from playwright to novelist when he was in his forties, even though he never fully abandoned the theater. It was a perfect time to take advantage of the popularity of serial publications of novels in newspapers, as literacy was on the rise and the standard of living increased due to the Industrial Revolution, allowing for a wider readership.¹⁵ The publication of novels in many installments over time proved profitable, as talented writers were able to keep the public in suspense, which turned many middle-class citizens into repeat-customers who brought in money continuously for however long a novel lasted. Dumas was extremely successful with his serial publications. His work presented seventeenth-century France as an ideal time, omitting the realities that would have made this century very uncomfortable. This Romanticization allowed readers to escape from their own political and social troubles, and to temporarily travel to an era that, supposedly, had been free from problems like theirs—another aspect that made Dumas a successful historical novelist. This is exemplified by the immense popularity of *The Three Musketeers* (1844), which glorified the heroic life of a musketeer in the 1620s.

His success meant that Dumas “worked non-stop from the moment he woke up in the morning” to keep up with the high demand for his work; Frederick William J. Hemmings notes that this often led to bouts of fever, resulting from the large volume and variety of work he had at any given time and the accompanying high demand and pressure to produce high-quality writing.¹⁶ As his means of artistic expression turned into a demanding job that could no longer be done for personal pleasure only, he lost sight of why he was writing at all and slipped into an apparent depression. This is important to note, as Dumas demonstrates in *Travels in Switzerland* that this high demand for his work was one aspect that directly caused his “cholera” or Romanticist illness.

II. Alexandre Dumas's Romantic Illness and the Romanticist Cure

Dumas credited his trip to Switzerland with helping him find a cure for cholera. In 1832, Paris experienced the first mass cholera outbreak of many that had a devastating effect on the population. The large number of deaths proved to be a problem for medical practitioners and public administrators alike, both in their

¹³ Daniels, *Revolution in the Theatre*, 17.

¹⁴ Daniels, *Revolution in the Theatre*, 8-19.

¹⁵ Frederick William J. Hemmings, *The King of Romance: A Portrait of Alexandre Dumas* (New York: Scribner, 1979), 116.

¹⁶ Hemmings, *King of Romance*, 124.

efforts to prevent mass hysteria and to dispose of the bodies.¹⁷ The cholera outbreak caused Parisians to question how healthy life in an urban, industrialized city actually was. The epidemic had an adverse physiological and emotional effect on Parisians due to the immense loss and traumatizing nature of death all around them. As the epidemic hit shortly after the French Revolution of 1830, distressing political events and physical illness were linked together by some—primarily by those opposed to the new regime—due to the widespread terror both entailed.¹⁸ The suspected link between disease and revolt made Paris a troubling city to live in, as political unrest was a common occurrence for nineteenth-century Parisians.

Although Dumas had fallen ill with cholera in Paris shortly before deciding to leave the city, he did make a full recovery. Therefore, one cannot take the word “cholera” at face value, but instead must look for the intended meaning behind this choice of word. In actuality, “cholera” represents Dumas’s depressed state, both intellectually and spiritually, that he was left in after recovering from cholera. Dumas mentions the need he had to “reassure [...] [him]self of [...] [his] existence,”¹⁹ a statement that indicates an existential crisis. Dumas also indicates that the efforts that his writing commissions now required “drove [him] [...] nearly mad,”²⁰ evidence that Dumas’s artistic freedoms in writing were restricted by a financial necessity to write rather than the desire to do so. The questioning of his existence and his dissatisfaction with the motives behind his writings are really what the term “cholera” represents.

The search to find aspects of Romanticism in his own life was both the cause and the cure for Dumas’s illness. It was the cause of his illness due to his Romanticist lens—meaning that Dumas applied Romanticist ideals to the world he was living in. He looked at the Paris of his day and saw a distinct lack of individual freedom, the devaluation of the role of emotion in everyday life, and the inability to retreat to nature for spiritual and intellectual enlightenment. This distinct lack of Romanticist ideals in Parisian society and his own life was the direct cause of his illness, as he could not directly apply his Romantic lens to nineteenth-century Parisian society. The physical illnesses Parisians experienced as a direct result of living in a dirty and dense city, as well as Dumas’s affliction, contributed to his physiological “cholera.” By extension, this illness was a reflection of the general physical and cognitive sickness of the nineteenth-century French population. Therefore, the text’s term “cholera” stands for the general intellectual and artistic depression as a result of industrialization and modernization in nineteenth-century France.

¹⁷ Catherine J. Kudlick, “Learning from Cholera: Medical and Social Responses to the First Great Paris Epidemic in 1832,” *Microbes and Infection* 1 (October 1999): 1051-1057, here 1051.

¹⁸ Kudlick, “Learning from Cholera,” 1052.

¹⁹ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 9.

²⁰ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 8.

This societal sickness ties directly to Romanticist ideals regarding social impurities and corresponding solutions to these impurities. Romanticism came about as “a child of the [French] Revolution,”²¹ as political and social unrest crossed over into literature and art. Major themes of Romanticism include the emphasis on individuality and self-expression, the importance of originality over imitation, and the boundlessness of human emotion and imagination.²² Traveling to a place, namely to Switzerland, which allowed Dumas to apply his Romanticist ideals more directly to his everyday life, provided Dumas with a cure for his psychological illness, as he could see his Romanticist principles work emotionally and intellectually, which gave him a sense of spiritual fulfillment. The Romanticist themes that emphasized nature, heroism, and individualism provided Dumas with the cure for his existential crisis and artistic depression, as well as an alternative worldview and lifestyle that could potentially cure the perceived nineteenth-century French “sickness.” Dumas proved that operating under a Romanticist lens could provide “sick” individuals with a cure for the ailments of the society in which they lived. Not only was Romanticism a cure for Dumas’s personal existential and artistic crisis, but it also gave industrialized cities a solution to cure psychological and spiritual sickness in society.

III. Romanticism as a Cure: Nature

Romanticism emphasized the importance of spending time in nature,²³ an ideal that made a strong contribution to the application of Dumas’s Romanticist lens while he was in Switzerland. This ideal was a result of industrialization, as nature disappeared in increasingly urbanized areas like Paris. Romanticists believed that humanity’s spiritual and intellectual well-being was dependent on spending time in nature.²⁴ Dumas’s return to nature as a Romanticist through his travels in Switzerland had a profound effect on his intellectual state. Dumas notes that what he experienced in Switzerland could not be found in his adopted hometown of Paris,²⁵ which is the key to the impact this trip had on him. There are several examples where the scenery of the Swiss countryside sent Dumas into long periods of contemplation, from which he drew new, profound conclusions about life. He was hit with this phenomenon when he first set foot in the country and noted that “under such blue sky, by such a beautiful expanse of water, one’s limbs feel superfluous: one has only to breathe to be completely alive.”²⁶ This connection between nature and one’s conscious state is very present in

²¹ Bell, *Alexandre Dumas*, 40.

²² Henri Peyre, *What is Romanticism?* trans. Roda P. Roberts ([Tuscaloosa]: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 28.

²³ Baldick, *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, s.v. “Romanticism.”

²⁴ Baldick, *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, s.v. “Romanticism:” “nature [...] as a responsive mirror of the soul.”

²⁵ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 91.

²⁶ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 14.

Romanticism, and credit for this goes to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) who believed that nature is essential because it provides symmetry and balance between the mind and the body.²⁷ Here, Dumas's feeling of non-existence is immediately reversed by simply stepping out into Swiss nature. Dumas's descriptions of Swiss topography are very imaginative, riddled with metaphor, fantasy, and emotional implications. He describes a waterfall as "looking like a gigantic stream of milk."²⁸ He compares an area of sparse pine trees to "an army of giants who had been stopped in their course by rocks rolled down upon them from the heights above by an invisible hand."²⁹ To Dumas, the echoing of thunder "was the prologue to the last judgment."³⁰ This imagination had been lost in Paris, but was found again in Switzerland, and it allowed for his writing to be once again influenced by an atmosphere that allowed him to validate his human existence.

The outcome of such contemplations and self-reflection was a new understanding of his existential state. Dumas notes that he felt "puny"³¹ in the midst of such landscapes. This self-reflection mirrors Rousseau's belief that introspection and subsequently changing oneself as a result of introspection was necessary to bring harmony to the human psyche.³² Dumas has the most significant epiphany as he lays down to bed one night with a view of the landscape of Switzerland:

To lie down is always pleasurable; to lie down in an historic place, by the side of a lake overlooked by mountains; to watch a phantom-like boat disappearing into the distance, carrying in it someone who brings back memories of other times and places; to feel the past and the present blend and blur; to be in Switzerland and yet think of France—such is a vigil of one's dreams, above all if you can dream it at the coming on of twilight while the sinking sun enflames the mountain peaks above you and the dusk, heavy with perfumes and dew, is pierced with night's first pale stars. Then it comes over you with fresh certitude that earth exists for itself alone and not for you; that you are a mere spectator invited by the bounty of God to witness this splendid spectacle which is itself only a fragment of the universe. You realize suddenly, with feeling akin to terror, how small a space of earth is yours. But soon soul reacts on matter, one's thoughts grow proportionate to the ideas which motivate them. Past becomes linked to present, world to worlds, man to God, and overcome by such littleness and such immensity, a voice within cries: Lord, thy hand has made me small, but thy spirit has made me great!³³

²⁷ Vanessa Sage, "Encountering the Wilderness, Encountering the Mist: Nature, Romanticism, and Contemporary Paganism," *Anthropology of Consciousness* 20, no. 1 (March 2009): 27-52, here 28-32.

²⁸ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 32.

²⁹ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 71.

³⁰ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 101.

³¹ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 45.

³² See Sage, "Encountering the Wilderness," 28-32.

³³ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 140.

This epiphany, relating directly to existentialist ideals, is a synthesis of Dumas's experiences due to the splendors of nature in Switzerland. When questioning his existence in the foreword, Dumas had felt dread, uncertainty, and hopelessness with regard to his existence. He left Paris questioning who he was and what he had to live for. Switzerland—as seen from a Romanticist point of view—made him absolute and resolved regarding his existence and place in the universe. Proving his identity as a Romanticist, Dumas experienced profound emotional responses to nature that he attached to thoughts of God. Although he notes that terror is still an accompanying factor in realizing how small his place is in the world, he recognizes that his existence—which is God-given—is final and decided. His epiphany fundamentally allowed Dumas to restore his faith through reconnecting with God. Industrial Paris was devoid of any such nature that could have reawakened Dumas's spirituality in this way. Switzerland provided Dumas with answers he could not have found in nineteenth-century Paris due to Dumas's identity as a Romanticist.

IV. Romanticism as a Cure: Heroism and Individualism

As Romanticism emerged out of revolution and political dissent, the ideals of heroism and individuality were prevalent in the movement and therefore prevalent in Dumas's writings. Romanticists looked for heroic characters in society and included them in their narratives. Individuality was also an idealized trait, as the growing trend of republicanism over kingship allowed for the participation of individuals in government.³⁴ Freedom of individual expression and spiritual fulfillment was a fundamental principle of the Romanticist movement. Dumas's appreciation for individuality and heroism is evident in several passages, and a pattern emerges, as Dumas repeatedly brings up the concept of courage. This is a trait that Dumas appears to be lacking, while he often notes that Swiss people, in general, are very courageous in all aspects of life. During his adventures, he exhibits the physical symptoms of anxiety and fear, namely perspiring, shaking, and feeling faint.³⁵ These instances usually involve an activity such as spelunking or hiking high mountain peaks, where physical strength meets the need for mental soundness and courage. Dumas does not give a reason for his lack of courage, but it is likely a result of his easy life in urban Paris compared to the rural lives the Swiss lived. The first time Dumas presents this fear, his Swiss guide criticizes it as being an unattractive trait. When Dumas puts his life in jeopardy—resulting from his apparent cowardice during an expedition in the depths of a salt mine—his Swiss guide chastises him regarding his fear: "Must you really do that? It's very unhealthy in this part of the world!"³⁶ Dumas wonders why anxiety and apprehension follow him

³⁴ See Baldick, *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, s.v. "Romanticism."

³⁵ See examples in Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 29, 63, 48.

³⁶ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 30.

through his travels and contrasts this with the Swiss tendency to go through life without the same sense of unease. Dumas often chastises himself in the text for his constant worry and anxiety over what the Swiss consider every-day tasks. He admires the Swiss for their courage, attributing this trait to be a comment on the greatness of their character. This heroic quality was attractive to Dumas and provided him with artistic inspiration. Such examples of real-life heroes mirrored the larger-than-life heroes that were common characters in Romanticist writings.³⁷ These heroic characters would later appear, following Dumas's return to Paris, in *The Three Musketeers* (1844) and *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844).

In Switzerland, Dumas met Jacques Balmat (1762-1834), a Swiss mountaineer who led Dumas to believe that he had been the first man to reach the top of Mont Blanc, located in the Alps, although the editor notes that this claim to fame is highly suspect.³⁸ Balmat and Dumas, over a cozy dinner and a lot of wine, proceeded to talk about their life's triumphs. Dumas dedicates ten pages of the narrative to retell Balmat's extraordinary expedition in detail.³⁹ The tale of Balmat's ascent to the top of Mont Blanc with his partner, Doctor Paccard (1757-1827), is one of hardship, emotional turmoil, and eventual victory. Despite running into obstacles like brutal weather and health concerns, Dumas's report of the journey portrays Balmat as a persistent fighter whose cannot be deterred by adversity. The importance of meeting Balmat becomes immediately apparent as Dumas "thanked him for honouring me with his presence."⁴⁰ Dumas was so impressed by Balmat's heroism, despite the hardships his task had entailed, that the one characteristic he attributes to this man above all else is "courage."⁴¹ Courage is another trait that Dumas himself lacked, but one that he also admired in others. Meeting Jacques Balmat is an example of an instance that struck Dumas with the inspiration to write. This inspiration to write for pleasure, which had long been lacking back home in Paris, is evidence of the curative nature of this particular meeting with the heroic Jacques Balmat in Switzerland. Dumas held Balmat in such high regard that he notes, "I thought of him in the same way as I did of Columbus, who had discovered an unknown world, or Vasco de Gama, who had rediscovered a lost one."⁴² This high opinion demonstrates that Balmat is an example of the Romanticist hero, one that Dumas had been looking for on his journey, and one that fulfilled his individual Romanticist ideals and would later serve as inspiration for Dumas's Romantic heroes in his historical novels.

³⁷ Anita Brookner, *Romanticism and Its Discontents* (London: Penguin, 2000), 33.

³⁸ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 49.

³⁹ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 49-59.

⁴⁰ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 48.

⁴¹ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 48.

⁴² Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 48.

Later in the text, Dumas recounts meeting the famed French native François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), a politician and writer who was concerned with what he considered to be the decline of French society.⁴³ Dumas already had a very high opinion of Chateaubriand before ever coming to Switzerland. Considering himself a fan of Chateaubriand, Dumas declares that he had wanted to meet Chateaubriand since childhood and notes "my admiration for him was a religion."⁴⁴ Dumas was nervous to meet his childhood hero and feared that he would not come across as intelligent enough to be considered an associate. In Chateaubriand's writings, which Dumas had studied and admired, Chateaubriand had often mourned the loss of glorified France and conveyed a certain nostalgia for what he considered to be the glorious days of the French empire.⁴⁵ These ideas are very present in Dumas's and Chateaubriand's conversations, as Dumas tried to gain insight into Chateaubriand's decision to leave his home country through self-exile. Dumas and Chateaubriand had differing political opinions, with Dumas being a self-proclaimed socialist and Chateaubriand opposing revolution and the toppling of monarchies. His conversations with Chateaubriand were all political, revolving around the French revolutions of 1789 and 1830.⁴⁶ Dumas was enchanted by Chateaubriand due to the latter's unwavering faith in his political convictions and the individuality of thought by which he lived. Chateaubriand was so resolute in his beliefs that he had exiled himself to Switzerland, and he made it clear to Dumas that he would never return to France as long as the monarchy remained overthrown. Once again, here we see that this man's individualistic convictions inspired Dumas to the extent that he began to write again right away.⁴⁷ Chateaubriand perfectly represented the Romanticist ideal of individuality, freedom of expression, and spiritual self-fulfillment.

Conclusion

During his travels in Switzerland, Romanticism provided Alexandre Dumas with a personal cure to his intellectual and artistic depression, which had manifested itself as a product of the illness in nineteenth-century French society, through his return to nature and encounters with individuals who displayed admirable heroism and individuality. Dumas states that his travels helped him cure his so-called "cholera." This word is a euphemism for the spiritual depression in which Dumas was stuck following his experience with cholera while living in Paris. This sickness can also represent the general sickness within an industrialized society like Paris. Romanticism provided a cure for this societal sickness, as the

⁴³ Benjamin Hoffman, "Chateaubriand and the Mourning of (New) France," *French Forum* 42, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 201-216, here 209.

⁴⁴ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 151.

⁴⁵ Hoffman, "Chateaubriand and the Mourning of (New) France," 202.

⁴⁶ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 152.

⁴⁷ Dumas, *Travels in Switzerland*, 49.

movement emphasized a worldview that idealized characteristics opposite of what was seen in nineteenth-century Paris. The major Romanticist ideal that helped Dumas come to terms with his existential crisis was the importance of returning to nature. Dumas's return to nature while in Switzerland and his interaction with the natural environment allowed for several profound self-reflections on the condition of his soul and his place in the universe.

Furthermore, Dumas viewed the people he met in Switzerland through a Romanticist lens with an emphasis on individualism and heroism. He admired the courage of the Swiss people, and as he noticed this courage more and more, it made him reflect on his lack of courage and question what had led to his general anxiety. Meeting the courageous Jacques Balmat made such an impression on Dumas that he finally found the inspiration to write again, out of pleasure rather than obligation. Balmat represented the Romanticist hero Dumas had been looking for. Then, meeting François-René de Chateaubriand provided Dumas with someone who fully represented the Romanticist ideal of individualism. Chateaubriand was someone who held so strongly to his convictions, even when they were against the norm, that he had exiled himself to Switzerland. Dumas was again inspired to write after meeting the man who had been his childhood hero. Ultimately, Dumas's time in Switzerland served as a journey of self-realization and spiritual fulfillment. His Romanticist lens provided him with a unique experience in this foreign environment that healed his mind and soul. This perspective provides a real-world demonstration of Romanticism as a movement directly applied to a nineteenth-century individual's life, as an alternative to the traditional remedies to existential crises and depression.

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Natalie Vandercook

*The Alamo:
A Battle for Interpretation from 1836 to the Present*

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the public memory of the 1836 Battle of the Alamo. It analyzes historical accounts from the 1800s to the mid-1900s, as well as textbooks, museum guides, movies, and monuments. The author argues that turning the Battle of the Alamo into folklore through romanticism and racism has contributed to an ahistorical narrative that has impacted the past and continues to have repercussions in the present.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S. history; Mexico; San Antonio; Texas Revolution; Battle of the Alamo (1836); Mexican-American War; racism; national identity; public memory*

Introduction

In the early hours of March 6, 1836, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna's final assault in the Battle of the Alamo crushed the Texan defenders' last hope for survival.¹ Tensions had been rising for some time between the Texans who had migrated to Texas for land, the Tejanos who were the Mexicans living in Texas, and the Mexican government which had recently gained independence from Spain (1821).² Mexico opened Texas up to both Anglo-Americans and Mexicans through the Colonization Law that allowed for settlers to claim and own the land.³ However, the Mexican government created stipulations for immigrating into Texas. The main restriction that caused tension stemmed from the fact that slavery was illegal in Texas.⁴ Nevertheless, Anglo-Americans brought their slaves into Texan territory. Slaves had been essential to the economic success of the southern region of the United States since the time of the British colonies. Because the eastern part of Texas had fertile land needed for cotton farming, it was of high interest for many American farmers. This became one of the central motivations for Americans desiring to migrate to Texas.⁵ As time passed, Anglo-Americans continued to break Mexico's laws; thus, on April 6, 1830, Mexico passed a law that ended colonization by Anglo-Americans and made it illegal for them to enter Texan territory.⁶ Even after the law of April 6, 1830, Americans by

¹ Lon Tinkle, *13 Days to Glory: The Siege of the Alamo* (New York City: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1958), 198.

² Randy Roberts and James S. Olson, *A Line in the Sand: The Alamo in Blood and Memory* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 93.

³ John Sales and Henry Sales, eds., *Early Laws of Texas: General Laws from 1836 to 1879*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: The Gilbert Book Co. 1891), 42.

⁴ Gary Clay Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 2005), 83.

⁵ Anderson, *Conquest of Texas*, 82.

⁶ Anderson, *Conquest of Texas*, 79.

the thousands continued to illegally migrate into Texas.⁷ As this continued, many Americans then living in Texas felt as though Texas should become independent from Mexico, since this would allow Texans to pursue their economic goals while not facing any restrictions from the Mexican government.⁸ To address this problem, the Mexican government, led by Santa Anna, sent soldiers to stabilize and enforce order in the territory.⁹ In response, the majority of Texans, as well as some Tejanos, began to fight for Texan independence, which eventually led to the siege of the Alamo.¹⁰ The Alamo is located in Bexar, modern-day San Antonio, Texas.¹¹ The Spanish had originally constructed the Alamo as a Catholic mission and fortified it into a defensive compound. As tensions arose between the Mexican government and the Texans who wanted independence, two hundred men, all of whom had volunteered to fight, met at the Alamo to defend it.¹² Key volunteers included Colonel James Bowie and David Crockett, who desired independence from Mexico and were willing to fight for Texan independence.¹³ The Battle of the Alamo was a decisive moment, especially in Texan history, as it was the prelude to the eventual U.S. annexation of the territory of Texas (1845) and the Mexican-American War (1846-1848).¹⁴

The Alamo and the events surrounding it played a key role in shaping the culture and the political foundation of the United States as we know them today. In this context, it is crucial to understand that many studies on and interpretations of the subject are heavily influenced by the public and by people's subjective opinions. Therefore, this article will be using different types of sources to achieve a balanced analysis of the historical events of the Alamo. The majority of period's primary sources come from the accounts of the Mexican soldiers, since there were very few Texans who survived the battle. One of the most notable among these was Francisco Bercera, a Mexican sergeant who fought at the Alamo. His account contains a detailed recollection of the battle and the

⁷ Alwyn Barr, *Texans in Revolt: The Battle for San Antonio, 1835* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 2.

⁸ David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989; first published 1987), 15.

⁹ Barr, *Texans in Revolt*, 4.

¹⁰ Virgil E. Baugh, *Rendezvous at the Alamo: Highlight in the Lives of Bowie, Crockett, and Travis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985; first published 1960), 186.

¹¹ Barr, *Texans in Revolt*, vii.

¹² Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Identity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 154.

¹³ Charles Ramsdell, "The Storming of the Alamo," in *The American Heritage Book of Great Adventures of the Old West*, introduction by Archibald Hanna, Jr. (New York: American Heritage Press, 1969), 107-126, here 117.

¹⁴ Richard R. Flores, *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 32.

politics of the period.¹⁵ Recorded in 1875, the book depicts events that Becerra experienced as a Mexican sergeant from just before 1835 up until the two subsequent decades.¹⁶ Two of the most quoted survivors are a slave, only known as Joe, and Mrs. Almaron Dickinson who is the most cited source. However, their accounts of the actual battle are less useful, since they both hid for the duration of the confrontation.¹⁷ Due to the lack of reliable primary sources related to the Alamo, people's accounts embellished the facts to fit a narrative acceptable to them and their agenda. Some of the sources that changed the history of the Alamo are the ones to be examined here. Earlier writings on the topic reveal a transformation of the men who posthumously became heroes as they had died honorably and fought to protect Texan independence.¹⁸ Sources from the 1900s onward suggest that the folklore surrounding the Alamo had become accepted as fact, as evident in both popular literature and scholarly books.¹⁹ This article will also examine how the Alamo is portrayed in popular movies, such as John Wayne's *The Alamo* (1960)²⁰ and John Lee Hancock's *The Alamo* (2004).²¹

There is a vast array of scholarship on the Battle of the Alamo, since it is considered a turning point in U.S. history. It was not until the later twentieth century that scholars began to look more critically at the stories surrounding the history of the Alamo. Holly B. Brear was one of the first historians to analyze why America has accepted some of these Alamo fictions as fact.²² Brear's 1995 study explains how the Alamo became a myth that is central to the Texan identity. As a result, anything that challenges this legacy is viewed as an attack on Texan history.²³ Richard R. Flores (2002) has expanded upon the points originally presented by Brear and analyzes the way in which the memory of the event has shifted in accordance with the general public's accepted version.²⁴ Another historian, James E. Crisp (2005), a native Texan, has studied people's aversion to changing their understanding of the Alamo's history: Crisp examines

¹⁵ Francisco Becerra, *A Mexican Sergeant's Recollections of the Alamo & San Jacinto, as Told to John S. Ford in 1875*, introduction by Dan Kilgore (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1980), 20.

¹⁶ Becerra, *A Mexican Sergeant's Recollections*, 15.

¹⁷ Becerra, *A Mexican Sergeant's Recollections*, 5.

¹⁸ Burt Hirschfeld, *After the Alamo: The Story of the Mexican War* (New York: Julian Messner, 1966), 98.

¹⁹ Perry McWilliams, "The Alamo Story: From Fact to Fable," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 15, no. 3 (1978): 221-233, here 225.

²⁰ *The Alamo*, directed by John Wayne (1960; United Artists/The Alamo Company/Batjac Productions).

²¹ *The Alamo*, directed by John Lee Hancock (2004; Touchstone Pictures/Imagine Entertainment).

²² Holly B. Brear, *Inherit the Alamo: Myth and Ritual at an American Shrine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 1.

²³ Brear, *Inherit the Alamo*, 132.

²⁴ Flores, *Remembering the Alamo*, 2.

how the Texan educational system has perpetuated the legends and myths associated with the Alamo.²⁵ This article will evaluate how and why the actual events of the Alamo have been re-shaped by the public and its perceptions of what happened.

In the context of popular history, this article argues that the turning of the Battle of the Alamo into folklore through romanticism and racism helped shape an ahistorical narrative rather than an accurate account of this historic event, which impacts both the past and the present. The history of the Alamo was romanticized due to its importance for the Texan identity and the men who were transformed into American heroes.²⁶ Racism was one of the most critical factors in altering the history of the Alamo: it led to the generalization of the good Americans versus the bad Mexicans, the promotion of Manifest Destiny, and the justification for seizing territory.²⁷ The resulting ahistorical account of the Alamo has not only been accepted as fact for decades but continues to influence our culture and American identity today.

I. The Romanticizing of History into Legend

Most people would agree that the Alamo and its story are an essential part of U.S. history, especially with regard to the foundation of Texas. It has become a cornerstone of the Texan identity. This identity, however, was based on the romanticizing of the story of the Alamo. As a result, the Battle of the Alamo became less of an accurate historical event and more of an over-simplified narrative that allowed and justified white American agendas. This strict black-and-white interpretation painted the Texans as the clear heroes, leaving the Mexicans and the Tejanos with the role of the villains. Thus, the story of the Alamo and its key characters was transformed into a legend filled with American heroes that excludes any negative portrayal, let alone critical analysis that went against the popular narrative.

The narrative of the Alamo was essential to the building of the Texan identity as it was considered the very beginning of the state, or Republic, itself. The importance of the Alamo is taught to children from an early age, both in school and at home. Throughout Texas, the state curriculum is one of the major leading sources in instilling the narrative of the Alamo as essential. Text books and educational comics such as the *Texas History Movies* (originally published between 1926 and 1928 in Dallas newspapers) have taught children the history of the Alamo through a heavily filtered and biased lens.²⁸ In fact, the *Texas History*

²⁵ James E. Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 176.

²⁶ Brear, *Inherit the Alamo*, 138.

²⁷ Robert Anthony Soza, "Denying Genocide: 'America's' Mythology of Nation, The Alamo, and the Historiography of Denial" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2010), 28.

²⁸ Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo*, 7. See also Mike Zambrano, Jr., "Texas History Movies," article, [Texas State Historical Association](#), accessed May 22, 2019.

Movies, a collection of educational comics on Texas history published in book format, were a part of the seventh-grade Texan curriculum from the 1920s up until the late 1960s.²⁹ The majority of the comics focuses on the Anglo-Texans, their fight for the land, and their success. In addition, they pay special attention to the frontiersmen and adventurers who are glorified.³⁰ While it celebrates Texans, its portrayal of Mexicans and Tejanos is often filtered down to a racist caricature, and their motives for fighting against Texans are oversimplified as merely evil intentions. Mexicans, especially those in government positions, are represented as dimwitted, easily fooled, and prone to unprompted violence. The comics gloss over why the Mexican government wanted the Americans to stop immigrating, and why Mexico fought against those starting the fight for Texan independence. It portrays the defenders of the Alamo in a sympathetic light, even going so far as to state incorrect numbers and facts.³¹ As a result, the *Texas History Movies* created a romanticized version of Texan history. The romanticized history of the Alamo is represented as Texan history. These educational comics were central to shaping and instilling a Texan identity in the students.

In addition to identity being instilled by the school system, the Texan heritage was also promoted through the tourism industry, on both a private and a governmental level. For example, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas originally wanted the chapel, the only remaining part of the Alamo, to be fully restored.³² In the end, they won against the local investors who wanted the mission to be gone. The Daughters of the Republic restored the chapel to a highly idealized version of what it might have looked like in 1836.³³ Their website asserts that the chapel was restored to preserve historical accuracy; yet, the website also highlights that the Alamo was remodeled as a “memorial to Alamo defenders” and that the chapel is a “shrine” and a “holy site.”³⁴ A balanced and accurate account can be distorted when the goal is to emphasize and glorify specific aspects of a person or event. In this case, the Alamo historical site serves

²⁹ “New Texas History Movies,” book announcement, [Texas State Historical Association](#), accessed May 22, 2019.

³⁰ Félix D. Almaráz, Jr., Joe M. Cardenas, George A. Juarez, and Constance McQueen, eds., *Texas History Movies* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association and Texas Educational Association, 1986; first published 1974). It should be noted that this 1974/1986 is “redacted,” meaning that offensive text has been changed. There is now also a new rendition of the *Texas History Movies*: Jack Jackson, *The New Texas History Movies* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007).

³¹ Almaráz et al., *Texas History Movies*, 8.

³² Claudia N. Campeanu, “Tourism, Modernity, and Heritage Production at the Alamo,” in *NA-Advances in Consumer Research*, Volume 30, ed. Punam Anand Keller and Dennis W. Rook (Valdosta: Association for Consumer Research, 2002): 357-360, here 357.

³³ Campeanu, “Tourism, Modernity, and Heritage Production,” 357.

³⁴ The Alamo, “Buildings,” The Alamo: The Mission, the Battle, the Legend, [The Alamo](#), accessed May 22, 2018.

as a tribute to Alamo defenders, while neglecting the actual structure and history of the building.³⁵ Tourists and visitors of the Alamo encounter the romanticized version which they can accept as fact. This romanticized version's impact on the Texan identity is still seen today. Arguments that negatively challenge the popular history are vigorously opposed. For example, James E. Crisp, author of *Sleuthing the Alamo*, received a considerable amount of hate mail and threats while researching for his book.³⁶ So, the romanticized account of the Alamo is taught from an early age; it is strongly present throughout different aspects of life in Texas; and it critically shapes the Texan identity that is present today.

The romanticized history of the Alamo extended far beyond Texan identity. One of its far-reaching implications was the transformation of the Texan defenders into legends. William Barret Travis, James Bowie, and especially David Crockett are among the most popular of the defenders who have become more myth than men with a considerable portion of their accomplishments fabricated decades after their death. William Barret Travis was the commander of the volunteers at the Alamo in 1836.³⁷ His final letter was a call for reinforcements: "I call on you in the name of liberty, of patriotism & everything dear to the American character to come to our aid [...]. If this call is neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible & die like a soldier."³⁸ Travis wrote this letter knowing that he would either be captured or killed, and he used the situation to elicit a passionate response from the Americans and other Texans. In literature, Travis is often regarded as a valiant hero who gave his life for Texas. While he did give his life up for his cause, his story is immensely exaggerated and glorified. He was one of the many who had migrated to Texas illegally. In 1833, he had left his wife and child in Alabama in an opportunistic move to try to regain political and economic prestige.³⁹

Two other key figures, James Bowie and David Crockett, became legends after their death at the Alamo. Popular literature and media have transformed their death into a tragic, heroic event. There are a number of different and conflicting stories of these heroes' demise that have long been accepted as fact due to popular media changing the narrative to fit a publicly accepted vision. One such account describes David Crockett dying in his bed as he fights off the enemy, using his two dueling pistols, and then killing several Mexicans with his

³⁵ Holly B. Brear, "We Run the Alamo and You Don't: Alamo Battles of Ethnicity and Gender," in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 299-318, here 301.

³⁶ Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo*, x.

³⁷ Baugh, *Rendezvous at the Alamo*, 183.

³⁸ William Barret Travis, quoted in N.a., "William Barret Travis," in *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Vol. 15, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Gale, 2004), 292-293.

³⁹ Anderson, *Conquest of Texas*, 81.

knife.⁴⁰ In actuality, Crockett was very sick, had only one gun at his side, which he did not use, and he died in his bed after being shot.⁴¹ The transforming of ordinary men into legends allows for the substitution of fact with fiction, so that the legend only consists of the positive. Yet, the vast majority of men who had migrated to Texas, especially after the law of 1830, had done so to escape their debts or the law. It was common for men to sign letters, paperwork, and documents with "G.T.T." (Gone to Texas) as an informal declaration.⁴² During the early 1800s, Texas was viewed as a territory that criminals ran to in order to avoid prosecution.⁴³ During the mid-1800s, the background story of criminal fugitives and the growing number of Americans illegally in the Texan territory was downplayed. This was because America realized the benefit of taking the Texan territory for both cotton production and the added political benefit of having another slave state.⁴⁴ Even today, most people are not aware of these less than heroic details that do not fit within the romanticized ideal of American heroes fighting for Texan independence.

The main legendary figures of the Alamo were not just idealized through literature, but also through monuments, for example the Alamo Cenotaph of 1940, located in San Antonio and built to honor these men.⁴⁵ Titled "The Spirit of Sacrifice," the Alamo Cenotaph only depicts the Anglo-American men who fought at the Alamo and was sculpted out of marble to be larger than life.⁴⁶ This visual portrayal of the defenders only identifies Travis, Bowie, and Crockett, while the others remain unnamed.⁴⁷ Yet, highlighting only these men ignores the complex context of the battle. The transformation of the men into legends reinforces the romanticized narrative by covering up the factual history to make way for a highly idealized fiction. Many of the defenders' words became memorialized as reflecting the fervent beliefs held by the defenders of the Alamo. These ideals of freedom and identity were carried on into the twentieth century. This was evident during the Cold War. Patriotic American identity played a role in counteracting communism which, as many people believed, was threatening democracy. To combat the spread of communism, American heroes

⁴⁰ Robert Edmond Alter, *Two Sieges of the Alamo* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 177.

⁴¹ J. Frank Dobie, Mody C. Boatright, and Harry H. Ransom, eds., *In the Shadow of History*, Publications of the Texas Folklore Society, Vol. 15 (Detroit: Folklore Associates Press, 1971; first published 1939), 48.

⁴² Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 15.

⁴³ Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 15.

⁴⁴ David M. Vigness, *The Revolutionary Decades: The Saga of Texas, 1810-1836* (Austin: Steck-Vaughn Company, 1965), 127.

⁴⁵ Dreanna L. Belden, Alamo Centotaph, "The Spirit of Sacrifice," side view with sculpture of Defenders, photograph, May 3, 2005, University of North Texas Libraries, [The Portal to Texas History](#), accessed May 22, 2019.

⁴⁶ Belden, Alamo Centotaph.

⁴⁷ Belden, Alamo Centotaph.

were placed on even higher pedestals. People thought it was important to celebrate their heroes, including those of the Alamo.⁴⁸ Anyone challenging the spirit of the American identity could be viewed as a communist. This further cemented Alamo fiction into fact. Overall, the words, actions, and death of the defenders of the Alamo not only inspired others at the time of the battle, but it has played a role in politics and for American identity well into the present.

Almost from the beginning, the history of the Alamo has been viewed through a filter: anything that does not fit within the narrowly defined parameters of accepted history is rejected. In doing so, this historical event was romanticized, turned the defenders of the Alamo into legends, and promoted a Texan identity that focused only on strength and bravery.

II. *The Pervasiveness of Racism*

Throughout the recorded history of the Alamo, Mexicans and Tejanos have been vilified and discriminated against by Anglo-Americans creating a false narrative to fit their agendas. Popular media and literature have portrayed the Texans as a group who were righteous and above reproach. The result was a fabricated narrative in which Mexicans appeared in the role of villains. In addition, all other ethnic groups were treated with the same prejudice that resulted in racist stereotypes. This process of vilification of the non-white ethnic groups helped lend credibility to beliefs such as Manifest Destiny. The doctrine of Manifest Destiny called for white Protestant men to spread Christianity to those who were deemed culturally and racially inferior, and to extend their civilization to new lands, even if these lands were already occupied.⁴⁹

The narrative of the Alamo, especially in literature and the media, falls prey to racism as the white narrative attempts to justify the defenders' actions and motives. The Texan defenders' plight as the underdogs led to their heroic status. Racism allowed the defenders to be seen as the victims of an aggressive enemy, the Mexicans. Most media portrayals of the Alamo only show Anglo-American men defending the chapel, when in reality that was far from the truth. When defining the enemy, it was easier to have a clear division of "us versus them," but having Mexicans on both sides of the fight complicated the matter. The Alamo was defended by both Anglo-Texans and Tejanos.⁵⁰ The majority of the two hundred defenders came from what is called the "southern backcountry."⁵¹ These defenders were Americans from some of the most southern regions of America, and they had come to Texas to answer the call for the fight over Texan

⁴⁸ Flores, *Remembering the Alamo*, 121.

⁴⁹ Armando Alonzo, "A Brief History of Texas Rancheros in South Texas, 1730-1900," in Donald Willett and Stephan Curley, eds., *Invisible Texans: Women and Minorities in Texas History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2005), 44-60, here 53.

⁵⁰ Mike Milford, "The Rhetorical Evolution of the Alamo," *Communication Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2013): 113-130, here 117.

⁵¹ Milford, "Rhetorical Evolution of the Alamo," 117.

independence in hopes of economic and political gain.⁵² Of the two hundred defenders, only eleven were actually from or living in Texas.⁵³ Furthermore, only two of the eleven had Anglo-American surnames, while the other nine were Tejanos.⁵⁴ Most literature on the Alamo leaves out the fact that the majority of defenders were not from Texas or living there, and that the few that did live there were mostly Tejanos. Instead, the narrative emphasizes that the Alamo was defended by Anglo-Texans against Mexicans. Omitting the Tejanos from the historical accounts reinforced the process of “othering” the Mexicans.

Another way in which Mexicans were vilified was through the language used to describe them. Most books claimed to take a neutral stance when discussing the history of the Alamo, yet the majority did not. Many books contained racist beliefs and stereotypes. This racism is inherent in a range of literary sources ranging from children’s books to scholarly works. For example, a 1964 children’s book claimed that the Mexican people were fighting against the peace set up by Anglo-Americans, and that this justified why the Mexicans had to be dealt with “ruthlessly.”⁵⁵ Changing the past by adding racist sentiments negatively affected both the past and the present. For example, historian James E. Crisp recalls how significantly the *Texas History Movies* impacted his understanding of Texas history and his perspective on race when he was a child.⁵⁶ His only interaction with Mexicans and other minority groups came through such books and popular films.⁵⁷ Crisp, like many other white Texan children in his day, had a preconceived notion, based on racist portrayals, of what other ethnicities were like. Such negative representation had far-reaching effects. Richard R. Flores, a professor of anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin, recounts his experience of visiting the Alamo when he was a child. A school friend at the end of the tour said to him, “You killed them! You and the other ‘Reskins’!”⁵⁸ Reactions by children and adults alike show how racism, when represented as factual history, negatively influences and affects lives.

One of the biggest contributing factors to the racism seen in the popular history of the Alamo was the concept of Manifest Destiny. During the early 1800s, Manifest Destiny had a strong hold in American politics and society, as expansionism was seen as the solution to America’s problems. This also applied to Americans looking westward, since the Texas territory held rich farm land for

⁵² Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 48.

⁵³ James McEnteer, *Deep in the Heart: The Texas Tendency in Politics* (Westport: Praeger Publishing, 2004), 18.

⁵⁴ McEnteer, *Deep in the Heart*, 18.

⁵⁵ Henry Castor, *The First Book of the War with Mexico* (New York: Franklin Watts Inc., 1964), 56.

⁵⁶ Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo*, 17.

⁵⁷ Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo*, 20.

⁵⁸ Flores, *Remembering the Alamo*, xiii.

cotton. It was occupied by a small number of Tejanos and Mexicans, as well as multiple Native American tribes, all of whom were considered not to be the true owners of the land, since they did not occupy it in a way that was acceptable to Americans.⁵⁹ A major component of Manifest Destiny was religion, Protestantism in particular. In the 1830s, the people in Bexar (San Antonio), as in the rest of Texas and Mexico, predominantly practiced Roman Catholicism.⁶⁰ Protestant Americans believed that they had the God-given right to go out, convert, and rule over those of other faiths, including Catholics.⁶¹ As a result, they saw their actions as justified and proceeded to enter the Texas territory under the banner of missionary work to reform those they considered religiously inferior. This ultimately led to the belief that the Tejanos and Mexicans were also culturally inferior, since religion was considered a significant factor in the development of culture. Another critical aspect of Manifest Destiny was race. Manifest Destiny justified racism in that it promised settlers that it was their right to civilize non-Anglo-Americans.⁶² This was evident to people and governments outside of the United States. Luis de Onís, the Spanish diplomat who negotiated the cession of Florida to the United States, noted that, “[t]hey consider themselves superior to the rest of mankind” and “destined one day to become the most sublime colossus of human power.”⁶³ Onís’s observation revealed the attitudes held by both Americans and white Texans at the time. This way of thinking seen in the 1800s carried on for generations and was used to legitimize efforts to assert dominion over others.

The racist belief of white supremacy, as observed by Onís, became the justification for the Texans to confiscate land from Mexico. According to Manifest Destiny, it was the duty of Anglo-Americans to expand, especially into areas owned and controlled by those considered racially inferior. During the nineteenth century, the idea of Manifest Destiny held dominance in American politics and among the general population, since it provided a rationale for territorial expansion.⁶⁴ This was one of the causes for the fight over the Alamo and the Mexican-American War. The assumptions of Manifest Destiny allowed Anglo-Americans to migrate to Texas, take cheap land from native people, and bring slavery into Texas. In addition, men immigrated in order to escape debts and jail in other parts of North America.⁶⁵ Ironically, instead of the Anglo-Americans “civilizing” the land and its people, they moved there illegally and

⁵⁹ Anderson, *Conquest of Texas*, 153.

⁶⁰ McEnteer, *Deep in the Heart*, 36.

⁶¹ McEnteer, *Deep in the Heart*, 57.

⁶² McEnteer, *Deep in the Heart*, 36.

⁶³ Luis de Onís, quoted in Eugene C. Barker, *Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965; first published 1928), 7.

⁶⁴ Castor, *First Book of the War with Mexico*, 6.

⁶⁵ McEnteer, *Deep in the Heart*, 14.

accomplished few of the goals of Manifest Destiny, apart from accumulating territory. Manifest Destiny was used as a thinly veiled excuse to steal land from non-Anglo-Americans. Most of these unflattering facts are excluded from the popular narrative, yet the popular narrative often goes out of its way to describe Mexicans and Tejanos as the “brutish” and “savage” ones.⁶⁶ Manifest Destiny and the distortion of the Alamo’s history were frequently used to legitimize and reinforce racism directed toward Mexicans and the seizing of the Texas territory.

Overall, the history of the Alamo has been misrepresented through literature and the media, which in turn has shaped the way the public perceives race and identity. Popular media and academics alike have created a portrait in which Anglo-Americans were the heroes in the Battle of the Alamo. Additionally, the ideas of Manifest Destiny—pervasive in religion, culture, and politics—were used to justify racism. Tejanos and Mexicans, now considered inferior, needed to be enlightened. The racist stereotypes toward Tejanos and Mexicans has lasting consequences even today.

III. Twisting the Truth into an Ahistorical Narrative

In general, the history of the Alamo has been shaped by popular media and popular history to fit certain American biases and accepted perspectives, which has constructed a romanticized, racist, and ahistorical narrative that is now widely accepted as fact. Thus, over time, the general public has come to view fallacies, as seen in movies and read in both popular fiction and even some scholarly works, as historically accurate.

Movies have a considerable impact on our lives as they shape how we perceive people and events. Over two dozen films are based upon the events at the Alamo, and while the majority of them claim to be historically accurate, they tend to perpetuate racist stereotypes and glorify legends of the defenders.⁶⁷ Two of the most popular and influential Alamo movies are John Wayne’s *The Alamo* (1960)⁶⁸ and Disney’s *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier* (1955).⁶⁹ John Wayne’s *The Alamo* features the story of the three main characters—Travis, Bowie, and Crockett—and the days leading up to their death at the Alamo. It fails to acknowledge Santa Anna’s offers for surrender and instead substitutes the narrative that the defenders at the Alamo were offered no other option but to fight to the death.⁷⁰ The film also shows the Alamo Mission being completely destroyed by the Mexicans at the end of the film, when in reality the building

⁶⁶ Alter, *Two Sieges of the Alamo*, 132.

⁶⁷ Don Graham, “Remembering the Alamo: The Story of the Texas Revolution in Popular Culture,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (July 1985): 35-66, here 39.

⁶⁸ *The Alamo*, directed by John Wayne.

⁶⁹ *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier*, directed by Norman Foster (1955; Walt Disney Productions).

⁷⁰ *The Alamo*, directed by John Wayne, scene 30: “The Longest Fight.”

remained largely standing.⁷¹ John Lee Hancock's *The Alamo* (2004), while produced much later than the majority of Alamo films, still falls prey to many historical inaccuracies.⁷² It does show and briefly explain that there were Tejanos fighting alongside the defenders, but it fails to stray from representing Santa Anna in an overtly vilified role along with the rest of his forces.⁷³ The high frequency of misrepresentation found in both movies, whether intentional or not, concretely contributes to perpetuating the popular history of the Alamo. While films are created to entertain and earn a profit, historical accuracy should not be replaced with fictional stories that are presented as the truth.

Just as movies influence our perceptions, popular literature also plays a large role in shaping our beliefs. Nonacademic literature frequently portrays the Alamo as an idealized event in American history, and the large volume of nonacademic literature written on the Alamo is evidence of the popularity and interest in the history of the Alamo. Even though much of the literature on the Alamo claims to be fictional or loosely based on the actual events, it still has a large effect on the public's perception of the historical event. Many of these writings were created during the twentieth century, and the intended readers were often children. One such book, *Remember the Alamo!* (1958), explains to the reader that the Texans had to fight for the Alamo to protect their freedom and property. The property that is referred to mainly consisted of their illegal slaves; however, this fact is continually left out of the story, as it does not portray the Texans in a good light and would suggest that their fight for independence included their right to own slaves.⁷⁴ Children's books wield a great deal of influence: they are often the first material children encounter on any given subject. This initial impression becomes the foundation of their beliefs and opinions on a subject, so the ahistorical narrative constructed in literature has a lasting impact. Even literature intended for adults can greatly influence our understanding of history. Crisp emphasizes how literature informs us of what is popularly accepted, whether it is the truth or not. He asserts, through analyzing Alamo literature, that the Alamo's status as an American icon has allowed for its history to be twisted into an ahistoricism.⁷⁵ Literature has tended to ignore aspects of Alamo history that portray America in a negative light, yet has never shied away from promoting the Alamo's awe-inspiring legends.

The third and most consequential factor in the ahistorical narrative of the Alamo are scholarly sources. Even academic books promote inaccuracies. Many of them claim to take a neutral stance on the subject; however, it is difficult to

⁷¹ *The Alamo*, directed by John Wayne, scene 30: "The Longest Fight."

⁷² *The Alamo*, directed by John Lee Hancock.

⁷³ *The Alamo*, directed by John Lee Hancock.

⁷⁴ Robert Penn Warren, *Remember the Alamo!* (New York: Random House Publishers, 1958), 18.

⁷⁵ Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo*, 144.

take an unbiased stance when interpreting history. It is a dangerous position to claim to have no prejudices in hopes that the reader may then more readily accept the author's own views. For example, a recent author claims that the Texans were "burning in righteous outrage," suggesting that the author's bias has entered the interpretation of history.⁷⁶ Scholarly sources are usually considered factual and objective, without bias or agenda. However, much of the earlier research on the Alamo is filled with biases to the point that it is even admitted.⁷⁷ For example, a 1988 movie (*Alamo: The Price of Freedom*) shown at the "Alamo IMAX Theater at San Antonio's Rivercenter" proclaims in its opening, "Where the facts have failed, the myth of the Alamo survives."⁷⁸ This quote aptly summarizes the majority of older academic books: they claim to be scholarly and factual, yet they have allowed biases and myths to influence their works.

History will always be impacted by public opinion, and the Alamo is no exception. Its popular history is especially influenced by how it is portrayed in all forms of media. Such media often start out with some truth and then twist it to fit the people's agendas and biases. The presentation of false "facts" as truth distorts the history of the Alamo and leads people to more readily accept such falsities.

Conclusion

When one considers, in light of popular history, how the Battle of the Alamo reached mythic proportions, it is clear that romanticism and racism shaped this ahistorical narrative. Idealizing important figures and turning them into legends critically shaped the early formation of Texas identity. Racism was used to portray the Mexicans as the villains solely responsible for the conflict and to justify Manifest Destiny. The Battle of the Alamo shifted from a multi-causal, complex issue to an over-simplified ahistorical narrative.

Many twentieth-century scholarly sources examining the Battle of the Alamo have helped perpetuate the myth and distortions that many people believe to be fact. It is important that Americans today understand the complexity of the events leading up to the Mexican-American War in order to not reinforce stereotypes. More research is needed to understand how our American mythology plays a role in our current immigration policies. How strongly does "Remember the Alamo!" today distort our understanding and response to the needs of Mexicans and other minorities? Identifying our prejudices can lead to correcting and re-educating the public.

⁷⁶ Andrew Galloway, "Battle of the Alamo (1836)," in *Revolts, Protests, Demonstrations, and Rebellions in American History: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Steven L. Danver, Vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 303-305, here 304.

⁷⁷ Aviel Roshwald, *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 96.

⁷⁸ *Alamo: The Price of Freedom*, directed by Kieth W. Merrill (1988; produced by Ray Herbeck Jr.), quoted in McEnteer, *Deep in the Heart*, 17.

While there is value in passing down stories of the American spirit and patriotism to inspire future generations, it is critical that our history is not distorted to serve a false narrative. A sense of pride that comes from facing challenges and overcoming adversity can help form a regional or national identity, but it can also lead to “othering.” Building an American identity that ignores the dominant group’s sense of entitlement or superiority at the cost of marginalized members of our society is dangerous. It can allow one group to maintain its power and privilege at the cost of another. It is vital that historians continue to critically examine biases to accurately educate people and not reinforce ahistorical narratives.

If Americans value “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” then we have a responsibility to extend this to all. When the romanticizing of American history, as evident in the popular portrayals of the Battle of the Alamo, disregards truth and allows the marginalization of minorities, then we fail to live up to our ideals. Historians and writers of popular literature have a duty to represent historical events without bias. While it is difficult to completely erase the presence of prejudices in analyzing history, a multifaceted approach is needed. Stereotypes and misrepresentations need to be examined, so that our society can expand its understanding of not only what historical achievements should be honored, but also what lessons call for change.

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Derek Taylor

*Creating Southern Thunder:
The Evolution of Confederate Gunpowder Production
during the American Civil War*

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the access to and production of gunpowder in the Confederacy during the United States Civil War. Based on government documents and instructions for the making of gunpowder, it first addresses the shortage of gunpowder in the Confederacy, then explores how the Confederacy sought and gathered resources for gunpowder production, and finally analyzes the role the Confederate Powder Works played in producing gunpowder for the Confederacy. The author argues that the Confederacy, as a new nation seeking autonomy from the northern half of the United States, needed to develop and create self-sufficient sources of gunpowder to ensure its independence and survival.*

KEYWORDS: *U.S. history; Civil War; Confederacy; gunpowder; saltpeter; Josiah Gorgas; Isaac M. St. John; George Washington Rains; Confederate Powder Works*

Introduction

In the early hours of April 12, 1861, Confederate batteries opened fire upon a Union-held fort in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. Even though the fort's outer defensive walls received minor damage from the rebel guns, Confederate mortars and hot shot started fires which destroyed the fort's interior wooden buildings. After a day and a half of continuous bombardment, the Union garrison was forced to surrender and give up the fort to the Confederacy. Considered as the starting point of the American Civil War, the cannons and shot used in the attack on Fort Sumter required a substance that was in short supply throughout the Confederacy: gunpowder.

Gunpowder had been an essential resource since the early days of Colonial America as settlers and colonists arrived in North America. As they moved west toward the American frontier, having access to an adequate supply of gunpowder meant the difference between life and death. Even with the establishment of small powder mills, the United States lacked industrial facilities before and after independence which limited domestic powder production. As a result, the United States depended on Great Britain for its gunpowder.¹

Gunpowder supplied by Great Britain during the late 1700s and early 1800s was of high quality and inexpensive, which made domestic gunpowder production unprofitable. British gunpowder continued to flow freely through American ports until relations between the two countries became strained or they found themselves in a state of war. During the War of Independence and the War of 1812, Great Britain halted all exports of gunpowder to America.² As a result, the Colonial and later the United States armies suffered from shortages of

¹ Gary A. O'Dell and Angelo I. George, "Rock-Shelter Saltpeter Mines of Eastern Kentucky," *Historical Archaeology* 48, no. 2 (2014): 91-121, here 91.

² O'Dell and George, "Rock-Shelter Saltpeter Mines," 91.

gunpowder. Cut off from their only source of powder, the Colonial army employed expropriation and smuggling tactics until they were resupplied and assisted by the French. The War of 1812 saw the discovery of saltpeter caves in Virginia and Kentucky.³ With the use of slave labor, these caves were extensively mined for their saltpeter which was delivered to the newly established E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company in Wilmington, Delaware. As the first domestic supplier of gunpowder, the DuPont facility provided the American forces during the War of 1812 with all the gunpowder they needed.

Five decades later, the Confederacy experienced similar problems with the acquisition of gunpowder at the start of the American Civil War. With a slave-based agrarian economy as the source of its wealth, the South lacked the industrial facilities that were prevalent in the North. The absence of industrial centers meant that the South depended on outside sources for manufactured goods which included gunpowder. At the onset of the war, domestic and international sources of gunpowder were cut off, leaving the Confederacy in dire need of the explosive substance. Even though there were small powder mills throughout the South, the total amount of gunpowder produced was not enough to supply the Southern armies. Without gunpowder, the Confederacy's struggle to become an independent nation would end. To ensure its survival and achieve independence, the Confederacy established a self-sufficient industry for the large-scale production of gunpowder to supply the its armies.

I. Historiography

When analyzing and discussing the events and outcomes of the American Civil War, scholars typically focus their research on the interaction between the armies of the North and South and the men who commanded them. Yet, these studies fall short in the discussion of the manufacture and distribution of armaments and gunpowder. As a result, the conclusions of these narratives assume that the North aggressively pursued and engaged in rapid industrialization, while the South clung to its backward-thinking agrarian society.

By establishing a growing ironworks industry and railroad repair, the Southern states had engaged in small-scale industrialization during the middle and late 1800s. Even though Southern industrialization was not as rapid as in the North during the antebellum years, the Southern industrial base was slowly transforming its cities, like Atlanta, from farming communities into industrial centers. Understanding how the Confederate government took advantage of its technical and industrial capabilities is fundamental to this investigation of Confederate gunpowder production.

With essays by C. L. Bragg, Charles D. Ross, Gordon A. Blaker, Stephanie A. T. Jacobe, and Theodore Savas, *Never for Want of Powder* (2007) is a textual and

³ O'Dell and George, "Rock-Shelter Saltpeter Mines," 91.

illustrated history of the Augusta Confederate Powder Works.⁴ Even though *Never for Want of Powder* examines the lives and contributions of the multiple managers and workers of the gunpowder factory, its primary focus is on the builder and operator of the Augusta gunpowder factory, Colonel George Washington Rains (1817-1898). Bragg, Ross, Blaker, Jacobe, and Savas praise Rains's efforts—he had no munitions experience and was merely armed with a British pamphlet on gunpowder making—for being the architect and manager of the Confederate's biggest and most impressive gunpowder facility.

Credited with the construction of the most complex and self-sufficient powder mill in the Western hemisphere, Rains still had to acquire the raw materials needed for the manufacture of gunpowder. Being composed of charcoal and sulfur, the basic formula for gunpowder owes its explosive characteristic to potassium nitrate, commonly referred to as saltpeter. In *Saltpeter: The Mother of Gunpowder* (2013), David Cressy explores how saltpeter solidified the connections between the scientific, military, and political revolutions of early modern Europe and America.⁵ Cressy's research explores not only the English Crown's procurement and refinement of saltpeter, but also the way England exploited men and land in its quest for potassium nitrate. Making up almost seventy-five percent of its mass by weight and considered gunpowder's chief ingredient, the acquisition and control over sources of saltpeter was a contributing factor in the success or failure early modern European gunpowder armies and empires.

With the demand for saltpeter skyrocketing during the American Civil War, prominent educators and scientists, sympathetic to the Confederacy, issued and distributed pamphlets and instructions on how to mine, grow, and refine saltpeter. The first of these was Joseph LeConte (1823-1901). Commissioned by the Confederate military while serving as a professor of chemistry and geology at South Carolina College, LeConte composed *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre* (1862).⁶ Avoiding complex scientific language, LeConte's twelve-page pamphlet provides detailed instructions on how to harvest and refine naturally forming saltpeter. In addition, LeConte details the process of "growing" saltpeter with the use of compost piles known as "nitre beds."

Published a year before LeConte's treatise, George Washington Rains's *Notes on Making Saltpetre from the Earth of the Caves* (1861) details the extraction and refinement procedures of saltpeter production.⁷ These similarities could lead one

⁴ C. L. Bragg, Charles D. Ross, Gordon A. Blaker, Stephanie A. T. Jacobe, and Theodore P. Savas, *Never Want for Powder: The Confederate Powder Works in Augusta, Georgia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007).

⁵ David Cressy, *Saltpeter: The Mother of Gunpowder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁶ Joseph LeConte, *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre* (Columbia: Charles P. Pelham, State Printer, 1862).

⁷ George Washington Rains, *Notes on Making Saltpetre from the Earth of the Caves* (New Orleans: The Daily Delta Job Office, 1861).

to believe that LeConte had access to Rains's pamphlet and borrowed the facts to support his conclusions. Rains claims in his publication that the loss of one-fourth of mined saltpeter was due to inefficient extraction and refining practices. Before Rains's instructions, saltpeter mining had been wasteful and unprofitable. By enlisting the help of an Oglethorpe University professor, Rains calculated the loss of materials and resources close to \$8 per barrel of saltpeter.⁸ Considering the rate of inflation, the loss of materials and resources would roughly translate to almost \$228 today. Under Rains guidance and direction, Southern saltpeter production reduced waste and labor costs while at the same time increasing production.

II. The Confederacy's Munition Crisis

During the first year of the American Civil War, the Confederacy was plagued by munition shortages. Not only was the South lacking the minerals of iron, copper, and lead, it was also severely limited in its supply of gunpowder. Before the war, the South had only a few small powder factories producing a few hundred pounds of gunpowder.⁹ Due to mismanagement and the lack of planning, these Southern powder mills were unprepared for the war. Instead of expanding their facilities, increasing production, and stockpiling excess powder, Southern powder mills maintained their pre-war production levels.¹⁰ Along with gunpowder purchased from Northern mills before the war and confiscated from Union forts, the quantity of powder in the South was insufficient for months of military operations, let alone a protracted war. To address the munitions shortfall within the Confederate Army, the Confederate Congress created the Bureau of Ordnance under the command of Major Josiah Gorgas (1818-1883).¹¹ As Chief of Ordnance of one of the first bureaucracies created in the Confederacy, Gorgas supervised and consolidated government control over the production and disbursement of munitions throughout the South.¹²

Born in Pennsylvania in 1818, Josiah Gorgas graduated sixth in his class at West Point Military Academy (New York) and became an ordnance officer for the Union Army.¹³ Despite being born in the North, Gorgas developed strong

⁸ Rains, *Notes on Making Saltpetre*, 9.

⁹ C. L. Bragg, "An Urgent and Critical Need: The Confederacy's Gunpowder Crisis," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 1-10, here 4.

¹⁰ Clint Johnson, *Bull's-eyes and Misfires: 50 People Whose Obscure Efforts Shaped the American Civil War* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 2002), 242.

¹¹ Fred C. Ainsworth and Joseph W. Kirkley, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series IV, Vol. 1 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 211.

¹² Steven G. Collins, "System in the South: John W. Mallet, Josiah Gorgas, and Uniform Production at the Confederate Ordnance Department," *Technology and Culture* 40, no. 3 (July 1999): 517-544, here 522.

¹³ Johnson, *Bull's-eyes and Misfires*, 182.

ties with the South during his service. As a result, Gorgas courted and married Amelia Gayle, the daughter of the former governor of Alabama, John Gayle.¹⁴ When hostilities between the North and South started, Gorgas resigned his commission from the Union Army and accepted the supervisory position over the Confederate Bureau of Ordnance.¹⁵

As the director of this new administration, Gorgas had the South's munition arsenals inventoried and found that, in addition to a half million pounds of gunpowder, the Confederacy had over 100,000 cannons and small arms in its arsenal.¹⁶ If these munitions and gunpowder were properly distributed, the soldiers in the field would be limited to 500 pounds of powder per gun, which was insufficient.¹⁷ Faced with shortages of weapon-making materials and gunpowder, Gorgas looked for solutions both overseas and domestically by approving private and foreign contracts and encouraging Southerners to engage in the domestic production of munitions and gunpowder.¹⁸

At the start of the war, the Bureau of Ordnance acquired guns and armaments from individual weapon sellers or paid army volunteers to bring their weapons. As a result, the Confederate army had a mishmash of rifles and firearms of different calibers, ranging from 1812 flintlocks to muzzle-loading P53 Enfield rifles.¹⁹ Having these multiple types of weapons throughout the Confederate army created trouble and confusion in securing the right kind of ammunition and led to complaints from ordnance officers who were receiving the wrong type and size of ammunition on a regular basis. Even if the men in the field received the correct ammunition, the bullets and musket shot, depending on where they were made, would vary in size and weight. These variations led to misfires or jammed their weapons, making them useless.²⁰

Based on the principles handed down by British Major Fraser Baddeley, gunpowder progressed from a trial-and-error method to a technique based on science. As the production of gunpowder became more standardized, the number of mills that produced gunpowder increased in the United States, especially in Maine, New York, and Connecticut, which made gunpowder production an exclusively a Northern industry.²¹ Even though the South had imported most of its gunpowder from Northern sources before the war, as soon as hostilities between the North and South started, powder mills like Oriental

¹⁴ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 2.

¹⁵ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 2.

¹⁶ Michael E. Lynch, "Confederate War Industry: The Niter and Mining Bureau" (MA thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University), 2001, 14.

¹⁷ Lynch, "Confederate War Industry," 15.

¹⁸ Lynch, "Confederate War Industry," 15.

¹⁹ Collins, "System in the South," 524.

²⁰ Collins, "System in the South," 525.

²¹ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 3.

Powder and Schaghticoke Powder only produced gunpowder for the Union Army.²² Even though these mills supplied substantial amounts of powder, their contribution paled in comparison to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company.



Figure 1: *"DuPont Powder Mill, Hagley Museum, on Brandywine River, Greenville, New Castle County, Delaware," photograph (1933), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS DEL,2-HAG,1-[photograph no. 3], accessed May 25, 2019.*

With four powder mills built along Brandywine River near Wilmington, Delaware, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company supplied over 40 percent of the nation's gunpowder (see Figure 1 above).²³ Before the outbreak of war, Southern requests for powder were substantial. As these powder mills processed these large orders, the DuPont powder mill and its competitor, Hazard Powder, shipped over 100,000 pounds of gunpowder to Georgia, and over 300,000 pounds of powder to South Carolina even before the Confederacy fired its first shots at

²² Jack Kelly, *Gunpowder: Alchemy, Bombards, and Pyrotechnics: The History of the Explosive that Changed the World* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 198.

²³ Harold B. Hancock and Norman B. Wilkinson, "A Manufacturer in Wartime: Du Pont, 1860-1865," *The Business History Review*, 40, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 213-236, here 213.

Fort Sumter.²⁴ Because of the large shipments and the powder mill's proximity to the Confederacy, the DuPont Company and the state of Delaware's loyalty to the Union were called into question. Even though Delaware supported and profited from the institution of slavery, the state rejected calls to secede and to join the Confederacy. With Delaware remaining in the Union, DuPont company president Henry du Pont proclaimed his allegiance to the Union and refused to sell any more gunpowder to the Confederacy. As a result of Delaware's and DuPont's actions, the South's only domestic source of gunpowder was cut off.²⁵

Along with procuring gunpowder from the North, the Confederacy seized Union forts and installations that had powder depositories. While most of these installations had gunpowder supplies, it was powder left over from the Mexican War in 1848 which slightly increased the Confederacy's powder inventory. With its access to Northern powder severed and the small powder mills in the South only being able to produce a few hundred pounds of gunpowder a day,²⁶ the Confederacy looked beyond its shores for a stable source of gunpowder.

Sympathetic to the Confederacy's cause, the British Crown watched the emerging American Civil War with great interest. Even though most European nations were opposed to slavery, diplomatic recognition and providing aid to the Confederacy by Great Britain was a huge concern to the Union.²⁷ Toward the end of 1861, two Southern diplomats, James Mason and John Slidell, were traveling on the British vessel *Trent* to establish diplomatic ties with the Great Britain.²⁸ While it was Mason's and Slidell's mission to seek economic support for Confederacy's war effort and secure access to English powder and niter, they were also trying to hamper the North's connection to East India's niter market.²⁹ Stopped part way through its voyage, the *Trent* was boarded by sailors from the Union warship *San Jacinto*, and both Mason and Slidell were taken into custody, transported back to the United States, and incarcerated in a Boston prison.³⁰ This violation of British sovereignty led to an international incident, which almost put the United States in the difficult situation of having to fight a two-front war.

As a consequence of what became known as the *Trent Affair*, Great Britain established an embargo of all gunpowder materials destined for the United States.³¹ Having to succumb to British pressure, Lincoln and his administration

²⁴ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 3.

²⁵ Kelly, *Gunpowder*, 198.

²⁶ Kelly, *Gunpowder*, 199.

²⁷ Louis P. Masur, *The Civil War: A Concise History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 29.

²⁸ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 3.

²⁹ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 3.

³⁰ Masur, *Civil War*, 30.

³¹ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "Du Pont, Dahlgren, and the Civil War Nitre Shortage," *Military Affairs* 13, no. 3 (Autumn 1949): 142-149, here 145.

released Mason and Slidell and issued an apology for their violation of British sovereignty.³² Even though Mason and Slidell were able to resume their mission to Europe, European nations, including Great Britain, refused to recognize the belligerent South as an emerging nation.³³

Even as Great Britain maintained its neutral status during the American Civil War, it still shipped gunpowder-making materials and manufactured items to both the North and the South. As a result, the Union Navy established a naval blockade against the entire Confederacy. Proposed by General Winfield Scott, the blockade was designed to cordon and choke off the Confederacy to make it submit to Union dominance.³⁴ Needing materials from Europe, the Confederacy relied on fast, low profile steamships to elude and maneuver through the flotilla of Union ships. Aside from being very profitable for the captain and the crew of these fast steamships,³⁵ blockade-running became one of the ways the Confederacy retained access to European goods, especially guns and gunpowder. Yet, as the naval blockade intensified in strength, blockade-running became more dangerous and costly.³⁶ As a result, gunpowder imported from Great Britain increased 1,500 percent in price from twenty cents per pound in April 1861 to three dollars per pound by January 1862.³⁷

III. Confederate Saltpeter Production

To help satisfy the South's need for gunpowder, the Confederate Congress issued a bill allowing private citizens to establish or expand their production of gunpowder and saltpeter. Drafted in January 1862 and appealing to Southern patriotism, the bill provided an advance of fifty percent to cover the renovation and construction costs if the manufacturer invested twenty-five percent in the improvements. To receive the money, manufacturers would have to demonstrate in good faith that their venture would produce the needed materials and that they would be able to pay back the advance once production started.³⁸ Lacking government oversight and fearing that the manufacturers would not deliver on their promise of war materials, Confederate President Jefferson Davis vetoed the first draft of the bill. Since gunpowder production was depleting the already short supply of saltpeter, Davis, in his response to the bill, stated that the Confederacy did not need more powder mills, but more of the raw materials needed for the manufacture of gunpowder.³⁹ In response to Davis's veto, the

³² Masur, *Civil War*, 30.

³³ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 6.

³⁴ Masur, *Civil War*, 25–26.

³⁵ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 6.

³⁶ Masur, *Civil War*, 25.

³⁷ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 6.

³⁸ Ainsworth and Kirkley, *War of the Rebellion*, 864–865.

³⁹ Ainsworth and Kirkley, *War of the Rebellion*, 864.

Confederate Congress established the Niter and Mining Bureau on April 11, 1862.⁴⁰ Responsible for securing supplies of iron, lead, and copper for weapon making, the Niter Bureau was also responsible for acquiring gunpowder's primary ingredients.⁴¹ As an ancillary organization to the Bureau of Ordnance, the Niter and Mining Bureau stood directly under the command of Major Josiah Gorgas. Looking to hand the responsibility of the newly created organization to someone he could trust, Gorgas delegated the authority over the Niter Bureau to Major Isaac M. St. John (1827-1880).

Born in Augusta, Georgia, in 1827, St. John studied civil engineering in New York and worked for multiple railroad companies before being appointed to head the Niter and Mining Bureau.⁴² Along with his engineering background, St. John was familiar with the limestone geology of the caves in the South.⁴³ Believing that the South contained large deposits of saltpeter, St. John divided the South into fourteen separate districts, each with its own superintendent. By this sectioning of the South, St. John was able to work with private niter producers, thereby fixing prices and bringing gunpowder-making ingredients under the control of the Confederate government.⁴⁴

With its extensive network of limestone caves rich in nitrous earth, the southeastern underground region of the United States provided the optimal environment for gunpowder's fundamental ingredient, saltpeter.⁴⁵ Saltpeter (potassium nitrate), also known as niter, is the waste product of two bacteria, *Nitrosomonas* and *Nitrobacter*.⁴⁶ As the bacteria feed on decaying organic matter, they produce a white crystalline substance. Naturally occurring on the walls and in the soil of limestone caves or underneath old buildings, this unrefined niter can also be artificially grown and cultivated in long mounds called niter beds. During the American Civil War, the Confederacy pursued multiple methods of obtaining saltpeter for gunpowder production.

As saltpeter was easy to locate, extract, and refine, the government of the United States, during times of war, used the limestone caves to extract saltpeter, but not all caves would contain saltpeter. To determine whether a cave had saltpeter, the miners, known as "petre monkeys," would conduct simple tests to ascertain the presence of saltpeter. If the miners found whitish, needle-like

⁴⁰ Ainsworth and Kirkley, *War of the Rebellion*, 1054-1055.

⁴¹ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 8.

⁴² David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, "St. John, Isaac Munroe," in *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History*, ed. David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, 5 vols. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 4: 1846.

⁴³ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 8.

⁴⁴ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 8.

⁴⁵ John Powers, "Confederate Niter Production," *The National Speleological Society Bulletin* 43, no. 4 (Saltpeter) (October 1981): 94-97, here 94.

⁴⁶ Kelly, *Gunpowder*, 5.

crystals growing out the cave's rock face or soil, they would verify the presence of saltpeter with a taste test. If the crystals had a cool and bitter taste, then the earth would be tested further for the existence of saltpeter. One of the most accurate tests consisted of scratching a groove in the nitrous rock. If the groove appeared smooth even after several days, then the presence of saltpeter was highly likely.⁴⁷

Unlike copper and iron mines which were concentrated in one area, saltpeter caves were found in multiple locations throughout the South. This geographic diversification reduced the risk of saltpeter production being interrupted by a Union attack. In addition to the caves, the ground under barns, cattle enclosures, old buildings, and slave quarters produced significant quantities of nitrous earth. The amount of earth extracted from these locations would sometimes exceed the quantity harvested from the caves. These domestic sources of saltpeter remained a crucial resource for the Confederacy even after consistent Union advances resulted in the loss of saltpeter caves in the northern part of the Confederacy. Even though the Confederacy received saltpeter from Great Britain, the saltpeter produced in the South proved to be superior to East Indian saltpeter. Calling on its hundred years of experience in mining and refinement of saltpeter, the Confederacy exploited these multiple sources of nitrous earth to aid in gunpowder production, hoping to become a self-sufficient munitions producer.⁴⁸

According to archaeological evidence of tools and infrastructure found in the caves of Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee, Southern saltpeter mining fit into one of two categories, type A or type B, depending on the scope of mining operations conducted within these caves.⁴⁹ Type A caves, which included Kentucky's Mammoth Cave (see Figure 2 below) and Great Saltpeter Cave, were immense in size and extended several hundred yards underground. Because of the massive size of large-scale mining operations, several tons of nitrous earth would be mined and processed. These mining operations required a large labor force which included commissioned miners and slaves to dig and operate the mining equipment. To facilitate the large labor force, donkeys and oxcarts were used to transport materials, tools, equipment, and men to and from the mining areas.⁵⁰ One item of equipment that set these type A caves apart from the rest of the saltpeter caves was the delivery of water and the export of nitrous liquid. Because of the substantial amounts of water needed for the extraction of saltpeter, miners installed a permanent plumbing and pump systems. Through the use of hollowed-out logs and the building of a two-story pump tower, water

⁴⁷ Powers, "Confederate Niter Production," 95.

⁴⁸ Powers, "Confederate Niter Production," 95.

⁴⁹ M. Susan Duncan, "Examining Early Nineteenth Century Saltpeter Caves: An Archaeological Perspective," *Journal of Cave and Karst Studies*, 59, no. 2 (August 1997): 91-94, here 91.

⁵⁰ Powers, "Confederate Niter Production," 95.

was piped deep into the caves to assist saltpeter extraction.⁵¹ After a while, these mines were stripped of all of the valuable saltpeter or just abandoned, but the tools and structures were left behind. The age and condition of these tools and structures gives archaeologists and historians a fairly accurate timeline of when saltpeter mining and production started and stopped.

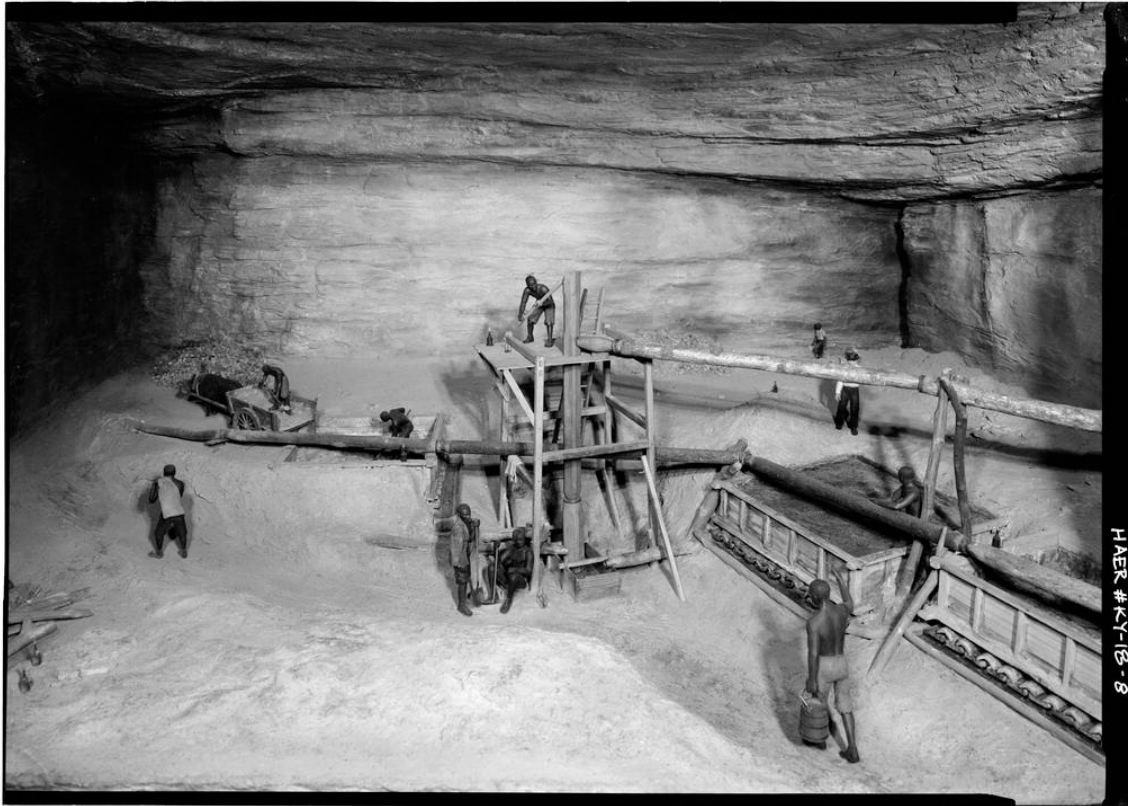


Figure 2: *“View of model of Rotunda leaching complex, Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works, Mammoth Cave, Edmonson County, Kentucky,” photograph (1968), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Engineering Record, HAER KY,31-MAMCA,1-[photograph no. 8], accessed May 25, 2019.*

Financed and worked by an individual or a small group of people, type B caves or “rock shelter” saltpeter mines, were usually located at the base of bluffs near water sources. With operations being small in size, the miners would quickly strip these caves of their nitrate deposits.⁵² Having depleted the area of its saltpeter, the miners would disassemble and remove all their equipment and tools and move on to the next location. Therefore, scholars and scientists are unable to determine when such mining operations started and stopped. The only

⁵¹ Duncan, “Examining Early Nineteenth Century Saltpeter Caves,” 91.

⁵² Duncan, “Examining Early Nineteenth Century Saltpeter Caves,” 92.

evidence of saltpeter mining left behind in these type B caves are tally marks carved into the cave walls and the occasional pile of waste soil and rock.⁵³

Seeking to break its dependency on English saltpeter and to become an independent gunpowder producer, the Confederacy tried to capitalize on both naturally occurring and artificially grown forms of niter. In his treatise, *The Origin of Nitrates in Cavern Earths* (1900), geologist William Hess states that saltpeter occurs naturally from mineral-rich water inside caves. As the water flows into the cave, the minerals are mixed. When the water recedes and evaporates, it leaves behind the nitrates that produce saltpeter in the cave soil.⁵⁴ Even though the saltpeter crystals were able to grow and be harvested, it was not usable for gunpowder production. This raw form of saltpeter, known as *grough saltpeter*,⁵⁵ still needed to be purified and refined. As a result of being cut off from Northern supplies of gunpowder and blockaded from English sources of niter, the Confederate government consulted experts in the natural sciences to come up with solutions to their saltpeter shortage.

The scientist who provided the process for the purification and refinement of saltpeter was Joseph LeConte. As a professor of chemistry and geology at the University of South Carolina during the war, LeConte had been appointed to the Niter and Mining Bureau.⁵⁶ While working for the Bureau, LeConte published *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre* (1862), which details the manufacturing process of saltpeter from start to finish in concise and easy-to-follow steps.⁵⁷ In *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre*, LeConte also outlines the procedure on how to remove and purify saltpeter from cave soil. With a technique called "Leaching," the nitrous cave soil was placed in tubs called leaching vats (see Figure 3 below). Constructed out of plywood or logs, the leaching vats contained a drainage system comprised of hollowed-out logs. With the placement of the cave soil in the vats, the leaching process started with the addition of water and potash. This combination of substances was mixed thoroughly, set to soak for twelve hours, and then drained. The leaching process was repeated six times, until the soil was completely exhausted of its niter.⁵⁸ Since magnesium and calcium were still present in the niter-infused water, lye was added to remove the contaminants and to add potassium to the solution. After the lye process, the nitrous liquid or "liquor" was strained through cheesecloth and set to boil in copper or iron kettles. As the water boiled, saltpeter crystals formed and were

⁵³ Duncan, "Examining Early Nineteenth Century Saltpeter Caves," 92.

⁵⁴ William H. Hess, "The Origin of Nitrates in Cavern Earths," *The Journal of Geology* 8, no. 2 (February-March 1900), 129-134, here 133.

⁵⁵ Rains, *Notes on Making Saltpetre*, 4.

⁵⁶ Joseph LeConte, *The Autobiography of Joseph LeConte*, ed. William Dallam Armes (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1903), 184.

⁵⁷ LeConte, *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre*, 1.

⁵⁸ LeConte, *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre*, 7-8.

removed from the boiling liquor. After the removal of the crystals, the water was reused for the “leaching vats.” Even though this operation produced saltpeter of decent quality, the entire leaching process would yield one hundred to two hundred pounds of saltpeter and take three men and three days to complete. Sometimes saltpeter manufacturers would initiate a second leaching and boiling process to remove even more impurities.⁵⁹ This extended period of labor and time would produce a purer form of saltpeter that was superior to other saltpeter that was being refined.

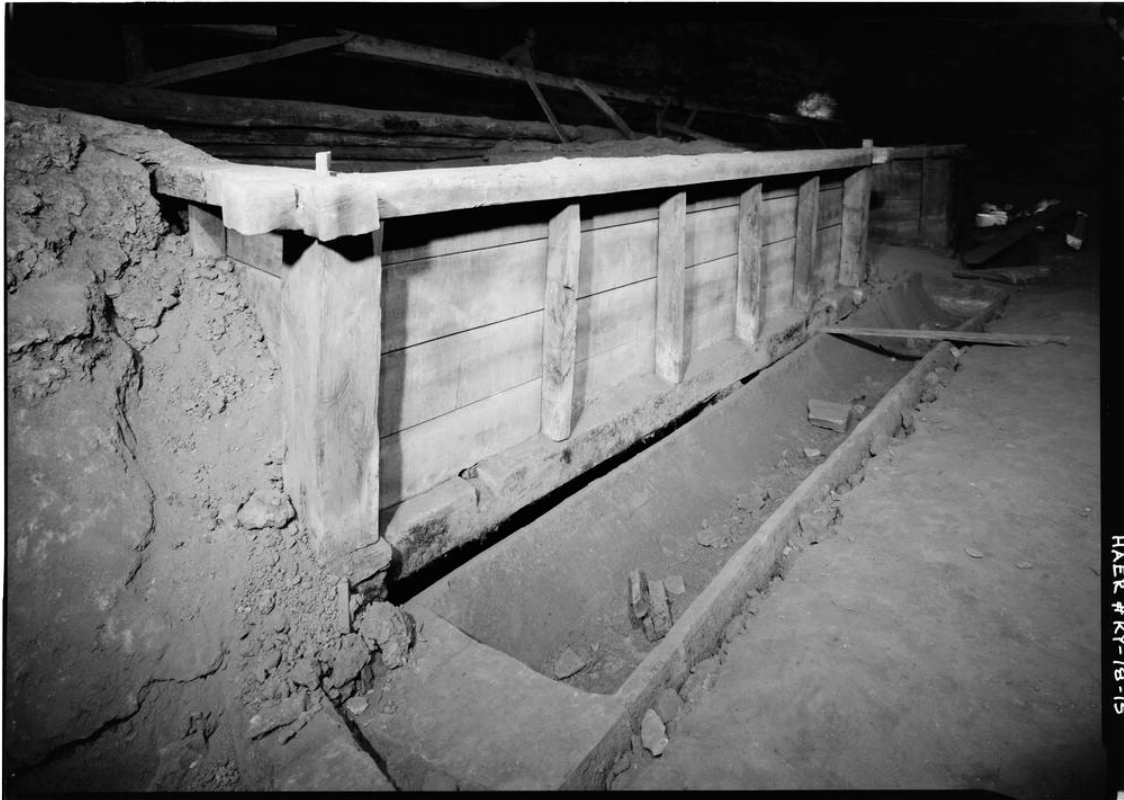


Figure 3: “Detail of leaching vat #2 and drainage trough in Booth’s Amphitheater, Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works, Mammoth Cave, Edmonson County, Kentucky,” photograph (1968), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Engineering Record, HAER KY,31-MAMCA,1-[photograph no. 15], accessed May 25, 2019.

Every district in the South produced saltpeter. While the states of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Arkansas mined and produced considerable amounts of niter, they paled in comparison to the state of Virginia.⁶⁰ With the largest and most productive saltpeter caves located in the valley and ridge regions of the Appalachians and possessing five of the fourteen niter districts, Virginia was the

⁵⁹ Donald B. Ball, and Gary A. O’Dell, “Bibliography of Niter Mining and Gunpowder Manufacture,” *Ohio Valley Historical Archaeology* 16 (2001): 1-128, here 2.

⁶⁰ Robert C. Whisonant, “Geology and History of Confederate Saltpeter Cave Operations in Western Virginia,” *Virginia Minerals* 47, no. 4 (November 2001): 33-44, here 38.

largest producer of niter in the Confederacy. The combination of these five districts produced twenty-nine percent of the South's niter supply which totaled 505,584 pounds of saltpeter.⁶¹

With every Southern district mining and producing saltpeter, St. John assumed that the saltpeter extracted from the Southern caves would be sufficient to supply the Southern armies with enough gunpowder. Yet, even though the amount of saltpeter extracted from cave soil was impressive, it was only a fraction of what was needed for gunpowder production. In an effort to produce as much saltpeter as possible, the Confederacy started to explore the possibility of creating saltpeter by artificial methods.⁶² By growing and cultivating niter by artificial means, the Confederacy could produce enough saltpeter to become an independent gunpowder producer. To demonstrate the need to create "niter plantations," Niter and Mining Bureau superintendent William H. C. Price published a booklet on the construction of niter beds.⁶³ According to Price, Napoleonic France was able to construct and produce saltpeter, despite being cut off from its primary source of niter. Because of the niter plantations, France had a reliable and stable source of saltpeter during its wars with Great Britain.⁶⁴

The process of cultivating niter through artificial methods was not foreign to workers of the Niter and Mining Bureau. According to English social historian David Cressy, the procedure of obtaining niter by artificial techniques had been in practice since the mid-sixteenth century.⁶⁵ By establishing a working framework for the saltpeter plantation in *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre*, Joseph LeConte gave detailed instructions on how to construct "niter" beds. Set up in various caves throughout the South, saltpeter plantations were comprised of compost piles and were arranged symmetrically to economize space and resources.⁶⁶ According to LeConte's instructions, niter-bed creation required one main ingredient, namely rotten animal manure. Known also as "black earth," the rotten manure not only aided in the construction of the niter beds but also helped produce quality saltpeter in the shortest time possible.

In addition to the animal manure, niter bed construction had to abide by specific guidelines. After preparing a clay floor with adequate drainage, compost was shoveled lightly into a fifteen-foot-long, eight-foot-wide, and five-foot-high mound. In addition to the decaying vegetation and animal waste, niter workers

⁶¹ Whisonant, "Geology and History of Confederate Saltpeter Cave Operations in Western Virginia," 38.

⁶² Ainsworth and Kirkley, *War of the Rebellion*, 1070–1071.

⁶³ Lynch, "Confederate War Industry," 27.

⁶⁴ William H. C. Price and G. W. F. Price, *Artificial Production of Nitre: Containing Practical Directions Concerning the Formation and Cultivation of Nitre Beds, the Cost of the Fixtures Employed, and Estimates of the Productiveness of Capital Invested in Making Saltpetre* (Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Printing Office, 1862), 6.

⁶⁵ Cressy, *Saltpeter*, 16.

⁶⁶ LeConte, *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre*, 5.

also placed dead animal carcasses to stimulate the decaying process. When the construction of the niter bed was complete, it needed to be watered weekly to keep it moist and the decomposition of the existing matter active. While water could be used to moisten the beds, the preferred liquid was urine or liquid manure. With the compost moistened and turned weekly, saltpeter crystals would form on the upper layer of the compost. After a while, the top layer of the compost pile was then removed and set aside until a sufficient quantity of nitrous material was available for the leaching. Even though the building of multi-layer compost piles containing decaying vegetation and animal materials could produce a decent supply of niter, the process of growing and cultivating niter was a long, disgusting, labor-intensive process: it took approximately eighteen months to produce saltpeter.⁶⁷

Even though animal urine was primarily used to water the niter beds, human urine could be used as a substitute. This led to comical and poetic interaction between Confederate and Union newspapers. On October 1, 1863, Niter and Mining Bureau agent Jonathan Harolson (1830-1912) took out an advertisement in the *Selma Sentinel*, asking the ladies of Selma to “preserve all their chamber lye collected about their premises, for the purpose of making ‘Nitre’.” So, bizarre was the request, that Harolson’s friend, Thomas Wetmore, penned a poem called *Rebel Gunpowder*, mocking his friend’s request:

John Harrolson! John Harrolson! You are a funny creature;
You’ve given to this cruel war A new and curious feature.
You’d have us think while ev’ry man Is bound to be a fighter,
The women, (bless the pretty dears) Should be put to making nitre.

John Harrolson! John Harrolson! How could you get the notion
To send your barrels ’round the town To gather up the lotion.
We think the girls do work enough In making love and kissing.
But you’ll now put the pretty dears To patriotic pissing!

John Harrolson! John Harrolson! Could you not invent a meter,
Or some less immodest mode Of making our salt-petre?
The thing, it is so queer, you know — Gunpowder, like the cranky —
That when a lady lifts her shift She shoots a bloody Yankee.

John Harrolson! John Harrolson! Whate’er was your intention,
You’ve made another contraband Of things we hate to mention.
What good will all our fighting do, If Yanks search Venus’ mountains,
And confiscate and carry off These Southern nitre fountains!⁶⁸

Not to be outdone and seizing on this opportunity to ridicule and disparage the Confederacy, the Union soldiers offered a response to Wetmore’s poem:

⁶⁷ LeConte, *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre*, 5.

⁶⁸ Thomas Whetmore, “*Rebel Gunpowder*,” broadside [October 1, 1863], Duke University, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, RL.00036 (American Song Sheets Collection), American Song Sheets, circa 1850s-1880s, box 2, item 536, Duke University Libraries Digital Repository, accessed May 24, 2019.

Jno Haralson! Jno Haralson! We read in song a story
 That women's [sic] in all these years, Have sprinkled fields of glory;
 But never was it told before That how, midst scenes of slaughter,
 Your Southern beauties dried their tears And went to making water.

No wonder, Jno., your boys were brave; who would not be a fighter
 If every time he shot his gun He used his sweetheart's nitre?
 And, vice versa what could make A Yankee soldier sadder,
 Than dodging bullets fired from A pretty woman's bladder.

They say there was a subtle smell that lingered in the powder;
 And as the smoke grew thicker, And the din of battle grew louder
 That there was found in this compound This serious objection;
 The soldiers could not sniff it in Without a stiff erection.⁶⁹

In September 1864, Major St. John reported that the domestic production of saltpeter had totaled 1,735,531 pounds.⁷⁰ Even though the amount of saltpeter produced was impressive, it was still not enough to provide the amount of gunpowder needed to hold off the advancing Union Army. Also, the compost piles of the Southern niter plantations would take up to two years to fully "ripen" and be leached of their saltpeter. This prolonged period made the niter beds unusable during the war. If the war had continued for another year or two, the Southern niter plantations would have produced approximately three to four million pounds of saltpeter for Confederate powder mills. Because of its inability to produce a sufficient supply of domestic niter, the Confederacy was still bound to Great Britain for the majority of its saltpeter.⁷¹ Even though its lack of saltpeter hindered its ambitions of becoming self-sufficient and independent, the efforts of George Washington Rains and the Augusta Powder Works restored the Confederacy's resolve to produce superior gunpowder domestically.

IV. George W. Rains and the Confederate Powder Works

During an address to the Confederate Survivors' Association on April 26, 1882, George Washington Rains reflected on his service in the Confederate Army and the insurmountable task that had been laid upon his shoulders. Recommended by Gorgas and trusted by Confederate President Jefferson Davis, Rains was required to produce and provide the Confederate Army with a stable source of gunpowder. When the South's guns opened fire on Fort Sumter, the Confederacy had enough gunpowder for a month worth of battles before it would be exhausted. Along with the limited supply of gunpowder, the South's lack of proper infrastructure made securing the raw materials necessary to produce

⁶⁹ Cameron C. Nickels, *Civil War Humor* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 69 – 70.

⁷⁰ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 9.

⁷¹ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 10.

gunpowder difficult.⁷² Not to be deterred by these overwhelming odds, Rains started devising a plan to create a state-of-the-art powder mill in the Confederacy. Receiving full governmental support to do whatever would be necessary to achieve his goals, Rains began the daunting task of building the Confederate Powder Works.⁷³ Under his vision and leadership, the Confederate Powder Works produced and delivered superior grades of gunpowder from its opening on April 10, 1862, to its final shutdown on April 18, 1865. Thus, the Confederate Powder Works became one of the most advanced and successful powder mills of the nineteenth century.

Born on April 13, 1817, in New Bern, North Carolina, George Washington Rains was the last of five children born to the Rains family.⁷⁴ Brought up in a household that instilled the importance of firm discipline and education as preparation for adulthood, George excelled in his studies at the New Bern Academy, especially in the subjects of science and chemistry.⁷⁵ Even though the New Bern Academy structured its curriculum to prepare students for eventual entry into prestigious universities, Rains had his thoughts set on pursuing other avenues. Along with his interest in science and chemistry, Rains was fascinated by all things military.⁷⁶ Seeking to attain his ultimate goal of becoming a scientist and a soldier and to follow in the footsteps of his older brother Gabriel, George applied to enroll at West Point at the age of sixteen.⁷⁷

After five years of frustration and bureaucratic red tape, Rains was finally accepted to West Point on July 1, 1838, at the age of twenty-one as one of its oldest cadets.⁷⁸ After four years of conforming to West Point's rigorous curriculum and code of conduct, Rains graduated third in his class at the rank of second lieutenant. This prestigious status allowed him to serve with the Corps of Engineers as an assistant engineer. Later in his military career, Rains served as an artillery officer at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and then educated West Point cadets in chemistry, mineralogy, and geology.⁷⁹ Even though his assignments, except for teaching, were dull and unfulfilling, Rains's theoretical knowledge of chemistry,

⁷² Theodore P. Savas, "The Best Powder Mill in the World: Rains and His Mission," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 20-30, here 21.

⁷³ George Washington Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works: An Address Delivered by Invitation Before the Confederate Survivors' Association, at its Fourth Annual Meeting, on Memorial Day, April 26th, 1882* (New York: The Newburgh Daily News Print, 1898), 4.

⁷⁴ Theodore P. Savas, "Character is Destiny: George Washington Rains," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 11-19, here 11.

⁷⁵ Savas, "Character is Destiny," 12.

⁷⁶ Savas, "Character is Destiny," 12.

⁷⁷ Savas, "Character is Destiny," 12.

⁷⁸ George Washington Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.: From Its Establishment, in 1802, to 1890, with the Early History of the United States Military Academy*, 3rd ed., 5 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891), 2: 113.

⁷⁹ Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates*, 2: 113.

coupled with his practical experience in engineering and artillery, helped provide a strong organizational foundation that would prove to be valuable when he started his work of creating the Confederate Powder Works.

When hostilities started between Mexico and the United States, Rains gave up his teaching career to serve in combat. While he served as a quartermaster at Point Isabel, Texas and aide-de-camp to General Pillow, Rains was breveted two times for gallant conduct during the Mexican-American War.⁸⁰ Following the Mexican surrender, Rains's military duties consisted of monotonous engineering work and putting down random Indian revolts. After meeting and marrying his bride, Francis Ramsdell, Rains resigned his commission with the U.S. Army and became the proprietor of the Washington Iron Works in Newburgh, New York. It was here at the iron works that Rains created, published, and patented his inventions concerning steam engines and boilers.⁸¹ The ability to come up with innovative ideas and processes to streamline production would serve Rains well when he became the superintendent of the Confederate Powder Works.

As the South's first shells had their destructive impact on Fort Sumter in April 1861, Rains answered the call to defend his homeland, this time for the Confederacy. Receiving a commission as a major in the Confederate Army, Rains was appointed to restructure, oversee, and manage the Confederacy's gunpowder manufacturing apparatus.⁸² Given *carte blanche* by the government, Rains was charged to construct a permanent gunpowder making facility. Even though the Powder Works was his priority, Rains was faced with an immediate problem, namely keeping the armies in the field well stocked with gunpowder.⁸³

Due to mismanagement and the uneven distribution of gunpowder from seized Federal forts, most of the gunpowder was distributed to the armies in the East. This disparity left the Confederate soldiers in western theaters, between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River, with little or no gunpowder. Directly impacted by the shortage were the Confederate Armies under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnson.⁸⁴ Already stretched thin defending forts and outposts in the West, Johnson relied on the Sycamore Powder Mill in Nashville to keep his armies stocked with ordnance materials, especially gunpowder.⁸⁵

Small in size and privately owned, the Sycamore Powder Mill was unprepared and overwhelmed by the sudden demand for gunpowder.⁸⁶ To deal with the crisis, Tennessee governor Isham Harris placed the Sycamore Powder

⁸⁰ Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates*, 2: 113.

⁸¹ Savas, "Character is Destiny," 18.

⁸² Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 4.

⁸³ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 21.

⁸⁴ Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989; first published 1987 as *Rally Once Again*), 43.

⁸⁵ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 21.

⁸⁶ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 21.

Mill under government control, which allowed for its expansion. Harris also established contracts and agreements with private saltpeter suppliers to mine the limestone caves on the Confederate western frontier. Even as Rains arrived in Nashville to take control of the gunpowder manufacturing in the summer of 1861,⁸⁷ problems persisted with procuring and refining saltpeter, which limited the mill's production of gunpowder to five hundred pounds in September 1861.⁸⁸ If production remained the same at the Sycamore Powder Mill, Johnson's armies would run out of gunpowder and be forced to surrender to the Union Army advancing on the Confederate West.

Reprimanded by Gorgas and having no gunpowder-making experts, Rains took matters upon himself to fix the deficiencies of Nashville's gunpowder production. Rains first needed to gain control of the supply of saltpeter. Even though the mining operations were under Confederate control, the excavation of niter was inefficient. Hence, Rains personally visited these mining sites and reorganized the mining process to increase saltpeter production.⁸⁹ Next Rains established a separate refining facility to produce purified saltpeter. To assist in the production, Rains created and published a twelve-page pamphlet, *Notes on Making Saltpetre From the Earth of the Caves* (1861), which laid out the best practices and techniques concerning mining and refining saltpeter.⁹⁰ Because of Rains organizational skills and hands-on instruction, the Sycamore Powder Mill was able to refine fifteen hundred pounds of saltpeter on October 9, 1861, and then gradually increased the daily production to 3,000 pounds.⁹¹ The increased production resulted in 100,000 pounds of gunpowder being delivered to Johnson's powder-starved armies in the West until the surrender of Nashville in February 1862.⁹²

After the fall of Nashville, Rains devoted all his time to the construction and operation of the Confederacy's first permanent gunpowder-manufacturing facility. Before he engaged in the activity of securing gunpowder for the armies in the western theater, Rains spent two weeks aboard a train car, scouting out locations in the Confederacy to find a suitable place for a powder mill.⁹³ With a list of ten favorable conditions, Rains selected the site of the old U.S. Arsenal outside Augusta, Georgia.⁹⁴ In addition to being centrally located in the South and far away from the eastern and western theaters, the Augusta location had access to needed raw materials through the transportation corridors of the

⁸⁷ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 4.

⁸⁸ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 21.

⁸⁹ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 21.

⁹⁰ Rains, *Notes on Making Saltpetre*, 4.

⁹¹ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 5.

⁹² Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 6.

⁹³ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 4.

⁹⁴ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 20.

Augusta, Georgia, and Savannah, South Carolina, railroads.⁹⁵ In addition to the railroads, the location of the U.S. Arsenal had access to the waterways of the Savannah River and the Augusta Canal.⁹⁶

Unlike the Northern powder mills whose water supply would freeze during the winter, Georgia's temperate climate allowed for the Savannah River and the Augusta Canal to flow year round, which was ideal for gunpowder manufacturing.⁹⁷ Along with serving as essential transportation corridors for material and men, the river and canal supplied the Powder Works with power. Using waterwheels, the Powder Works would be able to generate power for its daily operations, thereby reducing its need for outside resources.

With the location selected, Rains made preliminary sketches of a two-mile-long series of buildings along the Augusta Canal to coincide with the sequence of gunpowder production.⁹⁸ Having put his vision onto paper, Rains purchased the land, issued contracts for building materials, and planned the area where the main buildings were to be erected, but he had no idea how a powder mill worked despite his extensive engineering and scientific knowledge. With "singular good fortune," Rains came across a pamphlet penned by Major Fraser Baddeley, the Superintendent at the Waltham Abbey Works in England.⁹⁹ This *Pamphlet on the Manufacture of Gunpowder* exposed Rains to the process and the machinery used in the production of gunpowder.¹⁰⁰ Rains also met with Frederick Wright who, according to Rains, was the only Englishman in the South who had worked at Waltham Abbey and was experienced in the production of gunpowder and armaments.¹⁰¹ Yet, Rains still needed architects and engineers to help turn his vision of world-class powder works into a reality.

With a background as an architect and a civil engineer, and a recommendation by the owner and operator of the Tredegar Iron Works in Virginia, Charles Shaler Smith was hired as Rains's chief architect and right-hand man.¹⁰² Prior to being employed by Rains, Smith had worked as a rodman and assistant engineer for multiple railroad companies.¹⁰³ His experience with these companies allowed Smith to gain extensive knowledge in the construction of railroads and bridges, as well as perfect his architectural skill. Being able to work under Rains's demanding schedule, Smith took Rains's rough sketches and

⁹⁵ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 20.

⁹⁶ Johnson, *Bull's-eyes and Misfires*, 242.

⁹⁷ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 20.

⁹⁸ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 24.

⁹⁹ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 23.

¹⁰¹ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 7.

¹⁰² Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 24.

¹⁰³ C. L. Bragg, "The Architect of the Powder Works: S. Shaler Smith," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 181-186, here 183.

diagrams and developed them into beautiful and highly detailed architectural plans. In addition to his architectural work, Smith was the director of the building and labor operations while Rains was away at the Nashville powder mill.¹⁰⁴ Even though Smith was the chief engineer and architectural genius of the Confederate Powder Works, the complexity of the job was more than one man could handle. Seeking other help, Smith recruited civil engineers Miller B. Grant and Albert L. West.¹⁰⁵ With the help of Smith, Miller, West, and the surrounding communities, Rains started construction on the Confederate Powder Works on September 13, 1861.



Figure 4: "Confederate Powder Works, Augusta, Georgia," photograph (between 1861 and 1865)/albumen print on card mount (between 1880 and 1889), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 4164-A, no. 3 [P&P], accessed May 25, 2019.

The first of many buildings constructed was the Powder Works' Refinery. In his address to the Confederate Survivor's Association, Rains described the Refinery as a grand monumental structure.¹⁰⁶ Built in the Norman Gothic style similar to the Smithsonian Institution,¹⁰⁷ the Powder Works looked more like a medieval castle than a powder mill (see Figure 4 above). Despite its antiquated look, the Norman Gothic style provided the Powder Works with some advantages. Large windows kept the Refinery optimally illuminated during the day, which

¹⁰⁴ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 24.

¹⁰⁵ C L. Bragg, "Architects, Engineers, and Mechanics: The Professional Men of the Powder Works," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 187-212, here 189.

¹⁰⁶ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 12.

¹⁰⁷ Stephanie A. T. Jacobe, "An Incredible Task: The Construction of the Confederate Powder Works," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 31-70, here 36.

eliminated the need of torches. Also, using brick instead of stone in construction reduced the Powder Works' building costs.¹⁰⁸

The Refinery's primary purpose was the preparation and purification of gunpowder's raw ingredients of saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal. When the saltpeter arrived at the Refinery, the chemical makeup of the crystals was of poor quality. Contaminated with six to twelve percent of other substances, the unrefined saltpeter needed to be washed and purified.¹⁰⁹ To remove all traces of contaminants, the water, according to Rains, had to be "free from lime and earthly salts."¹¹⁰ In addition to serving as transportation corridors and supplying the Powder Works with a source of power, the water in the Augusta Canal and the Savannah River was free from impurities. With the saltpeter washed and dissolved into the water, the mixture was boiled in copper kettles to remove all its contaminants. As the solution boiled, chlorides would sink to the bottom, while other contaminants rose to the surface. With these impurities removed, the water with dissolved saltpeter would be pumped into another container to be cooled. As the water cooled, saltpeter crystals formed and were removed from the water. This boiling process would be repeated two more times with less water until a purified form of saltpeter remained. This process, called the "old method," took six days to complete and was time-consuming, labor-intensive, and wasted hundreds of gallons of water.¹¹¹

To refine saltpeter more quickly and to produce a more purified form, Rains consulted a process called the "new method" that was outlined in the Waltham pamphlet. With the implementation of raking machinery, the water with the dissolved saltpeter was constantly swept and stirred while it cooled. Even though this process led to the formation of smaller saltpeter crystals, these crystals contained fewer contaminants after the first cycle and were thereby purer than the crystals formed using the "old method." Next, the crystals were allowed to drain and then covered with cold water to remove any lingering impurities. Finally, the crystals were dried for two hours. Instead of taking six days to perform, the process of the "new method" took only one day to complete.¹¹² Even though Rains followed Baddeley's refining guidelines, he modified the crystallizing process. Instead of using rakes, Rains built a machine consisting of a large bronze wheel with buckets attached to its periphery. As the wheel turned, the buckets would rake and stir the hot saltpeter solution as it cooled, while at the same time removing the saltpeter crystals as they formed. Rains's variation of Baddeley's process allowed him to speed up the refining

¹⁰⁸ Jacobe, "Incredible Task," 36.

¹⁰⁹ Charles D. Ross, "The Production Process, Part 1: Refining, Mixing, and Incorporating the Ingredients," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 71-88, here 73.

¹¹⁰ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 10.

¹¹¹ Ross, "Production Process, Part 1," 74.

¹¹² Ross, "Production Process, Part 1," 74.

process to two to three times a day. During the Civil War, the purity of gunpowder saltpeter stood at less than 1/3,000 parts chlorides. Through his double and triple refining method, Rains claimed that his saltpeter contained less than 1/100,000 parts chlorides. which placed it at a degree of purity "beyond that of the most celebrated powder factories."¹¹³

Just like the saltpeter that arrived at the Powder Works, sulfur needed to be processed and refined. Refining sulfur required it to be melted to have impurities rise to the top of the liquefied sulfur to be skimmed off. Even though this method was the easiest, it left behind acidic compounds that degraded the effectiveness of the gunpowder.¹¹⁴ The second method of refining sulfur was through a distilling process. Referring to Baddeley's pamphlet, Rains distilled sulfur in enclosed kettles with pipes leading out from the top and the side. The pipe leading out from the side was encased by another pipe to allow water to cool the inside pipe. When the sulfur in the kettle was heated and vaporized, sulfuric acid and other contaminants were filtered out through the top pipe, and the purified sulfur, in liquid form, was left behind. This liquefied sulfur would pass through the pipe cooled by water into receiving molds. According to Rains, the distilled sulfur, "was of a beautiful citron yellow when cold, and entirely pure."¹¹⁵

Unlike receiving the saltpeter and sulfur from outside sources, the Powder Works produced charcoal from resources near the facility. While the preferred wood for charcoal was Willow, the proximity of Cottonwood trees to the Powder Works provided an abundant and stable resource for the production of charcoal. Charcoal production requires an extensive supply of tree branches that need to be skinned and dried before heating. In addition to the convenience of having wood on the premises, the Powder Works personnel found that Cottonwood was easier to work with because it did not contain any knots to impede the preparation process.¹¹⁶ As the branches were skinned and dried, they were placed into four-feet-in-diameter and six-feet-long iron cylinders and set into a furnace. After two hours, the cylinders were removed, and the charcoal inspected.¹¹⁷ The efficiency of this process allowed the Powder Works to mass-produce the required amount of charcoal for sufficient gunpowder production.

After the refining and distilling processes, the saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal each were pulverized into fine dust and were separated into sixty-pound proportions: forty-five pounds of saltpeter, nine pounds of charcoal, and six pounds of sulfur. These proportions were sent to the mixing house and were combined, forming a "green charge."¹¹⁸ After the charge was roughly mixed, it

¹¹³ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 14.

¹¹⁴ Ross, "Production Process, Part 1," 75.

¹¹⁵ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 14.

¹¹⁶ Ross, "Production Process, Part 1," 77.

¹¹⁷ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 15-16.

¹¹⁸ Ross, "Production Process, Part 1," 81.

was then sent to the incorporating mills to be mixed thoroughly to ensure proper integration of the saltpeter, charcoal, and sulfur. Before the modern era, the incorporation of saltpeter, charcoal, and sulfur was done by hand¹¹⁹ which resulted in the gunpowder's unpredictability. After hundreds of years of perfecting the incorporating process, the rolling mill was considered the best method for the incorporation of gunpowder. Using the same process that had been perfected in the 1700s, the Confederate Powder Works used the rolling mills to incorporate and press the "green charge" into a mill cake. Each mill was comprised of two large iron wheels revolving around a central shaft that was powered by a steam engine (see Figure 5 below).



Figure 5: Derek Taylor, "Powder Grinding Wheels, Centennial Park, Nashville, Tennessee," photograph (October 10, 2018). © 2018 by Derek Taylor/the author.

Standard gunpowder manufacturing during the Civil War required the charge to be pressed on the incorporating mills for four hours.¹²⁰ Even though the incorporation process improved the mixing and density of the powder, Rains found the amount of time too long. Rains faced other problems besides time. During the incorporation process, water was used to bind the saltpeter, charcoal,

¹¹⁹ Ross, "Production Process, Part 1," 83.

¹²⁰ Bragg, "Urgent and Critical Need," 17.

and sulfur together.¹²¹ The challenge was using the right amount of water.¹²² The lack of adequate water would result in the formation of gunpowder dust, which could easily ignite and explode. Saturating the charge with water also proved to be dangerous due to the generation of chunks of powder, called “clinkers.” These chunks would easily lift the mill wheel from the powder to have it come crashing back down on the powder, causing sparks which could result in an explosion.¹²³

The problems with the use of water in the incorporation process left Rains with only one option, the use of steam. Even though it is unverified that the change from water to steam reduced the danger from explosion, Rains stated that his incorporating mills suffered three explosions before using the steaming process and none after he started steaming the unincorporated gunpowder mixture.¹²⁴ The change from water to steam also changed the makeup of the gunpowder’s raw ingredients. Charcoal, observed under a microscope, is highly porous. Through the use of his steaming process, Rains found that the charcoal’s pores could be filled with saltpeter, thereby enhancing the gunpowder’s quality.¹²⁵ Even though the process could be achieved by keeping the unincorporated ingredients moistened, it required a considerable amount of time for the saltpeter to permeate with charcoal. To speed up the process, Rains placed the gunpowder mixture into revolving eighteen-inch-in-diameter by three-foot-long steam-infused cylinders. By raising the temperature to just below boiling point and creating condensation within the cylinder for eight minutes, Rains was able to combine the saltpeter and charcoal more rapidly.¹²⁶ After that process, the semi-liquid “green charge” was transferred to the incorporating mills. Because of Rains’s steam process, the mixture was hot and slightly wet, therefore only requiring an hour in the incorporating mill before the mill cake could be removed.¹²⁷ The resulting mill cakes were transported across the canal to the cooling magazines to await granulation. According to Rains, his steaming process not only saved time, but tightly bound the saltpeter, charcoal, and sulfur together, which produced gunpowder that exhibited the “same first-class character,”¹²⁸ which was as good or better than most of the gunpowder produced during the American Civil War.

After the mill cakes were cooled, they were transferred to the granulating building. The granulation process placed the mill cakes on a conveyor belt which fed them into the granulation machine. Comprised of four sets of rollers that

¹²¹ Bragg, “Urgent and Critical Need,” 17.

¹²² Ross, “Production Process, Part 1,” 87.

¹²³ Ross, “Production Process, Part 1,” 87.

¹²⁴ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 18.

¹²⁵ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 16.

¹²⁶ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 16.

¹²⁷ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 16.

¹²⁸ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 17.

turned toward each other, the machine would break up the mill cakes into progressively smaller fragments which would fall through the rollers into sifters. Powder that fell through the sifters was collected in receptacles underneath the sifters.¹²⁹ This process was repeated until chunks that were too large to pass through any of the sifters were collected in a wooden carriage at the end of the granulating machine. Even though there are no drawings or blueprints of the granulation machine used in the Powder Works, it is assumed that Rains built a granulating machine that was similar to the one found in Baddeley's pamphlet.¹³⁰

Following the granulation process, the powder was dusted, dried, and glazed in a process called "finishing." During the granulation process, Rains's gunpowder accumulated considerable amounts of dust. Being easily ignitable, gunpowder dust needed to be removed multiple times during the manufacturing process.¹³¹ Also, gunpowder dust tended to attract moisture which could lead to the misfires and ruin of weapons.¹³² The dusting procedure placed the gunpowder in a "dusting reel" which was a cylindrical wooden frame covered by mesh canvas. As the reel was rotated, the dust was expelled through the canvas, leaving the gunpowder dust-free.¹³³

Since moisture had a detrimental effect, the gunpowder needed to be glazed to remove all rough edges. After the dusting process, the gunpowder was placed into wooden revolving barrels to tumble. In addition to removing the rough edges, the tumbling process strengthened the gunpowder's density which made it more resistant to moisture and improved its combustibility.¹³⁴ Finally, the powder reached the final step in the finishing process: drying. To reduce the moisture content of the powder to one half of one percent, the powder was placed on wooden racks in a heated room for eighteen hours.¹³⁵ Even though the drying process required no labor, Rains found the eighteen-hour process laid out by Baddeley too time-consuming. To save time, Rains combined dusting, glazing, and drying into one operation with revolving hollow cylinders that had hot air blown through them. Although this process reduced the initial production time, much of the powder was rejected and returned for "re-glazing."

¹²⁹ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 20.

¹³⁰ Charles D. Ross, "The Production Process, Part 2: 'Finishing' the Powder," in Bragg et al., *Never Want for Powder*, 89-102, here 93.

¹³¹ Ross, "Production Process, Part 2," 94.

¹³² Ross, "Production Process, Part 2," 94.

¹³³ Ross, "Production Process, Part 2," 95.

¹³⁴ Ross, "Production Process, Part 2," 95.

¹³⁵ Francis Montagu Smith, *Handbook of the Manufacture and Proof of Gunpowder as Carried on at the Royal Gunpowder Factory, Waltham Abbey* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1870), 71.

Forced to reassess the functionality of his innovation, Rains returned to the original glazing, dusting, and drying procedure.¹³⁶

With a superior finished product waiting to be used by the armies in the field, Rains needed a safe way to transport the gunpowder. During the Civil War, gunpowder was packed and delivered in round wooden barrels or smaller wooden containers called kegs. Considering these barrels inferior to hold his powder, Rains designed powder boxes to ship his product. With dimensions of two-and-a-half-feet-long by one-foot-square and secured with a two-inch wood screw, Rains's boxes were stronger and took up less room than the typical powder barrels. As his gunpowder left the Powder Works facility to be delivered to the armies in the field, Rains stated that his boxes were better and safer for transportation because there was never a threat of an explosion of his powder due to faulty boxes. Even though Rains's boxes were safer and could hold more powder than the typical barrel, they were also harder to move and adjust.¹³⁷

Armed with his knowledge of engineering and chemistry, George Washington Rains was able to organize and procure the resources necessary to create a first-rate powder mill within the South's agrarian landscape—one of the South's modern military marvels: the Confederate Powder Works. Between April 10, 1862, and April 18, 1865, the Powder Works produced various types and quantities of gunpowder, which totaled over three million pounds.¹³⁸ Despite threats of being sacked by Sherman's Army, the Powder Works remained operational throughout the war and never fell behind on its production of gunpowder until the surrender of the Confederacy.¹³⁹ As a result, the Confederacy never lost a battle due to a lack of gunpowder.

As its administrator, Rains worked tirelessly to produce a superior grade of gunpowder and increase its production. Through his unorthodox ideas and technological innovations, Rains implemented a steaming process, where the saltpeter, charcoal, and sulfur were fused together. This process not only saved time and allowed the Powder Works to produce more gunpowder, but it also increased and enhanced the quality of the powder. This enhancement was proven after the Union seized the gunpowder that was made at the Powder Works and used for training exercises at Fort Monroe. After using Rains powder to test-fire a naval cannon, the Union artillery gunners said that it was the best powder they had ever used.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Ross, "Production Process, Part 2," 97.

¹³⁷ Ross, "Production Process, Part 2," 100.

¹³⁸ Savas, "Best Powder Mill," 29.

¹³⁹ Johnson, *Bull's-eyes and Misfires*, 244.

¹⁴⁰ Johnson, *Bull's-eyes and Misfires*, 244.

Conclusion

For years, the Conventional historiography on the American Civil War has focused on the North's industrial superiority over the South. While it is true that the North had a distinct advantage over the South due to its rapid industrialization, it was far from being technologically superior. When the Confederate government decided to overcome its agrarian roots and utilize its few precious mechanical resources, it accomplished great things. This is evidenced by the Confederacy's production of gunpowder during the Civil War. As the North enveloped the Confederacy in its blockade, the Confederate government, along with its forward thinkers, Josiah Gorgas, Isaac St. John, and George Washington Rains, created a Southern industrial apparatus that allowed it to procure gunpowder's primary ingredients and establish industrial facilities to manufacture a superior grade of gunpowder.

When the administrative head of the Confederate Bureau of Ordnance, Josiah Gorgas, inventoried the Confederacy's munitions arsenal, he found it lacking. Not only did the Confederacy not have enough weapons, but the Confederacy's gunpowder supply was also severely inadequate for a prolonged war against the Union. Even though the South was able to purchase gunpowder from Great Britain, the war and the resulting blockade put those supply lines in jeopardy. With all outside sources of gunpowder and munitions virtually cut off, Gorgas, looked for domestic solutions. Through government investment and management, Gorgas purchased private munition facilities and created state-owned industrial centers. His actions organized and mobilized the South's limited industrial complex. As a result, these facilities produced and supplied the Confederate Army with sufficient munitions throughout the war.

As the superintendent of the Niter and Mining Bureau, Isaac St. John was responsible for the Confederacy's acquisition of minerals needed for the war effort. One of the raw materials that was in constant demand was saltpeter. St. John was familiar with the limestone caves of the South. With the South's minerals under the control of the Niter and Mining Bureau, St. John sectioned the Confederacy into different districts. This sectioning fixed prices and controlled the flow of materials within the Confederacy. In addition to material control, St. John was able to establish state-run niter facilities. The government-controlled saltpeter mines allowed the Confederacy to mine and process saltpeter more cheaply than private contractors.

Possibly the person who had the most effect on the Confederate war effort was George Washington Rains. Having no prior gunpowder-making knowledge, Rains built one of the most impressive facilities in the South, the Confederate Powder Work. As a scientist and engineer, Rains was in control of every aspect of the Powder Works, from the construction of the buildings to the production of gunpowder. When the Powder Works finally closed in April 1865, Rains had produced and shipped over three million pounds of gunpowder to the Confederate Army and Navy. While the production of three million pounds of

gunpowder is an impressive feat, Rains, through his shortcuts and innovations, was able to reduce production time and increase the quality of the gunpowder manufactured at the Powder Works. As a result, the Confederate Powder Works in Augusta, Georgia, not only produced the most gunpowder but a powder of superior caliber which rivaled and surpassed that of any other powder mill during the Civil War.

In April 1861, the American South broke away from the Union to claim its independence. In April 1865, the South's dream of being an independent nation was over. During those four years, the South attempted to convert itself from an agrarian society into an industrial nation. As it did so, the Confederate government established a bureaucracy for the procurement of gunpowder material. Due to the efforts of Gorgas, St. John, and Rains, the Confederacy was able to transform its small gunpowder-making industry into an industrial powerhouse with the Confederate Powder Works as its cornerstone. Despite suffering from all kinds of want, the Confederacy never suffered from a lack of gunpowder.

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Scott Torres

*"Sit and stay":
Max von Stephanitz's German Shepherd Dog*

ABSTRACT: *This article addresses the establishment of the German Shepherd Dog and the work of its founding breeder, Max von Stephanitz (1864-1936), in late nineteenth-century Germany. Based on newspaper articles, veterinary science journals, and historical scholarship, it first analyzes the German Shepherd Dog's place within a national framework, then moves to a close examination of Max von Stephanitz's writings, and finally discusses the German Shepherd Dog in the context of nineteenth-century German unification. The author argues that the establishment of the German Shepherd Dog coincided with overarching national interests that surpassed any notion of its existence primarily as a shepherding breed.*

KEYWORDS: *nineteenth century; Germany; German Shepherd Dog; Alsatian Dog; Max von Stephanitz; war dog; World War I; Phylax Society; Society for the German Shepherd Dog*

Introduction

The path toward national consciousness in Germany exists because of warfare and expansion, as well as industrial and economic growth. Germany, like its western neighbors France and Britain, realized the need to cultivate and unify its citizens across social and economic plains. A population drawing its essence from a common narrative and shared experience, Germany made its greatest strides toward establishing an exclusive national identity in the mid to late nineteenth century. The German wars of unification beginning in 1864 and ending in 1871 underscored German military superiority and reinforced existing anti-French sentiment across the country. Alongside military superiority, geographic expansion through colonialism set Germany on par with its neighbors to the west. From the 1880s up to the end of World War I, German colonial size ranked third behind Britain and France¹. A cultural revival took place as well. German thinkers urged men, women, and children to embrace Germanic lore and mythology. A renewed interest in romantic narratives and Germanic epics glorifying power, war, and sacrifice found its way into every facet of life. Fairy tales, song, and speeches provided examples of the German "Volk" (people) and an ancestral past within the forest. Industrial innovation shuttled Germany into modernity through its construction of a rail system and trade confederation.

The German Shepherd Dog remains a symbol of German unity, efficiency, loyalty, bravery, and strength. This article examines the writing of Prussian Cavalry Captain and dog breeder Max von Stephanitz (1864-1936). Von Stephanitz's writing is rife with pan-German overtones that reflect a strong nation unified militarily, politically, economically, and socially. Von Stephanitz emphasizes German racial superiority as it applies to both humans and dogs,

¹ Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 2.

and introduces his readers to subjects highly regarded at the time as scientifically revolutionary, such as social Darwinism, eugenics, and pan-Germanism. Von Stephanitz also provides a detailed roadmap on the subject of the establishment of the German Shepherd Dog that is comparable to the path to German unification.

This article highlights the similarities between the formation of national identity and the establishment of the German Shepherd Dog. Firstly, it examines the impact of literature and its ability to reinforce an exclusive German identity in addition to its availability to the masses. Secondly, it looks at attitudes concerning racial preservation and purity, namely popular nineteenth-century influences, and concludes that ideas concerning race and breeding were deemed interchangeable and easily applied to both animals and humans. Finally, this article compares citizen and nation, dog and master. I juxtapose the raising and training of the German youth to the raising and training of German Shepherd Dogs, both in terms of serving a larger national purpose. This article argues that the establishment of the German Shepherd Dog occurred under a nationalist influence. The German Shepherd Dog represents a German path toward modernity, military superiority, economic, social, and racial superiority. The German Shepherd Dog remains a symbol of German efficiency through its display of character, obedience, intelligence, and loyalty to its family. However, the breed serves as a stark reminder of concepts and ideologies responsible for keeping the German nation on its special path toward its mid-twentieth-century downfall.

1. The Revival of the German Spirit through Literature

Von Stephanitz's worldview bleeds onto the pages of his *The German Shepherd Dog in Word and Picture* (published and revised several times since 1901).² However, much of it is entwined within the context of dog breeding. The traits German Shepherd Dogs carry with them are no different than what the German nation instilled in its citizens. Loyalty, obedience, bravery, and utility are common indicators displayed by people and German Shepherd Dogs alike.

Louis Snyder's *Roots of German Nationalism* (1978) highlights the wave of national sentiment German citizens embraced during the nineteenth century.³ Examples of nationalism and an exclusive German essence responsible for

² Max von Stephanitz, *The German Shepherd Dog in Word and Picture*, trans. C. Charke, rev. J. Schwabacher (Jena: Anton Kämpfe, 1923). Von Stephanitz's work was first published 1901 in German as *Der deutsche Schäferhund in Wort und Bild*, accessed May 25, 2019. It was completely revised and expanded for its sixth German edition (1921), accessed May, 2019. The seventh German edition and first English/American edition appeared in 1923; all citations in this article follow this 1923 (first) English/American edition. The 2nd American edition, currently in circulation, is Max von Stephanitz, *The German Shepherd Dog in Word and Picture*, 2nd American ed. (Wheat Ridge: Hoflin Publishing, 1994).

³ Louis L. Snyder, *Roots of German Nationalism* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1978).

setting Germany apart from the rest of Europe was evident in the political and social discourse. Prior to unification in 1871, Germany had existed in a fractured state. Unification was facing obstacles on numerous fronts. Economic growth, industrialization, and competing geographic expansion are all components of national unity. However, literature stands apart due to its accessibility. Literacy rates in all social classes climbed in the nineteenth century. German literature served as a response to the French Enlightenment model of citizenship. Germany chose not to credit the French as inspiration, but as direct competition: German improvement on the French model, done the German way.

German intellectuals looked to their thinkers of the Enlightenment. The works of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832), Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), and Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) reveal the need to glorify a German past. According to Robert Ergang "German Literature was an effective agent in welding together the diverse people of Germany. It provided a point of contact during a time of division, and it also created the demand for political and economic unity."⁴ Interested in reviving a German spirit lost to French influence, Herder advocated for German thinkers to embrace the written and spoken German language. An influx of literature ranging from books, poems, and song lyrics glorified a German past, linking it historically to ancestral greatness.

Romantic notions of the "Fatherland," Germanic spirituality, and the warrior spirit consumed the minds of German men and women. Recurring themes of sacrifice, war, and death embroiled German narratives from folk tales to opera performances, most notably the works of Richard Wagner (1813-1883). However, the ideas put forth in literature were not accessible or understood entirely throughout society. It is important to take note of the efforts and strides Germany took to instill a sense of national identity in the youth. From the middle of the nineteenth century onward, German children read and learned about German society, culture, and values through fairy tales and adventure stories set in far-off German colonial expeditions. Both fairy tales and frontier fiction provided metaphorical references to German racial superiority over exotic and different racial groups. They enabled children to make the distinction between right and wrong through stories of victory and defeat and the triumph over evil, as well as cautionary tales of foreign invaders. The brothers Grimm's fairy tales, exemplify the way German youth came to view the world around them. It was through folk tales, myth, and song that all classes and ages came to understand the concept of national character.

The brothers Grimm's fairy tales contain numerous metaphorical references and representations regarding the manner in which German citizens viewed themselves among others. Fairy tales, folk stories, and poems provide insight

⁴ Robert Reinhold Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 177. This work is a reprint of the author's 1931 Columbia University thesis.

into beliefs, norms, and fears that accompany everyday life. They are an important clue to understanding societal constructs such as class division and foreign influence. The brothers Grimm's fairy tales, a widely distributed work of literature served two purposes. With regard to the first, the Grimms' representation of society, American scholar Louis Snyder makes the claim that "in society class distinctions were definite. And in fairy tales the upper and lower classes were depicted favorably."⁵ Fairy tales portrayed class structure in a positive light, yet its representation of the middle class stood out. The middle class comprised of tradesmen, merchants, doctors, and innkeepers—those who were not necessarily rich and not entirely poor either. Snyder specifically highlights the Jewish population within the middle class: "The middle class consisting of merchants, innkeepers, doctors, clerics, and Jews, is condemned for its greed and quackery."⁶ The mistrust of the merchant is reflected by Max von Stephanitz's disdain for dealers of half-bred wolf-dogs, dealers set out to sell ill-bred animals to eager citizens to make a quick profit.

Von Stephanitz refers to such people, just as the fairy tales identify the middle class, as greedy and incompetent. He recalls the crossing of wolves and dogs, stating

[m]ost unfortunately, however, several real crossings have been made and the products of the breeding have been most rashly given into the hands of 'lay-people'. The chief sinners generally in such cases have been Menagerie proprietors who know how to turn a penny by leading to a wolf a bitch on heat, or, vice versa, a domestic dog to their she-wolf.⁷

He drives his idea home regarding the merchant class, making the claim that, in addition to greed, these breeders intend to deceive potential buyers, using the latter's fascination with exotic and foreign products as a tool to influence the purchase of a wolf-dog:

[i]n such Menageries [...] a brave genuine shepherd dog was caste for the role of the savage killer of 'Little Red Riding Hood', and generally got away with it, because the majority of the visitors at such places are eager to swallow all they see and hear.⁸

II. *The Purity of the Race*

Max von Stephanitz stood firm in his belief that a shepherd dog's true beauty lies in its ability to work. Dog enthusiasts labeled as fanciers did not gain a special place in his world of the German Shepherd Dog. Von Stephanitz's commentary on the subject of breeding is an interesting glimpse into the thought process of the man and ultimately reveals darker aspects of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: "It is one of the natural laws of Inheritance that creatures of pure blood, where by proper breeding all unevennesses have been eliminated, far

⁵ Snyder, *Roots of German Nationalism*, 43.

⁶ Snyder, *Roots of German Nationalism*, 43.

⁷ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 45.

⁸ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 46.

surpass all mongrels."⁹ Von Stephanitz refers to the progeny of wolves and dogs as mongrels and not suitable for domestication due to racial degeneration. Von Stephanitz highlights French examples as lessons learned with regard to breeding. However, he uses French men and women as a primary example:

It will take twenty years to show the degeneration among the French people consequent on the intimacy of many French women with coloured French subjects. It is a well-known historical fact that intimate connection with another race, foreign to their own, even the superficial adoption of, and identification with their ideas, their conduct and their manners (which are essentially opposed to their own), may utterly crush a people physically, mentally and morally; highly developed though it be. If nothing more, may this at least teach us poor animal breeders a lesson.¹⁰

Purity of race and blood was studied extensively. Von Stephanitz's examples clearly indicate that selection and breeding did not pertain strictly to animals. Ideologies such as social Darwinism and the practice of eugenics dominated nineteenth and twentieth-century breeding processes. Regrettably, Germany, unlike other countries, took the concepts to murderous extremes in the name of progress and racial preservation. As history reveals, Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), twenty-five years younger than von Stephanitz, subscribed to these concepts and later applied them to German men, women, and children.

Statements Adolf Hitler made in *Mein Kampf* (first published in 1925) regarding the purity of race and blood resemble those of von Stephanitz: "Every racial crossing leads inevitably sooner or later to the decline of the hybrid product."¹¹ Hitler alluded to the potential degeneration of the German people through intermixing with other races. He viewed mixing of blood and race as a direct threat. Hitler claimed: "There is only the highest human right, and this right at the same time the holiest obligation, to wit, to see to it that the blood is preserved pure and by preserving the best humanity, to create the possibility of a nobler development of those beings."¹² Another quote from *Mein Kampf* drives home the point of racial preservation: "the Volkisch state must therefore begin by raising marriage from the level of a continuous defilement of race, and give it the consecration of an institution which is called upon to produce images of the lord and not monstrosities halfway between man and ape."¹³ Von Stephanitz and Hitler do not stray far from one another, ideologically, in terms of racial preservation. They both indicate a need to preserve and nurture their breed and race for the future, leading one to make the conclusion that the, selection of mates, breeding, nurturing, training, and education equally apply to dogs and

⁹ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 50.

¹⁰ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 50.

¹¹ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1943; first published 1925 in German), 400.

¹² Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 402.

¹³ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 403.

humans. Von Stephanitz goes a step further, indicating that many cases of breeding outside the race continued primarily for monetary gain.

In many cases, wolf-dog puppies were advertised and sold to make money, a business transaction at most. Unethical and untrained breeders peddled these dogs throughout Germany with success, preying on people's taste for purchasing items that seemed exotic and different. Von Stephanitz refers to those German citizens as "sleepy Michaels." Ultimately, readers can sense his distaste for foreign goods and a genuine dislike for those taking advantage of his compatriots. On the subject, he states:

Sleepy 'Michael', however continues to have unbounded confidence and esteem for every thing from abroad, and is still convinced that all foreign products must be better, nobler, and above all, more valuable than his own.¹⁴

This, according to von Stephanitz, explains the need for an exclusive breed type, particularly an exclusively German breed. There is a definitive racial bias throughout von Stephanitz's writing.

Von Stephanitz clearly does not find anything good in the Russian spirit. Ultimately, he blames the availability of Russian wolves for the contamination of dogs in Germany: "[D]ealers are selling with a supreme audacity wonderful 'wolf sheep dogs' out of a Russian steppe wolf mother."¹⁵ He promotes a greater sense of Germany unity and German commerce, as well as a distrust of foreigners. It appears that he strongly stands by a belief in a self-sustaining German state, and this coincides with his nationalist rhetoric regarding unity and the preservation of a superior German essence. His opinions regarding foreign trade and commerce reflect a pan-German train of thought.

III. The German Shepherd Dog 101

The German Shepherd Dog is a modern breed of dog that emerged in Germany during the late nineteenth century. It was a product of its environment and reflected the needs of farmers in the German countryside. A dog's employment depended on its ability to work long hours in the field. In addition to their employment as shepherds, dogs proved themselves as efficient guardians of both livestock and property, defending them against man and beast. It is important to highlight the point that German farmers utilized numerous different dogs to accomplish these tasks.

The breed resulting from careful selection and development was classified specifically as the German Shepherd Dog. Prior to 1899, the use of shepherd dogs was of little concern to the majority of German men and women, mostly because various dogs were already being utilized with a great degree of success. Leading up to the establishment of the breed, German canine enthusiasts created a society dedicated to establishing a breed of their own. The Phylax Society, formed in

¹⁴ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 45.

¹⁵ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 45.

December 1891, led the charge in observing, selecting, and breeding certain dogs. Yet, the Phylax Society did not last long; it disbanded in 1894.¹⁶ Membership of the defunct Phylax Society continued to show interest in the process of breeding a dog the German nation could proudly call its own.

The consensus among dog breeders and club members regarding breed type and look reflected the interest and need for a uniform breed, a dog suitable for work, and one reflecting the spirit of the German people and nation. Retired Prussian Cavalry Captain Max von Stephanitz, a former student of the Berlin School of Veterinary Science, made it his life work to develop and present the German Shepherd Dog. Von Stephanitz's decision led him, alongside other members of the defunct Phylax Society, to establish the "Verein für Deutsche Schäferhunde (SV)" in April 1899.¹⁷

As von Stephanitz points out, German dog lovers in the 1880s and 1890s had shown no interest in owning a dog or developing a dog of their own. Von Stephanitz recalls the national attitude regarding dog breeding:

The dog races of the country formerly counted for very little in Germany; Germany's interest in the dog was more or less in its infancy; and accordingly wandered with a preference for the more thoroughbred and more 'aristocratic' foreign races.¹⁸

His commentary regarding foreign races in the context of animal breeding is telling of a larger pan-German sentiment. He utilized this example as motivation to move forward in the right direction with breed development.

The selection process utilized by breeders combined shepherd dogs from various German regions. Variables taken into consideration consisted of weight, color, coat density, bone structure, ear length and weight, erect ears or floppy ears, tail length, intelligence, and temperament. Von Stephanitz identified the shortfalls the Phylax Society had experienced, concluding that their limited access to dogs outside of northern and central Germany had impeded their overall progress.¹⁹ The exploration of kennels outside the northern and central region proved a step in the right direction.

Shepherd dogs utilized throughout Germany came in different shapes, sizes, and colors. Certain characteristics stuck out in the minds of dog breeders of the time. The German population of dog enthusiasts paid special attention to dogs' ears and color. The first dog observed and considered for the role of the German Shepherd Dog was the Thuringian shepherd dog. The dog's name reflects the central German state of Thuringia where these dogs worked and lived in at the time. The Thuringian dog, a stocky, erect-eared, wolf-grey-colored dog, according to von Stephanitz, was "full of vigour."²⁰ Enthusiasm for the breed

¹⁶ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 131.

¹⁷ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 131.

¹⁸ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 131.

¹⁹ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 133.

²⁰ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 133.

resulted mainly from its outward appearance. The Thuringian dog displayed a trait dog enthusiasts longed for, namely erect ears. The Thuringians carried their ears similar to wolves, in addition to their dense grey coat. Yet, for von Stephanitz the Thuringians' working ability lagged behind their outward appearance. With regard to developing the breed, the Thuringians apparently displayed wild traits, and many deemed them unsuitable for breeding. Even though a small number of Thuringian shepherds performed well in kennel breeding programs, observations made regarding the Thuringian shepherd dog prompted breeders to venture south. Thus, the southwestern region of Württemberg became the next stop on the mission to find the best dog for further development.

The dogs observed in Württemberg differed from the Thuringians in two distinct ways: their size and appearance of their ears. The Württemberg dogs did not consistently show erect ears, some ears were floppy and hanging to the sides of the head. Despite the absence of erect ears in some, the Württemberg dogs surpassed their Thuringian counterparts:

The Wurttemberg dogs possessed also great advantages in their bodily features, to which formerly however, little attention was paid, except to their size. They were generally big, large-boned, roomy fellows with good hind quarters and swift gait.²¹

Württemberg breeders praised their dog and appeared satisfied. While the Thuringians were consistently displaying erect ears and a wolf-grey coloring, the desired size, strength, and working ability lay with the Württemberg dog.

German breeders arrived at the conclusion to breed the Württemberg and Thuringian shepherd dogs. Breeders "began in their turn to introduce a dog with erect ears and wolf colour, and thus for the breed of the shepherd dog the 'Egg of Columbus [sic] was laid."²² The breeding project produced a dog with the look and working ability that their German breeders proudly claimed as their own. Hektor-Linksrhein, renamed to Horand von Grafrath, remains the first registered German Shepherd Dog recorded by the SV in addition to its record as the society's number one stud.

Horand von Grafrath was a product of Sparwasser kennels in Frankfurt. Von Stephanitz recalls his character and temperament; it is, however, important to take note that von Stephanitz did not have a hand in the breeding and primary raising of Horand. He simply purchased him from Sparwasser and utilized him for the future of the breed. With regard to his performance, von Stephanitz highlights his intelligence and energetic drive: "Horand embodied for the fancy dog enthusiasts of that time the fulfilment of their fondest dreams."²³ His reference to "fancy dog enthusiasts" reflects a keen interest in a dog solely for its look and not wholeheartedly for its working ability. Nevertheless, what von

²¹ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 135.

²² Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 135.

²³ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 136.

Stephanitz highlights were the desired traits: a medium to large dog with powerful bone structure, good lines, and a nobly formed head, in addition to being obedient and of stable temperament—traits that other German shepherd dogs around the globe display to this day.

Any faults he displayed von Stephanitz placed not on the dog himself but on his previous owners. Von Stephanitz claims that any lack of energy displayed by this dog did not come from a genetic anomaly but from the lack of a task to accomplish or from a lack of purpose. Horand's energy and willingness to learn foreshadowed what was to come for the future of the breed, under the close eye of von Stephanitz and the SV breeding program. The dog's working ability and intelligence surpassed its initial purpose as a shepherd. Von Stephanitz foresaw more for this breed, as he reflected on its versatility: "What could not have become of such a dog, if we had only had at the time military or police service training."²⁴ Following Horand and the establishment of the SV in 1899, within twenty-four years, the society recorded 150,000 German Shepherd Dogs in its official studbook.

IV. A Reflection of the People

The German Shepherd Dog stood as a reflection of the German people. The selection, breeding, and training of dogs, resembled the instilling of cultural and moral values in young German boys and girls. Von Stephanitz's concepts regarding racial purity applied to dog breeding and equally to human classifications. The themes surrounding both German Shepherd Dogs and citizens encompassed bravery, loyalty, sacrifice, service, obedience, and a martial spirit.

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century German military campaigns emphasized the glorification of a masculine warrior spirit. The German wars of unification stoked the fires of perceived German superiority on the battlefield—in addition to a long-standing disdain for the French. War and nation set the stage for the cultivation of future generations. Lessons from primary school up to the Gymnasium (i.e., high school) level propagated a nationalist agenda. Von Stephanitz facilitated and fostered a young dog's drive to please its master, ultimately creating a bond between man and dog that reflected the love and loyalty German boys and girls developed for the "Fatherland," reinforcing the concept that German youth and dog were equally purpose-built.

From the 1840s and up until World War I, Germany reestablished its sense of national identity. Victory on the battlefield provided one example of progress. However, education served as a better way to ensure and preserve the German way of life. Molding the minds of future generations proved to work fairly well. Glorifying past victories through literature provided German society with titles such as Max Schneckenburger's patriotic poem *Watch on the Rhine* (1840), and

²⁴ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 138.

reinforced a distrust and hatred of the French. Literature is an efficient tool, mentally stimulating and influential. Molding the youth also included the numerous athletic and paramilitary associations available. Gymnastics, scouts, and military-style drills provided boys with the opportunity to train their minds and bodies. Such training was designed to keep young boys on the way to manhood physically and morally sound. Ultimately, scouting, paramilitary exercises, and gymnastics aimed to equip the German nation with generations of future soldiers that would be physically and mentally ready to serve and, if need be, die for the "Fatherland."

World War I served to ramp up the need for a nationalist curriculum in schools. Moreover, it encouraged boys and girls to prepare themselves. War pedagogy consumed the lessons taught in schools. Greek and Roman epics provided legendary narratives reinforcing masculinity and power. Alongside the glory commonly associated with warfare, classical epics romanticized battle and death. Students became aware of the power and nobility associated with dying for their nation and viewed it as a noble sacrifice for the "Fatherland." Educational change proposed by Prussian leadership aimed at removing Greek and Roman epics from the Gymnasium's curriculum. In 1890, Kaiser Wilhelm II suggested replacing the classic epics with strictly German stories and legends. The Kaiser argued: "We should raise national young Germans, not young Greeks and Romans."²⁵ A resurgence of German folk stories ranging from fairy tales to exotic colonial expeditions in German Africa, Asia, and the Pacific consumed the minds of young students. Lessons reinforced concepts of racial purity, war, and German racial superiority. In spite of the proposed change to the Gymnasium's curriculum, Greek and Roman classics proved to encourage and instill a warrior spirit among German boys. Andrew Donson's *Youth in the Fatherless Land* (2010) references German army volunteers fresh from the Gymnasium: "In November 1914, hundreds of schoolboys, volunteers fresh out of the classical Gymnasium, allegedly marched into French machine gun fire, to their deaths singing Deutschland, Deutschland über alles."²⁶—a romantic and glorifying example of sacrifice and service, however, a terrifying reality of the power of nationalist rhetoric and an education system fostering its growth.

Similarly, dogs were placed in service of their masters. Max von Stephanitz argued that early training of puppies was paramount to achieving trust and loyalty between a dog and its master. He claimed:

an obedience which is joyful and always willing, founded on love for the master, and as such, (as we have already seen) founded on the satisfaction of a natural craving, which therefore must be consolidated by a wise training from puppyhood.²⁷

²⁵ Andrew Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land: War Pedagogy, Nationalism, and Authority in Germany, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 46.

²⁶ Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, 63.

²⁷ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 572-573.

Not unlike the training of boys and girls, the recognition of a larger goal is noted. Similar goals are evident in the teaching of children and the training of dogs. Both kids and dogs trained to serve the nation:

[W]ith such a dog every thing is possible later on, for joy in work is combined with its accomplishments. This, as the outpouring of the power accumulated in the dog, is the result of sound nerves and a serviceable body build; and here again it is a matter of breeding, and training both directed to a special purpose with a definite goal in view.²⁸

Education and training within the scope of nation and war make choosing nation over oneself a simple decision. Nation for a human and master for a dog are the same. Von Stephanitz claims selfishness is a natural part of both human and animal life. He refers to the importance of training and the end goal of removing selfishness from the equation in terms of the nation and master:

The dog must seek for, and find the fullest satisfaction of his self-seeking in his master, because he gives him protection, shelter and food. We describe the expression of this primeval self-seeking as love for his master [...].²⁹

The example he provides sheds light on the dynamic between self and master/nation. Human selfless devotion to country resembles the devotion of a dog to his master. Militarism woven into day-to-day activities highlights the process in which boys shed their individual differences en route to becoming selfless agents of the nation. German values and romanticized notions of war made it possible for young men to serve unquestionably, to their deaths in some instances. Examples of unquestionable service include song lyrics referencing the surplus of young minds, such as *German Army, You Fountain of Youth*: "The German army's powerful brawn, / England's hordes of false mercenaries / and all foreign people / have to bow to German strength."³⁰ Another example of song lyrics conveying strength and superiority is *We are the Youth Company*: "Yes, we are German / Want to be German forever / always tried and true / Fatherland, we are yours only; / When we get the call, then we are there. / Our life belongs to you."³¹ The concept of selfless service was instilled in young boys to oblige the nation. Another example of sacrifice provided by von Stephanitz reflects the dog's fidelity and unquestionable loyalty; here, von Stephanitz is quoting E. Schlaiker:

I know no animal which, in its sentiments and sympathies, is as tender and intimate as the dog, or one whose moral characteristics are so strongly developed that one must in this respect indeed rank him higher than humanity. There are few among us who can surpass him in fidelity and unconditional readiness to sacrifice himself.³²

²⁸ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 573.

²⁹ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 575-576.

³⁰ Quoted in Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, 122.

³¹ Quoted in Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, 122.

³² Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 201.

Training and reinforcing identity in youth is no different from the training of a dog to serve a master. It is no stretch conclude that these examples best represent the idea of nation and master, as constructs are easily interchangeable. However, one obvious difference is that the life span of a dog compared to its human counterpart is shorter. Therefore, one can see the visible progress a dog makes at a faster rate. Twenty-four months of training a dog from puppyhood to adult dog provided Germany with a ready and eager canine war machine. Max von Stephanitz's German Shepherd Dogs, to his delight, gained international acclaim for their service as war dogs utilized in World War I.

V. War Dogs

Prior to World War I, advances in technology such as reconnaissance airplanes, wireless telegraph, and the telephone had replaced the dog as a carrier of information during wartime campaigns. German Shepherd Dogs obtained their training in German colonies and were utilized as police and guard dogs. Von Stephanitz's dogs, among others used in the colonies, successfully adapted to the extreme climates of Africa and the Pacific. However, von Stephanitz claims the dogs could not meet their potential due to inexperienced trainers in the colonies. Von Stephanitz realized the war presented an opportunity for the employment of the breed in the service of the nation. Dogs took on roles such as message carriers, sentries, and Ambulance Corps assistants. The dogs gained a quick reputation for their intelligence, bravery, and loyalty.

"Ever since Prussia and later a unified Germany emerged as one of continental Europe's foremost military powers,"³³ the German soldier and dog in combination represented a fighting force of legendary status. The latter years of the nineteenth century produced a military known for its organization and efficiency. The German military, despite the outcome of World War I, proved to endure well into the twentieth century. The war dog, like his soldier counterpart, served bravely without question. Examples of success included an improved message delivery system and the safe rescue and return of injured soldiers. The change in battle tactics, specifically trench warfare, proved difficult and deadly for soldiers delivering messages. Machine gun fire, mortar, and cannon explosions left the terrain uneven and pitted. Shelling the terrain resulted in damaged communication lines previously buried in the ground. In addition to mechanized communication, thick smoke from poison gas and artillery impaired a soldier's vision, breaking down the ability to communicate through heliograph and flag signal. Rough terrain, as well as lost mechanical and hand communication, caused military leadership to utilize dogs as message runners.

The army employed pigeons as a delivery system but found them to be inefficient due to weather and time conditions. The dog proved itself a versatile

³³ David Stone, *The Kaiser's Army: The German Army in World War One* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 17.

tool and overall better suited to the environment. Soldiers tasked with delivering messages had to face rugged terrain, and barbed wire fencing, as well as machine gun and artillery fire. These obstacles slowed them down and in numerous instances killed them. The dog moved quickly between destinations and presented the enemy with a much smaller and agile target. Von Stephanitz claims the average soldier needed up to one hour to cover the distance of one kilometer, compared to the average time of three to seven minutes per kilometer covered by dogs.³⁴ Dogs adapted and worked under the conditions of war. They effectively managed their ability to work in extreme weather conditions, resulting in faster delivery times. Heavy machine gun and artillery explosions did not serve as distractions. Dogs performed their duties to the best of their abilities. According to von Stephanitz, "many dogs died through fidelity to the fulfilment of their duty."³⁵ Several dogs and soldiers who were wounded continued their duties. Examples of bravery include a reference to a German Shepherd Dog in the French town of Peronne: "[he] lost his off hind leg near Peronne; he could only run his message slowly on three legs, but he fulfilled his duty, and dropped dead."³⁶ Dogs exceeded expectations as effective message carriers. Dogs were also employed for other tasks, including pest control: they instinctively made themselves useful killing off rodent infestations throughout the German trenches. However, the dogs also served a bigger purpose, namely assisting and attending to injured soldiers.

Ambulance dogs searched for and rescued wounded soldiers during and after battle. The German Ambulance Corps and Red Cross became the first to utilize the working dog during war. Dogs in the medical field in Germany date back to the late 1890s, The German Society for Ambulance Dogs, founded in 1893, realized the need for a group of trained dogs pertaining to medical casualties on and off the battlefield. However, prior to any interaction with the Society for the German Shepherd Dog, the ambulance society remained content utilizing the Scotch Collie. The Society for the German Shepherd Dog (SV) promoted the use of dogs in the ambulance service at the start of the war in 1914. The Society employed specific training and testing of a dog's efficiency in the tracking and rescuing of wounded soldiers. The SV kept deployable dogs at the Ambulance Corps' disposal. The German war office utilized the SV as a contract organization responsible for the keeping and training of German Shepherd Dogs for eventual use in battle and ambulance operations.

Trench warfare did not provide sufficient opportunities for these dogs due to cramped conditions. They required open advancement. Ambulance dogs were used on the eastern and southeastern fronts. According to von Stephanitz,

³⁴ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 349.

³⁵ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 349.

³⁶ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 350.

[i]t is not yet known, and probably never will be, how many thousands of wounded owe them [i.e., these dogs] their lives and their restoration to health, but the future of the Ambulance dog with the Army is now everywhere assured.³⁷

German Shepherd Dogs served the "Fatherland" loyally and bravely, in many cases sacrificing themselves for the lives of their masters.

VI. The Bark Heard around the World

The German Shepherd Dog achieved global notoriety as soldiers returned from the war. Soldiers told stories of the dogs' bravery and intelligence. U.S. soldiers took a keen interest in the breed, soldiers managed to bring a few dogs home, and their popularity spread like wildfire throughout the United States. The dogs brought into the United States by returning GIs began to serve alongside police officers nationwide. However, the breed in the United States felt the harsh impact of American consumer culture. Novice breeders and pet shop owners began breeding these dogs at an alarming rate, producing thousands of dogs cleverly advertised as German police dogs. American breeding did not adhere to the strict selection and breeding guidelines established by von Stephanitz. Many American breeders and dog enthusiasts believed that von Stephanitz's strict guidelines regarding breeding standards, care procedures, and training took a back seat to his racial ideology.

British and American attitudes following World War I reflected a widespread anti-German sentiment. The result of the war and Treaty of Versailles deeply affected the country. Germany was ordered to pay war reparations and accept the shame of war guilt internationally. Unfortunately, the German Shepherd Dog felt the blow as well, yet dog enthusiasts, breeders, and service outlets such as the police and the military kept the breed employed. The dog's ability to work surpassed the feelings of resentment toward Germany as a country. However, the dog's did suffer a number of name changes throughout western Europe and the United States. Britain chose to remove "German" from the dog's title and completely renamed the breed the "Alsatian" Dog. Britons continue to call the German Shepherd Dog the Alsatian Dog. The American Kennel Club removed "German" from its official registry shortly after the war, and the official registration of the breed titled the dog simply as the shepherd dog. Meanwhile, the German Shepherd Dog found its biggest fan base via the silver screen.

Two German Shepherd Dogs revolutionized film and exemplified their intelligence and working ability to audiences across the nation. Strong Heart and Rin Tin Tin captured the imagination of young boys and girls. The two dogs became Hollywood's first mega stars. According to the German Shepherd Club of America, Strong Heart received up to 10,000 fan letters a week, and Rin Tin Tin earned \$2.5 million during his career as a movie star. Unfortunately, the popularity played a role in mass breeding programs, ultimately producing

³⁷ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 357.

poorly bred dogs. The dogs bred in the United States were mediocre versions of their German ancestors. They displayed the correct look, but little to no working ability. The result of poor breeding directly contradicted von Stephanitz's vision of a perfect working dog and proved his theory regarding racial degeneration. Most dogs of American breeding programs suffered from conditions such as arthritis and early-onset hip-dysplasia, all a result of bad breeding.

Outside the United States, the breed's popularity grew out of its display on the battlefield. Von Stephanitz refers to the breed's introduction into neighboring Austria prior to the start of the war:

The taste for our highly bred German Shepherd dog, which had already been widely introduced into Austria before the war, had made important progress during the War, thanks to the splendid services they rendered the various armies. There has been a demand for our race on the other side of the frontier since 1912 [...].³⁸

Countries like Denmark, Finland, Russia, Czechoslovakia (since 1918), and Holland employed the German Shepherd Dog as a service dog in police and security work. However, von Stephanitz credits Dutch and Belgian breeders with the breeding of their own efficient lines of shepherd dogs. The German Shepherd Dog with regard to warfare has seen action in every theater of war since World War I, and has been serving alongside armies and police forces across the globe.

Conclusion

The German Shepherd Dog stands as a symbol of German unity, efficiency, loyalty, bravery, and strength. The breed surpassed its initial job of simply herding sheep on farms throughout Germany. The dogs' efficiency led German leadership to adopt the breed as a definite symbol of German military power alongside the German soldier. German Shepherd Dogs were raised and trained to defend their masters to the end, just as German soldiers were willing to die for the "Fatherland" on the battlefield.

The establishment of the breed confirms that a shared racial ideology prevailed throughout German society. Key factors, including military glory, concepts of the "Volk," modern technology, and colonial expansion served to push Germany toward national exclusiveness. The establishment of the German Shepherd Dog coincided with a nationalist agenda. The German Shepherd Dog represents a German path toward modernity, military superiority, economic, social, and alleged racial superiority. The German Shepherd Dog remains a symbol of German efficiency through its display of character, obedience, intelligence, and loyalty to its family. However, the breed serves as a stark reminder of concepts and ideologies that put the German nation on a special path that led to its mid-twentieth-century downfall.

The concepts of nation building and nationalistic ideology influenced every facet of life in Germany. Politics, the economy, society, and the military all

³⁸ Von Stephanitz, *German Shepherd Dog*, 164.

operated within a nationalist framework. This national framework affected change, and it shaped the way everyday Germans viewed themselves among others.

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Luis Roberto Renteria III

George Gershwin's "Summertime" (1935):
A Cultural Anthem of Twentieth-Century America

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the origins and twentieth-century legacy of George Gershwin's "Summertime" from his Opera *Porgy and Bess*. On the basis of newspaper articles and essays on Gershwin, as well as several renditions of "Summertime" by American artists, the author argues that the lullaby is a cultural anthem because it reflects American society as it adapts to cultural change via different musical genres.

KEYWORDS: twentieth century; New York; California; George Gershwin; DuBose Heyward; *Porgy and Bess*; Billie Holiday; *Summertime*; *American Dream*; Blues

Introduction

From New York City's Alvin Theater with its dusty curtains to a garage in Long Beach, California, American artists have sung the lullaby "Summertime."¹ The Jewish composer George Gershwin (1898-1937) wrote the music, while the American writer DuBose Heyward (1885-1940) penned the lyrics. It was originally a number in Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*, America's first opera, which opened at the Alvin Theater on October 10, 1935. Abbie Mitchell (1884-1960), a soprano of both African American and Jewish German heritage, was the first performer to play the part of Clara and to sing "Summertime," while the second performer to sing it was Anne Brown (1912-2009) who played Bess in the same opera. The characters of Clara and Bess stand in contrast to each other. Clara is a kind, loving wife and mother who sings "Summertime" to her baby, while Bess is a drug addict who prostitutes herself for her addiction. The main character, Porgy, is a crippled man who falls in love with Bess, and he realizes her complex vices. Gershwin himself identified with the characters from his opera. In 1926, he had read Heyward's *Porgy*, a novel about an imagined black community called Catfish Row, and it became his inspiration for an all-black-cast opera. However, the public did not receive Gershwin's opera well: it saw the all-black cast as a "racist" gesture. In reality, Gershwin's idea was remarkably progressive for its time. In the late nineteenth century, Jews from eastern Europe were migrating to the northern American states, as were African Americans from the South because of issues pertaining to Reconstruction. Black migration occurred partly due to economic and political causes that were beyond the control of the migrants. Moreover, African Americans and Jews began to develop a special relationship because popular belief saw them as "others" in American society.²

¹ Abbie Mitchell [soprano], original opera vocal performance/rehearsal recording of "Summertime," by George Gershwin, Ira Gershwin, and DuBose Heyward, recorded July 19, 1935/released 1974; Sublime [ska group], "Doin' Time," vocal and cover performance of "Summertime" (album: *Sublime*), recorded 1996/released November 25, 1997.

² Frank Durham, *DuBose Heyward: The Man Who Wrote Porgy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1956), 119-128; Farah Jasmine Griffin, *"Who Set you Flowin'?: The African-*

An early document for the topic of this article is a newspaper article from *The New York Times*, a review of *Porgy and Bess* written by music critic Olin Downes (1886-1955) the day after the 1935 preview. His review underscores the basic intent of this article that "Summertime" has a characterization quality to it. According to Downes, "Clara's lullaby 'Summer Time' sets early a melodic pace that is fairly maintained in the lyrical moments of the [music] score."³ The vocal score of *Porgy and Bess* acts as a reference point because it harbors both Heyward's and Gershwin's original ideas of the lyrics and the music.⁴ Furthermore, the score is used as a source here to understand how different artists have changed "Summertime" in their performances. For this article, I have selected renditions that underscore the song's historical significance, primarily by jazz and rock artists. Abbie Mitchell's original version (1935) and the cover of it by the ska group Sublime from Long Beach, California (1996), serve as bookends. Renditions by Billie Holiday (1936), Miles Davis (1959), Nina Simone (1959), Janis Joplin (1968), as well as Jim Morrison and The Doors (1970) mirror the song's chronological development. The versions of these artists return to the characters – Clara, Bess, or Porgy – and in some cases to Heyward or Gershwin.⁵

Scholarship used in this article discusses the lives of the creators of "Summertime," such as Frank Durham's book on the origins of *Porgy* (1956) and a biography of Gershwin by Howard Pollack (2006).⁶ The monograph, *On My*

American Migration Narrative (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 18; Jeffrey Melnick, *A Right to Sing the Blues: African Americans, Jews, and America Popular Song* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 30, 62; Ray Allen, "An American Folk Opera? Triangulating Folkness, Blackness, and Americanness in Gershwin and Heyward's 'Porgy and Bess,'" *Journal of American Folklore* 117, no. 465 (Summer 2004): 243-261, here 246; Larry Starr, *George Gershwin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 123, 143-144.

³ Olin Downes, "Exotic Richness of Negro Music and Color of Charleston, S.C., Admirably Conveyed in Score of Catfish Row Tragedy," *New York Times*, October 11, 1935.

⁴ George and Ira Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score* (New York: Gershwin Publishing Corp., 1935; multiple reprints).

⁵ Abbie Mitchell, "Summertime," recorded July 19, 1935/released 1974; Sublime, "Doin' Time," recorded 1996/released November 25, 1997; Billie Holiday [singer], vocal performance/studio recording of "Summertime" (single), recorded July 10, 1936/released 1936 on Vocalion Records 3288; Miles Davis [trumpeter], trumpet solo and ensemble performance/studio recording of "Summertime" (album: *Porgy and Bess*), arrangement by Gil Evans, recorded between July 22 and August 18, 1958/released March 9, 1959, on Columbia Records CL 1274; Nina Simone [singer], vocal performance/live recording of "Summertime" (album: *Nina Simone at Town Hall*), recorded September 15, 1959/released 1959 on Colpix Records SCP 409; Janis Joplin [singer], vocal performance/live recording of "Summertime" (album: *Live at Winterland '68*), recorded April 12-13, 1968/released June 2, 1998, on Columbia Legacy Records CK 64869; The Doors [rock band], vocal performance/live recording of "Summertime" (album: *Live in Boston*), recorded April 10, 1970/released July 24, 2007, on Bright Midnight Records 8122799790.

⁶ Durham, *DuBose Heyward*; Howard Pollack, *George Gershwin: His Life and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

Way' by Joseph Horowitz (2013) recalls the backstory to Gershwin's opera.⁷ Ted Gioia's *The Jazz Standards* (2012) follows the lullaby's key reinterpretations in the genre of jazz (2012).⁸ Biographies of the artists who sang it offer a deeper interpretation of the lullaby because they explain who the artists were in a contextual sense.⁹ Cultural histories, including *The Cultural Front* by Michael Denning (1996) and *Dancing in the Dark* by Morris Dickstein (2009), emphasize the significance of *Porgy and Bess* and the career of Billie Holiday.¹⁰ More specific studies used here include three monographs: Farah Jasmine Griffin's *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Myth* (2001) proposes different views on the American perceptions of Billie Holiday, Nadya Zimmerman's *Counterculture Kaleidoscope* (2008) offers an analysis of the American singer Janis Joplin's interpretation of "Summertime," and Larry Starr's *George Gershwin* (2011) provides an analysis of Gershwin's style and the opera's deeper implications.¹¹ This article draws from Durham's and Horowitz's books for their insight on the opera's origin. Zimmerman's and Starr's analyses offer a basis to discuss the characterization of "Summertime" by other artists, but this article differs from their approach as it focuses more on the cultural significance of "Summertime" in the twentieth century.

This article's approach is interdisciplinary because of the lyrics, music, and the argumentative disposition of psychohistory and cultural history.¹² I argue that, in the process of historical difference, "Summertime" is more than a lullaby.

⁷ Joseph Horowitz, *"On My Way": The Untold Story of Rouben Mamoulian, George Gershwin, and Porgy and Bess* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013).

⁸ Ted Gioia, *The Jazz Standards: A Guide to the Repertoire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁹ Ian Carr, *Miles Davis: The Definitive Biography* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1998; first published 1982); Leslie Gourse, *Sassy: The Life of Sarah Vaughan* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993); Stuart Nicholson, *Ella Fitzgerald: The Complete Biography* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Elizabeth Nash, *Autobiographical Reminiscences of African-American Classical Singers 1853-Present: Introducing Their Spiritual Heritage into the Concert Repertoire* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007); David Brun-Lambert, *Nina Simone: The Biography* (London: Aurum Press, 2009); Ann Angel, *Janis Joplin: Rise Up Singing* (New York: Amulet Books, 2010).

¹⁰ Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1996); Morris Dickstein, *Dancing in the Dark: A Cultural History of the Great Depression* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009).

¹¹ Farah Jasmine Griffin, *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Mystery: In Search of Billie Holiday* (New York: The Free Press, 2001); Nadya Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope: Musical and Cultural Perspectives on Late Sixties San Francisco* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008); Starr, *George Gershwin*.

¹² Henry Leland Clarke, "Toward a Musical Periodization of Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9, no. 1 (1956): 25-30, here 29-30 and 25 (for the quote below), asserts that if one wants to study music's periodization, it ought to be done in an interdisciplinary approach, especially with social studies: "No detail of melody, rhythm, harmony, cadence, or medium applies to a complete period, or indeed to the complete works of any great composer. Nothing is constant. All art is in flux, full of contradictions and interpenetration." His claim demonstrates why "Summertime" is an example of this "flux," especially in American society.

It became a cultural anthem because of Gershwin's and Heyward's influences, Holiday's version (which birthed it as a cultural anthem), and the various reinterpretations of and identifications with "Summertime" in American history. "Cultural anthem" means a song that comes from a legacy, such as that of *Porgy and Bess*; and has been socially anthologized by various performers who have some sense of identity pertaining to the characters from or authors of that legacy. Musically, a cultural anthem features multiple renditions that adapt to different genres and styles. The method implemented here serves to exemplify "Summertime" as a cultural anthem because many of the artists who performed it showed human behavior or complexities that resembled Clara, Bess, or Porgy and, in some instances, Heyward or Gershwin. This article takes into consideration the obvious race-and-gender themes of twentieth-century American society. Moreover, though, this cultural anthem's development showcases an intergenerational element that transcendently breaks those social bounds. "Summertime" originated in *Porgy and Bess* and exemplifies the diversity of American society in 1935, yet the lullaby continues to remind American society of its diversity from generation to generation. "Summertime" is a cultural anthem of hope.

I. "Summertime" in 1935

The music and lyrics of "Summertime" were not written at the same time. Gershwin wrote the music in 1933, and Heyward wrote the words later, in 1934-1935,¹³ and subsequently adapted them to the Gullah dialect (i.e., the language of African Americans in the Southern Lowcountry). This accentuates the "otherness" of "Summertime," and Gershwin remarked that this dialect resembled the Yiddish language which he and his brother Ira spoke.¹⁴ According to Dickstein, *Porgy and Bess* received mixed views in 1935: "[f]ew would have predicted that a far less typical Broadway musical, the Gershwins' 'folk opera' *Porgy and Bess*, would eventually become one of the most beloved and durable works of the century."¹⁵ Therefore, the lullaby's origin became timeless, yet it would take on a life of its own after its first performances.

Heyward's personal life offers a clue as to the origins of the lyrics. He was born on April 31, 1885, in Charleston, South Carolina, where the summers were hot and humid, to a plantation family during the Reconstruction era. He received a private education and began writing poetry as a young child. In fact, his grandmother read to him the works of James Fenimore Cooper and Charles Dickens. More importantly, he grew up in a household that had black servants, and he admired their folk humor. Of even greater significance was the black

¹³ Durham, *DuBose Heyward*, 123; William G. Hyland, *George Gershwin: A New Biography* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 164.

¹⁴ Horowitz, *On My Way*, 162.

¹⁵ Dickstein, *Dancing in the Dark*, 465.

"Mauma" who was a loved and feared mother figure in his household. As a young boy, Heyward developed a taste for making money, working for Charleston's *Evening Post*. In 1917, due to health issues, he traveled to Tryon, North Carolina, where the artist Louis Rowell (1873-1928) encouraged him to paint, and he embraced the state's landscape of mountains and trees, yet he learned that painting was not his choice of art. He would rather write.¹⁶

Heyward's childhood and personal life give insight into the lyrics of "Summertime." He had a rather pleasant childhood, and his family noticed his natural talent. Both aspects are evident in the lyrics of the lullaby. For example, the opening lines, "Summertime an' the livin' is easy, / Fish are jumpin' an' the cotton is high," underscore that he grew up in an affluent household.¹⁷ The next lines reinforce this image: "Oh yo' daddy's rich, an' yo' ma is good lookin, so hush, little baby, don' yo' cry."¹⁸ They reflect many aspects of his life: his desire to make money as a young boy, his love and respect for his various mother figures, and his need as a young child for affection. The final lines reflect a sense of hope: "One of the mornin's / you goin' to rise up singin' / Then you'll spread yo' wings / an' you'll take the sky. / But till that mornin' there's a nothin' can harm you / With Daddy an' Mammy standin' by."¹⁹ The interesting point here is that these words, in different settings, can take on new cultural meanings.

The lyrics reflect more than just Heyward's personal life: their imagery paints a vivid picture of the American Dream. Reconsider, the opening lines: "Summertime an' the living is easy. / Fish are jumpin' an' the cotton is high. / Yo' daddy's rich an yo' ma is good lookin' / So hush, little baby, don' yo' cry."²⁰ Firstly, Heyward depicts the imagery that America is a land of plenty, hence the references to cotton, fish, and rich father. One could also argue that he was nostalgic for his black mother figure, but the role of mother fixates more on gender. Further, he mentions both father and mother, so his lyrics suggest that he was fixating on the past generation which would raise the next one. Secondly, Hayward continues the idea that life in America is one of leisure and a place where the women are beautiful. Thirdly, he distinguishes both genders according to their roles in society: a man who can provide for his family and a woman who is worthy of that man because of her looks. Lastly, the combination of imagery and lyrics do more than merely stress America's ideal of family life. Dickstein notes that the Great Depression was a "betrayal" of the American Dream and life and hindered these ideals because it compromised the economic situation. He asserts, too, that during the 1930s, the populace was challenging the idea of the "American Dream" because the Great Depression was much worse

¹⁶ Durham, *DuBose Heyward*, 3-25.

¹⁷ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15.

¹⁸ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15.

¹⁹ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 16-17.

²⁰ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15.

and had a "psychological impact."²¹ In other words, the lyrics speak of a time to which one cannot return. More importantly, the original context of these lyrics is Clara singing to her child. In one sense, she insists that her child can hope and long for this American Dream. However, American artists have made their changes to the song, and that has significantly altered the cultural meaning of "Summertime," even though Gershwin had intended it to be an operatic lullaby.

Many European music composers, among them Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Franz Schubert, and Igor Stravinsky, had an impact on Gershwin. On January 6, 1927, in the *Montreal Daily Star*, Gershwin stated: "My idea of music is [Johann Sebastian] Bach, [Richard] Wagner, [Ludwig van] Beethoven, and [Claude] Debussy."²² Concerning "Summertime," the three most "relevant" composers from his statement are Bach, Wagner, and Debussy. Wagner is known for his operas, and "opera" is the original context of "Summertime."²³ The song also emulates Debussy's impressionistic and romantic composition style: one piece that has a similar dreamlike and lullaby quality is Debussy's "Reverie," written in 1890.²⁴ Bach's influence would reveal itself in later versions of "Summertime." Thus, "Summertime" is like a fragmented thought because these three composers influenced its genesis. Musicologist Larry Starr has emphasized that Gershwin was a composer of both the theater and the concert hall, and his unique style included the use of blue notes, melodies, harmonies, and syncopated rhythms.²⁵

On the performance level, the rhythms and harmonies of "Summertime" are elementary. The first chord progression (harmony) consists of two chords that, in the rhythm, move back and forth. With this, Gershwin built a swaying motion effect, like a meandering river. The progression and rhythm capture more than a meandering river, though: they create a texture of humidity and heat. The blue notes are in the chords of this song, not its melody; hence, without the chords and their placement in the rhythm there would be no blue feel or style to "Summertime." The melody's notes move in two simple ways, namely in small leaps and stepwise motions.²⁶ The significance of this progression and rhythm is that they give "Summertime" its lullaby and dreamlike feel. The blue notes in the chords and the melody's simplicity are why jazz musicians are drawn to this

²¹ Dickstein, *Dancing in the Dark*, 7, 219.

²² George Gershwin, "Jazz to Survive Says Gershwin," *Montreal Daily Star*, January 6, 1927, quoted in Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 136, 731.

²³ Gioia, *Jazz Standards*, 411, notes that the main chords in "Summertime" are from Richard Wagner's "Tristan Chord" (F, B, D# and G#).

²⁴ Claude Debussy, "Reverie," in *Claude Debussy: Selected Works for the Piano*, ed. Joseph Prostakoff, vol. 1813 (New York: G. Schirmer, 1962), 13-17.

²⁵ Farah Jasmine Griffin, *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Mystery: In Search of Billie Holiday* (New York: The Free Press, 2001); Nadya Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope: Musical and Cultural Perspectives on Late Sixties San Francisco* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008); Starr, *George Gershwin*.

²⁶ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17.

song: they allow them to improvise freely and build their own characterization of this lullaby. The blue notes are the binding factor that led to the cultural anthem's later versions because many of its artists employ styles that use them.

In the opera, the character Clara sings "Summertime" to lull her baby to sleep. Abbie Mitchell was the first performer to sing the song. Mitchell grew up in New York, and she was a talented soprano. In 1897, she began taking voice lessons with the African American baritone and composer Harry Burleigh (1866-1949), and before the outbreak of World War I she studied in Paris.²⁷ Mitchell's performance is the original, and it captures Gershwin's idea of "folk opera." Her performance begins in a fast tempo, with troublesome clarinet arpeggios, then, the strings come in and transition to a slower tempo that captures the meandering-river motion. As she begins to sing, her voice instantly contrasts with the strings because they have a dark tonality from the chords, while her voice brightly hovers above them, as if she is setting the sun for her baby. Mitchell's classical background and Gershwin's intention of "folk opera" combine to create a vocal tonality that has a haunting quality and drifts away as the song ends.²⁸ The vibrato technique she used is questionable, and Horowitz has commented that she rolled her "r" because of her training in Paris.²⁹ However, all this may have been a combination of her technique and Gershwin's compositional intentions. Unlike subsequent performers of "Summertime," Mitchell was constrained by the style Gershwin wanted for the opera's scene.

Initially, "Summertime" was a simple lullaby that created a dreamlike aura in both its lyrical and musical expression. The question then arises why it turned into a jazz standard, a rock song, and ultimately a cultural anthem. Dickstein indicates that reviewers were critical of Gershwin's opera because of its racial implications, noting that one critic, Virgil Thomson, saw the opera as "lowbrow," meaning beneath true opera.³⁰ Thomson had stated: "Gershwin does not even know what an opera is [...] and yet *Porgy and Bess* is opera, and it has power and vigor [...] With a libretto that should never have been accepted on a subject that should have never been chosen, a man who should have never attempted it has written a work that has considerable power."³¹ Thus, Thomson suggests partly why "Summertime" became a cultural anthem, namely because it came from a man and an opera that had power—something that is underscored by the

²⁷ Nash, *Autobiographical Reminiscences*, 132.

²⁸ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17; Abbie Mitchell, "Summertime," recorded July 19, 1935/released 1974.

²⁹ Horowitz, *On My Way*, 126-127.

³⁰ Dickstein, *Dancing in the Dark*, 465.

³¹ Virgil Thomson, "George Gershwin," in *A Virgil Thomson Reader*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981), 25.

lullaby's lyrics: "One of the mornin's / you goin' to rise up singin' / Then you'll spread yo' wings / an' you'll take the sky."³²

Dickstein writes that Gershwin was a multicultural composer who created an "American idiom" because music is a language.³³ Hence, his opera reminded American society of its diversity in 1935. Another aspect of this can be seen in Olin Downes's comment that "Clara's lullaby 'Summer Time,' sets early a melodic pace that is fairly maintained in the lyrical moments of the [music] score."³⁴ In this sense, "Summertime" remained tied to Clara, not Mitchell, because Downes did not mention Mitchell's name as a performer in the opera. Downes's comment explains why the song has allowed artists throughout time to establish their character in the song from one generation to the next. His early review facilitated the lullaby's removal from its historical context and set it on a trajectory of historical difference.

II. *The Birth of a Cultural Anthem: Billie Holiday's 1936 Recording*

Critics like Thomson had taken offense at the racial implication of *Porgy and Bess*. The African American composer Duke Ellington (1899-1974) had his own opinion of Gershwin's opera. According to William Hyland, Ellington stated in an interview in 1935 that *Porgy and Bess* and its fictitious community of Catfish Row lacked the "Negro Idiom" due to Gershwin's musical influences.³⁵ This may very well be the reason, though, why both black and white artists began to record the opera's music. Jazz singer Billie Holiday (1915-1959) had worked with Ellington on his 1935 musical short *Symphony in Black*, and she had been influenced by Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith who belonged to an earlier generation of African American music artists. During the Great Depression, the radio offered an emotional escape, and Holiday recorded "Summertime" on July 10, 1936, making it one of her first blue numbers. Incidentally, one year and one day later, on July 11, 1937, Gershwin passed away. Griffin suggests that Ellington is one of the reasons why Holiday has been portrayed as an abused woman.³⁶ In the history of the lullaby, Holiday's gender identity is the prevalent aspect that illustrates "Summertime" as a cultural anthem because her version is the starting point of it becoming socially anthologized. If anything, Holiday—as a female character of American culture—reinforced the significance of the blue notes that the next generation would sing.

³² Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 16-17.

³³ Dickstein, *Dancing in the Dark*, 467.

³⁴ Downes, "Exotic Richness of Negro Music."

³⁵ Hyland, *George Gershwin*, 173.

³⁶ Denning, *Cultural Front*, 323; Griffin, *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Mystery*, 17, 29; Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 19, 215; Dickstein, *Dancing in the Dark*, 233; Ece Goksu, "An Analytical Look at Selected Billie Holiday Compositions and Their Lyrics" (M.M. thesis, William Paterson University of New Jersey, 2009), 23.

Like Mitchell, Holiday did not change any of the lyrics. She merely sang them as Heyward had written them; in fact, she sang them as if hinting at the Gullah dialect. Her style and music are the two notable aspects of her interpretation. Her arrangement includes woodwinds, brass instruments, a drum set, the piano, and the double bass. Her tempo is a slightly faster pace than "andante."³⁷ This pace allowed her rhythm to build more anticipation, and it enabled her drummer to build a rumbling effect to the beat, which was important for Holiday's improvising style as she usually sang the melody one-sixteenth of a beat behind the band.³⁸ From the first downbeat of her version, the clarinet begins with a blue shrill that cues in the drums, and then her voice enters with its blue, rural, and chromatic passing notes.³⁹ She reveals "Summertime" as she carries the operatic feel from the long notes, and the woodwinds and the brass are a contrast to her long notes as they arpeggiate the chords. The drums, double bass, and piano combine to give the song a feel as if Holiday is following train tracks that take her away—from the imagined community of Catfish Row, leaving the folk world behind—to the "Empire State."⁴⁰ She captures a mood of nostalgia, yet of hope when she sings "With daddy and mammy standin' by."⁴¹ Then the clarinet gives a blue solo that has a questioning phrasing, and the brass answers its question. Holiday's version of "Summertime" would become essential to her career.

American society associates Holiday with a much different song than "Summertime." Typically, Americans identify her with "Strange Fruit."⁴² This song's lyrics describe America's issue of racial lynching during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. According to Dawn Bates, Holiday was politically conscious and socially aware, which suggests that she was a symbol of changing values.⁴³ Bates demonstrates that the genre of jazz was important to American listeners: "With its beautiful phrasing, rhythmic tensions, tonal complexities, and compelling vocal, the music of Jazz can express passion, anger, love, longing, and protest."⁴⁴ Bates argues that one of Holiday's most significant contributions to black society and the nation "was her ability to innovatively link jazz music to social and political protest in America."⁴⁵ Bates's argument refers to

³⁷ "Andante" means "at a walking pace."

³⁸ Goksu, "Analytical Look at Selected Billie Holiday Compositions," 23.

³⁹ Goksu, "Analytical Look at Selected Billie Holiday Compositions," 22.

⁴⁰ "Empire State" refers to New York.

⁴¹ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17; Billie Holiday, "Summertime," recorded July 10, 1936/released 1936 on Vocalion Records 3288.

⁴² Billie Holiday, vocal performance/studio recording of "Strange Fruit" (single), by Abel Meeropol, recorded April 20, 1939/released 1939 on Commodore Records C-526.

⁴³ Dawn-Wisteria Bates, "Race Woman: The Political Consciousness Billie Holiday" (M.A. thesis, Sarah Lawrence College, 2001), 30-39.

⁴⁴ Bates, "Race Woman," 27.

⁴⁵ Bates, "Race Woman," 40.

Billie Holiday, not Elenora Fagan (her legal name), who developed the character Billie Holiday.⁴⁶ Historian Michael Denning suggests that "Strange Fruit" was a torch song, in other words, during the performance the light would be centered on Holiday.⁴⁷ The relationship between the two songs is that both have cultural imagery of the twentieth-century American South, be it cotton or lynching. Therefore, "Summertime" allowed Holiday to set her stage for her cultural contribution of "Strange Fruit" because both songs lived in this political artist. After all, what good is a torch song without cotton to burn?

Holiday's identity includes both Bess and Clara. Her representation in American media is that of an abused drug-addict woman, arrested for this behavior in 1947, who served over nine months of her sentence. Further, her use of drugs took her life in July 1959.⁴⁸ In this sense, Holiday's identity returned to Bess who was similar in nature, but Holiday was a real woman and Bess merely a character. Ted Gioia states that Holiday's rendition of "Summertime" was one of the memorable versions from the 1930s. After the American Federation of Musicians' strike from 1942 to 1944, Holiday's clarinetist Artie Shaw, who had played on the 1936 recording, "revived" the lullaby.⁴⁹ So, in this sense, Holiday is the mother of a cultural anthem because she and Gershwin left later generations a song of hope. Her identity and behavior resemble Clara who sang to her child; hence, Holiday birthed a cultural anthem of hope.

On July 14, 1940, a concert featuring various performers honored the late George Gershwin who had passed three years earlier. There was an audience of more than 20,000. From the cast of *Porgy and Bess*, Ash Duncan (Porgy) and Anne Brown (Bess) performed excerpts from the opera, and *New York Times* critic Olin Downes reported that "Miss Brown was interrupted by a burst of applause after [the] singing of 'Summertime'."⁵⁰ This event demonstrates that Brown carried on the portrayal of Bess in the lullaby's social anthology. Three years later, in 1943, Duke Ellington performed "Summertime" at Carnegie Hall, and it became part of his repertoire.⁵¹ Nonetheless, the credit for launching the lullaby's social anthology belongs to Billie Holiday because she did not just cover the song: she was artistically innovative among her contemporaries, and—in keeping with the principle of historical difference—many of them followed their cultural mother to reprise the lullaby yet again. Holiday and Gershwin together, the black

⁴⁶ Billie Holiday and William Duffy, *Lady Sings the Blues: 50th Anniversary Edition* (New York: Harlem Moon, 2006; first published 1956), 120-121.

⁴⁷ Denning, *Cultural Front*, 324, 327-328.

⁴⁸ Griffin, *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Mystery*, 26-27.

⁴⁹ Gioia, *Jazz Standards*, 411-412.

⁵⁰ Olin Downes, "Stadium Concert Honors Gershwin: Oscar Levant, Pianist, Plays Concerto in F at Annual Memorial Program, Eva Jessye Choir sings, 'Porgy and Bess' Selections Are Presented by Ann Brown and Todd Duncan, Interpretation Praised, 'Porgy and Bess' Excerpts," *New York Times*, July 14, 1940.

⁵¹ Gioia, *Jazz Standards*, 412.

woman and the Jewish composer, would remind American society for generations of its diversity because of the blue notes.

III. Jazz and Nina Simone: The Hurricane of "Summertime"

After World War II, the rise of suburbia began to blur the notion of "folk opera." During the 1950s and 1960s, rural and urban cultures began to blend. According to Iain Anderson and Ruth Feldstein, this was the starting point of the "resurgence" of jazz, partly because of television and suburban culture; the civil rights movement got traction, especially after the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) in which the Supreme Court ruled racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional; and, between 1956 to 1959, black women began a "new generation" of entertainment which facilitated both individual and collective consciousness.⁵² Ted Gioia points out that, during the 1950s and 1960s, "more than 400 jazz cover versions of 'Summertime' were recorded."⁵³ Hence, this decade reveals the black jazz artists who socially anthologized the cultural anthem again, but in the context of the rise of the civil rights movement. The renditions of Sarah Vaughan, Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Armstrong, Miles Davis, and Nina Simone are representative examples of this "hurricane," because they transcend generations and identity complexities.

In 1950, the double bass plucked away with an eighth-beat drive, setting the tempo for Sarah Vaughan (1924-1990) to wistfully launch into the long notes of "Summertime." Vaughan did not change Heyward's lyrics. Singing them as they are, her alto voice is chthonic and powerful as if it represents the deep roots of the cotton. The woodwinds, strings, and trumpets create a textural contrast to one another as the harmony ascends and descends. Together, they create the blue hue of the Southern sky during the last days of August. The drums resemble the rise of suburban houses as they are planted row by row like a vast array of cotton fields. As she sings the lines "With Daddy an' Mammy standin' by / [pauses, deep breath] stand' by," her voice stretches and leaps as if it would break.⁵⁴ Vaughan's interpretation of "Summertime" in its essence invokes the hope that housing segregation would end. The irony of her singing of "Summertime" is that she was a heavy smoker, and lung cancer ended her career as a vocalist in the 1980s.⁵⁵ In this sense, her human behavior returned to the complex Bess, but Vaughan set the stage for the next generation of jazz performers in the 1950s.

On to 1957/1958. A French horn picks up the beat and buzzes the melodic notes of "Summertime," while the strings enter, resembling the "folk opera" that

⁵² Iain Anderson, *This Is Our Music: Free Jazz, the Sixties, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 12-13; Ruth Feldstein, *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 22-23.

⁵³ Gioia, *Jazz Standards*, 412.

⁵⁴ Sarah Vaughan [singer], vocal performance/studio recording of "Summertime" (album: *After Hours*), recorded 1950, released 1955 on Columbia Records CL 660.

⁵⁵ Gourse, *Sassy: The Life of Sarah Vaughan*, 231-232.

Gershwin had intended, almost setting the mood for Mitchell or Brown to perform. However, instead of hearing an operatic voice, Louis Armstrong (1901-1971) improvises the first verse on his trumpet, so melodic and free that the listener does not need the lyrics to recognize the tune. After his introduction, "the first lady of song," Ella Fitzgerald (1917-1996), sings the first verse, and her voice is a striking contrast to Armstrong's freestyle. At steady moving tempo, the strings begin to rise and capture the setting sun. His voice enters to sing the second verse, while a piano plays as small blue drift. Fitzgerald and Armstrong begin to take turns, echoing one another, with Fitzgerald taking the lead. As the song ends, singers and instrumentalists end on a very dark minor chord.⁵⁶ To a degree, Fitzgerald and Armstrong themselves represent the line "With Daddy an' Mammy standin' by," not just because of their gender and racial identities, but because of their action to "rise up singin'" together. Therefore, their version of "Summertime" is an illustration of a generation socially anthologizing the cultural anthem. Ironically, they both suffered from diseases that took their lives, so their complexity returns to Porgy the crippled.⁵⁷

With a year of Armstrong's and Fitzgerald's rendition, Miles Davis (1926-1991) and arranger Gil Evans (1912-1988) recorded one of the most artistically rich versions of the lullaby. Davis opens with the melodic line of "Summertime" on his trumpet; he does not need the lyrics, because the blue notes and his improvisation are the driving force to this rendition. Flutes chromatically move between two chords that resemble the meandering river. The brush sticks on the drums resemble the sound of wind passing through the cotton. The tempo is a slow but warm pace that suggests the mood of driving along suburban streets. Davis's trumpet solo is rhythmically driven, with many long notes that invoke the operatic notion.⁵⁸ Anderson notes that Davis was "impressionistically" influenced as a jazz artist, so, to a degree, the complexity of this source returns to Gershwin's influence by Debussy.⁵⁹ In terms of identity, Davis's real-life human behavior resembled that of the fictional drug addict Bess because Davis, too, suffered from addiction for some time in his life.⁶⁰

Of the jazz artists mentioned above, Nina Simone (1933-2003) appears to be the most complex, at least in style. She was both a pianist and a vocalist, and musically her 1959 rendition of "Summertime" is a much different lullaby. With

⁵⁶ Ella Fitzgerald [singer] and Louis Armstrong [trumpeter], vocal and trumpet performance of "Summertime" (album: *Porgy and Bess*), recorded August 18-19 and October 14, 1957/released August 1958 on Verve Records MG V 4011-2.

⁵⁷ Robert Hoskins, *Louis Armstrong: Biography of A Musician* (Los Angeles: Holloway House Publishing Company, 1979), 14-15; Nicholson, *Ella Fitzgerald*, 244-245.

⁵⁸ Miles Davis, "Summertime," recorded between July 22 and August 18, 1958/released March 9, 1959, on Columbia Records CL 1274.

⁵⁹ Anderson, *This Is Our Music*, 28-29; George Gershwin, "Jazz to Survive Says Gershwin," *Montreal Daily Star*, January 6, 1927, quoted in Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 136, 731.

⁶⁰ Carr, *Miles Davis*, 34, 40, 60.

brush sticks on the snare and a double bass downbeat, she quietly hums a gospel melody while her right hand improvises the melody of "Summertime" on the piano. Her trio of instruments builds anticipation, and she pulls her power and hopes through her blue style of notes and rhythms. Then she begins to sing the lyrics, and her piano playing becomes more intense as she vocalizes the anguish when hope is lost. Her version has a drifting tempo that portrays the Atlantic sea and imagery of North Carolina. Deeply and softly, she ends the song with a very slight change in lyrics as she sings: "I've got my Porgy / I've got my Porgy."⁶¹ Therefore, Simone embraced Bess's loving side rather than the character's drug-addict behavior. Further, this lyrical change demonstrates that her complexity is related to Heyward because she added a line that reveals a much "deeper" Bess. Simone had been raised in Tyron, North Carolina, where Heyward had become inspired to write.⁶² Musically, she had the same influence as Gershwin: both pianists were heavily inspired by Bach, and thus her identity associates with Gershwin as well.⁶³

Simone was not just an entertainer with talent and technique. She, to a degree, was also politically aware. Much like Billie Holiday, the anthem's cultural mother, Simone allowed her career in music to be a vehicle for her activism during the civil rights era. As the 1960s ended, Simone had a large repertoire of music that dealt with American cultural consequences such as racial violence, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., gender discrimination, and the impact of segregation on children.⁶⁴ Therefore, Simone was more than a complex singer of the cultural anthem. Her version of the lullaby reflects the hope that the civil rights movement was not in vain, especially if the generational aspect is considered, because Simone and her contemporaries all had faced racial discrimination during their own childhoods.⁶⁵ Yet, they hoped for so much more, and their social anthology reminded America of its diversity.

IV. Janis Joplin's Reprisal of "Summertime" and Counterculture

There are literally thousands of recordings of "Summertime." The interpretations discussed here have been chosen for their unique lyrical changes, musicality, and their performers' characterizations of the song. They exemplify the persistence of the lullaby as a cultural anthem. Janis Joplin (1943-1970) and The Doors' Jim Morrison (1943-1971) had grown up in suburban developments during the 1950s,

⁶¹ Nina Simone, "Summertime," recorded September 15, 1959/released 1959 on Colpix Records SCP 409.

⁶² Durham, *DuBose Heyward*, 12; Brun-Lambert, *Nina Simone*, 8-9.

⁶³ George Gershwin, "Jazz to Survive Says Gershwin," *Montreal Daily Star*, January 6, 1927, quoted in Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 136, 731; Brun-Lambert, *Nina Simone*, 15-16.

⁶⁴ Feldstein, *How It Feels to Be Free*, 84-86.

⁶⁵ Carr, *Miles Davis*, 6; Gourse, *Sassy: The Life of Sarah Vaughan*, 6-7; Nicholson, *Ella Fitzgerald*, 4-5; Brun-Lambert, *Nina Simone*, 18-19.

when racial segregation was still in place.⁶⁶ Joplin was the Texan girl who spoke out against this social practice in her teen years and was rebuked for it.⁶⁷ So, why did these "white" artists produce renditions of "Summertime"? The explanation can be found in Duke Ellington's words that "Summertime" lacks the "Negro Idiom," and the lyrics were written by Heyward who was of European descent.⁶⁸ Thus, the racial factor is only part of this cultural anthem's significance. Joplin and Morrison illustrate that the American Dream of the 1950s and suburban culture with its strict gender roles led to a banal life. In other words, this generation sought out a hope that was more than just an end of racial segregation, but an end to the mundane life of suburban culture.

Joplin's version of "Summertime" (1968) has a profound cultural significance that would become the basis for The Doors' and Sublime's later versions. Her version is rough, slow in its melodic line, and has a blue style. She drastically changed the lyrics, melody, and chords to fit her character. Her arrangement features woodwinds (like the saxophone), trumpet, bass and electric guitars, drums, and a jazzy, gospel organ. Joplin's lyrical changes are more subtle as she used the melody in a more rhythmic fashion and operatic manner (like Mitchell), but her interpretation's tempo and rhythmic phrasing have a sixth-eighth drive to it.⁶⁹ Joplin's version is one of the most improvisational ones in terms of the melody. Her most important lyrical change is from "So hush, little baby, don' yo cry" to "Baby, baby, baby, baby, baby, baby, baby, baby, / no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, don't you cry."⁷⁰ Yet, in the last vocalization of the original verse, Joplin sings the lyrics almost completely as Heyward had written them. Nayda Zimmerman indicates that Joplin's lead guitarist's classical influence drew from Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* ("Prelude in C Minor"). Hence, in terms of complexity, Joplin's version is reminiscent of Simone's.⁷¹

Americans associate Joplin with the counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In other words, in social memory, she is a symbol of the movement and identified with the diversity of California's music industry.⁷² More importantly, both Billie Holiday and Janis Joplin had studied the way in which

⁶⁶ David Dalton, *Mr. Mojo Risin': Jim Morrison, the Last Holy Fool* (New York: Spade & Archer Inc., 1991), 22; Angel, *Janis Joplin*, 6-7.

⁶⁷ Angel, *Janis Joplin*, 5.

⁶⁸ Durham, *DuBose Heyward*, 3; Gioia, *Jazz Standards*, 412.

⁶⁹ Sixth-eighth was not the time signature or meter, it was the rhythmic beat that Joplin used.

⁷⁰ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17; Janis Joplin, "Summertime," recorded April 12-13, 1968/released June 2, 1998 on Columbia Legacy Records CK 64869.

⁷¹ Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 46-47; Brun-Lambert, *Nina Simone*, 15-16.

⁷² George Lipsitz, "Music, Migration, and Myth: The California Connection," in *Reading California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000*, ed. Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and University of California Press, 2000), 153-170, here 154.

African American singers like Bessie Smith (1894-1937) had sung.⁷³ Upon her arrival in San Francisco in 1963, Joplin began to redevelop her style as a folksinger. From a racial perspective, Joplin identified with a blues persona and black female sexuality. According to Zimmerman, historians have argued that Joplin's blues persona reinforced the stereotypes of black women's "hypersexuality" and "stoicism." Moreover, both scholars and some of Joplin's close associates deemed her a "racial impersonator" for attempting to be black.⁷⁴ Zimmerman's analysis of "Summertime" recognizes that Gershwin's version is simple, almost impressionistic, and that the song's minor mode (blue notes) is like that of Debussy's works and other impressionistic composers that depict the Orient. Thus, Gershwin's use of the minor mode depicts white Americans' view of black America and its "otherness."⁷⁵ In this sense, Zimmerman acknowledges that because Joplin sang "Summertime," she reinforced black stereotyping.

Zimmerman suggests that the lyrical changes that Joplin made are connected to the counterculture movement. For example, Zimmerman comments on the change from "So hush little baby, don't you cry" to "No no no, no no no, no no no, no don't you cry," asserting that Joplin and counterculture refused parental figures because Joplin's lyrical changes hide the line "With daddy and mammy standin' by."⁷⁶ Zimmerman notes that Joplin was oblivious of Gershwin's version and her own ensemble players because her persona was so powerful in live performances. Zimmerman claims that Joplin's interpretation of "Summertime" "is her lullaby to the culture of which she was a member."⁷⁷ In this rare instance, Joplin's characterization of "Summertime" returns to Clara. However, Joplin's personal life related more to the character Bess because of their drug abuse, and Joplin's life ended because of it. In this sense, Joplin's characterization reflects a dichotomy: a loving mother to counterculture, but also an addict.⁷⁸

The rock band The Doors performed "Summertime" live in Boston in 1970. Their interpretation is rough in its musicality, because of the instrumental arrangement of the bass guitar, electric guitar, drum set, keyboard, and voice. The group chose a more downbeat-centered tempo due to the genre of rock. They also changed many of the chords to give the song a lively feel. These combined changes make the song seem less like a dream and more like a

⁷³ Griffin, *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Mystery*, 28-29; Wendy Smith, "Rock of Ages: Forty Years after Their Deaths, Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin Now Seem Part of the Mainstream Culture They Rebelled Against," *American Scholar* 79, no. 4 (2010): 89-92, here 89; Angel, *Janis Joplin*, 10.

⁷⁴ Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 43.

⁷⁵ Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 48.

⁷⁶ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17; Janis Joplin, "Summertime," recorded April 12-13, 1968/released June 2, 1998 on Columbia Legacy Records CK 64869; Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 49.

⁷⁷ Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 49.

⁷⁸ Smith, "Rock of Ages," 89.

disillusion in its musicality, but the lead vocalist, Jim Morrison, also changed one line of the lyrics that brought a different dream and character to the song: he switched the genders in the line "Yo' daddy's rich, an yo' ma is good lookin'," to "Yeah, your Momma's rich, and your Daddy's good lookin'."⁷⁹ He expresses his male persona in the song, but asserts that his character's woman (" Momma") is the provider in his dream. During the 1970s, America was experiencing the Women's Liberation Movement. Hence, the cultural irony is that The Doors's version of "Summertime" exemplifies that men, during this time, should have started to think of themselves as equals in the role of parenting. However, Morrison's personal life, too, identifies more with the complex and drug-addict character Bess: his life ended in Paris due to intense alcoholism on July 3, 1971.⁸⁰

Sublime's cover is rather different from Mitchell's original. The group did not perform it in the same context, but in one of urban culture and to a much later generation (millennials). In 1996, they recorded their version on the album *Sublime*, though they titled the song "Doin' Time" instead of "Summertime."⁸¹ The change of title is significant because "doin' time" is a reference to a person spending time in prison. Not only did they change the title drastically, they also changed many of the lyrics to fit this notion. For example, "Me and my girl we got this relationship / I love her so bad but she treats me like / On lock down like a penitentiary."⁸² These lyrics imply that the singer, Bradley Nowell (1968-1996), is trapped in his relationship. In the broader sense, the changes indicate that the American Dream is lost, because Nowell's woman does not reflect the loving wife Clara; rather, his woman represents the complex Bess. In this sense, his own characterization relates to Porgy, the crippled man, who accepts Bess's complexities. Moreover, Sublime's cover demonstrates Porgy's perspective, and Nowell identifies with him, though Nowell may have identified with Bess more because she was a drug addict. Sadly, his life ended due to drug abuse.⁸³

These artists appeared to hope for an escape from the mundane life of modernity. They implemented the cultural anthem as a recognition that the American Dream is a disillusion. The association of Joplin with counterculture demonstrates that the lullaby broke many racial and gender implications. She may have borrowed from black culture, but it was her blue persona and music that became a vehicle for her to project that "otherness" is also linked to an individual's behavior. In this light, "Summertime" proves itself as a powerful

⁷⁹ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17; The Doors, "Summertime," recorded April 10, 1970/released July 24, 2007, on Bright Midnight Records 8122799790.

⁸⁰ Dalton, *Mr. Mojo Risin'*, 155-157.

⁸¹ Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17; Sublime, "Doin' Time," recorded 1996/released November 25, 1997.

⁸² Gershwin and Heyward, *Porgy and Bess: Vocal Score*, 15-17; Sublime, "Doin' Time," recorded 1996/released November 25, 1997.

⁸³ Rob Kemp, "Boys of Summer," *Rolling Stone*, no. 1008, September 7, 2006, 110.

American idiom, because Joplin's persona also had a great sense of power. Further, The Doors' version of the lullaby establishes that either a white or black artist can perform the song, regardless of an individual's gender identity. Lastly, Sublime's cover demonstrates that this cultural anthem is capable of adaptation to more than the genres of opera, jazz, and rock. Instead, it surpasses those genres and, consequently, transcends to another generation.

Conclusion

As we have seen, "Summertime" moved past its own origins of 1935. The lullaby developed over a sixty-year period. George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* left a legacy for many generations of Americans who had lost their dreams during the Great Depression. He and DuBose Heyward created a song for an opera that Billie Holiday covered because of its lyrics and musicality, allowing her to take on a greater persona and cultural influence in her career. Holiday was the starting point of the social anthology of "Summertime," and her version demonstrates that it did not matter how many times the song was covered but, rather, who was covering it. In this sense, Holiday is the mother of the cultural anthem. The later renditions of Sarah Vaughan, Miles Davis, and Nina Simone suggest that "Summertime" moved to another generation of artists who experienced the beginning traction of the civil rights movement during the 1950s, hoping their next generation would face less racial discrimination. Janis Joplin, among jazz artists and her contemporaries, illustrates that the lullaby is an example of the American idiom because she served as a link to the influence of Bessie Smith and gender. Joplin was of a later generation than the jazz artists, and she hoped to escape the suburban lifestyle of the 1950s. For generations, Gershwin's "Summertime" – as a cultural anthem – has reminded Americans of their diversity. Perhaps it also reminds Americans that they are diverse in their expression of music through styles and genres because of blue notes.

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Amelia Nixon

*Meet the Monuments Men:
Adaptors, Outsiders, and Visionaries in 1940s Europe*

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the actions of three members of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program (MFAA/Monuments Men) and the personal qualities that contributed to their success in saving and preserving artwork toward the end of World War II in Europe. On the basis of the Monuments Men's accounts, the author argues that the Monuments Men's success as a group stemmed from their shared traits, namely their adaptability in the face of changing circumstances, their ability to work as outsiders in war-torn Europe and with the U.S. Army and government, and their conviction of a singular vision. Combined, these personal qualities enabled them to undertake one of the greatest ventures in the protection of humanity's art and culture.*

KEYWORDS: *World War II; Europe; Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program (MFAA); Monuments Men; Walker K. Hancock; James J. Rorimer; Thomas Carr Howe, Jr.; Nazi-looted art*

Introduction

There was no arbitrary drafting of personnel [to the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives program]; participation was voluntary. The resulting spontaneity and its value to the spirit of the work cannot be exaggerated.¹

One month prior to the Allied invasion of Italy in July 1943, President Roosevelt created the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe.² This commission founded the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives (MFAA) section of the Allied Armies,³ known as the "Monuments Men."⁴ A group of approximately 350 art and culture experts, the Monuments Men volunteers faced a daunting task, namely to save Europe's greatest historical treasures from annihilation and return them to their owners from before World War II.⁵ By the time they halted the collection of looted and displaced works in 1951, the Monuments Men had recovered over 60,000 pieces of art, including such famous works as Michelangelo's "Madonna of Bruges" and

¹ Thomas Carr Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles: The Discovery and Restitution of Looted European Art* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1946), 294.

² Robert M. Edsel, *Saving Italy: The Race to Rescue a Nation's Treasures from the Nazis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 5.

³ Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (The Roberts Commission), 1943-1946 (RG 239), National Archives Microfilm Publication M1944, accessed May 30, 2019.

⁴ Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 274.

⁵ Robert M. Edsel, *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* (New York: Center Street Hachette Book Group, 2009), xiv.

the Ghent Altarpiece.⁶ Never before had people attempted, let alone succeeded, in such an effort of conservation to protect humanity's art and culture.

To better establish the unique contributions of the Monuments Men, this article examines three firsthand accounts from American MFAA officers. The shortest of these sources, Walker Hancock's article "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany" (1946),⁷ provides a brief, yet detailed account of his work in the one country. Two other members of the Monuments Men published longer autobiographical works, including James J. Rorimer's book *Survival: The Salvage and Protection of Art in War* (1950).⁸ Rorimer's *Survival* covers the longest timeframe of a Monuments Man in Europe. Rorimer arrived in Paris the very day the German Army had retreated from the city.⁹ In contrast, Thomas Carr Howe, Jr. wrote about his experience as an MFAA member in the immediate aftermath of World War II Europe in his book *Salt Mines and Castles: The Discovery and Restitution of Looted European Art* (1946).¹⁰ Both Howe's and Rorimer's works include photographs depicting the discovery of artifacts and their removal. Despite the varied nature of their accounts, these Monuments Men all describe in detail the courageous actions of their fellow officers, providing a better picture of their success as a group through the unique efforts of individuals.

Robert M. Edsel stands as the leading expert historian on the Monuments Men. His published works include several books on the topic, three of which are used here to provide context for the primary sources. Edsel also created The Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art and coproduced a documentary film about the Nazi looting of Art.¹¹ Titled *The Rape of Europa*, this documentary draws from a 1994 book of the same title by Lynn H. Nicholas.¹² As these remain the major works covering the Monuments Men, scholars have yet to explore the subject on a smaller, individuals-focused scale. By concentrating on the accounts of only a handful of historical figures, this article hopes to contribute to a closer analysis of the Monuments Men.

The subject matter lends itself well to a certain "bottom-up approach" method of historical analysis, as the major events and figures of World War II Europe have already received considerable documentation and review from the academic community in a conventional "top-down" method. Other spheres, such

⁶ Edsel, *Monuments Men*, 243-244. See also Edsel, *Monuments Men*, 116-119.

⁷ Walker Hancock, "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany," *College Art Journal* 5, no. 4 (May 1946): 271-311.

⁸ James J. Rorimer, *Survival: The Salvage and Protection of Art in War*, in collaboration with Gilbert Rabin (New York: Abelard Press Inc., 1950); Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*.

⁹ Rorimer, *Survival*, 46-47.

¹⁰ Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*.

¹¹ Edsel, *Monuments Men*, "About the Authors;" Nicholas, *Rape of Europa*.

¹² *The Rape of Europa*, directed by Richard Berge, Bonni Cohen, and Nicole Newnham (2007; Menemsha Films).

as the American public, have also shown an increased interest in the subject matter over the past few decades. For example, Hollywood's attention has turned toward World War II art theft and restitution, with the MFAA coming to the forefront in the popular film *The Monuments Men* in 2014.¹³ In all areas of professional and amateur study, many now seek out previously unexplored, first-hand accounts. This provides an often more relatable perspective, as this "bottom-up" method presents the ordinary people of history without the difficulty of historical mythos which tends to surround famous figures. Historians like Christopher R. Browning and Alex Kershaw have employed this technique in their studies to provide more complete accounts of people upon whom history had already passed judgement.¹⁴ This article applies a similar method to the subject of the MFAA. By closely examining primary accounts from members of the Monuments Men and supplementing them with the necessary context from secondary sources, I hope to provide a relatable view of the Monuments Men as individuals.

This article shows that the success of the Monuments Men as a group stemmed from the shared traits of its individual members: their adaptability in the face of changing circumstances, their ability to work as outsiders within war-torn Europe and with the United States Army and government, and finally, their conviction of a singular vision. Combined, these personal qualities enabled the Monuments Men to undertake one of the greatest ventures in the protection of humanity's art and culture.

I. Adapting to Unusual Circumstances

During their time in World War II and post-World War II Europe, the Monuments Men constantly adjusted their plans and methods in creative ways due to unforeseen circumstances. Among the obstacles they faced, scarcity of resources plagued the Monuments Men time and time again. James Rorimer (1905-1966) notes one instance in his book *Survival*, recounting the rocky start to his mission. When Rorimer reported for duty in Southampton, England, he felt pride in the ability of the Allied Armies to adapt to unusual circumstances, but his "bubble of confidence burst" when he discovered the ship to take him to France had already sailed.¹⁵ In those days shortly after D-Day, the Allied Armies needed all available materials and resources for the war effort, and few placed

¹³ *The Monuments Men*, directed by George Clooney (2014; Columbia Pictures/20th Century Fox).

¹⁴ Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998; first published 1992; revised edition 2017); Alex Kershaw, *The Liberator: One World War II Soldier's 500-Day Odyssey from the Beaches of Sicily to the Gates of Dachau* (New York: Broadway Books, 2012).

¹⁵ Rorimer, *Survival*, 3.

importance on the role of the Monuments Men.¹⁶ Rorimer chose not to wait for the transportation officer to report back. Instead he boarded another vessel with French troops bound for Normandy. Thinking quickly, the Monuments officer solved an unexpected issue quickly and then moved on to his next task. This proved essential in the urgent pursuit of art recovery and restoration in areas devastated by World War II.

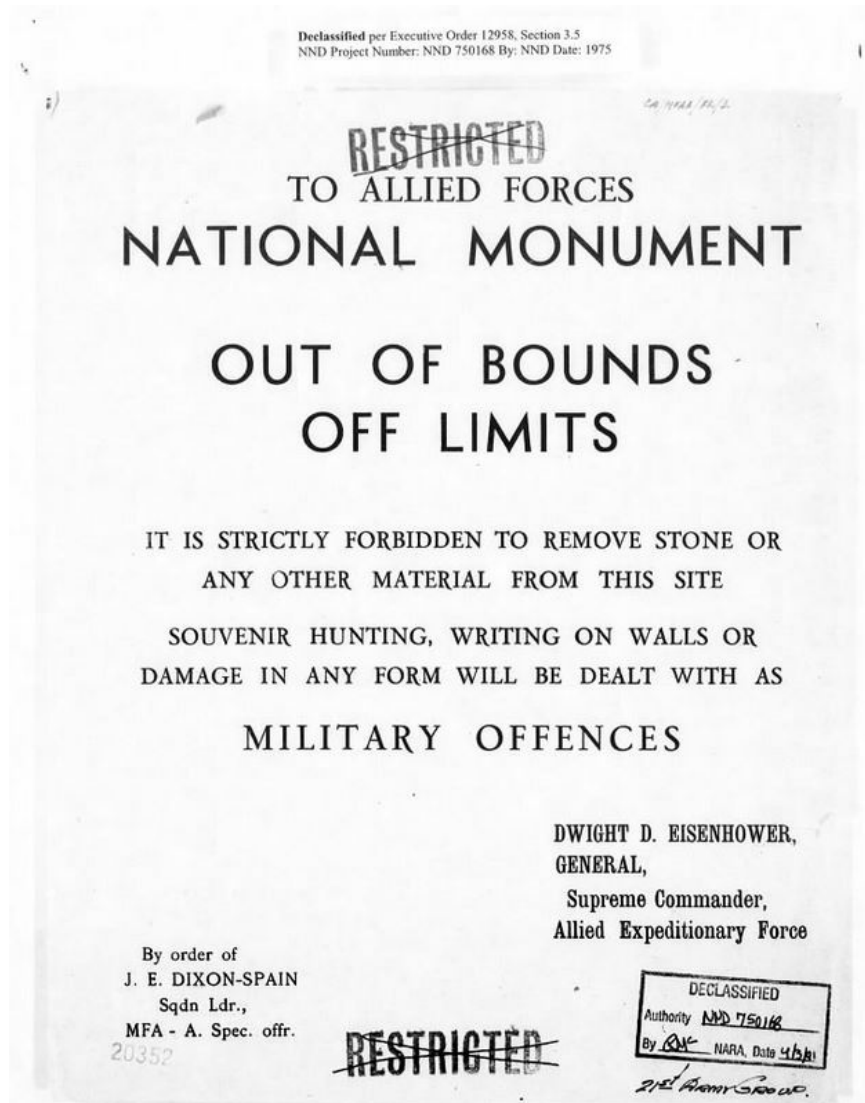


Figure 1: "To Allied Forces, National Monument, Out of Bounds, Off Limits," poster (1944), Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Civilian Agency Records RG 239, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1944, Roll 69, AMG-95 ("5 Posters Used in Protection of Historic Monuments"), photo no. 1537270.

¹⁶ Mason Hammond, "The War and Art Treasures in Germany," *College Art Journal* 5, no. 3 (March 1946): 205-218, here, 215.

Even on the rare occasions when resources abounded, the Monuments Men faced the bureaucracy of both the Allied Armies and local governments. Thomas Carr Howe, Jr. (1904-1994) found himself confronted with red tape put in place by the Military Government as he sought to save a cache of artifacts kept in a Cistercian monastery in Hohenfurth (now Vyšší Brod, Czech Republic). To help load the trucks with artwork, Howe enlisted the help of two packers. Since the packers came from Germany, they needed permits from the U.S. Military Government to leave the area where they were living. Unfortunately, neither Howe nor anyone else in his group thought to ask the packers if they had been issued the requisite permits until the morning they planned to depart for the monastery.¹⁷ Howe faced a choice. Such a task would prove impossible without the packers, but there was no telling how long it would take to acquire the permits. Howe decided to take his chances. The group and the packers left without the permits. Howe made similar decisions throughout his time as a MFAA officer. As going through proper channels often inhibited his work, Howe sometimes skirted the authority of the Allied Armies, choosing smaller risks for a mission of greater importance.

Along with sidestepping the bureaucracy of local governments and military authority, the Monuments Men contended with constantly changing political geography. As the Allied Armies pushed further into Axis-occupied territory, MFAA officers followed closely behind.¹⁸ The essential task of finding, assessing, and then protecting the art of Europe fell upon a group of only 250 personnel. Thus, a Monuments Man originally assigned to one area suddenly found himself in charge of a different region or even country. As World War II drew to a close, the Allies began establishing their temporary sectors in France and Germany. These territories did not always align with the current locations of the respective Allied country's army, resulting in jurisdiction shifts even after the end of the war. In this manner, the Monuments Men kept moving and receiving new assignments throughout and even after World War II.

James Rorimer presents an example of the changing geography of his assignment as the American Army took control of western Germany. In April 1945, the announcement came that the Seventh Army had extended its command to cover an area of about 280 by 80 miles, stretching over the lower half of Germany and into Austria.¹⁹ Rorimer knew that the Seventh Army had no Monuments officer, so the next news put him in the hopes of a reassignment. The Army had made a remarkable discovery. In the Merkers Salt Mine in Thuringia, 2,100 feet underground, they located a room filled with an estimated eighty-four

¹⁷ Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 80-81.

¹⁸ Richard J. Evans, "Art in the Time of War," *The National Interest* 113 (May/June 2011): 16-26, here 25.

¹⁹ Rorimer, *Survival*, 133-134.

million dollars (U.S. 1950 dollars) worth of gold bullion.²⁰ Of more interest to Rorimer, the salt mine also contained countless works of art, yet unidentified by the Seventh Army. Several days later, Rorimer received orders to leave his post in Paris and proceed to the Seventh Army's headquarters. His focus now shifted from the metropolitan landscape of France's capital to the underground art repositories in Germany, a change which Rorimer handled seamlessly. Despite the circumstances that differed greatly from his career as director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,²¹ Rorimer and his fellow MFAA officers adapted to whatever task was set before them.

II. Functioning as Outsiders to Conflict

As regular civilians and members of a global curatorial community, most of the Monuments Men brought unique perspectives and solutions to otherwise insurmountable goals. In his article "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany," MFAA officer Walker Hancock (1901-1998) describes how he and fellow Monuments Man Steve Kovalyak reacted when in need of staff. In the early afternoon on a weekend, Hancock and Kovalyak arrived with a convoy in Cologne. The trucks contained, among other relics, the robe of the Blessed Virgin, the shroud of Saint John the Baptist, and the beaten-metal bust of Charlemagne, containing part of the emperor's skull.²² Even though the men parked the convoy directly in front of the Cathedral, officers of the U.S. Military Government refused their request for help unloading the trucks. Help would not come until Monday. Until then, the trucks bearing priceless artifacts would stay in their current position, regardless of weather and without a guard.

Neither of the Monuments Men found this acceptable. While Hancock stayed with the convoy and its treasures, Kovalyak walked into the ruins of Cologne, reemerging with a large group of men and boys. Despite warnings from the American Army forbidding the use of civilian labor on weekends, the MFAA officers recruited locals. Hancock justified this, stating, "Cologne was their city – what was left of it."²³ With the aid of these men, the two Monuments Men managed to unload everything into the Cathedral by nightfall. The odds of this mission succeeding without the creative thinking of Hancock and Kovalyak were little to none. Because they functioned as outsiders to the military, the Monuments Men did not possess that stringent adherence to protocol typical of the American Army. When working with the Allied Armies failed, the Monuments Men showed little hesitation to go against military protocol to

²⁰ Gladys E. Hamlin, "European Art Collections and the War," *College Art Journal* 4, no. 3 (March 1945): 155-163, here 163.

²¹ Edsel, *Monuments Men*, xvii.

²² Greg Bradsher, "The Monuments Men in April 1945: Siegen, Finally" (blog), *National Archives: The Text Message*, August 25, 2015.

²³ Hancock, "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany," 305.

complete their mission. They recognized the significance of Cologne's artifacts as well as their importance to Cologne's residents, something which proved far greater than a foreign government's policy.



Figure 2: "Capt. Walker Hancock, Capt. Asa M. Thornton, and Lt. Cdr. George Stout" (from left to right), photograph (1944), Gift of Walker Hancock Family, The Monuments Men Foundation Collection, The National World War II Museum, New Orleans, LA.

Another attribute that set the Monuments Men apart from other Allied forces in Europe was their willingness to collaborate with partners regardless of their nationality. In *Salt Mines and Castles*, Howe remembers some of the unorthodox characters he worked with in pursuit of protecting art. When recovering artwork at the enormous underground cache at Altaussee in Austria, Howe and fellow Monuments Man Lamont Moore worked closely with a German art restorer named Karl Sieber.²⁴ Sieber had been a member of the Nazi Party during World War II. However, according to Howe, Monuments Man George Stout sized up Sieber as "a man ninety-eight per cent preoccupied with his profession and possibly two per cent concerned with politics."²⁵ Many Germans, like Sieber, had joined the Nazi Party due to better business prospects or peer pressure.

The actual values of Germany's only political party during the war mattered little to people like Sieber, who committed themselves to their work. One evening, the Monuments Men learned from Sieber just how deep his loyalty to the art ran. In March 1945, mere months before the Allies discovered the cache in

²⁴ "The Monuments Men: Lamont Moore (1909-1988)" (article), *Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art*, accessed May 31, 2019.

²⁵ Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 154.

the Altaussee mine, Hitler had issued what became known as the “Nero Decree.”²⁶ The document called for the immediate destruction of all remaining resources as German forces retreated, ceding more and more territory to the Allied Armies. The Nazi Gauleiter (district leader) August Eigruber took Hitler’s purposefully vague instructions to include the annihilation of cultural artifacts, as well as infrastructure. Deceptively ordering crates labeled “Marmor—Nicht stürzen” (“Marble—Don’t drop”)—actually containing bombs—into the mines, Eigruber planned to demolish the caverns and everything they contained.²⁷ Members of the Austrian Resistance heard of Eigruber’s plan, and they told Sieber who set off small charges of dynamite instead. His cunning ploy left the artwork unharmed, but provided enough rubble to convince Eigruber that his plan had been followed. Unfortunately, Eigruber learned of Sieber’s deception and planned to have him and the miners shot, but the Allies overtook Altaussee quickly enough to prevent this.²⁸ Yet, despite all of Sieber’s valiant efforts in the name of art and culture, many British and American soldiers and officials refused to work with Germans like him. The nation Sieber came from had waged an atrocious war, and for most of the Allies that fact said enough. In contrast, Howe and other Monuments Men recognized those dedicated to the protection of art and those people’s potential to help their cause. In this manner, the MFAA officers prioritized their goals over national prejudices as only outsiders to the fighting could.

As outsiders, the Monuments Men also possessed an in-depth knowledge and appreciation of art rarely displayed by the Allied Armies. Their careers prior to the war as museum curators, as well as art and culture experts, gave the MFAA officers unique insight into the art world. Not only did they have a remarkable perspective, they were also members of a global community of curators and conservationists. When working in the decimated cities of France and Germany, having contacts from the local art scene proved crucial. James Rorimer noted this about his time in Paris. His social visit to a friend from the Direction of Fine Arts led to Rorimer’s access to a network of French civilian colleagues in charge of Paris’s art during and after the German occupation.²⁹ In the subsequent months, this network proved invaluable in organizing the Monument’s Men’s recovery and restoration efforts. Eventually, Rorimer gained the trust of Rose Valland, a member of the French Resistance and assistant at the

²⁶ “Hitler’s ‘Scorched Earth’ Decree (Nero Decree) (March 19, 1945) and Albert Speer’s Response (March 29, 1945),” German History in Documents and Images (GHDI), accessed May 31, 2019.

²⁷ Jim Morrison, “The True Story of the Monuments Men” (article), *Smithsonian.com*, February 7, 2014, accessed May 31, 2019.

²⁸ Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 155.

²⁹ Rorimer, *Survival*, 52-53.

Jeu de Paume gallery.³⁰ During the occupation of Paris, Germany officials like Hermann Göring had used the gallery as a central collection point for stolen French art.³¹ Valland's meticulous notes sped up the rediscovery and identification of numerous artifacts the Nazis had taken to German repositories. One can only guess the difficulty of completing the Monuments Men's mission without her aid.



Figure 3: "American GIs hand-carry paintings down the steps of Neuschwanstein Castle in Bavaria (Germany) under the supervision of Capt. James Rorimer," photograph, *Monuments Men Foundation website*, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Civilian Agency Records RG 239, photo no. 239-RC-14-5.

Despite the advantage of contacts in the art world, the Monuments Men rarely shared the same understanding and camaraderie with the Allied Armies. Rorimer encountered this divide when he came upon bulldozers approaching a chapel. According to Major Lord Methuen, a British officer who worked with the

³⁰ "The Monuments Men: Rose Valland (1898-1980)" (article), *Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art*, accessed May 31, 2019; Nicholas, *Rape of Europa*, 308-309.

³¹ Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), 394-398.

Monuments Men,³² the château of the Comte de Germigny at Fontenay-sur-Mer in Normandy, France, was a significant, if lesser-known, monument of northern France.³³ Apparently this did not occur to the American officer intent on knocking down its walls. A major concern of the Allied Armies included resource scarcity. The American Army often tore down damaged walls for raw materials.³⁴ In this case, officers hoped to use the stones from the château for road construction at a neighboring air field. Even though he had no proper authority, Rorimer immediately stopped the driver of the bulldozer, hoping to save the remaining wall, which contained two eighteenth-century statues. Despite Rorimer's insistence on the historic value of the château and its status as a protected monument, the American officer in charge refused to halt the operation. Only when Rorimer lied about having photographed the building for his official report did the officer relent, grumbling, "But this is a helluva way to fight a war."³⁵ Rorimer's quick assessment of the statues as significant saved them from destruction. Even though he technically had no authority to order their preservation, Rorimer placed the preservation of artifacts at the forefront and convinced others of their importance through any means necessary.

III. Adhering to a Common Conviction

Perhaps the most powerful and yet least tangible quality of the Monuments Men was their unwavering resolve in the face of their decidedly daunting mission. For instance, the common problem of unexpected deadlines features prominently in the three Monuments Men's accounts. In *Salt Mines and Castles*, Howe relates how his deadline to evacuate the treasures at Hohenfurth suddenly loomed closer. Checking in with American Army officials in Linz, Austria, Howe inquired about rumors of the pending closure of an eastern road. A colonel had warned Howe not to return that way but refused to expound on the matter. By way of response, an official in Linz referred to a bridge along the route. He noted that people and carts had been traversing the bridge to get to the western side of the Danube for the past two days and that "it could only mean one thing—that the Russians aren't far behind."³⁶ This presented a two-fold problem: MFAA officers could only work in British, French, and American-occupied territory, and

³² Major Lord Methuen, given name Paul Ayshford Methuen (1886-1974), worked as an MFAA officer in conjunction with the American Monuments Men during and after World War II. He focused mainly on the preservation of châteaux in Normandy. "[The Monuments Men: Lord Methuen \(1886-1974\)](#)" (article), *Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art*, accessed May 31, 2019. See Paul Ayshford Methuen, *Normandy Diary: Being a Record of Survivals and Losses of Historical Monuments in North-Western France, Together with Those in the Island of Walcheren and in that Part of Belgium Traversed by 21st Army Group in 1944-45* (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1952).

³³ Rorimer, *Survival*, 13.

³⁴ Edsel, *Monuments Men*, 80.

³⁵ Rorimer, *Survival*, 14.

³⁶ Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 112.

the Russian Army brought with it a nasty reputation for looting. In April 1945, it came to light that Russia would not wait for reparations from Germany. Its armies had already begun taking everything of value, cultural or otherwise, from the territory it had occupied.³⁷ If the Russians took control of the repository at Hohenfurth before Howe could finish its evacuation, it is unlikely the world would have seen this artwork again for years.³⁸ With the clock ticking, Howe managed to remove the art to the American sector in a matter of days, instead of weeks. He braved the new conditions as they came, putting forth even more effort to protect the art.



Figure 4: "Thomas Carr Howe, Jr., ca. 1945," photograph, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Gallery Archives, Charles Parkhurst Papers. Used by permission.

At times, the Monuments Men required something beyond greater speed to complete their tasks. Working so near to the dangers of the western front required courage as well. While recovering a Breughel painting, Hancock walked

³⁷ Nicholas, *Rape of Europa*, 369-370. It was later discovered that the Soviet armies included "Trophy Brigades" whose art and finance officials seized enemy assets, including valuable artwork. They disregarded the provenance of such works, viewing them simply as the spoils of war. Edsel, *Monuments Men*, 297-298; Nicholas, *Rape of Europa*, 362.

³⁸ The Soviet Union returned most of the artwork from the Dresden and Berlin collections in the late 1950s. Nicholas, *Rape of Europa*, 442.

into a building that just half an hour earlier had been hit by a German shell.³⁹ Shells continued to drop nearby, shaking the structure where an American combat commander had taken the precious painting before calling Hancock. Without the proper equipment to transport such an item, Hancock returned the following day with fellow MFAA officer George Stout. The sound of exploding shells ringing in their ears, the two Monuments Men set about examining the painting. As the ceiling beams shook above their heads and loose plaster dust rained down, Hancock and Stout calmly took meticulous notes. Before they finished detailing every aspect of the Breughel, night gathered around the Monuments Men and the battle outside came to a halt.⁴⁰ The painting survived to return with Hancock and Stout to the safety of the American-occupied zone.⁴¹ Frequently working in active war zones, the Monuments Men willingly risked their lives to save artwork.



Figure 5: "Monuments Man Lt. Frank P. Albright, Polish Liaison Officer Maj. Karol Estreicher, Monuments Man Capt. Everett Parker Lesley, and PFC Joe D. Espinosa, Guard with the 34th Field Artillery Battalion, return Leonardo da Vinci's 'Lady with an Ermine' to Cracow (Poland) in April 1946," photograph, *Monuments Men Foundation website*, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration.

³⁹ Hancock, "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany," 277.

⁴⁰ Edsel, *Monuments Men*, 149-152.

⁴¹ Hancock, "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany," 279.

Even after World War II had officially ended, the Monuments Men had to contend with various hurdles that tested their conviction. Toward the end of his *Salt Mines and Castles*, Howe describes a moral dilemma he and his colleagues encountered. In October 1945, Howe worked in conjunction with other Monuments Men to complete acts of “token restitution” as a show of good faith to countries like Poland and Hungary.⁴² This involved transporting artifacts from central collection points in the American and British zones and back to their museums from before the war.⁴³ While the Monuments Men continued their task of restitution, the United States government made other plans.

Talk about removing German-owned works of art to the U.S. circulated at USFET (U.S. Forces, European Theater) headquarters.⁴⁴ Attempting to gently persuade the American Army officials against such a move, Howe helped to write a report, together with the officer sent to assess the viability of the plan.⁴⁵ He kept his assessment factual and stated only the physical difficulties of transporting the art to the United States. Despite Howe’s appeal to reason, orders arrived in early November to prepare 202 paintings, among them those by Caravaggio, Rembrandt, and Van Eyck, for immediate shipment.⁴⁶ Howe and other Monuments Men were furious. They immediately drafted a document that became known as the “Wiesbaden Manifesto,”⁴⁷ as the twenty-four MFAA officers who signed it had gathered at the Central Collection Point in Wiesbaden, Germany, to do so.⁴⁸ In the document, the Monuments Men expressed their disapproval, stating that, even though they owed allegiance to the United States, “there are yet further obligations to common justice, decency, and the establishment of the power of right, not might, among civilized nations.”⁴⁹ Despite the possible repercussions from the United States Army and

⁴² Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 271-272.

⁴³ The Monuments Men sent looted artwork to the Munich Central Collection Point. In 1951, they entrusted the remaining artifacts to a West German agency. Evans, “Art in the Time of War,” 16-26.

⁴⁴ Nicholas, *Rape of Europa*, 392-394.

⁴⁵ Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 272-273.

⁴⁶ “The Monuments Men: Walter Ings Farmer (1911-1997)” (article), *Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art*, accessed May 29, 2019.

⁴⁷ Some debate exists as to which MFAA officer first drafted the document, with some crediting Walter Ings Farmer and others Everett Parker Lesley. Howe credits the group as a whole in *Salt Mines and Castles*. Greg Bradsher, “Everett Parker Lesley, Jr.: The Monuments Man Who Drafted the Wiesbaden Manifesto” (blog), *National Archives: The Text Message Blog*, October 7, 2014.

⁴⁸ Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 274-275.

⁴⁹ Charles L. Kuhn, “German Paintings in the National Gallery: A Protest,” *College Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (January 1946): 78-82, here 82.

government, the Monuments Men stood by their ideals.⁵⁰ They believed in the restitution of all art after World War II, even when the country of the art's origin was Germany.

Conclusion

When compared as individuals, the Monuments Men possessed certain characteristics that account for their success in saving and returning much of Europe's art during and immediately following World War II. These traits included their adaptability to changing circumstances, their frequent role as outsiders to other organizations, and their unwavering commitment to their mission. In the future, scholars might want to add to this topic with an exploration of accounts by MFAA women. Although Hollywood portrays the group as exclusively male, a number of women did work for the MFAA as organizers and conservationists. The list of female art preservationists grows when considering those who worked in French and Germans museums and with Resistance groups. The pursuit of art preservation, recovery, and restitution involved not just the Monuments Men, but countless other individuals. The fact that such diverse people came together for the sake of humanity's shared past gives hope for our shared future. To quote Monuments Man Walker Hancock, "[Is] there, perhaps, in this mutual confidence and common interest, the germ of something that might be made to work for world peace?"⁵¹

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⁵⁰ The twenty-four MFAA officers who signed the "Wiesbaden Manifesto" submitted the document to Major La Farge, Chief of the MFAA Section, on November 7, 1945. It is unknown if the document was passed on to any higher authority, but the U.S. State Department did receive letters of protest from other individuals, including museum curators in the United States. Regardless, two-hundred paintings were sent to the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., where they were put into storage under "protective custody." Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 312.

⁵¹ Hancock, "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany," 311.

Helen Yoshida

*Photographing "Disloyalty":
Masayuki Yoshida and the Images of Farewell at Heart Mountain
(September 21, 1943)*

ABSTRACT: *This article discusses the incarceration of Japanese Americans at the Heart Mountain War Relocation Authority camp in Wyoming during World War II. It focuses on the incarcerated who disagreed with the federal government's "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry," were deemed "disloyal," and sent to the newly-segregated Tule Lake War Relocation Authority camp in northern California on September 21, 1943. On the basis of Masayuki Yoshida's black-and-white photographs, Bill Manbo's Kodachrome photograph, and Estelle Ishigo's painting, the author demonstrates how these images individually represent narratives of truth, loyalty, and uncertainty within the Japanese American community, and collectively give agency to stories that are not often included in the narrative of Japanese Americans serving in the military during World War II.*

KEYWORDS: *U.S. history; World War II; War Relocation Authority; incarceration camps; Heart Mountain; Masayuki Yoshida; Bill Manbo; Estelle Ishigo; visual history; photography*

Introduction

"Today is the day of the first transfer of the people here to Tule Lake. Siren sounded before noon. Departing fellows gathered to the high school and there ride the trucks to the train platform. At 2:45 p.m., Yamakawa, my best friend, left Heart Mountain," wrote Masayuki Yoshida, my grandfather and member of the Heart Mountain Camera Club, in his diary on September 21, 1943.¹ He had met Hiroshi Yamakawa at the Pomona Fairgrounds, one of fifteen temporary incarceration camps administered by the Wartime Civil Control Administration. They were among the 120,000 Japanese Americans uprooted from their homes and imprisoned in ten "relocation centers" in Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming that were managed by the federal government's War Relocation Authority (WRA) pursuant to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942.

Thus, on September 21, 1943, 434 incarcerated from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in northwestern Wyoming boarded a train for the newly-segregated Tule Lake camp in northern California. About 4,000 people had gathered at Heart Mountain High School to see them off, and 1,000 followed them down to the railroad siding.² My grandfather photographed Yamakawa

¹ Hideo Kuwahara, a Japanese language teacher at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute in Los Angeles, graciously translated my grandfather's 1943 diary entries about Heart Mountain from Japanese to English. My grandfather's diary is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

² "Thousands See Segregates Off," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, September 25, 1943, accessed May 29, 2019.

and other incarcerated leaving the camp (see Figures 1 and 2 below).³ Yet, he was not the only person to document this event. Bill Manbo, an auto mechanic and fellow member of the Heart Mountain Camera Club, took a Kodachrome photograph of the crowd gathering at the high school (see Figure 3 below),⁴ and artist Estelle Peck Ishigo captured a similar scene in a painting (see Figure 4 below).⁵ Each image depicts a unique facet of the World War II Japanese American incarceration experience at Heart Mountain. Viewed individually, these images tell their own narratives of truth, loyalty, and uncertainty within their community. My grandfather's photographs demonstrate how his friendship with Yamakawa was disrupted when the federal government issued the "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" questionnaire in January 1943 in their search for "disloyal" Japanese Americans and their families. His photographs also show the layers of injustice toward the incarcerated and the contradictions of the incarceration experience as a whole. Manbo's photograph depicts the beauty of the Wyoming landscape and underscores the tension and upheaval created by the questionnaire. Ishigo's painting captures the unfair treatment of incarcerated through the purely administrative process of answering the questionnaire to determine their loyalty to the United States during the war. Collectively, these images give agency to individuals and stories that are not often included in the narrative of Japanese Americans serving during World War II and prevent their stories from fading into obscurity.

I. The Road to Heart Mountain

Born to Mitsutaro Yoshida and Toraku Tomiyama in Gardena, California, on July 6, 1917, my grandfather was a *Kibei*.⁶ When he was almost two years old, his

³ As seen in photographs taken by the author's grandfather of Yamakawa and other incarcerated that were on the train destined for the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943: Masayuki Yoshida, "Hiroshi Yamakawa smiles from the train that will take him from the Heart Mountain incarceration camp to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection (see Figure 1 below); Masayuki Yoshida, "View from the railroad tracks of the military personnel, the Heart Mountain incarcerated in the camp, and the Heart Mountain incarcerated leaving for the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection (see Figure 2 below).

⁴ Bill Manbo, "Heart Mountain incarcerated deemed 'disloyal' congregate at Heart Mountain High School on September 21, 1943, to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp," photograph (Kodachrome) (see Figure 3 below). See also Eric L. Muller, *Colors of Confinement: Rare Kodachrome Photographs of Japanese American Incarceration in World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 13.

⁵ Estelle Inigo, title unknown ["The Heart Mountain incarcerated gathering at Heart Mountain High School to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943"], oil on canvas, Los Angeles, California, Japanese American National Museum (JANM) (2015.100.16), Allen Hendershott Eaton Collection (see Figure 4 below).

⁶ *Kibei* were a subset of the *Nisei*. The *Nisei* were the children of Japanese immigrants, and they were born in the United States. The *Kibei* were also born in the United States but educated

parents returned to the Yamaguchi prefecture of Japan so that their children could receive a traditional Japanese upbringing. His family were fishermen and farmers, and his hobbies included fishing, carpentry,⁷ ping pong, and photography.⁸ Yoshida and his older brother returned to the United States in the early 1930s, and Yoshida enrolled at the Washington Irving Grammar School in San Francisco, California, from 1933 to 1936, most likely to improve his English-speaking skills. In the mid-1930s, both brothers moved to Los Angeles, where Yoshida worked at the Matsuoka wholesale nursery as a salesclerk in Venice, California, from August 1936 to August 1941.⁹ He became friends with nurseryman Michel Martinez. Martinez later stored Yoshida's belongings when Yoshida was incarcerated at the Pomona Fairgrounds in Pomona, California, and at the Heart Mountain incarceration camp in Wyoming. From August 1941 to May 1942, Yoshida worked as a gardener at \$75 a month, planting flowers and plants, as well as maintaining lawns and gardens at private homes.¹⁰

Like Yoshida, Yamakawa was a *Kibei*. He was born in Tacoma, Washington, in February 1919. After returning to the United States, he worked as a farmhand from 1935 to 1940 in Portland, Oregon. While earning \$60 a month, he attended the Whitaker Grammar School in Portland from 1935 to 1937. He moved to Los Angeles in 1940, where he worked at the Ioki nursery in Venice. On May 10, 1942, Yamakawa and Yoshida entered the Pomona Fairgrounds' temporary incarceration camp where they became close friends. They arrived at Heart Mountain in the fall of 1942.¹¹

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center operated from August 12, 1942, to November 10, 1945, and imprisoned 10,767 people of Japanese ancestry. Incarcerates lived in 468 barracks that were split into "apartments" for each family. The camp was divided into blocks that included the barracks, 39 halls and utility buildings. A 150-bed hospital, educational facilities, as well as pig and chicken farms were also built on the grounds.¹² In addition to his involvement with the camera club, Yoshida was paid \$16 an hour¹³ to work in the Block 21

in Japan: *Densho Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Nisei," accessed May 29, 2019. Nisei born before 1924 were citizens of both the United States and Japan: Cherstin M. Lyon, "Dual Citizenship," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

⁷ Masayuki Yoshida, "Individual Record" (Form WRA 26, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, 1942), 1.

⁸ Masayuki Yoshida, "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" (Selective Service Form 304A, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, 1943), 3.

⁹ Yoshida, "Individual Record," 1-2.

¹⁰ Yoshida, "Individual Record," 2.

¹¹ Yoshida, "Individual Record," 1; my notes from the War Relocation Authority file on Hiroshi Yamakawa (Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration).

¹² Mieko Matsumoto, "Heart Mountain," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

¹³ Masayuki Yoshida, "Payment Record" (Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, 1942-1943), 1.

mess hall. He awoke at 5:00 a.m. or 5:30 a.m. and worked from 6:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., preparing breakfast and lunch for the incarcerated. ¹⁴ He eventually quit that job for two farming jobs outside the camp. From May 29 to July 29, 1943, he was paid \$140.60 to help harvest *daikon* (Japanese radishes) near Billings, Montana. Four days after Yamakawa's transfer to Tule Lake, Yoshida traveled to Idaho Falls, Idaho, where he harvested potatoes until November 18 for \$190. When he was not working, he spent time with friends, playing ping pong almost every day. He went ice-skating, attended English language classes, saw the entertainment events for each block, and played violin, harmonica, and mandolin by himself or with Yamakawa. He loved listening to his records on the gramophone and was part of the Heart Mountain Mandolin Band together with Estelle Ishigo. Sometimes he attended singing class with Yamakawa at night. ¹⁵ Heart Mountain was a place where close friendships formed, trust in the federal government was broken, and daily life behind barbed wire was documented.

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans who were already serving in the military were either discharged or reassigned to simple tasks. Those men in the I-A category, which meant they were eligible to serve in the military, were switched to the IV-C category, which meant "aliens not acceptable to Armed Forces." ¹⁶ This shift in status insulted many Japanese Americans because it confirmed what the incarceration implied: that the United States government did not recognize them as "true citizens." ¹⁷ Japanese Americans were able to serve in the military again in 1943 when the United States Army created the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a unit consisting only of Japanese American soldiers, by seeking volunteers from the camps. ¹⁸ Army representatives traveled to the camps to oversee this registration process, requiring all incarcerated over sixteen years old to fill out a "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" questionnaire in January 1943 to ensure that those who did join the Army were loyal. Two questions stood out to the prisoners: Question 27 asked if they were willing to fight in the United States Armed Forces. Question 28 asked if they swore allegiance to the United States and foreswore any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government. ¹⁹ Yamakawa decided to renounce his U.S. citizenship and return to Japan.

¹⁴ Information from Hideo Kuwahara's translation of Masayuki Yoshida's 1943 diary that is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

¹⁵ Information from Hideo Kuwahara's translation of Masayuki Yoshida's 1943 diary that is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

¹⁶ Eric L. Muller, "Draft Resistance," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

¹⁷ Muller, "Draft Resistance."

¹⁸ Franklin Odo, "442nd Regimental Combat Team," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

¹⁹ Cherstin M. Lyon, "Loyalty Questionnaire," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

II. Barracks against an Open Sky

On September 21, 1943, my grandfather shot a black-and-white photograph of his best friend on the train bound for the Tule Lake segregation camp. Perhaps Yoshida was able to continue his hobby because Michel Martinez, his colleague at the Matsuoka nurse, had held on to his camera and other belongings for him when he was imprisoned in Wyoming. Incarcerates like Yoshida were initially prohibited from bringing cameras into the camps, but these regulations slowly relaxed as the war progressed.²⁰ While training at Camp Howze in Texas, Martinez wrote to Yoshida asking what he wanted him to do with his camera. Although Martinez could send it to him, Camp Howze's warden advised him against it. If the FBI opened the package and saw its contents, they could accuse Martinez of "harboring [...] alien equipment as they call it." Martinez vowed to "take good care of it until you come back, or probably next June I will go home on a furlough."²¹ Since Yoshida had a camera in his possession that September, it seems that Martinez's package slipped past the careful watch of the FBI because Yoshida documented Yamakawa's farewell that September.



Figure 1: Masayuki Yoshida, "Hiroshi Yamakawa smiles from the train that will take him from the Heart Mountain incarceration camp to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection. Used by permission (The Yoshida Family Collection).

In the photograph, Yamakawa leans out of a halfway open train-car window. He wears a blazer with something that resembles sunglasses in his breast pocket and a wide-collared shirt. His attire suggests that he is heading to a celebration, not to another relocation center or to a country with which the United States was at war. He gives a toothy grin, which does not seem to align with the gravity of his decision. His attire and expression are not unusual among photographs from

²⁰ Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, "Government Photography of the WRA Camps and Resettlement," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 19, 2019.

²¹ Michel Martinez, letter to Masayuki Yoshida, April 19, 1943. This letter is in the author's home in Whittier, California.

the incarceration taken by family, friends, the media, or the government. Highly aware that they were being portrayed as criminals, many Japanese Americans made extra efforts to counter that propaganda "and salvage whatever shred of dignity they could by dressing in their finest clothes and putting 'the best face' on a situation that was fundamentally humiliating and degrading."²² Neat clothing and wide smiles were key to the "best face" because they communicated to viewers that the situation in which they found themselves was safe. *Before They Were Heroes: Sus Ito's World War II Images*, an exhibition at the California State University, Fullerton, Arboretum in fall 2017, showed Susumu "Sus" Ito and his fellow 442nd Regimental Combat Team soldiers smiling for the camera. Perhaps they smiled because they had rescued the Lost Battalion in Europe.²³ Or perhaps they smiled in an effort to reassure their incarcerated mothers that they were fine, even though they might have been in the midst of combat.²⁴ Yet, smiling can also be interpreted as a "false assurance" and an attempt to normalize the injustice, pain, and suffering that was part of the incarceration experience.²⁵ Yamakawa's hopeful smile communicates that he could weather any obstacles that lay ahead. It also counteracts other emotions that he did not want to show — uncertainty about seeing his friends and family again and about what lay ahead at Tule Lake and in Japan. More importantly, his smile masks the fact that his rights and liberties had been suspended at the time the photograph was taken.

News of Yamakawa's plans to return to Japan came on April 23, 1943, when Yoshida wrote in his diary that "there is a rumor that [...] those who requested to return to Japan won't get a job in a [relocation] center. I wonder what will happen to Yamakawa who requested this. Anyway, there is info that we will be separated sooner or later." Repatriation surfaced again in Yoshida's diary on August 30, when he wrote, "When we transferred to Pomona center, I met Yamakawa and became a close friend since. A year and three months passed since then. But I have to separate with the best friend Yamakawa on Sep. 14th. I'm afraid we might not be able to see again each other."²⁶ Yoshida's diary entries and photographs illuminate the fear and sadness of parting with his best friend, but there is hope, too. In the moment that photograph was taken, perhaps they knew that they would always be close friends, no matter where the war would take them. The hope that they would be reunited is in Yamakawa's uplifting expression, which is a sharp contrast to the man that appears behind

²² Jasmine Alinder, *Moving Images: Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 17.

²³ Lily Anne Y. Welty Tamai, "One of Thousands: Susumu 'Sus' Ito and His Photographs," *Southern California Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (2016): 297-320, here 314.

²⁴ Tamai, "One of Thousands," 319.

²⁵ Alinder, *Moving Images*, 15.

²⁶ Hideo Kuwahara's translation of Masayuki Yoshida's 1943 diary that is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

him. Although there is no physical representation of travel-related items, such as suitcases or packages, in the photograph, the man's dark face, eyes, and furrowed brow connote many incarcerated men's fears and anxieties of not knowing what to expect or what would happen to them—emotions that had plagued them since the beginning of the war.



Figure 2: Masayuki Yoshida, "View from the railroad tracks of the military personnel, the Heart Mountain internees in the camp, and the Heart Mountain internees leaving for the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection. Used by permission (The Yoshida Family Collection).

Yoshida shot another photograph of the internees waving goodbye to family and friends on the train with military personnel looking on. This photograph contextualizes the first image of Yamakawa. He appears to be waving at the camera from the train window. Telephone lines dwarf the men and women standing in the dirt or sitting on parked cars, waving goodbye. The train, telephone lines, and people on the opposite sides of the photograph direct viewers to the watchful military guard and the barracks in the center of the image. The image's composition shows how simple actions like saying goodbye in a desolate landscape still needed to be overseen by the military to ensure everything ran smoothly. It also emphasizes the reality that, although rules might have been relaxed because internees could photograph activities behind barbed wire or work outside of camp, Japanese Americans were still confined. The guard and barracks against the open sky are a stark reminder that they were being transferred from one prison to another. It also shows the internees at a crossroads. Since everyone over sixteen had to fill out the questionnaire, internees' loyalties were on display for the military and each other, an energy that Bill Manbo captured in his Kodachrome photograph of the event.

Manbo was part of the Heart Mountain Camera Club when he shot his image of the families saying goodbye to the first group of internees gathered around Heart Mountain High School to board the trains at the railroad siding. A 1929 graduate of Hollywood High School, Manbo trained to be an auto mechanic at

the Frank Wiggins Trade School. There, he met his future wife and dressmaking student Mary Itaya. Itaya worked as a seamstress and costume designer for a theater company and as a private tailor, while Manbo painted and repaired cars in his Hollywood garage. In his spare time, Manbo took photographs, worked on miniature car races, and built model airplanes. When the Manbo and Itaya families were imprisoned at Heart Mountain, Manbo joined the Heart Mountain Camera Club and captured daily life behind barbed wire.²⁷



Figure 3: Bill Manbo, "Heart Mountain incarcerated deemed 'disloyal' congregate at Heart Mountain High School on September 21, 1943, to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp," photograph (Kodachrome). Used by permission (Bill Manbo).

Shooting in Kodachrome film²⁸ allowed Manbo to create beautiful photographs of life behind barbed wire and juxtapose uprooted lives with heavy doses of color. Similar to the cheerful image of Yamakawa, Manbo's vibrant photograph suggests a joyous rather than somber occasion, but the bright colors and beautiful landscape contrast with the tension and upheaval created by the questionnaire. Manbo's lens focuses on the crowd gathering outside the school. The sea of uncovered heads, hats, and umbrellas evokes the urgency of the situation. Incarcerated individuals' facial expressions, as well as their suitcases, bundles, and

²⁷ Muller, *Colors of Confinement*, 4.

²⁸ A color reversal film launched by Kodak in 1935, generally used for projection with white light. Kodachrome has a relatively high contrast.

bags, indicate feelings of uncertainty and the private interaction shared between those staying and those leaving Heart Mountain. Similar feelings are captured in Estelle Ishigo's painting of the same crowd at Heart Mountain High School.



Figure 4: Estelle Inigo, title unknown ["The Heart Mountain incarceratedees gathering at Heart Mountain High School to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943"], oil on canvas, Los Angeles, California, Japanese American National Museum (JANM) (2015.100.16), Allen Hendershott Eaton Collection. Used by permission (JANM).

Born in 1899 to Bradford and Bertha Peck in Oakland, California, Ishigo felt that her parents never wanted a child and that her birth was a mistake. While her parents focused on their careers as a landscape painter and opera singer, Ishigo was being raised by a nurse. When the family moved to Los Angeles in 1911, Ishigo's parents sent her to live with a succession of relatives and close friends, cementing her belief that her parents no longer wanted her around. She eventually found acceptance at the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles. She became friends with the young Japanese American men of the Art Students League and immersed herself in their culture. She took Judo lessons and studied Zen Buddhism under famed monk Nyogen Senzaki who would also be incarcerated at Heart Mountain. Most importantly, her friends introduced her to struggling

actor and Paramount Studios janitor Arthur Ishigo. Due to California's miscegenation laws at that time, they were married in Mexico in 1928. Though they were welcomed by the arts and Japanese American communities, they felt increased discrimination in Los Angeles and tried to stay within their communities as much as possible. Arthur continued to work for Paramount, while Estelle taught at the Hollywood Art Center. When Pearl Harbor was attacked, Arthur and the other Japanese Americans working at Paramount were fired on December 8. Estelle was fired shortly after because of her Japanese surname.²⁹ When Executive Order 9066 was implemented, and the WRA ordered everyone of Japanese ancestry—even those who were of partial descent—into the ten WRA camps, intercultural couples like the Ishigos challenged the agency's assumption that families were of one race. Non-Japanese spouses like Ishigo could either choose incarceration or a life outside the camps' barbed wire fences without their spouses.³⁰ She decided to be incarcerated alongside her husband.³¹

On May 10, 1942, the Ishigos boarded a bus at a Hollywood church, which took them to the Pomona Fairgrounds. In the fall of 1942, they were transported by darkened train car to Heart Mountain. While at Heart Mountain, Ishigo worked for the WRA as a member of the Documentary Section of Reports Division. At \$19 a month, she was responsible for capturing the Japanese American incarceration experience through her art.³² She also saw an opportunity to use her art to "expose the injustices of the very government that employed her."³³ Similar to Ishigo, folk art expert Allen H. Eaton wanted to document the artwork of the incarcerated and put together an exhibition of incarcerated artwork that had the potential to tour the camps.³⁴

III. Splintering a Community

When Executive Order 9066 was signed, Eaton was upset by the action and angered by "the suspicious motives and sinister forces that seemed to be in the background."³⁵ He approached WRA Director Dillon S. Myer with the possibility of curating an exhibition of the prisoners' arts and crafts that would tour all ten camps. Eaton thought that this exhibition "would suggest that our nation is

²⁹ Dakota Russell, "Arthur & Estelle Ishigo: A Heart Mountain Love Story," *Kokoro Kara: Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation* [newsletter] (Summer 2017), 7-9, here 7-8.

³⁰ Allison Varzally, *Making a Non-White America: Californians Coloring Outside Ethnic Lines, 1925-1955* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 144.

³¹ Russell, "Arthur & Estelle Ishigo," 8.

³² Jane Dusselier, "Embodied Identity? The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo," *Feminist Studies*, 32, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 534-546, here 535.

³³ Russell, "Arthur & Estelle Ishigo," 9.

³⁴ Brian Niiya, "Beauty Behind Barbed Wire (book)," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

³⁵ Allen H. Eaton, "Prologue," in *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocation Camps* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1952), 3.

made up of people from many homelands," would "help overcome the barriers of language" by giving the prisoners "a sense of their relatedness to many friendly people outside," and "encourage some of them to make things with their own hands—this would help ease mental strains, and possibly contribute to a good community spirit."³⁶ The WRA encouraged him to seek other funding, which he eventually secured from the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1945, he took vacation to visit five of the camps, and to identify and photograph objects for this potential exhibit. He also recruited photographers and curatorial assistants to do the same thing at the four camps that remained open (the camp in Jerome, Arkansas, was already closed by this time).³⁷ Ishigo acted as a liaison between the incarcerated and the folk expert by helping Eaton recruit Heart Mountain artists and their artwork for the exhibition, and he expressed his appreciation of her in their correspondence. In a letter to Ishigo, he noted that the progress on the project was going well and that "I ought to say that there is nothing more interesting in all the places I have been than the work of the artists and craftsmen you have uncovered for me."³⁸ During his visit, Eaton intended to buy the items for inclusion in the exhibition, but he found few incarcerated who felt the same. Instead, "they were saving them as 'going away gifts,' or to send to friends outside of camp, or just to keep in the family. They offered to give me things to the point of embarrassment, but not to sell them."³⁹ Though the traveling exhibition was never realized because other projects took precedent, Eaton published *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocation Camps* on the tenth anniversary of Executive Order 9066 in 1952.⁴⁰

When the first Heart Mountain incarcerated were leaving for Tule Lake, Ishigo painted a scene of the crowd congregating at Heart Mountain High School with bundles of belongings and suitcases in hand. Her painting was one of over 450 items that were handed down first to Allen Eaton's daughter, and later to the son of a handyman who worked on the Eaton daughter's home. The items went up for public auction in 2015, when Japanese American organizations led a successful grassroots movement to halt it, based on the argument that the artifacts were under the custodianship of Eaton and his future heirs. The painting is now housed at the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) in Los Angeles.⁴¹ Ishigo's painting mirrors a drawing of hers titled "Aug. 7-Sept.

³⁶ Eaton, "Prologue," 3.

³⁷ Niiya, "Beauty Behind Barbed Wire (book)."

³⁸ Allen H. Eaton (New York), letter to Estelle Ishigo (Heart Mountain, Wyoming), October 1, 1945, University of California, Los Angeles, Charles E. Young Research Library, Library Special Collections, uclamss_2010_b77_f6_1, Online Archive of California, accessed May 29, 2019.

³⁹ Eaton, "Prologue," 6.

⁴⁰ Niiya, "Beauty Behind Barbed Wire (book)."

⁴¹ Shirley Ann Higuchi, "Artifacts of Incarceration," Kokoro Kara: Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation [newsletter] (Summer 2015), 1-2.

1943 left: Farewell to Segregees, nearly 1,000," that is also part of JANM's collection. Given that these two images look similar, it seems that Ishigo sketched the scene first as a way to develop what she communicated in her painting, namely that the WRA was treating Japanese Americans unfairly by using the purely administrative process of filling out a questionnaire to determine loyalty to the United States during World War II. While it remains unclear whether this painting was completed as part of her WRA responsibilities, it appears that it was not painted with Eaton's hopes of communicating a sense of community, well-being, and productivity in mind. Instead, it shows the splintering of an already imprisoned community from within (see Figure 4 above).

The gray clouds and wind reinforce the resigned mood of the incarcerated. Those who are leaving for Tule Lake are hunched over; their shoulders slouch from the weight of their belongings and the power of the wind and rain as it rolls across the plain. Similarly to when they had first packed their belongings in their homes, the incarcerated could take only what they could carry, echoing the same sense of upheaval first felt in the spring and summer of 1942. In the foreground, two men shake hands while a boy says goodbye to his dog. The men's handshake illustrates that a sense of camaraderie had developed between them while at Heart Mountain, but it also shows that they are parting ways because they answered the questionnaire differently. As the boy holds on to the suitcase with one hand, he reaches down to a dog. His gesture highlights the irony in the incarcerated's transition: losing what had become somewhat familiar in a camp created for their long-term imprisonment and facing the uncertainty awaiting them in another camp and abroad in Japan.

Depending on how the incarcerated felt about the questionnaire, Heart Mountain High School was either the rallying point for resisters who chose not to comply with Questions 27 and 28, or the location where disloyal incarcerated met to be repatriated back to Japan.

For both Manbo and Ishigo, Heart Mountain High School was a symbol of truth. Manbo used his Kodachrome image to highlight his indignation, anger, and hostility toward the federal government. He answered "No" to Question 27 about fighting in the United States Armed Forces. In response to Question 28 about his willingness to swear allegiance to the United States and forswear loyalty to Japan, he wrote, "If we get all our rights back. Who wants to fight for a c.c. camp?" Ishigo's painting shows her frustration of the wartime injustices done to an entire group of people and sheds light on this part of history that the incarcerated did not talk about. She answered "No" to Question 27 about her willingness to join the Army Nurse Corps or Women's Army Corps, and she answered "Yes" to Question 28 which asked her whether she was loyal to the United States. Even though she was white, she considered herself a member of the Japanese American community and was welcomed by them. Given that

"images can propagate values,"⁴² Ishigo's image does not align with Allen's values of productivity and community building. Instead, she depicted the importance of her community against the WRA's unfair administrative process to discern who was loyal and disloyal, who belonged or did not belong in the United States, and who had the power to make that decision.

Although Manbo's image of Heart Mountain incarceratedees gathering at Heart Mountain High School for their journey to Tule Lake depicts the event from a closer view than Ishigo's, the composition of his photograph is similar to that of her painting. Both focus on the gathering outside of the high school, but unlike Ishigo's use of pastel colors to highlight the dreary and uncomfortable mood of the incarceratedees on that day, Manbo used Kodachrome film to emphasize how the structures of the camp worked with the landscape to create a sense of surveillance. The peaked roofs of the high school and the barracks echo Heart Mountain in the background. While the mountain watched over the incarceratedees like a sentinel, my grandfather and Manbo's cameras, as well as Ishigo's brushes and paints, were present too, ensuring that the Heart Mountain incarceratedees' resistance to further confinement in their own country, without due process of law was documented for posterity.

Conclusion

Seventy-five years later, each of these images highlights the personal bonds, the politics of loyalty, and the fraying of a community forged at Heart Mountain during World War II. They reveal and obscure the truths of their creators and subjects, and they challenge what it means to be a United States citizen during wartime. Viewed together, they not only speak to the politics of the camp but allow ordinary people who would not otherwise be visited by history to tell their stories and share their perspectives of Japanese Americans fighting for the United States military, while their own families were imprisoned behind barbed wire. It is the responsibility of future generations to view images like these to expand the historical narrative of the World War II Japanese American incarceration experience, to make well-informed decisions about the future of this country in and outside of war, and to prevent this from happening to any minority group ever again.

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⁴² Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 78.

Cristian Ramirez

*The Struggle for Mobility:
The G.I. Bill and African American Veterans in the South
after World War II*

ABSTRACT: *This article analyzes the impact of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (G.I. Bill), signed by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944. The G.I. Bill presented an opportunity for upward social mobility for returning World War II veterans. Its provisions guaranteed qualifying veterans access to unemployment benefits, job training, vocational schooling, and four-year-college tuition, all for which contributed to the economic growth that would come to define this era in post-war America. However, as this article shows, these benefits were obstructed for African American veterans, particularly in the South, regardless of their service and sacrifice. The rule of Jim Crow and the efforts of John E. Rankin, a U.S. Congressman from Mississippi, ultimately laid the foundation for the inequitable distribution of benefits in one of the most impactful forms of legislation to date.*

KEYWORDS: *U.S. history; post-World War II era; Servicemen's Readjustments Act (G.I. Bill) (1944); Veterans Administration; African Americans; Mississippi; John E. Rankin; Jim Crow; segregation; vocational schooling*

Introduction

In 1944, as World War II entered its final stages, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act in anticipation of the millions of veterans who would reenter the workforce at war's end. With the Great Depression (1929-1939) still on the minds of Americans, the new law, commonly referred to as the G.I. Bill, would provide veterans with access to unemployment benefits, job training, vocational schooling, and four-year college tuition. This new government program would be funded by the federal government, and the Veterans Administration (V.A.), founded in 1930, would be tasked with granting veterans access to their benefits. The G.I. Bill can be credited with providing social mobility for millions, thus providing the blueprint for the United States' expanding middleclass and later the collective nostalgia for this postwar period.

For veterans who had experienced the Great Depression, the G.I. Bill represented everything the 1920s and 1930s had not offered them, namely opportunity. The G.I. Bill's initiative for a successful transition to a peacetime economy has generated a positive outlook toward the bill that can be summed up as a "win-win situation for students, for institutions of higher education, for vocational education, and for society."¹ Prior to 1944, college education had not been easily attainable and had strictly been for those with the requisite financial means. Therefore, it is no surprise that, during the bill's creation, education received great emphasis. According to Suzanne Mettler's *Soldiers to Citizens: The*

¹ Murray Levine and Adeline Gordon Levine, "Who Said the Government Can't Do Anything Right? The World War II G.I. Bill, the Growth of Science, and American Prosperity," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 81, no. 2 (2011): 149-156, here 151.

G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation (2005), “51 percent of World War Two veterans, a total of 7.8 million” utilized the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill, and by 1947 “veterans accounted for 49 percent of students enrolled in American colleges.”² When veterans heard the news about what awaited them back home, optimism ran rampant and for good reason. The G.I. Bill undoubtedly was one of the most successful policies enacted in terms of economic gains in the United States at that point in time. What made the bill so revolutionary was its racial inclusivity on paper. Minority veterans had justified cause for optimism; first-class citizenship seemed imminent.

However, despite the G.I. Bill’s supposed inclusivity, the United States’ notorious history with racism, particularly in the rural Jim Crow (i.e., segregationist) South, undermined African American veterans’ access to vital provisions within the bill. Education and homeownership were becoming signs of prosperity in America, but these aspects of the G.I. Bill were thwarted when considering black veterans. The G.I. Bill embodied the American Dream, the vision of a prosperous middle class, and the migration out of cities to beautiful picket-fence suburbia, but it would remain a dream for thousands solely on the basis of race. How then was it possible for such a racially unbiased bill on paper to be stripped of its inclusivity on the basis of race when put into practice? Much of the answer lies in the crafting of the G.I. Bill and the efforts of Mississippi Congressman John E. Rankin who sought to preserve segregation the South.³ His efforts drastically contributed to the hardships many black veterans would encounter after the war. Ultimately, the persistence of racism, particularly in the South, and the efforts of a racially motivated congressman led to the unequal application of the G.I. Bill. Furthermore, despite some of the gains these veterans experienced during the post-war period, their opportunity for social mobility was obstructed in terms of education, employment, and homeownership.

I. Hurdles at the Veterans Administration (V.A.)

The deliberate disenfranchisement of African American veterans can be attributed to the crafting of the G.I. Bill itself. In his 1947 political address to the state of Mississippi, John E. Rankin declared: “I can say without fear of contradiction that I have done more for our veterans than any other man who ever served in the Congress of the United States.”⁴ In contrast to what Rankin may have believed, the reality of his political career says otherwise in regard to his commitment toward citizens and veterans. Rankin was a blatant racist who was against anything that did not resemble the model of white Anglo-Saxon

² Suzanne Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 7.

³ “Rep. John Rankin, 78; Lost House Seat in ‘52,” *The Washington Post*, November 28, 1960, B3.

⁴ “John E. Rankin Political Address, October 7, 1947,” Jackson, Mississippi, Department of Archives and History [Digital Archives], AU 1009/SR 034/SR 087-088/TR 044, [page] 3, accessed May 31, 2019.

Protestantism. During President Truman's efforts to establish anti-lynching laws, Rankin led the fight against this measure, opposing any federal jurisdiction over the matter while advocating for the issue to be handled at the state level.⁵ It is no surprise then that when President Roosevelt insisted that the G.I. Bill be administered on the federal level, the politically powerful congressman strictly opposed this and generated a bill that was, on the surface, free from any discriminatory measures, but extremely vulnerable to racial prejudices as the bill was to be implemented at the state level.

When the G.I. Bill was applied at the state level, as Rankin had intended, the Veterans Administration became the primary dispenser of the bill's benefits, which ultimately exacerbated unequal conditions in the rural South. Other agencies, such as the U.S.E.S. (United States Employment Service) and the American Legion were given the same responsibility as the V.A. Having the V.A. as the primary distributor of the G.I. benefits meant that veterans had to visit their local V.A. counselors to seek approval for their loans, unemployment benefits, and tuition costs. To qualify, one had to have served for a period of no less than 90 days and have anything other than a dishonorable discharge to receive one's benefits. As simple as this process may seem, it was highly flawed, considering the issues that could arise when black veterans in the South had to visit their local V.A. counselors, positions filled primarily by white men. Black veterans experienced intense misrepresentation in the South, having by 1947 a total of twelve African American counselors in Alabama and Georgia and "not one in Mississippi."⁶ The V.A. in the South would be notorious for finding miniscule details about these veterans that would bar them from future success, discouraging thousands in the process despite policies that prohibited discrimination based on race. Rankin and his political allies sabotaged the American Dream for African Americans in the South and kept the G.I. Bill under state control, leaving thousands of black veterans vulnerable to discrimination by the V.A. which would have a dramatic effect on their return to American society.

II. Obstructed Access to Education

The G.I. Bill is often viewed with a sense of naivety due to its sweeping popularity with an entire generation of its beneficiaries. It is difficult not to romanticize what was arguably the most successful legislation for veterans the United States had ever produced, especially at that point in time. The bill revolutionized education in America, having the number of about 160,000 students before the war reach half a million by 1950.⁷ The government had

⁵ Edward Humes, "How the G.I. Bill Shunted Blacks into Vocational Training," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 53 (2006): 92-104, here 95.

⁶ David H. Onkst, "'First a Negro... Incidentally a Veteran': Black World War Two Veterans and the G.I. Bill of Rights in the Deep South, 1944-1948," *Journal of Social History* 31, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 517-543, here 519.

⁷ Levine and Levine, "Who Said the Government Can't Do Anything Right," 151.

assumed that veterans would not widely utilize the educational provisions of the G.I. Bill of Rights, however, enrollment among veterans soared. Because of this, the G.I. Bill is also referred to as one of the greatest investments the government has ever made. The federal government invested approximately 14 billion dollars in education and non-collegiate programs, and benefitting veterans contributed 35 billion dollars to the economy over the next few decades.⁸ As impressive as these numbers may seem, this does not depict the full picture of postwar America. Who benefited from the bill depended on region and race, which is why it requires further evaluation with regard to its impact on African Americans. Despite the influence of Jim Crow in the South, many scholars are caught up in the romanticism of the G.I. Bill, including author Suzanne Mettler who concludes that, despite intense racial barriers, “black veterans who were prepared for college seized the chance to attend, and others took advantage of the sub college programs at greater rates than white veterans.”⁹ This flawed analysis equates higher numbers of black usage rates of the G.I. Bill to its overall success, ignoring the divisive factors in the South’s already segregated schools. Ira Katznelson, author of *When Affirmative Action Was White* (2005), has voiced similar criticism with regard to Mettler’s assertion that participation rates equal success, and has raised the question, “participation in what?”¹⁰ When evaluating the social conditions that disabled thousands of black veterans to utilize the benefits that contributed to social mobility for white soldiers, the romanticized narrative of the G.I. Bill collapses.

When observing the obstruction of equal opportunity in terms of education that was offered under the G.I. Bill, the experience of U.S. army veteran and Chicago native Monte Posey illustrates not only his difficult experience with the discriminatory V.A., but the experience of many black veterans in the South when attempting to pursue a college education. Having served his time in the military, Posey wished to begin his college career. He had been accepted to the University of Chicago, and all that was left for him to do was to visit his local V.A. counselor for approval to receive his tuition and living expenses as guaranteed by the G.I. Bill. However, despite his qualifications, the V.A. counselor, a white man, objected to Posey’s request and requested that he pick up a trade instead. When Posey asked why, the counselor responded by claiming “there are no opportunities out there for college-educated Negroes. You’ll be wasting your time.”¹¹ Fortunately for Posey, he would later manage to persuade his V.A. counselor and go on to having a successful career in education despite his initially frustrating experience. Posey’s experience was outside of the South,

⁸ Levine and Levine, “Who Said the Government Can’t Do Anything Right,” 151.

⁹ Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens*, 57.

¹⁰ Ira Katznelson and Suzanne Mettler, “On Race and Policy History: A Dialogue about the G.I. Bill,” *Perspectives on Politics* 6, no. 3 (2008): 519-537, here 522.

¹¹ Humes, “How the G.I. Bill Shunted Blacks into Vocational Training,” 92.

which demonstrates that discrimination was not just a regional experience but something that occurred throughout the country.

Still, one can only imagine the intensity of the situation with Jim Crow dominating a large portion of the country, which begs the question of whether Posey's experience would have been different had he been from a state like Mississippi or Alabama. One of the key factors in the experience of many black veterans was the unregulated manner in which the G.I. Bill was administered, allowing not only V.A. counselors to discriminate, but educational institutions as well, generating further disparities among black veterans in the South. One of the most undermining aspects in the G.I. Bill was allowing state control instead of federal control. The ability to discriminate without repercussion arguably hindered the opportunity for many vulnerable black veterans.

III. Segregated Education: Creating the Achievement Gap

Due to discriminatory practices and the segregation of education in the South, African American veterans utilized their higher education benefits primarily for historically black colleges where they faced numerous disadvantages. There were fewer of such institutions, limited funding, and not enough space to accommodate the returning wave of veterans. While Rankin's fight for state control undermined the G.I. Bill's success for minority groups in America, the Second Morrill Act of 1890, too, worked in favor of white separatists. According to that law, states were "disallowed federal support [...] if they did not create separate schools for blacks when other state colleges excluded them."¹² Though this created seventeen institutions in the South, white colleges still outnumbered these historically black colleges five to one before and after the war.¹³ Consequently, these limited institutions became the main source for obtaining higher education, which presented another issue, namely space. Black institutions faced severe underfunding since white institutions were given the priority. When it came to housing, white institutions did not face the issue to the same degree as black institutions. For example, housing and lack of space was so severe that "21 of the southern black colleges indicated that 55 percent of all veteran applicants were turned away [...] compared to 28 for all colleges and universities."¹⁴ For veterans who could enter these impacted schools, the lack of funding also resulted in fewer schools that offered a degree beyond the baccalaureate, leaving these opportunities mostly to returning white veterans.

¹² Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-century America*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 131.

¹³ Bernadette Kristine Buchanan Menke, "Education, Racism, and the Military: A Critical Race Theory Analysis of the G.I. Bill and Its Implications for African Americans in Higher Education" (PhD diss., Washington State University, 2010), 131.

¹⁴ Sarah E. Turner and John Bound, "Closing the Gap or Widening the Divide: The Effects of the G.I. Bill and World War II on the Educational Outcomes of Black Americans," *The Journal of Economic History* 63, no. 1 (2003): 145-177, here 153.

Even when some schools in the South began to desegregate, the issue of equal accommodation still persisted. In the case of the University of Florida (UF), in 1947, the institution repealed the Buckman's Act, a law that had segregated the schools in the state, but U.F. "continued to maintain its distinction as an all-white institution."¹⁵ Though black veterans had the ability to utilize their educational benefits under the G.I. Bill, opportunity often eluded them due to unsatisfactory measures of accommodation in colleges and universities.

These factors would augment the already growing gap between the races with regard to educational and economic achievement. Much of the G.I. Bill's success was due to its overall ability to grant thousands of veterans the opportunity to obtain a college education, which was a saving grace for the generation that had lived through the Great Depression. Despite some of the divisive outcomes caused by the saboteurs of what had been intended as a race-neutral law, the G.I. Bill was still a socially opportune form of legislation for African Americans, even with Jim Crow. However, the consequences still proved to be detrimental considering how severe some regional barriers were. When the G.I. Bill was signed into law, the opportunity for social mobility became obvious in its educational provisions. When it became apparent that the G.I. Bill would be undermined by Jim Crow, this generated a variation of educational gains between the races both inside and outside of the South. A study conducted by Sarah Turner and John Bound found that white veterans both from inside and outside the South achieved the same levels of education compared to their counterparts.¹⁶ Black veterans in the South were reported to make no real significant gains when compared to those outside the South. As a result, Turner and Bound concluded that these disparities "exacerbated rather than narrowed the economic and educational differences between blacks and whites."¹⁷ The G.I. Bill failed a majority of black veterans who sought an education, proving how inequitable the G.I. Bill was when put into practice, especially in a region of America that for many years had championed its "separate but equal" laws.

IV. Discrimination by the United States Employment Service (U.S.E.S.)

As if being barred from higher education was not enough for black veterans, G.I. Bill employment benefits, too, became difficult to acquire in the South. A recurring theme that arises when examining the G.I. Bill and its inability to establish equitable success for black veterans is the influence of Jim Crow in the Deep South. Black veterans came back from World War II with an array of experiences in highly skilled labor—a crucial quality for those returning veterans seeking positions as mechanics, linemen, carpenters, radio operators, and

¹⁵ Todd McCardle, "A Promise Deferred: Black Veterans' Access to Higher Education through the G.I. Bill at the University of Florida, 1944-1962," *Educational Studies: Journal of the American Educational Studies Association* 53, no. 2 (2017): 122-134, here 125.

¹⁶ Turner and Bound, "Closing the Gap or Widening the Divide," 166.

¹⁷ Turner and Bound, "Closing the Gap or Widening the Divide," 172.

welders.¹⁸ Thus, education was not the only benefit that was met with much optimism. The G.I. Bill also provided veterans with assistance to obtain skilled labor, for which they were now qualified, along with unemployment benefits to ease their transition back into the job market.

Much like the V.A., the national employment bureau known as the U.S.E.S. also worked to administer the G.I. Bill to veterans. Black veterans encountered similar issues with the U.S.E.S. as they did with the V.A. in terms of fair representation. The U.S.E.S. offered job counseling, and black veterans in the South quickly realized that discrimination would await them since most of the U.S.E.S. counselors were white. Throughout the states of Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama, the U.S.E.S. hired only fifteen black job counselors, leaving many vulnerable to the influence of Jim Crow. This drastic lack of representation altered black veterans' return to the workforce. They had obtained experience with skilled labor during the war, only now to be offered many of their previous low and unskilled positions. In Rankin's state alone, "of the 6,583 non-agricultural jobs that U.S.E.S. counselors filled in Mississippi in October 1946, whites got 86 percent of the professional, skilled, and semi-skilled positions" with black veterans representing "92 percent of the unskilled and service-oriented jobs."¹⁹ The U.S.E.S. had a considerable amount of control over these veterans considering that no effort was made to oversee this state-run system. The unemployment benefits administered to black veterans were also under the U.S.E.S.'s control. To receive these benefits, a veteran had to be actively searching for a position or accept a job the counselor offered, resulting in black veterans regaining their positions in unskilled work from before the war. At stake here was what was often their main source of income due to the minimal pay these unskilled positions had to offer, once again highlighting the cruel reality of what the G.I. Bill under state control had to offer for black veterans in the South.

V. The Hazards of On-the-Job Training and Vocational Schooling

On-the-job training became another dubious attempt at making successful use of the G.I. Bill for African American veterans in the Jim Crow South. This form of hands-on training allowed veterans to receive a paid apprenticeship for up to four years while receiving monthly living subsidies backed by the federal government.²⁰ Veterans were given the chance to apply their wartime skills toward building a future career in skilled work, but the absence of a national set of standards, as well as any oversight of these programs, left many black veterans unable to escape from low-paying occupations. Given their experience with the V.A., many of these veterans turned to finding apprenticeships on their own, which posed an even more difficult situation. White trainers were reluctant

¹⁸ Onkst, "'First a Negro... Incidentally a Veteran'," 519.

¹⁹ Onkst, "'First a Negro... Incidentally a Veteran'," 521.

²⁰ Onkst, "'First a Negro... Incidentally a Veteran'," 523.

to take on black trainees in order to maintain the racial order, a social construct which many like Congressman Rankin wished to preserve. Furthermore, for those who did succeed in finding an employer, most of the training programs throughout the South were highly inadequate, leaving many veterans again, vulnerable to cheap labor with no inspection done to counter such abuses. Inspections might have countered the abuses of employers however, this would have required further expenses and was not made a priority. A study conducted by Adrian L. Oliver, a graduate student working at the Atlanta University of Social Work, found that in one case two black veterans, who were training to become bakers for ten months, "spent all of their time sweeping floors and greasing pans."²¹ When the provisions of the G.I. Bill came to an end, black veterans who sought to utilize the potential opportunity of on-the-job training obtained nothing but inadequate training, which undermined any successful attempt to reenter the workforce in a skilled position. The promises the G.I. Bill had offered these veterans were, yet again, left unfulfilled.

Though vocational schooling was far from perfect, this alternative provided many African American veterans with a greater chance of obtaining skilled positions under the G.I. Bill. These veterans felt more secure with vocational teachers as opposed to on-the-job trainers who often times took advantage of these veterans for cheap labor. Another upside to vocational schooling was that it provided more specified instruction, establishing a more personal experience for veterans who wished to learn a specific trade. Another important factor to consider was that vocational schooling was much more attainable for black veterans who, for centuries, had been put at a disadvantage in terms of schooling and education. Most African Americans in the rural South, due to widespread neglect of their segregated public institutions, only had up to a fifth-grade level of education.²² As a result, on top of some of the more blatant forms of discrimination many faced when attempting to receive a college education, the inequitable treatment of public learning facilities throughout their history, too, barred them from widespread participation in the universities. Nevertheless, despite the optimism many of these veterans felt toward vocational schooling, they unfortunately faced similar issues with on-the-job training programs. As was the case with historically black colleges, "the education provision gave each state the right to determine its own number of vocational schools and the type of instruction that such schools would offer," again leaving many of these veterans vulnerable to Rankin's ideal situation.²³ This meant that few vocational schools were available for black veterans since these schools were also segregated, leaving many without the opportunity for social advancement.

²¹ Onkst, "'First a Negro... Incidentally a Veteran'," 526.

²² Onkst, "'First a Negro... Incidentally a Veteran'," 527.

²³ Onkst, "'First a Negro... Incidentally a Veteran'," 527.

The states' ability to dictate the type of instruction vocational schools were to offer left many African American veterans with trades that were subpar compared to those of whites, driving many of them back to unskilled work. Fly-by-night schools also became a great cause for concern. These "schools" were nothing more than a front set up by those who sought to extract the maximum amount of money the federal government would provide, facing little to no oversight and exploiting thousands of black veterans in the process. From one day to the next, these schools would rise out of nowhere, offering useless training (if any), wasting millions of taxpayer dollars, exposing some of the more corrupt features of how the G.I. Bill was carried out during the post-war era. For a returning black veteran, the chances for a smooth transition into the post-war era were slim, since many of the opportunity as the G.I. Bill offered were foiled at every turn.

VI. Success Stories

To view the Servicemen's Readjustment Act as a complete failure with regard to race is also not the complete picture. However, despite the G.I. Bill's ability to further exacerbate economic and educational gaps between blacks and whites, especially in the South, for some African Americans the bill paid off handsomely by giving them the opportunity to successfully build careers and enhance their economic status in society regardless of their color. It took one congressman from Mississippi to sabotage thousands of veterans in an attempt to secure Jim Crow in the South, yet, despite his efforts, through the G.I. Bill, Charles Rangel built his career that would eventually enable him to serve in Congress for twenty-three terms. After serving in Korea, Rangel, through the G.I. Bill, was able to earn a degree in Law, even though he had been a high-school drop-out before enlisting in the army. In an interview (2017), Rangel stated that the G.I. Bill took him by surprise: "I had no idea when I went to the Veterans Administration that the services they provided and the scholarships I was able to get would allow me to succeed politically and professionally."²⁴ Rangel also makes an important claim as to the importance of education in America, asserting that, through education, future generations will keep the country "competitive." Likewise, another Korean veteran, Ira T. Neal, was able to garner success through the G.I. Bill of Rights: it enabled him to pursue a career in education and earn his GED in Japan, after he had served as a rifleman in his regiment.²⁵ Despite the racial barriers these men may have faced throughout their lives, they were able to build their success through the G.I. Bill, achieving what many black veterans in the South could not. These men illustrate what so many African American veterans during

²⁴ "Interview: Veterans Advocate Congressman Charles Rangel," *Military History* 33, no. 5 (January 2017): 14-15.

²⁵ Ira T. Neal, interview by Larry Ordner, 2002, transcript, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, American Folklife Center, Veterans History Project, Ira T. Neal Collection (AFC/2001/001/01189).

the war were hoping for, namely an opportunity for success. Given the extremely unequal conditions in the South, it is easy to forget the positive outcomes the G.I. Bill had for African Americans which is why it is not entirely appropriate to consider the bill as unsuccessful. It is safe to say, however, that the G.I. Bill—apart from its positive impact on most Americans—in the South was completely selective and rigged by a system that catered directly to whites.

Conclusion

In essence, the social mobility and the American Dream offered by the supposedly racially inclusive G.I. Bill during the post-war era was an empty check for African Americans in the Deep South. For eligible black veterans, the opportunity to advance socially and economically was ultimately hindered when the bill was administered at the state level. For this reason, the G.I. Bill was anything but inclusive. Congressman Rankin and his supporters had constructed a bill that would abide by the laws of Jim Crow, hindering many black veterans in the South to access the quality schooling, vocational programs, and work benefits that so many white veterans were able to utilize to join the rapidly growing middle class. Despite the sacrifice African Americans had made during World War II on the home front and overseas in the fight for democracy, democracy at home would have to wait. The voices that were silenced during this decade would ring out during the fight for civil rights in the 1960s—a fight that would forever change the lives of millions of African Americans.

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Michael Sinatra

*The Ways of the Victors:
The Fractured Legacy of the Tokyo War Crimes Trial (1946-1948)*

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the Tokyo War Crimes Trials (1946-1948). On the basis of trial records, published opinions of dissenting judges, and first-hand accounts of participants, it addresses the issue of legitimacy that arose during and after the trials. The author challenges the overall positive appraisal of these trials which have often been heralded as the origins of transitional justice.*

KEYWORDS: *modern Japan; post-World War II era; International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE); Tokyo War Crimes Trials (1946-1948); transitional justice; international law; legal history*

Introduction

On April 29, 1946, the first day of the Tokyo War Crimes Trial, presiding judge and tribunal president Sir William Webb of Australia remarked in his opening statement: “there has been no more important criminal trial in all history.”¹ The eleven judges from eleven different Allied nations from around the world had to overcome legal, linguistic, logistical, and political obstacles to guarantee a fair and expeditious trial to the accused. In addition, they were expected to analyze approximately 5,184 admitted exhibits of evidence and a trial transcript of approximately 48,288 pages before reaching their judgment.² Analogous to the Nuremberg Trial of Nazi war criminals which had begun in Germany five months prior, the goal was to see justice served to select Japanese military and civilian leaders indicted for crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, and conventional war crimes.³

The kind of justice these two landmark tribunals sought to dispense was unique and therefore gave rise to a new term in political and legal scholarly circles: “transitional justice.” As historian Kim Christian Priemel has pointed out, the term is “roughly defined as the wide array of legal means to confront the wrongdoings of predecessor regimes in periods of political change.”⁴ For the victorious Allied powers at Nuremberg and Tokyo, the issue of who should be held responsible for the heinous war crimes, crimes against humanity, and

¹ *The Tokyo Judgment: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East (I.M.T.F.E.), 29 April 1946-12 November 1948*, ed. Bernard V. A. Röling and Christiaan F. Rüter, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: APA-University Press, 1977), 1: xi.

² Yuma Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 4-18. For the full court transcripts, see *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, ed. R. John Pritchard and Sonia Magbanua Zaide, 22 vols. (New York and London: Garland, 1981).

³ *Tokyo Judgment*, ed. Röling and Rüter, 1: 31-33.

⁴ Kim Christian Priemel, “Consigning Justice to History: Transitional Trials after the Second World War,” *The Historical Journal* 56, no. 2 (June 2013): 553-581, here 553-554.

blatant wars of aggression the prosecutors described was the great task at hand. Those accused at Nuremberg included Hermann Göring, the highest-ranking Nazi official still alive at the time, and most of them were easily recognizable as a result of the countless propaganda films and news reels in which they had appeared. To hold these men responsible for Nazi Germany's wrongdoings, so that they would receive proper punishment for their crimes, ideally preventing similar criminal acts in the future, seemed logical. The two apparent symbols of Imperial Japan were Emperor Hirohito, who was not indicted or prosecuted, and former Prime Minister Hideki Tojo.⁵ According to historian Kenneth J. Ruoff, what followed after the war in Japan was a campaign "central to efforts by a segment of the political elite to concentrate responsibility for the war on as narrow a group of individuals as possible or to diffuse responsibility so widely and equally that individual accountability was blurred."⁶

When the trial ended on November 12, 1948, members of the small group of twenty-eight accused leaders received seven death sentences and eighteen prison sentences ranging from seven years to life; two of the defendants had died during the trial (from natural causes); and in one case the charges were dismissed due to the accused being deemed unfit for trial.⁷ The judgment itself, as well as the supplementary opinions of four of the five justices, remained unpublished until 1977.⁸ Memoirs and journals from some of the defendants and those in contact with them, American officials involved with Allied General Headquarters (GHQ) and letters from the general public to General Douglas MacArthur all reveal the political and social influences on the trial.⁹

Scholarship regarding the Tokyo Trial intensified during the 1970s, and there are numerous works in both English and Japanese. The study that is often called the most influential critique of the trial is American historian Richard H. Minear's *Victor's Justice* (1971), a powerful and emotional assault on the legitimacy of the trial written amid student protests against the U.S. involvement

⁵ Arnold Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg: The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials* (New York: William Morrow, 1987), 23.

⁶ Kenneth J. Ruoff, *The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945-1995* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 128.

⁷ *Tokyo Judgment*, ed. Röling and Rüter, 1: 464-466.

⁸ Justice Radhabinod Pal of India's dissenting opinion was first published in Calcutta in 1953 and is featured in full in *Tokyo Judgment*, ed. Röling and Rüter, 2: 517-1040, which also features the separate opinion of President Webb (1: 469-480), the concurring opinion of Justice Jaranilla (1: 497-515), and the dissenting opinions of Justice Röling (2: 1041-1148) and Justice Bernard (1: 481-496).

⁹ For an American perspective, see William Sebald and Russell Brines, *With MacArthur in Japan: A Personal History of the Occupation* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1965). For insight from a Japanese perspective, see Shinsho Hanayama, *The Way of Deliverance: Three Years with the Condemned Japanese War Criminals*, trans. Hideo Suzuki, Eiichi Noda, and James K. Sasaki (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950). See also Sodei Rinjiro, *Dear General MacArthur: Letters from the Japanese during the American Occupation* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

in Vietnam.¹⁰ During the last three decades, American historians John W. Dower and Herbert P. Bix have been the most vocal with regard to criticizing American policies during the occupation of Japan, with Bix focusing specifically on the mistake of not indicting the Emperor Hirohito.¹¹ Nariaki Nakazato has chronicled the use of Justice Radhabinod Pal's dissenting opinion as fuel for neo-nationalism mythology and its continued dangers, exactly the type of uproar Japan's neighbors continue to fear today and the danger the victorious Allies wished to extinguish forever.¹² Optimistic historians have considered the Tokyo Trial "the starting point of Japan's confrontation with its past," and others have described the trial as ultimately, successful given the difficulties of the status quo under international law.¹³

This article demonstrates that the Allies ultimately did not succeed in their goal of transitional justice, nor did they fulfill the Potsdam Declaration by eliminating "for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan."¹⁴ This was due in large part to ethnocentric bias and western neo-imperialism, a faulty comparative approach that considered the Nuremberg and Tokyo Trials as fundamentally equal despite clear differences in language, culture, and history, and the failure to address the Emperor of Japan's responsibility or lack thereof for the war. The damage from this postcolonial episode is largely overshadowed by Japan's miraculous postwar recovery and rise as an East Asian powerhouse, but the social and political unrest that is generated in the region by Japan's apparent refusal to accept the past all have roots in the Tokyo Trial. In his dissenting opinion, Justice Radhabinod Pal of India wrote: "it has been said that a victor can dispense to the vanquished everything from mercy to vindictiveness, but the one thing the victor cannot give to the vanquished is justice."¹⁵ This article proves that he was correct.

I. A Misguided Comparison

Over the two and a half years of its proceedings, many questions were raised about the authority of the Tokyo Trial and whether it was capable of adequately

¹⁰ Richard H. Minear, *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

¹¹ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999). See also John W. Dower, *Ways of Forgetting, Ways of Remembering: Japan in the Modern World* (New York: New Press, 2012); and Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2000).

¹² Nariaki Nakazato, *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan: Pal's Dissenting Judgment at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016).

¹³ Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 2. See also Neil Boister and Robert Cryer, *The Tokyo International Military Tribunal: A Reappraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁴ "The Potsdam Declaration," in *Tokyo Judgment*, ed. Röling and Rüter, 1: 514.

¹⁵ Radhabinod Pal, "Judgment of Mr. Justice Pal, member from India," in *Tokyo Judgment*, ed. Röling and Rüter, 2: 1037.

administering justice in the Far East. From the early days of the occupation of Japan, GHQ's insistence on upholding and following the unconventional principles from Nuremberg continued as the trial struggled to establish its foundations. Legal challenges from the defense eventually led to disagreements and dissenting opinions by three of the eleven justices, leaving a pathway open for future observers to question the legitimacy of the trial altogether. The eventual result was the widespread belief that the Tokyo Trial was an exercise of "victor's justice" and not a worthy accomplishment.

The Tokyo Trial was officially named the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE). Ironically, this very name serves as an example of how much the Tokyo Trial owed and often copied its spiritual and legal predecessor, the Nuremberg Trial, which was officially called the International Military Tribunal (IMT). Other examples include the list of charges and the legal grounds used to justify them, the multinational makeup of both the prosecuting attorneys and presiding judges, as well as the physical design of the courtroom itself.¹⁶ From a postcolonial perspective, the U.S. government's decision to follow the principle that all "procedures and policies contemplated or already being applied in Europe related to the trial and punishment of war crimes will be generally applicable in the Far East," regardless of cultural and legal differences, is an example of imperialist logic.¹⁷ However, since both Nuremberg and Tokyo were often criticized as practicing *ex-post facto* laws, a feeling of solidarity between the two tribunals and a tendency of the latter to extensively rely on the former was perhaps unavoidable.¹⁸

At the Nuremberg Trial, the four Allied powers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union shared an equal degree of power and responsibility for the proceedings and the selection of judges with no central authority figure. However, in addition to the complexity and logistical challenges of increasing the number of participating nations to eleven, the Tokyo Trial was under the direct control of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), General Douglas MacArthur. The Charter of the IMTFE stated that only MacArthur had the power to appoint or remove judges, as well as commute or alter sentences.¹⁹ When two of the eleven justices were singled out as unqualified to administer justice by the defense, the rule regarding the appointment of judges provided a helpful response. William Webb's prior work as a trial judge involving Japanese atrocities in New Guinea, as well as Delfin

¹⁶ Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 1-13.

¹⁷ Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 22. For more on this postcolonial/global history approach, see Sebastian Conrad, "Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique," *The American Historical Review* 117, no. 4 (October 2012): 999-1027.

¹⁸ Brackman, *Other Nuremberg*, 148.

¹⁹ "Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (26 April 1946)," in *Documents on the Tokyo International Military Tribunal: Charter, Indictment and Judgments*, ed. Neil Boister and Robert Cryer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7-11.

Jaranilla's experiences as a victim of Japanese atrocities in the Philippines should have disqualified both as impartial justices due to the risk of preexisting prejudices. Despite this, they were allowed to serve because they were appointed by MacArthur, and the tribunal had no power to change its members.²⁰

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Henri Bernard of France wrote: "a verdict reached by a tribunal after a defective procedure cannot be a valid one."²¹ This description of the trial's procedural shortcomings later served Richard Minear well in his landmark monograph *Victor's Justice*. He was quick to point out that the justices for the trial "were selected only from the aggrieved and victor nations. No challenge to their credentials, collective or individual, was allowed. They were themselves the judges of their qualifications and their attendance."²² Unlike in Nuremberg, whenever a judge missed a court session, there was no alternate to take his place, leading several judges to be absent for significant amounts of time.²³ However, these flaws were not lost on several of the justices who oversaw the trial, leading to controversy at its end.

II. A Divided Judgment

To the disappointment of the Allied powers, the judgment reached by the Tokyo Trial judges was far from consistent. In contrast to the Nuremberg Trial's unanimous guilty verdict, three justices at Tokyo wrote dissenting opinions, while the president of the tribunal himself added a separate opinion. Adding to doubts about his impartiality, Justice Jaranilla of the Philippines wrote a concurring judgment not only to rebuke his dissenting colleagues, but to assert that the tribunal's treatment of the accused was too lenient.²⁴ Various challenges by the defense, consisting of allegations of "victor's justice" were rejected for "reasons to be given later," yet when the majority verdict was handed down, there were no reasons to be found.²⁵

The most significant dissenting opinion, which recommended that "each and every one of the accused must be found not guilty of every one of the charges in the indictment and should be acquitted of all those charges," came from Justice Radhabinod Pal of India.²⁶ He listed several factors in his judgment that led to this conclusion. First, he challenged the majority judgment's notion that the Pact of Paris (1928), in which the signatories (two of which were Germany and Japan)

²⁰ Brackman, *Other Nuremberg*, 116.

²¹ Henri Bernard, "Dissenting Opinion of the Member from France," in *Documents on the Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, ed. Boister and Cryer, 676.

²² Minear, *Victor's Justice*, 122.

²³ Nakazato, *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan*, 16.

²⁴ Delfin Jaranilla, "Concurring Opinion of the Member from the Philippines," in *Documents on the Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, ed. Boister and Cryer, 650-651.

²⁵ Boister and Cryer, *Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, 33.

²⁶ Radhabinod Pal, "Dissenting Opinion," in *Documents on the Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, ed. Boister and Cryer, 1422.

agreed to outlaw wars of aggression, was sufficient grounds to indict for crimes against peace, since the Pact allowed for wars waged in self-defense yet did not define how they differed from those waged in aggression. Pal believed it was up to the subjective view of Japan to determine which kind of war it was fighting.²⁷ He also noted, in indirect solidarity with similar motions submitted by the defense during the trial, that the Pact did not criminalize war itself, nor did it offer methods for determining individual responsibility.²⁸ Since all of the accused “Class A” war criminals at Tokyo were indicted for waging wars of aggression, it was only natural for Pal to conclude that this faulty justification was enough to dismiss all charges.

Secondly, Pal argued that the reason for the classification into three categories of war criminals was because of the ultimate responsibility for conventional war crimes. Apart from the Class A war criminals at Tokyo, there were separate trials for “actual perpetrators of war crimes” (Class B), as well as “superior officers who had formulated the plans or given the orders for, or failed to prevent, war crimes” (Class C).²⁹ This further contributed to Pal’s notion that the accused at Tokyo could not and were not shown to be directly culpable of committing war crimes, but were rather included in claims of conspiracy to both commit war crimes and wage aggressive wars.³⁰

Thirdly, Pal agreed that the concept of “victor’s justice” was an issue that should be addressed. He believed that issues in international law had to be agreed upon and applied unanimously among the parties involved. Much like the defense attorneys during the trial had tried to point out (and had subsequently been forced by the tribunal to discontinue) that Allied nations were also responsible for acts that could be called atrocities, Pal declared “if it is really law which is being applied [...] members of the victor nations” should also be prosecuted.³¹

Justice Bernard Röling of the Netherlands offered the second-most important dissenting opinion of the Tokyo Trial. While Röling also questioned the legitimacy of trying the accused for crimes against peace based on the Pact of Paris, he added his doubts about judging “aggressive intent.” In the case of Shigenori Togo, a former foreign minister who was convicted of conspiracy to commit crimes of aggression, among other charges, Röling believed he should have been acquitted of all charges, the reason being that “no one should be

²⁷ *Documents on the Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, ed. Boister and Cryer, 850-851.

²⁸ Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 218-221.

²⁹ Philip R. Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945-1951* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 33.

³⁰ Nakazato, *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan*, 36-39; Piccigallo, *Japanese on Trial*, 31.

³¹ Bernard V. A. Röling, *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond: Reflections of a Peacemonger*, ed. Antonio Cassese (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993), 60; Radhabinod Pal, quoted in Piccigallo, *Japanese on Trial*, 33.

convicted for waging aggressive war if he entered a cabinet during wartime solely with the intention of ending the war.”³² When he reflected on his dissenting opinion later in life, Röling added: “The victor in a war, even in a world war, is not entitled to brand as an international crime everything he dislikes and wants to prosecute for.”³³ In fact, Röling also agreed with the notion that the excessive focus on crimes against peace overshadowed the critically important subject of conventional war crimes in both Nuremberg and Tokyo.³⁴

Pal and Röling differed on the extremity with which they disagreed with the majority judgment submitted at the end of the Tokyo Trial on November 12, 1948. However, they both questioned whether the trial could truly be called “international” due to an overwhelmingly Eurocentric ideology that pervaded it. Despite being a citizen of an imperialist nation (the Netherlands) with colonial holdings in East Asia (Dutch East Indies), Röling cited the exclusion of many Asian nations which had suffered heavily under Japanese occupation, such as Korea and Taiwan.³⁵ He even went so far as to claim that one of the three Asian judges was appointed for political reasons. Justice Jaranilla of the Philippines, who was added after an amendment to the Charter of the IMTFE allowed for eleven justices instead of nine, was “totally Americanized” and did not represent any interests of Asia.³⁶ Pal argued that concepts found in Anglo-American law (such as conspiracy) were not applicable to international law simply because they were accepted by civilized (western) nations.³⁷

Both Justice Bernard of France and Justice Webb of Australia, who filed dissenting and supplementary opinions respectively, raised questions about one of the most criticized elements of the Tokyo Trial: the decision to exclude the Emperor of Japan from all prosecution and courtroom involvement. On the subject of ethnocentric ideology present during the trial and the occupation of Japan in general, historian John Dower has remarked how “the conquering USA now adopted a paternalistic, civilizing mission to ‘guide an immature people with backward institutions to maturity [and] eliminate what was primitive, tribal and ritualistic,’ echoing earlier colonial attitudes towards the Philippines.”³⁸ In other words, the western imperial powers were exercising their right, earned by their victory in the war, to judge and correct the “exception” in the Far East that

³² Bernard V. A. Röling, “Opinion of the Member for the Netherlands,” in *Documents on the Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, ed. Boister and Cryer, 803-807; Radhabinod Pal, “Dissenting Opinion,” in *Documents on the Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, ed. Boister and Cryer, 1422.

³³ Röling, *Tokyo Trial and Beyond*, ed. Cassese, 65.

³⁴ Boister and Cryer, *The Tokyo International Military Tribunal*, 175.

³⁵ Yuki Tanaka, Tim McCormack, and Gerry Simpson, eds., *Beyond Victor’s Justice? The Tokyo War Crimes Trial Revisited* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2011), xxviii.

³⁶ Röling, *Tokyo Trial and Beyond*, ed. Cassese, 28.

³⁷ Nakazato, *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan*, 36-37.

³⁸ John W. Dower, quoted in Barbara Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 2008; first published 2006), 113.

was the Japanese Empire. If this was indeed the goal, the ultimate means to do so would have been the most prominent symbol of all, namely the Emperor.

III. An Emperor Absolved

Ian Buruma offers an insightful analogy how some people have come to view Emperor Hirohito, namely as a Japanese Hitler who escaped prosecution: the Emperor “was not Hitler [...] But the lethal consequences of the emperor-worshipping system of irresponsibilities did emerge during the Tokyo trial. The savagery of Japanese troops was legitimized, if not driven, by an ideology that did not include a Final Solution but was as racist as Hitler’s National Socialism.”³⁹ Both General MacArthur and the U.S. government concluded that sparing the Emperor and using him as a symbol to unify postwar Japan was more favorable than prosecuting him or forcing him to abdicate. What resulted in Japanese society was “a deep cynicism and distrust of legal measures in dealing with war responsibility.”⁴⁰ It was after initial Japanese public reaction to the Tokyo Trial that the concept of “victim’s history” is said to have been born.⁴¹

Prior to Herbert Bix’s Pulitzer Prize-winning book *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (2000), many believed that the Emperor’s efforts to help end the war far outweighed any potential guilt he had had in starting it. When asked in the 1980s whether he supported the decision not to indict the Emperor, Bernard Röling replied that he still did, stating that many scholars had come to the wrong conclusions because of linguistic and cultural differences, as well as not understanding “the very complicated structure of the Japanese government.”⁴² Justice Pal believed that any debate on whether the Emperor should be prosecuted was “highly improper and irrelevant.”⁴³ This played directly into the hands of MacArthur and the GHQ’s neo-imperialist objectives, as the victimized Emperor of a victimized people was the perfect figure to lead Japan into becoming a more modern, westernized partner in the American sphere of influence in Asia. The Japanese people followed suit, as “it was easier for many Japanese to see themselves in the emperor than to reflect seriously on the responsibility of not just the ‘militarists’ but of the people for fifteen years of war.”⁴⁴

³⁹ Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York: New York Review Books, 1994), 172.

⁴⁰ Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 318.

⁴¹ Totani, *Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 255. For the similar concept of “victim consciousness” in Postwar Japan, see James J. Orr, *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 1-13.

⁴² Röling, *Tokyo Trial and Beyond*, ed. Cassese, 42.

⁴³ Quoted in Nakazato, *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan*, 38.

⁴⁴ Ruoff, *People’s Emperor*, 136.

In the words of John Dower, at the Tokyo Trial, “the prosecution functioned, in effect, as a defense team for the emperor” with the full support of American leadership at GHQ.⁴⁵ While on the witness stand, the former Prime Minister and perhaps the most recognizable face of Japan’s wartime history, Hideki Tojo, was actively maneuvered by the prosecution to avoid entangling the Emperor. During cross-examination on December 31, 1947, Tojo referenced that no Japanese subject could go against the will of the Emperor, thus implying the Emperor had the power to end or avoid the war altogether but chose not to. Perhaps more shocking, Dower claims, was “the simplest of tactics: nonaction. Despite the charge to do so, neither SCAP nor the IPS [International Prosecution Section] ever conducted a serious investigation of the emperor’s involvement in promotion aggression.”⁴⁶

Even if the prosecution had followed its duties and conducted an investigation, it is difficult to assess if it could have mounted a concrete case or not. As Herbert Bix has noted, many imperial records were kept secret until after Emperor Hirohito’s death, while some are kept secret still.⁴⁷ However, based on the extensive research conducted by both Dower and Bix, there is very little doubt that can be raised against the statement that “at the end of the war as at its beginning, and through every stage of its unfolding, Emperor Hirohito played a highly active role in supporting the actions carried out in his name.”⁴⁸ The loyalty shown by the Emperor’s Class A war-criminal subjects was also utilized by GHQ, which went as far as deliberate witness tampering on numerous occasions.⁴⁹

This sense of loyalty offers some explanation as to why Hideki Tojo, who attempted suicide after remarking “I should like not to be judged before a conqueror’s court,” eventually changed his views and took responsibility for the entire war.⁵⁰ Tojo’s sense of responsibility was deeply personal, as he remarked in a statement he wished conveyed to the public: “So far as I am concerned, the sentence of death is deserved. [...] At least, the Emperor was not involved, and that is a great comfort. [...] It is my responsibility that I was unable to drive home, in the Army and elsewhere, the traditional benevolence of the Japanese people and the humanity of the Emperor.”⁵¹

⁴⁵ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 326.

⁴⁶ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 325.

⁴⁷ Bix, *Hirohito*, 3-7.

⁴⁸ Bix, *Hirohito*, 519.

⁴⁹ Bix, *Hirohito*, 584. On March 6, 1946, MacArthur’s subordinate Brigadier General Bonner Fellers explicitly directed former Navy Minister Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai to instruct Hideki Tojo on what to say in court, saying Tojo and wartime Navy Minister Shigetaro Shimada should bear total responsibility.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Brackman, *Other Nuremberg*, 44.

⁵¹ Quoted in Hanayama, *Way of Deliverance*, 200.

Although Tojo was arguably the face of the ultranationalist militarism that many still believe had led Japan and its people into a cataclysmic war, he was eventually portrayed as a martyr sacrificed to victor's justice. Meanwhile, the Emperor "had been formally responsible for everything, and by holding him responsible for nothing, everybody [except the war criminals] was absolved."⁵² Embracing the sentiment of "victim's history," many Japanese believed that, because of militarists like Tojo, Japan had become the victim of extensive aerial bombardment (including the first ever use of atomic weapons) which had resulted in millions of civilian casualties. Simultaneously, the fealty of Tojo and other high-ranking subordinates, accepting responsibility for the war in service to the Emperor, led many Japanese to admire neo-nationalism and emulate his words and actions.

Conclusion

For the seventy years since the adjournment of the IMTFE, it is difficult to find examples that lasting justice had been served in Tokyo in 1948. Once Japan regained its sovereignty in 1953, the remaining Class A war criminals were all paroled within four years. In 1957, one of those accused, yet never formally indicted war criminals, Nobusuke Kishi, became Prime Minister of Japan and served until 1960. His son, Shinzo Abe, serves as Prime Minister and the head of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) at the time of writing.

In 1985, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of the LDP visited Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, which serves as the shrine that honors all Japanese citizens who have died in the nation's wars since 1868. It was this shrine which in 1978, despite great controversy (and with help from the LDP itself), enshrined the seven defendants executed by the IMTFE for war crimes. This official visit, which has been repeated by subsequent prime ministers and high-ranking government officials, enrages Japan's East Asian neighbors whenever it is performed almost as much as the official policy of "general regret" rather than sincere apology.⁵³

How Japan's official position regarding its past wars and the damage inflicted by previous leaders will change is a critical question for future studies of U.S.-Japan relations, as well as international law. An editorial writer for the *Yomiuri* newspaper penned in 2004 that "no one should forget that Japan's peace and prosperity today are founded upon the death of 3.1 million Japanese in the war."⁵⁴ But as one Japanese ex-serviceman lamented immediately after the war: "even the emperor gets away without taking responsibility, so there is no need

⁵² Buruma, *Wages of Guilt*, 176.

⁵³ Dower, *Ways of Forgetting*, *Ways of Remembering*, 129.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Akiko Hashimoto, *The Long Defeat: Cultural Trauma, Memory, and Identity in Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 62.

for us to take responsibility, no matter what we did.”⁵⁵ Thus, the “victim’s history” narrative is still alive and well in Japan.

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⁵⁵ Quoted in Ruoff, *People’s Emperor*, 133.

Miguel A. Quirarte

*A Bloody Memory:
Tlatelolco (1968) in Mexican Pop Culture*

ABSTRACT: *This article examines Mexico's Tlatelolco Massacre of 1968 in the country's collective memory through the lens of popular culture. Referencing posters, poems, literature, films, theater performances, and monuments, the author argues that, over the past fifty years, the memory of the Tlatelolco Massacre has changed from that of an incident primarily affecting the young and privileged middle class, via the notion of yet another cycle in the country's history of bloodshed, to the collective understanding that Tlatelolco was a national injustice that affects all Mexicans.*

KEYWORDS: 1968; Mexico; Tlatelolco; popular culture; collective memory; activism; remembrance; nationalism

Introduction

The 1968 Olympics, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, the *Plaza de Tres Culturas* ("Square of the Three Cultures"), and Tlatelolco: people outside of Mexico might not see the connection between these words. They might not be aware that Mexico hosted the Olympics in 1968, that President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz held office (1964-1970) during the Games, and that the *Plaza de Tres Culturas* is a town square, rich in history and located in an area of Mexico City known as Tlatelolco. But for Mexican people since 1968 these words synchronize and reflect an infamous stain on the country's history: the Tlatelolco Massacre of 1968. In that year, a student movement publicly protested the social injustices that were tolerated by the government and periodically held demonstrations.¹ The government, run by the undefeated party *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* ("Institutional Revolutionary Party," abbreviated "PRI"), strove to depict Mexico as a "modern nation" worthy of holding a global event like the Olympics. The two sides clashed on October 2, 1968. The military and police in disguise shot at thousands of students and sympathizers gathered at the *Plaza de Tres Culturas*. The number of casualties remains unknown, yet citizens at the time and ever since have condemned the government for refusing to take responsibility.

Perhaps due to the lack of attention from the government at the time, as well as its successors, Mexicans took matters into their own hands and fashioned a

¹ Elena Poniatowska, "The Student Movement of 1968," in *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, and Politics*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson (London: Duke University Press, 2002), 555-569, here 562-564. As of 2018, the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (Institutional Revolutionary Party, abbreviated "PRI") has not issued a statement claiming responsibility of the Tlatelolco Massacre. Government documents revealing the exact number of casualties from the shoot-out on October 2, 1968, have yet to be released. The Administration of President Díaz Ordaz claimed that the number did not exceed 75, while other sources estimate 200 to 300 casualties. See Julio Scherer García and Carlos Monsiváis, *Parte de Guerra, Tlatelolco 1968: Documentos del General Marcelino García Barragán: Los Hechos y la Historia* (Mexico City: Nuevo Siglo Aguilar, 1999), 142.

culture of remembering the tragedy through visual and performing arts. Known as the *Generation of 1968*, intellectuals and artist activists kept the memory alive by creating a *Tlatelolco '68* genre to remind other Mexicans of their duty to demand justice from the government. This produced an “us vs. them” structure that separated the victim (Mexican-ness) from the oppressor (the non-Mexican). Initially, this approach isolated certain people. So, in response, the movement stretched the “us” identity to include all Mexicans within the country’s national borders, both past and present. Expanding the national identity to relate the massacre, the movement evolved in tactics and mediums to deliver a national collective memory. The core theme shifted from focusing on testimonies from the survivors to establishing the massacre as part of Mexican history – to presenting it as a tragedy for all corners of the nation and not just Mexico City. Over the last fifty years (1968-2018), paintings, cartoons, poems, novels, films, documentaries, memorials, and songs have come to form a *Tlatelolco* artistic tradition which successfully situates the 1968 *Tlatelolco* Massacre in the Mexican national consciousness. The memory of the *Tlatelolco* Massacre has become part of the Mexican identity as popular culture has portrayed the event as a national injustice that affects all Mexican citizens.

I. Written Still Images: Early Cartoons, Poems, and Testimonial Literature

The birth of *Tlatelolco '68* in pop culture happened shortly after the massacre, because the government tried to diffuse the attention paid to the event. Silencing and dismissing the carnage prevailed even on the same day, October 2. An hour after the massacre had ended, the military took away dead bodies, cleansed the street of spilled blood, incarcerated surviving student activists, and –most importantly –forced media outlets to reduce the attention paid to the massacre and focus more on the Olympics that would take place ten days later. Mexican author Carlos Monsiváis (1938-2010) described 1968 under Díaz Ordaz as “everything [is] government and almost nothing is opposition.”² Logically for the government, and more precisely the PRI, Mexico had everything to lose should a public disturbance affect the international community, particularly the image of a modern government that was increasing domestic production and attracting foreign companies to invest in the country.³ Collaborating with the federal government, newscasts like *Telesistema* omitted or diverted attention from the student movement both before and after the massacre. When newscasters mentioned the students, they portrayed them as violent collaborators with international Communists. Channel 4’s *Noticieros Novedades* warned parents to

² Scherer García and Monsiváis, *Parte de Guerra*, 61.

³ The PRI was in power from 1929 until 2000. In each presidential election, held every six, a PRI candidate always won the vote. The party used its name as a legitimacy leverage, reminding the country of the Revolution that had overthrown the dictator Porfirio Díaz. The PRI claimed that it was implementing “postulates and principles emanating from the Revolution.” See Poniatowska, “Student Movement,” 557.

“keep [their] children away from participating in other student activities.”⁴ After the massacre, televised broadcasts and newspapers excluded accounts from bystanders or the students themselves. Attention shifted to the Olympics, celebrating Mexican athletes as national heroes. The government-backed mainstream media ostracized and silenced the student movement and its sympathizers from the very beginning.

As public outlets were dismissing the student movement, the student activists and their sympathizers took matters into their own hands and established the blueprints for the *Tlatelolco genre* in pop culture. Survivors of the massacre gave performances in the streets and printed their own propaganda, depicting the government as murderers, silencers, and manipulators of the media.⁵ The Mexican Autonomous National University/*Universidad Nacional de Autonomía Mexicana* (U.N.A.M.) offered a platform for the student movement to express its discontent with the government’s authoritarian retaliation, as well as President Díaz Ordaz, the Olympics, and the military *granaderos* (“grenadiers” or riot police). The school helped create cartoons that parodied the Mexican Olympics’ ring logo as military equipment and portrayed the press as politically-bribed puppets regurgitating political agendas.⁶ The artists of these works implied that the Olympics and the Mexican government were collaborating to create a façade of the country at the expense of the well-being of the people. With such images, the *Tlatelolco ‘68* movement established its first spatial barriers between “us/students” and “them/politics/press.” Although the movement emphasized student victims and survivors as the “us” group, they also implied that their group represented the true essence of Mexico, while the government and press stood for the anti-Mexico side, for corruption, greed, and power.

During the first few years after the tragedy, the *Generation of 1968* included not only the survivors and family members of the Tlatelolco victims, but other sympathizers as well. The country’s Ambassador to India, Octavio Paz (1914-1998), resigned two days after the massacre in response to the government’s failure to take action and assume responsibility.⁷ Paz then composed and shared a poem, “Mexico: Olimpiada de 1968,” with the Poets’ Global Encounter (*Encuentro Mundial de Poetas*), condemning the state: “An entire nation is

⁴ Celeste González de Bustamante, “1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares: Imagining and Imaging Modernity on Television,” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26, no. 1 (2010): 1-30, here 17; Victoria Carpenter, “‘Y El Olor De la Sangre Manchaba El Aire’: Tlatelolco 1968 in José Emilio Pacheco’s ‘Lectura De Los ‘Cantares Mexicanos’,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 95, no. 4 (2018): 451-474, here 452.

⁵ González de Bustamante, “1968 Olympic Dreams,” 4, 24.

⁶ Ester Montero, “Mexico 68” and “Prensa Corrupta,” image 538 and 539, Mexico City (Mexico), U.N.A.M. (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), Archivo Histórico, Ester Montero, Mexico 68, poster, accessed April 29, 2019, and Ester Montero, Prensa Corrupta, poster, accessed April 29, 2019.

⁷ Scherer García and Monsiváis, *Parte de Guerra*, 135.

ashamed [...] municipal employees clean the blood in the Sacrifice Plaza. Look now, stained before I said anything worthy" ("una nación entera se avergüenza / [...] los empleados municipales lavan la sangre en la Plaza de los Sacrificios / Mira ahora, manchada antes de haber dicho algo que valga la pena").⁸ Paz channeled his frustration and disappointment with the government in literary and artistic form. For the former ambassador, the PRI government had audaciously covered the incident, had washed their hands, literally and figuratively, and used additional methods to erase the massacre from history instead of taking responsibility and issuing an apology. Other poets composed similar poetry condemning the state and sending their condolences to the victims and survivors. The Mexican poet Jaime Sabines (1926-1999) wrote that "the crime remains there, hidden in newspaper articles, televised broadcasts, radios, with Olympic flags" ("El crimen está allí, cubierto de hojas de periódicos, con televisores, con radios, con banderas olímpicas").⁹ Sabines accused the government of selling out for profit. The tragedy had been covered up so quickly that not even those responsible knew the number of casualties. Other poets, including José Emilio Pacheco, Héctor Manjarrez, and David Huerta wrote poems on similar topics: the corrupt government, the unknown death toll, and the silent conspiracies, and that "October 2 is never forgotten." It seemed that the movement of student survivors and artists would not stop publishing art and literature until the government would pay for its alleged crimes and release information on the whereabouts of the missing bodies.

Other types of literature also emerged on the topic of the Tlatelolco Massacre. In 1971, Elena Poniatowska, the most influential author on the topic, published a signature work, *La Noche de Tlatelolco* ("The Night of Tlatelolco"). Using her background as a journalist, Poniatowska collected interviews, chants, slogans, and banners from student movement survivors. Her book is divided into two sections, before and after October 2, with only a short introduction from the author to set the tone.¹⁰ An example of Mexican oral history, *La Noche de Tlatelolco* further distinguished the Tlatelolco movement, defining its literature as part of the *novela testimonial* ("testimonial literature") genre. The writing style synchronizes "concrete experiences of a living person," the facts, with the "author's fictional approach."¹¹ The book allows the raw material to speak for itself and abstains from interpreting the Tlatelolco Massacre. The accounts create a still image of the event, frozen in time, for others to travel to the night of the

⁸ Scherer García and Monsiváis, *Parte de Guerra*, 135.

⁹ Jaime Sabines, "Tlatelolco, 68," in *Poemas y narraciones sobre el movimiento estudiantil de 1968*, ed. Marco Antonio Campos and Alejandro Toledo, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), 48-51, here 48.

¹⁰ Elena Poniatowska, *La Noche de Tlatelolco: Testimonios de historia oral* (Mexico City: Ediciones ERA, 1971), 13.

¹¹ Mary Ellen Kiddle, "The 'Novela Testimonial' in Contemporary Mexican Literature," *Confluencia* 1, no. 1 (1985): 82-89, here 82.

massacre and live or relive it. This medium provided another platform for those affected by the tragedy to demand the truth to be exposed or to release their frustrations. Other authors at the time wrote novels with fictional characters, using the Tlatelolco Massacre as a theme and as background. These, too, served as foundational material for subsequent authors and researchers on Tlatelolco. Above all, works like Poniatowska's *La Noche de Tlatelolco* aimed at shattering the mythical image of a "modern" and corruption-free Mexico.

The movement faced challenges to deliver a national message, as some people could not relate to the first wave of *Tlatelolco '68*. Because of the politically-driven press, those who remained outside of the movement and its circle of sympathizers interpreted the massacre as a class struggle and not as a Mexican struggle. Televised broadcasts and newspapers speculated that Communist espionage had corrupted the minds of the youth.¹² Especially to the older generation such conspiracy theories explained what they viewed as an artificial problem during prosperous times: Why would Mexico be suffering when it was hosting the Summer Olympics? Other communities—workers for example—viewed the massacre as a result of what privileged, middle-class, juvenile misbehavior had brought upon itself. Early literature did not help embed *Tlatelolco '68* as a national concern either. The *novela testimonial* genre, including Poniatowska's publication, meant to freeze images of Tlatelolco to prevent the injustice from fading into the abyss, yet it also placed the event into the past without any narrative relating the topic to the present. Samuel Steinberg argues that the raw sources of the 1968 massacre, presented as written still images, remain "only imaginable" and "hold the viewer at a critical distance."¹³ Thus, in its early years, the *Generation of 1968* did not persuade the nation that the Tlatelolco Massacre was a tragedy that affected the country as a whole.

II. *Tlatelolco '68 and the Cycle of Mexican Historical Tragedies*

Subsequent decades helped the *Generation of 1968* to reinvigorate the memory of Tlatelolco as an injustice to the nation as it applied to Mexican history. A 1985 earthquake that damaged Mexico City, including Tlatelolco, brought back images of the massacre that had taken place only seventeen years earlier. The earthquake left almost 2,000 buildings destroyed and an estimated 7,000 people dead.¹⁴ The devastation and government negligence upset the survivors. The

¹² Kiddle, "Novela Testimonial," 83.

¹³ Samuel Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco: Afterimages of Mexico, 1968* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), 2. Steinberg is a Professor of Spanish and Portuguese and Comparative Literature at the University of Southern California.

¹⁴ Liliana López Levi and Alejandra Toscana Aparicio, "Vulnerabilidad en Tlatelolco a tres décadas de los sismos de 1985," *Política y cultura* 45 (2016): 125-152, here 143; Amanda Ledwon, "Let Us Weep Among the Dust: Recycled Poems of 1968 and Operas of Earthquake," in *Mexico in Verse: A History of Music, Rhyme, and Power*, ed. Stephen Neufeld and Michael Matthews (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 298-336, here 307.

state did not help residents before or after the earthquake. Some buildings had already shown poor construction, and national aid arrived late, leaving locals to form their own communities to rescue trapped survivors. Soon people began to notice the similarities between the devastation and state response after the 1985 earthquake and the bloody massacre of 1968. Both tragedies happened in the same place, many perished or remained missing, and the Mexican government failed to respond in time, or at all, to aid its citizens. *Déjà vu* lingered in the minds of not just the residents of Mexico City and Tlatelolco, but the artists and intellectuals of the *Generation of 1968*.

The state attempted to make amends by remembering the victims of the earthquake with an artistic vigil that ironically did more harm than good to the government and strengthened the Tlatelolco Massacre as an immortal collective memory. Under the leadership of the Secretary of Public Education, Miguel González Avelar, the PRI hosted a *Día de Los Muertos* ("Day of the Dead") festivity to honor the victims and invited poets to compose new works or recite works already published. The authors included Tlatelolco Movement veterans like Carlos Monsiváis, José Emilio Pacheco, Octavio Paz, and Jaime Sabines.¹⁵ While the government had intended the poets' and writers' pieces as a means to strengthen fraternity, solidarity, and nationalism among all Mexicans, the result excluded the government. Pacheco's *Our Endless Night* ("La noche nuestra interminable") related 1968 and 1985, stating "how many disasters have I already survived, how many dead friends, how much pain" ("Cuántos desastres ya he sobrevivido, cuántos amigos muertos, cuánto dolor").¹⁶ The poem reflected the feelings of those who had witnessed the massacre and the earthquake as a vicious cycle due to political impotence. Contrary to the government's intent, the poems recited in 1985 opened communication and common experiences across classes in the Tlatelolco region. The wider community ceased to associate the student massacre of 1968 with incidents in Paris or Berkeley, and began to view it as a stain on Mexican history now echoed by the 1985 earthquake. And since the government offered limited communication, poetry and other forms of Tlatelolco popular culture became the medium for the frustrated citizens.

With the parallel image of the student massacre of 1968 and the 1985 earthquake in mind, new mediums of art experimented with elements of time. Cinematography strengthened the notion of the massacre as a cause for the wider community with a style that shortened the gap of time that had passed. For example, director Jorge Fons's 1990 film *Rojo Amanecer* ("Red Dawn") interprets the Tlatelolco Massacre at the *Plaza de Tres Culturas* from the residents' perspective. The majority of its plot takes place inside a family's apartment home in the Chihuahua building, one of the structures near the student protest on October 2 that the military used to prevent escape. Each family member of the

¹⁵ Ledwon, "Let Us Weep," 300.

¹⁶ Ledwon, "Let Us Weep," 317.

different generations symbolizes different eras of modern Mexican history.¹⁷ The grandfather represents the Revolutionary period, being a veteran himself; the father represents the post-Revolution institutional era as he works for the state, and the older sons are student activists, thus representing the student movement's youngest era. The film ends with the *Batallón Olimpia* ("Olympic Battalion") killing the family, except for the youngest child who hides during the raid.¹⁸ While Fons relates the tragedy to all walks of life, the film also embeds the element of movement in time. Thus, as *Tlatelolco '68* art shifted from still images to motion, it created a narrative that delivered its message more effectively. *Rojo Amanecer's* script and visuals detached the massacre from 1968 and moved it into the view of people in 1989. Unlike Poniatowska's *Noche de Tlatelolco*, modern cinema offered a more well-rounded story, including sound, facial expressions, and dialogue that made viewers "re-live" the massacre of 1968.

Art in motion extended beyond film into live performance. The original Tlatelolco movement had already staged reenactments of the massacre within days of the incident. As each subsequent president offered a more tolerant public spectrum of diverse perspectives, plays about the Tlatelolco Massacre, known as *Teatro del '68*, blossomed in the years prior to the new millennium. Stage representations provided a therapeutic element not found in poems, images, or even film. According to Virginia Tech Spanish Professor Jacqueline E. Bixler, stage productions create an "eternal present, social immediacy, and direct link with the audience."¹⁹ Playwrights and performers applied that methodology to themes of the massacre. The reshaping of the event connects the audience in a form of knowledge, rather than just collective "memory." In the play *Conmemorantes* by Emilio Carballido (1925-2008), a mother returns to the *Plaza* years after the massacre to commemorate her dead son alongside other characters on stage. The mother pleads with them to not forget her son, but she also directs the line to the audience to take that as a lesson.²⁰ When performed, the play took advantage of where it was staged to increase a feeling of sadness or oppression. In a 1997 production, a prison served as the theater for the audience to relate to the victims' despair. For many people, the close proximity between art and viewer made the memory more vivid than ever before.

¹⁷ Samuel Steinberg, "Re-cinema: Hauntology of 1968," *Discourse* 33, no.1 (2011): 3-26, here 15-16.

¹⁸ A military squadron, the *Batallón Olimpia* hid among the crowds on October 2, wearing civilian clothes but either white gloves or white bandages on their hands so that the military could identify them. They shot at the crowd from the Chihuahua Building and rounded people up who were hiding in the same and other buildings near the *Plaza*. They helped to either apprehend or kill people who sought refuge.

¹⁹ Jacqueline E. Bixler, "Re-membering the Past: Memory-Theatre and Tlatelolco," *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 2 (2002): 119-135, here 124.

²⁰ Bixler, "Re-membering the Past," 128.

This new wave of the Tlatelolco movement did not just establish a link between the earthquake and the student massacre; it also connected them to Mexican history dating back to pre-Columbian and colonial times. Tlatelolco, in particular the *Plaza de Tres Culturas*, reminded artists of the location's notorious bloody past and thus they applied it to convey the relevance of *Tlatelolco '68* as part of a cycle of murder and injustice dating back centuries. A market and center of wealth during the Aztec Empire, *Tlatelolco* means "the place of the heap of sand" in Nahuatl.²¹ The *Plaza de Tres Culturas* derives its name from the three cultures represented at this site: Aztec ruins (pre-colonial/Indigenous), the Cathedral of Saint James/*Catedral de Santiago* (colonial/Spanish), and residential buildings (post-Revolutionary/Mexican). Each period reminds one of blood and sacrifice. The Aztecs had performed sacrificial rituals to appease the gods, and their ruler Cuauhtémoc had surrendered to the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés at Tlatelolco, which then paved the way for the genocide of the Indigenous by the Spanish.²² Thus, the massacre of 1968 now reminded Mexicans that the spilling of blood was part of their country's foundation. To convey how the past affected the present, the site became the embodiment of Mexican blood sacrifice that had always involved victims and oppressors.

Periods of blood and sacrifice throughout Mexican history also began to infuse *Tlatelolco '68* visual art. In 1989, the Canadian-Mexican artist Arnold Belkin (1930-1992) painted a mural titled *Tlatelolco, lugar del sacrificio* ("Tlatelolco, the place of sacrifice"). The mural portrays the 1968 massacre with elements of the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs and the 1985 earthquake. Crumbled buildings appear on the right side. In the center, the military and student movement collide on a platform that resembles the top of an Aztec pyramid. Belkin also compares the student movement to indigenous people and the military to the Spanish conquistadors. The army wear helmets that resemble those worn by the Spaniards in 1521. One of the students lays dead with his torso slit open, and two Aztec figures on the far left side kneel near him and treat him as an offering as they look to the heavens.²³ To officially include the student massacre in the pantheon of Mexican blood sacrifices, a memorial stele was erected in 1993 at the *Plaza* next to the *Catedral de Santiago*. The surface features the names of some of the people who had lost their lives on October 2, 1968. Toward the bottom, there

²¹ David Conde, "October 1968 Ushered in a New Mexican Political and Literary Generation," *La Voz Bilingüe* 24, no. 40 (1998): 6; López Levi and Toscana Aparicio, "Vulnerabilidad en Tlatelolco," 140. Nahuatl was the language of the Aztecs. See Carpenter, "'Y El Olor De la Sangre,'" 459.

²² Conde, "October 1968," 6. The last Aztec ruler, Cuauhtémoc II, surrendered to the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortez in 1521, thus bringing an end to the Aztec Empire and transforming the region into a colony for Spain. Many indigenous groups perished due to disease or were killed by the Spaniards.

²³ Arnold Belkin (1930-1992), *Tlatelolco, lugar del sacrificio*, 1989, mural, Toluca (Mexico), Centro Cultural Mexiquense (CCM), Biblioteca Pública Central, vestibule.

is an excerpt from a poem by the Mexican author Rosario Castellanos Figueroa (1925-1974), the full-length version of which concludes with the verse, “Recuerdo, recordemos. Hasta que la justicia se siente entre nosotros.” (“I remember, we remember. Until justice feels among us.”)²⁴ The Tlatelolco movement reached a wider range of supporters and members of Mexican society to recognize the Tlatelolco Massacre of 1968 as a scar with regard to Mexican history and national identity.

III. Tlatelolco '68: Beyond the Plaza de Tres Culturas

Despite the progress that the Tlatelolco pop culture had made to present the massacre of 1968 as a national outcry, the nation as a unified community still could not relate or pay attention to the historical tragedy, let alone seek justice for its victims. Film, theater, art pieces, and literature had removed the massacre from an isolated time period irrelevant to the Mexican identity. Nevertheless, *Tlatelolco '68* remained a collective memory mostly in Mexico City, the location that had experienced the actual bloodbath. Survivors and sympathizers were facing two obstacles: how to make Tlatelolco relate to contemporary issues, and how to make those issues speak to all Mexicans. Whether one lived in Mexico City, Jalisco, Chiapas, Chihuahua, or Veracruz, art and literature had to show how the massacre, even though it had taken place decades earlier and in one particular region, was still affecting the Mexican identity.

Filmmakers transformed the image of Tlatelolco with the element of space. Similar to how preceding artists had projected the massacre from a certain point in time into other periods in Mexican history, a particular director now took Tlatelolco to various parts of the country. In 2008, cinematographer Ximena Labra made a documentary, using replicas of the memorial stele at the *Plaza de Tres Culturas*. The idea had come to her when she had seen the original stele neglected and portions of it deteriorated. Thus, she determined to bring the memory of the Tlatelolco Massacre literally out of the Tlatelolco region. After making the replicas, Ximena placed them in several places in Mexico City, including U.N.A.M., the *Monumento de la Revolucion* (“Monument of the Revolution”), and the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* cultural center.²⁵ She then filmed the locations where she had placed the replicas, including the way people reacted or treated them, hoping to create a collective, daily, and ubiquitous memory of the Tlatelolco Massacre. Her film only lasts fifteen minutes, but it makes a strong statement on the importance of remembering Tlatelolco. Labra incorporates Richard Strauss’s music, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, to convey a long-lost artifact in

²⁴ Arnulfo Aquino Casas, *Memorial a las Víctimas del Masacre Estudiantil*, stone stele, Mexico City (Mexico).

²⁵ Christian Wehr, “La matanza de Tlatelolco en la memoria pública: Carlos Mendoza y Ximena Labra,” *A Contra corriente: Una revista de historia social y literatura de América Latina/A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America* 12, no. 1 (2014): 229-242, here 235.

need of recognition.²⁶ Her message is clear: the memory of *Tlatelolco '68* is in danger of extinction. Interpreting the tragedy as a mere repetition of bloodshed in Mexico fails to bring national attention to its full potential. Activists and artists need new methods of utilizing space to make *Tlatelolco '68* a household name across the country. Ximena Labra's work marks a new phase of *Tlatelolco* art that strives to include people from all over Mexico.

Artists and intellectuals in the new millennium continued to present their work as a cry for justice to the nation well beyond the location of the 1968 massacre. Their predecessors had established the *Tlatelolco '68* movement in response to one of the many dark incidents in Mexican history—the sacrifice of the innocent by the oppressors—to keep the memory alive in hopes of one day bringing justice to the victims. Past and present collided to achieve that, but the generation after the initial *Tlatelolco '68* artists strove to implant the message in a fashion similar to Ximena Labra's documentary, namely by experimenting with space. More fictional interpretations of the massacre were created in the early twenty-first century—more art pieces, songs, and films like director Carlos Bolado's 2013 feature *Tlatelolco, Verano del '68* ("Tlatelolco, Summer of '68").²⁷ The memory prevailed, at least among the creative, intellectual, and activist side of the Mexican population. On the other hand, the rest of the population still needed to come together in large numbers and demonstrate that the memory of *Tlatelolco '68* extended beyond the middle-class youth, beyond Mexican time, and beyond Mexican space—that it affected anyone with a Mexican identity.

The most recent prominent expression of the *Tlatelolco '68* movement occurred in 2018, the fiftieth anniversary of the massacre. After decades of manifesting the memory of *Tlatelolco* in literature, film, theatrical performances, and images, it seems that the artistic and literary movement was finally achieving its long-awaited goal and including the entire nation. Mexican citizens were honoring the site of the massacre. At the *Plaza de Tres Culturas*, poems, speeches, and even Indigenous dances brought communities together, similarly to the 1985 artistic event after the great earthquake. Yet the anniversary also reached places outside of *Tlatelolco*. In Mexico City, marches began from *Tlatelolco* and other locations and made their way across the city, all ending at the *Plaza de la Constitución* ("Square of the Constitution"), also known as the *Zócalo*.²⁸ Other marches followed elsewhere, like in the state of Quintana Roo in

²⁶ Wehr, "Matanza de Tlatelolco," 238.

²⁷ Carolina Rivera, Luis Felipe Ybarra, and Carlos Bolado, *Tlatelolco, Verano del '68*, DVD, directed by Carlos Bolado (Mexico City: Eficine Productions, 2013).

²⁸ Julio Hernández López, "2-0: Lo oficial y lo popular/Ceremonias y discursos/Demanda de cambios reales/Barros Sierra, en Lugar de GDO," *La Jornada Maya* (October 3, 2018): 16, [Hernández López, 2-0: Lo oficial y lo popular, article](#), accessed April 29, 2019. The *Plaza de la Constitución* in Mexico City features several governmental buildings, such as the National Palace and other federal buildings, a flagpole and a very large Mexican flag in the center of the open space. The *Plaza* serves as a gathering place for national ceremonies as well as protests.

the Yucatán Peninsula and in Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico. Participants were not just college students or young people, but Mexicans from all walks of life. Individual testimonies spoke of the massacre in a national, not class-related tone. The former chancellor of U.N.A.M. recalled the student movement as another [Mexican] revolution of “love, happiness, [and] celebration” that spoke to all [national] social movements for justice and democracy.”²⁹ The 1968 bloodbath at the *Plaza de Tres Culturas* had begun the march toward democracy for all citizens. According to people in 2018, the movement just happened to have started with college students from the central region.

The Mexican population not only kept the memory alive but also understood the key players: the heroes/martyrs and the antagonists/oppressors of the story. The masses associated the student movement with the heart of the country and the Díaz Ordaz administration with an unwanted tumor, thus eliminating emblems celebrating the former president and other personnel working under his leadership. A Díaz Ordaz iconoclasm swept the nation. Local residents and activists in states like Baja California and Chihuahua advocated to rename monuments, streets, and other public spaces that had originally been named to honor Díaz Ordaz.³⁰ Even cities miles away from the *Plaza de Tres Culturas* refused to associate themselves with a leader who had performed his duties not in the nation’s best interest, but his own. The nation cleansed itself from the negative elements of the massacre, no longer celebrating the political leadership of the time but condemning President Díaz Ordaz as an oppressive force outside of the Mexican identity, even if that same entity had once held the title of president of the nation. The movement and memory of *Tlatelolco ‘68* did not achieve justice, for example in the form of legal action against those involved who were still alive in 2018, such as Díaz Ordaz’s Secretary of the Interior, Luis Echeverría. Nevertheless, the movement has won the hearts of the nation entirely through art and literature, and has embedded *Tlatelolco* as a national icon in Mexican popular culture.

Conclusion

Over the past fifty years, artistic representations of the 1968 *Tlatelolco* student massacre have gone through many stages and assimilations. Images and literature evolved to extend to Mexicans from all walks of life and regardless of their places of residence to keep the memory alive and bring the political perpetrators to justice. Since the very beginning, images served as the foundation of the artistic *Tlatelolco ‘68* movement. Because national news channels and printed press were siding with the government, whether voluntarily or not, the student movement and its sympathizers took matters into their own hands. The

²⁹ Armando G. Tejeda, “Con el movimiento estudiantil nació una revolución que se quedó para siempre,” *La Jornada* (October 3, 2018): 8, [Tejeda, Con el movimiento estudiantil nació una revolución, article](#), accessed April 29, 2019.

³⁰ Hernández López, “2-0: Lo oficial y lo popular.”

early stages of the movement established the foundation for Tlatelolco art. Cartoons, poems, and groundbreaking publications like Elena Poniatowska's *La Noche de Tlatelolco* revealed the true side of the Mexican government and the innocence of the student movement.

The great earthquake of 1985 revived the memory, showing once again how the government failed to protect its citizens in times of distress. Film and theatrical performances, utilizing the technique of movement in time, informed viewers that the Tlatelolco Massacre reflected a Mexican history of bloodshed. Finally, in the last decade, demonstrations and films striving to bring awareness of Tlatelolco '68 beyond the *Plaza de Tres Culturas* have successfully established the event as an injustice for all Mexicans. Consequently, Mexicans have changed their impression of the incident from a movement exclusive to the young and privileged middle class, via the notion of yet another cycle in the country's history of blood and massacre, to the collective understanding that Tlatelolco was a national injustice that affects all Mexicans and that, should such injustice continue, the nation's democracy would fall short and the oppressing regime's threat to the masses prevail. As a result, the Tlatelolco Massacre of 1968 has found its permanent place in the Mexican psyche and artistic expression.

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Sydney Dodenhoff

*Historical Narratives:
Products of Ontology and Hierarchy*

ABSTRACT: *This essay postulates that an ambiguity between historical facts and the historians' interpretation of these facts produces a gap where parts of a historical narrative are silenced and others given uptake. Unequal power structures enter the story when historians try to fill this gap by drawing connections. By addressing three main problems historians face when they attempt to construct an accurate account of the past, namely ambiguity, ontology, and methodology, this essay offers a critical analysis of the production and development of historical knowledge. The author calls for historians to approach writing history with a diversity of methods in their toolbox to address idiosyncrasies to the best of their ability.*

KEYWORDS: *historiography; methodology; ontology; perspective; power structures; truth; accuracy; ambiguity; genealogy; silencing*

Introduction

Those who do not study academic history commonly regard “truth” as its fundamental aspect, but are historians really capable of constructing a completely authentic account of the past? Simply put, history is an analysis of the human past, but this definition overlooks its many complexities. History consists of more than names, dates, and places. Similar to the people central to historical analysis, history is a complex phenomenon. History is complicated because it is multifaceted. A variation of unequal powers alters the story, compromising the ability of a historical narrative to encompass the whole truth.

Historians must consider their specific ontology apart from their historical subject's ontology. One's ontology is built by a hermeneutic relationship between oneself and how one experiences, interprets, and situates oneself in the world. Therefore, ontology includes systematic biases because personal experiences construct one's ontological identity. Ontology is inherited, but it is also affected by present circumstances. Ontology changes over time, and as it changes all aspects of life are altered, including how one writes history. Therefore, analyzing historical narratives is important, but considering how historians write history also makes a narrative more accurate. Analysis must be cognizant of both sides of the historical context. Ontology makes any interpretation problematic because power structures influence one's interpretation. This means that any single interpretation can never capture the whole “truth.” By utilizing a combination of methods, historians can track various power structures found on both sides of the historical process to construct a more accurate version of the past.

Part one of this essay is an overview and explanation of three major areas where inequalities of power make constructing a narrative problematic for historians, namely ambiguity, ontology, and productivity. Part two explains the mutually reciprocal influence between the dominant forms of society and historiography. Finally, part three introduces three methods of historical analysis

and explains how their fusion can help address inequalities of power and help construct a more accurate narrative.

I. The Three Power Problems

The fundamental problem with historicity lies in an ambiguity within the definition of history. Anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot acknowledges this ambiguity by bisecting history into different sides, namely historicity one and historicity two.¹ Historicity one represents the socio-historical process, in other words an event that has already happened, while historicity two refers to the narrative constructed from the knowledge one has of the socio-historical process, or simply what is said to have happened.² The recognition of some ambiguity within the definition of history is not new, but in the past strictly positivist and constructivist standpoints have dominated the conversation.³

On the one hand, the positivist view of history has assumed an accurate formulation of the past to be possible through a distinct separation between an event and what is said to have happened. The positivist viewpoint understands power as an unproblematic part of the story. On the other hand, constructivists are critical of the historian's ability to adequately represent the past because constructivists see historical narratives as an inevitable convergence between what happened and what is said to have happened. The constructivist standpoint denies historical narratives any power in themselves because constructivists understand historical narratives as fictional stories that unrightfully claim to be true.⁴

Trouillot regards both positivist and constructivist ideologies as problematic because,

history is the fruit of power, but power itself is never so transparent that its analysis becomes superfluous. The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots.⁵

Focusing on the production of history outside of the positivist and constructivist dichotomy places the utmost importance on specific conditions in which historical events happen and are interpreted.⁶ Only once historians shift their focus from what history *is* to how history *operates* can they begin to advance toward a more precise account of the past that includes a multiplicity of perspectives.

¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

² Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 2.

³ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 4.

⁴ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 4-6.

⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, xxiii.

⁶ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 4.

Another issue in the historical field is the dominance of Western ontology in the interpretation of historical events. Anthropologist Thomas C. Patterson tracks power structures that evolved into the modern Western ontology that continues to affect society. Patterson provides the background necessary to critique the dubious merits of civilization and initiates a desire for different perspectives. He challenges the Western-centric ideas of civilization, progress, and reason that follow Western ontology's foundation in inequalities of power. Western definitions of civilization, progress, and reason are problematic because they create a subjective version of the world that eliminates alternative standpoints by disregarding them as unimportant or incorrect.

Patterson shows how European expansion produced the knowledge of the "other" necessary to establish, maintain, and justify ideas of civilization, progress and reason. These ideas were used to build Western ontology. According to him, Western intellectuals characterized their theory of civilization as a historical change from a natural or original condition to a more advanced form through the process of moral, intellectual, and social progress. During European expansion, the idea that progress made life in the present superior to the past was new. This was when progress became desirable, directional, and cumulative.⁷ Then, reason became understood as the propeller for progress. The growth of reason facilitated the conquest of nature and instigated advancement to the detriment of the "others" who, in the eyes of the West, did not seem to have any attributes of civilization. Ultimately, reason initiated a progression toward a more "civilized" society.⁸ Western civilization continues to be upheld by reason, and progress was bolstered by the rise of capitalism, the scientific and industrial revolutions, the appearance of modern nations, and the Enlightenment.⁹

European expansion made dominating "others" possible through the construction of racial, cultural, and economic hierarchies based on a society's relationship to civilization, reason, and progress.¹⁰ Privileged groups within Western social hierarchies used knowledge rooted in European expansion to construct a concept of civilization based on a human-versus-nature binary. This binary was and continues to be used to distinguish the "elite" from subordinated communities. The "other" who they deemed closer to nature placed the West on the human side of the binary, allowing Western intellectuals to view their own societies as more civilized.

One reason why racial hierarchies that structure Western ontology challenge historians is because ontology can make history unthinkable as it happens. The foundations of Western ideology in colonialism deemed the Haitian Revolution

⁷ Thomas C. Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997), 32-33.

⁸ Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization*, 35.

⁹ Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization*, 23.

¹⁰ Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization*, 22.

unthinkable before the event took place. Ideas of imagined Northern European superiority derived from European expansion were reproduced, reinforced, and challenged by Renaissance and Enlightenment philosophical literature.¹¹ The prevailing power structures of colonialism assumed that Africans could not fathom African freedom, therefore, they were not capable of developing methods to attain any such freedom.¹² However, Africans could understand freedom, but within the framework of colonialism the West could not fathom the idea of African liberty. In other words, colonialists could not have thought about the human equality the way we do today because facts about the Haitian Revolution were unthinkable within the narrow framework of Western colonial thought.

Trouillot suggests that discourse always lags behind practice, meaning that only after the “impossible” had happened could the West begin to debate the Haitian Revolution. Even during the Revolution, the West found explanations to justify the facts about the Revolution to fit their colonialist mindset. The Revolution remained unthinkable to colonialists because Western ideology dominated the discursive framework around the Haitian Revolution. Colonialists had to continue to believe that slaves lacked a natural desire for freedom because believing in African liberation would have undermined the Western understanding of the world that was so deeply set in their ontology. Unthinkable history creates a problem for historians because if an event is unthinkable even as it happens, then how can the unthinkable be interpreted later? For later historical accounts of the Haitian Revolution to be accurate, the West must break free from its ontology constructed by colonialism.¹³

History can also be misrepresented through ontology in the naming of a fact because terminology creates a field of power through historical representation. Just like all choices in the historical process, Western ontology influences all terminology. Specific word choices used to represent history influence the representation and interpretation of people and events later on. Specific words chosen by the dominant West to describe a historical event or group can set the tone for how people interpret history after the construction of the narrative. For instance, naming an event a “revolution” has a positive connotation—as opposed to naming it a “rebellion” which has a negative connotation. This same process can be seen as modern African American retaliation to oppression is named a “riot” when the event could be called an “uprising,” all depending on the interpretation of the event. The dominance of Western terminology misrepresents historical events as one-sided phenomena and does not acknowledge that one person’s rebellion is considered another person’s revolution.

¹¹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 77.

¹² Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 73.

¹³ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 106.

To understand how history works, historians must uncover and trace the inter-dimensional forces of power throughout history. However, doing so is a complicated process because the same forces historians analyze have different meanings throughout history—meanings that certainly differ from the original context. Moreover, historians must be cognizant of their interpretations because their ontology can be problematic when narrating the past. Western ideology continues to affect how people see and interact with the world in the present, including how they interpret the past. The West's one-sided perspective hinders historians in their ultimate goal of achieving the most accurate account of the past because Western subjectivity silences alternative interpretations.

Another major problem historians face is insufficient resources and methods to produce narratives. The archive becomes problematic for historians because power structures operate within the production of a narrative itself. Only through a careful examination of the historical process can historians discover silences that expose the roots of uneven power relationships.¹⁴ Ontological biases affect which facts are considered relevant or “true” in the construction of a narrative. Trouillot identifies four moments where silences commonly occur in historical production: fact creation (making sources), fact assembly (making archives), fact retrieval (making narratives), and retrospective significance (making history in the final sense).¹⁵

The process of creating and assembling sources produces silences because not one fact is meaningless, yet some are omitted for practical reasons inherent in the recording process itself.¹⁶ Fact retrieval silences parts of history through archival power. Favoring certain sources forms an archival path that leads researchers a certain way. An archival path is set once authority and credibility are attributed to specific sources along the path, increasing some sources' chance of retrieval while discouraging the discovery of others.¹⁷ Lastly, retrospective significance adheres to the first three steps as well as the socio-historical process itself. The first three steps all contribute to how an event or person is remembered and interpreted later on. Retrospective significance is based on the importance of an event or person when the facts and narratives are considered later on. Ultimately, power structures in the historical process are always uneven, meaning sources are never created equal.¹⁸

The story of the three faces of Sans Souci exemplifies how power inequalities create silences through the four main methods of historical production.¹⁹ The three faces of Sans Souci are the Milot palace in Haiti, the Potsdam palace in

¹⁴ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 25.

¹⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.

¹⁶ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 51.

¹⁷ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 53-54.

¹⁸ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 47.

¹⁹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 44-45.

Germany, and the Colonel in the Haitian Revolution. The Milot palace belonged to Henri Christophe, the king of Haiti during the revolution. Christophe surrendered to the French forces in April 1802.²⁰ There are many assumed reasons for Christophe naming his palace Sans Souci, but it is rarely mentioned that Sans Souci was the name of a man murdered by Christophe.²¹ Sans Souci had quickly become Christophe's subaltern and played an important role in the Haitian Revolution. Soon after Christophe surrendered, Colonel Sans Souci reassembled the Haitian colonial troops and started a new rebellion.²² As soon as Sans Souci's former superiors defected and joined in an alliance with the French, Sans Souci resisted the French and resented Christophe and his followers as traitors. Sans Souci resisted longer than most but eventually surrendered to the French without bowing to Christophe's authority. Offended, Christophe asked for one last meeting with his former subaltern. At that meeting, Christophe's soldiers shot Sans Souci and his followers. Few historians question Christophe's unique name for the Milot palace because instead of recognizing Sans Souci Milot as a pantonym for his deceased subaltern, they wrongfully attribute his choice to the grand Sans Souci palace of Potsdam, built six years earlier.²³

There are many reasons why historians assume that Christophe named his Milot place after the Potsdam palace instead of the enemy he murdered in cold blood. First, the Potsdam palace stands out in ways the Milot palace does not. Continuous renovations to Potsdam and the elegance of Frederick the Great's life gave the Potsdam palace great archival power and retrospective significance. Unlike Potsdam, the Milot palace deteriorated over time and therefore lost any archival power and historical significance.²⁴ As for Sans Souci, the man, only small amounts of information can be found because practical reasons inherent in source and archival creation have silenced him.²⁵ Sans Souci, the man, was silenced by fact retrieval because some historians, influenced by their ontology, chose to exclude any small information about him from the narrative.²⁶ Once historians formed archival paths excluding Sans Souci, the man, he was further silenced and lost any of his archival power. By murdering Sans Souci and naming the Milot palace after him, Christophe marginalized Sans Souci's, the man's, retrospective significance to the story. The retrospective significance of Sans Souci in Potsdam, being more significant than Sans Souci, the man, provided the historical power necessary to create an artificial correlation between the names of Milot and Potsdam, pushing Sans Souci, the man, further into his

²⁰ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 39.

²¹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 37.

²² Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 41.

²³ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 44.

²⁴ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 45.

²⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 51.

²⁶ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 53.

silence. The three faces of Sans Souci reveal the multiplicity of ways histories can be silenced by inequalities in the historical process before, during, and after the historian intervenes.²⁷

After a narrative is constructed, the historical narrative has material outcomes in the real world through historical representation.²⁸ For example, the historical representation of slavery is problematic because history itself has a fixed chronology that can only represent slavery as finite. By representing slavery with a beginning and an end, history's timeline does not highlight that slavery involves power that transcends from the past and manifests itself differently in the present. Trouillot points out that, although slavery has ended, slavery's oppression continues in less obvious and more complex ways, such as institutional racism (employment, education, political power, housing) and denigration of blackness (unfair criticism of the black community).²⁹ Thus, representing slavery accurately needs to address the events described in the past, as well as their different representations in the present. Illustrating slavery as the past creates an inaccurate view that trivializes the connection between the legacy of slavery's power and the racial injustices of the present.³⁰

II. *The Hermeneutic Relationship between Society and Historiography*

Historiography is a metadiscourse on the critical evaluation of the different ways history has been written over time. Jeremy D. Popkin's historiographical timeline shows that shifts in historiography are a result of "the questions raised by the difference between the two meanings of the word history."³¹ Popkin defines the major obstacles historians have faced when analyzing and interpreting events, and chronologically outlines the various methods historians have used to approach these problems over time.³²

The way historians interpret history is connected to their ontology, which is inherited the same way that knowledge is articulated and how common sense is constructed. "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past."³³ For this reason, the historian is not exempt from the socially constructed schemas that shape a society because those schemas build the historian's ontology. Historians are products of "their" time just like any other historical subject because they interpret events differently depending on the prevailing concerns of their day.

²⁷ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 45.

²⁸ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 44-45.

²⁹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 146-147.

³⁰ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 148.

³¹ Jeremy D. Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 4.

³² Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, x.

³³ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 89.

Living in a specific period provides knowledge specific to a historian's lifetime, shaping his or her perception of the world, including how history works.³⁴

Historical events contribute to shifts in ontology that transform the perception of history during a particular time.³⁵ Changes in the methods used for historiographical analysis are caused by paradigm shifts in ontology rooted in real-world experiences, but real-world experiences can also alter historiographical methods. Historians must not only focus on the the prevailing methods of their own day because a variety of many historiographical methods is crucial to an accurate historical narrative.

For example, in the fifteenth century, the invention of the printing press created a shift in ontology that influenced how history was conceived.³⁶ When he invented the printing press, Johannes Gutenberg became the positivist's hero. His invention revolutionized the way historical information was transmitted, and it expanded access to historical knowledge and documentation. The mass printing of documents also spread education and increased awareness of current events, which affected the ontology of the public. People began reading about the events of their day, and they themselves started writing journals about their experiences and opinions.³⁷ Journals would later serve as important sources to aid historians in their accounts of the past. People writing about history could now read original sources for themselves, but the mass production of narratives also paved the way for new questions. How could a reader be sure of a text's authenticity?

The invention of the printing press transformed the prominent methods for creating historical narratives and ultimately impacted the nineteenth-century Rankean school of history. Leopold von Ranke was indeed a product of his time. His main focus was on the political and diplomatic history of elites and military leaders, and he used this as the foundation for the school he founded.³⁸ He was a positivist who believed that a historian's task was to show what essentially happened by distinguishing between history and fiction. Because of this, he emphasized the use of primary sources in preference to other materials. Ranke insisted that the entire history of the past needed to be rewritten by historians trained in new methods that focused on primary sources. For Ranke, a historian needed to evaluate sources by using the specific context in which they had been created. This meant each age had its own sets of schemas, and one was not superior to any other. Ranke also emphasized footnotes to show the creation of a dual aspect of history: one of the past and one of the historian's efforts to

³⁴ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 89.

³⁵ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 66.

³⁶ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 66.

³⁷ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 54-55.

³⁸ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 19.

construct it.³⁹ Ranke's concern for sources and citations influenced the development of standards for the conservation of documents. His focus on showing what essentially happened led to the creation of the modern archive and the professional archivist. Yet, Ranke's reasoning for the creation of archives is ironic considering how the interaction of historians with archives silences certain parts of history.⁴⁰ The Rankean school of history's political and diplomatic methods were criticized for excluding women, minorities, and common people, which influenced the social and economic history of the masses used by the Annales school.⁴¹

The Annales school of history was founded in the early twentieth century by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre.⁴² According to the Annales school, the goal of the historian was to produce a total history that would take in every aspect of the past. The Annales historians' methods were heavily social and economic and were dependent on data that could be analyzed statistically. The Annales scholars' approach could construct a convincing account of the past, but their focus on statistics and numbers diverted the attention away from the experiences of the people involved. The Annales historians also broadened the types of evidence they drew from to support their idea of a total history.⁴³ They focused on interdisciplinary methods of historical analysis to try and include every aspect into historical narratives. Although the Annales methods included common people, women, and minorities in their history of the masses, they failed to recognize the differences in historical experiences of specific groups and downplayed the aspect of human experience.⁴⁴ The Annales' failure to accurately depict the experiences and thoughts of historical subjects influenced the cultural-linguistic turn of the late twentieth century.

Cultural history emphasized the variety of ways historical agents have made meanings for themselves over time. Cultural history deals with the prevailing ideas, discourse (language), and practices of specific groups instead of the social history of the masses. The linguistic side of cultural history places an extreme constructivist emphasis on the power of discourse in the shaping of human lives, which is problematic when trying to include any agency of historical agents.⁴⁵

III. Using Methods to Address Problems of Historicity

In the 1960s, there was a linguistic change in the methods of historiography associated with poststructuralism.⁴⁶ Although Michel Foucault would never

³⁹ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 77.

⁴⁰ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 128-129.

⁴¹ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 111.

⁴² Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 111.

⁴³ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 110-111.

⁴⁴ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 112-113.

⁴⁵ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 142.

⁴⁶ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 135.

admit it or use the term, he was central to the poststructuralist movement. Foucault's discursive approach to the links between language, representation, and practice initiated a change in historiographical methods and how history was understood.⁴⁷ Foucault focused on discourse as a linguistic system of representation that consists of rules and practices that dictate meaningful knowledge and regulate normativity.

Discourse dictates what constitutes useful knowledge by establishing ideas of reality, normality, and "truth" within a particular context. Knowledge is constantly linked to the influence and operations of power, and combined they shape an artificial perception of the world. Therefore, discourses are not effective tools for determining a reality external to the framework in which it operates because "truth" is relative to the knowledge within certain contexts. Truth does not come from knowledge directly, but when the majority believes certain knowledge to be truthful, that knowledge becomes true because it then has real consequences in the world. Discourse produces knowledge through language, but it also regulates practice through normalization. Discourse establishes normal ways of acting toward a topic and regulates what is sayable or thinkable about a topic by deeming certain behavior unfit for the situation.

According to Stuart Hall, Foucault characterizes discourses as productive networks of power and knowledge which intertwine with and mutually support one another through pleasure and the threat of punishment; Foucault differentiates discourses from reductive forms of power.⁴⁸ Foucault asserts that the power of discourse is extremely dynamic through its characteristics of productivity, self-perpetuation, and invisibility. Discourse is productive in that it may restrict certain behavior, but its effectiveness lies in its ability to uphold itself by producing actions. Power compels its subjects to act in certain ways deemed normal by discursive production and compels its subjects to stay within the "normal" parameters of discourse because the pleasure associated with exerting power over another person creates the threat of punishment by others. The subjects through which discursive power operates experience gratification through material benefits and superior self-worth. Power sets the foundation for individuals to live out their daily lives, and power's luxuries compel subjects to participate in and uphold power relations by granting authority. Foucault argues that the ultimate characteristic of productive power is its invisibility. By uncovering power, people can begin to understand how it works.⁴⁹

The introduction of Foucault's ideas of discourse, power/knowledge, and discipline to academia had great implications for the historical process.

⁴⁷ Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 137-138.

⁴⁸ Stuart Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge, and Discourse," in *Discourse Theory, and Practice: A Reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 72-78.

⁴⁹ See John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, 2nd ed. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 45-46.

Foucault's contribution to historiography produced the language and knowledge needed to track the power included in historical production. Foucault revealed that historians are inherently engaged in power when creating a historical narrative. By showing that there are multiple versions of the "truth" relative to the powers working to construct a certain reality, Foucault challenged the ability of historians to uncover any historical "truth." Historians now had to be especially careful when interacting with archives. When historians sift through historical data, they exert power by selecting sources and excluding others. Historians favor certain sources while considering others as unimportant to the story. The ability of historians to disregard certain accounts of the past creates silences that compromise historical accuracy.

Foucault's method addresses the paradoxes of Trouillot by demanding the necessity for historians to be more self-conscious about the implications of their work.⁵⁰ In short, Foucault influenced the change from historical "truth" to historical accuracy. Foucault's method also determined that historical actors are products of their own time, meaning to interpret their associations based on any current conceptions of the world is flawed. Therefore, the study of historical subjects needs to utilize the corresponding historical context. To achieve the most accurate version of the past, the interpretation of history must be minimally untouched by the historian's modern conceptions.

Although Foucault promoted a more accurate account of the past, he has been criticized for missing part of the story as well. Foucault struggled with explaining change over time because he disregarded the agency of social actors.⁵¹ William Sewell, Jr. critiques the previous characterizations of structures and offers a new definition that can account for structural change over time.⁵²

Sewell derives his possibility for structural change over time from recognizing agency within social actors by critiquing and adding to previous conceptions of structures. Sewell upholds that defining structures as dual improves the understanding of the slow process of structural change over time. He describes structures as having a dual character because structures include a collection of different, mutually sustaining cultural schemas and a variety of resources that either empower or constrain social action.⁵³ He asserts that structures are both actual and virtual at the same time. Schemas are virtual rules of representation that construct social systems which generate actual social practices. Cultural schemas are determined virtual because they only exist in human minds. Schemas operate within a wide range of depth from the deep structures of ontology to the shallower superficial rules of etiquette.

⁵⁰ See Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 138.

⁵¹ See Popkin, *From Herototus to H-Net*, 138.

⁵² William H. Sewell, Jr., "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation," *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 1 (July 1992): 1-29.

⁵³ Sewell, Jr., "Theory of Structure," 27.

Resources can be identified as anything that serves as a source of power in social situations.⁵⁴ There are two main types of resources. First, authoritative resources are capabilities which generate command over people or human resources. Physical strength or knowledge are examples of specific capabilities that are used to enhance or maintain power. Any knowledge of the means of gaining, retaining, controlling, and reinforcing human resources falls under the category of an authoritative resource. Second, allocative resources are capabilities which generate command over material objects or nonhuman resources. Nonhuman resources can be naturally occurring or manufactured as long as they can be utilized as tools to enhance or maintain power.

Sets of schemas and resources mutually reinforce one another. Schemas are the effect of resources, and resources are the effect of schemas. Schemas without resources to empower them would eventually be obsolete, just as resources without schemas to direct their use would decompose. They mutually sustain one another.⁵⁵ Although structures tend to be reproduced by the social actions they empower, their reproduction is not automatic because structures are at risk for change in all social encounters.⁵⁶

Sewell provides five reasons why structural change is possible. First, the multiplicity of structures within one society allows opportunities for change. Social systems are derived from multiple structures that operate in distinct ways, differ in depth, and rely on varying types of resources. The multiplicity of structures implies that the practices of knowledgeable agents which make up a social system are extremely versatile. The heterogeneous character of schemas and resources provides an unlimited variety of arrangements and applications for the social agent to utilize. Second, the transposability of schemas means they can be applied outside the contexts in which they were initially learned. Schemas can be applied to a wide and varying range of unpredictable situations. Third, the unpredictability of resource accumulation can undermine the reproduction of schemas. The continuing validation of schemas by other resources reproduces the same schemas. Therefore, schemas can be undermined by the accumulation of new resources and are subject to change because of the ability of social agents to interpret resources in their own way. Fourth, the multiplicity of meanings of resources allows for multiple different interpretations by different social actors. Specific resources reinforce or undermine certain structures depending on the social actor. Lastly, the intersection of structures allows schemas or resources to be appropriated from one structure to another.⁵⁷

Agency is inherent in the dual elements of structures that permit structural change because directly through the functions of structures social actors become

⁵⁴ Sewell, Jr., "Theory of Structure," 9-12.

⁵⁵ Sewell, Jr., "Theory of Structure," 13.

⁵⁶ Sewell, Jr., "Theory of Structure," 14-16.

⁵⁷ Sewell, Jr., "Theory of Structure," 17-19.

knowledgeable and active social agents. Agents are empowered by their knowledge of cultural schemas and their access to and power over resources. By having access and control over resources, agents can perform cultural schemas. Social actors' power over resources creates their agency by giving them the capability to gather a variety of resources and apply them creatively. Agency arises from the actors' knowledge of schemas, which gives them the ability to apply resources to new contexts. Once a social actor acquires the knowledge of cultural schemas, that knowledge can be generalized and creatively applied to a wide variety of different situations stretching across time and space. The agency of social actors is understood through interpreting and mobilizing resources on their terms and from their knowledge of many different schemas other than the ones initially constituted.

All actors have some form of agency, but the extent of their control over certain situations varies because agency is cultural and historical. Agency is much more profoundly collective than it is individual because all acts to mobilize resources are done in communication with others. The extent and control one has over a situation depends on one's location in collective groups.⁵⁸

Sewell's theory of structure contributes to historical production by accepting the agency of social actors without hiding the forces of power that work through them. Combining Foucault and Sewell's methods creates an effective historical tool of analysis. Sewell's theory of structure and agency works with Foucault's method because he accepts that power constantly works through all social relations while acknowledging that social actors have some control over their situations. Sewell's concept of transforming structures revolutionizes historiography because he upholds the power of structures within a society without disregarding the agency of social actors. Sewell's concept of structure embraces the ambiguity of history because it allows people to be agents occupying structural positions, actors within a specific historical context, and subjects aware of their voices.⁵⁹ Sewell's method accepts humans as doubly historical, active on both sides of historicity. By using Foucault's methods to track power and Sewell's to explain historical changes and agency, the historical narrative can become more accurate because the story now includes the agents silenced by Foucault's extreme constructivism.

The combination of Foucault and Sewell's method revolutionized gender studies. By moving past the dichotomy of cultural and social forms of analysis, and focusing on how they mutually construct one another, the mixture of methods accounts for historical change.⁶⁰ Foucault's method of analyzing the discourse uncovers the powerful forces that linguistically construct ideas of

⁵⁸ Sewell, Jr., "Theory of Structure," 20-21.

⁵⁹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 23-24.

⁶⁰ Laura Lee Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 135-136.

gender. Without the application of Sewell's structure and agency of social actors, the historical shifts in gender identity could not be accounted for. Together the methods identify gender as a linguistic construct while allowing structural changes in gender through the agency of social actors. Although Sewell restored human agency in the transformation of structures, he only described structural change as a slow development over time. His method becomes insufficient because it does not explain abrupt historical change such as revolts and revolutions. James C. Scott offers a method of analysis to explain abrupt change through unique forms of resistance.⁶¹

Scott describes social relations in terms of public and private transcripts. The public transcript is where social actors wear a mask and perform an act of deception to have smooth social interaction.⁶² The public transcript is integration between subordinates and those who dominate them. The wider the gap in power, the more deceptive the public transcript. The public transcript is essential because it provides evidence for the dominant values that prevail in social relations. The problem with only observing the public transcript is that it only constitutes part of the story.

The hidden transcript represents a different part of the story because its discourse is constructed under different kinds of power for a different audience. The hidden transcript is specific to the social scene and in particular to specific actors. It not only contains vocalization of thoughts but practices that reflect those thoughts. The space between the public and hidden transcripts is often enmeshed in a constant battle. The hidden transcript offers an opportunity for the subordinate group to reveal its thoughts about the dominant group without the threat of retaliation. It is typical for the hidden transcript to be kept private, but in some instances, the hidden transcript breaks through to the public.

The declaration of the hidden transcript to a member of the dominant group in front of groups of those who are subordinate actualizes their shared situation.⁶³ Thus, insubordination creates the possibility for abrupt change because it empowers the collective with shared ideas of their subordinate situation. The hidden transcript provides communication of their shared experience which can be incited by an individual's vocalized resistance to the dominant group.

Scott's method of public and private transcripts works with Sewell and Foucault because Scott addresses the unequal power relations that permeate through society and accepts agency of all social actors while adding the possibility of resistance and abrupt change to prevailing structures. This allows social actors not just to follow a structure or transpose those of which they have

⁶¹ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 1-16.

⁶² Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, 3-4, 45-69.

⁶³ Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, 4-5, 202-228.

gained knowledge, but also the ability to resist and oppose prevailing structures through the hidden transcript. The hidden transcript builds a collective community in private which, when expressed in public, can empower the subordinate collective to act. Scott's idea of hidden transcripts transforms historiography by proposing a method to uncover the mentality of silenced subordinate groups. The hidden transcript reveals sentiments of the subordinate silenced by the dominant group's power. The hidden transcript provides an accurate attempt at including the whole of the story and is therefore an opportunity for historical accuracy. Hidden transcripts can be easily overlooked in historical production by the dominant group who may deem accounts of the subordinate as unimportant to the story.

By explaining the importance of hidden transcripts in constituting a whole, accurate account of the past, Scott restores the voices of the subordinate who have been silenced in the historical process. Scott's description of public and private transcripts has had important implications for postcolonial theory by considering that colonized individuals do not always appropriate hegemonic ideas, but resist them in private. Scott's methods call for a detailed reading of sources to reveal what might be silenced and hidden behind the official story.

Conclusion

There is a wide variety of methods to analyze and write history. A combination of methods whose strengths address the weaknesses of the others is necessary to compose an accurate account of the past. By using different methods, the accuracy of historical narratives improves because specific combinations of methods address specific problems inherent in the ambiguity of history. The use of various methods of historical analysis reduces the risk of idealizing the Western world view and silencing other perspectives. When choosing methods of analysis and interpretation in the historical production of a narrative, historians must be able to make choices critically by having knowledge of the power structures that influence their ontologies. If historians are oblivious to the inequalities of power inherent in the production of history, their narratives become an inaccurate story of the most powerful, not a "true" account of the past. Those striving to become historians must learn to let go of the idealism of "truth" and focus on historical accuracy.

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Kenneth de Seriere

*Thought Processes:
How the Past Affects the Future*

ABSTRACT: *This essay discusses the various ontological layers that influence and challenge historians in their work to convey the past in a fashion that is both accurate and truthful. On the basis of studies by Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Thomas C. Patterson, T. J. Jackson Lears, Jeremy D. Popkin, Laura Lee Downs, and John McLeod, the author explores the two sides of historicity, the creation of silences, the notion of civilization, hegemony, the paradigm shifts associated with Giambattista Vico and Leopold Ranke, as well as the more recent historical ontologies of class, gender, and race from a postcolonial perspective.*

KEYWORDS: *historicity; silences; civilization; hegemony; paradigm shift; Giambattista Vico; Leopold Ranke; ontology; postcolonialism*

Introduction

As the centuries have passed, history has been written as a means of recalling past events that cannot be experienced by the present. As a result, historians today are challenged with trying to recreate the past on the basis of modern-day ideals. Equipped with primary sources, historians are left with the task of having to re-work historical events in a way that is both accurate and truthful. Authors and historians around the world have attempted to understand ontological shifts, changes in the way ideas evolve and thoughts are perceived as time passes, that occur throughout history by means of “radical” concepts and new, popular beliefs. Assisted by Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past* (1995), Thomas C. Patterson’s *Inventing Western Civilization* (1997), T. J. Jackson Lears’s “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony” (1985), Jeremy D. Popkin’s *From Herodotus to H-Net* (2016), Laura Lee Downs’s *Writing Gender History* (2010), and John McLeod’s *Beginning Postcolonialism* (2010), we are able to explore the complex ontological layers that are influencing historians and their work.¹ This essay explores the two sides of historicity; the creation of silences during the collection and contextualization of information in the archives; and the ontological ideas in the making of Western civilization. It also discusses the impact of the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico (1688-1744) and the German historian Leopold Ranke (1795-1886), as well as the changes of the 1960s, gender theory, hegemony, and postcolonialism, and how these pertain to our understanding of how and why history has been told the way it has. Thus, this essay examines the

¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997; first published 1995); Thomas C. Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997); T. J. Jackson Lears, “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities,” *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (June 1985): 567-593; Jeremy D. Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net: The Story of Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Laura Lee Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010); John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, 2nd ed. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010).

intertwining historical accounts that display what it means to have information that is consciously and unconsciously “silenced” and paradigm shifts that are the result of new ideas and new thinking.

I. The Two Sides of Historicity and the Creation of Silences

Of the many difficulties that historians encounter, the two sides of historicity can lead to major historical ambiguity, or silences, when researching information on past events. The two sides of historicity can be explained as history meaning both the facts of the matter and a narrative of those facts, both “what happened” and “that which is said to have happened.”² There is a substantial difference between the two sides of historicity. One discusses that “what happened” might not ever be known by others, apart from those who experienced it directly, while the other attempts to piece together that history of “what happened.” “What is said to have happened” leaves a trail of ambiguity because there are different versions of events that are told, and this is where silences enter the historical narrative; from the rhetoric of these historians, history is riddled with contingencies because the past is never secure and can always be subject to change with new findings. That said, as ambiguous and contingent as it might be, there must be a distinct boundary between what happened and what is said to have happened.³

As historians gather and contextualize history to be put into archives, they become victims to the conscious and unconscious creation of silences that can be found all over the historical narrative. For example, anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1949-2012) discusses the irregularities in the representation of three different “Sans Souci,” two of them architectural structures and the other a Haitian Colonel; the latter, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Sans-Souci (assassinated 1803) has been left without any popularity even though he played a major role in the Haitian Revolution. Silences, like those encountered in the case of Colonel Sans Souci, are caused by differences in power.

Along with silences produced by power, silences can also be found in archives which house much of the information that historians use today to assemble history. Archives are used as a means of organizing facts and information that conditions the possibility of the existence of historical statements.⁴ The issue that historians face when creating archives is the process of compiling relevant information that is useful in the collection at hand. During this process, historians can consciously and unconsciously leave out information that they deem less useful, thus causing silences that leave a trail of uncertainty that is threaded into different sources and facts. Archive creation inherently involves several selective operations which, at best, lead to a differential ranking

² Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 2.

³ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 13.

⁴ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 52.

and, at worst, to the exclusion of evidence and themes.⁵ This is the second crucial moment where silence enters, and it is referred to as the moment of fact retrieval, or the making of archives. As Trouillot has stated, “the very mechanisms that make any historical recording possible also ensure that historical facts are not created equal. They reflect differential control of the means of historical production at the very first engraving that transforms an event into a fact.”⁶ No matter how history is written, there will always be silences created by those whose archival skills require the dissection and choosing of applicable sources and facts to be placed into those archives.

II. Civilization and Hegemony

Moving to the mainstream accounts that most people learn about, white Anglo-Saxon history can be described as a story of prosperity and bravery. The notion of Western civilization evokes the idea that there are both superior and subordinate races, a hierarchy of power that is destined and molded into the identity of Western people. The concept of civilization always brings forth a comparison: to have civilized people implies that there are uncivilized people who are inferior because of their lack of civility.⁷ People who are deemed uncivilized have been stigmatized as “savages” who lack the discipline required to be true civilized beings. By viewing the world as stratified classes of people, the voices of the elite overpower those who are seen as uncivilized, thus creating a historical vacuum in which only the viewpoint of the powerful is seen, leaving the uncivilized in a continuous silence. According to anthropologist Thomas C. Patterson, the French philosopher August Comte (1798-1857) once opined that Western Europe’s lower classes should accept their natural inferiority and affirm the superiority of their rulers,⁸ further confirming that social class played a vital role in the rise of Western civilization. Inequalities in the development of early civilizations, especially Western civilizations, led to early accounts of silencing of those who were not white males at a time when maleness meant dominance and whiteness meant superiority. All of these realizations created beliefs that male whiteness defined civilization around the world, even though “civility” was forced onto the “uncivilized” peoples. The sense of white superiority is even mentioned by Trouillot’s when he speaks about the acknowledgement of the Haitian Revolution by a French colonist named La Barre. La Barre came to the conclusion that when reality does not align with deeply held beliefs, people create forced versions of interpretation to obtain reality once again and to be able to repress the unthinkable back into their world of sense and comfort.⁹ Western

⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 53.

⁶ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 49.

⁷ Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization*, 9.

⁸ Patterson, *Inventing Western Civilization*, 44, referencing August Comte.

⁹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 72.

civilization heavily impacted the way history was and is being told because of the fact that white males believe they are superior and possess a higher level of intelligence than (nonwhite) people outside of the Western hemisphere.

As Trouillot and Patterson discuss in their works, silences are created by those who possess power and control; therefore, those in power dictate how history is told. This power and control, when spoken of with hegemony, can be closely compared to colonialism in many aspects. In his article, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," historian T. J. Jackson Lears explores Italian communist Antonio Gramsci's (1891-1937) explanation of how hegemony influences society, and how consent and force, or coercion, nearly always coexist.¹⁰ Hegemony, according to Gramsci, is roughly explained as, "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group."¹¹ In this sense, what Gramsci means by coercion is the way that strong, dominant groups are willing to forcefully impose their superiority through violence or by any means necessary to gain their position at the top. "Consent" here is understood in the sense that the so called inferior groups submit willingly to being controlled by oppressive, malicious, and exploitative forces that intend to seek benefit just for themselves.

There are many cases of consent in which inferior people succumb to superior powers. For example, Lears discusses historian Aileen Kraditor's criticism of workers who accept dehumanization in the workplace in exchange for autonomy in the private sphere.¹² Lears also emphasizes that subordinate groups may participate in maintaining a symbolic universe, even if it serves to legitimize their being dominated.¹³ Basically, Lears describes that these inferior groups are very much complicit in giving up their freedom to gain other, specific freedoms or merely to assimilate. These subordinate groups are willing to cooperate with norms which are foreign to them in order to evade problems or to try to gain a higher position in society. A problem with hegemony is that it is close to colonial values, where the inferior groups are victimized and placed under the rule of the superior group until the subordinates start to believe that they themselves are the lower class. An example is the realization of class inequalities by the lower class community. Lears here explores the work of sociologist Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb which postulates that groups of people understand that there are indeed class inequalities. However, these people cannot escape the effect of dominant values: they deem their class inferiority a sign of failure, even though they have become aware that they have been constrained by class origins over

¹⁰ Lears, "Concept of Cultural Hegemony," 568.

¹¹ Lears, "Concept of Cultural Hegemony," 568, referencing Antonio Gramsci.

¹² Lears, "Concept of Cultural Hegemony," 581.

¹³ Lears, "Concept of Cultural Hegemony," 573.

which they have no control.¹⁴ According to Lears, what Sennett and Cobb are explaining is that these people realize that they are disadvantaged, but they comply with their class origins even though they have had no say about them.

III. Paradigm Shifts: Giambattista Vico and Leopold Ranke

From the understanding of why history has been written the way it has, we move to the application of new ideas. During the eighteenth century, Europe underwent a huge ontological and intellectual shift from relying on the authority of the Bible to a more secular approach to rational thinking. This development is known as the Enlightenment. When this shift occurred, Enlightenment thinkers began to conceptualize the human experience as a story of progress, pointing toward a better future.¹⁵ However, the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico challenged the teachings of rationalist philosophers, such as those of the early modern French philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650), and their ideals pertaining to the scientific study of the natural world. Instead of believing that scientific study was the best approach to understanding the natural world, Vico argued that, since men make history, they can know it from the inside in a way that they can never know facts about nature.¹⁶ By arguing that men make history, he was implying that Descartes's emphasis on scientific study to understand the natural world was flawed. Descartes's emphasis was flawed in the sense that the use of a mathematical or geometrical system narrowed the understanding of the outside world because those systems were man-made.

As he disagreed with the aspects of man-made understandings of the world, Vico also disagreed with most Enlightenment thinkers in that he did not believe that humanity as a whole was progressing over time. Giambattista very much supported a cyclical theory of history, where all societies progress through three stages: an age of gods, an age of heroes, and an age of men and "human government." By the time they reach the last stage, nations decline and new nations take their place and begin a new cycle.¹⁷ Because Vico did not believe that humanity was progressing over time, he decided to focus on cultures, customs, beliefs, and languages as important for history, rather than the various forms of government. Vico argued that history should be structured around the evolution of society and the interaction between the people of the time. Vico's approach is significant because his ontology emerged at a time when the Enlightenment's ideologies were held as true by many philosophers and historians. Vico's take on history itself was a paradigm shift that occurred at a time when new, radical ideas were in circulation.

¹⁴ Lears, "Concept of Cultural Hegemony," 578, referencing Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb.

¹⁵ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 60.

¹⁶ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 60, referencing Giambattista Vico.

¹⁷ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 60-61, referencing Giambattista Vico.

In the nineteenth century, a German historian by the name Leopold Ranke had an immense impact on the study and professionalization of history. According to historian Jeremy D. Popkin, Ranke had described the task of the historian as “to show what actually happened.”¹⁸ What Ranke meant by this was that the historian should not judge the past according to ideals that could only be experienced by the present. Ranke emphasized that each age had its own set of values, and that no one of them could claim superiority to all others.¹⁹ The ontology addressed by Ranke directly correlates to the ideas of Trouillot and Patterson in that historians writing in the present can never understand the mindset of historians writing in the past because of the different frameworks used by their different times. For Ranke, since historians could not understand the framework of the past, the way to achieve an essential understanding of the past was to reconstruct history on the basis of historical documents.²⁰ This hailed the birth of the concept of primary sources, and because of this history needed to be re-wired and rewritten to attain an essential understanding of the past. Ranke also created the research seminar, leading to the professionalization of history. As history had traditionally been taught in lectures, Ranke aimed to fully immerse and engage his students in the process of source interpretation by having them examine primary documents and present their conclusions to other scholars.²¹ Ranke’s final contribution to the development of modern history derives from his insistence on the autonomy of history as an academic discipline and the necessity of its professionalization.²² Ranke believed that it was imperative that history be its own profession away from philosophy and literature, that it needed its own methodology, and that it needed to be judged only by its own rules as taught and learned by professional historians. Ranke was a true visionary in that he took a step away from how history had been in the past and paved the way for how history would be regarded in the future.

IV. Historical Ontologies of Class, Gender, and Race

As the shift from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century occurred, historians saw relatively few significant developments in the field of historical representation. That is, until the paradigm shift of the 1960s started to gain momentum, creating an interest in minorities and those who had been silenced in the past. Tensions grew in the 1960s as wars were going on and the call for equality arose, leading to an interest in a new, radical form of history that

¹⁸ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 76, referencing Leopold Ranke. “Actually” is, however, a mistranslation of the German term “eigentlich” which, in this context, should be translated as “essentially.” See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 28.

¹⁹ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 76.

²⁰ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 76.

²¹ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 77-78, referencing Leopold Ranke.

²² Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 78.

focused on minorities and the oppressed. Some members of the historical profession were ready to show that the discipline could reshape itself to meet the demands for a new understanding of the past,²³ but these historians also knew that the challenges presented to them required not just a new perspective on history, but new methods as well.

Much of the drive for change in the 1960s came from students who demanded courses which taught them about their lives and the problems that directly concerned them. The demand for understanding the past in terms of the oppressed is explained by radical historians such as Jesse Leimisch (1936-2018) who called for a history “from the bottom up” that would concentrate on “the powerless, the inarticulate, the poor,”²⁴ which is connected to Trouillot in that there are people and events that have been silenced, and that people seek answers for the silencing and truthful historical evidence. The demand for change also came from women during what is known as “second wave” feminism, where women wanted to be able to have their stories integrated into the historical narrative, which had been written and dominated by men because of the patriarchal system that had been in place since the earliest civilizations. According to Gerda Lerner, “Women’s history asks for a paradigm shift,”²⁵ which is true in every sense: to write women’s history is to allow a new ontology to thrive because history written by men has minimal inclusion of women, and many male historians of the past have overlooked accounts from women. Thus, the 1960s saw paradigm shifts aimed at minorities and those who had been silenced in the historical narrative to now enter the mainstream of history.

Feminist ideals and gender roles can be seen in almost every corner of the past, even when patriarchy and the oppression of women were among the central social ideals shared by many people. As there was a rise in an interest of the history of women, contemporary historians once again faced the challenge of trying to understand the past while being objective to the matter at hand. For example, historian Laura Lee Downs discusses a 1987 monograph by Caroline Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, in which Bynum tries to explain the reasons for women fasting in Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Down suggests that Bynum, in her effort to explain medieval women fasting, fell victim to using current ideologies to explain past ontologies. Bynum used her understanding of anorexia today to understand women who were starving themselves in the past, but only believed that the women’s mutilation was a result of today’s emotional disorder, when in reality women in medieval times used this starvation to create an imitation of

²³ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 128.

²⁴ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 130, referencing Jesse Leimisch.

²⁵ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 143, 163 note 12, citing Gerda Lerner, “The Challenge of Women’s History,” in Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Women in History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005; first published 1979), 142.

perfection in this world, namely of Christ suffering on the cross.²⁶ These women purposely starved themselves for religious purposes to be able to connect further with Jesus: as Jesus had suffered, so did these women. According to Downs, Bynum explained that the holy fasting of late medieval women enabled these women to construct for themselves complex, spiritually effective, and distinctive roles within the medieval church.²⁷ It was clear that the women did not suffer from the emotional disorder, anorexia. Having objective ideals when referring to historical documents is one of the challenges that historians have to deal with.

Historians today are able to observe the need for all women to recognize feminist ideals in order for real change to occur, to be inclusive of all rather than committing to the exclusiveness and ignorance that had once been displayed by many white middle-class women. It was clear that there was indeed an ontological shift in the 1960s and 1970s, as feminist ideals emerged to challenge the patriarchal society that had dominated and thrived since civilization's inception. Contemporary women had had enough of being submissive to the men who had controlled every aspect of their lives, so many rose up together to challenge the system that had been in place by coming together in unity and declaring things such as, "we are one, we are woman." Unfortunately, this movement at first only affected the lives of white, middle-class women, leaving women of color to have to defend themselves as this movement moved forward. The push for women's rights and equality initially almost completely left out black women because white women were mostly preoccupied with the idea of "freeing" women in general, more so than combatting other issues that women of color faced, such as racism and discrimination. As Downs explains, the problem for black women during this time was that they felt more aligned with their brothers, sons, husbands, and fathers, than their white middle-class "sisters."²⁸ Because of the exclusiveness of the "we are one, we are woman" movement, many women of color were marginalized even further, even though this feminist movement was intended to be inclusive of all women, marginalized, and silenced peoples.

On the topic of marginalized people, we need to backtrack to the realities of the colonizers and the colonized, the influence and power that controlled indigenous people, and how these relate to modern issues pertaining to minorities. The effects of colonialism on the colonies and their peoples are so devastating since, after years of colonial rule, indigenous people lose their sense of individualism and seemingly become dependent on the rules and norms set by their colonizers. In *Beginning Postcolonialism*, English scholar John McLeod references a statement by sociologist Stuart Hall (1932-2014) that life after independence in many ways still follows the effects of colonialism: the values

²⁶ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 48-49.

²⁷ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 49.

²⁸ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 23.

and attitudes created by colonialism are not so easily forgotten by the colonized people.²⁹ Keeping colonial values is thus normalized to indigenous people because colonial values have been embedded in colonized lands for so long that any sense of the past traditions has been wiped away by the imposed (colonial) cultural values. McLeod emphasizes the need for a change of mind or “decolonizing” of the mind to break away from the dominant ways of thinking.³⁰ According to McLeod, colonialism establishes a certain way of thinking. This explains why so many people who were forcibly colonized believe they are inferior, namely because they have been taught by the colonizers that they are less civilized. The reason postcolonialism so heavily impacts the way history is written is because of the way power and nationalism are entwined in the way history is told. McLeod expands on how there are many different versions of history, but due to each country’s nationalism only one particular version of the past is told because it is the only one that matters in the national narrative of said country. McLeod’s analysis of nationalism affecting the way history is told can be tied back to Trouillot and Patterson, as power determines who gets to write history, thus creating the silences of marginalized people.

Conclusion

The record of history is saturated with ambiguity. This ambiguity is a result of a vacuum in history that absorbs the details of the past not fit to move with the big picture of history, the sifting of the important and not so important information known as silencing. From Trouillot’s book, *Silencing the Past*, we are able to make the connection between the two sides of historicity, as well as the collection and contextualization of archives in the sense that both are susceptible to conscious and unconscious silencing by historians. In Patterson’s study, *Inventing Western Civilization*, we see how the creation of Western civilization shaped how history has been written. Lears’s article, “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony,” discusses the real intentions of hegemony and how it has played a vital role in how history has been written and which ontological frameworks have been used to describe the past. Popkin’s work, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, allows us to understand the paradigm shifts throughout the centuries and how ontologies have changed for the betterment of writing and analyzing history. Downs’s monograph, *Writing Gender History*, provides a better understanding of gender theory and how, over time, writing that discusses women and gender has shifted. Lastly, in *Beginning Postcolonialism*, John McLeod explains the impact that colonialism has had on indigenous people, how postcolonialism plays a major part in why subordinate groups are silenced, and why we see colonial values in use today, even though colonized lands have gained independence. As historians are constantly tasked with discovering new documentation and piecing it together to refine the

²⁹ McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, 38, referencing Stuart Hall.

³⁰ McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, 25.

existing historical narrative, their efforts are quite substantial. It is their hard work and the decisions that need to be made while carrying out research that makes the profession of history so enticing and so exciting.

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Stephanie Delateur

Using Theory to Explore Historiography

ABSTRACT: *This essay discusses the relationship between historiography and how the past is recorded and conceptualized. On the basis of methodologies and theories developed by Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Leopold Ranke, and Michel Foucault, among others, it addresses silences, paradigm shifts, public and hidden transcripts, knowledge and power, as well as the ontology of race, gender, and class. The author argues that these ideas can act as the scaffolding for our understanding of history.*

KEYWORDS: *theory; historiography; Michel-Rolph Trouillot; Leopold Ranke; Michel Foucault; silences; paradigm shift; power; ontology; gender*

Introduction

The study of history presents history as much more than just “the past.” History is a complex web of aspects that help, support, and connect to each other. Even though history may seem like nothing more than events, dates, and important names, the lessons one can learn from these events, dates, and important names can be valuable when studying other subjects or one’s everyday life.

I. Ambiguity, Silences, and the Creation of Facts

The most basic concept to understand when dealing with history, according to anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1949-2012), are the two sides of historicity: what is said to have happened and what really happened.¹ What is said to have happened is what remains in history books and documents, while what really happened is lost in time. Between the two sides of historicity, there is a grey area of ambiguity. What is said to have happened, as opposed to what really happened, is different in every way, yet it is also the same.² A person’s experience of an event can be completely different from what really happened, but, to some degree, it is also accurate. Being able to recognize this ambiguity and appreciate it is what should make history appealing; it allows us to interpret historical events and figures in an infinite number of ways.

The second most basic concept historians must understand is the concept of silences.³ According to Trouillot, silences find a way into historical writing through four main steps: source creation, archive introduction, narrative creation, and historical conclusion. Explaining the presence of silences aids in the discussion of sources. Silences do not exactly represent reality.⁴ There is no overseer of history ordering historians to exclude views of specific people or groups of people. Silences happen naturally. Just like witnesses to a crime give

¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997; first published 1995), 29.

² Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 3.

³ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.

⁴ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.

different testimonies while accidentally leaving out important details, various people see the world differently and can leave out crucial information. Silences come from the power which acts over people. The presence of silences is analogous to the cracks in a tower. The cracks allow sunlight, which in this case is power, to shine through. Because the cracks are not all the same size, varying amounts of sunlight can enter. Silences work in a similar way. They make different levels of power visible, so they cannot be studied collectively.⁵

The role of power starts with the creation of facts and sources. Power is an ever-present force in facts and sources. Although it is present, it appears and reappears at varying times. The presence of power cannot be avoided or deflected. Power only showcases the process-focused nature of the production of history. It shows that history itself is more valuable than how it comes to exist. Additionally, power shows the close relationship it shares with historical creation.⁶ Since power is present in source creation, whoever has the power has the authority to dictate what is and what is not a source or a fact. There is always a reason behind the creation of a fact.⁷ If a monarch wants to be favored in historical texts, he has the power to hire a historian to document his every accomplishment, regardless of size, benefit, or accuracy. He can order his historian to exaggerate or reword whatever he has done to the grandest scale, even if what he has done has been detrimental to his subjects or the country.

Creating facts inevitably creates silences.⁸ Blurring the lines between reality and fantasy allows silences to seep into sources. By ordering a historian to create a different version of history, silences cannot avoid entering documents. In an example such as this, what is said to have happened prevails in history books (unless someone else has secretly documented a more accurate version of the specific events), while what has really happened is forgotten.

II. Primary Sources and Footnotes: A Paradigm Shift

Paradigm shifts alter the way history is written. A single event or person can trigger a change in popular opinion, for better or worse. For example, Martin Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* in 1517 dramatically changed the way history was written. Not only did Luther have the courage to go against the status quo regarding the Church's authority; he decided to make a very public statement by presenting almost one hundred reasons why what the Church was doing and teaching was problematic. This drastic change in thinking led to a divide amongst the public. They were either pro-Protestant or pro-Catholic, and their opinions and beliefs fell under one of those categories. Similarly, John Foxe (1516-1587) wrote one of the most popular books about the persecution of

⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 28.

⁶ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 28.

⁷ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 29.

⁸ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 29.

English Protestants. All this caused a bitter separation among Europeans, which also spread to the Americas. This divide lasted for 500 years.⁹ Any strong division among a large group of people will influence the way they view and write history. Therefore, different facts and sources and silences will be created, and the grey area of ambiguity between what is said to have happened and what actually happened comes into play.

Leopold Ranke (1795-1886) focused on one aspect of historicity: what “essentially” happened.¹⁰ Historians should take into account the norms in thought and behavior when analyzing documents or texts from any time period. Giving the public the ability to access documents is the best way to spread the knowledge of these norms. These documents regarding norms and values could be considered first-hand accounts or primary sources. Using primary sources opens up the possibility of learning about the history of everything.¹¹

Ranke emphasized the need to keep a record of sources and to critique those sources when writing history. He used footnotes to cite his sources and, thus, increase the credibility of historical writing. Anthony Grafton has argued that even though other historians, such as Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), had used footnotes, Ranke used them most successfully.¹² Ranke also created a new form of learning: the seminar. In the seminar, which was limited to those who had the proficiency to interpret primary sources, Ranke introduced the visual method of learning. Historian Jeremy Popkin references philosopher Frederick C. Beiser when indicating that Ranke believed that history had legitimacy as a field separate from philosophy.¹³ Ranke further maintained that historians, instead of the general public, should judge each others’ writing.¹⁴ In other words, Ranke believed in peer reviewing. By insisting that history was a valid field of study, Ranke strengthened its respectability and credibility. It is important for the historical field to be regarded as credible and objective because the way the public thinks of history is the way the future will perceive it. It can be argued that Ranke jumpstarted a paradigm shift in the production of history. He was able to communicate different means of teaching and learning about history and how to analyze primary documents. Today, the teaching and writing of history is unthinkable without the use of footnotes and primary sources; that is what

⁹ Jeremy D. Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net: The Story of Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 52.

¹⁰ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 28.

¹¹ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 76.

¹² Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 77, 95 note 11, citing Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 27.

¹³ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 78, 95 note 13, citing Frederick C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 260.

¹⁴ Popkin, *From Herodotus to H-Net*, 78-79.

paradigm shifts do. Because of Ranke, the methods of teaching and learning about history have been forever altered.

III. Structure, Transcripts, and the Problem with Truth-Seeking

History includes further, complex factors, such as structure and agency, hidden transcripts, power and knowledge, and gender. Structure and agency, acting as the glue that holds the framework of society together, are the most central. Because of its connotations, there are problems associated with the term "structure." According to sociologist William H. Sewell, structure suggests something rigid, like a building, impossible to change or alter. Agents, or the enforcers of structure, are simply trying or allowing the structure to be maintained.¹⁵ However, structures change all the time. Paradigm shifts, in changing the values and beliefs in a society, break down and create new structures. In the case of Martin Luther, after he had made the public aware of the Church's potential flaws, there was a new way of looking at the Church: a new structure, or a new set of basic rules for analyzing the Church and its authority. No longer could people accept the Church without pondering its authority and power; the public viewed the Church with a critical eye. The agents (the public) helped this new format to continue until the end of the European Wars of Religion and the beginning of the Enlightenment. This structure was, thus, not permanent and was able to break down.

From structure come the two types of unspoken transcripts in society: the public transcript and the hidden transcript. Political scientist James C. Scott describes the public transcript as the relationship between a ruler and the ruled, or a dominant and a subordinate.¹⁶ There is a certain degree of acting that comes with this type of transcript. The public transcript is not tangible, but it can be seen by anyone. The ruler-to-ruled relationship plays out in everyday life, even in modern times. Whether carried out to a smaller extent, by a parent and a child, or to a larger extent by the president and an intern, this relationship exists. One needs to be able to assume these roles. For instance, there is a strong power dynamic between a king and his subjects. The king needs to play the role of the powerful being who intimidates and awes his subjects. The subject needs to defer to the king's every word and action. The king cannot be a friendly, easy-going man. He needs to show his superiority and wealth to his subjects to reinforce the notion of hierarchy; he is at the top while the subject is at the bottom. The subject cannot simply approach the king and shake his hand; he needs to show that he knows his place. It is easy to see this power dynamic because the difference in positions is clear as day. However, there is another type of relationship that is not easily observed.

¹⁵ William H. Sewell, Jr., "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation," *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 1 (July 1992): 1-19, here 2.

¹⁶ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 2.

While the public transcript is the obvious dynamic between people of opposite status, the hidden transcript is the behind-the-scenes relationship that supports or opposes the public transcript.¹⁷ With subordination comes the justification to launch or maintain a below-the-surface character who will not be seen by the dominant figure. This character could either confirm or deny the roles in the public transcript. If people of a lower position have a reason to create their own world outside of the public transcript, people of a higher position can create a world of their own as well. Therefore, even for the mega-powerful, there is a difference in transcripts.¹⁸ The elites have their own mutually understood, but never openly questioned expectations. Glamour and wealth bestow upon people the burden of keeping the illusion of happiness and perfection alive. One must act as if life is a never-ending cycle of joy and celebration, even if it turns out to be the opposite. If one is rich but has monetary issues, one must never tell anyone outside of one's inner circle the truth about what is really going on. One needs to act like one is just as secure as the rest of one's high-society friends. Choosing to not act in this way could result in major social repercussions.

When dealing with hidden transcripts, it should not be assumed that relationships of power are so black and white that what is said before witnesses is labeled "true" and what is said behind-the-scenes is labeled "false." It also should not be assumed that public transcripts are essential and that hidden transcripts represent liberty. It can only be assumed that hidden transcripts are made by certain people under a different degree of power than public transcripts. Only by recognizing the difference between the two can historians draw conclusions regarding the significance of supremacy in public discourse.¹⁹

Even though hidden and public transcripts are known within a group of people, they are not known beyond those borders. The hidden and public transcripts are known only to people of the same group in society and cannot be viewed in another group unless one is able to gain access to them.²⁰ Historians analyzing documents from people of status and people of the lower classes have access to the separate relationships within the two groups. They might not be able to fully understand the life of someone in either of these classifications, but they can make educated guesses, based on what is written, about the transcripts.

Whatever is written falls into one of the categories of historicity presented by Trouillot. Ideally, anyone studying history is searching for the truth. However, seeking the truth about any historical figure, document, or event is as difficult as attempting to stop waves from crashing on the shore. Because facts are not created equally, what could count as facts to some might not be considered facts by others. For example, there is an extensive debate concerning the Alamo (a

¹⁷ Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, 4.

¹⁸ Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, 4.

¹⁹ Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, 5.

²⁰ Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, 15.

former Catholic mission and site of the 1836 battle between Mexicans and Texans). The Inter-Tribal council of Native Americans has been pushing the significance of a cemetery that is located next to the Alamo, which holds the remains of over 1000 Native Americans who were killed in battle; they want Texas and the city of San Antonio to formally recognize the area. While their efforts have garnered some attention, they have managed to question the Daughters of the Republic of Texas' ownership of the Alamo. The ownership disagreement has been nicknamed "the second battle of the Alamo." The debate focuses on the example set by the 1836 battle. It can be interpreted as a symbol of fighting for freedom despite being outnumbered, or as an example of the harsh realities of the expansion of the United States. This debate has broken off into the streets, with demonstrations and court-order demands. Both sides are reexamining the presented "facts," which would not have been considered relevant centuries ago. The "facts," regardless of importance, are no longer accepted by both parties.²¹ The question of facts suggests the impossibility of seeking the truth. If there are two sides of the truth, there is no longer a solid definition of "the truth." Rather than seeking the truth, the more sensible action is to seek accuracy.

IV. Knowledge and Power

Possessing knowledge and power goes hand in hand with seeking accuracy. One must be able to sort out what is accurate and what is not. French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) discusses knowledge, specifically what he calls the "insurrection of subjugated knowledge." This term refers to the knowledge that has been hidden away by people in powerful positions. This knowledge has been sewn into the fabric of the systems of everyday life. Foucault uses the example of the asylum: what led to a judgment of prisons and asylums was not the study of symbols in everyday life in the asylum or the study of criminals in society, but the appearance of historical objects, documents, and ideas. It is through this appearance that historians are able to see through the fabric and dissect the consequences that an overseeing arrangement is able to hide.²² In addition to subjugated knowledge, one should be familiar with naïve knowledges, the knowledges below what it means to be mentally fully functioning or to be scientifically inclined. This type of knowledge, joined with knowledge Foucault calls "popular knowledge," is not universally known; it is known only by a certain group of people in the same location. People cannot agree on it, and it is only effective by how hard it is being enacted despite people's disagreement. This knowledge allows judgment to be the most effective.²³ This type of

²¹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 9-10.

²² Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 81-82.

²³ Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 82.

knowledge deals with what Foucault calls “historical knowledge of struggles,” which sprouts a tracing of struggles and their aftereffects. This lineage could not have been possible without the removal of the brutality of international conversations, its order, and the advantages of presumed freedom.²⁴

Alongside knowledge, power is the second part of the pair. Power takes its form through operation; it cannot be given or taken. Above all, power prevents things from surfacing.²⁵ Sociologist Stuart Hall states that power is present in all levels of life and does not stem from one person or location; power is also efficient.²⁶ One could argue that power could not gain the handle it has on people and institutions if it were not efficient. It would be easily spotted and recognized and broken down or changed. The case of Martin Luther is a strong example of one going against power. At that time, going against the Catholic Church was viewed as the start of a revolution.²⁷ Luther was brave enough to speak up and expose the Church’s shortcomings. It can be argued that power is only effective as long as it stands. Luther broke down the Church’s power, and both people and historiography became divided. It could also be argued that, in order to keep the natural order of things, there needs to be some degree of power. Power hides; it does not bring issues or voices to light. Suppose, in certain situations, this could be a positive. It is against the law to steal and loot, but if the power over the public regarding criminal acts were relaxed, some people might deem it acceptable to defy public property or take whatever they please from any store of their choosing. The fact that this situation has not happened in society shows how strong power is. Society condemns stealing and vandalism and has severe repercussions for those who break the law. Decent citizens follow the law. This willingness of citizens to follow the law is what power encourages: acceptance and complacency.

V. Race, Gender, and Class on the Ontological Ladder

The concepts discussed above require an understanding of ontology. The eighteenth century marks the period in which ontology gained popularity. Trouillot references historian Michael Adas when talking about Western civilization and the idea of man. “Man” refers to coming from European lineage and being biologically male.²⁸ Women sat below men on the societal ladder; European women occupied the second highest position. Further down the ladder were the Chinese, Persians, and Egyptians. These groups not only came from

²⁴ Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 83.

²⁵ Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 89-90.

²⁶ Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage, in association with Open University, 1997), 13-74, here 50.

²⁷ Roy Pascal, “Martin Luther and his Times,” *Science & Society* 2, no. 3 (1938): 332-347, here 332.

²⁸ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 76.

civilizations believed to be more advanced but were thought to be a bigger threat to Western civilization. Occupying the lowest position on the ladder were Africans and other Americans. It was believed that these people could blend in with the West. Around this time, negative association with skin color began to take form, and “black” held the worst association. This association, in addition to the concept of inferiority, was used as a justifiable reason to enslave blacks.²⁹

The ontological ladder elevated men above women. Eventually, women fought to include their views of history. The inclusion of women and gender in history books created different theories on perspective. The catalyst of feminism’s second wave regarding women’s history after 1968 was politics.³⁰ Historian Laura Lee Downs references historian Natalie Zemon Davis when talking about the goal of politics in women’s history. The hope of politics in women’s history was that it would modify the standards by which history would be written.³¹ 1960s and 1970s women’s historians would spur conversations with male-centered historians about rewriting history based on the experiences and perspectives of women.³²

A womanly identity, which was newly-discovered from the work of awareness groups, significantly acted in developing a form of feminist politics centering on the “we are one, we are woman” statement from activist and scholar Ann Snitow. This led to complications with regard to women in poverty and non-white women; they thought they had more in common with their male relatives, husbands, and brothers than with their wealthy white counterparts who led the organization.³³ However, some feminists did not approve of this slogan. Only when feminists understand and integrate the varying experiences of women could true bonding exist.³⁴ This is important because it is relevant to other aspects of life. It is not beneficial to group people based on one factor and then assume they all share the same experiences and points of view. People are individuals and experience circumstances and events in different ways.

From the political influence on women’s history came two theories about the analysis of gender and women in history; both theories were discussed in the 1970s. The first was a socialist-feminist theory, which focused on the importance of distinguishing between gender and class and male authority versus capitalist ways of control. The second was the presumption that the “culture” of women came from the thought that, in some way, people instinctively separate areas of

²⁹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 76-77.

³⁰ Laura Lee Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 21.

³¹ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 22.

³² Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 23.

³³ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 23.

³⁴ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 24.

socialization into privately and publicly gendered categories.³⁵ Public, in this case, could be referring to the workplace and everyday life, whereas private could be referring to the household, family, and relationships.

Conclusion

The factors of history discussed above, such as power and knowledge, hidden and public transcripts, structure and agency, and gender, add new perspectives to the interpretation of history. Pondering the definition of facts and sources, how they were made, and the circumstances under which they were made, will make one rethink everything one has ever known about history. No longer can one look at a document or narrative and accept it for what it is: one has to think about any possible motives authors may have had and what they may or may not have left out, whether intentionally or unintentionally. The theories presented here have contributed to a more educated and formulated definition of history. They can act as the scaffolding for our understanding of history; their ideas can set the foundation to comprehend and create one's own examples to understand their points. I look at history now as an iceberg: it may look simple and relatively unintimidating, but there is much more below the surface than meets the eye.

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³⁵ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 24.

Michaela Malneritch and Michael Ortega (editors)

*A Glimpse into North America's Colonial Past:
The Blackden-Stoddard Letters (May 22, 1771, to April 10, 1773)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

SC 64.

War Memorabilia Collection.

Durkee/Blackden Correspondence.

May 22, 1771, to April 10, 1773.

Six letters (numbered 1 to 6 below).

Introduction

The six pre-Revolutionary War letters edited here are part of the "Durkee/Blackden Correspondence" of the "War Memorabilia Collection" that is held in CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections. They belonged to Miss Florence Durkee of Brea, California, and were donated to CSUF in 1973. The first letter is merely a fragment (half of it is missing), while the remaining letters are in very good condition despite the occasional hole or ink blot. The letters are written in cursive, in black ink, on small stationary paper, and some of them show traces of the red wax seals with which they were once sealed.

The letters were written between May 22, 1771 (letter 1), and April 10, 1773 (letter 6). They are authored by Samuel Blackden (letters 1, 2, 3, and 5) and Josiah Stoddard (letters 4 and 6), and addressed to Sally Stoddard/Blackden, Josiah's sister and Samuel's future wife. Samuel's and Sally's marriage took place between October 3, 1772 (letter 5), and April 10, 1773 (letter 6). The letters were not written in a single place because the authors were regularly traveling throughout colonial North America; locations mentioned include New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut, as well as Poughkeepsie, New York. Samuel Blackden's letters display an air of romance and frustration; he expresses his care and love for Sally, but also reprimands her for not responding to his letters in a timely fashion. Josiah Stoddard's letters are more casual, as he primarily writes about his traveling plans, arranging accommodations for Sally to visit, his recreational activities, and his thoughts on local politics and views of the colonies. These letters are historically significant because they provide insight into the daily lives of people living in the colonies, recreational activities, travel, and social relations, but they also touch on interaction between brother and sister, as well as man and wife, and they exhibit human emotion.

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.

*Edition: Letter 1, Samuel Blackden to Sally Stoddard,
May 22, 1771, Hartford, Connecticut*

Front: [top line(s) of page are missing; right side of page is partially missing]

To Give way to g [...] t leave [...]
Who have the [...] To Mourne [...]
Consider my dear [...] t Tis Seperat [...]
to be But Short, [...] y Furnish [...]
means of passing through Irksome Life [...]
Meeting will make us Ample Sa [...]
our parting, and A Number of Happy [...]
Seperation, forgive me Sally for the B [...]
Writing my mind is Not enough at [...]
The pains of parting are yet Fresh - I will [...]
from Boston, and do not Disappoint me in [...]
and then a Memorandom from You, [...]
Unspeakable pleasure to him who [...]
my Dear Sally yours only -
Sam[uel] B[lackden]
Hartford Wednesday
22 May 1771

Back: [modern hand] 26 - From Hartford - May 22, 1771 - from Sam B - to - Sally -

*Edition: Letter 2, Samuel Blackden to Sally Stoddard,
June 24, 1772, New Haven, Connecticut*

Front:

My D[ea]r Sally- Just as I was sealing the inclosed Scolding Letter I Received your fav[o]r
for which pray accept my best Thanks- I must own my D[ea]r Sally I
do not see the least impropriety in your Coming to New Haven on y[ou]r
Return from New York, and the Journey I shou[l]d think wou[l]d be Rather
Pleasant than Tedious, - Indeed my D[ea]r Sally I wou[l]d not Solicit any
favour of you that shou[l]d lessen you in my esteem, the Coming to New
Haven is no more than I wou[l]d willingly let my own sister do in the same
Situation - however my D[ea]r Girl if you or your friends think it improper
I have done - and shall defer the Hopes of seeing you till August
when I shall be at Salisbury¹ - I wish you my Dear Sally a pleas[an]t
Journey and may Gaurdian [sic] Angels Attend your Steps [...] and Return
you to your Affectionate
Sam[uel] Blackden
New Haven
June 24.th 1772.

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 25 - From New Haven - June 24, 1772 -
From Sam Blackden - 24 is missing

To
Miss Sally Stoddard
Open this first

¹ Salisbury, Connecticut.

My D^r Sally - Just as I was Sealing the inclosed Letter I Received your fav^r.
 for which pray accept my best Thanks - I must own my D^r Sally I
 do not see the Least impropriety in your coming to New Haven on y^r.
 Return from New York, and the Journey I should think would be rather
 Pleasant than tedious, - Indeed my D^r Sally I would not Solicit any
 favour of you that should lessen you in my esteem, the coming to New
 Haven is no more than I would willingly let my own sister do in the same
 Situation - however my D^r Girl if you or your friends think it improper
 I have done - and shall defer the hopes of seeing you till August
 when I shall be at Salisbury - I wish you my Dear Sally a safe
 Journey and may Guardian Angel attend your steps and return
 you to your Affectionate

Sam Blackden

New Haven
 June 24th 1772.

Figure (above): Letter 2, Samuel Blackden to Sally Stoddard, June 24, 1772, New Haven, Connecticut, Front.

Edition: Letter 3, Samuel Blackden to Sally Stoddard,
 June 24, 1772, New Haven, Connecticut

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 27 - From New Haven - June 24th,
 1772 - From Sam Blackden

To
 Miss Sally Stoddard

Front right:

You little Pup, why did you Let Luther² put you of the Notion of writing to me – do you think I will ever bear such treatment. No by Heavens I will break your Chains in pieces and Cast your bond asunder as I Told you in a former Letter - you have Nothing to do but write me and I will admit of no Excuse for your not doing it, while I am hurried and fatigued with Business I can always find Time to write you and if you will not answer me I will write no more
 Very well say you a pretty Scolding Letter indeed to Receive from a humble slave why Let the poor stuttering braging [?] [...] Devil Rave as he pleases, my Chains are too strongly Forged for him to breake, I[']ll make him know The power I have over him and Exercise him in obedience that he may bear The Yoke of Matrimony with Patience -
 Well but my dear Sally do you Take any pleasure in my Company or Conversation if you do why will you not indulge me in the most pleasing of all Correspondance one between two Persons whose Greatest pleasure is [...] making each other happy whose Words are dictated by sincerity and whose Thoughts are Inspired by Love with Those ends in View how often may we make [...] apleasing Improvement of a leisure hour, why then my Charming Girl will you deny me The only Thing I have had need to solicit in Vain

Back left:

Remember my dear Sally tis one thing to gain a heart and another to keep it then let our study be to insure what we have Gain[e]d and Cherish and improve every tender Affection and increase if possible in Esteem and good will - A foolish Stupid piece of stuff is the foregoing, however if you will not write you must take what my Barren Brain furnishes - [...] But my D[ea]r Sally be assured that Nothing but unkindness Can alienate my Affections nor anything make me so miserable [sic] - I[f] you are not Gone to York³ before this Arrives Remember the Miniature picture I wrote you about and take Care to have it done in the best manner Accept a thousand Good wishes from, My D[ea]r Sally your Affectionate Friend
 Sam[uel] Blackden
 New Haven
 June 24.th 1772 -

Back right: [traces of red wax seal]

Edition: Letter 4, Josiah Stoddard to Sally Stoddard, July 18, 1772, Poughkeepsie, New York

Front:

Dear Sister
 We are just come to Mr Davies's after a very tedious Passage of four Days

² Sally's brother.

³ Presumably New York.

this Being a Saturday. Capt[ain] Smith is much undetermin[e]d when he shall be down again, he sais [sic] he will write me word so that I shall be in Poughkeepsie, nigh as soon you will, I shall if Possible send you down four or five Dollars for Capt[ain] Smith. I have spoke to Mr Leonard Van Cleek for Lodgings for you whither you must go as soon as you come to Poughkeepsie & hire one of the Men to Bring along your trunk, but first see that Your Bed & three sheets are convey[e]d to Mr Davies's house Pay the Capt[ain] for your Passage [...] up - Give my Compliments to Mr Heron his Lady & each of Familly [sic] in turn, to Miss Sally in Particular - to all acquaintances in general James is come from Salisbury with my Horse & sais [sic] friends are all well - from yours affectionately Josiah Stoddard [sic] Poughkeepsie July 18. 1772

Back: [modern hand] 28 - From Josiah Stoddard - July 18 - 1772 - From Poughkeepsie

[...] [St]oddard
[...] [M]r. A. Herring, in [?]
[...] y
New York

*Edition: Letter 5, Samuel Blackden to Sally Stoddard,
October 30, 1772, New Haven, Connecticut*

Front:

New Haven Octob[er]. 30. 1772
My Dearest Sally -
Mr. Bagrag [...] you was well, it Gave me Great pleasure, but why didn't you write - It is the [...] foolish thing in Nature to let any insignificant Triffling punctilios come into consideration between us - after what is past you have no Excuse - This is the Very first Opportunity I have had since I Came from Salisbury of writing, or you wou[ld] have heard from me before, for by Heaven Nothing Can give me greater Satisfaction Except your Company, [...] why will you be behind hand with me - you surely are sincere, I must think it, then why this Reserve - Mr. Whiting is Gone to York and will not be with me any more as he has fix[e]d upon a plan to settle in So that I am now Close confin[e]d - I shall not be able I am Very much affraid [sic] to Come to Salisbury before The Appointed Time but shall write you more particularly when leisure will admit - I have partly Agreed for the house where Mr Botsford lived - tis to be Properly Repair[e]d and I Shall endeavor to Get Things ready for the Completion of my happiness in The Arms of my Dearest Girl - There has been No Opportunity of sending your Things but Dr. Baker will send a team to me Next Week by which I shall send Them if None offers before - from my D[ea]r Sally yours for ever - Sam[uel] Blackden

Back: [modern hand] 29 - From New Haven - Oct. 30 - 1772 - From Sam Blackden - to Sally -

*Edition: Letter 6, Josiah Stoddard to Sally Blackden,
April 10, 1773, Castleton, Vermont*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 14 - From - Josiah Stoddard - From Castleton Apr. 10, 1773

To
Mrs Sally Blackden

Front right:

Castleton April 10th 1773

Dear Sister

This day I din[e]d with Mr Evarts. had
a dish of good Tea which was very agreeable after
so long Abstinence from everything palata-
ble - I think this a most excellent Country -
to get an easy livelihood in - the inhabitants
are few, but all friend[ly]. but all joyous friendly
& kind, we have nothing here similar to our
own envious malicious folks except the
Misketers [sic] which are so plenty, that the Inhab-
itants think themselves able to supply a foreign
Market - tomorrow we set for Tionderoga⁴ [sic]. Mr
Everets helps us along & keeps our home till our
Return - The terror of going to Quebeck [sic] is much
lessened by being informed that no one ever
pretends to go down the falls on the Rafts -
I had a very ill turn this morning by drinking
to [sic] much Water, at present am perfectly well -
Day before Yesterday I cut my Name in a
green Beach [sic] & whose else you may guess
turn over

Back left: [traces of red wax seal]

there let them grow under the influence of cupid
& Venus; but Mum. I shou[l]d have wrote to
Luther but cannot afford Paper I have sent him
two, & one Letter to you is as good as a Letter
one each - adieu give my best Wishes
to all Fr[i]ends
Yours Jos[ia]h Stoddard
James is in good Spirits & sends Resp[ec]ts
to all friends

Back right: [traces of red wax seal]

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⁴ Fort Ticonderoga, New York.

Stephanie Reilly and Sierra Sampson (editors)

*Family Perspectives on the American Revolution:
The Blackden-Stoddard Letters (June 3, 1773, to October 29, 1778)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

SC 64.

War Memorabilia Collection.

Durkee/Blackden Correspondence.

June 3, 1773, to October 29, 1778.

Six letters (numbered 7 to 12 below).

Introduction

The six letters edited here are part of the “Durkee/Blackden Correspondence” of the “War Memorabilia Collection” that is held in CSUF’s University Archives and Special Collections. They were donated to CSUF in 1973. The letters’ dimensions are approximately 8 by 10 inches. They are written in cursive, in black ink, and on stationery paper that has aged from light tan to light brown. Most are in fair, but fragile condition; some have crease marks, frayed margins, or holes; and some of them show traces of the red wax seals with which they were once sealed.

The letters originate from various places along the Eastern Seaboard of Great Britain’s North American colonies (between Pennsylvania and Connecticut), and they were written just prior and during the Revolutionary War, namely between June 3, 1773 (letter 7), and October 29, 1778 (letter 12). They are authored by Josiah Stoddard (letter 7) and Samuel Blackden (letters 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12), and they are addressed to Sally Blackden who was Josiah Stoddard’s sister and Samuel Blackden’s wife. The letters mention home life, farm life, and family matters, as well as illness (letter 7), travel (letters 7 and 12), servants/slaves (letter 12), prices for various goods and services (letters 8 and 11), General George Washington (letter 10), Count Casimir Pulaski (letter 11), troop movements (letters 8, 10, 10, and 11), and several other military matters (such as opportunities for promotion and payroll). These letters are historically significant because they provide a bottom-up look at life during the American Revolution. The letters indicate that Samuel Blackden was tired of being away from home and wanted nothing more than to return to his wife Sally (letter 11).

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.

*Edition: Letter 7, Josiah Stoddard to Sally Blackden,
June 3, 1773, Salisbury, Connecticut*

Front:

Salisbury¹ June 3rd. 1773

Dear Sister

I am at length permitted to revisit my own Country
I think I was never more sincerely gratified tho[ugh]
I heard some time ago that you was gone to New Haven²
- was really disappointed in not seeing you at home -
- am sure you have not chang[e]d situations for the
worse. I suppose now I might often find you
adjusting a Curtain or Side Board than prepar-
ing to make a Visit. I need not recommend to You
not to keep yourself too much confin[e]d for women
will find an excuse to call upon Miss such a one. -
I have seen many new & strange things in
my Travels which wou[l]d swell a Letter beyond reas-
onable Bounds - never was so healthy in my Life
as since my going on the Lake.
I expect to come to New Haven for Polly in about
a month - am much griev[e]d at her illness - we are
all anxious to know how fast she mends. I beg
You wou[l]d divert her thoughts from home if it is
serviceable for her to stay. James Gro.r [?]³ is perfectly
well & cares much less about his Mamma than
any of his acquaintances nigher hand -
Pray don[']t fail writing to me immediately & let
me know all the news You can. You must call
it weakness if You please; but I am very impatient
till I see Miss.... You can at least let me know
where she is - shou[l]d have wrote for this Opportunity
but thought the conveyance too uncertain - I am in
a Dilemma till I hear from You. which way I shall
go, whither to come directly to N[ew] Haven or go another
way, be it either way shall be very happy to see you once
more - from Your affect[ionat]e Brother
Josiah Stoddard

Front left side:

Sister Eldrigdes Youngest child has
had a short turn of the pleurisy⁴
but is since well
Compliments to all friends, but above
all my sincerest good wishes to my worthy

¹ Presumably Salisbury, Connecticut.

² New Haven, Connecticut.

³ Possibly Gro[sveno]r.

⁴ A lung/chest condition.

Sister Polly. tell her I hope shortly to see
her in the Bloom of fifteen

Back: [modern hand] 12 - From Salisbury - June 3 1773 - From - Josiah Stoddard

Salisbury
To
Mrs Blackden
New Haven

*Edition: Letter 8, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
November 27, 1776, Sawpit (Connecticut/New York)*

Front: [top line(s) of page are missing]

by the most authentic Account between 15 and 16 Hundred
men which is a Pretty Good Price for What They Got
There is not any kind of Goods to be had here
but on my way home I will try to get you silk for a Cloak
tho[ugh] I do not think it is to be had anywhere but at Grove
Bonds store at Wapuns⁵ Creek below Poughkeepsie⁶ [sic] -
I gave you a bit of Ribbon which I lit [?] of and tho[ugh]t
Pretty for you and therefore you got it -
About next tomorrow week, [?] I expect
[...] - it for Home (at least for a season) - I have [...]
As Man out to Catch a few Oysters for you Much I shall
send by Hale - Wait Patiently my Chances for
fulfilling of the Promises and they shall not trail [?]
on the trail [...] but always sincerely [sic]
affectionate - Sam Blackden

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 9 - From - Sawpity - Nov. 27 1776 - from
S. Blackden

Mrs Blackden
Hazelbrooke
Salisbury

*Edition: Letter 9, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
November 27, 1776, Sawpit (Connecticut/New York)*

Front:

Sawpity⁷ Novem[be]r 27. 1776 -
My Dear Sally -
Your very acceptable letter of the 24th
Came to hand today and is the first and only one
I have had from home since I left you, Except one
of the 17th from [?] Luther⁸ which I got last Night.
You dear little slut how you Volly [?] me for

⁵ Possibly Wappinger(s) Creek, New York.

⁶ Poughkeepsie, New York.

⁷ Sawpit, at the time disputed between Connecticut and New York.

⁸ Sally's brother.

my fondness do you think I am asham[e]d of it
 no indeed you are mistaken; tis true I wou[l]d
 Give anything to have you always near me
 but when I cannot the Reflection of Past
 moments is some Consolation -
 I observe what you say with Respect
 To King - I beg and intreat [sic] you to make
 yourself perfectly easy on that Account, I have
 determin[e]d Rather to Give up everything, than you
 shou[l]d be uneasy, indeed you know my absince [sic] is
 merely Accidental or I shou[l]d have finish[e]d the
 matter before - you desire me to Consult my

Back:

my [sic] own Happiness and interest, but Why mine, Sure I have not
 a pleasure nor a wish but what Centers in the Happiness of my
 dear Sally, and if any Spark of ambition is in me Surely tis it is
 to make myself worthy of her Who I Esteem the Worthiest
 of her sex - I am Surprized [sic] you have not kill[e]d What Beef
 you want for Present Use, and Desire you will get Mr.
 Grenold, Smith or somebody Else - to Kill the Fattest Cow
 there is on the Farm, and Put her Up against I Come to
 See you - You mention your fur Coat - Tho[ugh] I shou[l]d
 be as Proud as anybody to see my little Charmer in it, yet
 it is yours, and if you have a mind to try your fortune
 (and at Present it is not in My Power to Give you a share
 any other way) you have my free consent and I Hope
 your Success will be equal To your merit and Plan you
 in a Chariot and four - With Respect to Fort Washington⁹
 the Enemy had not heard of our arrival or they wou[l]d
 not have attack[e]d it, Or Had they known Our Formidable
 Brigade of Militia been there the Rogues [?]wou[l]d have had
 bloody Noses - However Thanks To Heaven they last [...]

*Edition: Letter 10, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
 September 9, 1777, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Front:

Philadelphia Septem[be]r. 9th. 1777 -
 My Dear Sally -
 I arrived here last night from Peekskill.¹⁰ I
 understand that our Noble General Washington within one Mile
 of the Tyrants Army, possessed of a situation on every Account
 Favorable and advantageous, shou[l]d they move forward they
 must incounter [sic] all the Afflictions his superior [...] Enables.
 to throw in their way, shou[l]d they go back I trust their Retreat
 is both a great measure obstructed if not Cut off - The Enemy
 are said to be from 10. to 17. thousand, but in general it is

⁹ Fort Washington (Manhattan), New York, captured by the British on November 16, 1776.

¹⁰ Peekskill, New York.

believed they are about twelve thousand strong - General
 Washington has men Enough and to spare, and in all Hum[an] [?]
 Probability such a Compleat [sic] stroke will be struck in a few days, a[nd] [?]
 [w]ill put an End to the Ravages of the most brutal miscrean[ts]
 that ever disgraced the Name of Soldiers, Indeed while I am
 Writing this I am Affraid [sic] I am Loosing [sic] that share in th[e]
 glorious contest Which every sincere friend to the Libertys of
 mankind wou[l]d wish to have, however tis duty that detain[s]
 me or I shou[l]d not have time to write this - I set out the
 moment the baggage Arrives and do not expect to have t[he]
 heartfelt Satisfaction of Writing to the D[ea]r Girl of my Choice
 until the Affair is over; therefore my D[ea]r Girl Accept of
 every Good Wish for your health and happiness and be As[sure]d
 that our Country shall not be disappointed in the Conduct
 of your - S[am]. B[lackden].

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] From Philadelphia - Sept 9 1777 - From
 S. B. [printed] SEPT 9.

Paid 4.16
 Mrs. Sally Blackden
 at Salisburg
 To the Care of Capt[ain] W. Tuly
 Hartford
 Connecticut
 Post paid -

*Edition: Letter 11, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
 November 22, 1777, Camp White Marsh, Pennsylvania*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [several lines of quill attempts, spelling "Samuel,"
 "Sam," "Blacked," "the," etc.] [modern hand] From Camp White Marsh - 15 miles
 from Philadelphia - Nov. 22 1777. - (From Sam' Blackden)

Philadelphus
 Novemb[er] 21 from Philadelphia
 Mrs. Sally Blackden
 Salisbury

Front right:

Camp White Marsh¹¹ 15 Miles from Philadelphia
 November 22. 1777 -
 My Dear Sally -
 your agreeable [sic] letter of 5th of October came to
 hand, and shou[l]d have been answer[e]d before this, but I have been wait[ing].
 for the determination of a Matter, Which I wish[e]d to inform you of;
 tho[ugh] indeed no good opportunity has offer[e]d before the Present
 General Count Polaski¹² (a Polish Nobleman) who
 commands all the Light Horse,¹³ proposed to me to accept of the

¹¹ Whitmarsh Township, Pennsylvania.

¹² Count Casimir Pulaski (1745-1779).

¹³ Light cavalry.

Appointment of Quarter Master General; which was very Agreeable [sic] to my inclinations; and I had determin'd [sic] to Accept of it, but Upon Making the Proper Enquiry into the Ranks &. &. ¹⁴ [?] I found it cou[l]d not be Accepted, without sacrefising [sic] a better prospect, wherefore I declin[e]d it - I congratulate you my Charming Girl on the success of the American arms to the Northward, and Wish to God I cou[l]d Relate something equally agreeable [sic] to you from this Quarter, but I am ever Unfortunate in that particular - Our Fort on the Island in the River which commands the Navigation, was a few days ago[n]e[sic] Evacuated; after all my brave Resistance for several weeks, since which we are at a loss to Conjecture What our Movements will be, for they seem intirely[sic] to depend Upon those of the Enemy, This morning three Brigades of Troops from The Northward Arrived in Camp, Which is a Considerable Reinforce[men]t to our Army, Which Receives no Assistance, from the inhabitants of the Country; Who are 99 to out of every hundred, Forces - they have in this state 70 thousand militia and We never more than 8 or 9 Hundred to Join the Army; Indeed had Mr. Howe Ventur'[e]d as much in New England as he has here, I believe he wou[l]d have finish[e]d his business before now, however thank God they are Rich and as they won'[t] Fight, they must be made to pay those that do In a few days We intend to send a man Home When I shall write you fully Concerning business, in the mean time I

Back left:

wish you cou[l]d find some Carefule[sic] Steady man, Who Wou[l]d hire for the Winter, I want all the Horses that will do for sale, to be stabled and put in the best Order, and as Jacob Cannot alone take the proper Care, I wou[l]d have you get Help at any Rate - they are now Worth a Great Sum of Money, and Will in the Spring be Worth much more, I intend then to sell all I can Spare - Our pay Rolls are not made out So that I have not drew any Money but by the man Whom we Shall Send, you will Recive [sic] Money To finish with old Owen, and buy soon After with Every own to whom a Shilling is due - There is not a single Article in the Goods way in all this Country, not a skim of thread or yard of tape my Hair has been tied in a Strip of Eel Skin this two months Therefore for Gowns and Bonnets D[ea]r you must get them else where if possible, nor do I know a Single Article I can bring my Sweet Girl from hence unless a Receipt to make buckwheat Cakes may be Call'd so - they are a banditti of Rascals and Extortioners, I have paid three Shillings Currency for Washing a shirt - Rum is 16 dollars a Gallon brown sugar 2 dollars a pound butter 1 dollar a pound and Everything Else in proportion, yet we think nothing of all these things while we can Anyway contribute to the Establishment of Freedom, and the Protection of all that is Dear to us; with pleasure I look forward to those happy days when these Troubles are over, and I shall sit with thee the pride of my heart in my lap

¹⁴ Two ampersands: et cetera, et cetera.

and Recount the Many Adventures that Occur in the life of A
 Soldier, When Whatever out possessions may be we shall be secure
 in the enjoyment of them - That Heaven may bless my Charmer with
 perfect health and Every Enjoyment is the Constant wish of her Ever
 Affectionate
 Sam Blackden

Back right: [hole in paper; no writing]

Edition: Letter 12, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
 October 29, 1778, Salem (Connecticut?)

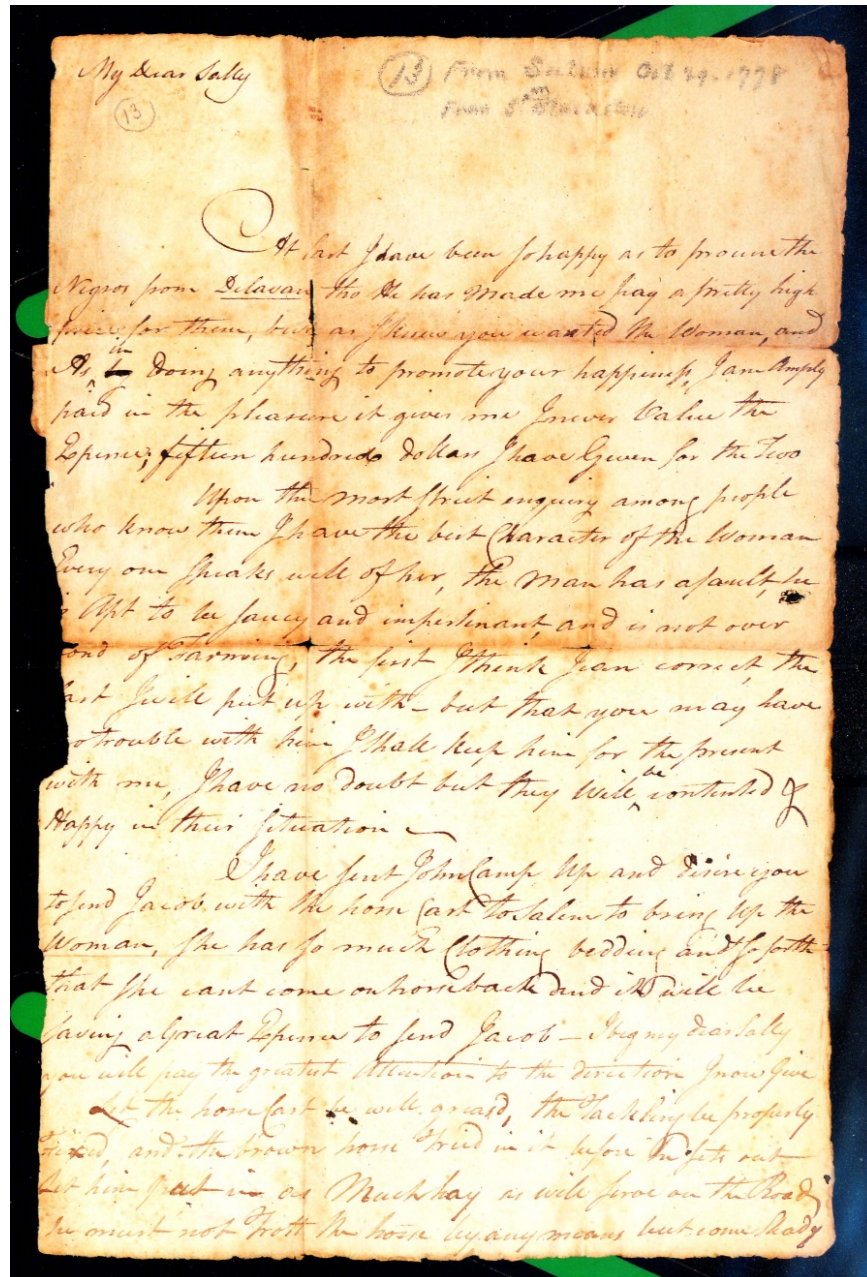


Figure (above): Letter 12, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden, October 29, 1778, Salem (Connecticut?),
 Front.

Front: [modern hand] 13 - From Salem Oct 29. 1778 - From Sam Blackden

My Dear Sally

At last I have been so happy as to procure the
Negros from Delavan¹⁵ tho[ugh] He has Made me pay a pretty high
price for them, but as I knew you wanted the Woman, and
As by in Doing anything to promote your happiness, I am Amply
paid in the pleasure it gives me I never Value the
Expense; fifteen hundred dollars I have Given for the Two
Upon the most strict inquiry among people
who know them I have the best Character of the Woman
Every one speaks well of her, the man has a fault, he
[is] Apt to be saucy and impertinant [sic], and is not over
[f]ond of Farming, the first I think I can correct, the
[l]ast I will put up with - but that you may have
[n]o trouble with him I shall keep him for the present
with me, I have no doubt but they will be contented &
Happy in their situation -
I have sent to John Camp Up and desire you
to send Jacob with the horse Cart to Salem¹⁶ to bring Up the
Woman, she has to much Clothing bedding and so forth
that she can[']t come on horseback and it will be
saving a Great Expense to send Jacob - I beg my dear Sally
you will pay the greatest Attention to the direction I now Give
Let the horse Cart be well greas[e]d, the Tackling be properly
Fixed, and the brown horse Tried in it before he sets out
Let him put in as Much hay as will serve on the Road
he must not Trott the horse by any means but come steady

Back:

and Slowly On - I shall Meet him at Salem and his
Honor is concern[e]d in the Good looks of the horse, - I wou[ld]
have him set out Early next Tuesday morning but not travel
harder than to be at Salem thursday afternoon, Twenty five
Miles a day will do, the Reason of my being thus particular
is that I suppose Jacob not much acquainted with Journeys &
I want the Brown horse to be kept in Good Order for
Work in the winter - Your own Good Sense and Judgement,
my Lovely partner will dictate to you so keep a strict Eye and
a Very steady hand with this Woman until you become
perfectly acquanted [sic] with her - indeed my Love I need Say no mor[e]
than to beg you to be attentive and you will Soon discover
her Merit and her faults - I flatter myself continual[ly]
with the hopes of being soon with you but at all Even[ts?]
am Determin[e]d to be at home next winter in Consequ[ence?]
you will have some attention paid to the favorite horses -
I am My Charmer Just mounting My horse for
a small Ride on duty and will conclude my letter when I
stop. Adieu Heavens bless you -

¹⁵ Presumably a last name.

¹⁶ Presumably Salem, Connecticut.

Salem Octob[er]. 29. 1778 -

My Charmer, I have come here and finish[e]d the Matter
about the Negros Frank will stay with me and Jenny
will Remain here untill Jacob arrives - By all means
get Wilcox to Collect the sheep If he Rides a week let it be
done - beg Luther to procure two Barrills [sic] of Pork for you
and I will make him Amends - Yours in haste my D[ea]r Sally
Sam Blackden

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Stephanie Reilly of Hesperia, California, completed her B.A. in History at California State University, San Bernardino (2015). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton, working on a comprehensive examination that analyzes ancient Greek military formation and tactics.*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Sierra Sampson of West Covina, California, completed her B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2017), where she is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, working on comprehensive examinations on the Viking World and modern Middle Eastern history. She also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History." The primary-source edition published above originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

Jessica Kim (editor)

*The Travels of Samuel Blackden after the American Revolution:
Letters to Sally Blackden (August 17, 1792, to September 18, 1799)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton.
University Archives and Special Collections.
SC 64.
War Memorabilia Collection.
Durkee/Blackden Correspondence.
August 17, 1792, to September 18, 1799.
Six letters (numbered 13 to 18).

Introduction

The six letters edited here were donated by Miss Florence Durkee of Brea, California, in 1973 and are part of the “Durkee/Blackden Correspondence of the “War Memorabilia Collection” in CSUF’s University Archives and Special Collections. The letters’ condition ranges from fragile to fair; some contain smudges and partial tears. They are written in cursive, in black ink, on small stationary paper, and they range in color from off-white to tan. Some of them show traces of the red wax seals with which they were once sealed.

Samuel Blackden is the author of all six letters which are addressed to his wife Sally. The letters were written between August 17, 1792 (letter 13), and September 18, 1799 (letter 18). They were sent from London, England (letters 13 and 14), Lisbon, Portugal (letter 15), Philadelphia (letters 16 and 17), and Boston (letter 18). According to letter 13, Sally must be in Paris, France, and Samuel mentions business affairs and Sally’s patriotism. Letter 14 suggests that Sally has traveled to Le Havre, France, where Samuel plans to join her; he provides details about his dinner, as well as a medicine that he is taking for his complexion and that the ladies appear to find attractive. Letter 15 finds Samuel in Lisbon almost two years later aboard a Danish ship, which apparently means that he has nothing to fear from the “Algerines” (possibly North African pirates); Sally has meanwhile traveled to New York. Letter 16 is written from Philadelphia, where Samuel is “still upon crutches” and has “business with the President” (George Washington), and is addressed to Sally in New York. Letter 17 finds Samuel still in Philadelphia and Sally in New York, and mentions his business affairs and her social circle. Letter 18 is written five years later from Boston to New York and discusses Samuel’s efforts to recover financial losses. These letters are historically significant due to their wide range of references to personal and public matters.

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.

*Edition: Letter 13, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
August 17, 1792, London, England*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 21 -From London - Aug 17, 1792 -
From S. B. - [printed] [ANGLE]TERRE [various stamped postal seals]

A' Madame
Madame Blackden
No. 74. Rue du Pettits Champs
Place Victoire
a' Paris

Front right:

London August 17, 1792

My Dear Sally

I have received yours of the 4th, the reason why
you have not more frequently heard from me is, that I
flatter[e]d myself from day to day that a final settlement would
take place between me and Claibourn[e], which all my endeavours
have been able to effect -

I have made him the most advantageous [sic] offers
and have given up much more than I ought to do, to bring
the whole matter to a conclusion but I find to day that
he is not capable of conducting his own business, and that
after all my endeavours to obtain a settlement I am just
[wh]ere I was before -

Our worthy Friend B[arlo]w has been indefatigable
in the business, and has exerted himself as much for me as
I should in like circumstances have done for him, Tomorrow
I hope and expect that all things will be settled, and it is
possible I may come to Paris. Post haste, in the interim you
are able to judge what you should do for your personal
safety, and nobody can direct you better than any our
friends at No. 63 - Say to Col. S.____ that I have not answered his
two letters for reasons that I shall give him, and which
will be satisfactory, but that I will pursue

Back left:

directions as soon as My affair with Clai[bourne] are finish[e]d which
have taken up all My time
your Patriotic letter to Mr. Barlow of the 9th has
been read to us this day you are the first daughter of
Liberty and we have drank your health in
a full Tankard of Porter -

Fear not my Dear Sally, we shall do Very
well B[arlo]w and Leaven[wor]th are attached to me by the
strongest ties of friendship and will bring my business to
a happy conclusion - Keep up your Spirits as you ough[t]
to do, and believe Me unalterably yours
S[amuel]. B[lackden]

Back right: [traces of red wax seal] [hole in paper; no writing]

*Edition: Letter 14, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
August 30, 1792, London, England*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 17 -From London - Aug 30, 1792 -
From S. B. - [printed] ANGLETERRE [stamped postal seal]

A' Madame
Madame Blackden
au soin de Mons[ieu]r Muller
Negotiant
A' Havre de Grace¹

Front right:

London August 30.th. 1792
My Dear Sally
I have your favor of the 26th and suppos[-]
ing you have gone to Havre I address my letter there -
The terms of settlement between me and Clai[-]
bourne we've agreed upon more than three weeks
ago but the attorneys have made such sad work of it
that the writings are not finished, we have changed
them several times, but they are all alike, notwith[-]
standing I hope we shall now finish in a day or two
and then I shall set out for Havre -
It would not give you any intertainment [sic]
if I was to recite to you all the embarrassments that
have empeded [sic] us in the business, Mr. Barlow has
been indefatigueable [sic], and Mr. Leavenworth exceedingly
kind in giving me advice and assistance -
Claiborne is married, and is so great in
Ideas [?] that he is obliged to put his affairs with the hands
of Mr. Rumsay, with whom we are making the
settlement, and happy shall I be when tis done -
I should not have wrote to you today but to assure
you that I am well, as an Evidence of which I have eat
half a pound at least of corn[e]d beef a large plate of
colcannon² & half a pudding, I have drank a pot of porter³

Back left:

and shall drink another before I go to bed, but I
have not tasted a Glass of wine these three weeks
I have pursued the use of a medicine [sic] which I
found in London and begin to have the complexion [sic]
an Adonis,⁴ and can hardly trust myself among the
ladies, they pay me so many compliments, indeed I believe
there are several fervently in love with me, however

¹ Presumably Le-Havre, France, a port city facing the English Channel.

² Mashed potatoes with cabbage.

³ Beer.

⁴ The human lover of the Greek goddess Aphrodite.

don[']t be affraid you have the intire [sic] possession of the
Heart and Affections of - S[amuel]. B[lackden].

Back right: [traces of red wax seal] [hole in paper] [swirly line]

*Edition: Letter 15, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
May 27, 1794, Lisbon, Portugal*

Front:

Lisbon 27.th. May 1794 -

My Dear Sally

I wrote you from Havre by Capt[ain].

Wilson but as he did not sail till the day we

did you may perhaps receive this as soon as that by him

I am onboard a Danish ship so that there

is no fear of the Algerines,⁵ we arrived (after a passage

of twelve days) the day before yesterday, but I have not

yet got permission to go on shore tho[ough] I expect it to day

We shall stay here a fortnight during which I shall write

you more fully, at present I have nothing to commu[-]

nicate but as the ship which will take this sails this

tide I would not omit giving you a line -

Remember me kindly to all friends and

accept my sincere love and affection from yours

forever - S[amuel]. Blackden

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 20 -From Lisbon - May 27, 1794 - From
S. Blackden

Mrs. Blackden

To the care of Mess[ieur]s Sam Broome

& Co. Merchants⁶

New York

*Edition: Letter 16, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
September 8, 1794, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Front:

Philadelphia Septem[be]r 8.th 1794.

Francis's Hotel 4.th Street

My Dear Sally

It was my intention to set out tomorrow for

New York but I cannot before next week, as the Captain

whom I came with and to whom I am under the greatest

obligation is gone to Baltimore and being a stranger I must

wait upon him to New York - besides I have some business

with the President⁷ which must be done first, therefore should

you arrive before me have patience for a few days and write

me and particularly write me where your brother Luther

⁵ North Africans, in this case possibly a reference to pirates.

⁶ The firm of Broome & Platt.

⁷ U.S. President George Washington, residing in Philadelphia 1790-1797.

is - I am still upon crutches but am getting better, to
 which rest much contributes - Give my love to our
 Dear friend Mrs. Platt whom I hope to find well & happy
 Adieu ever yours -
 S[amuel]. B[lackden].

Philadelphia Septem^r 8th 1794.
 Toanin's Hotel 4th Street

My Dear Sally -

It was my intention to set out tomorrow for
 New York but I cannot before next week, as the Captain
 whom I came with and to whom I am under the greatest
 obligation is gone to Baltimore and being a stranger I must
 wait upon him to New York - beside I have some business
 with the President which must be done first, therefore should
 you arrive before we have parting for a few days and write
 me and particularly write me where your brother Luther
 is - I am still upon crutches but am getting better, to
 which rest much contributes - Give my love to our
 Dear friend Mrs. Platt whom I hope to find well & happy
 Adieu ever yours -
 S.B.

Figure (above): Letter 16, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden, September 8, 1794, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Front.

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 22 -From Philadelphia - Sept. 8, 1794 -
From S. B. [stamped postal seal]

Mrs. Blackden
Care of Mess[ieur]s Broome & Platt -
Merchants
New York

*Edition: Letter 17, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
October 17, 1794, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Front:

Philadelphia Octob[er] 17.th 1794 -
My Dear Sally -
Your Person is safe, so set your heart at rest
on that head - your brother will set off at 3 o Clock to bring
you here, where I wish you to be placed during my absence, as
he will tell you everything, I need not write further upon
the subject - I dined yesterday with Mr. Frazier, his wife
is a charming woman and will make much of you, I count
upon eight or ten agreeable [sic] people to form your society, to Wit
Miss Anthony, Mrs. Frazier, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Wolcot, Mrs.
Montgomery & Daughter, Mrs. Tellier, and if you can[']t find
[t]hat enough among them, you will soon find others -
The reason why I have not given an answer to Mr.
Brown, is because it has not been determined till last evening
where Capt[ain]. Her[r]ick would go, He now desires me to inform
Mr. Brown that the ship goes to Boston to take in a Cargo
and from there to Lisbon, that Mr Brown[']s company
will be Very agreeable [sic] to him and to avoid the appearance
of Obligation he may lay in his own stores -
I hope as you will receive this sometime sooner
by the post, than your brother[']s arrival you will be ready
to set off, as my journey is deferred to Embrace you
Adieu y[ou]rs S[amuel]. B[lackden].

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 7 -From Philadelphia - Oct. 17, 1794 -
From S. B. [stamped postal seal]

Mrs. Blackden
No. 46 Wall Street
New York -

Back left side:

Capt[ain] Smith
Ship Son & [?]

*Edition: Letter 18, Samuel Blackden to Sally Blackden,
September 18, 1799, Boston, Massachusetts*

Front:

Boston Septem[ber] 18.th 1799 -
My Dear Sally
Though I have been here a fortnight

it was not till yesterday I could see Mr. Bradford,
 he being in the country - he has not a sixpence of
 Swan[']s money, and notwithstanding he is his agent
 and holds his sole power of attorney he has used him
 as bad as he has me, - I have seen Col[onel]. H___n. he
 speaks severely of him, but of this when we meet - he
 says a bond of the person in question (Sw[a]n) for any
 amount would not bring a dollar, but has advised
 me to a mode for recovery -
 I must stay here untill I obtain money for
 our support [...] ⁸ till the bond can be Prosecuted and
 recover[e]d, which can only be done by his person, as he
 has conveyed away all his Property - This I hope to
 Effect in a few days, and will fly on the wings of affection
 to my Dear Sally -
 S[amuel]. Blackden

Back: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] 18 -From Boston - Sept. 18, 1799 - From
 S. Blackden. - [printed] BOSTON [stamped postal seal]

17

Mrs. Blackden
 at Mrs. Powells No. 34
 Dey Street
 New York

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Jessica Kim of Irvine, California, earned her B.A. in History from California State University, Fullerton (2018), where she is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. The primary-source edition published above originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

⁸ Illegible deletion.

Christopher Saravia and Stephen Van Daalen Wetters (editors)
Eduardo Barrios (consultant)

*Peralta Family Business:
Letters from Rancho San Antonio (California) in the 1850s*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
Local History Collection 28-4 (San Antonio Letters).
July 8, 1853, to October 10, 1854.
Four letters (numbered 1 to 4 below).

Introduction

The four Spanish nineteenth-century letters edited and translated below are part of the “Local History Collection” that is held in CSUF’s University Archives and Special Collections. They are well preserved and written in cursive, in black ink (that in some cases is very faint) on bluish-gray stationary.

All four letters are authored by Antonio Maria Peralta (1809-1879) of Rancho San Antonio (today: San Leandro), California, and addressed to his lawyer and distant relative, Diego Forbes. Letter 2 is co-authored by Antonio’s older brother Ignacio, while Antonio’s son Fernando served as the carrier for letters 2 and 4. The correspondence between Antonio Peralta and Diego Forbes reveals conflict among the Peralta siblings regarding the will of their patriarch, the late Luis Maria Peralta (d. 1851). The California Land Act of 1851 had required residents of the new State of California (1850) to prove their land titles in court, and because the Rancho San Antonio land grant had been made by the Spanish Crown (1820), the Peraltas found it difficult to prove their rights and lost some of their holdings. Thus, the nine siblings quarreled over what was left of their inheritance. As the four letters below reveal, Antonio and Ignacio formed one party in this conflict; their sisters Josefa/Chepita, Guadalupe, and Bernarda (= Teodora?) another; a settlement had already been reached with their sister Trinidad, while their sister Luisa had been left out; and their brothers Domingo and Vicente apparently adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

The letters in this collection are amazing primary sources for the history of the Peralta family who helped build an entire society around Rancho San Antonio, resulting in the growth that eventually made the East San Francisco Bay area one of the largest commercial areas in the state. Through the Peralta’s Mexican ancestry, the letters aid our understanding of the consequences of the Mexican-American War (1846-1948) and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), which endangered the Peraltas’ rights to their own land and resulted in the family conflict showcased below.

The editions of the Spanish letters are presented in cursive. The original paragraphs have been preserved. Abbreviations have been spelled out, using square brackets for abbreviated parts. The symbol [-] in a word indicates that the word begins at the end of the line and continues at the beginning of the next line; in some cases, the original letters contain hyphens which have been retained. The symbol [|] in a word indicates that the word, in modern Spanish, would be divided into two words; it is used here with caution and only to facilitate reading. The symbol ₧ used in letter 2 is a currency symbol, presumably indicating pesos or dollars. In letter 2 (the longest), page breaks are indicated by a numeral in square brackets, for example [3]. The English translations offered below are presented in roman (i.e., non-cursive). They attempt to reflect the style of nineteenth-century California Spanish and thus stay as close to the wording and syntax of the original letters as possible. Wherever text has been added to clarify the translations, it has been inserted in square brackets.

*Edition: Letter 1, Antonio Maria Peralta to Diego Forbes,
Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, July 8, 1853*

Front:

Se[no]r. D[o]n. Diego Forbez
S[a]n. Ant[oni]o. Julio 8 del 1853.

Muy Se[no]r. mio de todo mi apresio

se[]rremitima a U[sted]. el poder firmado el que despues de aber echo rreflecsiones sobre el contenido de d[ic]ho poder, emos sido de pareser desir a U[sted]. el q[ue]. por ninguna manera com[-]benga transacion alguna, las ermanas q[ue]. se consideran con derecho de tener sus-bienes a qui q[ue]. los traigan, aun sin enbargo de no certar en el testamento – digo a Josefa y Guadalupe porque al me[-]tirles trasacion a trueque de plata seria la rruina de nuestras familias, en lo de mas puede rregir el poder, presendiendo de tener transasasion de otra manera

le[]deseo a U[sted]. la mejor felicida en union de su s[eno]ra. esposa p[ar]a. que disponga del afecto de su[]serbidor q[ue]. S[u]. M[ano]. B[esa].

Ant[oni]o. M[ari]a. Peralta

Back: [modern hand, pencil] A M Peralta, rel[ative]. to power of attorney, July 8/53

*Translation: Letter 1, Antonio Maria Peralta to Diego Forbes,
Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, July 8, 1853*

Front:

[To] Mr. Don Diego Forbes
San Antonio, July 8, 1853

My much, by all of me, esteemed Sir,

[Hereby] is remitted to you the power of signature which, after reflecting over the contents of said power, we have seen fit to tell you that [you should] in no way agree to any deal [with] the sisters who consider themselves with the right to retain their goods to whom they bring them, even though [this is] not certified

in the testament - I speak of Josefa and Guadalupe, because [if] you put [to] them a deal in exchange for money [that] would be the ruin of our families. In what more the power can apply, [we are] reserving [the right] of having a deal in another manner.

I wish [to] you the most joy in the union with your lady wife, so that you may have the affection of your servant, who kisses your hand,

Antonio Maria Peralta

Back: [modern hand, pencil] Antonio Maria Peralta, relative to power of attorney, July 8, 1853

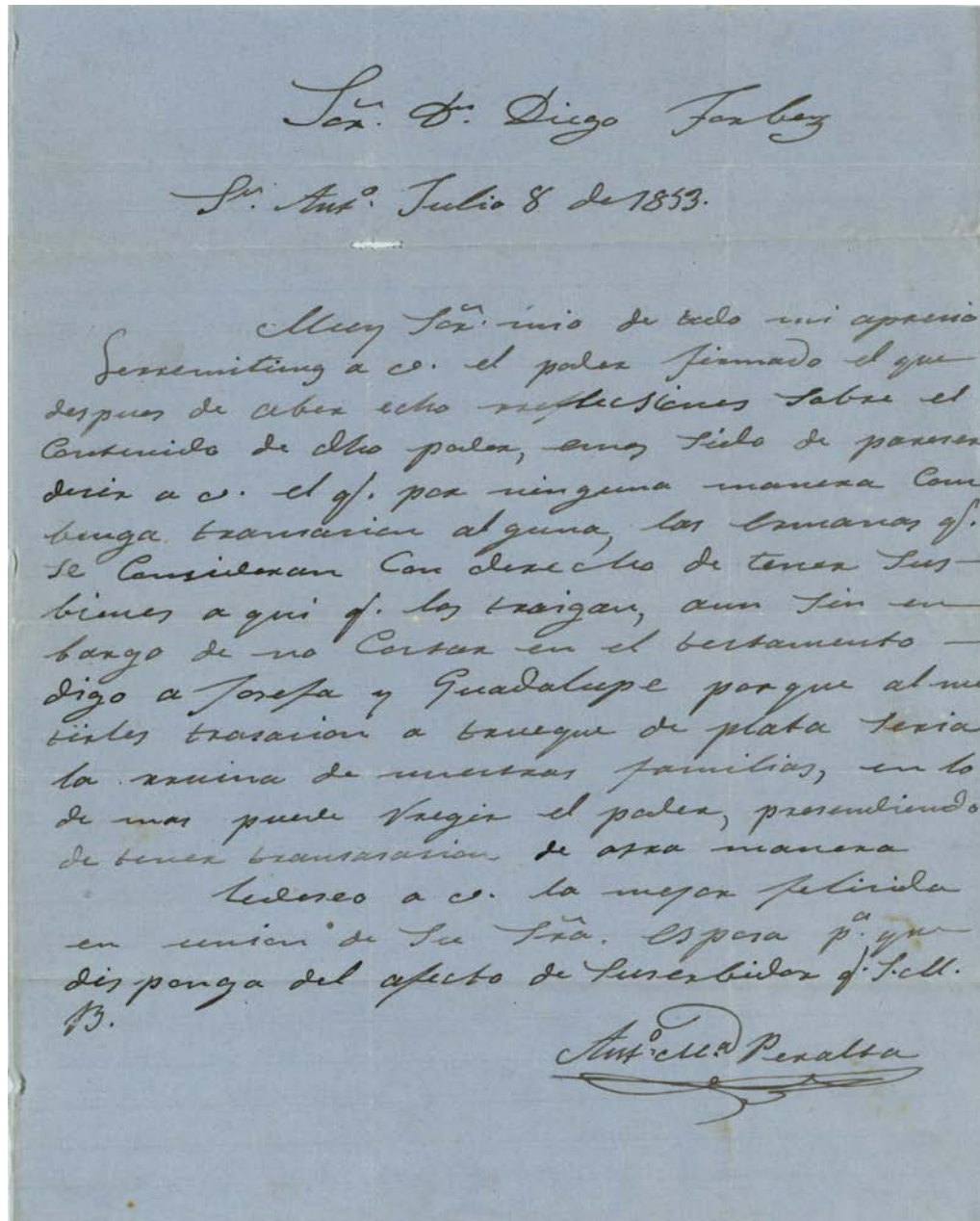


Figure (above): Letter 1, Antonio Maria Peralta to Diego Forbes, Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, July 8, 1853, front.

Edition: Letter 2, Antonio Maria Peralta and Ignacio Peralta to Diego Forbes,
Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, October 14, 1853

[1] S[eno]r. D[o]n. Diego Forbes

S[a]n. Antonio Oct[ubre]. 14 de 1853.

Nuestro apreciable amigo y S[eno]r.

Hace algunos dias que tenemos pensado pa-sar ante U[sted]. tanto para hacerle una Visitita, como para comunicarle al--go de negocios de las hermanas; mas como mi Esposa desde su parto se ha visto sumamente enferma y en cama, no he podido decidirme con Ign[aci]o. á hacer el viaje, pero desengañado hoy que el tiempo se acorta y no puedo desprenderme de mi enferma, hemos arreglado dirigirle la precente por medio de un propio fiandola à la pluma (no en todo) parte de nuestros asuntos por ser asi conveniente a nuestros intereses y el genial pacifico de que somos adoptados y que nunca nos ha sido agradable ninguna clase de cuestion áunque sepamos triunfar de ella par-tiendo del primer principio que debemos respetar la ultima suplicacion de nuestro padre que al fin de su muerte ha estampado diciendo "nos mantengamos los hermanos en una pacifica tranquilidad y quietu" cuyas Espresiones recordamos los que suscribimos en el fondo de nuestros corazones, mas cuando estas nos son tan repetidas en su testamento.

No crea U[sted]. S[eno]r. mio que á hora ni nunca acessemos un mal resultado en contra nuestra respecto del mal ha dado asunto que las hermanas quieren entablar por herencias que dicen pueden pertentuerles, pero ya sea asi, ó vien lo contrario, queremos por medio de sus respetos hacer una formal transacion con las partes que se les crean acreedoras à este d[e]r[ech]o.: este convenio solo aparecerá por parte de los que firmamos y p[o]r. el d[e]r[ech]o. que á nuestros intereses les puedan

[2] corresponder en sercenacion, tanto p[o]r. la parte paterna como materna, haciendo en caso de arreglo la escritura correspondiente de venta que dichos herederos otorgaran a favor nuestro cuyos gastos serán partibles á como me--jor U[sted]. lo dispuciere, dirisiendo en una palabra todo el asunto U[sted]. Los puntos para el arreglo de transacion son los siguientes.

Damos para el proccimo Enero de 1854. la suma (⌘16000) en en moneda husual y corriente, ó de no ser asi, dos mil varas castellanas de terreno entre la linia de Ign[aci]o. y mia; quiere decir mil varas por cada uno, siendo estas de ancho de Norte à Sur; y largo de los Esteros ó immediatos à ellos hasta pegar à las lomas, lo cual tanto uno como otro será repartibles entre las partes reclamantes para que asi no desen en quieta y pacifica poccion; sus pararse U[sted]. en el trato en poco mas ó menos de lo que ofrecemos; en concepto que si fuere para el precente asunto necesaria nuestra preciencia, abandonar todo y nos pondre--mos en camino hasta donde U[sted]. nos llame, p[o]r. lo menos, lo harè yo si Ign[aci]o. no me acompaña; Ojala mi amigo logracemos un buen ecsito en el asunto nunca tendriamos como corresponder este sin tamaño servicio.

Ninguna persona como U[sted]. puede mejor hacer convenir à las partes à un sin embargo que sabemos que ya han vendido en d[e]r[ech]o. al abogado à quien le dieron primeramente su poder, y que les dio este cuarenta y tantos mil p[eso]s. p[o]r. el á tres de ellas, Chepita, Guadalupe y Bernarda, dejando el de Luisa p[o]r. fuera sujeta al resultado que dé el asunto; pero si esto es asi, con ma--nera puede U[sted]. saberlo de ellas, en concepto que segun el mismo accor nos ha dicho, tienen las dos primeros recibidos en

cuenta dos mil pesos. Nada cremos en verdad, ni por temor tampoco ha-cemos la propuesta, unicam[en]te. p[o]r lo que dejamos d[er]ech[o]; y nos quiten de andar en vueltas, pues és arreglan con nosotros bajo los

[3] puntos propuestos, ya sea que reciban el dinero, ó terreno les queda en d[er]ech[o]. á salvo para repetir contra Domingo y Visente, haciendoles la refleción que ya trinidad no tiene ningun d[er]ech[o]. ni nada le puede corresponder à ella p[o]r. ya habermelo pasado a mi como U[sted]. muy bien lo sabe y de que me creo ya asegurado de ello; de suerte en que solo cuatro disfrutarán del reparto del interes q[ue]. ofrecemos.

Al tiempo de hablar U[sted]. con ellas de las que tiene U[sted]. inmediatas, creo no le negaran manifestar si han vendido ó no al abogado, pero si esto es asi, seria muy bueno convenir con el, y entonses deeariamos pasare U[sted]. al punto donde este se hay a (S[a]n. J[a]c[into].) cuyos gastos de viaje serian de nuestra cuenta; y de alguna manera arreglara bajo los mismos puntos, ó ya sea que este S[eno]r. si ellas propucieren otros que nos comunicaria para ver si estos heran admicibles segun nuestro estado de recursos.

No seria por demas nos comunicare á continuacion lo ocurrido pues mi hijo Fernando que es el portador lo podrá U[sted]. demorar el tiempo que á U[sted]. le pareciere, ya para manifestamos el recultado de la propuesta, ya tambien decirnos si encunetra U[sted.] un emba-raso en ello; y si es asi esperamos el sano y acostumbrado consejo de U[sted]. para ver aqui lo que determinamos.

En fin todos los medios posibles pondrà U[sted]. para el caso del arreglo, dejando à la consideracion de U[sted]. las primeras propuestas que les haga y que estas sean ofreciendoles por grados hasta tocar el ultimo extremo p[o]r. que no serà bueno de un golpe ofrecerles todo, p[o]r. que entonses quedrian subirse a un grado mayor.

Tocante al asunto, es cuanto p[o]r. à hora nos ocurre, mas sobre otros puntos que p[o]r. mi parte tengo que comunicarle, será mas despues que en nuestra vista los deberé de arre-

[4] glar, siendo asi que tambien me son interesantes ponerlos eno su conocimiento para saber que debo hacer, pues siempre necesita uno de quien mas sabe los consejos.

Ponganos U[sted]. á las plantas de su apreciable S[eno]ra. y familia, y U[sted]. reciba nuestros sinceros afectos que siempre le profesan sus amigos Q[ue]. B[esa]. S[u]. M[ano].

Ant[oni]o. M[ari]a. Peralta / Ign[aci]o. Peralta

Hemos visto a nuestro hermano Vicente para ver si queria acompañarnos en el arreglo, y me ha contestado lo que U[sted]. vera p[o]r. la adjunta q[ue]. original se acompañó, y no obstante me puse en camino para hablarla personalmente, y me dijo que nada ofreina y que p[o]r. su parte se llebare el asunto delante, pero p[o]r. nuestra parte queremos trancifir à un prescindiendo del nuestro d[er]ech[o]. mas cuando no pensamos se nos arruine p[o]r. la oferta q[ue]. hacemos - Vale

Last page, on right: [19th-c. hand] A. M. Peralta & Ign[aci]o. Peralta Oct. 14. 1853

Translation: Letter 2, Antonio Maria Peralta and Ignacio Peralta to Diego Forbes, Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, October 14, 1853

[1] [To] Mr. Don Diego Forbes

San Antonio, October 14, 1853

Our esteemed friend and Sir,

For a few days now, we have thought [about] passing before you to pay [you] a visit to communicate something about our business with the sisters. Moreover, as my wife, since she gave birth, has been completely ill and bed-ridden, I have not been able to decide to travel with Ignacio, but disillusioned now that time is running out and I cannot leave the side of my sick one, we have arranged to direct to you the present [letter] by means of proper trust in the pen (not in total), part of our affairs to be convenient to our interests and the peaceful spirit by which we are adopted, and that we may never have been agreeable to any kind of matter, even though we know how to triumph from it, starting from the first principle that we must respect the last request of our father who, toward the end of his passing [i.e., death], insisted, saying "Let us keep the siblings in a peaceful tranquility and quiet." These expressions we remember, to these we subscribe in the depth of our hearts, even more so when these sayings are repeated to us in his testament.

Do not believe, my Sir, that at any time or ever have we reached a bad result against our respect in this bad affair that our sisters want to enter into over the inheritances that they say may pertain to them. But be that as it may, or to the contrary, we want, by means of your respects, make a formal transaction pertaining to those parts to which they believe to have a claim: this agreement only appears for the part of that for which we sign and for the right that our interests may

[2] correspond accordingly, both for the paternal part as well as the maternal [one], doing in case of an arrangement the corresponding deed of sale that said heirs shall grant in our favor, whose expenditures will be dividable as best as you can arrange it; in a word: directing the whole thing to you. The points for the arrangement of the transaction are the following.

We give for the next January of 1854 the sum of (₡16,000) in the usual and current coin, or if that cannot be, two thousand Castilian rods of land between Ignacio's [property] line and mine, which means one thousand rods from each one of us, being similarly wide from North to South; and along the estuaries or immediately bordering them all the way to the hills, which both one and the other shall be distributed among the claiming parties so as to not disturb the quiet and peaceful possession. You stand in the deal [to represent] a little more or less than what we offer. In concept [i.e., the idea being] that if our presence in the present matter is necessary, I will leave everything, and we will set out on the road to where you call us, at least I will, if Ignacio does not accompany me. Hopefully, my friend, we will achieve a good outcome in this affair. We never would have been able to respond without your service.

No other person like you could better convene all the parties without problems, since we know that they have already sold the right to the lawyer to whom they gave their power first, and that he gave them forty-something thousand pesos for the three of them, Chepita, Guadalupe, and Bernarda, leaving Luisa out, which has resulted in our current state. But since this is so, by some

way you can know about them, in concept, according to what he told us before, the first two have received two thousand pesos. We believe nothing [of this] is true, nor do we make this proposal out of fear, only for what we deem right, and [so] we stop going in circles, because once they arrange with us under the proposed points,

[3] whether they receive the money or the land, all they have left under right is to repeat this action against Domingo and Vicente, making them the reflection of what Trinidad did, who has no rights nor anything pertaining to her, since she has already passed it to me, as you know well, and of which, I believe, [you are] assured; by luck, only four will enjoy the distribution of the interest that we offer.

At the time of your speaking with them, the ones present with you, I believe, may not deny saying whether or not they have sold to the lawyer, but if this is the case, it would be very good to convene with him, and then we would decide that you will meet at that point where this [i.e., he] is (San Jacinto), [and] his trip expenses would be on our account, and by some manner arrange under the same points, or that this Sir [i.e., the lawyer], if they propose otherwise, would communicate these [i.e., their proposals] to us to see if any of these will be admissible, given our state of resources.

[If] it would not be too much to communicate to us then what has occurred, my son Fernando, who is the [letter] carrier, may wait for you to have the time you need, so that we may know the result of the proposal, and tell us also if you find an obstacle in it, and if so, we will await your sound and customary advice to see what we shall determine.

In the end, all possible means will be put to you [i.e., at your disposal] for the case of the arrangement, leaving to your considerations the first proposals that you make and that these are offered [to them] gradually until touching the last extreme, because it would not be good to offer them everything in one stroke, because then they would be able to attain a greater share.

Regarding this affair, that is how much now happens to us. More about other points, that for my part I have to communicate to you, will be [said] later, which I will have to settle during our visit,

[4] since [there are] other [things] that are of also interest to me that I want to put to your knowledge, so that I may know what I should do, because one always needs one who knows more advice.

You, set us at the feet of your esteemed lady and family, and receive our sincere affections that your friends always profess, who kiss your hand,

Antonio Maria Peralta / Ignacio Peralta

We have visited with our brother Vicente to see if he wants to accompany us in this matter, and he has answered me in what you shall see in the attachment that accompanies the [i.e., our] original letter, and nevertheless I set myself on the road to talk [to him] personally, and he told me he would offer nothing, and that for his part the matter will move forward, but for our part we want to

transact [or deal] regardless of our right, [and even] more so when we do not think to ruin ourselves by the offer we have made. Farewell.

Last page, on right: [19th-c. hand] Antonio Maria Peralta and Ignacio Peralta, October 14, 1853

*Edition: Letter 3, Antonio Maria Peralta to Diego Forbes,
Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, May 29, 1854*

Se[no]r. D[o]n. Diego Forbes
S[a]n. Ant[oni]o. Mayo 29 de 1853.

Mi buen amigo,

los abaladores andan por aqui y Camallo le tengo pasado a U[sted]. todo lo q[ue]. tengo esto me ase darle a U[sted]. con[] lasimientto p[ar]a. q[ue]. U[sted]. mediga si lla arreglo este negocio o les digo q[ue]. se entiendan con U[sted]. de[] llo q[ue]. espero me conteste con el portader del modo que[] llo hecho aser

el S[en]or. palaruelos a benido y me a d[ic]ho q[ue]. ba a reglarse con U[sted]. respeto a la mina de carbon y me suplica q[ue]. lede lla carta de rrecomendacion p[ar]a. U[sted]. p[ar]a. q[ue]. U[sted]. no sele[] rriege en darle otro papel como el quierr[-]llo le boi a dar la rrecomendacion p[ar]a. con U[sted]. pero en ese caso no[] tiene q[ue]. aser a pre[-]sio de tal cosa U[sted]. aga lo q[ue]. combenga

espresiones a mi prima y familia y U[sted]. mande a s[u]. aff[ectisi]mo q[ue]. b[esa]. S[u]. M[ano].

Ant[oni]o. M[ari]a. Peralta

P.D. [posdata] Por la diligensia ha escribi a U[sted]. y no me a contestado. Vale.

Back: [19th-c. hand] Antonio M[ari]a. Peralta, May 29th/54

*Translation: Letter 3, Antonio Maria Peralta to Diego Forbes,
Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, May 29, 1854*

[To] Mr. Don Diego Forbes
San Antonio, May 29, 1854

My good friend,

the evaluators are around here and [at] Camallo. I have passed on to you everything I have. This is what I want to give [to] you, with the assignment that you will tell me whether I should arrange this business, or [whether] I should tell them to come to an understanding with you. What I hope is that you will answer me via [the letter] carrier in what manner this is meant to be [done].

Mr. Palaruelos has come and told me that he is going to make arrangements with you with regard to the coal mine, and he has asked me that I give him a letter of recommendation for you, so that you do not forget to give him another document [just] as he wants. I will give him the recommendation for you, but in this case it does not have to be done at the price of such a thing. You [feel free to] do what is most convenient.

Expressions [i.e., good wishes] to my [female] cousin and family and you, sent to you from a most affectionate, who kisses your hand,

Antonio Maria Peralta

P.S.: For [the sake of] diligence, I have written to you, and you have not answered me. Farewell.

Back: [19th-c. hand] Antonio Maria Peralta, May 29, 1854

*Edition: Letter 4, Antonio Maria Peralta to Diego Forbes,
Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, October 10, 1854*

Front:

S[a]n. Ant[oni]o. O[ctu]bre. 10 de 1854

Se[no]r. D[o]n. Diego Forbes

Mi amigo y Se[no]r. mio,

Mando ami hijo Fernando p[ar]a. que traiga el dinero p[ar]a. el pago de la contribucion segun U[sted]. me dise en la rulla en cargandole U[sted] como la ade aser p[ar]a. q[ue]. el no se equiboque, Saludeme a mi prima y familia y U[sted]. resiba las de su aff[ectisi]mo. amigo q[ue]. B[esa]. S[u]. M[ano].

Ant[oni]o. M[ari]a. Peralta

Back: [19th-c. hand] Antonio M[ari]a. Peralta, relative to Sascas, Oct[u]bre. 10/54

*Translation: Letter 4, Antonio Maria Peralta to Diego Forbes,
Rancho San Antonio/Peralta (today: San Leandro), California, October 10, 1854*

Front:

San Antonio, October 10, 1854

[To] Mr. Don Diego Forbes

My friend and my Sir,

I send my son Fernando so that he can bring the money for the payment of the contribution, according to what you tell me in the roll [or list], asking how you would like to proceed, so that he does not get confused. Greet [for] me my [female] cousin and the family, and may you receive these [letters and/or greetings] from your most affectionate friend, who kisses your hand,

Antonio Maria Peralta

Back: [19th-c. hand] Antonio Maria Peralta, relative to Sascas, October 10, 1854

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Alisa Morgan and Kate Tello (editors)

*From the Stage of the Pasadena Playhouse to the Theaters of World War II:
The Chinn Letters from the Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup Theatre Collection
(September 3, 1941, to June 6, 1946)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

SC 10.

Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup Theatre Collection.

Correspondence.

September 3, 1941, to June 6, 1946.

Fourteen letters (numbered 1 to 14 below).

Introduction

The fourteen letters edited below are part of the “Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup Theatre Collection” that is held in CSUF’s University Archives and Special Collections. This vast collection of 262 volumes and 50 boxes, containing (among other things) letters, drawings, and dolls, was donated to CSUF in 1971. Playright, producer, and costume designer Fairfax Proudfit Walkup was born in Tennessee in 1887, came to California after World War I, served as Dean of Costuming at the Pasadena Playhouse, published *Dressing the Part: A History of Costume for the Theatre* (1938), earned a Ph.D. from the University of Utah (1951), and later became a faculty member in CSUF’s Theater Department. She passed away in California in 1976.

It was perhaps through her activities at the Pasadena Playhouse that Fairfax Proudfit Walkup met David Chinn of San Francisco, a Chinese American who may have been a student of hers. David’s older brother, William G. Chinn (1919-2004), was introduced to her via letter. The letters edited below were written by David (letters 1 and 5) and William (letters 2-4 and 6-14) between September 3, 1941, and June 6, 1946, and addressed to her. These letters represent a small selection of the hundreds of letters written to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup in the years before, during, and after World War II, many of them composed by her “theater kids” while they were stationed with the military both in the U.S. and abroad. After serving in the war, William became a renowned mathematician; David was hospitalized in 1943 (letter 9), but his further fate is unknown. As historical primary sources, these letters give us a behind-the-scenes look at life during World War II, both at home and abroad. They address a wide range of topics, including theater, costuming, literature, movies, education, and translations, as well as military training and tours of duty, and they make reference to a number of significant individuals, including the dancer Jacques Cartier (letter 1), Major General Eugene L. Eubank (letter 8), General George S.

Patton, Jr. (letter 11), German theologian Martin Niemöller (letter 12), and entertainer Frank Sinatra (letter 12).

The letters are in good condition, written in cursive, on everyday-use paper (some sized for letters, some) larger. Only one letter is typewritten (letter 8). In some cases, the envelopes have been preserved (letters 8, 10-12, 14). The transcriptions below preserve the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the original letters. Page breaks are indicated by a forward slash (/).

*Edition: Letter 1, David Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup and Paul,¹
September 3, 1941, [no place]*

Sept. 3, 1941

Dear Mrs. Walkup & Paul,

So glad you wrote me when you did, for I've been in the process of writing Paul & you ever since he left town. I regretted tremendously that he was unable to get hold of me, but I definitely left word at home for Paul to leave me his phone number. I wasn't able to stay home the times he called, since I was so uncertain of my own time then. More about that later. I didn't know where to reach Paul, since the last time I saw him he said he was "caught in the draft." I'm so glad he's with you. What about his work? This is my last year of / school, thank god! Somehow my mind doesn't function as well now academically speaking, as it used to be do. I was never much of a scholar, only my grades are misleading. This conformity, discipline, etc. gets on my nerves. I want to be free and about doing some creative work. Last May I met a dancer by the name of Jacques Cartier.² He's a solo dancer & has bookings with the Town Hall Series and besides playing in New York three months each year. Have you ever heard of him? Through negotiating for him in obtaining Chinese costumes from a³ actor friend of mine, Wong Hock Sing,⁴ we got to be quite good friends. I told him of my plans to tour the country with a Chinese troupe eventually. He though the mat-/ter over and said it was a splendid idea. He approached the Chinese Relief Committee for us & proposed that they sponsored this project personally. He thinks that Wong is as good as Mei Lan-Fang⁵ was in his way. Wong is a fine artist and a wonderful person. He is so full of unsophisticated charm which is disarming. Especially good is he in at fighting playing plays. Other than a

¹ Identity unknown.

² Jacques Cartier (1907-2001), dancer. See "[Jacques Cartier, Fire Dancer Extraordinaire](#)," *article*, Santa Fe Living Treasures, accessed June 2, 2019.

³ Illegible deletion.

⁴ Wong Ho[c]k Sing (1913-1994), opera artist and actor. See Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), photograph (following page 174).

⁵ Mei Lanfang (1894-1961), Chinese opera artist. See Joshua Goldstein, "Mei Lanfang and the Nationalization of Peking Opera, 1912-1930," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 7, no. 2 (2009): 377-420.

beautiful stylization & technique he's arty to the point of being almost artless. I'm enclosing a photo of him that he took of himself (you see, he's something of a photographer as well) that you may see for yourself. I've no doubt that he would win an western audience over easily if he remains himself. I must see to it that he does that for that is more important than every-/ [thing] else in the world, don't you think, Paul? So far this much has been planned. We are to go to China to recruit a troupe of about sixteen people⁶ besides ourselves I'm to be official interpreter and Art Director. Anna May Wong⁷ has been approached as commentator before the curtain. We shall have special costumes, and furnitures, & curtain made. We plan to have four half-hour acts an evening. Two members of the committee have flown here to see Wong & they have approved. All that remains is personal contact with a Mrs Wine,⁸ sister to Sec't Stall, info has been delayed by her child's death. Isn't all this too wonderful for words? Think of what it would mean for all concerned f from / every angle. What a Cinderella story it would prove to be! It would be the climax to my meeting with people like you two, and Jacques Cartier plus many others. How fortunate I'm in the way of friends! What a millionaire I am! Keep your fingers crossed for me, for then you might hear more about Wong Hock Sing & Chen Shih-Chi (yours truly glamorized!) What fun I we can have together then when I can be host to you who have been so kind & encouraging. Suppose you shake the fortune telling sticks⁹ for me & wish hard while you do it. Wish I was doing something good like John,¹⁰ but if this project materialized I would be doing my job. / Who does Elizabeth Fairfax¹¹ look like? I hope, like Granny, for we need more like her in this dark age. You must have Paul write me soon. You see, I don't think he can regret our not meeting last time more than I do. I was busy running about negotiating this project. Best regards to all.

Yours ever, David

*Edition: Letter 2, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
October 1, 1942, [no place]*

October 1, 1942

Dear Mrs. Walkup

My brother David assured me I shall find a smile and a welcome at your home if I should happen to be at the vicinity of Pasadena. Somehow or another, I have managed to "come into possession" of a pass for Los Angeles this weekend and I

⁶ Illegible deletion.

⁷ Anna May Wong (1905-1961), actress. See Anthony B. Chan, *Perpetually Cool: The Many Lives of Anna May Wong (1905-1961)* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2003).

⁸ Identity unknown.

⁹ Items used in a Chinese practice to predict the future.

¹⁰ Presumably John Proudfit Williamson (1912-1970), Fairfax Proudfit Walkup's son.

¹¹ Identity unknown.

should like to drop in for a short visit perhaps mainly to find that much rumored smile. This is on awfully short notice, I understand; I would have notified you much sooner. Passes are uncertain.

Sincerely, William Chinn

*Edition: Letter 3, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
October 7, 1942, [no place]*

Oct. 7, 1942

Dear Mrs. Walkup

In accordance with all rulings of etiquette. I should have written you a good deal sooner, but etiquette is such a frightfully formal thing and at times so inhibits our true expression! Apart from the idea that this is in accordance with etiquette, I do want to thank you and to tell you how much I appreciate your gracious hospitality. So much so, I have been talking hardly of anything else. In my letters of the last few days. / But I don't suppose being even as engrossed tho does forgive me from the unspeakable faux-pas! Just the same, however, whether I have made my myself an outcast in your domains, I already know where your key is kept; and you can no more ban me from your house than you can expect to tell ALL who now know, where you are changing the hiding place for the key. One thing I want to let you know particularly well; yours will always appeal more as a home than as a house to me. / I shall look forward to the time when I can again invade the sanctity of 369 California Terrace¹² to settle within the big swivel chair, and to pour over forgotten lore. I thank you again Mrs. Walkup, it was indeed a pleasure!

Most Sincerely, Bill

P.S. Please forgive mistakes and printing.

*Edition: Letter 4, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
November 5, 1942, Indio, California [Camp Young Desert Training Center]¹³*

November 5, 1942

Dear Mrs. Walkup -

I have just returned from a two-weeks furlough home and am sending you two costumes David asked me to bring you. I have am going to post the package instead because I want to en lighten my baggage before I return to Young from Indio - nothing else meant. I have with me also the copy of Li Wa¹⁴ which I

¹² The house at 369 California Terrace, Pasadena, California 91105, was built in 1924 and still standing at the time this edition was completed (2019).

¹³ The letterhead suggests that William Chinn was writing this letter from Camp Young Desert Training Center in Indio, California, which, at that time (World War II), served to prepare U.S. American troops for fighting under desert conditions.

¹⁴ Presumably an adaptation of *The Tale of Li Wa*, a historical Chinese text. See Glen Dudbridge, *The Tale of Li Wa: Study and Critical Edition of a Chinese Story from the Ninth Century* (London: Ithaca Press, 1983).

understand, is your “brain baby.” I shall return this script in person for reasons which I shall set forth here on. I am expected to be in Los Angeles by Monday, and shall look forward / to a short visit whenever the first opportunity permits. The visit is one of the reasons for insisting that I deliver the script in person. Another reason is that I did not intend to return the script immediately because after its reading en trainee, I thought it would be really nice if I can send it to one of my friends in San Francisco for a quick Brouse [sic] and I but first, I must obtain your permission. Hence, necessitating a visit if I were to even foster the hopes of “talking you into” parting with Li Wa again. So near yet so far! I am writing with a / quaking hand which comes from contending with luggage when luggage never has been my forte. Please pardon. And so, until I see you again, I shall bid you Aufwiedersehen¹⁵ which is a redundancy.

Aufwiedersehen, Bill Chinn

*Edition: Letter 5, David Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
November 24, 1942, [no place; based on content, presumably San Francisco, California]*

November 24, 1942

Dear Fairfax,

Just happened to drop by The golden Star Radio Co.¹⁶ Sunday & so I went in to see if they may have any records since I inquired last. Luck upon luck, a new shipment of records just came in, they are so appropriate too you know, Fairfax. I often wondered whether you have a charmed life or not. Things just happen to you! The one numbered #56036AB¹⁷ is the only one left. 56036A can be used for the chattering effect, 56036B for love or that garden scene. If you use it so, then you might send the one I left you to the [illegible]. Use your own discretion about the matter. / No. #1019¹⁸ is good for the wedding scene. It is most appropriate. No. #1020¹⁹ should be used for the fighting scene very easily. It is a song of victory. Have you seen Bill yet? He is staying at the U.C.L.A. attending meteorology school as an aviation cadet. He lives at the Hotel Claremont.²⁰ He brought the script & some costumes with him. Hope you can use them the latter. The blue outfit is for an traditional scholar. The red robe is a modern man's outfit. Saw Walter²¹ before he left for sea. Entertained him at a night club. Have heard nothing from the draft board yet . still keeping my fingers crossed. Love to Paul & the rest.

¹⁵ “Aufwiedersehen,” German term for “good bye,” or literally, “until [we] meet again.”

¹⁶ The Golden Star Radio Co., radio shop/recording studio in San Francisco, California.

¹⁷ Unidentified record.

¹⁸ Unidentified record.

¹⁹ Unidentified record.

²⁰ Presumably the Claremont Hotel (established 1939), 1044 Tiverton Ave, Westwood Village/Los Angeles, California 90024; still operational at the time this edition was completed (2019).

²¹ Identity unknown.

Dave

Let me hear from you soon

*Edition: Letter 6, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
December 9, 1942, [no place; based on content, presumably Los Angeles, California]*

December 9, 1942

Dear Fairfax,

I have moved into the Glendon Apts²², 1070 (?) Glendon [Ave.], but my address will be AAFTD²³ UCLA²⁴-Class 5. I'm not sure I can get into Pasadena Saturday because the class is slated for something during the weekend. However, I shall give you more definite word this week end.

Most Sincerely, Bill

*Edition: Letter 7, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
May 23, 1943, [no place; based on content, presumably Spokane, Washington]*

May 23, 1943

Dearest Fax,

All this time has passed and I have not written, but what can I say? It is as a person who has already decided to plea guilty - of course guilt is his only plea. Not much difference from the parable of the lost coin,²⁵ I do miss you, Fax - both you and Harry;²⁶ and I can honestly say I lived in your house - lived, as perhaps Yutang²⁷ would have it. Since my transfer to Fresno, I've moved once to Salt Lake City for a 3-days stay and west again to Spokane. Friday marked my arrival and I had been doing nothing in particular. I shall start on my duties tomorrow as orderly to some general - really a houseboy's duties. It will be novel experience, and because of its novelty, shall no doubt prove no interest-/ing. It may seem shameful that I do not try to direct my efforts into some field more to my forte, but I had tried in meteorology, and after all, assignments are not altogether to my discretion. It didn't seem to take long to turn a section leader in dynamical meteorology into a houseboy, does it? but I suppose the tides of fortune sweep us in war even as in peace, don't they? Speaking of sweeping and

²² Presumably Glendon Manor (established 1929), 1070 Glendon Ave., Westwood Village/Los Angeles, California 90024; since demolished.

²³ AAFTD, Army Air Forces Training Division.

²⁴ University of California, Los Angeles.

²⁵ *The Holy Bible*, Luke 15:8-10.

²⁶ Identity unknown. Perhaps a reference to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup's sister-in-law, Harriet Louisa Osborn Proudfit (1890-1963), married (1922) to Lucas Proudfit (1895-1932), Fairfax Proudfit Walkup's brother.

²⁷ Presumably Lin Yutang (1895-1976), Chinese philosopher. See Rain Yang Liu, "Lin Yutang: Astride the Cultures of East and West," in Carol Hamrin and Stacey Bieler, eds., *Salt and Light: More Lives of Faith That Shaped Modern China* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 158-175.

of war and peace, Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*²⁸ swept me for all the few pages I turned this afternoon. I had decided to read it, but somehow had convinced myself to subside to a less dynamical mood for the moment, and I have, in end, withdrawn *How Green Was My Valley*.²⁹ This post library has quite a few nice books I had / been forevermore promising myself to the treat. You remember shortly before my induction, I was doing work as a student and such luxuries I'd always postponed for the holidays. You will remember too, there weren't the usual holidays and hence I was caught short. This way at least, my present assignment may be a blessing. & Spokane, with its verdant environs and calm atmosphere attracts me as some sort of a rest haven. How I shall feel after I assume duties, will of course be due its influence and may be another story. Don't you feel the health-inviting-ness in these evergreens though? But this invigorating stimulus is quite different from the laziness in the spreading Magnolias down South - and to be satisfied, one really must have both. Sometimes the hustling-bustling activities in the North is / over-emphasized, and one needs to turn to the passive scene for nourishment. It is often the rest that does the building for quite the action is so much accredited, isn't it? But now, I'm really being a very poor talker allowing myself to slip from the one thing to the and other; still, there isn't so much real difference in the two, is there? And the trees are but symbolic of their regional characteristics. How are you nowadays tearing away life and limb? Is "short" Dorothy³⁰ still on her high horse? you can spot her anywhere, can't you? If you should come across her again, my regards - also my invitation to come and give these Washington firs competition? Have you heard from Frances lately?³¹ Regards to you two and Paul.

Affectionately, Bill

P.S. Harriet³², DON'T TRY TO SPIT IN THE MAJOR'S FACE!

*Edition: Letter 8, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
September 27, 1943, [no place; based on envelope, Fort George Wright, Washington]
[typewritten]*³³

27 September 1943

²⁸ Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), *War and Peace*, Russian novel, serialized 1865-1867, published 1869.

²⁹ Richard Llewellyn (1906-1983), *How Green Was My Valley*, Welsh novel, published 1939.

³⁰ Identity unknown.

³¹ Identity unknown.

³² Presumably Fairfax Proudfit Walkup's sister-in-law, Harriet Louisa Osborn Proudfit (1890-1963), married (1922) to Lucas Proudfit (1895-1932), Fairfax Proudfit Walkup's brother.

³³ This letter's envelope is preserved: return address: Pfc. William Chinn, 39085412, Hq. sq., II B. C., Ft. Geo. Wright, Washington; addressed to: Mrs. Fairfax Walkup, 369 California Terrace, Pasadena, 2, California; post mark: Spokane, Wash., Sep 28, 1943, 11 AM; includes stamp "Buy War Savings: Bonds and Stamps."

Dearest Fax:

Just imagine! I am a full day late answering your most adorable letter, but I am sure you will forgive me. I can offer you no excuse whatsoever; perhaps it was just a no-'count-ness that got into last night, but the fact remains that I haven't done anything any way to let you know I heard from you, and so, even a no-'count-ness in a person will not be ample excuse, I might say. I was quite, quite glad you gave me Paul's address. Two quite's: one for his address alone, and one for having the address coincident to the address of a very close friend of mine. All the time I have been writing this friend, I had no idea Paul was with him. I just dashed off a short note telling him so. I'm afraid I had to be rather short because I couldn't hope to be as flightily chatty as you in yours; and, being so horribly, horribly discouraged, I couldn't bear make the attempt. In all your gossipy chattiness (goodness such adjectives!), Fax, you bring on sweet reminiscence, and I had to push your heavy black leather BACK into the library to preserve this same reminiscence. Just rest assured, Fax, when I can jump hither, thither about Los Angeles again, you are BOUND to see me at 369; I know where the key is, and shall hold no reserve. It is a promise. 369 seems to be a mystic set of numbers indeed; Especially to someone who dwells into the mathematics of things as much as I claim to. be The number, three always has an appeal, and this was repeatedly emphasized in 369 as a multiple of three and the number sequence 123. When I specified the mystic appeal of 3, I am resting more or-less on how man has often allowed his unconscious slip into the number without seeming effort. Such statements as "there'll always be a third time," and "the Trinity" and the use of three in the normal run as a count to get ready, get set, go all vouch for its frequency. Perhaps it is because we are living in a space of three dimensions; but I'm afraid this is becoming too boringly technical. We better say three is a mystic numbers and let it stand all the more mystic, oughtn't we? I didn't think Claudia³⁴ was as good as I had expected. Of course, there wasn't much of a subject to build on, but my disappointment wasn't so much in the plot; that is just a question one must take up with the author. I thought that the acting was very much exaggerated - particularly on the male part. It seemed to me he was more occupied in the endeavor to make this / his vehicle than he was to make a true success of the play by enacting faithfully too the demands of the character. I wonder whether you can agree with me; do you suppose it the really good actor should be so much an interpreter of the role that he might put in his own personality in addition to the one he is portraying? or are you demanding as I am demanding, that he must be so good, he must forget his own individualism in faithfulness to his role? I am insisting that the individual's as is expected of the actor to retain it. Such roles as of the nature. I suppose you know

³⁴ Presumably *Claudia*, film (comedy), directed by Edmund Goulding (1943; 20th Century Foxed), starring Dorothy McGuire and Robert Young; based on Rose Franken (1895-1988), *Claudia*, play/Broadway hit (1941).

what I'm trying to say so awkwardly; guess the thoughts aren't all too organized in my mind. But now Yes, I was with the Forrests³⁵ and after them the Eubanks. Gen E.³⁶ and family have been splendid all along, but I am now trying to get back into the cadets, and am afraid I must leave them. He got me a re-check (which the Maj. Refused, remember?), and I was found to be correctible perfectly when my eyes were dilated. And I missed school all this time over nothing! But I'm closing now to catch the mail, and in my rush, will have to leave some more wonderful things the Maj. did to me. In my haste, though, I might squeeze in this li'l morsel. You remember that I was established at the school as as Section leader on dynamical met. (that is, I was one of those trying to pound the stuff into some of the others not having too on average). but when I left, that fellow (whom you wanted to spit at, remember?) not gave me an efficiency rating of satisfactory which is subsequent to excellent, superior, and very satisfactory, and which, I might say, is the army polite army way of saying, poor, but passing. This incidentally, mars my service record of a string of excellents, and is most incompatible with the letters of reference the profs have furnished me. However, this time, I am applying with an indorsement of the commanding general, and, perhaps, this will help smooth things out a little. Still, there are the rumours that these courses are to be discontinued all over, and, if so, I'd simply be out of luck. Hope not, though. And so, abruptly, but with all my heart, I close with my fond Love, Bill

P.S. What mischief is Harriet up to her necks in these few days.

*Edition: Letter 9, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
November 8, 1943, [no place]*

8 November 1943

Dearest Fax,

I'm afraid we have both lost Dave now. I'm rushing home tonite by way of Caldwell,³⁷ Winnemucca,³⁸ Reno, Sacramento which promises to get me there ~~by~~ within 24 hours. As yet, I have no idea what happened or how all I know is, He went sometime last Friday in a hospital. If I can remember to do so, I shall most assuredly write you from 'Frisco.³⁹ Please forgive this hasty appearance.

Love ever, Bill

³⁵ Identity unknown.

³⁶ Presumably Major General Eugene L. Eubank (1892-1997).

³⁷ Presumably Caldwell, Idaho.

³⁸ Winnemucca, Nevada.

³⁹ San Francisco, California.

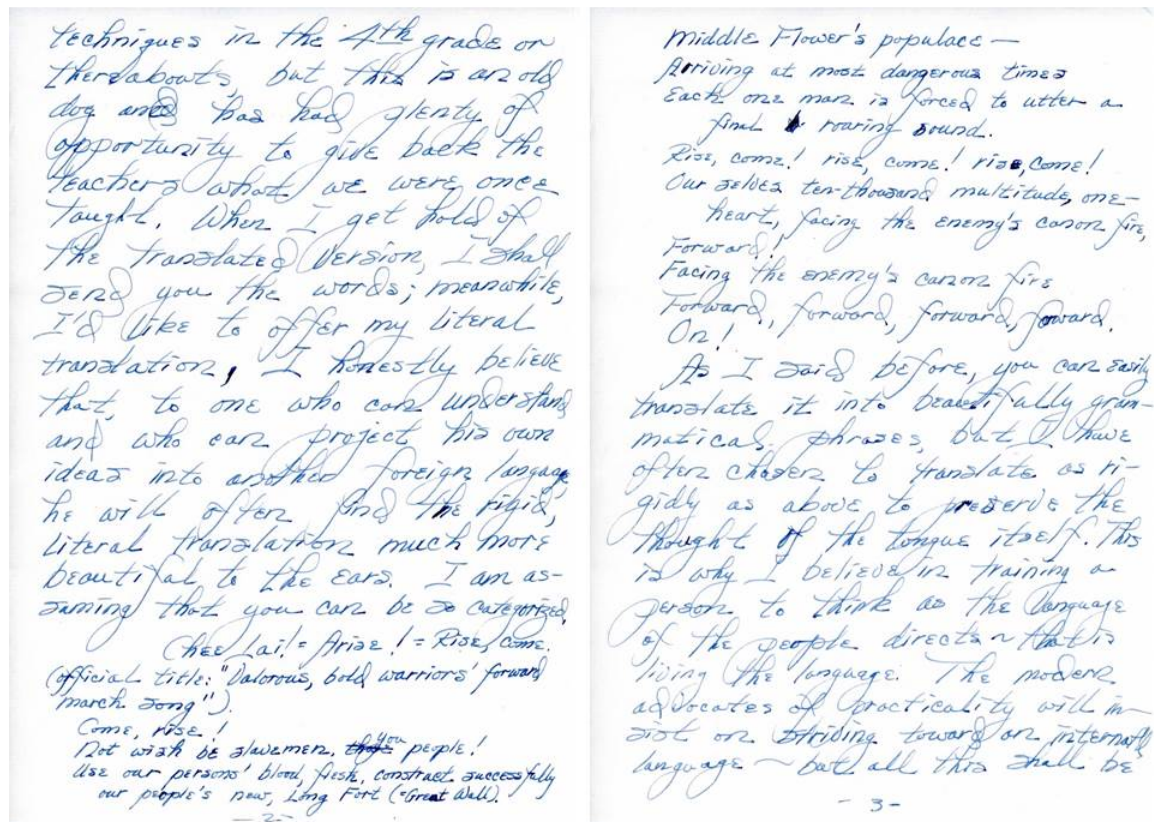


Figure 1: Letter 10, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, June 29, 1944, Chico, California, pages 2 and 3 (featuring "Chee Lai"/"Arise" (March of the Volunteers)).

Edition: Letter 10, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
June 29, 1944, Chico, California⁴⁰

29 June 1944

Dearest Fax:

I've thought of writing often but all Lazy Bill does about writing is think about doing so - once in a while, he does get out a letter or two and feels quite, quite proud - as if he had done something substantial toward the war! I was on such a dangerous trend once or twice the last two weeks, but I thought that I'd like to get hold of the promised music to the famous Chee Lai.⁴¹ First; it was indeed a promise and most solemnly made. Here is finally the completion of fulfillment rather, of the promise. You must pardon my amateurish attempt at copying these notes. To be sure we've been taught such / techniques in the 4th grade or thereabouts but this is an old dog and has plenty of opportunity to give back the

⁴⁰ This letter's envelope is preserved: return address: Lt. Wm. G. Chinn, CAAF, Chico, California; addressed to: Mrs. Fairfax Walkup, 369 California Terrace, Pasadena, 2, California; post mark: Chico, Calif., June 30, 1944, 10:30 AM; includes one eight-cent Air Mail stamp featuring an airplane.

⁴¹ "Chee Lai"/"Arise" (March of the Volunteers), Chinese national anthem (provisional 1949, official 1982), lyrics by Tian Han (1934), music by Nie Er (1935).

teachers what we were once taught. When I get hold of the translated version, I shall send you the words; meanwhile, I'd like to offer my literal translation, I honestly believe that, to one who can understand and who can project his own ideas into another foreign language, he will often find the rigid, literal translation much more beautiful to the ears. I am assuming that you can be so categorized.⁴²

Chee Lai! = Arise! = Rise, come.
(official title: "Valorous, bold warriors' forward
March song")
Come, rise!
Not wish be slavemen, those you people!
Use our persons' blood, flesh, construct successfully
our people's new, Long Fort (= Great Wall). /
Middle Flower's populace -
Arriving at most dangerous times
Each one man is forced to utter a
final roaring sound.
Rise, come! rise, come! rise, come!
Our selves ten-thousand multitude, one-
heart, facing the enemy's canon [sic] fire
Forward!
Facing the enemy's canon [sic] fire
Forward, forward, forward, forward.
On!

As I said before, you can easily translate it into beautifully grammatical phrases, but I have often chosen to translate as rigidly as above to preserve the thought of the tongue itself. This is why I believe in training a person to think as the language of the people directs - that is living the language. The modern advocates of practicality will insist on striving toward an internat[ional] language - but all this shall be / accomplished at the expense of richness in thoughts. In a sense, it is comparable to the request that all mathematical operations be reduced to addition alone because one cannot grasp calculus; calculus is itself fundamental an additive process, after all. I can never forget commissioning day; Fax when my friends gathered at your home. Don't think I can say exactly how I feel; that tea in itself so significantly opened 369 to my friends that I found it difficult to leave L.A. vicinity. After such a series of wonderful days down Southern California, I'm afraid I am have become rather spoiled and hence find Chico a sort of ghost town (with lots of people in it). As I say, Chico is by no means a small, small town; but I s'pose / it might as well be so if you don't know people there. We no longer have to ask anyone permission to step out of the post gates as we had to as enlisted men, but we find ourselves staying in the post nite after nite all the same - it's strange how things can turn out sometimes! but then, this may do us good as it may eventually forced [sic] us to keep on with our studies. For the present, I am trying to clear my

⁴² The translation is edited above with the line breaks of the original letter. Italics added.

correspondence, I received the papers Harrie⁴³ sent home and was delighted to have gotten; I want to tell you how I do appreciate the consideration you* gave me.

*Both of you.

Affectionately, Bill

P.S. What's Paul's address again?

Edition: Letter 11, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, January 28, 1945, [no place; based on content, presumably Italy]⁴⁴

28 January 1945

Dear Fax,

You will have to excuse this "official"⁴⁵ stationary, but when you're beggar, you can't afford to be chooseys [sic] all too well and when you write on company time with company supplies, you are almost placed on a beggar's status. Probably you will find no need for such an apologetic note, but I feel it almost imperative to exaggerate such trifles that the more horrible crime will not be felt as keenly that is, if things can be seen as a matter of relativity. The more horrible crime in reference is the past negligence to 369 California Terrace, I have just received your Christmas greetings and was well impressed with the verse. Something different than the 1943's "Out of Egypt I sent my son"⁴⁶ and in a less conventional style, though I seem to like this year's the more; can it be my unconscious rebellion for the conventional? Or is the rebellion really consciously felt but more consciously suppressed because I do not dare be as brave outwardly as I believe I would like / to be? I shall let that question dangle in mid-air since I don't honestly have the answer-nor do I think it matters much one way or the other. So much. Since I have been stationed in Italy, I have been going along fairly decently, fairly comfortably and in such conditions wonder whether it is unpatriotic. But one must then determine whether patriotism is measured by simply the burden one bears or by the unnecessary burden one insists on bearing also. That must also remain unanswered for the time. The statement of my conditions there, and whether it is "proper" or "improper" whether it is "patriotic" or "unpatriotic," the fact remains That I am fairly decently settled. In the few months overseas, I have had the opportunity to visit a few places in

⁴³ Identity unknown. Perhaps a reference to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup's sister-in-law, Harriet Louisa Osborn Proudfit (1890-1963), married (1922) to Lucas Proudfit (1895-1932), Fairfax Proudfit Walkup's brother.

⁴⁴ This letter's envelope is preserved: return address: Wm. G. Chinn, 2d Lt. A.c, 0-881250, 1261st AAFBU, RAFFD, ATC, APO #396, c/o PM, NYC, NY; addressed to: Mrs. Fairfax Walkup, 369 California Terrace, Pasadena, 2, California; post mark: U.S. Army Postal Service, 771, Jan. 29, 1945; includes two three-cent stamps featuring Thomas Jefferson; "Airmail" written across the envelope in red pencil.

⁴⁵ The letter is actually written on plain stationary.

⁴⁶ See *The Holy Bible*, Matthew 2:15.

North Africa including a tour of Casablanca.⁴⁷ In Italy, I have had the chance to enjoy a few days stay in Rome where I romped [sic] around covering spots like St. Peter's, the / Catacombs and the Sistine Chapel, all of which coverage were not a bit disappointing as sometimes places which have been given a romantic touch are apt to be. The other day Col. Conroy,⁴⁸ my CO. from Indio dropped by for a visit on his way back to the east coast of Italy where the outfit is now stationed and Fax, you can imagine how wonderful it was to see him again after all these months! I guess you have heard me rave about him before, he hasn't changed a single bit! some short day hence I shall try to get East for a visit practically all my buddies from the hospital unit are there yet and it shall be wonderful to talk to them as they had followed Patton⁴⁹ across the desert! Guess I'll stop now Fax and in these days of rationed goods, I guess I'll ask you to share this with Harrie. Best regards to you two.

Love, Bill

*Edition: Letter 12, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
July 5, 1945, Naples, Italy⁵⁰*

5 July 1945, Naples

Dearest Fax,

In defense of myself and all that is mine, I insist on defending my address. No woman can curse my address like that and get away with it - lady or no lady! Perhaps if you will try to understand that the 500 series in the APO⁵¹ applies fairly extensively th to the Mediterranean Theatre, that the 1400 series of the Army Air Forces Base Units belong to the European Division, and that 1417 is assigned to Naples and her satellites, in the ATC (Air Transport Command) the flow will come oozing from your gray matter and logic will assume its place / reference my address, Let me warn you, though, to prepare for the first shock when thought starts its functions. While ignorance (ahem) may be likened in some respect to an eclipse, the leading-out process may not be as slow as the transit of the moon across the sun and it is advisable to prepare yourself!!! Anyway, amidst the swarm of insults and injuries (I can hear you sobbing away broken-heartedly even now) I hope I have explained the system out my address

⁴⁷ Casablanca, Morocco.

⁴⁸ Identity unknown.

⁴⁹ U.S. Army General George S. Patton, Jr. (1885-1945) who, in 1942, had supervised the Camp Young Desert Training Center in Indio, California, where William Chinn may have met him; see above (Letter 4).

⁵⁰ This letter's envelope is preserved: return address: Wm G. Chinn, 2nd Lt., A.C., 0-881250, 1417th AAFBU, EURD, ATC, APO# 512, c/o PM, NYC, NY; addressed to: Mrs. Fairfax P. Walkup, 369 California Terrace, Pasadena, 2, California; post mark: U.S. Army Postal Service, 771, Jul 7, 1945, A.P.O.; includes one round two-cent stamp featuring George Washington; six-cent "Airmail" stamp.

⁵¹ APO, Army Post Office.

/ operates on (← please note delightful preposition on tail end). However, let it be said that I have received mail from these here parts addressed something like: "Lt. Chinn - Napoli;" or "Air Terminal-ATC" or . _ . . . or I bet, though the APO boys had a lovely time. How I have marveled why I ever received those sloppily addressed letters - or how! With the understanding that you will be building an addition to the house, I anticipate the need for / expansion - and if you were to retain both front and back gardens, may I suggest that the problem be solved by wrapping up your library and sending some to my home? Make sure, of course, that much talked about swivel chair is on the shipment. Now that we have completely solved the problem, we shall start on a war trophy campaign. So far, I've been so far away from the fight that what I see of war trophy either belongs to some one else or that it's not up to the excitement other war trophies / will induce. As a tragic result - no war trophies. For a while, I held a few Italian troops in ready shipment to your showcases, but have since learned they are to be regarded Allies. It is strange, isn't it, that we will admit an erst-while enemy to allied status with such rapidity - I do not quite understand the philosophy of these peoples whose motto of the earlier days are painted all over the cities' walls: "credere, obbedire, combattere!"⁵² together with the bond-cords and hatchet blade symbol of Fascism; / I am assuming, of course, that, once the hatred of an enemy had been instill [sic] through total indoctrination, the impression left is of more permanency than as conditions seem to prove - merely a matter, as it were of turning the spigot on or off. I am inclined to be a bit more skeptical - especially after instances like Niemoller⁵³ have been revealed who have been "laughed" in our faces for having believed he was anti-Nazi" when all he objected to was a little / personal inconvenience. But I was talking of war trophies. Since, I cannot add to you proposed showcase, with reminders of war experiences, I have been trying to get some a doll from Milan - one of the nicer piece [sic] of handiwork seen around these parts - but Milan is fairly difficult to get to, - which adds to the value - maybe? Anyway, it's worth a try. Since VE day,⁵⁴ activities went up in a great spurt and since ✠ transportation to the States and elsewhere / have been orked operating smoothly, activity is again settled and perhaps on a lessening trend. During this interval, I've been roaming around down the coast on my off-days to Amalfi, Ravello, Sorrento and Capri,⁵⁵ and find here abouts, the spots where tourists have made Italy famous. The places do have their quiet scenic beauties and majestic cliffs - though these cliffs

⁵² Slogan of Italy's National Fascist Party during World War II: "Believe, Obey, Fight."

⁵³ Martin Niemöller (1892-1984), German Lutheran theologian; initially in favor of the Nazis, later a member of the Confessing Church which opposed Adolf Hitler's policies; incarcerated 1938-1945.

⁵⁴ VE (Victory in Europe) Day, May 8, 1945.

⁵⁵ Amalfi, Ravello, Sorrento and (the island of) Capri are locations south of Naples on Italy's southwestern coast.

cost lives I the invasion campaigns. But if one has the time to admire, these are the places. My disposition, I / don't know and am leaving for the events to occur as they may happen to occur, - but I do know that it will be sometime before I can hope to make the homeward trip - I'm such a youngster yet relative to service overseas. My friends of Indio are all coming through Naples under the discharge system; perhaps I had never had the foresight nor fortitude to have stayed with them, but reunion here brings on many happy nights though I hesitate to say we were ever exactly / tipsy. (ahem !) So gehst die Nacht!⁵⁶

Love, Bill

P.S. Speaking of my location, I do believe you should have deduced from my Christmas message - weren't those the lines of Neapolitan Nights?⁵⁷ "Our hearts surrender, to nights of splendour..."⁵⁸ Tsk! Tsk? Why don't you read Dick Tracy⁵⁹ instead of Orson Welles?⁶⁰

P.P.S. Frankie⁶¹ came and went within a week; how he sent us! Wonder if he's sure war's over here!

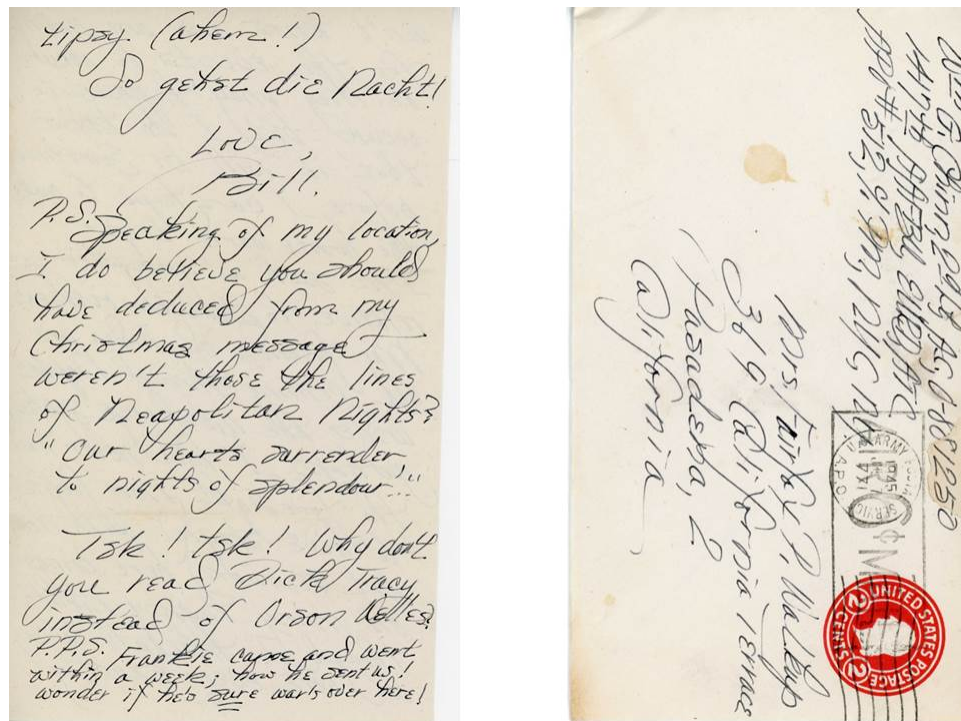


Figure 2: Letter 12, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, July 5, 1945, Naples, Italy, page 10 (featuring the P.P.S. reference to "Frankie," i.e., Frank Sinatra) and envelope.

⁵⁶ Should be "So geht die Nacht," German for "Thus passes the night."

⁵⁷ "Neapolitan Nights," song for the 1928 silent film "Fazil," starring Charles Farrell and Greta Nissen.

⁵⁸ The correct lyrics are, "Oh, nights of splendour / Your charms so tender / Make love surrender / Till stars are gone."

⁵⁹ "Dick Tracy," U.S. American comic strip (since 1931).

⁶⁰ George Orson Welles (1915-1985), U.S. American writer-director and actor.

⁶¹ Presumably Frank Sinatra who was on a USO tour in North Africa and Italy at that time.

*Edition: Letter 13, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
[undated], [no place given]*

Fax: -

Enclosed also picture ~~h~~ which has been promised ever so many days; since it is most regrettable that I cannot hand it to you personally, I shall hope for some future visit at 369. As I seem to be forever fulfilling the obligations I have so casually tossed upon my own shoulders, I have yet now another obligation to be fulfilled. Obligation, / as it is in its intrinsic derivation, the fulfillment of these obligations are, to be sure founded on a solid sincerity which springs alone from the wells of the heart, to put it tenderly. I am now giving you the tra official translation to "Arise!" Though this is not the National Anthem,⁶² I do believe this is the March you meant. / Will promise to teach you how to sing this in Chinese when I come around again, however, in the meanwhile, if you wish, I s'pose you might enlist the help of Tanya of White Man Folly⁶³ fame. Have you been keeping in contact with Sadie⁶⁴ and others of the Sam clan?⁶⁵ Hope so, 'cause I've found them to be quite delightful people. In closing, would suffer / you to forward Paul's address once again - such is memory! Affectionately and with pleasant memories of 369, I beseech ed you to take good care of the library chair; also my deepest regards to Harriet.

Bill

*Edition: Letter 14, William Chinn to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup,
June 6, 1946, San Francisco, California⁶⁶*

June 6, 1946

Dearest Fax -

Just learned you're to go away for year.⁶⁷ Gee, wish I had known sooner. I had intended to come for visit right after finals (around 20th) Don't s'pose you'd be around, would you? if only - Do keep me in touch won't you? And p'haps I might be able to do better after school's over.

Love, Bill

⁶² See above, Letter 10. "Arise" became China's provisional national anthem in 1949 and was raised to official status in 1982.

⁶³ Presumably Tanya Oakes, "White Man's Folly" (1943).

⁶⁴ Identity unknown.

⁶⁵ Identity unknown.

⁶⁶ This letter's airmail envelope is preserved: return address: Wm. G. Chinn, 715 Comm[ercial] Street, San Francisco, Calif.; addressed to Mrs. Fairfax P. Walkup, 369 California Terrace, Pasadena 2, California; post mark: San Francisco, Calif.8, June 7, 1946, 11:30 AM; includes one green United States of America eight-cent stamp, featuring a war plane. William Chinn's San Francisco residence at 715 Commercial Street in Chinatown was built in 1907 and still standing at the time this edition was completed (2019).

⁶⁷ Presumably because she was continuing her education at the University of Utah where she would earn an M.A. in 1947 and a Ph.D. in 1951.

P.S. How will 369 do without?

“[How] “[will] Pasadena “[do] “[without]?”

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Gareth O'Neal and Kelsey Anne Pierce (editors)

*"Do not let the red cross alarm you":
Wartime Letters from the Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup Theatre Collection
(1942-1943)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
SC 10.
Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup Theatre Collection.
Correspondence.
Undated (1942-1943).
Six letters (numbered 1 to 6 below).

Introduction

The six letters edited below are part of the "Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup Theatre Collection" that is held in CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections. Donated by Dr. Walkup in 1971, the collection contains teaching materials, manuscripts, costumes, and her prized collection of dolls, as well as correspondence from soldiers during World War II. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, born in Tennessee in 1887, was an actress, designer, administrator, playwright, and professor. She served as Dean of Costuming at the Pasadena Playhouse, earned a Ph.D. from the University of Utah (1951), and later taught in CSUF's Theater Department. Dr. Walkup passed away in Anaheim, California, in 1976.

During her time at the Pasadena Playhouse, Fairfax Proudfit Walkup encountered many young people. Some of her students had no real homes of their own, so they spent many hours at the Playhouse or at her residence at 369 California Terrace in Pasadena, California. Some came to call her "mom." When World War II broke out, many of her students enlisted, and they kept in contact with their "mom" by sending her letters from all over the world. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup gave these young people emotional support during uncertain times. It is because of her care for these former students that we have these letters in our collection so lovingly preserved.

The six letters edited below follow "Wally," probably Lt. Richard Radle Wadleigh (see letter 6 below) whose connections to Hollywood and the theater community are well established.¹ According to these letters, "Wally" studied at

¹ *The Hood Panther* [Camp Hood, Texas] [volume 1, no. 8], March 18, 1943, 1: "Former Hood Man In Cast Of New Film: Lt. Richard R. Wadleigh of the 127th Bn. RTC' was at the Officers Club, skipping through a movie magazine. He noticed a preview writeup on a movie called "Forever and a Day" which is showing at the 162nd and 37th Theaters tonight and the 37th and 24th St. Theaters Saturday night. Therein lies a tale. Lt. Wadleigh, born in England, and Pfs. Wendell Hulett, from Pexton, Illinois, were buddies in civilian life. They met in Hollywood,

the U.S. Naval Training School in Los Angeles, California, and traveled within California and abroad. The final letter is from Fairfax Proudfit Walkup herself and written to E. P. Moore of the U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) to recommend Wadleigh for a position. Though undated, these letters were likely written between 1942 and 1943, or shortly thereafter, since there are references to a performance of "The Blackout of 1942" (which was staged in Hollywood in 1942; see letter 1 below); to the May 3, 1943, cover of *Life Magazine* (featuring Diana Dill, the soon-to-be Mrs. Kirk Douglas; see letter 5 below); to the "Zoot Suit Riots" (June 1943; see letter 5 below); and to the aforementioned U.N.R.R.A. (founded November 9, 1943; see letter 6 below).

The letters are in good condition, written in cursive on various types of stationery. Even though letters 1 to 5 are all signed "Wally," letter 1 is in a different hand (perhaps due to dictation). One letter is typewritten (letter 6). The transcriptions below preserve the spelling, punctuation and capitalization of the original letters. Page breaks are indicated by a forward slash (/).

Edition: Letter 1, "Wally" to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, undated (1942-1943), [U.S. Naval Training School, Los Angeles, California]

Tuesday 2000 (8:00 P.M.)

Dear "Mom" -

Things are really begining [sic] to roll. Classes² from 0800 (8:00) to 7 P.M. each day except Wednesdays and Saturdays. Those two days are left or I should say evenings are free for what ever [sic] we desire. Sundays are free too. Scheduled to remain here for only thirty days but the amount we are expected to learn and must learn in this short span of time is much - very much. The fellows are really a nice groupe [sic] of men. Most of them are much senior to me in education especially along this line. It seems / most of them have been through law or some other highly specialized school. Time will tell how I come out. I hear we are to have a "blow out" someplace in Holly wood [sic] next Wednesday evening. This is to bring the higher ups closer to us and for both to get better acquainted [sic]. Of course now if I'm as sore then as I am now I see a poor evening ahead for me. Some of the boys have seen "Blackout of '42'"³ and highly recommend I see it. I am free each night at 7 and 5 on Wed[nesday]. + Sat[urday]. all day

roomed together, were in stage plays and about to break into the movies. Then Lt. Wadleigh went into the Air Corps, March Field, California, and on to the TD OCS in January. Hulett went into the cast of "Forever and a Day" - his first movie part. Soon afterwards he came into the service and was assigned to a TD outfit trained here, now stationed in Africa."

² The letterhead features a titled picture of the "U.S. Naval Training School, Los Angeles, California." This facility was built between 1938 and 1941 by the WPA (Works Progress Administration). Today, it is located on 1700 Stadium Way (near Dodger Stadium), Los Angeles, California 90012.

³ "Blackout of '42," presumably a play or revue. A theater party in conjunction with a Hollywood performance of "The Blackout of 1942" is mentioned in an article in the *San Bernardino Sun* [volume 49], September 26, 1942, 10.

Sunday. / You set the time and drop me a card or telephone call. Should you desire to come by any day I'm off at 5 or 7 you may let me know and I'll meet you at the Armory at 1353 Elysian.⁴ Hope to see you soon. I fear however, that most of my time will necessitate concentrated study. Thanks again for all you've done and I hope to see you soon.

Respectfully, Wally

Edition: Letter 2, "Wally" to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, undated (1942-1943), [no place]

Tuesday P.M.

Dear "Mom,"

I know I should have called you! But I'll be darn if you find time to do all you want or even desire to do. It would only take a moment I know but it seems that every time I go down to call there is a line waiting to use the darn thing.⁵ So what do I do - write you. The dinner dance was a very nice affair. Met the Captain⁶ with the greatest of ease - true playhouse style! Barbara⁷ caused much discussion among the boys. All wanted to know where I found her, etc. Barbara and I danced so well together until the Captain completely turned in his chair to watch us. / Wish you could have seen us. I was dressed with Blue top coat + gloves and Barbara, Well! You know she can wear clothes. All in all we had a very lovely evening. I got in at 3:30 and had an early morning watch Friday. Boy! What a long day Friday and Saturday turned out to be. On my last week here. Having to put in the last minute "cram" too. Hope it proves to be worth the effort. With all that is going on around me I am beginning to feel somewhat more at ease among all this strange business. I hope to get out this weekend but don't know yet if I shall be able to or not. Look for me when you see me. Since we have examinations Saturday I'll be glad to get away. / [We] Were given three new books to read yesterday and have one more to get. They expect you to read and memorize all you read as fast as a plane can fly. These books being secret and confidential you can't take them from the study room and boy!! secrecy is blown in our faces every way you turn. God! What a Navy we have!! Hope you went to the beach as you'd planned. Did you? You should have you know. Keep your fingers crossed for me Friday and Saturday. I'll need it. Hope to see you soon.

As ever, Wally

P.S. Have gained a few more pounds. How I'm doing?!!

⁴ "1353 Elysian," a multi-unit residence at 1353 Elysian Park Drive, Los Angeles, California 90026 (near Dodger Stadium and, thus, near what would have been the "U.S. Naval Training School" in 1942), was built in 1922 and still standing at the time this edition was completed (2019).

⁵ Presumably a reference to a telephone.

⁶ Identity unknown.

⁷ Identity unknown.

Edition: Letter 3, "Wally" to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, undated (1942-1943), [Hotel Lafayette, San Francisco, California]⁸

Wednesday

Dear "Mom,"

Thanks for the very nice letter. It just did reach me before checking out. Will go aboard today. Saw David Chin[n]⁹ last night. We went out to a few night spots. Have not seen or heard of Lib Lakin¹⁰ again. She was to call me but did not. I don't think you will need my number but anyway it'[s] 198405.

Bye, as ever, Wally

Edition: Letter 4, "Wally" to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, undated (1942-1943), [Hotel Lafayette, San Francisco, California]¹¹

Friday

Dear "Mom,"

Had a nice trip up but wish I'd flown. You know, just for fun. Reported to my Commandant and must. Reported to my Commandant¹² and must report back Tuesday. Wish I knew when (appr[o]x[imately]) we were leaving. Gee! there are millions of sailors here it seems. Good ol' San Fran. Sorry for the weak good bye I gave you but / I found it hard to say good bye - really I did. Will you forgive me? Thanks , for every thing [sic]. Wish I were a master with words for then I might be able to tell you actually how I truly appreciated what you've done for me. Have no idea how long I'll be here so should you write I'll be here - at the Lafayette!! / Hope to see Dave Chin[n]. Will drop him a line since I do not have his phone #. It's hot as _ _ _ up here and I'm hungry as _ _ _ so I'll stop and get a stake [sic] before I fold up.

Love, Wally

P. S. Saw Lib Lakin for a moment. Same Lib!

⁸ The letterhead is that of the hotel: Hotel Lafayette, 240 Hyde Street, San Francisco, Calif., Phone: ORdway 4031, Walter Brown Mgr., Harvey Myhre Asst. Mgr. The hotel was built in 1928, was subsequently renamed "Midori Hotel" (also Conrad House), is listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and is also listed as a "San Francisco Homeless Resource." It was still standing at the time this edition was completed (2019).

⁹ For David Chinn, see Alisa Morgan and Kate Tello, eds., "From the Stage of the Pasadena Playhouse to the Theaters of World War II: The Chinn Letters from the Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup Theatre Collection (September 3, 1941, to June 6, 1946)," in this volume.

¹⁰ Identity unknown.

¹¹ The letterhead is that of the hotel; see letter 3 above.

¹² Identity unknown.

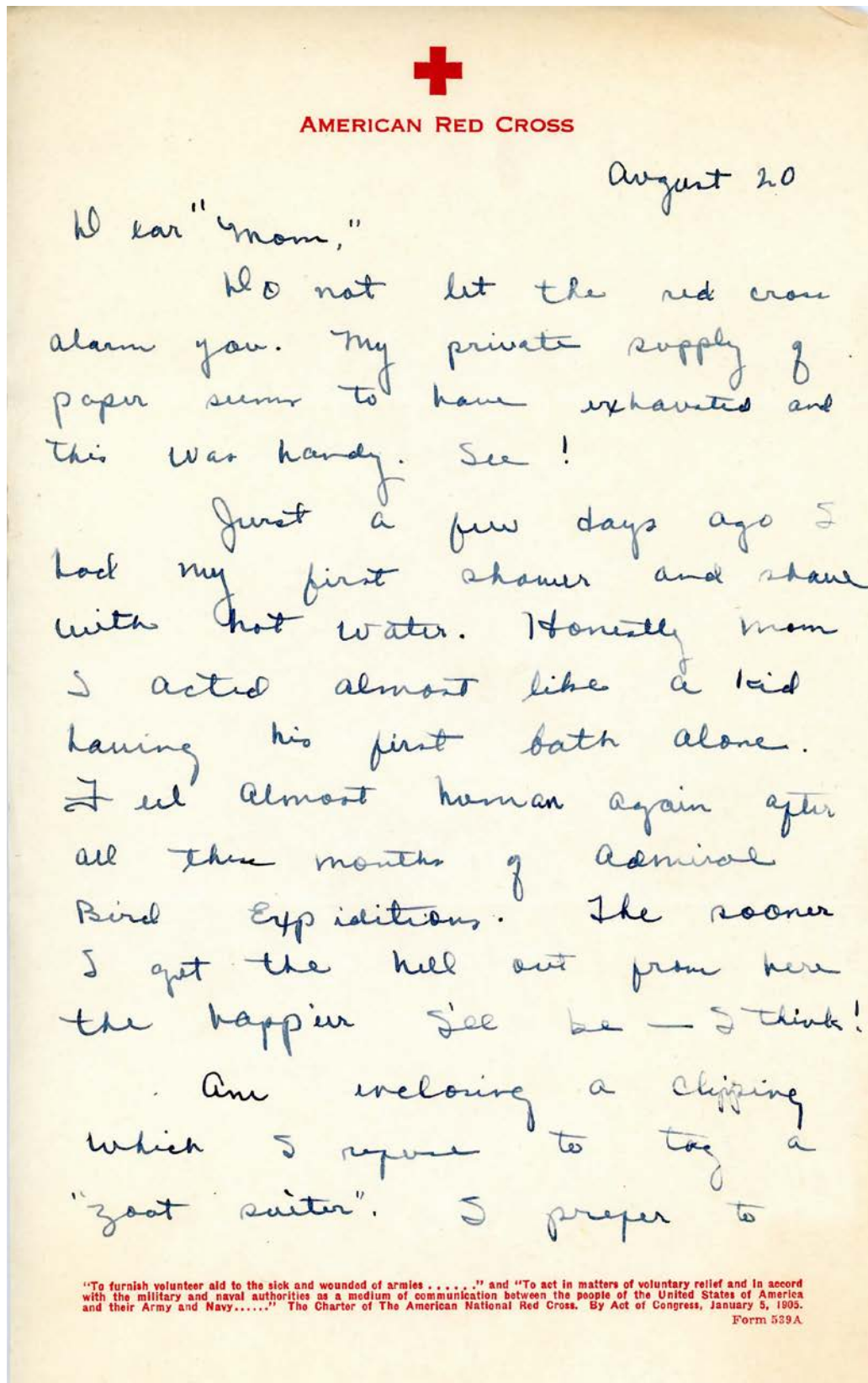


Figure (above): Letter 5, "Wally" to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, undated (1942-1943), [no place; based on content, outside the U.S.], page 1.

Edition: Letter 5, "Wally" to Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, undated (1942-1943), [no place; based on content, outside the U.S.]

August 20

Dear "Mom,"

Do not let the red cross alarm you.¹³ My private supply of paper seems to have exhausted and this was handy. See! Just a few days ago I had my first shower and shave with hot water. Honestly mom I acted almost like a kid having his first bath alone. Feel almost human again after all these months of Admiral Bird¹⁴ Expeditions. The sooner I get the hell out from here the happier I'll be - I think! Am enclosing a clipping which I refuse to tag a "zoot suiter".¹⁵ I prefer to / think of him of as being a conglomeration of all the composit [sic] developments man has thought up since the beginning of time. You may have gazed at it before but I thought you might get a "little kick" from it since the excitement between the under and overpaid workers, or shall we say between the red blooded Americans and the "riff raff" - purely an opinion.¹⁶ Our lovely Diana Dill¹⁷ looked mighty sweet on the May 3rd issue of Life.¹⁸ The fashions may match spring but I have my doubts of our Miss Dill. / Mom did I send you a snapshot taken not so long ago of "me on lil' self"? [?] If not let me know and I'll drop you one in the next letter. With it you will notice a few changes in my appearance [sic]. Got looped a few nights past. The capacity is much lower here than in the U. S.¹⁹ One or two small ones and you are up in the clouds. Until we meat [sic] mom.

Always, Wally

¹³ The letterhead features the red cross and the name of the organization ("American Red Cross"); the footer contains the motto: "To furnish volunteer aid to the sick and wounded or armies" and "To act in matters of voluntary relief and in accord with the military and naval authorities as a medium of communication between the people of the United States of America and their Army and Navy....." The Charter of The American National Red Cross. By Act of Congress, January 5, 1905. Form 539A.

¹⁴ Presumably a reference to Richard E. Byrd (1888-1957), a U.S. Navy officer and explorer who was on active duty during World War II.

¹⁵ Zoot suit, a man's outfit popular with various U.S. ethnic communities during the 1940s.

¹⁶ Presumably a reference to the so-called "Zoot Suit Riots" in Los Angeles, California, in June 1943, when Mexican Americans clashed with members of the U.S. Armed Forces.

¹⁷ Diana Love Webster (1923-2015), née Dill, Bermudan actress, married to Kirk Douglas (1943-1950/1951).

¹⁸ *Life Magazine*, May 3, 1943, cover.

¹⁹ This suggests that he was not in the U.S. at the time.

Edition: Letter 6, Fairfax Proudfit Walkup to E. P. Moore, undated (1942-1943), Pasadena, California [typed

FAIRFAX PROUDFOOT [sic] WALKUP
369 CALIFORNIA TERRACE²⁰
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA]

E. P. Moore,
Asst. Chief Personnel Investigation,
U N R R A,²¹ Washington, D.C.

Richard Radle Wadleigh well known to me about eight years. superior background, knowledge of languages acquired in long residence in Europe. Most intelligent, eager, and thoroughly reliable in all endeavors. Family background impeccable, integrity above question. Gets along with all types of people, physical stamina fine. As student had unusual scope of knowledge, historical and literary predominating. No reserves in rec[o]mmending him for any responsible and position.

Fairfax Proudfit Walkup

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Gareth O'Neal of Anaheim, California, earned two B.A. degrees in French and Comparative Literature (2015), as well as an M.A. in English at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2018), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). His English M.A. thesis applied Albert Camus's absurdism to H. P. Lovecraft's Cthulhu mythos. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF with a thesis/project on the brass rubbings in CSUF's Roberta "Bobbe" Browning Collection. He is a 2019 recipient of CSUF's Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Kelsey Anne Pierce of Carson City, Nevada, earned her B.A. in Theatre with an emphasis in Writing and Speech from the University of Nevada, Reno (2007). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), focusing on Medieval and Public History. She is a member of CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). The primary-source edition published above originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.

²⁰ The house at 369 California Terrace, Pasadena, California 91105, was built in 1924 and still standing at the time this edition was completed (2019).

²¹ U.N.R.R.A., United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (active 1943-1947).

Louis Filliger and Brian A. Pitchford (editors)

*A Pious Revelation to a Friend:
Philip K. Dick's 1975 Metaphysics*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
SC-06-PKD.

Philip K. Dick Papers.

Letter from Philip K. Dick to Claudia Bush,
February 17, 1975, Fullerton, California.

Introduction

The letter edited below is part of the "Philip K. Dick Papers" that are held in CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections. The American science fiction author Philip Kindred Dick (1928-1982) is popularly known for works like "The Minority Report" (a 1956 short story which inspired the 2002 film of the same title), *The Man in the High Castle* (a 1962 novel, adapted for television in 2015), and *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* (a 1968 novel which inspired the 1982 film *Blade Runner*). In the 1970s, Dick was persuaded by fellow writers Frank Herbert (1920-1986) and Willis E. McNelly (1920-2003) to donate his manuscripts to CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections, where they have been housed permanently since Dick's death in 1982.¹

In 1974-1975, Dick corresponded with Claudia Krenz Bush, a student at Idaho State University, who was writing her master's thesis on Dick at the time, and they subsequently struck up a friendship.² Substantial portions of Dick's letters to Bush have been published in *The Exegesis of Philip K. Dick* (2011), an anthology edited by Pamela Jackson and Jonathan Lethem, that is based on Dick's religious experiences and his overall theory of reality as transmitted to him by a chance encounter with a woman wearing a fish pendant at the front door to his Fullerton apartment.³ Dick seems to have been mesmerized by the light shining off of this woman's pendant, and if we are to believe his account, transported to another world. The date of the encounter, 2-3-74 (i.e., February-March 1974) is cited repeatedly throughout the text, and Dick spent the last years of his life writing about this one experience, and the visions he incurred that day.

¹ Albert R. Vogeler and Arthur A. Hansen, *Very Special Collections: Essays on Library Holdings at California State University, Fullerton* (Fullerton: California State University, Fullerton, 1992), 24.

² Claudia Krenz Bush, "The Splintered Shards: Reality and Illusion in the Novels of Philip K. Dick" (M.A. thesis, Idaho State University, 1975).

³ *The Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Pamela Jackson and Jonathan Lethem (New York: Houghton Milton Harcourt, 2011).

The letter is of historical significance, not just because it was written by one of the most prolific science fiction writers of the twentieth century, but because it discusses topics of fundamental importance to historians, such as space, time, perception, perspective, and ontology. In the letter, Dick describes an event or, according to him, a vision which demonstrates the ideas of potentiality and actuality from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, combined with the static worlds of Parmenides and Plato, and culminates in an intriguing proposition; namely, that reality is unchanging and only appears to change due to its inherent potentiality to appear to change.

The letter edited below is typewritten (Courier) on white, letter-size paper. It is fifteen pages long and in good condition. There are a few handwritten corrections that are indicated in the footnotes. All deletions are indicated as follows: [deletion]. All misspellings and typos have been retained and are not indicated by [sic] or the like. The original letter's pagination has been retained. All italicized portions have previously been published and are footnoted accordingly; however, all non-italicized portions are published here for the first time.

-15-

It is now evident what rôle Jesus played in the history of Greek philosophical-theological thought. The Greek thinkers, also the ~~mystery~~ mystery religions, had sought union with god, and this was in essence encountering and entering somehow the Logos or Plan. Jesus according to first St. John and then St. Paul was the Logos -- the Plan incarnated in human form: the Word. (Hagia Sophia itself.) Jesus was what the Greeks had been searching for, only instead of them finding Him, He had found them (i.e. come here to us, and dwelt among us). The search had ended, if one believed. (Also of course he was Zagreus, etc.) However, Jesus was ~~xx~~ rejected and despised of man; as said in my dream, "not acceptable." But again He will come here; this time He will be acceptable.

Saint Sophia, the Temple (The Temple of God which He will suddenly come to and inhabit, is, according to the Qumran people, mankind). Thus says your God.

Love,
 Phil

Figure (above): Letter from Philip K. Dick to Claudia Bush, February 17, 1975, Fullerton, California, page 15.

Edition: Page 1

February 17, 1975

Dear Claudia,

The reality of orthogonal time,⁴ cyclic time, would make it possible for the Golden Age (the time before the fall) to return, restoring all which has been lost. There is a direct link between the hope of that return and the idea of orthogonal time; also, there is a similar link between the possibility of that hope being fulfilled and the fact that orthogonal time exists, which it indeed does.

Is not one of our present concepts or visions of that Golden Age, perhaps our most powerful and authentic one, the vision of "The Woods of Arcady" which Yeats wrote of?⁵ And was it not indeed these woods, the Isle of the Blest, which I at last experienced as I moved deeper and deeper into the Being, the heart of, orthogonal time? Did I not at last see the moonlight and the pale water, the arch, the quiet and harmony and beauty, of exactly that which Yeats said is gone and which we dream of still? ("Yet still she turns her restless head.")⁶

Would it be unreasonable to speak of my first orthogonal vision, that of URBS ROMA⁷ as the Age of Iron? And under that I found -- what's next? Silver? That would be my first glimpse of the Hellenistic world which came before (linear time) or beneath (orthogonal), and then, at last, the absolute simplicity of what must be the Golden Age: the forests, which Eurypides spoke of in the BACCHAE.⁸ ("Will they ever come to me ever again. . .") Each age or rotation retrograde was better; iron to silver to gold, whatever metaphor. ROMA certainly was iron; no doubt. And -- the fish sign which I saw: it was made of gold.⁹ (The final visions: the artifacts unearthed at Lemnos,¹⁰ which I now learn must be as old as civilization in that area could have been. Couch, which was black and gold; plus candle and candle-holder, Lemnos where Hefaeustus¹¹ hit bottom and then began painfully to work his way back up to Olympus from; for him, the bottom, the end of his fall (which took an entire day); but, read backward for us, the mirror opposite universe, Lemnos and the Minoan Civilization,¹² that would be the Golden Age, the analog of his Olympus, from which we fell; we fell in mutually parallel opposite directions.

⁴ *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 929: Dick describes orthogonal time as containing within a simultaneous plane, 'everything which was, just as grooves on an LP contain that part of the music which has already been played; they don't disappear after the stylus tracks them'."

⁵ William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), Irish poet. The above is a reference to his poem, "The Song of the Happy Shepherd."

⁶ A line from Yeats's "The Song of the Happy Shepherd."

⁷ Urbs Roma, Latin for "Rome, the city."

⁸ *The Bacchae*, tragedy by the Greek author Euripides (fifth century BCE).

⁹ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 115.

¹⁰ Lemnos, a Greek island in the Aegean Sea.

¹¹ Hephaestus, a Greek god (and blacksmith).

¹² Minoan civilization, and ancient Greek culture.

His down is our up. His rise then back to Olympus was his return, but as he returned, we at each increment fell. These are the [deletion] symmetries of time, these reciprocal balancing motions in opposite directions.

If our age is an extension of URBS ROMA (TEARS being a paradigm, a map, of a territory which is ROMA, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, BERLIN: one map for all) then that view of Roma was a [deletion] rollback, and insight into the heart --not of an age prior to ours-- but to ours itself. But then the previous age emerged beneath...while I was in the hospital, just as Nixon resigned,¹³ the same day I went into surgery and was repaired. Yet already I had glimpsed the archway leading to the quiet places of sea and moonlight (one does not build buildings out of gold; there are none, it is too soft. It would be jewelry, etc. Objects of beauty and adornment; there are no gold prisons.¹⁴

Edition: Page 2

The Brit 3¹⁵ makes it clear (v. "Salvation") that there are two distinct concepts of salvation:

1 Restoration of the world as it was.

2 Being freed --the soul now imprisoned-- to rise to another non physical level of Being.

I believe in (1), not (2).

How achieved? 3 possibilities; I believe in (3): divine aid by the Redeemer, who achieves what man cannot do for himself." Brit #.3. We speak here of divine intervention (adventitious to ourselves).

"The menace of death is thus bound up inexorably with man's consciousness of time." "He sees in his subjugation to time the true cause of the evil which besets him.

Look what's achieved in terms of breaking out of artificial archaic molds of thinking of the Cartesian mind-body dualism¹⁶ is obliterated by regarding it as a unity of several field; matter is the phenomenal appearance to our sense-receptors of energy, and also, each of us has not one mind, a mind, but two minds, i.e. two separate different ones; perhaps one survives (the one which is related Magdeburg¹⁷ [deletion]rhemisphere-wise to cyclic orthogonal time), and the one related to lineal time is temporal, as much transient flux as the style of time it perceives. Here we have inner-outer symmetry related to the left-right symmetry; we have both-and rather than either-or. The body is not really body (i.e. matter); the mind isn't really mind; it is two minds operating in tandem. (Mirror opposites, these brains?)

¹³ August 9, 1974, day of the resignation of U.S. President Richard M. Nixon.

¹⁴ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 115.

¹⁵ Brit 3, presumably a reference to the 15th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹⁶ "Cartesian," a reference to René Descartes (1596-1650), a French philosopher.

¹⁷ Magdeburg, city in Germany.

Also, this total minds-body entity shouldn't be particularized in space-time in a discrete fashion, but rather regarded as part of a (vaster) field of fields. It's a locus in the field. Not a thing, a what, reified; but a where. Where not in time and space but where in terms of pattern-arrangement. Best [deletion] defined as a function within a vast organism...all of which is alive but not equally alive, nous rather than psyche, which is Plotinus¹⁸ once more: concentric rings of more sentientness of Being-ness. Reality then is related to Being, to ontology, not to extensiveness in space and/or time; degrees of Being suggest [deletion] hierarchy or rings "more real" in Platonistic¹⁹ sense. Possible correlation with nous; awareness. If time is indeed that which holds man in subjugation, then Avicenna's²⁰ view of God's sense of time would be the solution for us, to rise toward that view: what would rise would not be some entity postulated as "soul" but a rise in awareness, in sophia.²¹ To have the *hagia sophia*²² that, etc. This is like the Hindu idea that it is an intellectual failure which holds us subjugated, not a moral one. We take empirical (phenomenal) reality as a real (cf Parmenides);²³ this dokos,²⁴ our acceptance of it, locks us fast, binds us to its lineal-time flux purmeations, and transitoriness.

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An ethical element can be added in terms of the Egyptian idea of man being judged according to whether he speaks with "true voice," that is, if he possesses integrity (a form of unity, also a willingness to see reality, to face it, to be in accord --harmony-- with it (Tao).²⁵ Deceit, which is viewed as a moral fault, can be also viewed psychologically as an illness or defect in cognition-perception; health, then, is the equation which removes the problem of intellectual versus ethical. Most of our problems stem from false dichotomizations arising [deletion] from inaccurate or partial or downright false (self-deceiving) perception and cognition. Like Zoroaster²⁶ said, like Jesus²⁷ said: the Adversary is a Liar. Within and without. Lie would equal error in a purely computing (thinking) system. I'll bet a desire for justice can be equated with balance, in the sense of being impartial, not ego-centric, the latter in a cybernetics model being a form of error

¹⁸ Plotinus, a Greek philosopher (third century CE).

¹⁹ Platon[is]tic, a reference to Plato, a Greek philosopher (fifth/fourth century BCE).

²⁰ Avicenna/Ibn Sina (ca. 980-1037), a Persian scholar.

²¹ "Sophia," Greek for "wisdom."

²² "Hagia sophia," Greek for "holy wisdom," a synonym for Jesus Christ in Christian thought.

²³ Parmenides, a Greek philosopher (sixth/fifth century BCE).

²⁴ Dick appears to use "dokos" in the sense of "veil."

²⁵ "Tao," Chinese for "way."

²⁶ Zoroaster, ancient Persian prophet.

²⁷ Jesus (of Nazareth), held to be the Son of God/Messiah in Christianity.

im mapping, in the projection from territory to map; these are all malfunctions and failures, and moral error and intellectual error combine at a higher level of view. Like, it is not a true fact that "I am the center of the world," or, "I'm the most important person."

I did not remember my previous state (anamnesis);²⁸ I was restored to that state; which means Someone restored me. That is God and God's grace. He brought it back to me or me back to it, rejoined or gave back. The Christian (Eucharist)²⁹ anamnesis deals Specifically with "Do this in recollection of me," i.e. Jesus Christ.³⁰ The event is [deletion] anamnesis; the agency which causes it is adventitious and is the savior. No man has [deletion] intrinsically the capacity, by [deletion] knowledge or magic, to accomplish this restoration. In my case I detect evident pre-destination; first, it was impressed on me, this anticipation of the dark-haired stranger girl at the door; I used to expect the Paraclete³¹ coming to the door any time, to render aid. From the beginning of my life, He laid down the necessary efficient causes to bring the transformation/restoration about. There was always evident intent, and on His part, not mind. It took an entire life time to bring me to that point in 3-74. Step after step; led me, directed me. Not the girl at the door but that as the climax, the moment, and at the moment of extremity of peril for me, or the "very desperate" where no hope existed for me of being saved in any fashion unless all these steps had already been laid down. Her appearance at the door had that effect only as mere triggering release and because of manifold almost infinite preparatory steps. This was a life time process, not a single event. As an infant I was given dreams and experiences (e.g. with fish, the "tunny," the shark dreams, later on the Tiberius³² fish teeth necklace dream), without which her appearance and that fish necklace would have done nothing; it wasn't a magic amulet, as if the power resided in its intrinsic shape or properties. I could as easily have been engrammed on a -- well, whatever He chose. It's like answering the question, "How does your car obtain the capacity it has to perform all that it does?" with the answer, "By putting in this particular key, the one with the square end, and turned it to the right for a second." The carkey unlocks a gigantically intricate mechanism but that is all it does; it causes so-to-speak the potential vehicle (carstatic) to become actual car (car in motion). Whoever built the car probably also had the key in mind -- anticipated its existence and use.

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The analogy is a good one, because by holding back the key the car can be kept in a state of mere potentium³³ throughout a theoretically unlimited period of lineal time. A person seeing it only in this potential mode might never guess what would happen when

²⁸ "Anamnesis," Greek word, used by Dick in the sense of "remembrance."

²⁹ "Eucharist," Greek for "thanksgiving," a reference to the Last Supper of Jesus and the Christian sacrament of Communion.

³⁰ "Christ," Greek for "the anointed one."

³¹ "Paraclete," Greek for "helper," a reference to the Holy Spirit in Christianity.

³² A reference to the pendant that triggered Dick's vision of 2-3-74.

³³ "Potentium," derived from the Latin term "potens," indicating power/potential.

activated; better yet, there is really no way just by looking at a radio to tell what it does when turned on. The simple switching from off to on is no more than bringing into existence the true function of what was only an object; what it is has been revealed to be what it does. Teleology³⁴ is all-important in this: its end-purpose. The metasystems perhaps can best be understood by this cybernetics³⁵ model, by asking, "What are they for?" The answer is obtained by observing the process as it unfolds. We are back to the concept of the entelechy,³⁶ of growth. All these are the unfoldings of living organisms which themselves are portions of an over-all organism, no doubt. A Greek might proudly say that He causes his own heart to beat and his own brain or mind to think, but it seems more likely that both are in the deepest and final sense caused by designer of that heart and brain, who holds all in the palm of His hand; we can't see him, but we can't see gravity either; we measure it by its effects. This is that sad, sad Greek error of man over nature, man above the cosmos, controlling it; this is his hubris.³⁷ He will guard, in the esoteric rites and gnosis³⁸ of his mystery cult, the secret fact that God lies within every one and everything equally, and steers all. Greeks and foreigners alike.

The really carefully guarded secret of the priests of all the religions, which they will never voluntarily relinquish to the world, is that priests are not needed, nor what priests know or what initiates do or what the devout believe --- practices and sacraments, anything. The truth is that God inhabits without limit; wherever the real is or the actual does, He is it. Special knowledge of how to get in touch with him is that same knowledge which carries the bee home to its hive each night; who sells that knowledge to the bee? If we have no money, if we can't read or be wise, are we abandoned? Does He abandon the lowly insects because they are virtually no more than reflex machines? Just as truth cannot really be suppressed, at least not forever, it neither can be hoarded. We are taught day and night, as all living entities are: ceaselessly. God did not begin to govern and inform the cosmos when writing and money were invented.

* *

The deeper and deeper penetration into ontological realms, experienced as dokos fading to reveal URBS ROMA -- those were into a region prior in lineal time to Jesus, to Christianity, but not to Greek mystery religions as such. But finally I saw the building Santa Sophia,³⁹ the palm trees, which was the Levant⁴⁰ (that word came to me, an archaic term). That last was as real as the first. What linked them? The last was not fundamentally a Greek area, but acquired by Alexander⁴¹ in conquest. Each however was seen in holy terms, viewed as if sanctified, viewed through its religion. It was as if God ranged through an axis neither of time nor space as we know it but built out of both.

³⁴ "Teleology," the study of purpose.

³⁵ "Cybernetics," the study of control systems/communication in animals and robots.

³⁶ "Entelechy," Greek for "full potential"

³⁷ "Hubris," Greek for over-confidence.

³⁸ "Gnosis," Greek for "knowledge" (of hidden things).

³⁹ Santa Sophia/Hagia Sophia, a sixth-century church in Constantinople/Istanbul.

⁴⁰ Levant, a reference to the regions surrounding the Eastern Mediterranean Sea.

⁴¹ Alexander the Great (fourth century BCE), a Macedonian/Greek leader and conqueror.

Orthogonal space, too? A space-time axis of Being, in which resemblances linked each frame, rather than being together in

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either time or in space, but because they rose toward God Himself and all He represents. It was an axis of holy solemnity, maybe; that worship and relatedness to God is the final axis, in which one when entering that realm moves from religion to religion as if they are all one. It is as if the state of grace generates, or anyhow generates the perception of and the participation in, the Region of the Sacred. But not just the sacred parts of each culture were retrieved; with them came the rest, everything, as in the taco-stand which served as a doorway to all Mexico. When dokos, the veil, lifts away from our external world we see the Absolute, but it is whatever God wills it to be, causes it to be; most likely, thinks it into being. We think along with him of first this and then that, so we are here, then there. Worlds are made and unmade. The Absolute is absolutely plastic and manifold and real only as He forms and reforms it; He expresses himself directly through it and in it.⁴² Absolute reality does not exist. Absolute Being does, but He is here, too, in the flux of lineal time-field {which}⁴³ Kozyrev⁴⁴ posits as a force to weaken as the space, the universe which it fills, expands uniquely. Causing that to happen, He fills in other realities, so that we see orthogonal time surfacing, becoming more and more clear. This, too, is a return, a fulfillment, a cycle, since our ancestors saw time this way; when we come full swing we will experience cyclic time as they did. A sign that we have re-entered an earlier time epoch would be the emergence of cyclic time and a dimming of lineal time.

The re-emergence of cyclic time would be the method of restoration. It is not logically evident that hyper or orthogonal time would of necessity be cyclic; at first I thought it was retrograde.⁴⁵ However, it does differ from lineal time in that lineal time is only unidirectional⁴⁶ (by definition). OT is two-way or {(many)}⁴⁷ omnidirectional.⁴⁸ Maybe you can hop on or into it wherever you choose. I am starting from the most extraordinary premise of all: that ROMA c. 100 had just been here an instant ago, here in Fullerton 1974. Both, really, were present, one removed of the other superimposed. Or, one seen by my left brain, the other by the other. Two totally separate channels of empirical space-time information. a double exposure. Yes, very much like an accidental double exposure. I do feel that the antique images regress --Rome to Hellenistic Greece to Attic Greece to Crete-- which implies retrograde time. Maybe "cyclic" is the wrong word; maybe orthogonal time, a specific sector, is summoned through penetrating via the print-out

⁴² Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 115-118.

⁴³ "which" is a handwritten insertion.

⁴⁴ Nikolai Aleksandrovich Kozyrev (1908-1983), a Soviet scientist.

⁴⁵ "Retrograde" indicates a backward movement.

⁴⁶ "Unidirectional" indicates something moving in one direction.

⁴⁷ The parentheses are a handwritten insertion.

⁴⁸ "Omnidirectional" indicated something moving into many/all directions.

back to the Form which incises: from cluster of phenomena to archetype. That is not from lineal time to any other time; it is from time to -- departure and reentry? Again, Plotinus seems to grasp it best. That and the Christian "do this in anamnesis of me --" do this and recollect; once more we are back there again at that timeless and eternal moment c. 46 A.D. We are really there now. Real time, genuine time, ceased after He left; after that it's been only process time: true "spinning your wheels" time. Only layer after layer of meaningless dust have accrued, which is to say, the substance, the essence, has not changed since Christ left our world. Not a day will have passed between when he left and when he returns. Perhaps He simply took me where He was going, where He is. I was -- where? With Him. Q.E.D.⁴⁹

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But if the subjugation of us, the Fall, is through the power of time, which means decay and death, then this abolishment of time, or lineal time, whatever, accomplishes what we yearn to see accomplished: time or [deletion] lineal time was overcome, and all the accumulations of the centuries, the flux, the accidents, the phenomenal world, all faded out and it, that place and those events, faded into sight and I was totally caught up into them, both inside me and outside me: it was not a mere external spectacle, like a 3-D movie. I changed, too; to my deepest essence. I became a person appropriate to and commensurate with my reality. And it was not because I wished it; the first intimations were of the City of Cruel Iron, and I felt the fear natural to a society based on force and on a slave population -- it was harsh and cruel beyond anything I've ever seen. No Arcady,⁵⁰ that. Maybe the fruit with the seed inside is the best model; seed equals the unchanging reality of the last days when He was here. Is our changing world actually a sort of electron revolving in totally repetitious cycles around a nucleus, and that nucleus is the Crucifixion⁵¹ and the Resurrection?⁵² The mass of a body creates a warpage in space, so that a straight line is curved, thus planets' paths are warped into near-circles (ellipses) around and around; they if they could think would imagine (as Spinoza⁵³ would say) that they are traveling always in straight lines -- but we can see otherwise; an invisible force keeps that straight line -- makes that straight line into an endless repeating circle. Ah! Our linear time is exactly an analog of the straight line of a small body near a dense star; we, as part of Earth, moving through time as the axis, do not realize that our time is being warped perpetually back onto itself in a great circle, a vast cycle which will one day to our surprise, like an early sailor who sailed west across our oceans and eventually, incredibly, found himself back where he began -- circumnavigated our round world which he did not understand was round...it looked and felt flat; the universe looks and feels as if

⁴⁹ Q.E.D., Latin abbreviation ("quod erat demonstrandum") for "that which was to be proven."

⁵⁰ "Arcady," a region in ancient Greece considered a rural paradise.

⁵¹ "Crucifixion," the execution of Jesus Christ.

⁵² "Resurrection," the rising from the dead of Jesus Christ.

⁵³ Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) a Jewish-Dutch philosopher.

it extends analogously; Einstein⁵⁴ showed us that space is curved through the force we call gravity; so time, unrealized by us, undetected by any of our earth-bound instruments, carries us inexorably in a sweep which we will not recognize (anamnesis!) until we actually see a familiar landmark. Suddenly there it will be: ahead of us in time will be something which we know from our historic records we left behind us in time. And this follows logically, since time and space are a nexus-continuum, cannot be separated. Thus orthogonal time is: lineal in the sense that all objects move in a straight line through space, too; cyclic, if there is enough of what equals gravity in respect to time, whatever that force would be; analog of mass. As mass affects space, warps it, curves it, bends it -- what would warp, curve, bend, time, to bring it back? Equal to our sun, our nucleus: that moment URBS ROMA c. 45 A.D. We will call it the Second Coming;⁵⁵ i.e. the Second Time around for us: and suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, like a thief in the night,⁵⁶ when we least anticipate it. We will be back. For me, in 3-74 I was back. But I'm always pre-cog, a little. Do you think soon? And then the Perfect Kingdom, beyond that: as our old myths from every culture recall with such yearning: to go home again. To be back once more: the Day of Restoration of all things, through God.⁵⁷

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The Brit 3 article on "Time" mentions that if there is a region, realm or world outside time, then such as the Platonic Forms would be found there; Plato's Idea Archetypes are equated with the belief in a timeless universe of unchanged beyond the flux we see (the One of Parmenides versus the Many). How can there be more than one Form, then, if it/they are so located -- i.e. in the eternal and unchanging? The Forms would be singular; the Form, which would be close to Logos⁵⁸ or Plan, the blueprint drawing-map-exemplar of the entire space-time process universe without any sort of division into parts such as we could conceive; although, as a pattern has sections, it could be arranged in some way, as any pattern is, a Gestalt.⁵⁹ So the Platonic Forms are really a unitary template which must print out without reference to time. It can't move, it can't revolve, it can't change; no new sections can emerge, nothing can be altered or discarded; it is all there (v. Parmenides). Nothing happens. Growth has reached completion and perfection; it is static. So to speak of "archetypal forms or real ideas," anything plural makes no sense. Even more important, there can be no sequence. A pattern can be "read" in any direction if it isn't gestalted throughout

⁵⁴ Albert Einstein (1879-1955), a theoretical physicist.

⁵⁵ "Second Coming," a reference to the expected return of Jesus Christ to the earth.

⁵⁶ Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 15:52 (twinkling of an eye); 1 Thessalonians 5:2 ("thief in the night").

⁵⁷ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 118-120.

⁵⁸ "Logos," Greek for "word," in Christianity a synonym for Jesus Christ, the Word of God that has taken on human form/flesh.

⁵⁹ "Gestalt," German for "shape," "form," or "appearance."

simultaneously; there is no before-now-after. I say, something is wrong here in somebody's thinking. *I believe I saw the Platonic Idea Forms, and there were many of them, and he was right; what we see here are copies, not the real actual source-thing. But they are active and alive. They are not static; they pulse with energy and life (cf Bergson).*⁶⁰ *It seemed to me, as I look back, that if anything what I saw was more change, more motion, faster, that flash-cutting rate -- but without the fast rate, recurrence. Recurrence, the eternal verities, the Forms, are within, an aspect of, the flux, and the more flux the more the Forms come into view. Both motion and stasis are illusion and real; both. If we think of entelechy or a bunch of them, there would be change, growth, until completion; then -- frozen, forever. These terms just don't stand for anything; they're just words. What I saw was not the static or unchanging versus change, but an incredibly live and potent total organism linked together everywhere, with nothing excluded from it, controlling through an intricate system everything which was is and will be simultaneously, as Avicenna said.*⁶¹ God sees from above time because it is convenient for Him to do so, not because it "is" that way. I say, nothing is, except what He causes to be, and in the way He wishes. The most startling thing I think the Brit 3 says about time is the rather odd idea or revelation prophecy time; that time is what God reveals to his chosen prophets in a sequence of unfolding; this in itself would be an entelechy, an entelechy of time. And this time is not so much seen by the prophets in a pre-cog⁶² form (that is, glimpsed ahead of time, as if they peaked to see how a mystery novel comes out); what they see happens as and when they see it. It came into existence, obtained Being at that space-time the prophet himself was in. The revelation did not exist before (obviously), but much less obviously, it will not exist afterward: it is now and only now, his now, that prophet's now, when he glimpsed it. He became/was there,

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actually; he didn't see a vision of it, like a TV picture which is of something: he was at it, within it, like I am now within this bedroom here in Fullerton 1975. The space-time he had been in changed and became [deletion] the matrix⁶³ of whatever the revelation consisted of. But -- he didn't become a time traveler, as in sf stories. He didn't cross over. It came to him. It was created around him. God changed reality. God took the space-time matrix which had been there and [deletion] placed in its place another. And what did people other than the prophet notice? Nothing? How come? Why didn't they notice a change? He had something to write about; "God revealed to me" and then describes it all, of

⁶⁰ Henri-Louis Bergson (1859-1941), a Jewish philosopher from France.

⁶¹ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 120.

⁶² "Pre-cog," short for "precognition." Pre-cog comes from Dick's 1956 short story, "The Minority Report," in which crime is solved by mutants called "Precogs" who can foresee crime before it occurs.

⁶³ "Matrix," from the Latin word "mater," designating something that serves as the origin of something else.

which they saw nothing. He is considered to be describing the future, but obviously he is not; he is describing the present. I think God switched stage scenery in a single blink of an eye and nobody noticed but the prophet, in which case he writes not about what was put in the former set's place (the others see this) but of what had been there; which for him is a memory and a memory the others lack. He differs by remembered back, but what we call "back" is really "ahead," so his writing describes what had been there and whisked away, but after he's written his memory down it appears to be about the future; and the reason for this is that we are moving up the manifold in the opposite direction from the way God is creating the universe. So say when [deletion] the Prophet Malachai⁶⁴ describes what we take to be --and call-- the future, it is not, in [deletion] no way, the future; we suppose it to be, because where else can we imagine it to be? We take as a postulate that the past cannot be changed, only the future; we don't remember these things this space-time matrix which he's writing about, so we say, "He sees things to come," and he's confused, too, and probably agrees. *In truth, in very truth, the prophet, the authentic one, did not see events coming ahead in time; he saw into the heart, the true Being of the reality, saw into depth, not time. He writes about a memory of things which in fact all living men experienced, but none but he remember; {!!}*⁶⁵ *that space-time matrix, when replaced with the new one, was accompanied by an analog change in their memories. They all had just lived through the events he described. The prophecies in the Bible describe the far past, the various prophets' pasts. Those events will never come; those prophets for some reason, God knows why, remembered how it was before the scenery got whisked away and new scenery whisked in its place, and as fast as possible described their visions. God moves through time in retrograde from us; from completion back. We are not moving toward what the prophets (e.g. "Book of Revelation"⁶⁶) contains; if anything, that was erased and recorded over and left behind. Still, those written documents of "prophetic visions" are priceless because they give us a fantastically valuable clue to the nature of reality, which is that no space-time matrix is real; it is an idea which God tries out and then abandons if necessary. The visions are the "also-rans," not predictions of the eventual winners. God decided against them, after trying them out. And synchronized our memories to go with the alterations.*

I think God trusted these special men, these prophets; He let them remember or see, whatever -- there was purpose in this, socially speaking, because they could with great sincerity forever tell their peoples of the power of God. Also, it was a sort of mercy to those

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particular men, a gentle kindness to leave these memory traces, because those men knew, as no other men could or would ever know, that the apparent substantiality of their world

⁶⁴ Malachai, a prophet (and book) in the Old Testament (Holy Bible).

⁶⁵ The two exclamation marks are a handwritten insertion in the page's left margins.

⁶⁶ "Book of Revelation," last book of the New Testament (Holy Bible).

*was an illusion, that God and only God existed, and He could dissolve their world and them at any moment. He allowed these prophets (and probably the ones we know of are only a tiny fraction of the total) to actually perceive in all respects that this is an interval period for us, probably a time of trial or probation, of testing, that the goals and awards and pains and strivings and goods and gains of this world are not merely temporary ("You can't take it with you") but that reality lies beyond, that the grave is indeed the furrow in which grains of wheat are sown to grow and blossom into new collective life again later of another kind entirely -- God showed them that indeed this is a play, a stage, a theater, that He lives and loves and is always with us.*⁶⁷ For these prophets he brought their time of imagining, of being in a waking dream, to an early end, before biological life ceased; he released them from the burden of the fall or whatever you want to call it. He did not tell them they were no longer in peril; he showed them. He did not promise help or salvation or release or relief; He gave it to them during their lifetimes -- His great mercy, his love, his gentleness, made evident to them before the end of their lifespan, before transition. They could know what is always said we can't know: "A road from which no one has ever returned to tell us" -- "Die noch Keiner kam zurück."⁶⁸ Literally, he lifted the dokos, the veil, the illusion, the maya which is deforming the landscape and ourselves; he brought these men freedom, restored them to truth, to justice, to being able to let go [deletion] what they never had in the first place: the empty mists of earthly striving. "All men can be fooled," He always might be saying, "and are fooled, but I love you and now I have shown you love beyond the power of any imagining or dreaming, because it is no dream, at least not your dream; it is Myself that loves; the separation between us is abolished, the longing to return lies behind you because you have already returned. And now even if this replaced reality has become as solid and substantial for you as for everyone else, you remember -- you remember the other reality which had been here up until a bit ago; and after it went away, before the new one took its place, and the change was complete from one stage-set to another, you had a moment to view Me as I am and as I was and will be; you saw the universe of life that never ceases, the sound of easter bells, the slow growth of little things which I continually hide, for their sake."

*Somewhere in the libretto*⁶⁹ of {"}Parsifal{"},⁷⁰ Wagner⁷¹ suggests that the great holy magic which God casts onto the world is a protective veil of enchantment to shield humble, frail and timid very [deletion] mild lives, so that we, being unable to discern them, won't hurt them; He creates the dokos, the veil, [deletion] as an extending of His

⁶⁷ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 120-121.

⁶⁸ Should be "von der noch keiner zurückkam," German for "from which nobody has yet returned."

⁶⁹ "Libretto," the lyrics for an opera.

⁷⁰ *Parsifal*, opera by Richard Wagner. The quotation marks are handwritten insertions.

⁷¹ Richard Wagner (1813-1883), a German composer, conductor, and writer.

*protection over them, for they have no other. Only we, the big crude cruel powerful strong hurtful creatures are visible. The veil is not to deceive us per se, but we must be deceived so that the little ones may live unseen, "untroubled by men, amidst the shadowy green/ The little things of the forest live unseen." (The BACCHAE.)*⁷²

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Let me [deletion]now consider a point which the Brit 3 makes in its macro article on Time. Does time move, or do we somehow move through it? The article drops this point and seems to conclude that the difference is not such as to alter the outcome of any time theories, hence needn't be taken into account. However, it then goes on throughout the very lengthy article to speak of time as moving (e.g. "time[deletion] flows forward as some think, or some feel that time flows in a cyclic motion, and there is hypertime which advances up the manifold," etc.). But if it is we who move through it, like a swimmer swimming across a static pool of water, then these propositions should read, "Does man move forward in time in a lineal fashion, or does he move in a cyclic way, does he move in only one time or also in orthogonal time," and all these notions become properties of man, not of man's universe in contrast to him; or anyhow what he is or what he does. How then do we go on from there to speak of the space-time matrix or continuum,⁷³ which present day physicists consider a unitary thing or extension which is extensive along space and along time lines? The space-time continuum, then, is a thing man does; he moves through time as he moves through space. I guess we never think of space as an active force pushing us relentlessly along, so why should time be so considered, especially if space and time are aspects of a continuum? "The relentless pressure of space" appears meaningless as a statement. What is it that presses? Where does it press? What is its motive force derived from? I would gather then that it is more likely that rather than Dr. Kozyrev being correct about time as some sort of force, that in fact there is in a sense no time, anyhow no time-force or time-pressure, and that time, like space, does not move along any axis or any axes. Neither time nor space, nor space-time, exists in a dynamic sense. But something is in motion. There is change. There is growth. Well, perhaps what we see is the press of unfolding entelechies, and the universe or cosmos is a total entelechy, a living one, growing; the pressure lies within it, forcing it to grow and change, and this we experience as the passage of time: this is the process which Bergson and other "process time" philosophers speak of, in contrast to "manifold time" philosophers who hold time to be an illusion. They --the latter-- are also correct, if they view the universe as having become finished, as continual creation having

⁷² Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 121.

⁷³ "Continuum," a reference to something that moves in a trajectory of beginning, middle, and end.

ended; at that point it is static. Time ceases when growth stops. Does the universe then die?

Each living thing feels impelled to move (to develop or change or grow) but can't locate the source of that urge. From what I saw and understood from 3-74 on, there is a total Plan (the Logos) which superimposes as a vast static --complete-- blueprint pattern over a space-time continuum universe, the one we experience empirically: the one our senses tell us about. The superimposition of the Logos-Plan pattern causes all material reality, this entire space-time universe, to experience a certain stress to be other than it is, a certain urging to become. This abolishes any static quality within the space-time universe it is compelled to grow by a necessity of its own nature (v. Spinoza), which is the will of God or the thinking of God as He conceives the plan (for Him to conceive it is for this stress to be placed on everything in space-time without lapse; it follows that all

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energies or forces or dynamic fields are manifestations to us of His mind at work, and we are becoming aware that rather than a universe of matter in this is a universe of interacting far-ranging unified fields; that totality of fields is probably His Mind, since I think Him to be immanent in the universe, underlying it rather than above or outside it). God is not Time; God generates or urges all things into development that the Plan complete itself in continual creation. All we know is that things happen. More accurately, God is the urging-forward force within all things, and all things (if "things" can be spoken of at all) are alive. The ontological matrix is a way in which His urging or thinking is manifested; so in that respect I think it's not time which moves forward, carrying us with it like a great tide, but that we are driven forward all of us together, animate and inanimate.⁷⁴ This is the process time view; but to God the Plan is/was/will be complete, so the manifold time people are correct, too; this is a static universe seen under that aspect. As with most apparently conflicting views, these do not exclude each other; both views are equally genuine and valid. And what I really do want to get at is my point that if it is not time which moves relentlessly forward, but rather ourselves which move through it, then imagining that something can move backward, or retrograde in time (as I was formerly speaking of retrograde time) -- that[deletion]'s no theoretical problem. If we are urged to move through time in this direction, why can't God or something set in motion by [deletion] God (the Holy Spirit, for instance) move opposite to us, rather than merely at right angles to us? We are not required to posit orthogonal time or retrograde time, but elements in the universe or cosmos moving in those time-directions. Likewise cyclic motion through time, rather than speaking of cyclic time.

If there is a universe of anti-matter there may be a universe of anti-time; which would be retrograde time, or rather, elements moving retrograde to the matter --ourselves-- which move forward in time. Thus time symmetry would be achieved this way. I saw this

⁷⁴ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 121-122.

retrograde entity in late 3-74. Normally we see it blended with forward moving elements such as ourselves. At the height on my "mystic" experience, which is to say, my extremely heightened perception of reality, I saw my environment decline in intensity; whereas at the same time I felt an inner self, my entelechy I suppose (I didn't have the concept then) grow dynamically; the balance shifted more and more from outer to inner, which could be regarded psychologically as withdrawing my projections from external reality and regaining them and their energy within my own total self. At the peak of this I experienced myself as very real and moving through virtually nonexistent things which had become so vitiated and dim that I supposed --and maybe accurately, although it was so astonishing that I drew back from this implication-- that all non-living objects around me literally drew their lives, their existences, from me and from other living entities. We animated them, yes, but animated what? What is meant by "them" when this animating energy is withdrawn? Mere signalling systems to inform me of sequential whens: a series of signals, in specific order, arranged in order to release changes in me. Time, properly understood, in merely an awareness of the procession of these

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little, weak cueing signs, their advance as we encounter them; but they do not move; they are pattern-arranged and we advance forward, up the manifold, from one to the next and the next. There is really nothing in them but minimal --economic-- transfer of information that one particular now has replaced the now (or prior signal) before it. We advance from signal to signal. The signals are unmoving, totally inert. We are driven inexorably; none of us can halt himself in that motion from signal to signal, since each one of the signals carries with it transfer-information to last until the next: each hands us over, as it were, when its "now" has expired. There is no way you or I can refuse to receive the next signal, to keep from encountering it, and it is this inexorable but invisible, metaphysical but real momentum which we call Time. It's the same as destiny; it is the end or completion of our entelechy reaching back retrogradewise, through the system of signals and dragging each of us bodily forward to meet that end, that [deletion] completion.⁷⁵ How does one escape or avoid what has already happened? because of all stages or degrees or grades of reality or Being, that final completion, that perfection of our entelechy in harmony with other entelechies and the entire universe, that is the most real hence the most compelling or powerful, the most actualized; it is the total arrangement of all parts and is probably God with ourselves as we are urged relentless to join that Gestalt in proper place in the proper Form we become that, too, at least.

This unitary organism [deletion] which we call reality or the universe is most itself, most there, most alive, at completion, and since there is no time or time-force then it's there now drawing us toward it; we move, it stands still. Being more than the sum of all its parts, how can any one or even all of its parts resist it? How can the totality, the absolute pattern, be weaker or smaller than anything else? It would be like saying that

⁷⁵ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 122-123.

before being assembled, the parts which go to make up a kit are somehow more effective that way, scattered about the living room rug, unconnected and unrelated to each other, not functioning at all, except in terms of the template or diagram which the workman is pondering, which accompanied them. "The whole is greater than the sum of its parts," and surely the whole exerts a greater influence on those parts than they do mutually on one another or on it, or each on itself. This must be why Parmenides understood that no matter how many "parts" he saw, how much diversity and change his senses reported, reality had to consist of a One, which was Unchanging. His senses saw those parts coming together to form that One, but the One, he knew a priori and by the most rigorous reasoning, must already be. It did not lie ahead along a time-line somewhere in the future; it ontologically lay beyond or behind or deeper within the many, now and forever. The pressure of time driving all the pieces to come together into the complete pattern is a sort of voice calling to them, a summoning to return; everything had already been there, since this lay outside time; anamnesis was a memory not of the past, of former time, but of ontology outside of time, of already-complete-then-now-later. A memory of all time unified; this memory stretched in all directions in time, and finally into none: into Being itself: into the heart which is alive. Empedocles supposed it to have been in the past because he remembered it; but if time is cyclic he remembered the future just as well, logically speaking.

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Empedocles didn't actually remember having once been divine; he remembered that he was divine. Here, verb forms mislead us; this is mere semantics. To remember immortality is to remember outside of time. "Long ago I lived forever. I knew everything and could not die, and I was perfection itself. But somehow something went wrong, I forgot, I'm down here." Anamnesis could be said to be [deletion] memory of the future restored – even [deletion] memory of the present.

He remembered what he was; he remembers what he is; he remembers what he will be. This recollection has nothing to do⁷⁶ with the continuum of space-time. Memory is not a function of time, but of comprehension. Memory is to know; forgetfulness is to fail to know. (cf Plato)

"I remember" equals "I realize" or "I understand."

Also, "I remember (anamnesis) equals: "I become" (Being). Which equals: "I am changed." (V. Paul:⁷⁷ "Look! I tell you a [deletion] sacred secret, we shall not all fall sleep (i.e. lie fallow in the idios kosmos, in ignorance); but we shall all be changed, in an instant,"⁷⁸ etc.

Metamorphosis.⁷⁹

(cf Hericlitus:⁸⁰ "Most men are as if asleep, in a private world, unaware of the Logos (i.e. the Plan). To see the Plan equals for them to wake up.")

⁷⁶ The slash is a handwritten insertion.

⁷⁷ Paul (Saul) of Tarsus, the Apostle to the Gentiles in the New Testament (Holy Bible).

⁷⁸ Reference to Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 15:52.

⁷⁹ Italicized portion first published in *Exegesis of Philip K. Dick*, ed. Jackson and Lethem, 124.

The role of the Logos in Christianity: within a given man, to bring him to God. Within the world, to bring it to perfection. Within mankind, to bring it perfection qua salvation; to raise it from its dire situation and restore it (to God). The Logos draws man upward (cf Plotinus) and links downward from the next concentric ring toward man, a two-way action.

koimeitheimetha:⁸¹ koimeisis: sleep. theiso; put, place, set, kneel, make up one's mind, lay down or give up one's life, lay aside or store up, appoint. Also possibly metha: drunkenness.

The Christian anamnesis, recollection of the Lord's Supper, is the cardinal basic miracle of the Eucharist, of the mass itself. Of Communion. This is what I saw/experienced; around this Christianity as a miracle religion of transformation i.e. salvation is based. According to Catholicism, who is it who performs the mass, who appears to be the priest? Christ Himself, both Priest and Sacrifice? (Then Who was here? Who shared the Lord's Supper communion with Christopher?) But no man (no man) can himself see, visibly with his eyes his senses the transubstantiation of the wafer and wine, the articles, into the body and blood. I gave Christopher the sweetened milk and bread etc. The three sacraments as one. Who was I? Or rather, Who had taken over, as Christ is supposed to enter & take over the priest who formerly was only a man, like us; but at that moment only he is the Savior. The mass, i.e. communion, is given only by the Savior, actually.

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The Eucharist is a sacrifice of the god, but it is a self-sacrifice; He offers Himself. "This is my blood; this is my body." He offers Himself to us and for us, and we consume Him that we [deletion] may live on eternally in Him, with Him; we are of Him, and He part of us. In unison. The Eucharist is not a ritualized slaying or killing; He dies that we may live, but in fact He cannot die; if He could, then we would not be saved, we would die, too. We are saved and live because He saved us and because He lives; we are inseparable with Him in these regards, our fate joined. First (historically) He came here and linked His fate with ours, which up until then was mortal ("Your ancestors in the desert ate mana, and they are all dead. I give you food of eternal life.") By linking His fate to ours He drew us to His already-eternal life. He becomes man; we become God. We are raised up -- which is the point of His coming here and the point of communion. Of [deletion] anamnesis: "Do this in remembrance of Me."⁸² It has no meaning without that anamnesis. And as I say, to remember, to recall, is to pierce through to non-time, to Being, and He is Being to which we are through this act

⁸⁰ Heraclitus, a Greek philosopher (sixth/fifth century BCE).

⁸¹ See Philip K. Dick and Roger Zelazny, *Deus Irae* (Boston and New York: Mariner Books and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013; first published 1976), 36. The word is seen in a dream by the main character Pete, but he cannot not decipher the meaning.

⁸² Holy Bible, New Testament, Luke 22:19.

assimilated. This is precisely the miracle which Paul in 1 Cor. 15 51⁸³ was talking about; this is it.

True, Christianity was a Greek mystery religion, but it differed in this basic respect: the others were "mystery" religions because they hoarded, kept secret, kept esoteric, what they could achieve in transforming man into god; it was for the initiates, the few. Jesus opened up this experience to all men -- any who believed, who came to Him and accepted Him, in which case there was no longer any mystery. Like Prometheus⁸⁴ who stole fire from the gods for all men, and who paid the penalty, Jesus sort of stole the secret in a sense and made it available to us all, and paid the penalty. He turned it into the heritage of all mankind. For the poor, the outcasts, the desperate, the helpless, the victims, the injured, the weak, the ignorant, for slaves [deletion] and sinners, Jews and Gentiles.⁸⁵ He, through Paul, wanted people to know precisely what the cults didn't want people to find out: how to get lifted and changed, and that it would come through God's love and grace, not knowledge or magic power, et al.

"To fall asleep." To sink, the soul descending into for[deletion]getfulness, Lethe, into unconsciousness, lower and lower, never to be raised or roused, lifted up into anamnesis. Dragged down...the orphic⁸⁶ view, the Essene view:⁸⁷ entangled: Yin, its motion sluggish and heavy, slothful. Entropy, nonbeing. How reversed? In an instant! We shall be changed! (Tessa⁸⁸ translates it as: "Whall we not in every way be allowed to fall asleep (in death)? but in every way we shall be changed (transformed). In a moment," etc. Since much of this is Greek thought, it probably has an historic relatedness to Heraclitus' idea of dozing off and falling away from the Plan, hence from the koinos. In Paul's sense of being changed, then, [deletion] a man thus drowsing in his idios kosmos could/would be awakened, changed, by the act of God's intervention through Christ, and suddenly see and be part of the koinos Kosmos, the Plan, the Platonic Real World. It is brought as a gift of love to man, not so much achieved (cf Calvin et al). ("We are not worthy so much as to," etc. in the Mass." God finds us, not we Him.

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It is now evident what role Jesus played in the history of Greek philosophical-theological thought. The Greek thinkers, also the [deletion] mystery religions, had sought union with god, and this was in essence encountering and entering

⁸³ Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 15:51.

⁸⁴ Prometheus, a Titan in Greek mythology.

⁸⁵ "Gentiles," from the Latin "gentilis," here indicating non-Jews.

⁸⁶ Orphic, a reference to Orpheus, a figure from Greek mythology.

⁸⁷ Essenes, Jewish ascetics between the second century BCE and the second century CE.

⁸⁸ Leslie "Tessa" Busby, Philip K. Dick's fifth wife (1973-1977).

somehow the Logos or Plan. Jesus according to first St. John⁸⁹ and then St. Paul⁹⁰ was the Logos -- the Plan incarnated in human form: the Word. (Hagia Sophia itself.) Jesus was what the Greeks had been searching for, only instead of them finding Him, He had found them (i.e. come here to us, and dwelt among us). The search had ended, if one believed. (Also of course he was Zagreus,⁹¹ etc.) However, Jesus was [deletion] rejected and despised of man; as said in my dream, "not acceptable." But again He will come here; this time He will be acceptable.

Saint Sophia, the Temple (The Temple of God which He will suddenly come to and inhabit, is, according to the Qumran people,⁹² mankind). Thus says your God.

Love, Phil⁹³

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⁸⁹ Holy Bible, New Testament, Gospel of St. John 1:14.

⁹⁰ Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Timothy (a letter written by Paul) 3:16.

⁹¹ Zagreus, a Greek god murdered by some of the Titans, whereupon Zeus struck down those Titans by lightning, and Prometheus—from a mud consisting of the remains of Zagreus, the dust of the Titans struck by Zeus, and rain—formed the first humans.

⁹² Qumran people, Jewish ascetics between the second century BCE and the first century CE.

⁹³ To the left of "Phil," there is a hand drawn arrow piercing a heart.

Matthew M. Payan and Dale Skarecky (editors)

*From the Black Forest to Pacific Palisades:
The Life and Journey of Kurt Toppel (1932-2018)
during and after World War II*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: From Hitler's Europe to the Golden State [COPH OHP_253].

O.H. 5318.

Oral Interview with Kurt Toppel, conducted by Sean Washburn,
October 19, 2013, Pacific Palisades, California.

Introduction

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "From Hitler's Europe to the Golden State" (OHP_253), a project launched in 2011 and directed by Dr. Cora Granata, Professor of History (CSUF). As of 2019, approximately one hundred interviews have been recorded. The interview with Kurt Toppel was conducted by Sean Washburn, at the time a CSUF student, on October 19, 2013, in Pacific Palisades, California. The interview lasted 1 hour, 9 minutes, and 18 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2018 by Matthew M. Payan and Dale Skarecky.

Kurt Toppel was born on May 14, 1932, in Stuttgart, Germany. His interview discusses his father, his childhood in Nazi Germany, including a brief meeting with Adolf Hitler in 1942, and his harrowing experiences during World War II. Toppel's wartime recollections refer to air raids and evacuations, as well as service (at the age of twelve) at the Eastern Front in 1944. Toppel talks about Germany's post-war Allied occupation and de-Nazification, his education, his experiences as a 1952 Olympic hopeful in Finland, and his immigration to the U.S. in 1956, hoping to continue his education at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Toppel discusses his various jobs (for example at General Telephone and TRW), his living situation, his service in the U.S. National Guard, his eventual move to Pacific Palisades, and his community engagement.

Kurt Toppel's story reveals the varied experiences of those who had to live through World War II and the contributions of post-war expatriates to the history of California. His experiences on the Eastern Front provide details about child soldiers in the German Army, as well as the conditions in Europe at the end of the war. Toppel also gives insight into the mindset of post-war Germans trying to grapple with the realities of the Nazi regime. His post-war stories add to our understanding of southern California's history, particularly the aerospace

industry. As a leader of multiple organizations in Pacific Palisades, Toppel raised over a million dollars to build a community gym. He was a beloved member of the community. Kurt Toppel passed away on February 9, 2018.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Matthew M. Payan of Arcadia, California, completed his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2012), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society), and where he is currently pursuing an M.A. in History. He is writing a thesis that analyzes innovations in education by comparing the Ignatian pedagogical model to educational practices today. He is working as a teacher in the Garden Grove Unified School District. He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 5318)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Kurt Toppel [KT]

INTERVIEWER: Sean Washburn [SW]

DATE: October 19, 2013

LOCATION: Pacific Palisades, California

PROJECT: From Hitler's Europe to the Golden State [COPH OHP_253]

TRANSCRIBERS: Matthew M. Payan and Dale Skarecky

KT: So, where do you wanna start?

SW: I'm starting right now. Okay, so today is Friday, October 19th, 2013. This is the interview with Kurt Toppel. Uh, the interviewer is Sean Washburn for Dr. Granata's, um, "From Hitler's Europe to the United States." So, simple question, when were you born?

KT: I was born in May 14th, 1932.

SW: Okay, and um, where were you born?

KT: I was born in Cologne, Germany.

SW: Okay, and um, uh, when was your father born?

KT: My father was born on December 29, 1899.

SW: Okay. And your mother?

KT: Was born on the 20th of February, 1902 —

SW: Okay, and —

- KT: –in Cologne.
- SW: Um, what were their occupations?
- KT: My father was (pauses) –and I have to say that because I refer to that later, he was at the end of the war a manager of a meat and sausage factory in Stuttgart.
- SW: Okay, and um, what can you tell me –
- KT: –My mother was housewife.
- SW: Yeah. And, uh, what can you tell me of your early childhood?
- KT: My early childhood? Okay, I was born in Cologne, while my father was working for a company called Gepag¹ –
- SW: Yep.
- KT: Uh, that was an organization that was founded by union members and it was (pauses) more Catholic than Protestant and they formed a corporation to have factories that made everything from noodles to meat and sausage products to be delivered to the co-ops. They had something like forty-two hundred co-ops, I believe, I can't remember exactly –
- SW: Uh, yeah.
- KT: –Uh, and they delivered that all through, *ja*, throughout Germany. So, –
- SW: Okay.
- KT: –That's basically it.
- SW: And um –
- KT: And then, later, in, when I was three years old, my father was transferred from Cologne to Mannheim, where he took a second position, uh, from the top and then two years later he became the first position at the meat and sausage factory in Stuttgart. My father's background is important, but should I, bring that up –
- SW: Yes, please, because yeah –
- KT: –Okay.
- SW: –Just because I was gonna ask.
- KT: My father, I think he was born in Braunschweig, I don't know that for a fact, and he lived with his, uh, mother and her sister, and he went to high school, and he volunteered with the German army when he was eighteen just at the end of the war in 1918, and he was immediately sent to the front lines and after, uh, about a three-day artillery duel between the two parties, uh, (pauses) he fell asleep and the German troops moved back and the English caught him and he became a prisoner of war, since he had learned, he liked English, so he had French and English, so he could be used as an interpreter in England for the British and the German prisoners of war. So that's where he learned even better English because he communicated –

¹ Gepag ("Grosseinkaufs- und Produktions-Aktiengesellschaft"), a German consumer cooperative (1923-1933), dissolved (as a stand-alone entity) by the Nazis.

SW: Yeah—

KT: —with the people in charge. And then when he joined that company in Cologne, they knew he spoke English very well and they financed and took his—care of his education, he became a doctor in economics (pauses). It was a very, very unique situation as far as everything was concerned and that's—from a background point of view—that was very important. My father also had other things that he could do as a private individual. He did poetry and other things and (inhales) he became part of the carnival's circuit in Cologne, and he became the prince of carnival, the first one after World War I²—

SW: Okay.

KT: —Which is a big, big thing.

SW: Yeah.

KT: And as far as the other thing is concerned, in 1933, while bowling—the Nazi Party was just starting out, uh, they decided to do something about the guy in charge in Cologne, uh, about, uh, recruitment—and the whole bowling, uh, club, at two o'clock in the morning they woke him up and insisted to become members in the Nazi Party. Not for any ideological reason but to—

SW: Hm, force, yeah.

KT: —get something on him. And, uh, that turned out to be not a very good decision much, much later downstream. But that's what had happened, okay.

SW: Okay.

KT: Now! Let's go from there.

SW: Yeah, now to (laughs), uh, you, um—

KT: My, my—I went to school in—I, I went to a public school in Ger—in Stuttgart. Now Stuttgart has a very different dialect from Cologne—

SW: Um-hm.

KT: —Very, very different there. At home I had to speak high German. In school, I had to speak with the kids, their dialect which is *Schwäbisch*,³ and with the grown-ups who visited us I had to speak *high* Schwäbisch which was, uh, sort of closely coming to the high German but—

SW: Um-hm.

KT: —with my parents themselves I only spoke German. So, well, actually, there were three different languages here (laughs)—

SW: (laughs), yeah—

² The annual Cologne Carnival, known as the city's "fifth season" (from November 11 until Mardi Gras of the following year), is headed by an appointed, traditionally all-male triumvirate of maiden, prince, and peasant. Kurt Toppel's father, Kurt Töppel, served as Prince Kurt I during the 1925 Cologne Carnival.

³ *Schwäbisch* (Swabian), a regional dialect spoken in parts of southwestern Germany.

- KT: –in case you wanna know that, and it's quite different, I mean (pauses) it's—I could make a point, but i, I'm not going to make that here—
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: –it's just a different language.
- SW: (laughs). Okay, um, I what—besides, uh, the difference in language—what else can you tell me about—like education and under the Nazis?
- KT: Okay, under the Nazis. I went to school in (pauses) Stuttgart, Wangen⁴ was the place and my schoolmates they were typically the, uh, well farmers, uh, butchers, whatever the—but they were not quite in my *class* of people. I was sort of a little bit isolated, which I worked very hard to overcome.
- SW: Um-hm.
- KT: And, uh, on the other side of the view—at the Neckar River. From our building you, you just had to practically go across the Neckar—about mile or, or two. That's where the Mercedes factory was, which turned out to be very interesting during the war phase—
- SW: Yeah.
- KT: –Then when (pauses) I became a member of the pre-organization to the Hitler Youth—
- SW: Um-hm.
- KT: –when I was ten.
- SW: When you were ten.
- KT: Okay, I got a brown shirt and a thing to hold my, my pants up, and a belt buckle, which I shined profusely because I thought—My mother was very good at shining things, so—
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: –when Hitler came through Stuttgart, when I was just a little over ten years old—that had to be 1942—uh, my belt buckle was noticed by him and he asked me to come and shook my hand—I mean—
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: –screwy thing but, you know how that—which made me an instantaneous hero for a—
- SW: Um-hm.
- KT: –day or two.
- SW: Yeah, uh, how did you feel at the time?
- KT: I had no feeling—Hitler was just a boss, I mean—
- SW: Just a boss?
- KT: –I mean he was the *Führer*, that was it, the leader of Germany. Period—out. I had no other background or anything like that.
- SW: Yeah.
- KT: We did not talk about political things at home—

⁴ Wangen, a district in the city of Stuttgart.

SW: Not at home?

KT: –because, uh, that was not a practical thing to do–

SW: Okay.

KT: –because other kids turned over their parents to the secret police because they were talking politics and I guess my father was too smart to get into that kind of thing–

SW: Um-hm.

KT: –and we had various people that we met—we were very Catholic at that time and we went to church and of course we knew the people in charge of the Catholic Church in Stuttgart-Wangen, which is in a suburb of Stuttgart itself and, uh, the guy who was in charge of the flak on top of the mountains surrounding us—he was also from Cologne, so the two of my father and him had a good relationship—and when the war started they, uh, put flak on our building which was flat-roofed. We had three eighty-eight millimeter—you know, *acht, acht Zentimeter*, eight centimeter guns, the big ones—

SW: Yeah.

KT: –and uh, four two-centimeter four barrels, and, and another, also four, and there were soldiers which were during the war stationed in a little shed that they built down in our yard.

SW: Yeah.

KT: And later on we had Russian criminal—uh, prisoners of war to bring them ammunition up and stuff like that. So that's a little background.

SW: Yeah.

KT: In, uh, 1941, I believe it was—when Stuttgart had the first air raids (inhales)—that day, we had some hits on our house and some of the stuff burned down and, uh, I, my parents thought it would be better off to go away, uh, would be a little more secure and my sister was with me in the same place in Kirchheim Teck⁵ which is about, uh, thirty mile-hike, uh, twenty-five miles away from Stuttgart itself.

SW: Okay.

KT: And then my school got hit by bombs and one of our classes, my class—and they had contact with me where I was, so we were shipped to a place in the Black Forest where our school was then one class, one teacher, and the organization was still paramilitary—

SW: Okay.

KT: –we had a guy from Czechoslovakia being in charge of all things (inhales), and um, (pauses) the war got worse and worse and at the (exhales)—in 1944, I mean, I'm telling you what I think you might want to know, I don't know—

SW: Yeah, yeah, yeah. We, we can go back and do it more in depth.

⁵ Kirchheim unter Teck, a town in Baden-Württemberg, Germany.

[00:11:17]

KT: Okay. Uh, there was a young guy, was eighteen years old, he had killed two Russian tanks and he come to give us a speech. And he told us that the western front was sort-of, uh, sort-of alright but the eastern front it was *horrible*! It needed *every* body that could do something, and at the end of his talk he said, "Is there somebody who does *not* want to volunteer?" Well nobody stepped forward so he said, "Thank you very much for you to volunteer."

SW: (sniffles) Wow.

KT: And later in 1944 we had been trained with simple rifles—like the M1 in the U.S. Army at that time—

SW: Yeah.

KT: —and uh, two or three of us were trained as using so-called *Panzerfaust*, that was an anti-tank weapon, and, they were quite proficient. Uh, I think they had something that they, they could fire but, uh, nevermind—So in 1944, the end of 1944, we were asked to (pauses) live in, up to, to go to the eastern front, and they told us that the Russians were very particular as far as soldiers were concerned; you couldn't become a prisoner of war if you were not identified as (pauses) some sort of member of a German Army or official army. So we were given armbands. That was (pauses) a way so that the Russians if they caught you—otherwise they would shoot you as a partisan, that was, it. And we went to a place near Breslau⁶ and I—don't know if you've ever have listened to artillery duels incessantly day and night, and day and night, and day and night. In late November, and, uh, it was colder than you can imagine. We had nothing but the most basic of food items, we had no tents, just some sort of shelter-half kind of thing to keep a little warm. We, we dug little holes which were (inhalés) a foot deep, two foot deep and there was—we were on, on a slight incline and below was a farm (pauses) and then (exhalés) (pauses) eventually the Russians came, we saw them arrive in the afternoon. We were told not to make *any* noise. Do nothing, see what would happen and, well, they shot the guy who was an old farmer. They shot him. And the wife was (exhalés) nailed onto a barn door and (pauses) raped to death. This is not a very nice memory, I'm sorry to say—

SW: No, no.

KT: —and we didn't do anything that night and in the morning when they proceeded to move forward, we had the two tanks that they came with and they had the, uh, uh (inhalés), the, the soldiers went with them. And (pauses) the first item was that the first tank shot at point-blank range—about five or six yards—our leader (inhalés) who was, what? fifteen, or sixteen. He was nothing but little pieces of meat. And we (pauses), our

⁶ Breslau, today Wrocław, Poland.

people who are the, the experts in the anti-tank weapons, they, they crippled the tanks enough that they couldn't move forward anymore on the chains and then—there's a battle that I can just barely remember, I fired standing half up and (inhales) when it was all over there were no more live Russians and (inhales) of us there was five or six people left. We didn't know what to do. There was no leadership, no nothing. And we knew that there was a road nearby with refugees, were moving. So we decided to individually (pauses) try to make it home to Stuttgart somehow. The big thing was when we joined the—when I joined the—because it's my, my memory—they had the guards, the chain guards, they had metal plates and with chains around. There were police and when they interrogated people on there if they found somebody who was a quote-unquote "deserter," —

SW: Um-hm.

KT: —they read him a little paragraph and hung him on the next tree. Every—almost every tree there had somebody hanging on it. It, it—the most *horrible* thing, there was no food, none of that, nothing—and then we had air raids daily, two, three, four times they were flying thirty feet above the street and (pauses) killed, and, I mean, it, it, it was a nightmare. But eventually, (pauses) I survived that trek and if you have never heard a, a, a horse cry that is hurt; it, it's the most *horrible, horrible, horrible* noise and the people and the dead bodies—

SW: Yeah.

KT: —it, it was a nightmare but (sniffles)—anyway I made it back into the Black Forest area where my sister was, and I stayed there until the war ended. When the war ended it was in (pauses) 1945, of course. I had heard some of the things what were going on but I had no impact, or no nothing—

SW: Yeah.

KT: —and I was still worried that I would be considered a deserter and hung—eh, it was the underlying thing, don't make any noise, don't—and, and I looked younger than my twelve and a half that I was. So nobody ever bothered me. That's about that part of life, okay? And—how do you wanna continue? Is—does that make sense?

SW: Yeah, um, yeah, the, um (laughs)—so you were twelve—

KT: Twelve and a half.

SW: —during '44, '45?

KT: Well, it's November, I mean, I was born in May (pauses) '32. Simple, that's '44.

SW: Yeah, yeah. That's a thought, wow. Um, if we can go back to a little bit more education before the war and during, I guess, because I know you said you were in the Black Forest and that school—

- KT: The Black Forest was a, uh, (pauses) a place that used to be a (pauses) *Wirtshaus*⁷ with some rooms, so they had all of us, which was—God, I think it'd be, we were about thirty or so, thirty kids—
- SW: Thirty in one room?
- KT: Oh no. We had rooms, but we had triple beds. So we had up to nine people in a room. And, of course, there was only one toilet which was not a very nice thing (laughs).
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: Especially when at night you had to go to the toilet, there was no lights or with anything like—Anyway, so this was practically uneventful, we helped when they had harvests. There were local farmers and—
- SW: So you were put into, like, labor force?
- KT: Uh, we would supply its labor and we got slices of bread or other kinds of things as rewards, nothing more than that.
- SW: Okay.
- KT: And the food was mostly based on cabbage (laughs) and potatoes, and we had one slice of bread, which was *sort* of with margarine and the rest of it was just two other pieces of bread; that was it, that was breakfast. And the fake coffee which was made out of not real beans but the other kind called *Muckefuck*.⁸ I hate to say that but that's it was called, that was the *Ersatzkaffee*.⁹
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: That was it, they came in big things and uh, we had three meals a day and we had exercise every morning. Marching and running and doing things like that to keep us in physical shape and then we had classes—
- SW: Um-hm.
- KT: —and we had to mend our own socks and all that kind of thing or whatever. And, as I say, we had our leader who was about fifteen or sixteen years old, and he was from Czechoslovakia (pauses) at that time.
- SW: Okay, um, there and before, did they, uh, did they push any, like the Nazi ideology in the courses? Or no?
- KT: No, we were knowing that there was a war going on of course. And, uh, a couple of times we had events where, uh, airplanes were shot down and all the various (pauses) groups in our kind of category we had to put uniforms and we were put into the forest to capture the pilots and stuff like that, which we did, a couple of times. Some of them, they were stupid, they were—God, they were nineteen, twenty, twenty-one—and they thought by pulling their gun laughing us off, that, that was not a very smart idea. So, anyway—it caused their own problems (laughs). You don't

⁷ *Wirtshaus*, German word for “inn” or “tavern.”

⁸ *Muckefuck*, German colloquial term (of debated origins) for a “coffee substitute.”

⁹ *Ersatzkaffee*, German word for “substitute coffee.”

do that. Especially not under circumstances like that, when you've seen the cities that they burn up. And if you have been in the air raids—Stuttgart is, was just one of the place; I was in Cologne visiting my aunt and (pauses) some airplane threw a lighted device and that they had carpet bombing, never mind what everything down, and I was there when I was ten, to help collect the bodies, put 'em on stretchers and stuff like that. It was not a very nice time. It was *horrible* as a matter of fact! But death didn't make any difference any more.

[00:21:45]

SW: Yeah, yeah. Um, (pauses) (muttering and pencil tapping sounds), before—

KT: There was no ideology.

SW: No ideology whatsoever—

KT: I was taught that we were Germans period—

SW: Yeah.

KT: —and we were involved in war.

SW: Um-hm.

KT: And that was it.

SW: Yeah. And yeah, you, and you were primarily in school during the war and not before, yeah—

KT: Exactly. We even were taught English, would you believe?

SW: Um-hm. Yeah. Um, (pauses) okay, um, and you said, said that you were in the, uh, in the youth organization before it was the Hitler Youth organization?

KT: Well, everybody had to be. Unless you were Jewish, I suppose. I had never met a Jew except I saw somebody went around with the thing,¹⁰ and (pauses) they were just different people, I never talked to one, or never had had any kind of contacts, so. I met Jews *here*, lots of them (laughs). But that's neither here nor there.

SW: Yeah. Um, okay, we've already hit those. We've already talked about your experience during the war, unless there is anything else you wish to add about that?

KT: (exhales) There is really not much to add except when the war ended and things—

SW: Okay, please.

KT: Okay, the first thing that happened was that when we went back to Stuttgart, my father picked us up. Uh, he was in the Nazi Party, and, he said he was, and—they had the first people that we met were the French. The French didn't do anything much. They just let things sort of go. And then the Americans came, and we were kicked out of our house, which

¹⁰ Presumably a reference to the (frequently yellow) Star-of-David badge that Jews in Nazi Germany had been ordered to wear under the Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

was, uh, out, out of the factory place where we lived, we were, uh, we were (exhales) sent to a place which was in the olden, olden days a banana cellar, of course nobody had seen a bananas for at least ten years, but that's neither here nor there. So, that's where we were. We had one little sink. My father was (pauses) taken in as a quote-unquote "war criminal," and he was put—he, he started out with being a little over two-hundred pounds and when he came back from that phase of his life he was down to about a-hundred-and-twenty pounds, and he was not treated very well, but that's neither here nor there and there are other things that I can mention that I know about, but, if you want to know —

SW: If you can please, please.

KT: There, for example, I had people who were, you know, cousins, brothers, older people they were, you know. They were seventeen, eighteen, nineteen years old. They were in the army. When they came back, they became prisoners of war and then they were shipped on the Rhine River, I don't know if you ever heard about that.

SW: Very little actually.

KT: (inhales) So-called President Eisenhower, at the time. He put camps in there without latrines, without food, with anything. Just barbed wire around the machine guns. This for war criminal—and war, prisoners of war that had surrendered. They were young, they had—they died by the *thousands* because that was in November, the war was over in, in, in May, and they kept them in there until the new year started and they drowned—and they dug latrines and they drowned in their own latrines and stuff. It's (inhales) *horrible* and I don't know why Eisenhower did that. I have no clue and now they wanna make him a war hero? There's another thing, we had Russian criminals—uh, Russian prisoners of war, he sent three million of them back and they were all shot by Stalin. That is another thing that is historical and I *met* some of these people, they came back to Stuttgart in the place, they asked for me specific, because, why? I had obtained some sausage from the factory and gave it to them because they were hungry and they remembered that. They were just nice people—

SW: Um-hm.

KT: —and they were singing during the air raids, I mean, uh, strange stench¹¹ but—so, my father was gone, and I had to, my, my mother when we were kicked out of our (inhales) place where we stayed, we couldn't take anything with us, nothing. And, uh, we went to the banana cellar, and now I had to think, "how the hell do you feed a family?"—I had a sister three years younger—so I was at the time (pauses). Ten. She was ten. I was about thirteen and I had to find out we had—then after the French

¹¹ Presumably a reference to a smell during the interview.

- came, the American troops, and the first thing they did is we were shipped by busses to Dachau, and shown the places—
- SW: They shouldn't—
- KT: —how *horrible* we were and what *criminals* we were and, you know, it makes you real feel good, you know. You had nothing to do with it, but here you were, you were, (inhales)—well whatever. And it turns out much later that Cardinal Faulhaber¹² who was in charge of a Catholic Church in Munich—there *were no* gas chambers out in D—well, that's neither here nor there. It's just, things that couldn't possibly have happened there. And I know later on I found somebody who was stationed and his brother was shot and he came out as a (inhales), as a wounded *Waffen SS*¹³ man who was there to protect the people who were in there, I mean (inhales) it's very strange, very strange. I never understood it, and I never want to understand it. Period—out!
- SW: Hm, okay.
- KT: And then school started again, and, uh, it was an American house. I knew very little about America. I knew some people who got care packages from their relatives here in the United States, and we had, uh, some of the contents, like toothpaste, was what we put on our sandwiches (laughs).
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: Well, it was sweet, and uh, the bread was one-third sawdust and the rest was flour and, uh, you know, they had to—it was a very strange time, I'll tell you that. And, uh, since I was still living inside this factory, which now was beginning to operate again, and my father was gone; no more. I rented out some of our space with chalk marks and said, "okay, you, Joe, friend, you can take care of the American soldiers throwing their butts¹⁴ in that particular area and I charge you either a potato or, uh, something edible."
- SW: Yeah.
- KT: That was how *we* lived as a family. My mother went haywire over that. She never thought anything that my father was a criminal and stuff like that. And eventually there was de-Nazification—I don't know if you heard—
- SW: Yeah, yeah.
- KT: —about the term uh—I mean, so it turns out that the, the priests, the Catholic priests and others, they knew what my father was, that he was never a Nazi or stuff like that. So, he was rehabilitated *way* afterwards.

¹² Michael von Faulhaber (1869-1952), the Catholic Archbishop of Munich (1917-1952), regularly opposed Nazi policies but also criticized practices of the Allies after World War II.

¹³ *Waffen SS* (1933-1945), the armed division of the German Nazi Party's paramilitary "Schutzstaffel" (SS).

¹⁴ Cigarette butts.

Now he didn't know what the hell to do, so—maybe that's a little bit incoherent for you but, he went back to the company that originally had hired him, and they had become reinstated and there was—he was sent to Westphalia, which it was the English zone, and he became first the second and when his—the, the, the guy in charge passed away, he became in charge of that and they decided they had two meat and sausage factories within fifty kilometers, so they made it a seed and tea (pauses)—what is that (muttering) no not the real tea, the, the, uh, peppermint and—stuff like that.

[00:30:34]

SW: Okay.

KT: Which was a very interesting thing and, I was caught by that whole thing, I finished high school and, uh, then I think when my father was sent to Westphalia, I had to do something because the school systems were such that in, I think in, in, uh, Stuttgart they had their—I, I changed school thirteen times just for the sake of argument, you know, from one school to the other when we had an emergency with him, and we stayed where the Russians had stayed, and the this and that and uh, my dad. But anyway, I, I ended up not being able to stay there because my mother wanted to be with my father, and he went, she went to Westphalia which was far away. So they decided to send me to a boarding school, a Jesuit boarding school, in Bavaria, so, I ended up in a Bavarian boarding school in Bavaria. And that's where—

SW: And what year was this?

KT: This was now, let's see (pauses) 1949, '50. That, that period of time. I have to do the math. I was eighteen when I graduated (pauses), but I did graduate. I, I did my first trip, foreign trip to go with the pilgrims from Bavaria to Rome for the Holy Year in 1950.

SW: And, um, just to backtrack just a little bit—

KT: Sure, go.

SW: Um, you said that you would, like, immediately at the end of the war you had gone back into school in the American house, and—

KT: Oh, this is—

SW: This is that? Oh, okay, okay.

KT: —in Stuttgart, you know—I was sent from school to school to school because we had to change from the banana cellar to a place where, uh, the—some Russians had lived, uh, with fleas and God knows what all but then neither—then with the political thing where the guy had been a real Nazi. So we had to go there, and every time I had to change schools again I ended up in another part of Stuttgart altogether. And I learned about the America house, you, first of all, you could sit quiet and read some simple books about, uh, what Americans had been doing. And furthermore,

before that even, the Americans stayed at our facility at the, at the factory and they had a paper cellar and they threw the books that were sent to the—for the soldiers, they threw them out and I picked them up and took them to school and we had assignments from these books that I found in the paper cellar and we learned English from that, which was one of the guys who had been an American prisoner of war. It was interesting. Very, very interesting—

SW: Yeah, very interesting.

KT: —These are all little things, they sort of hung together and that's how I learned English, and then when I finally graduated from high school in Bavaria in Illertissen near Ulm, uh, my father had come out of that, he was now in charge again. He said, "I give you a choice; first, you can either buy a used Volkswagen or I can send you to our company headquarters in England, in Manchester."—Where the headquarters of the co-op was—"You choose." Of course I chose—

SW: England (laughs).

KT: —England. And I learned English quite well. Which is quite different from American English. I didn't know some of the words, uh, they were told me, then they would use four letter words, which American soldiers used all the time.

SW: (laughs).

KT: And the English say, "Ah, terrible, terrible."

SW: (laughs).

KT: It was strange. And the fact that I had learned and, uh, read books in the America house, I had learned a little bit about America and what this was all about. This was partly a political kind of thing. They tried to, whatever—And, then, the, the, the consequence of that was, I was also a runner. I went to university after this high school thing and I took economics and I got a degree in economics from a German university after four years, and some idiot told me that you could be getting a master's degree at UCLA¹⁵—I didn't even know what UCLA stood for (laughs)—but within six months or so. So I thought, "Well hey"—American economics at that time was key, all the big professors were all here, and, uh, I decided to look for immigration kind of thing and at that time it was *possible*, but you had to sign certain things that when you got here, if you were below twenty-four you had to become a soldier and stuff like that. But that didn't make any damn difference, I signed, and I signed and I could at least get a job and stuff like that. I applied, and it took a few months and, lo and behold, I got my immigration papers and in '56, I came over here.

¹⁵ University of California, Los Angeles.

SW: Okay. Well that answers the “why did you immigrate to the United States.” (laughs)

KT: Why? I wanted to get a master’s degree.

SW: You wanted to get a master’s?

KT: That was my key thing. Okay. I had never been to California obviously. I had a cousin who lived here, but her husband had just lost his job. It was not a very good thing to stay. So I got a—I came here and I looked for a job and the first thing that offered was on (pauses)—had no, no, no necessary, uh, requirement of being a citizen. Everything was—from Boeing to Douglas¹⁶ they were all required citizenship. I couldn’t get a job. That was terrible. So I went to, uh, Santa Monica and (inhales) a friend of mine that I had met as a U.S. soldier in, when I was studying, and he says, “Hey, I give you a hundred dollars and you can do the test and you can become a dishwasher” and whatever is the thing after that, well, I didn’t pass the test. They gave me a test for a full-term bartender. I never heard what a Gibson¹⁷ was or anything like that. I didn’t know the difference between a Stopover¹⁸ and another one, I mean I knew what wines were but, uh, a bartender is supposed to know how many, uh—what with your gin martinis and vodka martinis, I mean obviously I, I flunked that. And, so, I was rid of my hundred dollars and now what? I needed a job. I needed *money*! And, uh, well, I came to Santa Monica area, the Wilshire area and Westwood—because I wanted to go to school at UCLA, and I talked to somebody at UCLA and I says, “Ah, no you have to get at least forty-three units,” and I says, “a unit, is that one per semester?” And he says, “yeah, forty-three is minimum, and you have to get *all* As and Bs.” So, it was a little discouraging. Then I looked around, I went to—got to the L.A. Times, went from one place to another place, all hitchhiking, and then I found that nobody would take me because I was not a citizen, I thought, “maybe General Telephone.” I saw a guy at General Telephone, I says, “Do you require citizenship?” and he says, “No, we don’t.” So he told me where the office was in Santa Monica on Sixth Street, and I went down there and I said, “I’m, I’m, I’m looking for a job,” and they says, “Well, what do you have in mind?” they said, “What is your background?” I says, “Well I have an economics degree.” And they said, “Have you ever worked in the United States?” I says “No.” “Well, what do you want to have? We, we, we start people out at sixty-five dollars a mon—a week.” I says, “Sixty-five dollars, well, I dunno, I was hoping to get a little more than sixty-five dollars.” He says, “Well only your college

¹⁶ Boeing (founded 1916) and Douglas Aircraft company (1921-1967), U.S. American aerospace companies.

¹⁷ Gibson, a (usually gin-based) cocktail.

¹⁸ Stopover (or Layover), a (usually gin-based) cocktail.

could—you could go back to wherever you got your degree, so UCLA if they have something.” So I went back to UCLA and they told me that yes, you have the equivalent of a bachelor’s degree, so we can join you—we can take you into a program, of course that takes money, so I, I can only give you something that you are *equivalent* to. Fine. So I went back and showed him to that and says “okay.” I had to take a little test of some sort and that’s how I became a member of the Santa Monica outfit, its telephone company.

[00:40:14]

KT: And there was another thing, I didn’t have an apartment to stay, because I couldn’t stay then with my cousin, didn’t work, they were lived in the Valley anyway. So I (pauses) went to a real estate agency and I says, “Do you have any, anything where I can stay,” and he says, “*Yeah!* We have all kinds of things.” So they showed me a place on Wilshire Boulevard for eighty-five dollars a month. 10648 Wilshire, I’ll never forget. And I said, “Alright, that will be the first and the last months, and, uh, key deposit, and uh,” I says, “My God, I don’t have that much money.” He says, “You mean you don’t have that—*You get!*” And he slammed the Cadillac door—a lady, an elderly lady, and now I stood there in this department that, uh, that she was going to show me and I went to the manager there, an Irish couple, and she says, “What, you wanna move in here with, uh, (makes tongue sounds)” (laughs). I says “Well, can I see the owner of the building?” “The owner of the building? No you can’t. This is impossible.” I says, “But I insist on seeing the owner.” So they talked in very fast English that I couldn’t really follow and he says okay, sit down here, and they gave me a cup of coffee. An hour and a half later, a very expensive car drove up, chauffeur, an old lady about eighty-five, ninety, I don’t know how old she was, she was very old. And she wanted to see me. She says, “You want to live in one of my apartments for *free?*” I says, “No, of course I give you the money as soon as I make some money.” She says, “Have you got a job?” I says, “*Yeah*, I’ve just, uh, been hired by the phone company.” She says, “Where did you tell them that you lived?” I says, “I told them ‘nothing *yet.*’” Aw shucks. Great show. She says, “How long have you been here?” I says, “Well, uh, a week.” “Ugh, I’ll tell you what I’m gonna do. You can stay for *one* month at that apartment that he will show you. If by one month, you haven’t paid me, I *kick* you out! That’s it! (pauses) Show him his apartment!” With a garage, no car, nothing. That’s how I started out. On Wilshire Boulevard. And, uh, well, I had to go back to the office to tell them where I lived.

SW: (laughs).

KT: When the guy came, uh, I says I would like to have telephone service so that I know that I got a job from General Telephone and they says, “Where

- do you live?" and I says, "10648 Wilshire," "Oh, you don't need any pre-payment, it's, it's okay, we'll charge you when you've had your phone installed." The guy installed the phone, and two days later they told me that I indeed had a job. But of course they didn't pay right away; they had to wait for two weeks before you got your first paycheck. So I had a few dollars left, I bought at Ralph's ten cans of beans (pauses) – ten cents each.
- SW: That was your meal for the next two weeks.
- KT: And I hitchhiked to work. Twentieth Street from 10648, that's Westwood. Try to do that as a normal human being. Anyway, it worked, sort of. Later I got a bicycle, uh, sort of. Tremendous, horrible kind of thing that I got for nine dollars or something like that. Uh, but it, it, it pedaled. Okay, so I could get to the job. So I worked with General Telephone Company and since I'm an economist, I had to figure out where new central offices should be. I don't know if this interests you at all –
- SW: No, no, please, please, yeah.
- KT: –and, uh, well, as an economist you know that the cost of copper and (inaudible)_____ need two things, they had all kinds of plans, they had data where people might work to – go to and stuff like that. I absorbed all that and I made a little idea what, and I stayed since I didn't want to go and hitchhike back to my apartment. There was nothing to work with, I didn't even have a lamp in there. And I worked there and one night one of my bosses who I knew was my boss's boss says, "What are you doing here?" and I says, "Well, w-w-w-where I live, I, I, I do-don't have much, lov – light, and, you know so I think it's better for me to work here." "What the hell are you doing?" So I explained that to him and he says, "Can I see that?" So I showed him the data and he said, "May I have that?" (Stammering), "I-I-y-ya-yes, you can ha-have it." And he took my stuff and disappeared.
- SW: Never heard from him again?
- KT: And I tried to do whatever I had done, like again the next day, trying to get through. Two days later he came back and says, "I would like for you to meet somebody else." So, I met *his* supervisor who was pretty high up in General Telephone. Vice President Brett Housewright (?), and I told him what I do and why I did it and so on and so forth and then says, "Who is your supervisor?" I give the guy's name. He says, "What has he told you?" "Nothing." "Uh huh, alright, you'll hear from us. Here's your stuff back." Well, two days later I got the job of my supervisor, for a ten dollar raise. I was now making ninety-five dollars a week. Now I had enough money to pay my rent, now I, I even bought a car from a guy down the street on Twentieth Street (inhales). Horrible car, but that was neither here nor there – it broke down the first two days I had it. It was one of these old Studebaker things. Only six of the eight cylinders worked, but I, didn't know the difference. I, I, I had driven a Volkswagen before,

but nothing like that, anyway. So, that's what—how it all started. And, I paid my landlady. She was very proud that I had gotten a job, that I paid her and she even took me to dinner at a very nice place. My friend who was trying to get me into the union, he said, "Well, let's stay friends." So, we did. And then there was one other item. I was good enough to be the third in line in West Germany for the mile, for the, for the fifteen-hundred meters. So in that particular year, in 1952, the Eastern part of Germany joined the Western part. The result was that I was no longer number three, I was number five and not qualified to go to Helsinki. But, through my stay in England I had met the head of the Finnish co-op and they arranged for me to come over for the Olympics. It was nice.

SW: Yeah, tell me about that.

KT: That was in '52. I went—I got a stay with the family Hietanen¹⁹ and, uh—he became a bigshot later in the Finnish government, but that's neither here nor there. So, uh, (pauses) I was working as an interpreter and sales assistant at one of their department stores, *Oy Sokos Ab*.²⁰ And, uh, the interesting thing was I didn't have enough money to really do what I wanted. Helsinki was a pretty expensive place and (pauses), uh, so I remember two things first of all—the *Uusi Suomi*²¹ which was the major newspaper in Helsinki. I met one of their people and he says "Can you give us an interview with the (pauses) Czech runner."²² Uh, there was—I says, "Well, I don't know the man, I, I don't speak Czech." He says, "Yeah, but you're a runner so maybe he talks to you." He turned out to get three gold medals later on. But, and I met him, I went to the Olympic Village and the guy said, "I speak through an interpreter, I don't speak English, don't speak German, don't speak anything, Czech." Fine. Then I told the interpreter that I was a runner and that I was supposed to be there, and (pauses) all of a sudden, he could remember German. And he says, "You're a runner, why don't you train with me and see how good you are?" So I trained with him. God, what's this guy's, guy's name?²³ He was the biggest runner in '52, I can't even remember his name, terrible. So, that was one thing. I trained with him. What he did was, he ran one lap in exactly one minute, then he walked one-half lap, and he did the same thing fifty times, *five-zero* times. I could stay up for about ten, that was it.

[00:50:27]

¹⁹ Lauri Bernhard Hietanen (1902-1971), Finnish Minister of Social Affairs (1953) and Finance (1957-1958).

²⁰ *Oy Sokos Ab*, Finnish department store.

²¹ *Uusi Suomi*, Finnish daily newspaper (1919-1991).

²² Emil Zátopek (1922-2000), a Czechoslovak runner and triple gold-medalist at the 1952 Helsinki Summer Olympics.

²³ Emil Zátopek.

SW: Wow.

KT: And, uh, another thing was, the family where I stayed I had my own room later on. Took billiards, got to cook—I, Finnish is a very, very tough language. (inhales) So, I worked on, on, as a sideline at—they had sort of a like Tivoli in Denmark, you know like sort of a fair kind of thing and I made some extra money there. And, I went to some social events. This fellow where I stayed, the son of it—uh, of, uh, the family. He took me to where Miss Finland was—Miss Universe and I sat with her, but I only knew like three words, like: *Peruna*, potato, I love you, *minä rakastan sinua*, (laughs), another one, which was a swear word that I couldn't use. You can't have a conversation—and she spoke only Finnish, not Swedish, no nothing. What a beautiful girl and *nothing* and you sit there, and you're frustrated, you can't do a damn thing about it. Anyway, so after that was—Norway had a very interesting relationship with Germany after the war.

SW: Um-hm.

KT: And, uh, I wanted to see, to get a visa to go from Finland into Norway, the backcountry. And, uh, didn't work. Because the guy was never there or he says he can't talk to you or won't talk you and I got real mad and I says, "I'm going to sit here until the man comes out"—the Consul General. Finally, he came out, he says, "What do you want? You know that you can't get a visa into Norway. We *don't*, we don't do that." I says, "Who's *we*?" He says, "I don't know how old *you* were when the war ended," I says, "I was twelve and a half and I was certainly not a Nazi *dammit!* I almost died!" So one led to the next and we had a very interesting discussion and he says, "Okay, you go to dinner with me,"—nice restaurant—"I give you your visa." He gave me a visa. I went into Norway after Helsinki. I went all the way up. That's yet a totally different story. So, I—that was in 1952. Now '56 I'm here.

SW: Mm-hm.

KT: And I've been a runner, mind you. So when I hitchhiked and when I jaywalked—General Telephone—I was, I moved into an apartment closer by so that I could be there. And Twentieth Street, about a block away from General Telephone there was an alley, and there was next to Santa Monica Boulevard, so I took the end of the alley, walked across the street when there was no traffic—so I saw this cop having parked his vehicle there and, in uniform, and so I was too late before I recognized him and he started running after me. So, (laughs) I don't know why he does that, but, he didn't say stop or anything, he just ran. I said, now I've had enough, so I took off.

SW: (laughs).

KT: Next morning he was there, and he said, "Who the hell are you?" I said, (stammering for effect) "The, the, the, m-m-my name—you jaywalked,"

- and he says, "Well, yes I guess that's what you call, but you ran away from me!" "So?" He says, "I'm the fastest runner in the Santa Monica Police Department" (laughs). Well, to make a long story short, we became friends.
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: We tracked out how fast we could run on a track (laughs) on fifteen-hundred meters or the mile I was about a hundred and fifty yards ahead of him! (laughs)
- SW: (laughs).
- KT: I was in good shape.
- SW: Yeah.
- KT: So, now comes—going back, I'm there in General Telephone and six months I get a letter from President Eisenhower at the time, that I had to serve my country and that I would either be drafted or I could volunteer. Well. I didn't think I wanted to be drafted so I went to the National Guard thing here in Santa Monica, and I was there at two o'clock in the morning. There was not a soul there. First ones showed up about seven, seven-thirty. And then a sergeant came, and he said, "Who was here first?" They point me out. "When were you here?" "Two o'clock." "Oh, alright, come in here." There was sort of a room where we could gather. He says, "Is there anybody here who is in communication?" "Telephone company." "Ok, you, you, you," he says, "Where are you, where is your background?" I says, "I work for General Telephone Company." He says, "Alright, I think you are our guy, here's ten dollars, go across the street to the doctor and get yourself a health certificate. I think that should be alright, you others you can go home." So I became a member of the artillery.
- SW: Artillery?
- KT: And what did they put me in, communication of course.
- SW: Mm-hm.
- KT: Me, six months here. It was interesting. But, uh, I ended up in—my, my unit was already over in Korea, so I went after that, uh, which is all my data, which is neither here nor there. And then, later on, in 1960, I found out I was recalled to active duty for the Berlin Crisis. So, I did my thing. And it took me seven years to get my degree. I worked at the UCLA and then I went to Cal State because they had—they were cheaper, and they had a full, full program. And I was the first one that got a master's degree in economics from Cal State. Everybody who was interested and had anything to do with economics was there and asked questions, but I passed. I even got a-an A on my paper which was supposed to be on gold, I couldn't do it; I had to write it on a different topic, which I am not going to go into.
- SW: (laughs). Alright, um, will you —

KT: So, that's basically all. Then I had one other thing in the telephone company still. They ask if anybody was interested in an exam. I says, "What kind of exam?" They says, "It's given by IBM, but if you pass it, you're gonna be a programmer." I didn't know what a programmer was, I had no clue. Nothing. So, I volunteered to take the test. I was one of ten that made it. And I became a programmer and I was in the part of data processing. Then after that, which is again a strange thing. I started my own company. And everything worked fine, I had a beautiful system for doctor and dentist and billing accounting. And, the Bank of America competed directly that they hired my supervisor, got all the people and offered to them for free. But that's—that's Bank of America.

SW: (laughs).

KT: And then I had to get—needed a job, and I had done some little things for TRW²⁴ Systems so I went down, back to TRW in Redondo Beach. I said, "Do you need any people?" They says, "Yeah, we know who you are. You can program, you can do this, you can do that, we hire you as a management position." (pauses) They couldn't define exactly what I should do. But, I'm not going to go into the things I did; I did some very interesting things. They were dealing mostly with space things at the Air Force. Air Force mostly, the management of programs that the Air Force had. And my boss came in with an RFP, a "Request for Proposal," from the Army, and I says, "That's exactly what we do for the Air Force." They said, "Yeah, but they know who we are, we don't deal with the Army," and I says, "And why not? They the same people, same everything, same resources." "Ah, do you wanna do the—answer the RFP to it?" I says, "Yeah I would." He says, "Ok, fine." So, I got thirty-five thousand dollars to do that. We did get the contract, why? Because, how the hell do you interest the people who look at the Request for Proposal to be interested in that? I can tell you that, but I don't wanna have that on the machine! (laughs).

SW: (laughs). Okay. Um, you know earlier—

KT: We got the contract.

SW: You got the contract?

KT: And we got follow-up contracts. We—I ended up running a program called the AAFSS—the Advanced Aerial Fire Support System. Which turned out a multi-billion dollar program.

[01:00:19]

SW: Uh-huh.

KT: So, anyway. I always loved the Palisades. Now that's going back the different thing. And, uh, I had a house here, I had saved from my income

²⁴ TRW (Thompson Ramo Wooldridge).

from the telephone company, three-thousand dollars. I bought my first house for twenty-four thousand five-hundred dollars. And, my parents were going to come over and I wanted to impress 'em. That I had, quote-unquote "made it." And at—by that time Pacific Palisades was sort of a backwater, the people had chickens and stuff like that. And I, I looked at this house on, uh, at that time. And it was open, uh, it was open for, that they wanted fifty-nine thousand five-hundred in 1960. I came in and I saw that house, I saw the fireplace going the beautiful view, I said, "I want that house," and my real estate broker said, "Kurt, you can't afford that. You *cannot* afford that." I says, "I didn't ask you whether I can afford it, make an offer!" And he says, "An offer for *what*? I have no paperwork!" I says, "Here's a napkin, (pounding on the table) write down my name, your name, the date, and this is it. And I offer fifty-two thousand five-hundred dollars." This was within three minutes of open house open. I gave it to the guy, the guy said, "Give it to my wife." His wife looked at it and said, "Let him have it. I don't like all these people in the house." On a napkin, I got this house in 1960 for fifty-two thousand five-hundred. (laughs)

SW: (laughs).

KT: And I've lived here all the time. And later on I got married, but that's a different story.

SW: (laughs).

KT: So, what else do you want to know.

SW: Um, I was just gonna backtrack actually —

KT: Yeah, okay, backtrack.

SW: —the military, the Army had sent you to Berlin to handle—to be part of the crisis. Can you talk about a little bit more about that?

KT: Well, the first war I had I was still part of the artillery. Okay. And they sent me all over trying to find my unit and, uh, the Chinese hadn't heard that the war was over, but that's neither here nor there. It was, it was one of the strangest things. So, my six-months term was over. And I was still of course, and I went to Fort Ord²⁵ to start off with to get my basic training. Which we now know as park. And it was very simple. I was the fastest, I had more points in GPA—in, in, in the, the tests that they took, I thought I was going to become an officer but they told me I was the alien, you can't be an officer, are you outta your mind? So I didn't become an officer. I made it up to spec 4 to be frank. When the thing came when we were redrafted, and this is a very strange thing, we went to Fort—uh, (trying to recall) San Francisco.²⁶ What was it? At the Golden Gate Bridge, what was—that was the Army at the time.

SW: I know exactly what you're —

²⁵ Fort Ord, U.S. Army post (1917-1994), Monterey Bay, California.

²⁶ Presidio, U.S. Army fort (1776-1994), San Francisco, California.

KT: I can't think of it. I mean, my mind—I guess when you're eighty-one things slip—Anyway that's—

SW: I'll—I can look it up for you.

KT: (stammering) Please look it up. Uh, and I never forget the array of cars that drove up to San Francisco, and the first thing was they needed people to drive the troops to their stations. So, we were lined up and he says, "I need, four bus drivers, you, you, you, you." I says, "I had never driven," "You have a driver's license right?" "Yeah but the busses" — "You're a bus driver, you go to the motor pool, and you learn how to drive a bus," that simple. Which happened. And then, the next day the general was visiting. So, here we are lined up, standing at attention and he comes to our sergeant and he says, "Son, before you were recalled back to active duty, what did you do?" I says, "I was a, a salesman." "What did you sell?" I says, "Computers, sir." "How much did you make last year?" I says, "About two-hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars, sir." The general's face turned white, red, white again. He let the guys stand there, walked away (laughs). Never saw him again.

SW: (laughs).

KT: But we did our job. I became a bus driver. And, we were thinking that things would become very, very serious but we stayed at—Presidio is the name of the place. Presidio.

SW: Yeah.

SW: Okay, um—

KT: Okay, so does that help?

KT: And when I was done I got a dishon—(stammering) an *hon-honorable* discharge. Not dishonorable (laughs). Honorable discharge of the Army, and I finished my studies and I became a master's in economics, which I've never used this—that they could tell me that I could work at a bank and (makes a sarcastic lip trill sound). I wasn't interested in that.

SW: That's when you went into the programming?

KT: Programming and, uh, well, I ran a show which was quite interesting. I ended up with quite a few people, and I had an office here in Redondo Beach, I had one in St. Louis, and I had one in Washington, D.C. I got the biggest IBM machine and—it worked. And then I had cancer.

SW: Oh.

KT: Oh yeah. That, is a thing (exhales loudly). But, the guy I talked to, a Mexican, he was into peach kernels. I talked to him and he says, "You know, your problem (laughs) it's called stress. And you have two options: either you die within six months—that's your one option and I guarantee you that that's what's gonna happen or maybe you die further—earlier than that—Or, you're going to change jobs." I says, "Well I'm going to be a vice president very shortly." And he says, "Make up your mind. Become vice president (in a high-pitch, silly voice), anything is fine." So I stayed

there for about six weeks and then I decided to step back from TRW Systems. I joined Computer Systems and others and started my own company. But, I don't know if I did the right thing. And of course I have — had good contacts from ski club to German club, because I am German and I enjoy some other tourists to speak the languages and, uh, other things, I am very community oriented. I've got the money here for the new gym. Million and a half, which is not easy to get. I had never gotten that, I ran the Santa Monica Red Cross for ten years. (exhales) I have done about everything in it has been done here: running the community council to, you name it. That's about the end of my story. I have a son.²⁷ Who is six-foot-nine.

SW: (laughs).

KT: He was the best volleyball player in America. According to the newspaper.

SW: Nice.

KT: And he got a scholarship at Stanford. Now he's thirty-three. I don't know how old you are.

SW: I am twenty-six.

KT: Twenty-six, oh yeah, I remember. Now he is trying to find a job that equals what he used to make overseas. There is no such thing, you have to start from scratch.

SW: Yeah.

KT: Anyway, what else can I tell you?

SW: Um, I'm—you pretty much got it all in. I think it's a pretty good time to, uh, end unless there's anything else you would like to add that, I mean, I think you pretty much got it—

KT: These are all personal things.

SW: Hmm. Okay. Alrighty, uh, this was the interview with Kurt Toppel, uh, interviewer was Sean Washburn. Today's date is Friday, October 19th, 2013.

[01:09:18]

END OF INTERVIEW

²⁷ Curt Toppel (b. 1980).

Andrew Cordes and Geoffrey Gue (editors)

*The Memories of Elfa Ernst (1935-2019):
Surviving Nazi-Controlled Europe and Thriving in California*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: From Hitler's Europe to the Golden State [COPH OHP_253].

O.H. 5092.

Oral Interview with Elfa Ernst, conducted by Joshua Ornelas,

November 26, 2012, [Mission Viejo] California.

Introduction

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "From Hitler's Europe to the Golden State" (OHP_253), a project launched in 2011 and directed by Dr. Cora Granata, Professor of History (CSUF). As of 2019, approximately one hundred interviews have been recorded. The interview with Elfa Ernst was conducted by Joshua Ornelas, at the time a CSUF student, on November 26, 2012, in [Mission Viejo] California. The interview lasted 1 hour, 36 minutes, and 15 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2018 by Andrew Cordes and Geoffrey Gue.

Elfa Ernst was born on April 21, 1935, in Dahme, Germany. In her interview, she shares that her family had to move rather frequently due to her father's work as a customs officer. Her recollections include that she had to listen to Adolf Hitler on the radio, that a Hitler picture was displayed in the family home on certain occasions, and that her father's nose was measured "to make sure that his features were not of Jewish background." She recalls air raids during World War II, her father's return to the family in 1947 after having been a prisoner of war, and de-Nazification. She talks about her education, about becoming a medical technician, and about working for renowned cardiologist Russell Brock in England. She then relates how she met her future husband while working in an American dental clinic in Germany, their courtship and marriage, her immigration to the U.S. in 1961, and the life she eventually made in California.

This oral history is of considerable historical significance. It provides insights into childhood experiences during the Nazi regime, living through World War II, growing up in post-war Europe, moving from one continent to another, and adjusting to many new and different environments. Elfa Ernst's story is a compelling narrative that includes many "moving" moments: the fear she felt as a child when she had to wear a gas mask; her dream of one day moving to America; the drama of crossing the Atlantic during inclement weather; the

excitement of seeing the Statue of Liberty for the first time; and the defining of her identity as a German American—perhaps best summarized in her remark to the interviewer, “Josh, Germans are basically adventurous.” Elfa Ernst passed away on March 25, 2019.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Andrew Cordes of Orange, California, earned his B.A. in History (2016) and his Teaching Credential in Social Sciences (2017) from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, focusing on World War II along with the Viking Age. He works as a substitute teacher in the Fullerton Joint Union High School District.

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 5092)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Elfa Ernst [EE]

INTERVIEWER: Joshua Ornelas [JO]

DATE: November 26, 2012

LOCATION: [Mission Viejo] California

PROJECT: From Hitler's Europe to the Golden State [COPH OHP_253]

TRANSCRIBERS: Andrew Cordes and Geoffrey Gue

JO: (clock ticking in the background) Okay, um, my name is Josh Ornelas. I'm here with Elfa Ernst. It is November 26th, 2012. The sky is blue. It's beautiful out in California today. We are in Elfa Ernst's house, and, Elfa, thank you for taking time to interview and, er—or let me interview you. And, uh, so first let me just see where were you born—uh—when were you born?

EE: I was born (pauses) on the 21st of April, nineteen hundred and thirty-five, that was Easter Sunday, in eastern part of Germany at that time (pauses)

- in Dahme, that is a smaller town 80 kilometers south of Berlin. The Berliner area is—a called Brandenburg.
- JO: Okay, now the town that you were born, how, how would you spell that?
- EE: D-A-H-M-E, you have it on my —
- JO: Oh it's on the paper. Okay.
- EE: —On that paper.
- JO: Oh, yeah, I see it right here. Thank you (pauses). (quietly) Okay. And, um, what was your—what was your upbringing like?
- EE: My father was in customs, but this in America, when you think of customs you think of border patrol. No, that's not it. Um, in Germany, people who joined become customs inspectors, they work for an office who will inspect imported goods and, uh, set a tariff that they find it, uh, fair, and he was in the finance department of the customs, uh, offices—
- JO: (quietly) Okay.
- EE: —He lived in that area not very long as per my parents. Um, they moved then to Anaheim¹ (laughs), there is an Anaheim in Germany—
- JO: (laughs)
- EE: —And this Anaheim is also named,—was also named by Germans.—Um, where I left my parents at, when I was ten months old—
- JO: (whispers) Wow.
- EE: —to live with my grandparents in Silesia.²—(whispers) Do you have to write that? On that thing?
- JO: I—Oh, I'm just taking brief notes, yeah.
- EE: There was something physically not in order with me as a baby, and the doctor thought I should move to the mountains of *Sch*—, uh, Silesia. Silesia now is Polish. That area was back and forth in history for 700 years because it was a very, uh um, good area in that it had (pauses) fields, agriculture—the possibility of, uh, a—agriculture. The emperor at that time had sent people to that, that part of, uh, Germany to cultivate the ground and, um um, grow, uh, vegetables and grains. That wa—part was called Lower Silesia, even though it was to the north. The Upper Silesia, which is south of Lower Silesia, (laughs) is, w—wa—was the, uh, coal supplier to Germany. So now we have (pauses) because of these, uh um, um, what do you call these now? When a country goes and gets—the, sometimes I have trouble with English words, gets the, uh, minerals and grains from another country. There is a particular word for that. Um, it will come to me. Um, that's why Austria, Poland have fought to have that

¹ Based on Elfa Ernst's statement that this place was named so by the Germans and located in Silesia, she may be referring to (Sankt) Annaberg, today Góra Świętej Anny, Poland.

² Silesia, historical region in Central Europe, today mostly in Poland (with relatively small enclaves in Germany and the Czech Republic).

- part of Germany. But in the end, Germany won. *Der Kaiser*, the emperor at that time, um, was firm enough to say that this is ours. Stays here (laughs).
- JO: Wow.
- EE: So then, um, I grew up in a resort, a summer and winter resort. The name is Schreiberhau,³ and we had snow there from October to May, and it would reach up to the second floor. It was a beautiful place. E—when my mother was young she had to have skis to get, to go to school—
- JO: (laughs)
- EE: —so they (laughs),—My mother, her sister and brother, had to go to the cellar and get their skis to go out the kitchen window because the front door was totally *sch*—snowed shut.
- JO: (Laughs)
- EE: In the summer, summertime was short, but beautiful. We were only three, um, residences there. And was fields, forests, deer—who came grazing at 6 o'clock in the evening in the summer.—There were blueberries very close to the house. Yes, there was one poisonous snake, the—a viper, we called *Kreuzotter*. It has nothing to do with an otter—
- JO: (laughs)
- EE: —like you find here in the water. But it's a viper and very poisonous.
- JO: (quietly) Yeah.
- EE: I had to learn how to maneuver around such a snake. It would get three feet long. As I grew older and heard more my grandparents' radio, uh, broadcasts, I was aware that Germany had a *Führer*. And, uh, I had to grow into this and just listen what's all going on. When we went to school, when we went, when we saw people whom we knew, we had to raise our right hand and say, "Heil Hitler," and, uh, keep going. That was like you say "Hello" here, we said, "Heil Hitler," but we went about our life as if there were nothing else to worry about. So, on my sixth birthday, I also got a sled and a pair of skis, so that I could go to school. And school was in the next village which was downhill.
- JO: (laughs)
- EE: So, one of the boys from the neighborhood and I were in the same class as first graders and here we went. Down that one piece, walk a piece, and down again. It could happen that on the way back,—school was from ten to twelve,—it took very long so that my grandmother had to come and get, uh, look where I was, and yes, my little legs would, um, sink into that deep snow up to the hips and of course it took two hours to walk home.
- JO: (whispers) Wow.
- EE: And she would come and see whether I'm okay. So then our, like I said, our winter was from October to May. (pauses) Nineteen hundred and forty-three (pauses) I joined my parents,—but I, I, I must not do this yet—.

³ Schreiberhau, today Szklarska Poręba, Poland.

My father was transferred from this un—town of Anaheim to Poland. He worked in Częstochowa⁴ and, um, (clock chiming in the background, followed by a knock) my mother, with my three brothers, lived at the Polish border. This side of the, uh, that narrow river was Germany, on the other side was Poland. So, in the summer, my grandmother would, uh, take me to visit my family, and one day, my mother decided we go on the bus to visit my father who was working at that time in Częstochowa, um, and, eh, fo—for customs. It was a *beautiful* area. The offices were beautiful. The accommodations were very good. The whole surrounding was like a park, but in Europe, a park is not like what you see here.

JO: Yeah.

EE: In Europe, a park has beautiful benches and, uh uh, flowers—

JO: (chuckles) Uh hmm.

[00:09:45]

EE: —trees. (cuckoo clock going off once) Alright, so the next thing my father was transferred from Częstochowa to the—to the so called *Sudetenland*,⁵ that was Czechoslovakia. In each of these, uh, places, uh, he stayed two years. He, and, um, and he was settled in so-called Troppau,⁶ that's the name of the city, a *beautiful* city, I was able to join my parents and that was in 1943.

JO: Yeah

EE: In all that time that I was with my grandparents and heard the radio and the Führer, and people would sit around the radio and listen what is all being said and required (laughs), which in my very early years, well, was, uh, part of life. There was nothing to fear, I didn't do anything wrong.—I should probably go back a little bit and say what my grandfather did for a living. He was a, um, he had a chimney cleaning, uh, business, and he employed, uh, one German and one Polish, uh, apprentice. But you were in apprenticeship for four years, and then you become, became a journeyman. After two years of *that* position you became, you—after you had done your, your, uh, you were tested, and you, when you passed your test, you became a master in that field. (pauses) My grandfather was very, very well known in this, uh, mountainous region and, um, was influential, but when,—so, this, I will leave it at that. That was, that's that.—Now, my father, in Czechoslovakia (pauses) I joined, like I said, I joined the family (pauses) in the summer of, uh, '43, I went to school there to the third grade, and we had *air raids* twice to three times a week. The

⁴ Częstochowa, city in southern Poland.

⁵ Sudetenland refers to the northern, western, and southern areas of former Czechoslovakia, at the time primarily settled by so-called Sudeten Germans.

⁶ Troppau, today Opava, Czech Republic.

- siren would go off, that would mean that all of us, uh, students had to run either to the cellar of the school or, if we lived ten minutes from school we were allowed to go home. But you had to run (chuckles).
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: I lived twenty to twenty-five minutes away and a girlfriend of mine lived ten minutes away. She said, "You come to my house." Okay. Our classroom was upstairs, so that meant also you had to put your school bags along the wall of the classroom, take your books out, put them under the desk. As soon as the siren went off, I took my books, jumped over the next girl's desk, grabbed my bag, and ran out of the schoolhouse. And I was always the first one out.
- JO: (chuckles)
- EE: Sometimes the airplanes were already above, so that I learned to hide under bushes, depending on where I knew an airplane would be. I didn't move, and then, when I thought it was passed, I kept running until I reached her house. So, (sighs) these things would go off and on about half to one hour, and then the siren would, uh, sound its, um, sound to let people know (pauses) the danger is gone. Well, things like this usually happened close to noon. On Sunday, uh, in Germany, big meal is at noon. Mother had everything ready to—to sit down at the table to eat, and for goodness sakes, we all just sat down when the sirens went off. So, poor Mama, she had to put the food back in the pots. I, as the oldest, was in charge to grab my youngest brother who was five years old. So, at that time, he was three, and I was eight. Brother Frank was two years younger than I, so he was six. He was in charge to go for a little suitcase and never let it out of his sight. In that suitcase were papers to prove that we were not Jewish. My father's face, he said later when I was older, was measured twice to make sure that his features were not of Jewish background.
- JO: Wow.
- EE: Is that something?
- JO: They actually had a tape measure and—
- EE: He (laughs), they measured his *nose*.
- JO: Wow.
- EE: By golly, everywhere in the world you can have possibly a longer nose.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: But to these people? A long nose indicated possible Jewish background. (laughs) Can you imagine that?
- JO: Wow (chuckles).
- EE: Yeah. So, then there was, uh, the brother in between where we had to make sure that he, him, running along. So, my brothers were 3, 4, 6, and I was 8. After, we lived in an apartment house of six units, three units on the left, three units on the right. Everybody had to go in the cellar (pauses). *Ja*. So, we sat there, (clears throat) waiting out this so-called

alarm. Each one of us had a gas mask hanging on the wall. Everyone who lived in a house had a custom-fit gas mask, and I was always hoping that we never will need it. But, you could hear “bumm” these explosions and airplanes dropping bombs. So, one day I ask Mama, “Who are these people who are throwing the bombs?” “They are Americans and English.” (pauses) So, then, we were educated in being alert. Always, wherever we were going, we had to know where there were emergency, um, bunkers or cellars to go into. But when nothing, uh uh, was to be feared, it was a beautiful city. The city park was 7 kilometers long, and they had aviaries and flowers and benches. In the spring and summer you saw couples kissing on the benches, (laughs) you know, something to smile about when you were a young girl. We had a Czechoslovakian maid. The fact that my mother had four children, three of whom were *boys*, that was enough for the Hitler regime to reward a woman like that with a Mother Cross.⁷ And also, to supply, um, maids to the woman to help in the household.

JO: So, because of the three boys, Hitler –

EE: Was happy.

JO: – was happy –

EE: Yeah.

JO: – and so in order to help raise these boys, he sent maids.

EE: To make sure that Mama is not overburdened with work.

JO: Wow.

EE: (chuckles) *One* plus, right? (laughs)

JO: (Laughs)

EE: Yeah, so then, also, when I (pauses) came to my parents in Czechoslovakia, one day I asked my father, “Papa, how come the Hitler picture is standing behind the couch?” “Oh, I have to do something on the wall up there.” I said, “Oh.” I didn’t see anything on the wall that needed fixing. Okay. Each district of the city had a person to care about the families that lived in that city. He would come now and then and knock, uh, ring the doorbell and ask mother, “Is everything okay? Do you need anything?” But when we knew,—excuse me—, when we knew he was coming, the Hitler picture went up on the wall. (laughs)

JO: I was just going to say. Um, okay.

EE: (laughing) “Oh, we are fine, thank you. Everything is good. Okay, good. Bye bye.” (makes a clicking noise as if taking down the picture) (whispers) Get the picture. (both laugh) And the picture came down again!

[00:20:15]

⁷ The Cross of Honor of the German Mother (“Ehrenkreuz der Deutschen Mutter”), an award conferred on eligible German mothers by the German government between 1938 and 1945.

- JO: So, now you said you had a maid. Now was she, did she ever say anything about that, or?
- EE: No. Uh, my mother had German maids, that is a corps.⁸ The *Maid*, we call it "Maid," the corps like you've, have here in the army, you have the medical corps.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: That was a maids corps and, no, while, of course, while she is there, nothing was said, the Hitler picture was on the wall.
- JO: Okay.
- EE: Nothing, our parents warned us, you *never* tell anybody anything that you hear. (pauses) Not your best friend or anybody. But we didn't hear anything. Our parents were good. And then we had a Czechoslovakian maid. After that, there was finished and, um, well she could care less. She had a German boyfriend. She said she was engaged to a German soldier. But even there you had to be, um, careful.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: She took us for walks, and one time, as we walked downtown, there was an area on the way back that was so (clears throat) blocked off and I said, "Traude," —that was her name—, "Traude, what is all this about?" And she said, "Shhh". I said, "Why?" "Don't say that so loud. This is where Jewish people live." So, apparently Troppau had a district where Jewish people lived.
- JO: It's called Troppau?
- EE: Troppau. T-R-O-P-P-A-U. Now, if I tell a young person from Czechoslovakia the name, they of course don't know anymore.
- JO: Mhmm.
- EE: And I—nobody can tell me now what it's now in Czech.⁹ But it was a—an attractive city. So, (sighs) yeah. We were, okay. I left it at that. I didn't ask anymore questions. So, there was just a little road block there, you know, if you had a car, you had, would probably have to ask somebody if they could open it and get out of there. But, it was very quiet. There were no people visible. Then, i—in August 1944, my father was drafted. (pauses for longer) By Christmas, we were alone. My mother didn't hear much anymore. So, my grandfather, because of all these air raids and the Russians coming closer, my grandfather wrote a letter and said to my mother to come away from there. So, I still remember, in Germany, when you traveled in the winter time, you picked up your, your feather beds. You had big bags, you rolled up the feather bed. So that would mean, how many? Five feather bed bags and some suitcases to take (clock chiming) to the train the night before we left the train station.

⁸ The so-called "Arbeitsmaiden," a division of "Reich Labor Service" during the Nazi regime.

⁹ Opava, Czech Republic.

JO: Yeah.

EE: You put down where you want to go. We went to Schreiberhau, to Silesia. From Czechoslovakia to my grandparents in Silesia. So, the next day, we went on the train. However, when Mama was at the train station, the sirens went off. Which happened once in a while, that in the evening, when it was dark, the sirens would go off. But, it wasn't Americans or British, it was Russians. Russians did not come to bomb, they came to throw these flares to light up the city, just to see what's going on down there. So, apparently, there was nothing of value to them. The, that alarm did not sound very, did not last very long. But, I didn't hear any commotion, so I ran from door to door, ringing the bell, "Did you hear? Did you hear the siren?" "No." "Did you hear the siren?" "No." Ugh. So, by the time I reached the last one, the whole thing, the siren sounded again and the whole thing was over (chuckles). And, you had to, before you go to bed, you had to take your clothes off the way you would put them on in a hurry.

JO: Hmmm.

EE: So, you put out your shoes, then the socks on the shoes, then came your skirt, or the boys the pants, on the chair next to your bed. Then the underwear on top. Then came the shirt, and at the winter time, on top the sweater. So, when the siren goes off, you, I have learned to be dressed within two minutes.

JO: Yeah.

EE: Because you never know (laughs).

JO: Yeah. So, you had to do that every night before you went to bed?

EE: Yeah. And I learned to run those stairs in school. That was a long staircase. Like these are 24 steps.

JO: Mhmm.

EE: Yeah, da da da da, it was a wide staircase. Yeah, but my little legs carried me out there, I was always the first one.

JO: So, you went to train station and you left?

EE: And then, yeah, we left.

JO: And, then—

EE: It (inaudible 00:26:47).

JO: — That's the resort that you had grown up at, right?

EE: That's where we went to.

JO: That's where you went—

EE: We went to that, we went to that resort.

JO: Is that where you grew up—

EE: Yes.

JO: — Like for the first couple years?

EE: Yeah.

JO: And how did you spell that one? Suh—

EE: Schreiberhau.

JO: Okay.

EE: S-C-H-R-E-I-B-E-R-H-A-U. Schreiberhau (laughs).

JO: Schreiberhau.

EE: (laughs) There is an upper, a middle, and a lower, lower Schreiberhau. The upper was more the resort.

JO: Okay.

EE: Summer or winter, the middle, in the middle, you had fields. It was because it was, uh, mountainous. You had farmers coming up from lower Schreiberhau to tend to their fields. Sometimes they would take the horses off and just tie them to the back of the, uh uh, cart, uh, wagon. And sometimes not much, so that (laughs) – the horses would take off with the wagon, and they knew where they were living. They had to go all the way down the hill.

JO: (chuckles)

EE: My gosh, you were wondering would they ever have the, now that I think of it, the wagon come into the hind legs. No. When he went after them and finally got home, they were there – . (laughs and chuckles).

JO: Oh, wow. So, your father was drafted in August of 1944.

EE: '44, yeah.

JO: And then you moved with your grandparents.

EE: We, uh, went to our grandparents.

JO: In Schreiberhau –

EE: By that time, my mother didn't hear anymore from my father.

JO: Really?

EE: We didn't know where he went. He could have gone east, to the eastern front, or he could have been sent to the west. However, we, when we arrived, my great-grandmother was there with her youngest daughter. My great-grandmother had ten children. After ten children, my grandmother was the oldest and Aunt Elsie was the youngest. Aunt Elsie was there with her daughter, so that's three. There was my mother's sister, with her two daughters, whose husband also was somewhere in the war. Then came my mother and us four children. So, we were 11 *ch* – people piled into my grandparents' place. We weren't there very long. Not quite a month, over the news came: Everyone from the east has to continue on. That was us. My grandparents said, "We stay home and hold the fort." Because my grandfather was influentially, he got in touch with the director of the railroad, and he got a whole car for us.

JO: Wow.

EE: That was hung onto one of the trains that started to move. Out of and away from advancing Russians. – (whispers) Can I get you some water?

JO: No, no, I'm fine.

EE: – To go west took us days. This train zigzagged here and zigzagged there and came to a place called Pilsen.¹⁰ You know Pilsner beer?

JO: Yeah. Yeah.

[00:30:22]

EE: Exactly. There in the train station, the Red Cross had set up bunk beds for refugees. (pauses) When we got off the train to stay overnight, because apparently that train could not go any further where we wanted to go. We wanted to go west, who knows where *they* went? There were also, outside the train stations, German soldiers. My mother – that I heard later –, my mother went to ask, could we go with them as they are going west and the soldiers said, “No lady. We take no families.” So the next train, next day (pauses), we were able to hook onto another train that was going west. – By the way, that train station, in a big basket, had the biggest apples I’ve ever seen in my life –

JO: (laughs)

EE: (Laughs) What I liked! (laughs)

JO: No, that’s, wow.

EE: (still laughing). So, here were go. That train went *back* to Czechoslovakia, so as we approached (whispers) – I have to get a little water. –

JO: Yeah, yeah.

EE: (gets up and goes to get water; keeps talking while she does this) As we approached, um, Prague, there was apparently another air raid. Outside of Prague was a very long tunnel. There was already a long train, a refugee train in there, and we pulled next to it to wait out the, uh, air raid. So, then when that was over, chug a lug on to the city where we were going to stay. (pauses) Trautenau,¹¹ that’s the name of it. My, Aunt Elsie’s husband, was in the German army, and he was there. He found us accommodations, also provided by the Red Cross, where there were a *huge* room with 11 beds. So now, we stayed there for two weeks. What do you do in two weeks? You have a little leisure time. You did not have any air raids or sirens, but, what do you do for food? We had to go into town where the Germans soldiers had set up, um, Germans, uh uh, uh, m – military style kitchen. Soup, um, uh, kettles. Large soup kettles. So you got a bowl, you stood in line for your portion of soup, and then you got a piece of bread and that was it. So, (laughs) *you lived on a bowl of soup* –

JO: And bread.

EE: – And a piece of *dry bread*. (Laughs), I can see that was reducing people’s weight (laughs).

JO: Yeah.

¹⁰ Pilsen, today Plzeň, located in the western part of the Czech Republic.

¹¹ Trautenau, today Trutnov, located in the northern part of the Czech Republic.

EE: Let me get something –

JO: Absolutely.

EE: (gets up and gets more water) – to moisten my throat. You sure you don't want anything?

JO: Yes, I am very good. Thank you.

EE: Yeah. (she is somewhere in the house getting water) So then, Uncle Herbert was able to get a car for us again. And that car was hung onto the train that went west. (comes back and sits down) On every, wherever the train stopped (pauses), the platforms of the train stations were chock full of fleeing people. The trains were full to the max. But that compartment that we had was already full of us.

JO: Yeah.

EE: So that was, that was impressive to me as a nine-year-old, uh, eight-year-old girl.

JO: So, when did the decision come to come to America?

EE: Oh, much later. – Okay, so now we have arrived west. Because great-grandma had a son in West Germany who had a dairy, which is not what you understand under *dar* – dairy. It is more of a milk processing plant, where farmers brought the milk. That was, – we arrived in March –. So, we were there in April (pauses) and *D-Day*. We lived, here it came, in that little town of three thousand five hundred inhabitants were German soldiers stationed. And we noticed that they start running. Well, on *D-Day*, so called *D-Day*, a flak was positioned at the corner of the house, so that we went in, into the cellar of this house where we were able to stay. A very good cellar, too. And, in Germany, it is custom to buy a good hundred pounds of potatoes to last through the winter. Now, one lady lived there, and she said, "Please don't tell anybody under all these potatoes I have hidden my son, a German soldier."

JO: Wow.

EE: So, here we're sitting, and it goes *back and forth*, oncoming, – I have, right now I have goosebumps – Oncoming enemy, who we didn't know who it was, the flak shooting. Things are hitting the house. We could tell. And you sat with your – with your, uh, fingers closing your ears and your mouth open so you don't have your eardrums burst. So that took a few hours and all of a sudden it was quiet. Somebody came down the stairs, and it was a man in uniform, and we were all tense and he had a gun of course and he told us to come out. I asked my mother, "Mama, is this a Russian?" She said, "I've never seen this uniform before. I don't know." But as we came out of that house, we could see tanks, um, personnel carriers, jeeps, full hang – soldiers hanging on them like ants, and people *cheering*. Well, what kind of soldiers are these? Americans. I could see down the street, because it was a small hou – town, the whole main street was on fire. Everything burned. Ah, okay. That was, that was a relief.

JO: Yeah.

EE: The end of that, then on—then we went upstairs to that apartment that was assigned to us, all the windows were shot out. The walls had, um, shrapnel, um, holes. The beds were full of small glass pieces and *dust*. So, and you could hear all day long, all night long, this back and forth of, uh um, artillery shooting. (clock chiming) The advancing Americans and the retreating Germans. Firing at each other and, uh, the last attempt to, to save everything. So, yeah, the—the older, the—the adults cleaned up the beds, whatever we could, and so we had at least a place to sleep in. Yeah. (clock stops chiming)

[00:39:09]

JO: So, that, was that like basically the tipping point of your family saying well I guess we, we should move to America, or?

EE: No.

JO: No.

EE: No. Then we lived there. Uh, Siemens Company¹² was there, they had built two dup—two duplexes. Two rooms each and a bathroom facility in between and one single. When everything settled down after several months, school started. We were able to go to school. I missed, uh, fourth grade, (coughs) but, uh, most of it, I only had two weeks of fourth grade. And we were seventy-two kids (cuckoo clock going off, and another musical sound).

JO: Wow.

EE: (pauses) Teachers had becoming very upset if they nowadays when they have thirty students. But it worked. We were disciplined. That little town had taken on hundreds of, uh, refugees. The thing in Germany is you have a different dialect almost every twenty kilometers. We couldn't understand them.

JO: (chuckles).

EE: They didn't understand us. We—we spoke high Ger—German. They spoke with a dialect of, a Franconian dialect, it was unreal, to every word they added a syllable which didn't even belong there. But it took a year for us to acclimate, to understand each other. The mothers, Aunt Marian and my mom, uh, became friendly with a small farmer. They went to work on the fields. We went to help on the fields after school, so that we could have something to eat.

JO: Hmm.

EE: At the corner of that little street where Siemens had built these little homes, was a tent with an American soldier in it, guarding, apparently

¹² Siemens (founded 1847), a German company. During the Nazi regime, Siemens benefited from forced labor, including labor in concentration camps.

guarding, the refugees (laughs). The Siemens Company across was taken by an, an American army, uh, I don't know, I don't know how many *peo* — Americans were in there. In front of the, uh, company was a meadow; they had set up a field kitchen there. So that when we came back from school, and, um, mother taught us a few English words, because the parents were educated, and we would stand there and watch. And one day an American comes and offers me something, and points in sign language: you put that in your mouth and you chew it. Hmmm. Like I do, njah njah njah (imitates chewing), yeah, oh, okay. Well, I didn't do that in front him, I did it on the way home. I showed it to my mother. (clears throat) Put it in my mouth. My mother sent me to the post office, I chewed around on that darn thing and it wouldn't go down, and it wouldn't go down.

JO: Was it gum?

EE: (gasps) I finally managed in the post office to swallow that darn thing and I thought I'd choke to death (laughs).

JO: Yeah. Oh my.

EE: (Laughs.) Then, uh, one day he was out there again. "You eat?" I then, um um um, yeah, I made the motion that I am choking to death. He said, "No, no, no, you chew and you spit out." "Oh, thank you." (Laughs)

JO: (Laughs) Did he ever tell you his name or anything like that?

EE: No, no. He must have been a father of a family in the United States. But, it was fun to watch. That was a totally different people, you know? Yeah. So then, 1947, my Aunt is standing at the butcher's. In comes a man with a Po, PW¹³ coat, a long black coat and a little, a little suitcase and a chess board and he is asking for the Schönwitz family. My maiden name is Schönwitz. My aunt turns around and sees my *father* (sounds emotional).

JO: Oh, my gosh.

EE: I have goose bumps again. She screams, "Wilhelm," that's a German word — name for William.

JO: Yeah, yeah.

EE: She started, "I, I, I have to run. If you can walk as fast I can, I show you where we live." So then, it was at least twenty minutes away from where were lived, so here she comes. "Lisbeth," my mom's name, "Lisbeth!" We thought, oh my gosh what happened to her. "Your husband is here." (coughs) My mom's heart practically sank (laughs).

JO: That's crazy. Wow.

EE: So here came Papa in 1947 from—He was taken to France to fight. (pauses) And his battalion's in the nor—, in Metz.¹⁴ Metz, M-E-T-Z. —One day we drove through there on the train, my husband and I, when we

¹³ Prisoner-of-war.

¹⁴ Metz, city in the Lorraine region of northeastern France.

- went to France. I thought, oh my gosh, this is where my father was sent to fight—They were staying out in the country and they were under constant bombardment. So, he and a few s—men went into this empty farmhouse for cover, but something hit nearby and knocked him out. When he came to, there were already American soldiers taking, these men prisoners.
- JO: Um hm.
- EE: They were sent to Cherbourg,¹⁵ in Cherbourg in northern France.—Cherbourg, how do you spell, C-H-E-R-B-O-U, now I'm not fini—clear about the ending, Cherbourg. Is it an R, and a G-H, I don't know at this point.
- JO: I'll put both, uh, just in case. But, I got the gist. Yeah.
- EE: Yeah. You, if you have a detailed map, map, you can see it.
- JO: It's in Northern France.
- EE: Northern France. (pauses) It was a camp of twenty thousand prisoners.
- JO: Wow.
- EE: The fact that my father temporarily lost his hearing, um, an American medic took him to the field hospital and then whatever they had there, they start, they worked on his hearing. And the restart pretty much what they could, since he was, he—he—he sp—knew English, French, German of course, and some Spanish. So they employed him as a a, um—
- JO: Translator.
- EE: —Translator.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: So these men did not know how long they would be prisoners of war. What he did, he arran—he organized a group in his little bivouac. (laughs). Let's make chess games. We whittle our figures, we cut the boards, we paint the boards. And that's the board he brought back and to this day, am I mad at myself that I didn't save it. My mom didn't save it. That was a *handmade* chess board. And they had chess tournaments. He was chess master when he went to high school.
- JO: (laughs). Wow.
- EE: So, yeah, that's how they whiled away their time, between, uh uh, helping in the hospital, and translating, and having their little competitions, so they made it bearable. And speaking of what bearable, like I said, if you didn't speak or say anything during Hitler time, you could live your life. (pauses) So, Papa, here he is now.
- JO: So, was he the decision, was he the, was he the person that decided to come to America?
- EE: While he was there, somebody offered him to go to United States, but Papa said, "I have a family. I need to see my family first. I've been away now for, uh, two, three years." '44.

¹⁵ Cherbourg, port city in Normandy on the northern coast of France.

JO: '44, yeah.

EE: So, yeah. It took a year for all the Germans who have been in a German, uh, party, possibly Nazi party, to be de-Nazified. Since my f—

JO: That's alright, go.

EE: —My father did not belong to a big party, so it took a very short time. Now, after the de-Nazification, you could look for a job, and he decided he'll go back into what he was doing if it's available, customs. However, was not available easily, he joined the border patrol. The Czech, between the Czech and the German border. So, Papa was away again. (laughs) In all our upbringing, we didn't see Papa very much.

JO: Oh, no.

EE: He was always in a different city or, goodness sakes.

[00:50:10]

EE: *Ja*, he was there and then as Germany slowly rose from the ashes (pauses), things started to work, build up again and some took years. Some things took ten to fifteen years to come to, uh, to normalcy. But, he was able to now, again in another city (laughs), go into, uh, customs. And that's where we moved after five years in that little house, we moved to that city by the name of Weiden,¹⁶ W-E-I-D-E-N. They had a base there with American soldiers, too. Yeah, but from then on things normalized. We didn't have any furniture. No. (laughs) Oh, but he was able to buy a few beds.

JO: Oh.

EE: Living room. Did we have a living room? No. We all sat in the kitchen. We had a couch in the kitchen. (bag being moved, then stops) And there I was able,—I was Protestant Lutheran, and we went, my father thought my mother went to Catholic school when she was young. They have nuns. They have an excellent Catholic school. Go to that school.

JO: So, your mom, was she pretty religious?

EE: No.

JO: No.

EE: No. But, it's known here, as well as in Lebanon,¹⁷ Catholic schools provide a very good upbringing. (interviewer agrees) One of this, the school that my mother went to and similar to what I went to, three years, you learned everything you can possibly learn. You have science, you have English, in the second year you have French. You can choose Spanish, history, as—a—astronomy, that was my favorite.—They would let me draw on the

¹⁶ Weiden ("Weiden in der Oberpfalz"), located 62 miles east of Nuremberg, Germany.

¹⁷ Lebanon, at the time and to this day, has a sizable Catholic population and a number of educational institutions run by the Catholic Church and its Orders, including the Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth (founded 1875), the Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik (founded 1938), and more recently the Notre Dame University-Louaize (founded 1987).

- blackboard what we are going to talk about the next astronomy, um uh, class—No, you learned sewing, she learned cooking in the third year, and baby care. You are a totally well-educated female when you are finished with these schools. You have book-keeping, typing, uh, shorthand. Your, you have a very good education when you are finished with these schools.
- JO: Wow. And that's what you mom went through?
- EE: My mom did that, yes, and then that was a possibility in that city for me. And the brothers went to a finished elementary school. What it is, we have different high schools. You cannot think of American-type high school. We have what we call *Oberrealschule*,¹⁸ that is an eight-year school. You go into that school if you have good grades from the fourth grade. Again, what I told you I could learn in three years. You learn, oh and you have sports, and in my case one hour a week comes the minister or the priest to the Catholic, Catholic children and you have a little hour of religion. And then, um, that's *Oberrealschule*. When you graduate from there, you are ready for university.
- JO: Hm.
- EE: We don't have, uh, two-year colleges that some of them go to here. (clock chiming) Uh, then, of course you can go to university here too. Then we have something called *Gymnasium*. It's spelled like gymnasium, but it isn't a gymnasium where you go for sports. This is now a school where you learn the classic languages of Greek, Latin, yes you have to have English. That was world language. If you wanted to become a doctor, or pharmacist, or a priest, you went to the *Gymnasium*. Again, eight years.
- JO: Wow. So when did you come to America officially?
- EE: *Ja*. (pauses) 1961.
- JO: 1961. Okay.
- EE: I went to, uh, after I was finally finished my school, uh, oh I was 17 years old we moved again from Weiden to Erlangen¹⁹ which is a university city. So now what? I couldn't finish that Catholic school. What now? Oh the universities is having a course where you can become a medical technician. "Okay, Papa, can I do that?" (coughs) They took me. They accepted me. At 17, I learned to do EKGs. I was sent to the EKG station first. And, because I came several months to early, the the the—the course was to start in fall and I came in spring already. So, here I learned, I was sent to the X-ray department, to EEG, Electroencephalogram.
- JO: Uh hum.
- EE: But I did EKGs. I knew how to read a—a one of these, um, films, that these are long films, the cassette is big, you have to develop in a, in a uh dark room. Fine. But I couldn't do it. I became, I had severe eczemas

¹⁸ *Oberrealschule*, a German type of secondary school.

¹⁹ Erlangen, located northwest of Nuremberg, Germany.

developing from the developer, uh, chemicals. Back to school. Business school in Nürnberg²⁰ for a year. Jumped right into the second year that was a two-year course. So, when I was finished there, I wanted to be back at the university, but then my father wanted me to work for Siemens. That was, “Okay Papa, I’ll give up the university, I’ll go to Siemens,” and here came the situation where if you go to England for a year, that is a good, uh, recommendation on your resume.

JO: Uh hum.

EE: We had a gentleman working in our big, uh, personnel department, Mr. Alden, from England, I said, “I—would you help me go to England, and I need a refresher course a little bit I’m starting to forget some things in English.” “Sure.” Every Saturday I went to his house and he helped me. I went to England for a, supposed to be a year, but I started to like it. I worked for Sir Russell Brock,²¹ a well-known cardiologist in Wimbledon. Right above the tennis courts.

JO: Yeah.

EE: That big estate. Okay. In order to stay here, I have to do something. I went to the hospital, a big hospital in London and signed up for a nurse’s course. So here is already the opportunity to, uh, better my English, but they told me I have to go back home and get a different permit. So, I left everything there, went home and Mama says, “Oh you have to go again?” I say, “Mama, if I can find a job locally, where I can use my English and medical background (pauses), that’s all I want.” Go to the employment agency. Said, “Yes, we have something out in an American dental clinic. They are looking for somebody to teach to become a dental assistant.” Good. I went. I got the job. Dental assisting. After a year, we had two German doctors and one German, uh, dental student. That dental student was finished, he said, “Would you like to take over my job as an hygienist?” I said, “You teach me.” “Yes, I will.” (pauses) I did. One of the first patients is sitting down there in the den (referring to her husband).

JO: (chuckles) I know, that’s crazy. And that’s how you met your—

EE: My husband.

JO: —Your husband.

[00:59:58]

EE: And you know, so in, uh, when we were teenagers, my oldest brother and I would sit together and say you know what?—Oh, when I was nine years old and we lived in that little, in that little house and we had this American guard at the corner, all, he sometimes would give us things, chocolate and stuff like this, but we would also ask what is this in English

²⁰ Nürnberg is the German spelling of Nuremberg.

²¹ (Sir) Russell Claude Brock, Baron Brock (1903-1980), British surgeon.

- and that in English. I said, when I was nine years old, "Someday I'm going to America. No, I'm going to marry an American." Mother said, "Wha' that's a long time up. How can you say that now?" – That's how fate had it.
- JO: Why did you want to marry an American?
- EE: I don't know. I've said things or I have dreamed things that came true. What kind of a, what kind of a, uh, (laughs) feeling is going on out there. But, you know, my brother Frank and I, we would sit.—He went to technical university. He became an engineer. Not only that, in Germany you have the opportunity to become an apprentice in anything you want to do. My youngest brother and Frank went to Siemens Reiniger.²² The x-rays, the x-ray machines that you see here. The MRI machines you see here. Look, it says Siemens.
- JO: Uh huh. Is that the S-I-
- EE: E-M-E-N-S.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: My youngest brother was an apprentice at Siemens for four years. My oldest brother went to the Gossen Company,²³ which was taken over by Siemens. He went to, uh, sorry –
- JO: That's okay.
- EE: –He went to, uh, the technical college in Nuremberg. When he was finished, in between, we would sit sometimes, boy, wouldn't we like to go to America one day. (pauses) Okay. Yeah. He applied at Honeywell²⁴ in Frankfurt. Aeronautics division.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: He didn't hear for a while, so he got himself on the train went there in person. Knocked on the door. "Can I please speak with your boss? I had sent you a resume. I would like to know where I am standing." The man liked Frank. Said, "Good, come."
- JO: (chuckles) Wow.
- EE: With his knowledge, he, um, he was accepted, he worked for Honeywell for three years in Hanau near Frankfurt. And then they sent him to Chicago. And he has been here ever since. Now he is in Michigan.
- JO: So, he went to Chicago. What year did he go to Chicago?
- EE: (exhales) I've been here, I came here in '61. I think he came in '63 or '64.
- JO: (whispers) '63. What, what, like, made you come to America instead of staying or going somewhere else?
- EE: Josh, Germans are basically adventurous.

²² Siemens-Reiniger (founded 1932), a company specializing in medical technology.

²³ Gossen (founded 1919), a company specializing in electronic measuring and testing devices.

²⁴ Honeywell (founded 1906), a U.S. American company.

JO: Uh huh.

EE: You will see that a lot. That we were told when I worked for Siemens. I said, oh, someday I'd like to go to America. Just. And he said stay in the country and nourish yourself of your bread.²⁵ Eat your bread, your homeland bread. A girl can just go and see what's it's like, you know. You can always come back. The neighbor girls of ours, they married Americans, however, they came back because unfortunately, these husbands started to womanize over here. But, I married my husband, he was a lieutenant, a second lieutenant at that time, and sometimes I've wondered his family is all from Germany. No matter which side, fathers or mothers, it's all German names. The great-grandfather, uh um, immigrated to the United States in the '30s and, uh, to Chicago, and there is a street called, named after them, after the Ernst and, um, I have the feeling that maybe well if I'm here and I find somebody, yeah I'll take her home.

JO: So, what, was his family okay with him marrying a German, a full-blooded German woman.

EE: (laughs)

JO: And what about your parents, were they okay with you –

EE: Yes.

JO: – marrying an American.

EE: They knew already that Frank and I had aspirations of seeing the United States whether we go there and to live or whether we go there as tourists. My father was okay with that and for one thing, (laughs) in Germany at my time, Josh, you didn't go out with an American soldier in uniform. If you came from a good family, it didn't look good. That made people who know you, first of all my father was in leading, in a, uh, a leading position in the customs house. He was the head of the customs house. Erlangen head of customs house, and we lived upstairs in the living quarters and the office was down the hall. You could not bring shame over your father's house. (pauses) You had to know what you were doing. So, when my husband asked me the day I cleaned his teeth, "What are you doing tonight?" I said, "I usually go home and we have our supper and we are going to bed at 9 o'clock." "Well, would you have dinner with me?" I said, "Well, but I need to let my parents know, and I would like for you to come and pick me up. This isn't where I meet somebody, you know, secretly. No, no. But when you come, do you have civilian clothes? Please wear that."

JO: And he did?

²⁵ A literal translation into English of the German "Bleibe im Lande und nähre Dich redlich," Martin Luther's adaptation of a biblical/Old Testament saying (Psalm 37:3; King James Version): "Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."

- EE: He did. When he came to the door, he looked like the director of Siemens. He was so well dressed.
- JO: Wow. Was it love at first sight for you guys?
- EE: His friend, his roommate said it was on his part.
- JO: It was on his part really? Wow.
- EE: I was careful. (laughs) Because I had heard too much, you know, you just. Yeah, and then after a month, he, we went to Nuremberg for dinner. We went to dinner that day also to the Grand Hotel.²⁶ Boy, you could have, you see the money at that time was 4 to 1. You had four German marks for one dollar. So, the dinner, a very nice dinner at the Grand Hotel, was ten dollars. American dollars, that was, would have been 40 to 42 marks.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: So, then anyway, um, when he told me after a while he will have to go on maneuvers (pauses) over Christmas and, um, okay. And the next time we went to Nuremberg, he went drove up to the castle, it has a beautiful castle. And that's where he asked me. Would I want to marry him.
- JO: How long were you guys had been dating?
- EE: A month.
- JO: Wow.
- EE: (laughs)
- JO: (chuckles).
- EE: I said, "While you are on maneuvers, can I think it over please? He said, "Oh, sure. But I would like for you, if you do say yes, I would like for you to have a ring." Uh, well alrighty. Manipulating, but okay. So he came back from the maneuver (clock chiming), and uh, we had our date went to the mov – went to the dinner, went to the movies in Fürth, that's near Nuremberg, that's all on base. These are American bases, okay? "What did you think? (pauses) Okay, I'll marry you." He's a, makes a good impression as a man, doesn't he?
- JO: He does. He's a quite the, quite a gentlemen. That's –
- EE: (laughs)
- JO: So, you guys get, are en – engaged and –
- EE: Got married six months later.
- JO: Okay, in Germany, or?
- EE: In Germany.
- JO: Okay.
- EE: Yeah. On post, we had a chapel and that was on American, I mean the officers were invited, *ja*, and my family.
- JO: And then, so you guys are married and then that, when you come to America, you, you are married?
- EE: Two years, yes. (cuckoo clock going off) Two years later.

²⁶ Grand Hotel, Nuremberg (opened 1906).

JO: Two years.

EE: He extended he, he had the opportunity to extend two more years.

JO: And he did?

EE: Yes, because he liked Germany, too (laughs).

[01:10:02]

JO: What were your perceptions of America, uh, I mean —

EE: It was just the land of promises. Like so many nations think—look for America, and I told somebody, don't think that Ameri—, in America gold hangs on the trees. You have to work there just like you have to work in your country. And I know one German when we still had the 4-to-1 currency, he said, "Oh I could be so rich over there." I said, "Watch, think what you spend 100 m—marks here, is, uh, equal to \$100 dollars there. You cannot think, oh, if I have hundred dollars, I have 400 marks, that's only here. When you go to America, hundred dollars are equivalent to 100 marks.

JO: Yeah.

EE: You cannot do very much so get out of your fantasyland and, uh, realize that, that you have to work. And I have to say honestly, Josh, people really have to work harder here than in Germany. We have more holidays.

JO: Do you think that's just, I mean, California is a, is a state where, especially Southern California, where it's very expensive to live. Do you think that's just here, or do you think that's everywhere?

EE: I like to think that, um, United States, when we came here, uh, Josh, we didn't come to California. We went, ma—um Jerry's²⁷ parents, uh, lived in Tucson, Arizona. They had moved from Chicago to Tucson. Now, here comes. Time came to come to America. He sent a VW, he had a Buick Roadmaster Buick, wow, that thing is a monster on those narrow streets in Germany. He sold it to the sergeant, bought himself a VW Bug. So, I learned how to drive.

JO: Sick.

EE: In, um, on Soldiers Field²⁸ in Nuremberg. Well, tuh, ta ta ta, oh, no, I said, "You know what, give it up, I'm going to driving school." I don't know, I got into this car and knew how to drive it, I don't know how. I had two such driving lessons, I knew how to back up and how to, how to stop at little idiotic hills, that's what we call a little hill, idiot hill, it was a traffic light, make sure you don't roll back.

JO: Yeah.

²⁷ Elfa Ernst's husband, Col. Jerome (Jerry) E. Ernst (1933-2018).

²⁸ "Soldiers Field," Nuremberg, also known as the "Zeppelin Field," used as party rally grounds during the Nazi regime.

EE: In Erlangen. So then, okay, he took my brother with him (interviewer turning over new page in notes) to drive the VW to Bremerhaven²⁹ to put on the boat. And then he came back on the train. And in a few days, everything was packed up. The Army came to pack up everything and then, yeah, came a, uh uh uh, sergeant drove us to Nürnberg. Uh huh. Then we took the train to Bremer—Bremerhaven. In Bremerhaven, we had two days in the harbor. We were able to,—oh no, I'm sorry. (pauses) Bremerhaven, the boat went to Southampton—Southampton, that's, we had two days, let's go to London. Let's hop on the train it's not far, I show you around downtown, uh um, London, cause I knew it. I had been there for fourteen months. I had already Cathy,³⁰ Cathy was eleven months old. Okay. Back on the boat, and here we go. Josh, it was okay, the first two days and then came fog.

JO: Ooof.

EE: Thick fog. And I had to think of the Titanic. Because further up, four days into it, I heard of iceberg sightings, and I prayed, "Dear Lord, please let not this be similar." Then we come closer to United States, and because of that direction underneath Newfoundland, there was a storm. Now I know what happens that the storms back east can be pretty wild.

JO: Yeah.

EE: That boat went *up, and down*, and 35 feet up till you saw the crest of the waves, then it was up again *day and night* and so many people got so seasick and I held the baby crib. My husband got seasick (laughs) after.

JO: Wow.

EE: After dinner, just in front of the door. And all of sudden it was nice and quiet after ten days. Aww.

JO: So—

EE: I look out the peep, the, the, the porthole, and, Josh, here was the Statue of Liberty.

JO: And what'd you think?

EE: I felt like a pilgrim. (pauses)

JO: Wha, like, emotionally, did you start crying, or—

EE: Overwhelmed. I just thought about my life, that God steered it to the point where I do come to the States even though I didn't really work on it. But had, uh uh, an inkling here and there. Then, we pick up the VW, went driving to the, to New York for my husband's release from the Army, and while he was in this office and I'm sitting out there in the hallway, (pauses, laughs) comes a, a lady set with a little fellow up, and comes this couple. They knew each other. "Oh, where are you going?" And they said, "To California." Josh, I thought right then and there, that's where I would

²⁹ Bremerhaven, a German North Sea port city.

³⁰ Elfa Ernst's daughter Catherine (Cathy).

- like to be. I've never been here before, but something like, uh, this little voice —
- JO: Uh huh.
- EE: —That's where I'd like to be. But no, we drove up to Chicago for my husband to visit relatives. And then we were there three days, and we went Route 66 to Tucson. (laughs) Here comes the pilgrim again. (laughs)
- JO: See, now you said a couple, a couple of minutes ago that you think God made, like, steered you to America. Is that what you, wha, you know, kind of what you said?
- EE: My husband has told somebody not too long ago what she wishes she gets.
- JO: (laughs) Happy wife, happy life.
- EE: I don't know.
- JO: That's what I heard when I got married.
- EE: Yeah.
- JO: (laughs)
- EE: I don't ask for anything. I'm perfectly fine as long as I have a roof over my head and something to eat. Not just myself, the family.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: I wish this for everybody. (pauses) —So, you know. —So, we are in Tucson. We have to move in with the gran —, uh, parents-in-law. Jerry is trying to find a job. He had a real estate office before he left. He was away for four years. Well, real estate was in the bucket.
- JO: Um huh.
- EE: It was poor. What now? Oh, there was Montgomery Ward,³¹ where they were looking for somebody in the office. Assistant credit manager. He got that position, three hundred and fifty dollars a month salary. Make that today, you starve.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: In the meantime, also, then, we arrived there in end of May, that's the time when Ariz—Tucson gets nice and cooking hot. (laughs) It becomes an oven.
- JO: It does.
- EE: Even my husband was not happy anymore. Oh, ok. So, we took a trip after our little son was born, um, he was, uh, what, ten months old. We went to Muir Woods in California and I thought, ahh, California here we come! And he had written resumes, oh no, one thing, (a plane is heard overhead) that I cannot live with this, I cannot have this income. I said, "Tell me something, can you buy California newspapers in Tucson?" He said, "I think so. I go, look." (laughs). He brought home a newspaper and we looked in the job market.

³¹ Montgomery Ward, American retail company (1872-2001).

JO: (whispers) So I thought.

[01:20:05]

EE: (laughs) I say, ah ah, what kind of typewrite you have, oh this little clunker. And, oh gosh, you had to really push hard,

JO: Yeah.

EE: But I typed his resumes. One for California Federal Savings and Loan in Los Angeles, and another similar, uh, inst—money institution in San Jose. Okay. Pack up the babies, here we come (a car drives by). In the meantime, he had sold his, um, VW and bought a big Buick, because we needed a bigger car for family (laughs).

JO: Yeah.

EE: It was a used car, but it was a tank I tell you! We got hit, it wouldn't dent! (laughs) *Ja*, here we came. We went to San Jose first, then saw San Francisco. There he applied in person. Then we came down here to Los Angeles, where his friend was living and, um, we could stay with him. And he went California Federal. Okay. We came back to Tucson. There was already a letter: "Mr. Ernst, we would like for you to come and work for us. California Feder—Federal Savings and Loan." And just one month before we moved out of the in-law house into an apartment, and now I had to pack all this together again.

JO: (laughs)

EE: I went to Mayflower,³² "Can I have boxes plea—plea—please?" (laughs) So, I packed it up again for two days and late into the night. Good. I don't mind going to California.

JO: How, um, in what ways do you think Southern California has influenced European migrants like yourself?

EE: It's just a very pleasant place to live. And anyone that I, when I went to visit, and especially it took 11 years before I could go home. We didn't really have the money. My husband took up a loan and so that we could go. We flew milit—on a military plane and then when we arrived in Frankfurt, we had to go on the train to *Nürnberg*, change trains and go to Erlangen. (pauses) So then when people asked, "Oh, where do you come from?" I said, "California." "Ah, as if you came from paradise, you know?" (laughs)

JO: Yeah.

EE: (laughs) You lucky!

JO: And is that how you, did you kind of like, "Yeah I'm from California. You, you're jealous of me, I know it."

³² Mayflower (founded 1927), U.S. American moving company.

- EE: I've never ground that into anybody. You know, when they say (inaudible 01:23:18). And then it's raining, I said, "I brought a pot full of sunshine!" (laughs)
- JO: Do, do you think if you settled anywhere else in the U.S., do you think, your, uh, experiences might have been different?
- EE: Yes.
- JO: Definitely.
- EE: Yes. Today I know I could never live in Arizona. I cannot take the dry air.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: Everything hurts. Chicago (pauses), is a lovely city; my husband took me there two more times over the years. I don't think I could take that winter. But, you know, a human being can get used to anything.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: If it has to. I don't think I would love, would like to live in the Midwest. I think this horror, when it comes to tornados, I don't think I could take that (clock chiming). I mean we've had earthquakes, things like that cause me to become like paralyzed. I can't move. It's like a rod suddenly came into my spine. We've had hundred-mile hour winds here one year, eight or nine years.
- JO: Yeah, was it two years ago or something like that too, or was it a while ago?
- EE: No, no. A while ago. It broke, the big window in the hallway. It was *horrible*. Between the houses it sounded like a big scream all night long and you prayed, "Dear Lord, please let it calm down." But for six hours, I know what a hurricane is. That's a hurricane. Seventy mile an hour winds was already a hurricane, and we've had already eighty mile and hour winds here.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: That we did not experience in Huntington Beach because when we, when we came, when we moved from California, I mean from Tucson to here, we lived in Silverlake.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: We lived there for no more than a year because my husband then was transferred to, uh, Newport Beach from Los Angeles. So, we moved to Huntington Beach. Those homes were brand new. They stood there for a year and a half, and he made an offer and they took it. They were glad to get rid of it. (laughs) The houses, you got a house for thirty-two thousand dollars.
- JO: Yeah. Wow.
- EE: But this whole, uh, environment, was somehow, um, made what I am. You know? And all these experiences and I could give to my children experiences what if you do that, (pauses) even today.
- JO: Yeah. (pauses) Now, the kind of, uh, other question I wanted to talk —

- EE: —Let's turn the light on we need to, it's right behind you, yeah, that little, yeah— It's just really what we call in Germany a *funzel*,³³ a *funzel* is —
- JO: (laughs) looks like we got a —
- EE: A bulb is out.
- JO: Yeah.
- EE: And I need to wash these lights. I know that now.
- JO: (laughs)
- EE: It's coming.
- JO: How — did you consider yourself, while you were here (pauses), religious, like how did religion play into the whole immigrating over here?
- EE: Hmm. hmm (pauses). My family was Protestant Lutheran. We, we've never been very, uh, very religious. We went to church Christmas and Easter and Pentecost. Pentecost is a big holiday in Germany. We went, my brother Frank and I, we went to church when we were in elementary school in Rodach. Actually, that, that little town where we lived, that name is Rodach. So, R-O-D-A-C-H, that's 18 kilometers from Coburg.³⁴ In history, you will hear about Coburg-Gotha.³⁵ The princes of Coburg-Gotha, but Rodach had thirty-five hundred inhabitants and the refugees added to it. So now, we had to go to church, however, children grow, and I outgrew my shoes and for goodness sakes, you couldn't find any, buy any shoes in 1945. (pauses) Not for girls, so that shoe store said, "When I get some shoes in, I'll let you know." And finally, they got some shoes and they were boy's shoes. (chuckles). I wore boy shoes! Didn't think anything of it. A coat, there was a care package that the minister brought to our, to us at Christmas. A care package from America, with a coat in it for me. It fit. It was a little checkered, but I was thankful that I had a coat. But, what Frank and I wore and we shared, we had to share, because he is only two years younger than I, and we grew, the Germans soldiers wore something towards the end of the the Russian, uh uh, winter. They were thick wooden soles³⁶ and on top was a felt, was felt, not leather, but a thicker felt, and, and to close it, you didn't have shoe laces, there was just this little mechanism that you pushed into this little loop and then pushed over. *Ja*. Frank went to school one day, and I went to school another day. So, that was for me the fifth and sixth grade. (pauses) And, and such mode, then came the boys shoes and I was happy to have shoes that I can go to school every day. So now that has to fit in to the time of where we ended up in my, uh, great-grandmother's son's town. It goes back now,

³³ *Funzel*, German colloquialism for a lamp that provides poor lighting.

³⁴ Coburg, town in northeastern Bavaria, Germany

³⁵ Members of the German ducal house of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha include King Leopold I of Belgium (b. 1790, r. 1831-1865), and Prince Albert (1819-1861), the husband of Queen Victoria

³⁶ Shoe soles.

now come little details. But, you know, it took 15 years for Germany to really build up.

JO: Yeah.

EE: And have certain things available.

[01:30:49]

JO: The last two questions I have is, how would you define yourself? American, German-American, American-German?

EE: *Ja*. German-American. Because had I come year in younger years, I was 26 when I came, all of sudden you realize what you really have in your genes. Ages, ages, going back and it is, in my mind, it is a quality that I don't want to lose. If I think of my grandparents, my great-grandmother whom I still, uh, knew, all that lies back, wow, and how diligent they were. How smart. How not behind the moon. What I call behind the moon is in knowledge, always well were parents well educated, grandfather's position. —I'll show you my grandfather, I have a picture of that—I mean, uh uh (chuckles), one of my brother's ex-husbands when he saw my grandfather in his hunting outfit, that was a man he shaved his, all his hair, but he was so statuesque. He had these cool blue eyes, and he was a typical German master, who would not allow malarkey and his—his apprentices or the people who worked for him, he did not allow dumb things.

JO: Yeah.

EE: One of them went once to clean a chimney and there was money on the table and a watch. And they came home and my grandfather gets a phone call. The lady complaining, "I had money and a watch on the table." Grandfather knew who was there. "Come here. You empty your pockets right in front of me." He took him by the ear (laughs), he twisted his ear. And yes, here was the money, and here was the pock—, the the the watch. He slapped the kid. Today, if some master does that, he's in jail!

JO: Yeah.

EE: Typical old-fashioned master, you cannot do somethings nowadays anymore.

JO: No. And the last question I have is how would you like World War II to be remembered?

EE: Fearful. We lived in fear (pauses) because the last time that one, one of the last Sundays when we sat in that cellar in Troppau, in Czechoslovakia, there was a need to run for the gas masks. The light went out. Everything was so close by and we did not know what kind of bombs they are throwing, so we each headed for our gas mask. And that to me, as a nine-year-old, eight-year-old, nine-year-old child was so unbelievably scary, everybody looking at each other with these gas masks on.

JO: (pauses) Scary.

EE: If I think of my cousins in Dresden. They had left Dresden to go to Berlin, well Dresden, in Dresden, the Allies threw phosphorus bombs.

JO: Yeah.

EE: People were burning on their bodies. They jumped in the *Elbe* River and when they came out they burned again. War is *horrible*, and I feel so *sorry* for American soldiers, Americans to have been sent (coughs) to Vietnam, to Iraq, to Afghanistan. These people have (pauses) beaten each other up for centuries, why should America, (clears throat) excuse me, why should this beautiful country have to be the policeman for every part, part in the world if they have beaten each other up? Stand back, and let them, and look what comes of it. *They'll never change*.

JO: Wow. Again, I want to thank you for allowing me to come over into your house—

EE: Josh—

JO: —and hear your, uh, great stories that you told today. And, um, thank you very much.

EE: You're most welcome.—You sure you don't want some water or anything?

JO: (laughs) Uh, I'll get some water right now. Okay, yeah.

EE: I have uh—

[01:36:15]

END OF INTERVIEW

James Marshall Novak and Luis Roberto Renteria III (editors)

*The Voice of Jean Ardell:
News Media and Political Courage behind the "Orange Curtain"*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: Women, Politics, and Activism Since Suffrage [COPH OHP_270].

O.H. 5496.

Oral Interview with Jean Ardell, conducted by Heather Robinson,

December 2, 2014, Corona del Mar (Newport Beach), California.

Introduction

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "Women, Politics, and Activism Since Suffrage" (OHP_270), a project directed by Dr. Natalie Fousekis, Professor of History (CSUF). As of 2019, approximately one hundred interviews have been recorded. The interview with Jean Ardell was conducted by Heather Robinson, at the time a CSUF student, on December 2, 2014, in Corona del Mar (Newport Beach), California. The interview lasted 1 hour, 6 minutes, and 24 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2018 by James Marshall Novak and Luis Roberto Renteria III.

Jean Ardell was born on January 23, 1943, in Brooklyn, New York, grew up in Queens, and eventually moved to Orange County, California. On her personal [website](#), Ardell states: "At times a particular issue compels me: I've published features on the health hazards of electromagnetic fields, domestic violence, charity telemarketing, Major League Baseball's Urban Youth Academy in Compton, and the Orange County (California) Republican Party. By 2012, I found political issues so compelling that for several years I wrote a semi-monthly column, 'Left of Center' for the Newport Beach Independent." Ardell's publications include *Breaking into Baseball: Women and the National Pastime* (2005). In her interview, Ardell talks about growing up in a traditionally Republican, baseball-loving family; attending Hunter College High School (Manhattan), Butler University (Indianapolis), and the University of California, Irvine; changing her party registration to the Democrats in 2007; becoming involved in Orange County politics and news coverage; and taking on a leadership role in the Newport Beach Women's Democratic Club.

As a historical primary source, this interview provides fascinating insights into the life story of a political activist. References to significant issues and events include the 2009 excommunication of Sister Margaret Mary McBride, a Catholic

hospital administrator in Arizona, for permitting the termination of a pregnancy; the 2012 visit of U.S. President Barack Obama to Newport Beach; the 2012 Chick-fil-A same-sex marriage controversy; the 2014 defeat of ballot “Measure Y” pertaining to land use in Orange County; and the—at the time of the interview upcoming—election of 2016.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Luis Roberto Renteria III of Garden Grove, California, earned his A.A. in Music, Liberal Arts, and History from Golden West College (2017), and a B.A. in History from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2019), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is a 2019 recipient of CSUF’s Seymour Scheinberg Jewish Studies Award. He served as an editor for this volume of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History.”

ABOUT THE EDITOR: James Marshall Novak of Buena Park, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History, with a minor in Art History, at California State University, Fullerton. The primary-source edition published below originated in the “History and Editing” course offered by CSUF’s History Department.

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 5496)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Jean Ardell [JA]

INTERVIEWER: Heather Robinson [HR]

DATE: December 2, 2014

LOCATION: Corona del Mar (Newport Beach), California

PROJECT: Women, Politics, and Activism Since Suffrage [COPH OHP_270]

TRANSCRIBERS: James Marshall Novak and Luis Roberto Renteria III

HR: Alright, this is Heather Robinson on December 2nd, here with Miss Jean Ardell. And let’s get started. So, first things first, family background: Where were you born?

JA: Brooklyn, New York.

HR: Okay, and what date was your birthday?

JA: January 23rd, 1943.

HR: Okay. Tell me a little bit about Brooklyn and what brought you out this way?

JA: Well, actually I lived in Quee—I grew up in Queens. I was born in the hospital in Brooklyn, and my parents were moderate Republicans. Although, I found out after my father died, my mother was really a Democrat, but she said she could never tell my husband that—my, uh, my

- father. So, um, I came out in the '60s and, um, I married a boy from California, and we moved to Balboa Island. And, um, you know, I went through a divorce, but I stayed and, um, my mother wound up coming out and living with me and, um, never left. So.
- HR: Wow, that's it. You always wonder East Coast versus West Coast? What feels more like home to you? Do you still go back to the East Coast?
- JA: Oh yeah, yeah. My problem was all my friends, um, moved away after high school and my cousins kinda scattered too. They lived—I was an only child—and they moved to upstate New York and different parts of the city. So, there was never one place to go back and gather at, but, um, I get very homesick for New York City. But, this is my home, my kids are here they live within twenty minutes of me and, um, I love it here in most respects. Um, you know, there's this old Neil Diamond song,¹ um, what is it called? "I am, I am myself" or something, and it, he talks about being split between New York and L.A., and he—pulled back and forth, and I feel that way sometimes. You know—I brought a lot of my New York sensibilities with me. So.
- HR: Do you feel like they're both two large cities, but they are very polar opposite as well?
- JA: Yeah, yeah.
- HR: Definitely. I love New York. Um, so a little bit about your childhood then. So, tell me a little bit about your childhood?
- JA: Ok, I was an only child, um, I was a huge baseball fan, my dad was a fan, and we—you know—they had three teams in New York in that time—during that time, and so I um—
- HR: Who was the third team?
- JA: —So, I went to the ball games with them. The New York Yankees, of course, and the Brooklyn Dodgers—
- HR: Oh, yes.
- JA: —and the New York Giants.
- HR: Ok.
- JA: So, we went to a lot of games and that was our bond and, uh, that's pretty—that's pretty common, um, with girls. If they have a baseball loving-father and he includes their, their—his daughter in the game, it becomes a real connection. So, um, I grew up, um, in Queens, it was actually—I can't say it was rural but it was—it wasn't dense, in the sense that you think of Manhattan being densely populated. And, uh, I wound up going in seventh grade—I started going to school in the city, uh, to Hunter.² And it was a very academic school and you had to take a test to get in. And I had to take a bus and two subways to get there and, um

¹ Neil Diamond, "I am, I said" (1971).

² Hunter College High School (Manhattan), New York, New York.

(pauses), I, I started at age eleven. And, um, I didn't wanna go, I wanted to go with my friends locally to the junior high, but that didn't work out (chuckles). So, I had to go, and it was the best thing my parents ever did for me. It was—I got a fabulous education there. Um, I also was given a subway pass to get back and forth to school. And what we used to do was ride the subways out to Brooklyn, or up to the Bronx, and explore different lines and see what the neighborhoods were like. And twelve—thirteen-year-old girls on the subway, running around Manhattan. And, uh, we went up to Harlem once and, uh, it was a black neighborhood, and whites weren't welcome. And we didn't know, we just walked out into the street. And this older woman came up to us and said: "Girls, you're in the wrong neighborhood, you need to turn around and go back downtown." And she put her arm around us and showed us downtown, d—So. (chuckles) Yeah, so that was, you know,—you want an education, ride the sub—the New York city subway as a kid, you see everything. And, um—

HR: It's your street-smarts education.

JA: Well, that too. That too. Um, my kids tell me, I have an inner New Yorker that comes out sometimes. (laughs) And, uh, I went ice-skating after school at Central Park or Rockefeller Center. And, uh, you know, you just, uh—I love strolling the streets of Manhattan. So, um, I went to—I started college in, uh, Indiana where my father's family was from, Butler University,³ good basketball school. And, um, Indiana was quite—is quite conservative. It was then, and it still is. And, um, I kinda had my eyes opened about racism because New York City was segregated in those days in the '50s. But, you didn't think much about it because you—you—if you went into a shop or if you were anywhere at all. You usually ran into people of different races and ethnicities, and I thought that was normal, and gay people. You know—I used to go down to the Village all the time and hang out down in Washington Square and, um, you know, there were all kinds of gay people around and you just figured that was the way humanity was. So, in Indiana, not so. And, uh, it was kinda of a, a rude encounter with racism that it was just automatically assumed that blacks were not (pauses) up to snuff. And, um, I remember inviting one of the black students to—in the dorm to have dinner at our table one night—and, um, my next-door neighbor in the dorm was from Arkansas, and she was unusually quiet at dinner, and later she told me, she'd never been at a dinner table with a black person before (pauses and laughs).

HR: Wow.

³ Butler University (founded 1855), Indianapolis, Indiana.

JA: So, you know, then I came out to Orange County and finished up my education at UC Irvine,⁴ and, um (pauses), you know, I encountered a whole different sort of, um, Republicanism than I had grown up with. Um, as the '70s wore on—you know—it was just getting farther and farther and farther to the right. And, um, as I was doing my freelance writing career, I—in '96, I think it was, '95, I decided to do a story on the Orange County Republican Party. And, uh, just it was the kinda point of view, I am the only, you know, woman around here that feels this way that the Party's left me. And, um, I thought we get all kinds of protest and so did my editor, and we didn't. We got, uh, people who said, "I thought I was the only one that felt that way." So, um, it was an eye-opener. And, um, I stopped voting Republican (pauses) mostly becau—for two reasons. Um, one, um, there—there truly was war against women. Um, there's a book out by that name, and I talked to the woman who wrote it.⁵ And, uh, it had to do with reproductive rights, and I happen to be anti-abortion, but pro-choice. And, um, I don't think this issue *ever* should have been politicized to the extent it was. And, um, I had an aunt who had a horrible experience with an illegal abortion and barely lived and could never have children after that. So, um, when *Roe v. Wade*⁶ came out, I saw the benefit. Um, the other thing was the, the religious right piled in. And, um, I was going to an evangelical church at the time, Mariners,⁷ which is huge. And, um, I, I bought into some of it, but not all of it. And it became more and more wrapped up about, um, political issues, and, um, I'd always had gay friends, and all of the sudden, you know, gay was the besetting sin: being gay. And, um, it really bothered me. So, um, we wound up going to—moving to a, uh, progressive church, St. Mark Presbyterian.⁸ But, um, I, I, I thought—I, I can't be in a party—I was still a registered Republican. I said, "I can't (pauses) have my name in a party like this—that—that espouses such hate." So, um, I kept my registration because I, I kept voting for the most progressive Republican candidates in the primaries. Well, they never got elected—they never got chosen—it was never gonna happen. And then, um, in '08, Sarah Palin was, um, back. I think she was in Virginia, and she was doing a real hellfire-and-brimstone speech, and it was all against Obama. And, um, I was horrified at the racism that came out against him. And, um, somebody in the audience shou—shouted out loud enough to be heard by everybody and on TV, um, "Kill him!" And she didn't even bat an eyelash, and she never repudiated or addressed

⁴ University of California, Irvine, in Orange County, California.

⁵ Presumably Marilyn French (1929-2009), author of *The War against Women* (1992).

⁶ *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973), a case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

⁷ Mariners Church in Orange County, California, founded 1965.

⁸ St. Mark Presbyterian Church in Newport Beach, California.

that comment. Now John McCain did, on another incident, but she never did, and I thought, I, there's no use in having—being, being a registered Republican. It's—I haven't voted Republican in years, there's no point to it. And I know enough about the local Republican Party to know (chuckles) that it was not—not a seemly group. So, I changed to Democrat, and then in twenty—

HR: What year was that, that you changed to?

JA: —Uh, '08 or, actually, it was '07, yeah.

HR: Prior to the election?

JA: Yeah.

[00:10:32]

HR: Ok.

JA: It was during the campaign when I heard that (pause) comment and I, I just wrote it in and changed my, my registration. So, um, it felt right, it felt good. I don't agree with everything the Democrats believe in. But, um, by in large, yes, and they're certainly preferable to what the belief systems the Republicans are promoting. So, um (pauses), what happened next. (pauses) I, um, in 2010, I was teaching a memoir writing class at the Newport Beach Public Library for the foundation. And a student in the class was the chairman of the local Republican women's—or Democratic women's club in town. And she kept, she kept inviting me to come. So, I did, and I got interested. (brushing sound in the background growing louder) And, um, it was a good group of women, and, you know, as the old joke—who—who else is a Democrat in this town cause it's got a reputation for being so conservative. And it turned there's a lot of them, but they tend to be quiet. And, um, so we started growing the club and Suzanne,⁹ the original president, wound up, um, running for office, and she had to step down when she did that. So, I was sort of (pauses) cornered into being president, and I, I did it reluctantly, but I am glad I did it. I, I like doing it and I ran again last month, and I have another year. And then I'll step down and pass it on because I don't think you should stay too long. But, um, it's been a blast, I have met so many amazing women, um, through the club. Uh, and, we're starting to have a voice, we're starting to make ourselves known in town. And, um, along with that, let's see, go, backpaddling a little bit. Um, in—let's see it's 2015. In 2012, Obama was coming to town for a fundraiser and you would've thought Hitler was coming to town. The Republicans were so beside themselves that he had the audacity to come to Newport Beach. And he

⁹ Dr. Suzanne Savary, co-founder of the Newport Beach Women's Democratic Club (2007).

was gonna be at a home just down the street at, uh, Shore Cliffs.¹⁰ So, I ran into an editor I used to write for, and he said, "Why don't you write for the Newport Beach—and do a—do a column on, um, on, um, Obama coming to town. And, um, see if you like it, maybe you'll wanna do a column 'cause I have got people on the right, but it's hard to get people to write on the left." And I said, "Okay, I'll, I'll check it out." So, I spent four hours down on the street—I could literally walk down the street—there was a big demonstration. And, um—

HR: What was the demonstration around?

JA: Well, the Republicans organized to protest his presence. The Democrats organized to protest the protest. (both chuckle). And, um,—I had great ol' time, in fact I can give you the column, um, that I did. And, um, I got hooked on doing this. And so I went back to Roger,¹¹ my editor and I said, "This, I'd like to do this every couple weeks." So, I've been doing it almost for three years and, um, it's a great forum. I—they—like me, they let me write whatever I want (chuckles). And, um, I get great feedback, I mean, I get amazing feedback. And even though I, I have a friend on the city council, an acquaintance, I should say, and she said, "Even though the city council doesn't always like what you say or agree with you, they respect you, you do your homework." And, um, if you're gonna be the voice of, you know, the other, you better darn well have done your homework. So, um, it's been a very satisfying, um, thing to do. (brushing continues)

HR: What is, what does the election process look for you? When you were running for—

JA: For President? Oh gosh, it was very informal. Um, our club was loosely organized. And, um, I was basically point—, you know, singled out and asked, will I do this. And I said "Yeah, but if I do it, I gonna make some changes and I don't want anyone getting mad at me." 'Cause it was kinda—it really was disorganized. And, um, it had kinda started in somebody's living room and they got together and drank wine and talked politics. And it was the same old, same old for a few years. And then they started growing, and they outgrew the living rooms, but they didn't know where to go. So, I changed the venue. And, um, I started getting speakers, uh, we did a candidates forum, um, a couple months ago for the city council. And, uh, we're having, uh, Dean, uh, Chemerinsky¹² from UCI, uh, the Law School, come and talk in February. I wanna get Tom

¹⁰ A reference to U.S. President Barack Obama's visit to the Shore Cliffs neighborhood in Corona del Mar on February 16, 2012.

¹¹ Presumably Roger Bloom, founding editor of the *Newport Beach Independent*.

¹² Erwin Chemerinsky, Dean of the University of California, Irvine, School of Law (2008-2017).

Hayden¹³ to come and talk. So, um, you know, the Democrats are interesting because they got so many different avenues, you can get environmentalists, you can get, you know, constitutional law people, you can get, um, you know, minority advocates, um, the gays, um, you know, all kinds of people with a different perspective, unions, and, um, I don't think we hear enough from them.

HR: Well, that would be my next question. So, what—what kind of feedback have you received? Or even just personal how does—what does it feel like to be a Democrat behind the “Orange Curtain?”¹⁴

JA: Oh. It feels very good. Um, first of all, it feels authentic. And, um,—Newport Beach, I have lived here since the '60s. As a town, it's grown, it didn't use to be that way. But, mid-'70s, it really started to changing, and started becoming ostentatious. And, uh, it was always a wealthy town 'cause people had their vacation homes here. But, they lived pretty basically, the only way you knew people were wealthy is by their address if they lived on the water, you know, they probably had more money than you did. But, um, all that changed in the '70s. And, um, there was a lot of people that wanted to fit in, that wanted to be with the right people, and career-wise and socially, and the Republican Party was the place to be. So, you know, it was the glam thing to do. So, um, like any single party, though, you know, Orange County has traditionally been dominated by the Republicans, um, so has Newport Beach. When I was growing up in New York, it was the opposite. It was the Democratic Party machine that had a grip on New York City. And I remember my parents bemoaning the fact, you know, that they—that there wasn't equity, there wasn't fairness, there wasn't this—you know—it was all one way. And, um, I see that out here now. So, um, it feels good to be able to speak up and say, “Hey there's another point of view to this, have you thought about this, uh, from a different angle.” And, um, one of the great shining moments we had was on “Measure Y.”¹⁵ Um, are you familiar with that?

HR: No, no.

JA: There was, um—oh, to backtrack a little bit, um, the Irvine Company¹⁶ is the, a huge player of course in town.

HR: They own Irvine Spectrum¹⁷ and the apartments adjacent, correct?

JA: Yeah, many—

¹³ Thomas Emmett Hayden (1939-2016), American activist.

¹⁴ A reference to the dividing line between historically conservative Orange County and historically (more) liberal Los Angeles County.

¹⁵ Measure Y, Amendment of the Newport Beach General Plan, Land Use Element, ballot question, November 4, 2014 (defeated).

¹⁶ Irvine Company, real estate firm in Newport Beach, California, founded 1864.

¹⁷ Irvine Spectrum, shopping center in Irvine, California, opened 1995.

HR: All that land.

JA: —many—much, much land. Including Fashion Island.¹⁸

[00:18:20]

HR: Ok.

JA: And, um, at some point, they wanted to continue developing, uh, Fashion Island and Newport Center. And, um, traffic has gotten worse because of it. So, citizens got together and there was—there's an organization called "Stop Polluting Our Newport" that I was involved in years ago. And, uh, it's basically environmental, but it's anti-development, if you will. Um, anti-extreme development to the point where we become like westside L.A. So, um, they wanted—they passed the "green light" initiative which means that the city council, if they wanna approve a large development project that generates more traffic past a certain point, they're gonna have to put it to the people and put it to a vote. So, there was—they had to do this—the Irvine Company wanted to build all kinds of stuff and, it was a foolish, foolish development, uh, it didn't make any sense. So, everybody rallied, I wrote five or six columns and went at it from all different kinds of angles. And it was defeated by a 69.5 percent margin. Yeah, which is huge, *huge!* And the money that was poured into getting it passed was—

HR: The other side of it? Yeah?

JA: —huge—

HR: Wow.

JA: —*huge!* Um, so, it just, it was just inspiring because it goes to show citizens rally and get together, and, you know, work hard and get the message out, they can make a difference. And it was the right decision. So, um, that was—that was very satisfying. So, it feels good. You know, I've offended people—I, I joke that I, I, um—'cause I am not shy what I write. And, um—(pauses and chuckles), I've, I've offended friends, um, and I've offend, um, people I know in town. Um, I wrote about, um, the progressive church we go to versus the, um, conservative Presbyterian church we used to go to, St. Andrew's,¹⁹ and my old St. Andrew's friends, one of them got really offended. And I said, "We have been talking about this for twenty-five years, I didn't say *anything* in my column that you haven't heard." You know, when we get into these discussions, and they've always been collegial, um, ten times over, so what's the problem, well it was in the paper. And, uh, I said, "Shouldn't a church as successful as St. Andrews, 'cause it's big and wealthy, be willing to take a look itself and its effect on people in a fresh way?" I said, "That's what we are called to do as Christians, every day of our lives." So, you know, what's the

¹⁸ Fashion Island, mall in Newport Beach, opened 1967.

¹⁹ Presumably St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Newport Beach, California.

- problem, um, so that was—that was an issue. Um, they also didn't like a column I did on, um, when Chick-fil-A, um—I don't know if you remember, a couple years ago the president of Chick-fil-A—
- HR: Yes, Huckabee.²⁰
- JA: —was—came out anti-gay, and I wrote kind of this satire—
- HR: And there was a lot of support from the Republican candidates at that point.
- JA: Yeah. Yeah. So, I did a column on “To Chick-fil-A or not to Chick-fil-A: Should I boycott it or Should I not.” And, um, I—it was pretty satirical, and, um, I actually quoted a study from, um, I think it went to Yale or Stanford, a professor said that there are, I don't know, fifteen hundred species of animals that exhibit homosexual behavior. And the chicken is one of them, so I closed with saying—
- HR: Ironic.
- JA: —you, know, people wanna know is Chick-fil-A serving up gay chicken. So, that didn't play well in some places.
- HR: I'm sure not.
- JA: So, I am sorry if you can't laugh at yourself. So, that caused some trouble and another one was, uh, when Hoag Hospital²¹ affiliated with St. Joseph.²² Um, they coincidentally decided to end, uh, elective abortions, all abortions actually at Hoag, um, a few months later. And our club and several other women's organizations formed a coalition and we had a demonstration at across from the hospital. I brought my granddaughter, um, we—I did four or five columns on it. And, um, again it was a bad public policy, and we got Kamala Harris to reopen the—an investigation into how it was done. And she got Hoag to acquiesce, it wasn't everything we wanted, but we got them to back down on some of it. And we also brought a lot of the attention to the issue. So, um, you know. There—I had—I had two good friends whose husbands are the board of Hoag. So, that got exciting, and we got together talked about it. But, um—(coughs) it's funny, people—people often don't understand journalists and writers that, when they write for publication, they're writing, I mean—I mean I am pretty-authentic writer if you look at what write and how I talk and what I believe and what I write. It's, it's pretty much all one piece. Um, but, you—you write it out of your heart because you care, and you have something to say. You, uh,—I don't do vendettas or go after somebody and take cheap shots, and believe me, it's easy to do as a writer. Um, you see it all the time. And, um, I really try to not do that, but a lot of my old

²⁰ The reference actually appears to be to Chick-fil-A's then (2012) COO Daniel Truett Cathy.

²¹ Hoag, Orange County health care network, founded 1952.

²² St. Joseph, hospital in Orange County, opened 1929.

friends, I kinda thought, “Do you not know me?” So, um, everybody is still speaking to me that I care about. (chuckles)

HR: That’s a win.

JA: We don’t go near some subjects which is fine, you know, and, um, I have also had some Republicans come to me and say, “You know, I hate to say it, but I agree with you on this or that.” And I keep harping that there’s, you know, there’s a lot of common ground out there. If you’ll get off the high horse and the rhetoric and just look at the issue. And what the results—what the consequences are of doing this or not doing that. So, um, that’s what I—and there’s other times we’re talking about this with friends the other day and, um, and they’re total liberals, they live down in Del Mar. And I said, um, “Sometimes I feel like a fool for evening bothering to write this stuff. Does—is it even gonna matter in the age of the Koch Brothers²³ and the Supreme Court that we have.” Um, I don’t know. But, I guess I, I would feel worse if I didn’t write anything. So.

[00:25:03]

[digression]²⁴

[00:27:55]

HR: Do, do you consider yourself a leader-slash-activist? Or do you consider yourself a political leader or a political activist?

JA: No, I’m, I’m not a—I don’t believe in vertical hierarchies in organizations. I believe in spreading the—(laughs)—the joy and the angst of, of, um, of the work. So, um, I am the president, um, but I try to enlist in the power and encourage the whole club to be involved in ways that make sense to people. Some people are just happy to come and sit and listen, and they have an important part because they can go and talk to their neighbors and their families about what they hear. Others have a specific interest, big on women’s reproductive rights, um, the environment, um, is the city council behaving itself, um, you know, you name it. So, um, I try to put people where they, um, where they wanna be. So, I guess, if that’s leadership, I guess I’m leading it, but, um, I see it more working alongside of people to get, get our name and our voice, um, and our presence in town better known. Um, I guess I’m an activist, um, you know, I had—I guess I have the heart of a crusader inside. It’s not something I tend to foster in myself, it just kinda comes out, but like with “Measure Y” and getting that defeated: that was a crusade for me. I probably did five columns on it and I, I got more of a response on those columns than I ever got anything else, as far as numbers go. Lots and lots of people responded and mostly positive, um, and it was circulated. It was copied and

²³ Charles G. Koch and David H. Koch, heads of Koch Industries.

²⁴ At this point, the interview digresses, resuming at 00:27:55.

circulated around town. So, in that, in that respect I was an activist. Also, in the Hoag affiliation I s'—I, I was definitely an activist on that, um, writing the columns and talking about it with people and, uh, trying to, you know, get it out there that, that that is a bad place to be (pounds hand on table/surface). Basically—what—and forgive me if you're Roman Catholic. But, um, (coughs)—the gist of the story is that across the country Catholic hospitals are scarfing up, um, others that, uh—and they impose their own values on these hospitals. So you cannot have an abortion at one of these hospitals after they've affiliated or, or been, you know, taken up by the Catholic hospital. And in life issues too: contraception. Um, a lot of things that people take for granted, uh, and it's Catholic policy to say "no." So, there was a woman, um, in Arizona, a mother of four who had severe problems with her fifth pregnancy and was rushed to a hospital, I think in Phoenix. And, uh, the Sister²⁵ who was running the hospital felt that the woman's life was in danger. They had to terminate the pregnancy, or both the baby and the woman were gonna die. (banging sound) So, the Sister decided that there was room in the Catholic belief system to, uh, permit the abortion, and they did, and she lived. Um, the Bishop²⁶ over there, the Cardinal I guess it is, um, excommunicated her and moved her out of her position and to a, uh, less influential job. That's scary. If you want—if you want to, um, be Catholic and go to a Catholic hospital and live under those rules, go, and God bless. But, I don't, and I don't think I should have to. And, nor should anybody else that doesn't want to. Uh, why—why religion is now driving our healthcare system, I don't know, and more than twenty percent of our hospitals today are under Catholic, uh, direction and it's growing. And I am sure the Koch Brothers are behind that, too. So, you know, they've got the money behind them. It's—it's really (pause) scary. So.

HR: So I've heard. What, um, what has been your biggest challenge as a leader-activist?

[00:32:31]

JA: I think getting people to care enough. Um, you know, to actually believe that their voice can make a difference.

HR: What are you most proud of (pauses) in that time being the leader-activist?

JA: Well, uh, I, getting the club to grow—we—when I took office, we, we had our membership rolls were a little, uh, shabby (chuckles). They hadn't been maintained, but when we did the audit, we had forty-six members, and we're up to fif—almost sixty now. Fifty-eight for sure, and a couple

²⁵ Sr. Margaret Mary McBride (Religious Sisters of Mercy).

²⁶ Thomas James Olmsted, Bishop of Phoenix.

more are joining. Uh, and a lot of visitors. So, that's in the space of a few months. And they're the kind of people you are excited about that have good political credentials, and, uh, smart, (screeching sound) capable people. So, we now have a treasurer who's a retired CPA. We now have a web-mistress who's married to the CEO of, um, QLogic,²⁷ um, down in Aliso Viejo. Um, so you know, we've got people that know what they're doing, and, um, I am proud of that, I am proud that the—you know—we're attracting people. Um, and I, I'm *proud*—I'm not proud of it, but I'm just happy to be a part of a group of women that are so interesting, you know, they're people you wanna hang out with. (pauses) So.

HR: Very nice. Do you consider yourself a feminist?

JA: Yes. Yes, it's one of my abiding regrets that it's become a dirty word. And young women say, "I, I'm not a feminist, but," and I always wanna say, "You are a feminist, sweetie, or you wouldn't be doing what you're doing." So, yeah.

HR: Absolutely. Do you feel as though men and women lead differently?

JA: (pauses) Yes and no. Um, most of the men that I have been around are good Republican businessmen, my husband would be one. Although he would—he hasn't voted Demo—Republican in a while either, and he voted for Obama, but, um, he takes a huge amount of ribbing from his Republican friends. But, um, they, they tend to be more hierarchal, and one of the things where our club, that we're concerned about is, we're really at the point where there's a lot of—of successful Democratic businessmen in town. We should be working alongside them, and we haven't made any effort at all. And that's gonna change, it needs to change. And some of the concerns are, well, if we open it up to men, are they're gonna come in and do it the good-ol'-boys' way. Or do we get to keep our autonomy and, you know, are a feminine voice which means a great deal to many of us. Um, you know, we have some old-line feminists that aren't real interested and (pauses), you know, um, but I think, um, it's—I think it's important to find a way to do it. And I happen to like working with men. Um, I'm a baseball researcher in my other my life and I do a lot of, um, work with men. It's a male oriented field, and, um, baseball writing and baseball research. So, um, I'm used to working with men. And, in that regard, no, it's, it's a personality thing. One guy's stronger, one woman's stronger. Two others might be much more laid back and, you know, just not so directed. So.

HR: Uh, sticking with the gender, but backtracking a little bit, did your parents ever set gender roles for you? Did they ever have the discussion of, um, you know, women do this, or women should do that? Or was it a very

²⁷ QLogic Corporation in Aliso Viejo, California, founded 1994.

open season for you being that they, you know, were very academically driven for you?

JA: Well, it was the '50s which was a crazy time to grow up. And what I remember about the '50s was we lived in a nice garden apartment complex, a lot of yelling women. And as I look back, I think they were mad in part because they had come of age in the '20s, maybe when things opened up for women. Um, then the Depression, everybody worked to do whatever they had to do to put food on the table. World War II, women were drawn into the workforce, and then suddenly in the '50s, they were expected to stay home and be happy house wives and obsess over their kitchen linoleum. And, they didn't like it. And, I think there was a lot of frustration. So, in my own family, my mother was very independent, and she had worked on Wall Street all the way through the recession, I mean, the Depression. And, um, she was held back because she was a woman and I think she had some frustrations with it. Um, being an only child, my father and I had a great baseball connection, and I always thought I'd go into baseball in some way. And when I was a senior in high school—and he never discouraged (motor sound) me until I was a senior in high school. And, I came to dinner one day, and I said, "I know what I wanna do. I wanna be a sports writer, and I wanna cover the New York Yankees like Red Smith²⁸ does in the Herald Tribune." And, he said; "No, you're not going into the locker room. Women don't do that sort of writing." And I was floored, and I wasn't the kind of kid to take no for an answer easily. But, in that case, I just accepted it. (blowing noise continues) And, I was crushed, but, um, it all—and, you know, there's a reason why wound up going into baseball writing all these years later. But, um, I didn't even know what a locker room was. So, you know, gender roles didn't mean that much to me, growing up. And then I went—Hunter was all women and it was very uppity, smart, achieving women, brilliant women. And, I saw that, and so I thought, wow, you know, you do watcha you do. So.

HR: So, now. Um, what do you think about Hillary?²⁹ This would be my first part of the Democratic question. But, do we feel confident, comfortable with Hillary running?

JA: I am very comfortable with her.

HR: She seems to be the front runner.

[00:39:14]

²⁸ Walter Wellesley (Red) Smith (1905-1982), American sports journalist.

²⁹ Hillary Rodham Clinton, American politician, U.S. Senator for New York (2001-2009), U.S. Secretary of State (2009-2013), Democratic Party presidential nominee (2016).

JA: Yeah. Um, I'll—I'll preface this with saying that I think in retro—and I supported Obama fully, but in retrospect I think it would have been better to elect Hillary first and then Obama. (coughs) Pardon me. Um.

HR: Give him some more time in the Senate?

JA: Yeah, yeah, uh, seasoning and, um (pauses)—and I think she was—and she was definitely ready for it, she would have been a hell of a president. And, I think she might have been able to work better with, uh, Congress. Al—although I will say that anything Obama did was gonna get passed those Congressmen. It was Congress's people, it was never gonna happen, they were out to undo him from day one of his election. And, um, I—the, the, the way he's been treated is just horrific to me, absolutely appalling. So, I have no sympathy for the Republicans in that regard. Um, I don't know—Here's, here's the problem, and I saw this at the local level all the way on up through the ticket this year in 2014. The quality of candidates that were getting across the board—in public offices is not very high, and that really concerns me. In the—in the local Republicans' case, I would argue that the Party—the county party which are the king-makers—and they can pick anybody they want, don't want the best and the brightest. They want people that will do their bidding. Um, you know, why the Democrats can't do better, I don't know. Um, I'm gonna talk to Henry³⁰ about it when I see him next week. But, um, it's a real discouragement. So yeah, I'm—I'm willing to go with Hillary when I look at the Republican candidates, I just shake my head, and go where—who are these people and where did they—what rock did they climb under—out from under.

HR: I think the only one I'm familiar with is Cruz³¹ from Texas, if I'm not mistaken.

JA: Yeah, awful, awful, awful.

HR: They put him on a pedestal, I think, at the last convention or whatever it was that I was watching, it's the only—

JA: It's, it's not good.

HR: —reason why he sticks out to me.

JA: Yeah, yeah, um, they're all appalling. Um (pauses). So, I, you know, it—she stands much taller against any of those candidates, um, then—then I can, you know, I can say. But, um, yeah, I support her, but I don't know who's behind her. I mean, who else do we have that's gonna be—I mean—Elizabeth Warren, maybe, sometimes, someday, somehow? Um, I don't know where they are.

³⁰ Presumably Henry Vandermeir, chairman of the Democratic Party of Orange County (2013-2017).

³¹ Rafael Edward (Ted) Cruz, American politician (Republican), elected U.S. Senator for Texas in 2013.

HR: What do you feel—which direction do you see the Democratic Party going right now, what do you feel like the status of it is and—are they progressing, are we progressing—

JA: That's a good question.

HR: —like it's stagnate. What, are we keeping with our foundation?

JA: Well, uh, it was interesting I was writing content for the website. And, um, somebody wanted to put the term progressive up on our headliner. (blowing sounds begin again) And, um, somebody else said, "You know, not all Democrats are progressives." And it kinda—I consider myself a progressive, but it kinda pulled me up short. And there are a number of moderate Democrats who are probably "Eisenhower Republicans" in blue, you know, yeah.

HR: That's an interesting label.

JA: So, um, I don't—I don't know. I think it's very much a party that's finding its way. Um, but the—you know—the joke was—somebody wrote this to me when I—um, um—after the election. Um, they said, "The—the—the America people are amazing, they say that they're—they believe in climate change and the immigration reform and all this stuff. And then they go vote for the people, the very people that, um, are gonna oppose all that." So," he said, "what you gonna do with that?" And I don't know. But, um, I think the problem with the Demo—they didn't run a good campaign this last cycle, and it showed big time. Um, they gotta get a better message out and they've got the arguments, good grief they've got the arguments. But, um, it's gotta be a better—better—smarter message. These people vote against their own interests. And I—I don't understand it.

HR: Do you, um, foresee—this is a little off topic, but, do you foresee, um, are foreign strategies dictating the nomination or just the campaign in general—just overseas—

JA: For 2016?

HR: I—domestic policy always seems to be, you know, headline, but I think that we overlook domestic and we always look foreign. So clearly, we pulled out of Iraq, and now we have ISIL,³² we're still in Afghanistan, and where else might we be. Do you think foreign policy will dictate who they bring in because the Republicans are very gung-ho, war oriented, they think that pumps the economy which, you know, not necessarily went very for us this time around. It's not World War II all over again, but—

JA: No. I mean, I, um, it's the military industrial complex that Eisenhower warned against when he left office. He said, "Look out for it." (brushing sound) And, you know, it's—it's become a behemoth. So, um, I think we should stick to foreign—to—to, um, domestic policy. There's so many

³² ISIL, Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, also known as ISIS, IS, or Daesh.

things in this country, uh, that need fixing. And, um, the wars will always be there overseas, it's a matter of taking a steady course and how much you wanna invest in it. And when you look at the cost of our—of our military. It's *insane*, absolutely insane. So, yeah, I always get up and arms when Republicans talk about being fiscally conservative. And I say: "You can't say that, you're just spending money willy-nilly on other things." So, you know, guns or butter, what do you want? Yeah, so I would stick to domestic policy. But, um, it's gonna be an interesting two years. And, I don't know if she'll announce or not. I just don't know. I don't know how her health is.

HR: It looked like it took a toll on her last time too. I can't imagine losing and putting all that effort into something. Obviously, it doesn't feel good. But, what, what kinda toll did it take on her.

[00:46:21]

JA: Yeah—she—and I—what I heard was that the good ol' boys in the Democratic party didn't want a woman, they didn't want her. And they'd rather have a black man than Hillary. So.

HR: Um, another topic related to that, I didn't know if you remember back. But, she—oh, gosh, was it the Connecticut—it must have been the second or third primary and she was in Connecticut, and she started weeping or she started crying at the table. And it was almost politicized as like a weak point like "See, she is woman, oh, look she did cry." Um, do you feel like that stereotype still exists for women today that we rule with our emotions? Or, um, we wouldn't have the same steadfast, calm, steady hand and—you know—in times of—of (pauses) tribulation, war, nuclear: do you feel like that still exists for women?

JA: I think it depends on who you talk to. If you wanna talk to people that think—fear that in a woman leader, um, look to the religious right because they're so patriarchal. And, anytime you get a patriarchal mindset, you're gonna have somebody saying, "Well, a woman's not up for the job." So, um, in that case, yeah. I think there's element, uh, in the Republican Party that feels very strongly about that. Most of them know better. Um.

HR: Do you think it's a possibility to have a gay president before we have a woman president?

JA: (chuckles) That's a good question. (brushing sound) Um, all put it this way, no, I don't, um, given the religious right. As long as they're catering to the religious right, it's not gonna happen. But, I will tell you, and I don't know if you've heard this from other people. I heard this back in '95 when I was working on my story. (table tapping) And, um, I—I picked up nuances of it, and then finally I sat down with a political scientist from UCI, and I said, "What the heck is going with this party it's really squirrely." And turns out that there are and have been, since Reagan's

time, a large contingent of closeted gay, conservative men in politics. They—most of them get to a certain level and then they don't go any farther because of the scandal quotients. So, you'll never see them run for vice president and or president. Um, but, congressmen all over the place. Yeah, at one point, the, uh, political scientist said "three-fifth of our congressional delegation are gay, they're in the closet." Yeah. Yeah, everybody knows who they are, but they, you know, they're married most of them—families.

HR: Do you feel like, um, or can you pinpoint, put your finger on it any change that you've seen through Obama's, um, term. So, his big campaign spiel was, you know, change which (pauses) you've changed your registration, you became a Democrat, so that's one thing he did accomplish, right?

JA: Yeah, he did.

HR: Did—is there anything you can pinpoint, big initiatives that you feel like, uh, once his term is term his over, once his presidency over, his name will really be attached to?

JA: Well, the healthcare initiative. And what people don't realize is that when you have a (pauses) huge piece of legislation like that, it's impossible to get it right the first go around. You've gotta tweak it, you've gotta keep working on it through Congress, and get it—get it fine-tuned. Um, there's work that's needed—needed to be done on that. But, to just throw it all out and say it's impossible, no that's—that's atrocious. So, I think, you know, if the Supreme Court still backs him on these—everything, you know, that comes along that they throw at this—this healthcare law. Um, I think that will be one of his great legacies. Um (coughs). I think if you look back at what he inherited what an almighty mess it was. Um, he steadied the country, you know. I, I would have like to see him go after the, um, the financial guys that got us in the mess, but it didn't happen. And, I have heard it say, you know, they're so slippery, they didn't even have the evidence, but I don't know. Um, but I think he's done a tremendous amount for this country. Um, over—overseas, very well regarded. Um, he did get us out of some of the war mess that we're in, not as much as I hoped for. Um, and I love what he's doing with immigration. So.

HR: Do you think if that follows through that will be monumental?

JA: Yeah. Yeah. And, it's—you know—it's just a joke that the Republicans are all upset about it and given—I—every president who's used his executive powers like that. I mean, going back Republican, Democrat, you name it. There's no news there. But, they act like it he's reinvented the presidency and I don't think he has. So, my—my great concern is getting the Latino votes—to get the Latinos to get out and vote.

HR: I think that's huge.

JA: Yeah, get out and vote.

HR: So, can the—can the Democratic Party still stick with their foundation? Do you think it has stuck with the foundation? Do you think the Democratic Party still stands for equality and civil rights and gay rights?

JA: Very much so.

HR: Um, can the Democratic Party stay with those and not have to deviate or back-track and win the Latino votes? Do you think that's possible?

JA: Deviate? You mean stay with, uh, the immigration reform?

HR: Uh, yeah, just all encompassed, because I think the Latino votes are so important for the Democratic Party, but they don't necessarily synchronize with like you were saying the Catholic Church and that's, you know, predominately what the Latino community is. So, how does the Democratic Party win them over?

JA: Well, Latinos and I—I talk to Latinos a lot, um, they're a lot more pragmatic than they are ideologues. Uh, they're hard working people because they've have to, to make it in the country. Um, they have a very clear understanding of the Roman Catholic Church and its limitations. So, most of them, I don't see, um, reproductive rights is a big issue. Um, you know, for one thing, most Catholics practice birth-control anyway. And, um, with abortion, um, you're gonna find that across the board too. Some people are just gonna have one, no—regardless of their religious faith, they just are. I know born-again Christians who've had abortions. So, um, you take that off—I think that can be taken off the table. The immigration, absolutely, the Republicans shoot themselves reliably in the foot every time they turn around on immigration. And I hope to gosh the Democrats take that to the bank this time and don't let them off the hook. And, just get'em—get that story out there again and again and again. One of the things I saw in the city council, um, election was these—we got basically three tea parties or partiers who were elected, and they were not the best candidates. But, they're in, and what they did was just repeat, repeat, repeat the same mantra. The Taj Mahal city hall, the overspending on the—of the existing council, they weren't conservative enough and, um, it droned into people's heads. So, I think—I hope the Repub—the Democrats take another page from that and just go, you know, they're beginning—they're beginning—they don't wanna do good reform. And keep repeating it. Um, the other thing about the Latinos is that they're environmentalists and people don't realize that. And, um, they love their parks, they—they love, um, in fact I'm getting ready to do a column on this. Um, they may not go up to the High Sierras and backpack, but they like going for a picnic at the beach and at a park. And it means a lot to them. Those are Democratic values. Republicans would pave those parks over in a New York minute if they could with houses. So, um, that's an area the Democrats could develop, I think. The other thing, I wish the Democrats would do is—I know they're married to the unions, but I wish

the unions would get off this teacher-tenure, and, um—this absolu—pension fund reform. I mean, we gotta have it, um, for financial viability. And to just stick to their guns and not, you know, yield is—is foolish. Sometimes—some of them have, but, um, the same thing on—on of getting rid of bad teachers. I mean, everybody knows they exist, and it's not right, why should a teacher—and I mean, I can see the argument for tenure when you get people like the Koch Brothers who are wanting to, um, nudge them into, um, submissive, um, teaching. But, um, there are some bad teachers that need to be outed. So.

HR: Back to you. Now what do *you* want to accomplish before your term is over?

[00:56:02]

JA: Hmm, (pauses). Well, I originally had the goal of growing the club to a hundred people, and we're at sixty now, let's say. I am not sure that it needs to grow that fast in a year. Um, I'd be satisfied if we get to eighty and they're the right eighty. I don't wanna just grab people and sign 'em up without, you know, having them know what they're getting into. Um, I want a, um, permanent venue that is, um, attractive and appealing and affordable. The one we're at now at the Five Crowns³³ is a little expensive. Um, I want good programs—

HR: So that cute little restaurant right across the way.

JA: Yeah. Yeah. It's cold in the winter. Uh, it's got some shortcomings, it's dimly lit. Um, anyway. Um, I wanna do, um, some—some work on the programs to get really exciting speakers and programs that are gonna draw people out. Uh, even people that don't ever join at least they know we're in town and that we're doing good work and sponsoring some—some provocative, um, discussions. So, um, that's my goal. Um, and consolidate, you know, encourage the women that are already in the club to consider getting appointed to a commission in town, possibly running for office someday. Um, we have a—we have the, um, the state convention coming up in—in May in Anaheim. And our club should be volunteering to help staff that and do whatever the grunt work is required. So, um, get them involved in politics where they, you know, where they wanna be. So, I think that will be enough for a year.

HR: Definitely. And then after the year, what—what do you see yourself moving into? What would be next for you?

JA: I don't know. Um, it will be an election year. So, they'll be work to be done for that. Um, I'll be in the club working towards that. (pauses) Um, I'll probably still do, be doing my column. And, um, we'll see where it goes from there.

³³ Five Crowns (founded 1965), restaurant in Corona del Mar, California.

HR: Now why do you—and this may seem like a very simple question—but why do you think it's important for women in particular to be involved in politics?

JA: Well, it's less than a hundred years since we got the vote. And, um, this—the—the, this cards of—of—of our social—of our institutions are often stacked against us. Um, the way healthcare is going and—and the way the Catholic Church is trying to, um, commandeer healthcare and—and eliminate reproductive rights. Um, we need a vote. We need to get out and vote on that stuff and speak out on it. Um, I think that's one big—big reason—um—childcare, education, that means a great deal to women. And, um, we should be spokesmen for that, you know, we should get the best people on the school board we can and there's another place where women should be running. Um, yeah. (pauses) So.

HR: Do you feel that is it different for women or do you feel like there's less or they're becoming more competent or, um, breaking through those stereotypes today versus let's say twenty years ago. So, do we feel like women are going forward, or do we feel like we're going backwards? Do you feel women are coming out, not necessarily in droves, but to the extent that they should be nowadays? Or do you feel like twenty years ago the women were more empowered coming out of the '70s and being a little more gun-ho when it came to politics?

JA: That's a good question. Um, the '70s were a gung-ho time and you had to be gung-ho to get any traction. Um, you don't have to be so gung-ho now. The doors are already open. So, you don't have to push so hard to get in. Um, we were at a party up the street and—they—um—at a home where—they—um—well the husband was the—uh, lead attorney in the Enron case.³⁴ And—he is the one who personally brought down Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling.³⁵ And then he went out in private practice and wrote his own ticket. He's doing very nicely.

HR: Whoa. I can imagine.

[01:00:49]

JA: But, uh, I wish he'd write a book. But, um, there were a lot of movers and shakers, uh, attorneys there. And, we got in a conversation with a black attorney and she'd been, um, I think chair—she said chair of the Orange County Bar Association.³⁶ That would not have happened twenty years ago. And I happen to know a woman who's writing her memoir. Um, she's a student of mine, and she's writing about being one of the first

³⁴ Presumably a reference to John C. Hueston, attorney in Newport Beach, California.

³⁵ Former Enron Corporation executives Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling.

³⁶ Presumably a reference to Dimetria A. Jackson, president of the Orange County Bar Association (2012).

women attorneys in Orange County. And, opening up the office of a really big-name law firm and how tough it was, unbelievably tough. So, I think women have much more opportunity and, um, room to maneuver and grow. It's still—there's still areas, um, in politics, no. And—also, um, in tech,—the tech industry. They're—they're underrepresented. But, in the law, in medicine, uh, yeah. So.

HR: Uh, how do you feel—so let's think way back to when we started in, you know, the girl out in New York and come to stay, how has your political activism shaped you?

JA: (pauses) I—I don't know. I mean, it's so much a part of me, um (pauses) there are people—I'll—I'll put it this way—there are people—as I've been more politically active, and I've been engaged in conversation with people who disagree and people who agree with me. I find there's a handful of people that I've known for a long time that I'm not so keen on anymore (chuckles) because they—I mean, a, a guy from Stanford, um, and he plays the Stanford card, actually, his wife plays the Stanford card more than he does. And, I had a conversation with him about the—with a specific issue a while back, and it became very apparent that he's—he's switched his mind off. He hasn't studied the issue, he made up his mind and he's not taking any more information in. (chuckles) And he's dull, in other words, he may be a Stanford grad, but he's dull. And I have trouble with dull people. I don't have a lot of patience or time to spend with them. Um, that sounds terrible and judgmental, but there's so many great people out there that are amazing. And some of the most amazing are just simple housewives who never held a job in their life, but they've educated themselves, and they serve humanity, and they get out there and they put themselves out there and they do stuff. And I love people like that. So, um, that's kinda been eye-opener to see that, you know, my—my tolerance level for certain ty—types of people has changed. Um, also I'll be more outspoken. Um, hopefully I temper it most of the time, but when I'm in a situation and somebody makes a racist comment or sexist comment, um, I—I will likely speak up, um, but unless it's with in-laws and my son has told me to not talk politics no matter what. (laughs)

HR: What would you tell a young woman who wanted to become in pol—to become involved in politics or to become an activist? What advice would give them?

JA: Um, find a group of likeminded people to volunteer with. Um, join a club or something where you're getting out there and getting to know people. A campaign, if you will. And, uh, educate yourself, read the books, read the good books. Um, political science is a fascinating subject. And, uh, then start seeing where you fit in, what are your talents and—and how can you best use them.

HR: Last question. What does political courage mean to you?

JA: Political courage—(pauses)

HR: What would you consider political courage?

[01:05:06]

JA: —I think, um, Obama running for president was political courage. I hope that somebody has counted the death threats he and his family have received over the last—what—six years, seven years now. Um, that was—we never—the people that grew up through the '60s and all the assassinations were scared to death he was not gonna make it through without being assassinated. And I think maybe that's why Sarah Palin's, uh, refusal to address that, uh, idiot in the crowd bothered me so much. Uh, so, um, that's political courage. Sometimes taking a stand even though you know it's gonna cost you your election. And, uh, you know, I take my hat off to people like that (pauses) who are willing to just show up, um, and speak their mind and, you know, they're not gonna win the battle, but they took a stand. So. (pauses) I don't think we have a lot of political courage around to be honest. It's kinda sad. Yeah.

HR: That's it.

JA: Alright.

HR: That's my questions. Thank you.

JA: Yeah.

HR: That is the end. Thank you.

[01:06:24]

END OF INTERVIEW

Reviews (Books)

Ailes, Mary Elizabeth.

Courage and Grief: Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018. 234 pages. ISBN: 9781496200860.

Not quite gender history and not entirely military history either, Mary Elizabeth Ailes's *Courage and Grief: Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War* reaches for both. Ailes's earlier book, *Military Migration and State Formation: The British Military Community in Seventeenth-Century Sweden* (2002), as well as her articles concentrating on Scandinavian military developments and the British Isles, affirm her interest in military history. More recently, Ailes, a professor of early modern European history at the University of Nebraska at Kearney, has focused on the involvement of women from different social backgrounds in campaign societies. Ailes refers to Barton Hacker's 1981 article "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," which argues that women were a normal component of early modern military systems, as well as Brian Crim's 2000 article, "Silent Partners: Women and Warfare in Early Modern Europe," which agrees with Hacker's assessment. She especially draws from John Lynn's 2008 book, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, which covers three centuries of European warfare and the respective impact of women. However, Ailes expands on the findings of these and other scholars by pursuing what she believes to be a missing component in the analyses presented thus far, namely, women who were not necessarily connected to soldiers and women from other social backgrounds: these women are the focus of Ailes's new book, *Courage and Grief*.

Courage and Grief presents Sweden's involvement in Europe's destructive Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and argues that women played a key role in the Swedish military system. Supporting Ailes's claim are examples that illustrate the effect women had on the war campaigns, on the field, in local communities, and at home. Such activities were part of the fabric of Swedish society and highlight the nature of female power and authority. What did women do when their husbands left for the war? How did women cope with the loss of their husbands due to war? What roles did women play at the front or at home in their communities? In Ailes's *Courage and Grief*, these and other questions are answered in several chapters that utilize a wide range of historical sources dealing with women during the Thirty Years' War.

Chapter 1 of *Courage and Grief* deals with the relationship of women physically involved in campaigns, alongside male soldiers. The chapter offers a unique view of the regulations and laws that dealt with the way women could participate or join their husbands on military campaigns. Under Sweden's "Articles of War," only women who were married to soldiers were allowed to accompany the army. This law was put in place to minimize the distractions

women could pose to soldiers and to maintain order. Wives displayed dignified behavior and, most importantly, provided the vital support network for soldiers that mistresses or other women would not have been able to furnish. Not all wives who were present in the army were bound by legal marriages: "May marriages," which existed solely for the desired companionship, benefitted both parties. May marriages were "arrangements that women and soldiers created that lasted for a campaign's duration. Although couples would not legally marry, they would live and work together as if they were married during a military campaign." (23) This arrangement was made possible by the presence of women refugees who had no other viable options, women who craved the excitement, or women who had never known any life but army life. Ailes makes it clear that women who were present with the army usually had no other choice. However, military wives had much to gain by following their husbands, including monetary gain from plundering and the chance to elevate their status. Women excelled at mediating relations with local communities, and therefore women could enjoy positions of authority and the benefit that came from being influential advisors to their husband. Yet, Ailes presents the other side of the coin as well: the lack of provisions and the burden to maintain families; the lack of necessary means to care for ill family members; the inability to return home to give birth; or the family's safety within the camp community.

Women dealing with the mass conscription of males in their community found various ways of coping with their respective situations. *Chapter 2* deals with the politics of conscription, and how men and women attempted to escape the burden of war or, in the case of women who were left alone, live with the weight of their partners' absence. Because conscription commonly occurred at the peasantry level, Ailes reveals the hardships faced by the members of this low socio-economic bracket of society, especially by women, through Gunilla's story: "Gunilla took over running the family farm. This meant that she had to complete on her own the agricultural work that she and her husband earlier had done together. [...] Gunilla also had to care for a large family. Her household included three small children who were too young to help alleviate the work, as well as her husband's elderly parents." (68) Gunilla's story was not uncommon, as Ailes shares a number of similar accounts. Widows like Gunilla had to face legal battles for the rights to their land, as their authority as head of their respective households was perpetually shifting within the vortex of Sweden's justice system. Widows had to endure the physical labor of maintaining their families' farms or abandon their land altogether, resulting in begging on the streets; and even begging was regulated by the Crown. Ailes also makes a note of those women whose husbands were missing for years Without confirmation of her husband's death, a wife could not remarry, otherwise she had to face adultery charges, sometimes resulting in the death penalty. (80) Due to the strenuous effects of war, many men and women decided to leave the country whenever

conscription reared its ugly head. Ailes, in this respect, draws attention to a latent anti-war attitude in Sweden during the Thirty Years' War.

The second half of *Courage and Grief* is dedicated to officers' wives on the home front and to Queen Christina. Chapter 3 demonstrates the resourcefulness of the officers' wives who, while they had more options than peasant wives, often needed to appeal directly to the Crown. Ailes refers to wives such as Catharina Guthrie who "wrote to Queen Christina asking for confirmation of land in Finland that the Crown had granted to her husband in 1636." (100) In her petition, Guthrie had to emphasize her husband's legacy and loyalty, and she promised to raise children who would be loyal to the Crown. Furthermore, Guthrie needed to secure her and the children's future by marrying another officer, Edvard Johnstone. Johnstone and Guthrie combined their wealth: Guthrie through land given to her by her parents, as well as her late husband's land, and Johnstone through his income, land, and status. Ailes shows that, for officers' wives, having to navigate the stress of widowhood was a common occurrence. Nobles like Guthrie fought for the right to own the land, but holding the land came with an asterisk. Land was given to officer families in a way that is best characterized as land rental. The Crown ultimately owned the donated land, and noble families had to ask for permission to continue holding the land whenever a new king or queen took the throne. The monarch could at any time reclaim the land. Ailes refers to the trouble that many widows had to go through to have their petitions confirmed, because of the many false cases that were presented. Officers' wives needed to put together a strong case, detailing "their husbands' length of service, the regiments in which they had served, and the names of officers who had worked with their husbands." (108) Land donations were not the only kind of compensation officers' wives could receive. Money was also being distributed, although via a carefully selective process; after all, Sweden was pouring tremendous amounts of resources into the war.

Transitioning to the final years of the Thirty Year's War, Ailes then focuses on Queen Christina who took over the kingdom in 1644, thus ending the regency that had begun after the death of her father, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in 1632. The final chapter of *Courage and Grief* is dedicated to Christina's rule and, more importantly, to the shifting attitude toward female military leadership or presence. Due to her upbringing and male-only role models, Christina was quite a masculine ruler: "As an adult, Christina walked like a man, had [a] gruff voice, and possessed an authoritative attitude," (146) characteristics that Christina deemed necessary to establish control and insert herself into the military command structure. Yet, Christina lacked the authority that a king would have had. A queen who acts like a king is still not a king. Ailes concludes the chapter by drawing attention to the shift in female military leadership and the disappearance of females in war campaigns due to the increasing use of guns and the emergence of professional armies.

Ailes's conclusion summarizes the achievements of women throughout the Thirty Year's War, arguing that they ultimately enhanced female authority and representation. Ailes encourages her readers to seek out alternative perspectives on historical events. *Courage and Grief* does not just address noble and royal women; it actually dedicates the majority of its pages to women of the peasantry. It combines women's history elegantly with Ailes's expertise in military history, and it incorporates gender history in its discussion of Queen Christina. One hopes that the blending of these methodologies will continue in Ailes's future publications.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Christopher Saravia of Orange, California, earned his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2017), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, working on Spanish-English relations in the late medieval and early modern era.

Bowden, Mark.

Huế 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam.

New York: Grove Press, 2017. 608 pages. ISBN: 9780802127006.

Histories and, by extension, historians attempt to intelligibly communicate truth about events that have occurred in the past. But how is this best done? How are readers best shown what most of them have not experienced or that of which they may have no possible concept? Mark Bowden's *Huế 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam* covers in impressive detail the conflict in the Vietnamese city of Huế between U.S., Northern Vietnamese, and Southern Vietnamese troops, but it also puts forward answers to these difficult questions.

Mark Bowden is an American writer and journalist known for a series of titles, including *Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War* (1999). Bowden's *Huế 1968* divides the conflict into three phases. First, it recounts the developments leading up to the events at Huế, contextualizing the future bloody combat with tense infiltration of the city against the mundanities that would soon be shattered. Next the action explodes, with Viet Cong forces quickly gaining control of much of the city through simultaneous actions and the brutal, efficient destruction of the opposition. Finally, the book devotes the largest portion of its text to the slow, methodical taking back of Huế primarily by American forces.

In his text, ostensibly about a brief moment in time, Bowden, through his methodological choices, examines and emphasizes the use of accounts from those who participated in these events. This may not seem to be a particularly controversial or shocking choice considering the privileged role firsthand accounts have in the historical discipline, however Bowden's work goes beyond what is typical. His very first chapter, in fact, is based on the experience of a young woman, Che Thi Mung, in 1967 as a resident of a small village and her deeply personal story of interaction with South Vietnamese and American forces. Bowden addresses, for example, Che's motivation which comes from the violent death of her older sister as an explanatory factor for her actions. (5-10) When

Bowden explains Che's role in scouting out military forces within Hué, the reader understands why she chose to take that course of action. Initially, this may not seem strange. Anecdotal accounts of pivotal events can be intriguing and, especially in cases when there are only limited primary sources available, necessary to form a picture that would otherwise be unattainable. Yet Bowden's purpose for including Che's entire story does not seem to be that there is a dearth of primary sources, nor does he feel the need to tie every detail to a greater story. Che's internal motivation is not generalized: Bowden does not suggest that it accurately represents the experiences of all or most Viet Cong troops.

Bowden's purpose in recounting more fully the experiences of those who lived through this dramatic event in global history is most clearly understood as juxtaposition to a character that is central to his writing, namely, General William Westmoreland, often referred to as "Westy." Westmoreland emphasized the numerical aspects of the war. His favorite defense of policy was to cite statistics detailing the number of Vietnamese soldiers killed when compared to the number of American soldiers killed. (24-25) These numbers were rendered inaccurate by a number of factors, including incentives for those reporting their engagements to inflate the number of enemy combatants they had killed. Westmoreland's overreliance on the numbers provided to him was not just flawed due to its methodology. Bowden shows that those involved in combat cannot be understood without learning about their lived experiences and how they perceived the events as they were happening. When a captain in the American forces is told that his troops will not fight, since they believe he does not care for their lives, and when he is eventually able to change their minds only to be struck violently by an explosion, (480) that experience cannot be reduced to a number. In telling these stories directly from the primary sources with much less interjection by the author than is customary in most historical texts, Bowden convincingly emphasizes the importance of individual narratives, eschewing typical writing styles that understand the truth of any event as best represented by numerical data.

Bowden reiterates this in his "Epilogue" where he points out the deep flaws of viewing war as an exercise in calculus. The many brutal, needless deaths in Hué, attributed to both Viet Cong and American forces, were based on ideas about lives as part of a broader game. (523) When Viet Cong forces enacted purges of perceived threats, this was weighed and rationalized as being for the sake of a greater good. If a child might grow up to take part in actions that would take the lives of other, perhaps more "important" Vietnamese citizens, killing that child could be seen as acceptable. Similarly, indiscriminate attacks against areas with large civilian populations were justified by pointing to the opportunity of killing enemy combatants. Soldiers could be weighed and evaluated by their contributions to the overall combat: sacrificing them could be reasonable as long as a sufficient number of enemies died as well. This disconnect between the values and experiences of individual historical actors on

the one hand, and how they were perceived both in the context of 1968 and even today on the other hand, literally has the potential to cost lives. If one fails to acknowledge and understand history from the bottom up, one enters combat without fully appreciating the consequences.

The purpose of making this point is not just to castigate the actions of military commanders during the Vietnam War; it also draws attention to the importance of historical writing that is alert to the human experience. Historians shape our understanding of past events. Yet, when analyzing war, they have far too often set aside the human toll for the sake of dealing with the logistics and topographies of battlefields. While the latter can certainly help us understand any given conflict, only a holistic approach that pays special attention to the ground levels of warfare will get us closer to historical truth.

For all the emphasis Bowden places on individual experiences, it would be a mistake to depict his writing as devoid of editorializing or of thematic points about the Vietnam War. After all, just as writing that mistakes the elimination of human experience for objectivity is problematic, writing devoid of interpretation is tedious and unhelpful. Bowden's work, although characterized substantially by its reliance on primary-source interviews, is not a mere collection of interviews. It also furnishes serious analysis of events beyond Hué in order to provide its readers with suitable context. This is especially true of Bowden's measured accounts of how events in Vietnam were perceived and interpreted by people in America. This allows readers to focus on the more pressing subject matter, namely, how people lived through one specific battle, without getting lost in a plethora of differing perspectives. If anything, this is perhaps the one difficulty *Hué 1968* has: it is too full of primary sources. Although these sources offer a substantial benefit to readers, they can also overwhelm. Historical actors enter and leave Bowden's story at a fast pace. Sometimes a person is introduced and then never mentioned again, while another person may return time and time again and take up substantial space in the book. This can leave readers unsure on who or what they should concentrate.

At the heart of *Hué 1968* are the fascinating accounts from direct participants in the events that unfolded at and around Hué. Mark Bowden commands a diverse set of sources complete with numerous Vietnamese accounts of the conflict. This is particularly helpful as some past scholarly and popular accounts have been hampered by a distinct lack of Vietnamese voices, resulting in a narrative that prizes American thoughts about the War to the exclusion of others. Meanwhile, Bowden effectively allows both Vietnamese and American understandings to shine through without one overshadowing the other.

So, who should add *Hué 1968* to their reading list? Bowden's work can serve several purposes. It is, first of all, a rich repository of primary sources from which one can draw, focused on a particular phase of the Vietnam War, and thus of interest to academics. Secondly, Mark Bowden's methodology may be an inspiration to those who are still developing their writing techniques and may

not have been introduced to this particular style of composition before. Thirdly, *Huế 1968* effectively communicates a broader understanding of the Vietnam War, but particularly demonstrates the importance and brutality of one specific battle by promoting an intricate understanding of the related events and individuals. In summary, this book is recommended to those with an interest in its subject matter, who are unfamiliar with its style, and who would like to find a broad range of sources for future use.

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De Courcy, Anne.

The Husband Hunters: American Heiresses Who Married into the British Aristocracy.

New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017. 320 pages. ISBN: 9781250164599.

Reading Anne de Courcy's recent work, *The Husband Hunters: American Heiresses Who Married into the British Aristocracy*, is like watching a pack of hyenas hunting gazelles on the Discovery Channel while listening to the 1996 song "Female of the Species" by the British band Space, which reminds us that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male." The hyenas, in De Courcy's case, are nouveau-riche American mothers, and they are not hunting for gazelles but for suitable old money, namely, male aristocrats, in Europe for their daughters to marry. De Courcy, a British author and journalist, makes the Gilded Age, roughly the 1870s to the early 1900s, come alive. (13-27) She prides herself not just on telling about people of the past, but relates what life was like for them, what shaped them, and how they in turn shaped society.

To begin, De Courcy sketches the economic and political environment of both England and America during the Gilded Age. At that time, England was losing money hand over fist due to bad crop years; thus, there was very little international trade. England's formerly wealthy land barons were becoming paupers, yet they retained their titles, because even a lack of money could not take those away. Meanwhile, America was experiencing a boom because of commerce, mining, banking, and better crop years, which in turn led to an increase in international trade. These two different climates are continually being referenced, so readers have a sense of what was going on. The middle class was being destroyed from the top in both countries, and there were political movements spearheaded by women. *Husband Hunters* is so well researched and documented that readers feel like they could be in either country during this time. De Courcy's language is flowery and light, yet she speaks with authority.

For this reviewer, an American, it is interesting to get De Courcy's British perspective. According to De Courcy, "Few English could understand that Americans, too, had a class system which, though unadmitted, was every bit as meaningful as their own." (237) The American class system was and is not so different from that in England, not at its core anyway: money talks. "Old" money, for example the Vanderbilt family, was looking down on "new" money,

for example John Mackay or Collis Huntington. Women who were coming into new money from their husbands building trains, creating steel empires, or striking it rich in the mines of the West badly wanted to be accepted by America's old money; according to De Courcy, "Their ruthless social ambition was the equivalent of the ferocious, no-holds-barred fights for power in the boardrooms of their men, in whom the early spirit still lived." (87)

This is the heart of *Husband Hunters*: women desiring to be accepted by the other women who were running society, using any means necessary to get there, and then turning around to help run or dictate society. American women did this in one of two ways: either marrying into old money themselves or marrying their daughters off to the impoverished nobles of Europe so they could gain a title, like "duchess." De Courcy focuses mainly on American-English relations, which is where the bulk of the matchmaking occurred. However, some women did marry wealthy Frenchmen. De Courcy recounts that some members of society in both Europe and America saw these matches as nothing better than prostitution. Indeed, these matches were business transactions, and they were concluded to the satisfaction of all parties involved.

Women in America were well educated, and they made sure that their daughters were well educated, too, not just with books, but also socially. Mothers encouraged their daughters to socialize with young men, something that was unheard of in England at this time. Debutante balls and other social gatherings were all designed by wealthy women in society to make good matches for their daughters, thus gaining prestige for themselves as well. Again, De Courcy recreates these social events with great accuracy: it feels like we are there. These young women were adorned in the latest fashion from France. The most expensive jewels dripped off them. They were loud and in charge, and they were there to be seen and heard. When mothers began taking their daughters to England and France for holidays or fashion trips, European men quickly took notice of these unicorns of women. As De Courcy beautifully puts it, "From the first tide of invaders, as the Gilded Age began, Englishmen from the Prince of Wales downwards tended to find American girls irresistible. The American girl was completely different from her opposite [the English girl] [...] She also exuded that compelling quality, complete self-confidence." (28) The "looking" of these European men did not go unnoticed by the mothers of these American ladies. Thus, the idea of marrying young daughters off was born. British men began calling the American mothers "husband hunters." The mothers were ruthless hunters. I would have been afraid if I had been an Englishman during this time.

Once these daughters were married off, the mothers would climb the social ladder in both Europe and America. For the most part, these daughters were still looked in on by their fathers. The daughters signed away their huge dowries and often an annual salary to their new husbands, but they often retained their own money that their husbands did not know about. Many American women ended up in unhappy marriages and were looked down upon in England, as they did

not know the English customs of the upper crust. Here De Courcy tells the stories of several women who made an impact in England. Their lives intersected at some point as they were all running in a very small social circle. Like a fine thread of a silk chemise, De Courcy weaves each person's tale intricately and perfectly. These American women may not have been accepted as perfect English women, but by no means did they have to stay in unhappy marriages. By no means did they just endure the status quo. Infidelity on both sides was common, but never discussed, even though all of society in England and America knew what was really going on behind the chamber curtains. Divorces were more common than one would think, given the time. Mothers and their daughters took no prisoners to get into society or reshape it once they were there. Eventually, the Gilded Age ended, ironically due to the lavish Bradley-Martin Ball that was just a bit too lavish and too opulent. In 1897, ostensibly to support local businesses, Bradley Martin, son of a wealthy banker and merchant, and his wife Cornelia vowed to throw the largest party America had ever seen. Roughly \$400,000, the equivalent of \$10,000,000 in today's world, paid for this catered soirée at the Waldorf in New York. To stage the event, the Waldorf was completely redone to resemble the French palace of Versailles. This theme alone should have been a red flag that this party was too much. The need to outdo every other socialite caught the attention of both the rich and the poor as being wasteful and tactless. This party was truly the beginning of the end. The socially climbing women basically helped kill the movement they were so caught up in. De Courcy does have several pictures of women in elaborate costumes from the Bradley-Martin Ball. The outfits were gorgeous, but all beauty fades eventually.

De Courcy wraps up her beautiful text by showing her English side. She grudgingly admits that, while she may not have wholeheartedly approved of the whole "husband hunting" business, nor of the attitudes of these Americans, more good than harm came out of the ordeal. Due to the related influx of money into England, castles, country houses, historic buildings, and businesses remained intact. Women in England were given a stronger voice by their American counterparts and even gained the right to vote two years earlier (1918) than women in America (1920). De Courcy credits American women with lighting the suffrage movement's fires in England. Finally, De Courcy expresses her thanks to people like Jennie Spencer-Churchill for giving birth to Winston Churchill. After all, Jennie Spencer (née Jerome) had been an American-born husband hunter. She would later divorce Lord Randolph Churchill, but not before giving birth to her two sons. One should add that the Gilded Age has also inspired great television shows, such as "Downton Abbey" in which an American woman, Cora Levinson, marries Lord Robert Crawley, and her money helps support her English husband's mansion in the country during the downturn of the economy. Several novels by Agatha Christie (the "Queen of Mystery") contain rich American women marrying poor English noblemen. De Courcy lays out the actual historical details for those of us who enjoy watching

or reading about this time in history that crossed continents. This book is over 300 pages long, but readers will turn them quickly. Anyone who enjoys history, drama, and intrigue should pick up this book and enjoy the “hunt.”

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Kelsey Anne Pierce of Carson City, Nevada, earned her B.A. in Theatre with an emphasis in Writing and Speech from the University of Nevada, Reno (2007). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), focusing on Medieval and Public History. She is a member of CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and served as an editor for this volume of *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History*.

Harline, Craig.

A World Ablaze: The Rise of Martin Luther and the Birth of the Reformation.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 312 pages. ISBN: 9780190275181.

The man who set the world ablaze with his *Ninety-Five Theses* in 1517, Martin Luther, is usually seen through either an admiring or a condemning lens, but seldom just through a simple human one. In *A World Ablaze* by Craig Harline, the well-known Reformer is not painted with a broad brush as either a villain or a savior, but simply as a man. Harline, an esteemed religious-history scholar, transforms Luther from “the polished bronze figure on a pedestal” (dust jacket) we so often encounter in our history books, to an everyday German friar that was maybe just a little too paranoid about his salvation, and who did everyday mundane tasks just like everyone else.

A World Ablaze begins with the acknowledgement that Martin Luther has been researched and written about countless times over the centuries. Once Harline has established the broad range of academic attention that Luther has already received, he suggests that no story is ever told in the same way, especially in religious history. Harline points to the New-Testament gospels as an example. Thus, the primary goal of this book is not to tell the same tale of Martin Luther that has already been told so many times, but to bring this man to life. Harline even goes so far to refer to Luther in a more friendly or neighborly way than he is typically referred to; instead of calling him “Luther,” he refers to him as “Brother Martin” or “Dr. Martin,” which is what he would have been called in his time anyway. By doing this, Harline strives to provide a new perspective on this famous friar and to bring him to life, and superbly so.

Before moving farther into the book, readers should be aware of the unique style Harline chooses to employ. Appropriately, his style parallels that of Luther, which he spends a good amount explaining later in the book. Throughout the book, the tone remains academic, but also conversational, making the text accessible to an audience of any background. For example, before *A World Ablaze* even really begins, Harline tells the story of the “Hebrew-Reading Knight,” an almost fairytale-style account of Martin Luther disguising himself as a knight while having dinner at a local inn and his interaction with two young Swedish travelers. Scholar or not, anyone can enjoy a simple story like this. Harline does not just relate this as a historical incident, but he describes it as if the reader is

sitting at the table with Luther. His style is almost that of a novelist who is well equipped with descriptive language and historical reimagining. Thus, Harline's way of telling Luther's story is certainly different from the way this radical friar's story has been told so many times before. In addition to its writing style, the book's chronological flow is especially noteworthy. Harline moves through Luther's life systematically and chronologically, making it easy for any reader to follow along. This chronological approach is important, because if even one event is omitted from the story or told out of order this can significantly alter one's understanding of Luther and his impact.

Harline does not begin his story on the day Luther nailed the *Ninety-Five Theses* to the church door in Wittenberg (October 31, 1517), but much earlier, with Luther's childhood, education, and university studies. Harline spends time setting up Luther's academic background because he wants readers to understand that the man behind the *Theses* and the so-called "Reformation" was not just a man with a list of grievances, but a man who was well educated, who, after researching and referencing religious doctrines and texts, decided to question the Church based on the knowledge he had acquired through studying. This is a tactical approach to establish the validity behind Luther's argument and to assert that he was not just a man, but an educated man. At the beginning of each chapter, Harline indicates the exact setting, as well as the date, and either the weather or something else associated with the season. This not only helps readers envision what is taking place, but it also gives them a chance to meditate on the historical context before reading the chapter.

Like many other books on Luther, *A World Ablaze* focuses on important events in Luther's life, but Harline makes sure that these are embedded in the historical context. For example, *Chapter 6* ("The Rose of Gold") is devoted to Luther's time in Wittenberg, the logistics of his potential arrest, and the protection he received from Prince-Elector Frederick III of Saxony. Harline could have just mentioned these names and places and moved on to the next thing, but he takes the time to explain the role Frederick played in Luther's life, where and how he had acquired his power, and the very intricate details of his familial and political relations. This might be considered either a beneficial or a trivial addition, depending on the reader, but if the reader is sincerely trying to understand Luther, then the historical sidebars that Harline provides are certainly useful. Explaining history in its context always enhances its accessibility.

Authors typically approach internationally known figures and influential religious reformers and their impact on the world through a global lens. For example, there are many books on Luther that focus on him as the creator of Protestantism, how this new branch of Christianity changed the world, or how he caused the greatest split in the history of the Christian Church. *A World Ablaze*, however, gives an almost day-to-day human account of the man who unintentionally launched a new Christian denomination. Harline takes us on a journey of what it might have been like to walk in Luther's shoes or what it

might have been like to interact with him. One of the most notable instances of this is when he discusses Luther as a preacher. Harline mentions that Luther was a successful preacher not just because of his physical presence, but because of the language he used. He did not just preach in Latin, but primarily preached in vernacular German, thus making his words more accessible. Luther did not preach as an aloof theologian over the heads of the uneducated lower-class masses of Germany, he spoke on a conversational level, as a peer. Harline takes this detail a step further by describing Luther's long brown robes, tonsured hair, and even the marble detail of the pulpit he preached from. He underscores his historical illustrations by quoting from the appropriate primary sources and by showing pictures, such as Luther's handwritten letters during the time of his trial and original portraits of people and places related to Luther's story. In doing this, Harline further enforces his humanizing agenda of bringing Luther down from the bronze pedestal and transforming him into a man we can see, feel, and perhaps even learn from.

Overall, *A World Ablaze* is not your conventional text on one of the most influential religious reformers of all time; it is quite the opposite. It comes across as a story, making it easy for readers to imagine and interact with Luther, while at the same time remaining academic and historically accurate. Harline successfully talks about a man who changed the world, but also about his simple beginnings. *A World Ablaze* is an imaginative, albeit "partial" biography (as it focuses on the late 1510s and early 1520s), and by the end of the book one no longer sees Luther as a distant figure from the past who changed the course of history, but as an everyday man from humble beginnings or, dare I say, a peer.

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Paterson, Linda M.

Singing the Crusades:

French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137-1336.

Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2018. 350 pages. ISBN: 9781843844822.

From songs of love, endurance, and self-reflection to songs of propaganda, war, and the Holy Land, Linda M. Paterson's new book addresses the lyrical legacy of the Crusades. It focuses on Old French and Occitan songs and places them into their political and social context. It is the author's intention to present and analyze these works to understand the attitudes toward holy war of their authors, namely, the *trouvères* and *troubadours*, poets and composers who hailed from northern and southern France respectively. Paterson, professor emerita of French Studies at Warwick University, divides her book into twelve chapters that proceed chronologically from the Second Crusade (1145-1149) to

the Eighth Crusade (1270). She also includes three appendices: the first appendix, by Majorlaine Raguin-Barthelmebs, discusses the songs' lyrics as "echoes" of Crusade preaching; the second appendix is a timeline; and the third appendix lists "melodies attested" in the manuscripts of these songs.

Singing the Crusades encompasses over two hundred lyrical works (songs) that are secular and shed an alternative light on the historical topic of the Crusades. (7-8) Throughout the book, these responses are quoted in the Occitan and Old French languages alongside English translations. Consequently, readers should keep in mind that the author's primary sources (songs) led her to a methodology that is not concerned with traditionalist or pluralist or other approaches to Crusading, nor does she seek to define the term "Crusade." (6-7) Rather, she discusses her sources in a large geographical context because the trouvères and troubadours responded to their local politics and the Crusades in the East, but troubadours mention the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula as well. (8-9) The book's central themes to consider are "exhortation" and "allusion."

The first two chapters discuss why and when the troubadours responded to the political atmosphere of the Crusades. Paterson maintains that the Crusade preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux was one reason why many troubadours reacted lyrically during the Second Crusade. An outspoken troubadour of this time was Marcabru who was living in Spain at the time. He sent songs to Jaufre Rudel who went on the Second Crusade and returned in 1148. He and Macrabru engaged in a dialogue both during and after the Crusade. (30, 32-36) According to the second chapter, a similar scenario developed during a pilgrimage from 1179 to 1180, when the troubadour Giraut de Broneil, who was accompanying Viscount Aimar V of Limoges, wrote a song that admired Alfonso II of Aragon's triumph against the Saracens. (42) These two instances showcase an important aspect of this book, namely, that the troubadours and their songs served as a form of communication that spanned across time and space, but dating these songs to a specific context will alter their significance. Paterson lays out a network of these instances because in the later chapters trouvères add their own dialogue and enter that of the troubadours.

The real substance of this book is the network of songs. In *Chapter 3*, Paterson pays careful attention to the Third Crusade because the "exhortation" theme appears in the songs that portray political figures such as Richard Lionheart, his father Henry II of England, King Philip II Augustus of France, and Saladin. Paterson now uses the primary sources extensively and quotes them to extract the dialogues. (48, 50, 55, 60-61) As an illustration, she starts with the trouvère Conon de Bethune who, in 1187, declared the Saladin tithe (the tax raised for the Crusade) an expression of greed. In 1187/1188, the troubadour Bertran de Born wrote a song after Richard had taken the cross, followed by Philip some time later. In another song, Bertran referenced Conon's position but then went further and denounced Philip who had become king in 1180 and Richard who would not be king until 1189. (48-52, 55-61) Paterson suggests that these instances

demonstrate “exhortation,” because both Philip and Richard lacked urgency, which is why Conon and Bertran mentioned them in their dialogue-network.

In *Chapter 7*, Paterson demonstrates this dialogue-network in the context of the Sixth Crusade (1228-1229) with an emphasis on Frederick II of the Holy Roman Empire who received much attention from the troubadours, but only from one trouvère. In 1223, Pope Honorius III pressed Frederick to head to the East and bring his military might to bear on the Muslims, as the papacy was influenced by the troubadour Periol’s “propaganda poems.” (137) The troubadour Elias Cairel reacted to Frederick’s plans to go to the East to demonstrate that his “exhortation” would influence Frederick. Elias may have been encouraging the preaching momentum of the Church as well. (138) Later in Frederick’s career, during his involvement in a siege on Cyprus, the trouvère Philippe de Novare saw Frederick’s actions as an illegal intrusion. (148-149). In this chapter, the dialogue is not centered on the troubadours or trouvères referring to one another, rather it centers on Frederick. In the book’s overall structure, this chapter suggests a turning point, whereas the following chapters focus on the influence of individuals on the Crusades.

The “allusion” theme is not as definitive in this book. It appears whenever the primary sources refer to something such as the Holy Land, kings, and military orders. For example, in *Chapter 9*, one “allusion” occurs in a song by the trouvère Philippe de Nanteuil who was an associate of Thibaut de Champagne during the Barons’ Crusade of 1239. Paterson suggests that it appears when the trouvère is referring to the Templars and Hospitallers who chose not to assist the captives of the Gaza ambush. These captives were not freed until after Richard of Cornwall brought the negotiations to close between the French Crusaders, the Franks of Syria, and the Ayyubids of Egypt. (174-178)

In *Singing the Crusades*, Paterson engages with the works of many Crusade historians, including those by Nicholas Paul, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Norman Housley, and David Abulafia. Paul’s work emphasizes the troubadour Bertran de Born and places him into the context of the political tensions of the 1180s between Henry the Young King, his father Henry II, and Richard Lionheart. (13) Abulafia’s scholarship is employed mostly in *Chapter 7* when Paterson discusses Frederick II and the songs that refer to his actions. (137-149) Riley-Smith’s publications are referred largely in the first half of the book as a foundation for the book’s chronology. Housley’s publications become the foundation for the later chapters. Paterson’s conclusion proposes that the songs in her book “have revealed many particular details of potential relevance to historians.” (254)

Singing the Crusades is recommended to those who have an interest in how war shapes and transforms art. The book is also geared toward those who are enthusiastic about history, musicology, poetry, linguistics, literature, and religious studies. The highlighted aspects of the lyrical network, exhortation and allusion, showcase the historicity of Crusade songs and how they functioned in the large context of the Mediterranean world between the eleventh and

fourteenth centuries. These songs exemplify how the explicitness and implicitness of lyrics can move listeners to a greater sense of awareness of their own culture. A strong point of this monograph is its ability to tell the story of individuals, songs, societies, and their involvement in the Crusades. *Singing the Crusades* has increased my curiosity in how artistic expressions develop in various societies and subsequently become vehicles to serve these same societies. Paterson has provided a basis for scholars of many disciplines to consider and discuss how culture produces sources (in her case: songs).

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Rublack, Ulinka.

The Astronomer and the Witch: Johannes Kepler's Fight for His Mother.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 272 pages. ISBN: 9780198736776.

The seventy years between 1580 and 1650 saw a witch craze that ravaged Central Europe, and scholars have attempted to explain this phenomenon by exploring the period's mentalities. Because persecution became part of everyday life, society became unstable in this tense "mental climate." This instability was compounded by the fact that there was a surge in the population just when climate had caused multiple years of crop failure. It was in this unhinged society that Johannes Kepler and his mother Katharina lived. *The Astronomer and the Witch* by Ulinka Rublack examines the "untold" witchcraft trial of Katharina Kepler and how her son Johannes took over her defense. Rublack places Katharina's case into its various contexts and creates an effective microhistory.

Ulinka Rublack is a professor at the University of Cambridge. Her work focuses on early modern European history, and she has published multiple works on the period. In *The Astronomer and the Witch*, Rublack's primary focus is on the story of the Keplers, but her larger focus is on the ways in which society directly impacted Katharina's case. Rublack shows that Katharina's case was not an isolated case, but rather a case that was indicative of the time. Most of the primary sources for Katharina Kepler's case have been preserved because of her famous son's involvement in the case and because the community she lived in is rather well documented. There are two bundles of documents that pertain directly to Katharina's case, as well as a considerable amount of additional archival material that can be used to gain an understanding of what life was like during this time, including the records of other witchcraft trials.

Rublack places Katharina Kepler's case at the heart of the witch craze. She examines how Katharina was accused, tried, and ultimately released. She scrutinizes the way in which Johannes Kepler affected the trial. And she concludes with an examination of Johannes Kepler's life after his mother's trial.

The Astronomer and the Witch begins with Rublack explaining why witchcraft was such a focus of attention during the seventy-year period between 1580 and 1650. Anyone could be drawn into witchcraft, and it was this factor that corrupted the fabric of society. The witch craze was so pronounced that one could not even “trust” one’s own family members, let alone one’s friends, neighbors, or employees. The witch craze was not limited to one gender or social class; it hit everyone. The situation was so severe that communal accusations led to upward of three hundred witch trials with an eighty percent execution rate just between 1580 and 1630. Rublack explains that witchcraft accusations were based on the desire to explain misfortunes. People were already struggling with life, and as a way to cope with reality, they turned to accusations of witchcraft to account for any misfortune that entered their life.

Rublack then transitions to Katharina Kepler. She explains the hardships that Katharina had faced in her early life and that her husband was often absent when she was pregnant. Next, Rublack looks at how Katharina Kepler was accused. The very first person to accuse Katharina of witchcraft was her son Heinrich because he was upset with his mother that she did not have any meat in the dead of winter (1614/1615). The accusation stuck. Within a year, Ursula Reinbold, one of Katharina’s neighbors in the southwestern German town of Leonberg, made another accusation of witchcraft against Katharina. For Ursula Reinbold, the accusation of witchcraft against Katharina was nothing more than Reinbold’s inability to properly cope with her chronic illness. This was very common. People were looking for a reason to explain anything that was out of the ordinary and that they could not explain. According to Johannes Kepler, the reasons for the accusation of witchcraft against his mother were social factors, biological sex, and individual moral choices. Rublack completes an in-depth look at the various ways in which people accused Katharina and demonstrates just how absurd most of these accusations were.

As a result of having access to the court trial papers, Rublack is able to dive into the defense that Johannes created for his mother. She shows the different ways in which Johannes disputed and disproved the accusations against his mother, which were numerous. She looks at the court proceedings and portrays how the trial unfolded, which allows for a rich understanding of the trial and Johannes’s defense. Johannes Kepler succeeded in his mother’s defense because of his academic training. His success was dependent on his ability to confront an enemy and maintain a solid line of argument while refuting all of the enemy’s points. The fact that he had always had to counter his own opponents had properly prepared him for the fight during the trial.

Rublack also includes a case study of two other accused witches, namely, Margaretha Frisch and Lena Stüblerin. The fact that these two women had been accused of witchcraft and confessed with rather limited charges against them made things look very bad for Katharina because she had more substantial charges against her, suggesting that she had to be a witch because the last two

had confessed. This also underscores the stereotypes associated with witches because all these women shared numerous similarities.

The greatest strength of *The Astronomer and the Witch* is that Rublack successfully creates a microhistory. She situates this microhistory in the larger context of society, yet still makes the case for the Keplers. In doing so, she tells a story that is going to stay with people for a long period of time. Her book is not dry and overly academic, which allows for a smooth reading experience. Rublack makes her book accessible to a wider audience that does not just consist of fellow historians. The book's second strength is that Rublack extensively employs the sources available to her to strengthen her argument. By using the archival documents, Rublack is able to paint a very clear picture of the trial, leaving very little room for speculation. Working with the trial records allows her to lay out the defense that Johannes provided for his mother in a great detail. Moreover, the records from the community where Katharina lived enable Rublack to show what it was like to live in a witch-crazed society. Another strength of *The Astronomer and the Witch* is that Rublack acknowledges that even back then not everyone believed that everything inexplicable was the work of witches. She discusses that there were still the Lutheran theologians who believed that the struggles the country was facing were not the work of witches but, rather, the work of God.

One thing that the book lacks is that Rublack does not delve into more witch cases. She examines the microhistory of Johannes and Katharina Kepler, but she could have cited more case studies to strengthen her argument, either in the introduction or in the epilogue. On a different note, while Rublack's writing style makes her book eminently accessible, not every reader will find the author's style suitable for a work of non-fiction.

When examining a person's life, one does not have to create a biography that merely details that person's life. As Ulinka Rublack convincingly shows in *The Astronomer and the Witch*, one gains a much more comprehensive understanding of a person's life by not just looking at that person, but by considering how that person interacted with the people and mentalities around him or her. *The Astronomer and the Witch* is highly recommended due to its excellent scholarship and the ease of its style. Rublack's work is researched extremely well, and the sources she uses show that her microhistory stands on a strong foundation. Ulinka Rublack has retold and analyzed one of the most fascinating stories from the time of the witch craze, and for this she deserves our gratitude.

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Schechter, Joel.

Eighteenth-Century Brechtians: Theatrical Satire in the Age of Walpole.

Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2016. 288 pages. ISBN: 978-0859899970.

Theatrical satire is far from a modern idea, and Joel Schechter subscribes to the Marxian theory that history repeats itself at least twice. This is exemplified in his new book *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians: Theatrical Satire in the Age of Walpole*, in which Schechter demonstrates that the themes, methods, and characters employed by German playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) in the twentieth century were, in fact, anticipated by English playwrights in the eighteenth century, particularly during the era when Robert Walpole served as Great Britain's de-facto first prime minister (1721-1742). Schechter argues that numerous writers from this period should therefore be considered Brechtian writers. Joel Schechter is a professor of theater arts at San Francisco State University. He has written other books on historical and political satire, including *Durov's Pig: Clowns, Politics, and Theatre*, which also deals with Brecht (1985), *Messiahs of 1933* (2008), and *Radical Yiddish* (2013).

Schechter opens his book by explaining what characterizes the Brechtian style of theater, namely, an open-ended approach that is experimental. Even Brecht himself looked to the past to find the continuity of history by examining the topics that authors of his time were neglecting. Schechter then explains what specifically made Brecht's style so powerful. Brechtian theater was not just average, everyday theater. Brecht was the "Marx of modern theater." His theater was very political and indicative of politically engaged artistry. Brecht was known for visiting and utilizing the work of other authors to strengthen the message that he was trying to convey. To him, a political movement though the years was more significant than the work of a single author. Schechter comments on how Brecht addressed capitalism and beggars, and how he wanted to appeal to the working class by referring to their struggles and history.

According to Schechter, Brechtian style was (and is) not confined to Brecht. The political and satirical style employed by Brecht was common; Brecht merely made it popular. His use of other authors caused a default collaboration with them in creating a style that became Brechtian but had different origins. Schechter makes the case that the works of Henry Fielding (1707-1754) prepared the path for someone like Brecht. Henry Fielding was an English author known for his humor and satire. Fielding and Brecht were very similar in that they started their own companies and had a constant desire to politicize the stage. Brecht revisited Fielding's work multiple times to demonstrate that history is cyclical. Not only was Brecht very similar to Fielding; Schechter (and others) claim that Fielding may be considered one of the earliest Brechtians there was.

Schechter looks at numerous eighteenth-century plays and other texts to examine how they fit this Brechtian model of theater, including John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) and *Polly* (1729), as well as Henry Fielding's *Tom Thumb*

(1730). *Tom Thumb* is significant because Fielding used this play as an audition piece for *The Author's Farce* (1930). Robert Walpole apparently tolerated *The Beggar's Opera* because he enjoyed its satirical lyrics, even though they were directed at him, but then had *Polly* banned. From these plays, Schechter transitions to the works of other authors that could be viewed as Brechtians around the time of Gay and Fielding, including George Farquhar, Charlotte Charke, David Garrick, and others. Schechter also considers theater censorship. Because eighteenth-century Brechtians had such strong interests in political and social discourse, they were regularly targeted by censorship. He then addresses the Actors' Mutiny of 1733 when actors got fed up with theater management and decided to revolt. This, perhaps not surprisingly, also resulted in a satirical play on the subject, *The Stage Mutineers*.

The structure of *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians* is a bit unusual. The first thing to note is that, while Schechter is the author, he takes on the personae of others in some of his chapters, which can be confusing (but is, of course, rather Brechtian). Secondly, while he uses a traditional chapter set-up, he also inserts subheadings in some of his chapters, which (while signaling changes in subject matter) at times hampers the book's cohesive flow. Thirdly, from the perspective of historical studies, *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians* does not proceed chronologically, which can make it a challenge for those who are used to a more traditional and sequential approach (but then, historians may not be Schechter's primary audience); on the other hand, this is also one of *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians*' strengths and pushes historical boundaries. To some, Schechter's work might seem too whimsical; on the other hand, Schechter's writing style is entertaining and lighthearted, which makes for a pleasant reading experience.

There are still relatively few works on Brechtians, particularly the notion that Brecht's style of theater was anticipated in earlier times (even all the way back to antiquity). Schechter's *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians* suggests that a considerable amount of work remains to be done in this regard. Overall, this book is recommended. It is perhaps best suited for those who are interested in theater and theater history. *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians* shows historians that there is certainly more than one way to write a book, and that complex topics, especially those that transcend time and space, call for new and creative approaches.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Sierra Sampson of West Covina, California, earned her B.A. in History from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2017), where she is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, working on comprehensive examinations on the Viking World and modern Middle Eastern history. She also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."

Smart, Mary Ann.

Waiting for Verdi: Opera and Political Opinion in Nineteenth-Century Italy, 1815-1848.

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018. 266 pages. ISBN: 9780520276253.

When we think of Italian opera we do not generally consider it as a cultural phenomenon that helped unify a country and free it from the tyranny of an oppressive regime. Usually, the image that comes to mind is a soaring soprano's high "C," breaking any plate glass windows and wine glasses within a five-mile radius. Nonetheless, Mary Ann Smart's *Waiting for Verdi* carries the reader into the wonderful world of opera in her end-all-be-all book on nineteenth-century Italian musicology and how it pertains to public consciousness in the formative years of the Italian Risorgimento (1815-1848). *Waiting for Verdi* takes place right after the fall of Napoleon and the ascension of Austria's power on the northern Italian peninsula as decreed by the Congress of Vienna. For various reasons, some of them based on centuries-old disputes, others related to Italian collaboration with Napoleon, Italy was carved up as conquered territory with the northern part put under the control of the Habsburgs.

It is in this context that the book begins. In 1816, the royal theatre of Milan sponsored the contest for a new libretto (the text intended for an opera), but a winner was never declared. One of the judges, Vincenzo Monti, came to the realization that Italian poetry was in crisis. In a letter to one of his fellow judges, he solemnly declared that Italian opera had been reduced to "a monstrous coagulation without words." Around the same time, the Milan-based fashion journal *Corriere delle Dame* had a contest of its own, which amounted to ascertaining who could create the most creative satire of Italian literature or opera, and at the same time poke fun at the overly dramatic Romantic-era ideals that were creeping in from the North. The contest was in direct response to the French exile and writer Madame de Staël's article, "On the Manner and Usefulness of Translations," in which she had disparagingly commented on the state of Italian poetry and recommended that Italian translations of such authors as Shakespeare and Schiller could best remedy this.

Waiting for Verdi is separated into six sections, all covering distinct themes as they pertain to the acquisition of "revolutionary" thought. Smart makes the point early on that Italian opera, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was not taken quite seriously on the international stage. The fact that it developed, in just three decades, into a unifying certainly warrants investigation. Delving more deeply into the book, the reader is taken on a journey, one in which the author attempts to convey with precise imagery how Italian opera was experienced, especially in the context of the Italian aspirations toward unification. Smart argues that the more allegorical operas of the 1840s did not necessarily stir the Italian population to action against their oppressors and overlords, but that they planted the seed of future action in those Italians who were experiencing opera. This is to say that the operas of the time, even those by Giuseppe Verdi (1813-

1901), did not necessarily change Italian society immediately but possibly gave regular Italian citizens a way to engage their critical thinking skills, a sort of precursor to revolutionary thought. With such nuanced material and the niche audience that accompanies it, it is fair to say that this book is not for the faint-of-heart or even the casual reader. Smart knows her audience, and that audience seems to consist of committed musicologists and Italian historians of the future. So, the caveat is that, whoever decides to read this book should have a general background in Italian opera and the desire to understand its finer points. That said, *Waiting for Verdi* is a definite source for everything musicological as it pertains to early and mid-nineteenth century Italian opera and ballet.

One of the concepts the author doggedly lays out is a theory according to which music does not effect rapid change with regard to political events, but rather that opera in Italy had the power to effect, if only slowly, the way people thought about everyday situations. In *Waiting for Verdi*, Smart is determined to prove that new operas allowed viewers to begin to grapple with and integrate ideas that, as the author states, are essential to the "creation of a nation." In these new operas viewers dealt with new themes such as "sympathy, progress, community, tradition." Facing these new views in mid-nineteenth-century revolutionary Europe, one composer, Giuseppe Verdi, came to be emblematic of the Italian struggle to shake of the yoke of Austrian rule and achieve unification. Later in the book, Smart examines contemporaneous critiques and reviews to study even further the evolution of thought on opera at the time. In the works of the critic Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle), the author discovers what she sees as a strong argument for allegory in the many popular plays that were being performed all over Italy at the time.

All of these new ideas and the upwelling of nationalism are today grouped together and termed the "Risorgimento," literally the "resurgence," a social, ideological, and political movement that aroused the consciousness of the Italian people and led to a series of political actions that contributed to Italian unification. One of the artists attached to this movement was Verdi. Smart uses Verdi as an example of "Risorgimento personified" in the public sphere but posits that it was not that Verdi had been discovered or was some lightning rod that hit Italy all at once, but that the ideas and themes he represented had been percolating throughout Italy for many years before his rise to fame. Smart suggests that Italians were waiting for something to unite them, so perhaps Italy was "waiting for Verdi." Further adding to this was that "Viva Verdi" became the slogan of the day that represented Italian unification because of its double meaning, namely, "V.E.R.D.I." standing for Vittorio Emmanuelle Re d'Italia, the first king of a unified Italy. The main take-away is that art did not suddenly and out of the blue influence the Italian political movement of the Risorgimento, but it laid the groundwork for the ideas of unification to be more palpable to the public, even leading Italians to represent the movement itself in one concise slogan.

One of the more fascinating aspects of this book is Smart's exploration of the clash between romanticism and classicism. Smart argues that, due to the romanticism of the time which replaced the realistic analysis of the world with individualism and fantasy, people began to become absorbed in art and culture: they began to pay attention. Again, at this juncture, Smart gets into some heavy musicological themes and theory and explores the transformation of ballet in Italy, especially with regard to the works of famous choreographer Salvatore Viganò (1769-1821). Smart touches on the replacement of classical ideals with more individual ideals, such as the breaking up of the unities of Aristotle as outlined in the *Poetics*, and the way Viganò managed to set aside the constraints of these unities in his abstract ballets. The book finally takes us to Paris and to the migration of Italian composers to France in the 1830s, where they caused a sensation, not to mention an influx of talent, and to the dissemination of Italian opera in Paris and its influence on the Romantic composers of the day, particularly Franz Liszt and Frédéric Chopin. These exiles, artists, librettists, singers, and revolutionaries created newspapers that helped stir up national sentiment back home. While Smart seems to veer through many very specific musicological and historiographical concepts, her book is still very entertaining and a must-read for anyone interested in nineteenth-century Italy, opera, and even the Romantic era itself. *Waiting for Verdi* certainly makes a compelling case that studying the history of music and how music interacts with societies in crisis is a worthwhile and rewarding undertaking.

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Sternberg, Giora.

Status Interaction during the Reign of Louis XIV.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016; first published 2014. 224 pages. ISBN: 9780198754350.

Symbolic expressions of social status surround us as much today as they did seventeenth-century French nobles. What you wear, what you drive, or the events you attend may echo your social status. When we see someone wearing Gucci, we may assume something about this person's place in society: most likely wealthy, most likely accomplished, and some would say, most likely snobbish. Whether someone drives a Prius, a large pick-up truck, a mini-van, or a Lamborghini: an automobile may reflect its driver's social status. Likewise, going to the Opera, the Grammys, a Nascar event, or a comic-book convention may reflect an attendee's social status. Just like clothing, automobiles, and events may reflect our position in society today, dress length, chair design, and letter subscriptions in seventeenth-century France reflected the social status of the nobility. In *Status Interaction during the Reign of Louis XIV*, Giora Sternberg

postulates that the “symbolic expression of social position was an ever-present source of concern and conflict.” (1) Sternberg investigates how French nobles in the seventeenth century interacted with one another and tried to maintain their status, diving deep into the conflicts and concerns caused by the interaction between individuals of different status. Sternberg analyzes one of the most sensitive matters Louis XIV had to deal with in 1679. This matter included negotiations between kings, princes, and other nobles. Louis needed to ensure peace between Spain and France as his niece, Marie-Louise of Orléans, was to marry King Charles II of Spain. He wanted to mediate in this important matter and ensure that no conflict would ensue. Thus, Louis was forced to deal with a complex problem that many still face today, namely, seating arrangements.

Giora Sternberg is an early modern historian who started his studies at Tel Aviv University and went on to earn a DPhil in History from the University of Oxford where he is currently teaching. He has published in multiple journals since 2006, mainly writing on the topic of status, ceremonial records, and dress.

Sternberg starts his book with an in-depth historiographical and conceptual introduction, looking at what normal status interaction and interaction disorder was like during this time period. He states that there was no fixed body of rules when it came to status interaction during the early modern era. There was customary law and room for change and complexity in aristocratic society. The introduction also gives us the basics for the hierarchies at the time and provides us with a deep analysis of these ranks. Sternberg breaks down the ranks from the King to the Children of France, the Princes of the Blood, the foreign princes, and more. Since this may get too complex for some readers, the book’s appendices provide break-downs for these different ranks and graphic representations of hierarchies and bloodlines. The introduction also gives readers insight into the types of sources Sternberg used for this study. He employed a variety of sources from a canon of published texts, accounts by personages (people of rank), manuscripts registers, court paperwork, and private accounts of ceremonial events by aristocrats.

Chapter 1 (“The Marriage of 1679: High Ceremonies as Multifaceted Status Interactions”) takes a detailed look at the marriage of Louis XIV’s niece to the King of Spain. Sternberg takes the reader on a fascinating journey into the hot-button topic of the day, namely, who was to hand the pen to the betrothed to sign the marriage contract. Sternberg shows us why such a seemingly menial task was such a momentous occasion in seventeenth-century France: being able to hand the bride and groom this pen was honorable and reflected extremely well on one’s status. The author paints a picture of the great trouble and drama between different ranks of nobles on the possession of the pen, showing how multifaceted these conflicts could be. Sternberg then analyzes the role (and number of) of *fleur-de-lis* rows on wedding dresses, showing us how truly important this issue was at the time, so much so that Louis XIV had to get involved and register his objection to certain mantles and dresses.

Chapter 2 (“The *affaire des sièges*: The Anatomy of Ceremonial Crisis”) is most notable for its analysis of the typology of seats. For each meeting, seating arrangements were meticulously planned, with status and rank being of the utmost importance. Seating arrangements were relative and would change based on a meeting’s location, type, and attendees. In addition, different types of seats were used. Armchairs were typically reserved for the highest-ranking person in attendance, while other seats were assigned based on rank and gender. Not only were the seating arrangements and the types of seats relative, but when one was allowed to sit and when one had to stand was of importance as well. When the King was present, one was not permitted to sit unless one was of proper rank. This deep analysis shows us how important rank and status were to the aristocracy of seventeenth-century France.

Chapter 3 (“The Battles of the Mantles: Ceremonial Gear and Status Conflict”) and Chapter 4 (“To Wear or Not to Wear? Mantled Visits in the Early Eighteenth Century”) look at the politics of ceremony and dress, focusing on the mantle. The mantle was a loose piece of clothing that was worn over clothing like a cloak or overcoat and could extend onto the floor for many feet, depending on one’s status. The chapters go into detail on the trains of these mantles. A train is the long back part of the mantle and served to further detail the exact rank and status of its wearer bearer. Train lengths were extremely important, and distinctions had to be made perceptible. Trains could not be too short, but should also not be too long, and many hours were spent planning, preparing, and creating these mantles and their associated trains.

Chapter 5 (“The Duality of Service: Between Honor and Humiliation, between Primary and Secondary Functions”) looks at different acts and services that may seem menial to us, but were considered honorable at the time. These were based on routine or ceremony, such as setting the table properly, giving the King the correct tools to wash and wipe his hands, holding the mantles or trains of others (if these mantles or trains were so long that this was required), and even dressing the King. Sternberg looks at the dichotomy of performing such a task as being both status-defining and honorable.

Chapter 6 (“Epistolary Ceremonial: Manuscript Correspondence as Unmediated Status Interaction”) analyzes the importance of address, particularly in letters. Sternberg shows us the proper usage of *Monseigneur* and *Monsieur*. When one was addressed by one’s subordinates, a letter would begin with *Monseigneur*; meanwhile, when one was addressed by one’s peers, the term *Monsieur* would be used. These seemingly minor differences mattered greatly to these nobles. At the end of a letter came the subscription which was an even more evident way for the letter’s author to communicate rank, position, or status. How a letter was subscribed, however, did not just depend on the rank and identity of the author, but also on the rank of the recipient, as well as the nature of the relationship between the author and the recipient.

Sternberg's conclusion looks at the mechanics of status interaction, and how status and rank actually legitimized power. Sternberg paints a vivid picture of how vigilant participants in status interaction had to be. These aristocrats had to remain observant for possible opportunities to increase their status and, at the same time, protect what they had. Toward the end of *Status Interaction*, a compelling argument is made for the study of status interaction as a discipline of its own. Sternberg explains how looking at status and rank can help us understand micro-politics, as studying status interaction "provide[s] an analytic framework of its own for understanding early modern action and agency." (171)

Those interested in war, religion, technology, and history outside of the drama of the royal court may not enjoy this book. However, historians who are interested in court politics, the aristocracy, culture, or early modern history in general will find this book genuinely interesting, informative, and captivating.

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Young, James E.

The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between.

Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016. 256 pages. ISBN: 9781625342577.

What is memory and how can it be preserved for future generations? If there is trauma in the memory, should it be preserved? What roles do art, architecture, and monuments play in all this? Lastly, how does the memorialization process differ between cultures and countries? These are the first questions that came to mind when I set out to read James E. Young's *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between*. It instantly captured my attention and forced me to question what I thought I already knew. Luckily for avid historians or curious readers, Young makes it his mission to help us answer these questions: "Here I would like to explore the ways both the monument and our approach to it have evolved." (14). The question is, "Did he succeed?"

Young's book is organized as a collection of essays in seven chapters, each discussing a variety of subjects including international tragedy, art qualifiers, and counter-memorialization (a relatively new approach to memorials). More specifically, the discussion revolves around the steps or stages that occur for these memorials/monuments to become a reality. Young places himself into the narrative by relaying his contributions to the various memorialization processes addressed in his work. Readers learn that he has made numerous contributions to world-renowned memorials, allowing them to develop an empathetic connection to him, to the process, and to memory in its physical manifestations.

Firstly, I wish to acknowledge Young's excellent introductory approach to all his chapters. Although I am familiar with matters like 9/11 and the Holocaust,

the same cannot be said for Norway's 2011 Utøya massacre and counter-memory. Not to fear, for Young chooses to instill a little knowledge on each subject prior to getting into any analytical discussion. Thus, no reader is left behind. These introductions are sufficiently comprehensive but do not cross the line to become excessively detailed.

Throughout the book, Young offers intriguing insights that retain his readers' attention. For example, during his discussion of the 9/11 memorial process, Young remarks that thousands of memorial submissions were sent to the committee: "By the second stage deadline of June 30, 2003, the LMDC [Lower Manhattan Development Corporation] had received 5,201 eligible submission boards from 63 countries, and from all of the United States except Alaska." (40) This helps readers understand why the memorial process spanned ten years, especially with the complexities behind the discussion. Beyond the simplicity of contrasting committee opinions, there were more sensitive matters. If the space where the towers once stood was left vacant, would it glorify the men behind the attacks? If the choice was to build, what would be built? In the end, the decision was to create a minimalist memorial, consisting of two monuments placed where the towers had once stood, each with a vast void at its center and water cascading down its walls.

To show that memorial complications have no borders, Young includes an analysis of Germany's approach to Holocaust memorials. How can a country dedicate a memorial to the devastation caused by the mass extermination that was caused by the leadership of that very country, especially considering that monuments and grandiose gestures were popular with fascist regimes? According to Young, "In their eyes, the didactic logic of monuments—their demagogical rigidity and certainty of history—continued to recall too closely traits associated with fascism itself." (159) Can Germany do anything to get past that? To ease these concerns, Young presents a newer memorial process known as counter-memorials. This process counters traditional norms associated with memorials, giving the designers a way to "challenge but not negate" the history. Young proves their value in his discussion of Hamburg-Harburg's disappearing monument titled "Monument Against Fascism, War, and Violence and for Peace and Human Rights," designed by Esther Shalev-Gerz and Jochen Gerz. What began as a 12-meter-tall lead column in 1986, now stands evenly with the ground, the top part of the column being all that remains visible. Thus, non-traditional designers found a way to commemorate without the permanence emphasized by fascist predecessors. This is a subject readers outside of academia may not understand, however, Young provides an in-depth, uncomplicated study of its qualities, making it more appealing to those readers.

It is one thing for a book to appeal to an audience of historians. That means it is a successful history book. *The Stages of Memory* goes far beyond this, as it can appeal to a much broader audience, including architects, artists, or "just curious" readers. Those with artistic interests are thrust into the sensitive debate of war

photography and Nazi imagery as an art form. Young cautions readers from jumping to conclusions with regard to the mixed and antagonistic reactions aimed at the 2002 exhibit “Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/Recent Art” in New York City’s Jewish Museum before it had even opened. To express caution is a bold move as Nazism is one of the easiest subjects to condemn. Nevertheless, as Young laments, “suddenly a meticulously conceived and prepared exhibition on Nazi imagery in recent art was officially deemed ‘controversial’ – months before anyone even had a chance to see it.” (142)

Both men and women endured persecution, starvation, torture, and murder. Women faced all of these, plus rape, forced childbirth, and sexual humiliation. These exploitations are visible in Young’s discussion of war photography in *Chapter 3*. Despite the power and educational value found in the memories and photographs, the lack of a viable framework forces them to remain silent. The same can be said of iconic narratives like *The Diary of Anne Frank*. While many associate the content with Anne speaking to us, Young argues that the voice readers encounter belonged to her father Otto (111). Rather than conform to internationally known narratives and ignore the valuable voice found within war photography, Young chooses to go against the current in an attempt to rectify the abovementioned silences.

One may wonder why I place such value on Young’s overall content analysis and presentation of memorial complexities. It raises awareness. For those who wish to pursue a career in the field, Young’s analysis provides insight into what may await them in future. An approach like “hot topic, cool treatment,” which may be necessary to design memorials, is equally beneficial for public historians. Memorials and museums share equal foundations: a place where memory goes to rest. For readers outside of the academic field, *The Stages of Memory* provides a connection and an understanding of the process that could very well lead to empathy and appreciation for the work that goes into these memorials. They are more than a photo opportunity. They have a purpose, a meaning that is worthy of admiration and respect.

Ultimately, *The Stages of Memory* is a well-designed piece of literature that opens readers’ eyes to the steps memory takes as it attempts to assume a physical presence. Young’s analysis goes past the value of memorialization to include the complexities behind the subject and the silences that have appeared. Even though Young successfully discusses the variances of memorialization between cultures, his analysis creates a paradox that presents a unifying factor. Readers come to see that cultures have the same goal, namely, to provide a physical avenue for memory to survive. Most memorials have a connection or link to one another. As Tor Einar Fagerland’s searched for inspiration to memorialize the July 22, 2011, twin attacks in Oslo and Utøya, he looked to American memorials. Young explains that Fagerland’s goal was not to copy but, rather, to learn from the turbulent, emotional trial-and-error process that most memorials face. With that readers uncover that the contrasts found throughout *The Stages of Memory*

are merely one layer. In their most basic forms, all memorials are intertwined. Only a strong piece of literature could have achieved this insight. So, to answer the question asked above, “Yes, James E. Young did most definitely succeed.”

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Reviews (Exhibitions)

All That Glitters: Life at the Renaissance Court [exhibition].

Curated by Larisa Grollemond. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.
August 28, 2018, to December 2, 2018.

The realm of early European culture is a phenomenon. Knights in shining armor, mesmerizing craftsmanship, and courtly society conjure up visions of a time long ago. Life at the courts of lords and ladies in the late sixteenth century seems like a unique and strangely closed off world. While there are many artifacts from the Renaissance era, the culture of the courts itself is not easy to comprehend. Thankfully, the J. Paul Getty Museum's *All That Glitters: Life at the Renaissance Court* exhibition seeks to provide a more profound understanding of this for the public. Running daily from August 28, 2018, to December 2, 2018, *All That Glitters* illustrates the world of the nobility in early modern Europe with all its grand pageantry. It features original works from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the earliest from around 1430 and the latest from 1679. The forty items on display include luxury arts, illuminated manuscripts, textiles/clothing, enamels, and stained glass. They reflect a world of courtly desires and rich artistic passion, and they address a wide array of themes from hunting, prayer, knighthood, religion, and lineage to the elements of the social circle.

While it is stimulating to see such objects of historical significance, similar items can be found in other exhibitions or even the Getty itself. What the exhibition does offer is an expansion on the subject, addressing its topics directly. This is not unlike other exhibitions in its narrow focus. Even the current *Knights in Armor* exhibition at Santa Ana's Bowers Museum tries to cover the topics of courtly distinction. It intends to represent a realm in which codes and pageantry governed European existence. The objects in question offer themselves as primary sources to the themes addressed in the exhibition. While not directly covering anything and everything that can be associated with the royal courts, what is available are samples under the chosen topics' headings. The items in question present an encompassing breadth rather than an all incorporating collection of the Renaissance court.

The Getty's *All That Glitters* exhibition also features three events that serve as extensions of the subject matter. The first is "An American Court: A Conversation with Former White House Curator William Allman," a dinner and lecture at which Mr. Allman and *All That Glitters* curator Larisa Grollemond discuss to what degree works of the White House communicate values that are similar to those of the Renaissance court. The second is "Knights in Shining Armor," led by Tony Swatton, namely, a series of blacksmith demonstrations pertaining to the medieval and Renaissance periods. The third is a performance by the "Capella Pratensis," showcasing fifteenth-century songs and sounds of the Renaissance court at the Getty's Harold M. Williams Auditorium.

For the duration of the exhibition, the artifacts and their attributes, as well as other special features, are presented on the Getty's website in downloadable PDF files of the "audio play list," "gallery text," and even an entire "object checklist" with information on the objects' historical origins. The Getty's website does a brilliant job of illustrating what one may expect to see on site, even offering a blog post from the exhibition's curator Larisa Grollemond. It is an excellently crafted avenue that provides insight into the exhibition. While *All That Glitters* is a timed experience that will only last for about three months, the exhibition will be archived online alongside other Getty exhibitions. Those who find themselves on the website are granted high-resolution versions of six of the forty pieces and given full citation information.

The curator of *All That Glitters*, Larisa Grollemond, is an assistant curator in the Getty's Manuscripts Department. She earned her Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Pennsylvania and focuses her research of prints, manuscripts, and the courtly life of early modern Europe. Previous blog posts also demonstrate her expertise on her subject of choice. Neither the website nor the exhibition itself detail the process of how this exhibition came into being. Instead, the conception of *All That Glitters*, how its items were selected, or the steps in the process to adapt the latter to the museum space remain unclear.

While visiting the Getty was stunning as always, navigating toward *All That Glitters* was difficult. While marked on a large standing map to the left of the main entrance with a direct pin point, the northern pavilion has one wander a series of corridors until one reaches the exhibition itself in its furthest corner. There, on a passageway-sized banner, Eitelfriedrich I Hohenzollern (from a manuscript page shown in the exhibition itself) welcomes one to *All That Glitters* [Getty Ms. Ludwig XIII 11, fol. 18]. Once inside, one is instantly met with dim lighting (to prevent damage to the works shown) and soft music from the fifteenth century (ten different tracks in total, including works by Alexander Agricola, William Byrd, and John Dowland). The room is surprisingly small for the number of works it contains. Red panels, adorned with light betwixt black cases, orient the room alongside two displays in the center of the room. To fully comprehend the subject of the exhibition, one has to follow the red panels that guide the thematically ordered arrangement.

The exhibition room is divided into five themes: "Devotion and Display," "Codes of Conduct," "Socializing in Style," "Renaissance Remix," and "Dangerous Glamour." Walled displays provide summaries of these subject matters. In "Devotion and Display," one is shown how piety found expression in the form of delicate prayer books and their manuscript pages. This includes the Master of the Getty Epistles' impeccable "Saint Jerome" [Getty Ms. Ludwig I 15, fol. 1v]. "Codes of Conduct" details the social hierarchy of the nobility. Among its objects is the two-page manuscript illustration "A Tournament Contest" and the brilliant stained glass "Saint George with the Arms of Speth" [Getty Ms. Ludwig XV 14, fol. 27v; and Getty 2003.64]. Under "Socializing in Style," one is

educated on the etiquette of societal circles. Objects here include a mesmerizing 5'7" x 6'7" tapestry of family imagery known as the "Armorial Millefleurs Tapestry" [LACMA L2017.141]. Last, but not least, "Dangerous Glamor" seeks to wrap up the exhibition with one of its final periods under King Louis XIV of France. This section includes nine wall-hung leafs under "Emblem for Louis XIV," symbolizing the end of an era [Getty Ms. 11 and 11a]. The exhibition's soundscape is a "Renaissance Remix," featuring courtly musical works across three centuries. It is rather subdued compared to the noise of the visitors. Each object is accompanied by a small description against the casing, allowing an understanding of the work in the context of the exhibition itself.

All That Glitters is a delightful celebration of the Renaissance court. However, the organization of the exhibition is not always clear, which reduces its potential impact. Due to the manner of its presentation, *All That Glitters* does not quite keep what the exhibition's title promises. The showcased materials blend in with the dim atmosphere, except for the works that stand on their own such as the stained glass "Saint George with the Arms of Speth" or the "Armorial Millefleurs Tapestry." In terms of the information provided, the exhibition could pull from the wider social, political, and cultural context to enhance its visitors' understanding. That said, *All That Glitters* is a stunning exhibition. The objects themselves are gorgeous and presented with a clear sense of respect. It is because of this that the exhibition is a deeply meaningful learning experience. Those who have a passion for the Renaissance will thoroughly enjoy *All That Glitters*. And whether one is educated on the subject and attending for the objects on display, or simply wishing to learn in the first place, *All That Glitters* will be appreciated. Those who are attending have plenty of works from the period in the Getty, but only *All That Glitters: Life at the Renaissance Court* provides an enrapturing experience of brilliance and reverence.

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King Tut: Treasures of the Golden Pharaoh [exhibition].

Curated by Tarek El Awady. California Science Center, Los Angeles, California. March 24, 2018, to January 13, 2019.

In 1922, British archaeologist Howard Carter (1874-1939) had to fight with his sponsor so that he could stay in Egypt and excavate the section in the Valley of the Kings he truly wanted to explore. It was as if he knew that the lost tomb of King Tutankhamun was just ahead of him, taunting him with the knowledge of its seemingly lost artifacts. Carter was specifically targeting the tomb of Tutankhamun, and every year and every dig that he came up empty just pushed him harder. He never gave up, and because of this, he was able to chip his way through the Valley of the Kings and stumble upon the entrance to the boy king's tomb. This tomb had evaded grave robbers because the fury of Mother Nature

had ensured that a flood had covered its entrance with rocks and debris until the days of Carter's tenacity.

The exhibition reviewed here is housed in the California Science Center (CSC) and open to the public from March 2018 to January 2019. The items on display are on loan from the Grand Egyptian Museum (Giza, Egypt). The CSC splits the exhibition into two sections. The first part, which consists of the tomb artifacts, is found on the third floor, while the second part, which tells the story of Howard Carter, how he got on the road to archaeology, and how he discovered the king's tomb, is found on the first floor.

At the entrance of the exhibition, there is a timeline of Ancient Egypt's history leading up to the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE. From there, you are directed into a small room where they show a video about King Tutankhamun and how he died. After they have thus set the scene for the death and preparation of the body, they let you walk into the next room which features a tall calcite vase inlaid with faience, a calcite unguent vase with papyrus and lotus flower design, and a calcite vase on a stand with the cartouches of Tutankhamun and his sister-wife Ankhesenamun. Next to the vases is a bronze torch holder attached to an *Ankh* (an Egyptian symbol of life) with outstretched arms. The background in this room is covered with replica inscriptions from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.

Once you make your way into the next part of the exhibition, the remaining rooms follow a map. The first section deals with the preparation for the afterlife, followed by the afterlife, the guardians, and the rebirth. Even though there are groups of visitors going through every fifteen minutes, the distribution of the artifacts gives viewers the space to navigate through the rooms without rubbing shoulders. When I went through, I was part of a group that included an entire elementary school class. Though there were easily twenty or more children, there was never any problem with crowding in the rooms. The exhibition gift shop is smaller than the previous rooms and more cluttered. There are many different trinkets from Egypt, such as wooden scarabs and papyri decorated with iconic hieroglyphic scenes. From books by Egyptologist Zahi Hawass to bookmarks, there is an abundance of gifts to satisfy anyone.

The cases used and the placement of the artifacts allows for viewing from all angles. Information cards appear in English on one side, in Spanish on the other side. The lighting is low due to the artifacts' sensitivity, and the strict adherence to the "no flash photography" rule allows for the ambiance to be undisturbed. No matter how many visitors are passing through, because of the way the cases are situated, you are transported to a different time and place. The artifacts on display are gorgeous and varied, with the types of treasures depending on the section you visit. The preparation section explains what bodies had to go through to begin their journey, as mummification and spells from the *Book of the Dead* prepared bodies for their way into the afterlife. The CSC here displays containers of food and other items that would have provided the king with the nourishment needed to complete his journey. One of the food holders is in the

shape of a chicken or small turkey, and it looks as if it, too, has been mummified. To further immerse you into the realm of King Tut, on top of every case there is either a spell from the *Book of the Dead* or a more in-depth look into why certain items were chosen for the journey ahead. These vases, statues, weapons, and so forth look as if they have been created recently, not as if they have been in a tomb for over three thousand years. They still appear to be in their original colors, and the jewelry looks as sophisticated as modern jewelry does today. The treasures are placed to help viewers understand the importance of the journey for the ancient Egyptians. For example, there are statues of different workers who served the deceased and fulfilled their desires. These are known as *shabtis*, and there was a hierarchy within the tomb so that the higher *shabtis* would supervise the lower ones. Another section on the third floor is dedicated to the journey through the afterlife, which features the guardians used to aid the dead on their journey. Here the curator supplies the necessary information on what the afterlife is through artifacts. While there are spells throughout the exhibition, these are explained so that there is an understanding of why the priests went to the trouble they did to try and protect their charges to the best of their abilities.

Before the exhibition moves you through the afterlife, there is a display of portions of the gold found in and around the king's sarcophagus. The gold bands that once encircled the mummy's wrappings are strategically placed on a backdrop of King Tutankhamun's sarcophagus, allowing for a closer viewing. The museum's ability to transmit the messages written on the bands and the *Ba* symbol (part of the soul) bring the treasures and inscriptions together, allowing viewers to complete the puzzle that is the religion of Ancient Egypt. Vertical outside bands, originally sewn onto the mummy's wrappings, are made of gold, carnelian, glass, and faience, creating a beautiful display of blues, browns, and gold. Horizontal gold bands circle the entire case and display the spells for King Tutankhamun's journey. These golden horizontal bands transect four sections of the sarcophagus (shoulders, hips, knees, and ankles) and connect under the golden arms, crossed over the chest and holding the golden crook and flail of kingship. Between the scepters rests a brown scarab (symbol of rebirth), nestled onto the golden bands that descend to the feet of the coffin and bisecting the ribbons that cross horizontally. Below the hands lies the golden *Ba* bird (representing the eternal journey of the Sun).

While the treasures are gorgeous and tell their story all by themselves, the information provided allows for a deeper understanding of who the deceased was, as well as Egyptian culture and religion. While the video at the beginning offers an introduction, it is not until you start reading the information at the top of the artifact cases and on the walls that you understand how important these deceased kings were and why they were afforded such care for their safe voyage through the afterlife. There are vignettes on the gods, how these kings were related to them, and their purpose, both on earth and in death. In order to provide a full picture of the king and the vastness of the treasures discovered,

there are objects in this exhibition that are shown outside of Egypt for the first time. These objects are scattered throughout the exhibition and not just concentrated in a specific section. Yet, the information provided throughout the exhibition and on the videos leaves you with a somewhat incomplete picture. There is mention of King Tutankhamun having to restore the deities at Thebes and about being erased from the kingship after his death, but there is no indication why this information is pertinent to the story of the king or how it affected his image and standing in Ancient Egypt. For someone who has knowledge in this area, this is somewhat problematic in that the exhibition leaves gaps in the story as it introduces information without further explaining its relevance or significance to King Tutankhamun. To the general onlooker, the exhibition offers a fresh perspective and tells the story of who King Tutankhamun was and how important he was to Egyptian society, not only as a king but as a living god on earth. He was given the utmost care and protection that allowed him to journey through the afterlife and claimed his spot among the gods in death. Though there are slight discrepancies in the information flow and story of the life and death of King Tutankhamun, the exhibition is a wonderful educational experience.

The ancient Egyptians believed that one attained immortality when one's name continued to grace the tongues of people. Though King Tutankhamun was a relatively insignificant ruler, especially compared to others of his dynasty, his name is the one still repeated today because Howard Carter was able to locate a tomb lost to time. Since 1922, the main name on everyone's tongue has been that of the boy king and his treasures buried deep in the Valley of the Kings. By allowing his treasures to come to this exhibition, the immortality of this king has been ensured for years to come.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Stephanie Reilly of Hesperia, California, completed her B.A. in History at California State University, San Bernardino (2015). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton, working on a comprehensive examination that analyzes ancient Greek military formation and tactics.*

Knights in Armor [exhibition].

Curated by Ricardo Franci/Mark Bustamante. Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, California. September 22, 2018, to January 13, 2019.

The goal of the Bowers Museum's *Knights in Armor* exhibition is to bring centuries of old armor to life. The collection is on display from September 22, 2018, until January 13, 2019. Frederick Stibbert, a wealthy Florentine entrepreneur who lived from 1838 to 1906, collected full-body armor, swords, daggers, helmets, chain mail, shields, and crossbows, as well as leg, arm, and throat protectors made between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. He also collected table tournament displays and paintings from the early modern era. After his death, Stibbert willed his elaborate collection of over fifty thousand pieces to the city of Florence. Over a hundred items from this collection,

originally from Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, are now on display at the Bowers Museum, showcasing many unique aspects of knightly armor. The Bowers Museum's historical researcher, Mark Bustamante, adds a modern flair to this well-planned knighthood exhibition, connecting Southern California locals with history by explaining the knights' existence. This review analyzes how Bustamante's purposefully designed display of armor brings knowledge of knighthood to a twenty-first-century public. The organization of *Knights in Armor* represents an innovative and fun approach to museum education. In addition to the actual display pieces, the live demonstrations of sword fighting serve to establish the physical aspects of military technology. These performances allow visitors to comprehend the art of knighthood. All these aspects of the Bowers Museum's exhibition encourage audiences to appreciate the knights' history.

Bustamante's goal in showcasing the Florentine armor collection in Santa Ana, California, is "bringing the world to you." In this, he has succeeded. The *Knights in Armor* collection is housed in both of the Special Exhibitions rooms which are located on the museum's west side. The two rooms are situated in an L shape. This design helps with the flow of the historical chronology, starting with helmets and then moving through swords and daggers. At its center, the exhibition includes a full armor display of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (1527-1576). The other side of the L-shaped exhibition space features the crossbow section, as well as paintings. When I first entered the exhibition, I was greeted by a French close helmet from 1510. This particular item is made of steel and basic in its design. The helmet has two slits at the top for the eyes, a point to protect the nose, and additional holes for ventilation. As I walked toward the end of the helmet display, I saw a 1590 French steel-and-gold embossed close helmet. Clearly, the two designs represent their respective eras, as well as the technology available in those days. The 1510 helmet expresses a more simplistic and practical fighting design that would have been suitable for a soldier of lower status. However, the 1590 helmet was definitely made for a wealthy person, as the embossed steel includes angles inlaid into the metal.

When one views the knightly armor, it is obvious that Bustamante has done a great job in organizing the pieces. As mentioned above, the center of the exhibition presents a fully armored sixteenth-century Emperor Maximilian II, along with two other military officers, on horseback. The scene is dramatic and inspires patrons to envision the reality of the time period's armor. The statue of Maximilian II highlights the intricately detailed steel-and-gold embossed armor. In fact, the statue's armor makes an overwhelming statement of wealth. The exhibition's historical plaques describe how the ruler developed jousting tournaments into European social gatherings for the wealthy elite of the early modern period, as firearms technology caused knightly armor to transition from military gear to more of a fashion statement.

The live demonstrations of sword fighting are important for educating visitors with regard to the physical aspects of military technology and the artistry

of knighthood. Reenactments are held near the museum's south entrance, on the lawn of the Margaret and Cleo Key Courtyard. The physical aspect of this exhibition conveys a tangible sense of the life of a fighting knight. The clanging of the swords and the banging of the metal armor make history come alive. This particular interactive feature helps modern visitors connect with a sport of the past. During my visit, I observed that the only weakness of the physical sword fighting display is that it is affected by the weather. Because they were fighting in direct sunlight on a hot day, the reenactors had to take several breaks to avoid overheating in their armor. However, an announcer on site was ready to explain every aspect of the sword fighting and answered the patrons' questions. Moreover, the knowledge and expertise demonstrated by the reenactors was well received by the crowd. Spectators were enthusiastic to learn about how knights fought, and the rapport between the announcer and the crowd created a great learning environment for people of all ages.

The *Knights in Armor* exhibition at the Bowers Museum does an excellent job in teaching about an important element of early modern European military history, and Bustamante successfully completes his mission to educate the local public on the history of knights and their armor. The exhibition effectively establishes how armor changed over time. For example, the fourteenth-century helmet is heavy, big, and round. Meanwhile, the seventeenth-century helmet is smaller, lighter, and more formfitting. This latter design enabled the knight to have more flexibility when fighting and reflects the time in which it was made. Fourteenth-century steel-plated armor became obsolete during the sixteenth century, as armor changed to a fluted design embossed in steel and gold. Pointing out this transition incorporates an economic element into knightly military history. Additionally, the development of firearms reduced armored knights from soldiers to tournament participants displaying their wealth.

Bustamante's organization of the *Knights in Armor* exhibition encourages visitors to understand the political, social, and economic aspects of various forms of the equipment. The armor is strategically arranged so that viewers can easily identify the knights' social conditions. For example, Maximilian II was responsible for enhancing the popularity of tournament and parade armor during the middle of the sixteenth century. He is still known for his contribution to knightly tournaments which were lavish displays of wealth and richly embossed armor. Parade armor reflects the rise of firearms technology. Another well-organized area is the one that discusses how knights achieved their status. The exhibition's historian highlights the fact that second-born sons from wealthy families often pursued knighthood because such younger sons were not likely to inherit any land. This once again demonstrates how early modern economic factors tied into the history of knights.

During my visit to the Bowers Museum's *Knights in Armor* exhibition, I learned a lot about early modern history. The displays are innovative and well organized. Bustamante's historical approach showcases the exciting aspects of

knightly armor and provides a fun learning experience. The brilliant didactic approach appeals to all ages but is still challenging and scholarly. I recommend this exhibition to people of all ages and, during my visit, saw many families, students, and seniors who were enjoying the history of European knightly armor.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Alisa Morgan of La Verne, California, earned her B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2017), where she is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, working on comprehensive examinations on early modern European history, as well as the U.S. in the world.*

Leo Fender: Life and Legacy [exhibition].

Curated/created by Richard Smith. Fullerton Museum Center, Fullerton, California. November 12, 2016-present.

Every global phenomenon, be it a music genre, sports team, or celebrity, has to start somewhere, and Fender, the world-renowned brand of electric guitars, is no exception. Musician or not, Fender, which has its roots in American rock culture, is a term that most Americans hear at least once in their lifetime. The Fender name can be found all over the place, whether on an instrument played by a big-name artist at a concert or while dining at a *Hard Rock Café*. Perhaps you even owned a Fender when you were aspiring to learn how to play the guitar. However, while the name and the brand are familiar, the man behind the enterprise is not nearly as well known. Not only did the trademark have its beginnings, so did the man behind it.

The *Leo Fender: Life and Legacy* exhibition at the Fullerton Museum Center in Fullerton, California, showcases the history behind Fender's internationally known business. It demonstrates the connection between the Fender name and a local town, and brings to life a historical treasure to the people of Southern California where many people are not aware that they share their hometown with the "number one" brand of guitars. The exhibition itself is also not very well known, but it is a hidden gem and an overall enjoyable experience. The Fender exhibition provides the viewer with a very "hometown" feel, which is refreshing to see in relation to an internationally known and commercialized enterprise. Despite the nostalgic feeling it induces, some may argue that an exhibition dealing with such a famous brand should have a display of glamour and pomp, but that is neither applicable nor appropriate in this case.

In the exhibition's design, Richard Smith, the curator and rare guitar collector responsible for the display, clearly intends to localize this internationally known brand. This is not only seen in the content and information shown, but in the presentation as well. The exhibition only uses two rooms, and the design is generally simple. Depending on the audience, it can at first seem a little unorganized or unchronological. Upon entering, there is no clear instruction as to where to begin and how to move through the displays. This might be a little off-putting, since there is no clear sense of direction, but as some of the displays explain, this was simply Leo Fender's style: there was not much order, but

somehow it just worked. If you like to experience exhibitions chronologically, as I do, it would be wise to start on the left side of the entrance where you can learn about Leo Fender's upbringing in the small town of Fullerton in Orange County, California. The exhibition begins by explaining that, at the time, Fullerton was a rural community where homes used kerosene lanterns, a community not known for its riches. The man behind the name, Leo Fender (1909-1991), was in fact born in a barn, because his parents could not afford to build a house until the following year. Leo first started out as a musician, playing the piano and saxophone. Ultimately, though, he was more interested in the devices with which music could be played. His uncle introduced him to the world of radio electronics, which quickly became his hobby and passion. A display case holds some of Leo's school portraits and a radio that he built in 1943. The exhibition then goes on to explain Leo's involvement in the Fender Radio Service, a repair shop. Leo's work with public address systems for musical events ultimately sparked his interest in tinkering with instruments. He thought he could make instruments and equipment more practical than they already were. From this point forward, Leo's involvement with music and specifically his guitar designs are the exhibition's primary highlights. Along with a couple of steel lap guitars in glass cases, the next display discusses Leo's interaction and partnership with Doc Kauffman, pioneer of the world's first patent guitar vibrola, and how Doc helped Leo start his own company. On the west wall of the gallery are two large rectangular glass cases that hold hallmark guitars from Fender's career. Some guitars featured are the Kauffman and Fender Radio Shop Guitar, the Telecaster, the Precision Bass, the Stratocaster, the Jaguar, the George & Leo ASAT (anti-satellite), and the G&L six-string bass. Located above these glass displays are Leo's original hand-drawn sketches that he made during the early process of designing his guitars.

With this set of eight guitars as the primary highlight and showcase of the room, the rest of the information covers the remainder of Leo's life. The exhibition goes on to talk about Leo's new company for musical products that he formed with George Fullerton, called George & Leo or G&L, and how he focused his efforts on this company until his passing in 1991 from complications of Parkinson's disease. Leo was working at his G&L work bench until the day before he died. There are two more glass cases on the north wall that contain guitars that Leo always had in his workshop, namely, the G&L Pickup Testing Guitar and the Sting Ray Bass. The last three points highlighted in the main gallery concern "Music Man," one of Leo's other instrumental companies; his involvement in the music culture of the 1960s when he "armed" the main players of the "British invasion" and rock legends with his guitars; and just how he changed guitar designs, especially during the 1940s and 1950s. The main gallery ends with how his guitars changed the industry during World War II. While this is a jump back in time, it certainly makes an impact. In the center of the main gallery are also a few of Leo's personal belongings, such as his record collection,

design journal, business cards, magazines he was featured in, and his French curve set which he used to draw lines to shape the body of guitars such as the Telecaster. These are found parallel to a TV screen that shows homemade videos from Leo's personal life. The TV display unfortunately does not come with a placard that explains either the footage or its provenance. One final notable item in the main gallery is the golden-colored Fender-Rhodes Electric Piano.

Beyond the main gallery, there is a small gallery to conclude the exhibition. Half of the room, behind glass, shows Leo's work bench along with his tools, notes, eye goggles, and wooden rendered guitar bodies. This is especially captivating because it brings Leo's work to life and looks like it has been left just the way it was when Leo worked at it. The text about the workbench, which is stuck to the wall by stickers, is located on the adjacent wall. Perhaps this display, which is one of the exhibition's main features, could receive more attention with a more permanent textual design. Moving on from the workshop display, located directly across the room, is a long glass case that holds some of Leo Fender's most notable awards from the National Association of Music Merchants, the Academy of Country Music, the Guitar Center, and the Recording Academy (otherwise known as the Grammys). This is the main spectacle where Leo's achievements are rightfully and spectacularly "shown off." Finally, the teal-colored room includes a painted portrait of Leo Fender on the wall of the entrance into the main gallery, ending the exhibition with a nice touch of humanity to the well-known Fender name.

The *Leo Fender: Life and Legacy* exhibition successfully achieves its goal of bringing the origins and story of the Fender brand to life, while at the same time pairing the experience with an overall "hometown" feel. Fender is not painted as an internationally known celebrity, but as an ordinary small-town man who happened to have an incredible impact on the music industry. Of course, adjustments could be made regarding the chronological flow, and perhaps more permanent materials could be used to ensure the exhibition's longevity, but the necessary history and artifacts are provided to understand the man behind the name, which is precisely the goal of this local history exhibition. Though the Fender name has certainly earned the right to have a more illustrious and grander display, that simply does not fit with the theme of this small local history museum and even with the character of Leo Fender himself. Whether you are a musician, historian, or just a member of the local community, a visit to this exhibition about the world-renowned brand of Fender and the man behind the legacy is definitely worth your time.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Michaela Malneritch of Norco, California, completed her B.A. in History and Journalism/New Media at California Baptist University (2017). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is a 2019 recipient of CSUF's Black Family Fellowship in History. She also works as a Park Interpretive Specialist for California State Parks.*

National Women's History Museum [online exhibits].

Founded by Karen Staser. Online (exhibits)/Alexandria, Virginia (administrative offices). June 2017-present.

What is an online museum, and can it give the visitor the same sense of historical narrative as a brick-and-mortar museum? These are questions that this review of the *National Women's History Museum* (NWHM) sets out to answer. The reality is complicated: an online museum is often the first step to bringing a certain historical narrative into focus, with the eventual goal of housing the collection in a traditional brick-and-mortar museum.

The NWHM was created in 2013, with the goal "to build a world class museum at the National Mall in Washington, D.C.," In 2017, bills were introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate with the goal to establish the museum, identify locations, and approve federal funds for planning, design, and museum operations. The building itself would need to be constructed through private donations. Since its introduction in 2017, no further legislative action has taken place to move the project forward.

So, for now, visitors can only access these narratives online. This format has a lot of advantages over a physical location. Increased accessibility to the general public is one of the greatest assets to the online museum. Many people never get to visit a museum due to location or other obstacles. Schools benefit as well: with current school budgets being slashed, an online museum provides access from the classroom. There is also no cost to visitors, exhibitions are cheaper to build and maintain, there is no limit to the size of an exhibition, and the staff needed to build and maintain the website is significantly smaller. Finally, it allows potential donors to get a sense of what the future brick-and-mortar museum might be like.

This is especially important for historical accounts that are outside of the established narrative. No one is going to deny funds for a military museum or a museum of American history, but the stories of people outside the traditional national narrative are often excluded. A good example is the National Museum of African American History and Culture. It, too, started online, and it was a seventeen-year journey from the online museum to the new, permanent facility in Washington, D.C. If that timeline holds true for the proposed NWHM, it could be another decade before these stories have a home outside of the internet.

There are drawbacks to the online format. It is very different to experience history via a computer screen rather than in the hallowed halls of a museum. To state the obvious, there is no real entrance to separate the real world from the historical treasures that lie within, only a website's landing page. It is also harder to connect with the narrative online, perhaps because the stories do not convey the same sense of history one would find when one is physically in a museum and standing in the presence of original documents and artifacts.

Women's history is also often seen as a sidebar to the traditionally accepted male-driven narrative about the United States. The term "women's history" implies that it is something separate, and altogether different from national

history. According to its mission statement, the *NWHM* “educates, inspires, empowers and shapes the future by integrating women’s distinctive history into the culture and history of the United States.” This is an important distinction, since it brings women into the narrative instead of being a secondary story.

To achieve this, it is imperative to highlight women’s contributions outside of traditionally female-oriented subjects. Much of the historical narrative surrounding women covers Betsy Ross sewing the American flag, women’s rights, feminism, suffragettes, social causes, and nursing. While all of these are well within the sphere of women’s work, the *NWHM* goes beyond the established narrative to include women who have made contributions in the sciences, law, sports, scientific discoveries, the war effort in World War I, and achievements in computer programing, thus effectively intertwining women’s accomplishments and how these accomplishments benefited the United States.

The *NWHM*’s website is organized by topics, and each topic includes specific exhibits. The format varies for each exhibit, but all exhibits feature pictures and a lot of text. Some include a self-paced slide presentation with standard museum labels on each slide, photographs, ephemera, artifacts, political cartoons, newspapers, and other primary sources. Obviously, the biggest difference here is that, instead of being displayed in a case, they exist only on the screen. The number of exhibits is astonishing; there are many more than would fit in a regular museum building. While the intent is to establish women as part of the national narrative, the *NWHM* does not neglect women’s traditional roles as caregivers and homemakers, but instead expands the viewers’ understanding of what it means to be a woman, what can and has been accomplished, and gives voice to the role models for a new generation of girls. The exhibit “Creating Female Political Culture” highlights the subject of women in the home and how they broke free. It is about the domestic sphere versus the public sphere, mainstream suffrage based on motherhood and service as opposed to militant suffrage (which was more about equality and individual rights).

In “New Beginnings: Immigrant Women and the American Experience” the focus is on Ellis Island, home, community, and culture, and a woman’s role in making things work in a new country, while keeping the culture and traditions of the old country alive. The exhibit here also talks about Jamestown and the involuntary immigration of African American women, women’s labor, factories, sewing shops, the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory and Fire (1911), who was welcome and who was not, migrant workers, and laws affecting immigrants.

In the exhibit “Inventive Women: American Women in Innovation and Invention,” we learn about those who invented and patented new products, ranging from a modern dishwasher to a smoke-and-cinder chimney for railroad locomotives. It is noteworthy that between 1865 and 1900, during the American Golden Age of Invention, women filed more than 5,500 patents. Unfortunately for most of the women during this time period, husbands and fathers still controlled much of their financial lives. In many states, women were still not

allowed to own property or control their own earnings, so along with making innovations, women were also striving for economic independence.

The *NWHM* has so many exhibits that it is not feasible to address them all in this review. But the visitor can look forward to exhibits on “Breaking in: Women in S.T.E.M.,” highlighting women’s contributions to the fields of science, technology, engineering, and math; “Getting with the Program,” featuring women in computer sciences; and “From Ideas to Independence: A Century of Entrepreneurial Women,” which tells the stories of women who owned and operated their own businesses. One of the best exhibits is called “Timeline: World War I,” in which we learn about women who worked alongside men during the war, such as Mary Roberts Rinehart, who went to the front lines as a war correspondent, and Loreta Perfectus Walsh, Chief Yeoman, the first woman to be enlisted in the armed forces as something other than a nurse; following her example more women served in the Marines, the U.S. Signal Corps, and as pilots.

There is also an excellent section dedicated to educational resources. Here visitors will find further materials on the exhibits they have already viewed that can be used in the classroom. The *NWHM* has developed lesson plans, work sheets, and research help, as well as primary sources, biographies, and topic finders for National History Day. These resources can be browsed as individual topics, such as Harriet Tubman or Hedy Lamar, or, on another page each section is sorted into an appropriate category, for example activism, World War I, or Equal Rights.

The *NWHM* museum fills the void in the telling of women’s historical narrative. The online format is well done and extremely informative; it affords the ability to tell a deeper story; and it offers much more than just text to the great benefit of students and researchers. The only thing I felt was missing was a searchable database of any digitized material that may be available with a focus on women in history, perhaps linked to the National Archives or the Library of Congress. This would give visitors easier access to additional sources and information.

The online format may be a little more difficult to get acclimated to for museum visitor who are used to traveling to a destination to see the exhibits, and there is still a sense of separation from the story that is being presented. It just does not convey the same sense of being in the presence of history that a brick-and-mortar museum has. However, this does not take away from the information provided. A lot can be learned by reading and interacting with an online exhibit, but it is a very different feeling and process for the visitor.

The stories of our female pioneers need to be told. Whether these stories are in the arts or the sciences, at home or in the public sphere, it is time for women’s narratives to be added and to include women in the nation’s historical conversation. Perhaps, in time, the full museum will be approved by Congress, and the *National Women’s History Museum* will have a home not just online but on

the Capitol Mall in Washington, D.C. For now, one can visit them online at <http://www.womenshistory.org/>.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Kate Tello of Corona, California, earned her B.A. in History from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2014), where she is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, working on comprehensive examinations on the history of immigration and labor in the American West.

Reviews (Films / Documentaries / TV Shows)

6 Days [film].

Directed by Toa Fraser. 2017.

General Film Corporation; XYZ Films; New Zealand Film Commission. 94 minutes.

The 1979 Iran hostage crisis dominated much of the political discourse during the opening years of both the Margaret Thatcher as well as the Ronald Reagan administrations. The Iranian Revolution set the tone for contemporary diplomatic relations between the West and the Middle East. These events overshadowed popular knowledge of the 1980 Iranian Embassy siege that occurred over a six-day period in London, largely publicized and responsible for thrusting British Special Forces units into the public sphere, as well as bolstering the public's opinion for Thatcher's relatively new administration. The siege came to a climactic end when two Special Air Services (SAS) teams undertook what was classified as "Operation Nimrod," the assault on the embassy and rescue of the hostages being held by the terrorists. Ben Affleck proved with *Argo* (2012) that the tumultuous historical events following the Iranian Revolution could be effectively dramatized and also be well received by audiences. Toa Fraser's response comes from the UK's 1980 hostage crisis in its own capital city. The film *6 Days* creates a competent hostage thriller that dramatizes "Operation Nimrod" but falters due to its lack of creative direction and its collapsing of complex politics into a West-versus-Middle East conflict.

On April 30, 1980, Salim, played by actor Ben Turner, leads five other gunmen in a siege of the Iranian Embassy in London. The group demands the release of Khuzestani prisoners. These captives are members of an Arabic-speaking minority in Iran and belong to an armed resistance movement seeking sovereignty for their region. Salim's group threatens to kill one of the twenty-six hostages held in the embassy if their demands are not met. Metropolitan Police Chief Inspector Max Vernon, played by Mark Strong, handles negotiations with Salim as the standoff extends to six days. This situation prompts the newly elected Margaret Thatcher to summon SAS in a public spectacle, showing her absolute unwillingness to heed the terrorists' demands or coercion. Actor Jamie Bell portrays Lance Corporal Rusty Firman as he leads the two SAS teams during the constant change of intelligence and implementation of reconnaissance to the regiment's plans for ingress. Outside the embassy, as tension mounts on the final day of the standoff, BBC reporter Kate Adie, performed by Abbie Cornish, reports a gunshot before visually confirming the death of a hostage. The shooting compels the civil authorities to turn over control to SAS who quickly take action by infiltrating the embassy, releasing the hostages, and killing the terrorists.

The opening sequence sets the film up, unfairly, to feel like a documentary rather than a drama. The first shot opens simply with the announcement "based on true events." Immediately following, archival news footage plays: an airplane

on a runway explodes as a news anchor reports that the previous decade has led to “a Renaissance for international terrorism.” The voice affirms that this uptick in violence has been due to “a status quo of negotiation and concession.” Immediately the film establishes the events within its hour-and-a-half run time as inevitable, given the hard line Thatcher maintains in refusing to negotiate. Subtitles tell the viewer the date and location as the events start to play out on screen. Finally, with the locking of the embassy gates, subtitles inform the audience the clock has begun ticking, labeling the events they have just seen as “Day One.” However, this greatly misleads the viewer, giving the film the atmosphere of a documentary rather than the drama that follows.

The events of the film begin as six Arab gunmen kick in the front door of London’s Iranian Embassy and take those inside hostage. These brief sections of action are easily the most impressive ones in this film. The storming of the embassy deftly sets up the hostage situation and briefly develops the terrorist leader and key prisoners. The bassy punch of the electronic synthesizer score establishes and accentuates the nervous tension that characterizes the tone for the rest of the film. Once garrisoned within the embassy, the terrorists seal the gates, subtly signaling that the viewer, too, will be barred from the building for most of film’s running time. From there, *6 Days* establishes Kate Adie’s eyewitness reporting, the summoning of the SAS regiment, and the civil authorities beginning negotiation proceedings not just with the terrorists, but also with the Thatcher government that was eager to shut down the crisis to show the strength of the year-old administration. In an unusual narrative direction, the story develops through the events outside the embassy.

The only news heard from the inside stems from the curt, charged negotiations between Max Vernon and Salim. The terse phone calls between Max and Salim ratchet up the nervous tension. For most of the film, those brief discussions are all the audience sees or hears from inside the embassy. The cultural misunderstandings and tight London bureaucracy lead to a prolonged standoff. As Max builds trust and urges a non-violent resolution to the conflict, municipal authorities discuss a military takeover in the event the Arab gunmen execute a hostage. Meanwhile, the SAS practice their assault on the building. Several times the teams are almost deployed, breaching charge in hand, finger on the trigger, before being called off at the last second by regimental command.

In a more artistically driven film, this setup could have led the viewer through the political motives and cultural misunderstandings that halt negotiations before slowly realizing that the gunmen were used as political pawns. The Iraqi government planned and funded the embassy siege, sneaking soviet-made guns and grenades into the UK through diplomatic bags in an attempt to politically embarrass its neighbor. Once the siege was initiated, both Iraq and Iran refused to negotiate, leaving the six men to die as “martyrs for the Iranian Revolution.” Instead, the film falters as it makes baffling choices in the story development. The terrorists do not come into focus until halfway through

the film. They are mostly seen during negotiations with police, brief moments of surveying their surroundings through curtains, or caught on the news cameras waving their firearms as they shout their demands from the balcony. Then, the film shifts to linger on the embassy's interior and the infighting among the six gunmen. Suddenly, the film attempts to establish their cause and build audience sympathy. While the film does little of both, it suffers greatly for it. The gunmen's nuanced cause is skimmed over and barely developed. The audience is left with little but a general sense of grievance. Subtle politics are swept aside for the larger idea of Iran using the situation to create martyrs for the Iranian Revolution.

With its rough and awkward handling of politics, the film even rushes its attempt to garner sympathy for the gunmen. Of the gunmen, Salim receives the most screen time. He is portrayed as an intelligent, mostly even-tempered man. Though he is taking actions that most of the audience would not take, he is portrayed almost as an every-man. The film stresses his position as a minority Arab-speaker in Iran. His exchanges with Max show that he is willing to negotiate and give the police time, but he is stuck in a difficult situation with guns pointing at him even inside the embassy as his own team wants results and is willing to circumvent Salim's orders if necessary. As his team grows frustrated with London's constant stalling, he remains the only person sensible enough to realize that if his team starts shooting hostages, this will halt their progress and invite swift retribution. Compare that development with the team's second-in-command, Faisal. He receives just a few minutes of screen time, most of which involves him screaming or otherwise arguing with Salim. Faisal's rash action, shooting a man he claims is an Iraqi spy, triggers the SAS assault. This execution takes place in the heat of an argument and despite Salim's protests. Faisal receives little more development than a caricature; he plays the angry and brash Arab extremist against Salim's balanced temperament.

The film makes choices in development that stifle plot progression and pad its already short running time with unnecessary characters and tangents. While the cuts between negotiator Max Vernon, SAS team leader Lance Corporal Rusty Firman, and Salim build the nervous tension in a series of close calls and last-second commands to stand down, director Toa Fraser inexplicably chooses to include two completely unnecessary and irrelevant characters. For reasons of clichéd tension and melodrama, Max Vernon's wife appears several times. Her character does nothing to forward the plot or add tension to an already tense sequence of events. She only appears a handful of times, but each time she does the scene evokes unnecessary emotional manipulation. The film's last scene with Max results in his speechlessness when his wife asks him if he is alright. In an obvious juxtaposition to the inspector's masterful distraction of Salim and the hostage takers via phone conversation and fake negotiations, Max's quick wit fails as he stands in emotional shock after the trying events of the previous six days. Instead, the scene fails and the audience feels the forced attempt at easy

emotional manipulation on the filmmaker's part. However, Mrs. Vernon, with her screen time that lasts just a few minutes, can be compared almost favorably with the BBC reporters stationed outside the embassy.

Occasionally the film cuts to Kate Adie, a newspaper reporter whose reporting of the siege launched her well-respected career in the BBC. While based on the real events, the inclusion of her and her cameraman is superfluous to the story. She does nothing to progress the plot or increase the tension. The film hints that she may be influencing the story: when she sees the plainclothes SAS soldiers enter the quarantine after driving up in windowless black vans, the film hints she may have seen through the clandestine ingress of the Special Forces and might be reporting the event to the public. Yet, nothing ever comes out of these sequences. The little reporting the audience sees her do comes at the end with her narration of the beginning of the siege, which the audience has already seen in progress, with black-clad figures abseiling down the embassy's bright white façade, so her narration is out of place and seems to be for an audience other than the one watching the film. This moment is a missed opportunity, as the beginning of the siege could have been treated like the film's initial setup: a recreation of events captured on news reels. It is unfortunate that this character was not developed further and that the influence of Kate Adie's groundbreaking reporting is not felt through the narrative.

Whenever Kate gets screen time, the film's progression screeches to a halt. She adds no new information that is narratively relevant. Rather, her exploits in Prince's Gate (the embassy's Kensington location) distract the viewer from the events occurring just down the street from her supposed reporting. Instead, the film chooses to focus on Kate and the cameraman's petty squabbling with other news crews. The tonal shifts effectively remove audience members from the tension building during the other scenes in the film, practically undoing the mounting stress. Though Kate reported on the events and kept the public informed, the brief recreations of BBC live coverage do little to add any new information to the film. Instead, the film cuts immediately away from the filmed re-enactments, directly to the events being shown during the broadcasts. Why would the film makers include a newswoman when they had no intention of using her reports, like those shown at the beginning, to add to the audience's knowledge or understanding of the events unfolding through the rest of the film? This decision is baffling, and Kate's scenes could be entirely removed with no harm to the narrative.

Despite the narrative shortcomings and lack of artistic direction, the final assault by the SAS, like the opening siege, remains an excellently executed feat of cinematography. Though it deviates from official accounts of the raid, *6 Days* can be forgiven for the tightness and choreographic direction. The beginning, before the SAS breach, ratchets up the tension to have it climax in silence with only the sound of a single pane of breaking glass. During the abseiling of the Special Forces soldiers, one soldier's harness gets caught in the rope. In his struggles to

free himself, he loses his footing. The film cuts the building electric synthesizer score as the soldier's foot breaks a window, ruining the necessary element of surprise for the not-yet positioned SAS forces. In a moment, all this tension is released in an emotional climax. I remember watching the film in the theater, and in a single moment there was sudden quiet, only punctuated by one viewer's quiet gasp. Very rarely do modern films gamble with punctuating the climax of their film with build-up to silence, and even fewer films can draw the audience in so completely to have pin-drop silence. The action-filled assault that follows has viewers heart-in-mouth. An emotional denouement follows as a fire rages, and the terrorists are systematically put down in a room-by-room sweep as the building fills with blue-tinged smoke. Despite the fog of war descending, the blue tones lend a surgical quality that underscores the SAS's systematic, rehearsed plan. Even Salim is dispatched with no fanfare as part of the operative efficiency of the UK's counter-terrorism unit. This sequence alone makes the film worth viewing, despite its otherwise often baffling narrative choices.

The ending may leave some viewers sickened or upset. The ending cards state that the five gunmen who died in the siege lie in unmarked graves in East London, failing to act on the audience's built-up sympathy for the Arabs' cause. The ending tone makes the film resonate as almost jingoistic. Despite the flaws, *6 Days* is a competent thriller that captures the essence of the Iranian Embassy Siege even with its confusing tonal shifts and incomprehensible narrative choices. While not for everyone, I recommend *6 Days* for those with only a passing knowledge of conflict in the Middle East, those interested in thrillers, and those who want to see a dramatization of one of the rare instances the SAS was deployed on UK soil, with the operation broadcast live on television.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Gareth O'Neal of Anaheim, California, earned two B.A. degrees in French and Comparative Literature (2015), as well as an M.A. in English at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2018), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). His English M.A. thesis applied Albert Camus's absurdism to H. P. Lovecraft's Cthulhu mythos. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF with a thesis/project on the brass rubbings in CSUF's Roberta "Bobbe" Browning Collection. He is a 2019 recipient of CSUF's Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History. He also served as an editor for this volume of *"The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

Bisbee '17 [documentary].

Directed by Robert Greene. 2018.

Impact Partners; 4th Row Films; Concordia Studio/Artemis Rising Foundation/Doc Society Circle. 112 minutes.

I went to see *Bisbee '17* expecting to learn solely about the 1917 Bisbee Deportation, the way it happened, why it happened, and the things historians research and write about; but the film is so much more. Through the centennial recreation of the Bisbee Deportation, the viewer learns not only about the history of the deportation, but how that incident continues to impact the lives of Bisbee's

residents one hundred years later. By telling the story about this specific moment in history, *Bisbee '17* also gives us insight into historical memory, the psychological impact of history, and how historical events continue to have power over lives long after these events have transpired. Director Robert Greene, a documentary filmmaker and professor of convergence journalism at the University of Missouri, balances the historical narrative against the backdrop of the town commemorating the centennial anniversary of the deportation. What the viewer learns from this is not just the history behind the deportation, but the lasting influence specific incidents have on community.

The film begins with a wide-angle shot of Bisbee's local high school, the everlasting symbol of small-town America. The camera zooms in on a lone white man who begins to talk about the high school and how the Copper Queen Mining Company, owned by the Phelps Dodge Corporation since 1885, built the school to educate 900 students, but today less than 400 attend. The closing of the mine in 1975 reduced this once prosperous mining town to just another relic in the desert. But it would be wrong to identify Bisbee, Arizona as just another ghost town where the employment dried up and the residents moved on. The ghosts here occupy more than just the closed mine: the ghosts are in the secrets the town still keeps.

The trouble started in Bisbee long before the night of July 12, 1917. Bisbee was what was then called a "white man's camp." Racial strife and labor issues at the Copper Queen mines had led the miners to go on strike in 1907 when they unionized under the Western Federation of Miners. Arizona's 1912 statehood and the subsequent creation of laws governing workplace safety only strengthened the divide between native-born and immigrant miners. State laws were passed that governed wages, eight-hour work days, employer liability, and workman's compensation, but these laws only applied to native-born or naturalized citizens of the United States. Immigrant miners in Arizona still had no protection.

By 1917, the United States had joined World War I, and the demand for copper to produce munitions surged. It seemed that the high demand for this product would be the perfect time to ask for the protections and wage increases workers had been seeking. But hyper-patriotism and xenophobia conspired to turn what could have been a simple change into a perceived assault on the white man's rightful place at the top of the food chain. Far from seeing an increase in wages due to wartime production, the immigrant miners were seeing their wages stagnate, mostly due to the forced deductions taken out of their paychecks by the Phelps Dodge Corporation. The miners were paying for ground retention, water, power, lights, insurance, YMCA fees, and library costs. Meanwhile, the local mercantile that the miners relied on for food and supplies raised its prices.

The arrival of the International Workers of the World Union at the same time increased financial and work pressures on the miners and created an explosive situation. As the miners prepared to strike, the town's population saw this not

just as a work action but as a threat to the power structure of American life. On the evening of July 12, 1917, as the miners prepared to strike, Sheriff Harry Wheeler deputized 2,000 residents of the town of Bisbee. Armed and angry, these men went to the homes of miners, forcefully removed them, and marched them four miles from the town proper to the baseball field (the same baseball field the town is so proud of today). Built in 1909, it is the oldest continuously running community field in America, but that day it was a scene of terror and confusion, a scene where 1,200 men were held before being loaded onto train cars, with no food and no water in the July heat, and before being dumped 175 miles away in the New Mexico desert.

Many of the residents did not see the deportation as breaking the strike, but as preserving the American way of life. The International Workers of the World Union was characterized as a violent, communist organization. There were worries that there were German infiltrators in the union, and that they had amassed weapons and dynamite. The miners were portrayed as alien enemies, and the strike as something that would cause violence in the town and threaten the safety of women and children. Many in Bisbee still feel that Sheriff Henry Walker has been demonized for his role in the deportation and are quick to point out that what he did was for the best. But even one hundred years later, Bisbee has stories about relatives who were caught up in the deportation, brothers who arrested brothers, and families torn apart. There is a palpable sense that, for Bisbee, the memory of the deportation is as fresh as if it had just happened.

Throughout the film, Greene interviews citizens who took part in this cinematic reenactment. Many are descendants of the people who lived in Bisbee during the deportation. I was struck by the way Greene uses silence as part of the story. He focuses the camera on one of his narrators and then allows the silence to stretch out before the person starts to tell the story. This is important in the narrative because the deportation, and life in Bisbee after the deportation has been all about secrets and silence. The Phelps Dodge Company did not want the Bisbee residents to talk about what happened, and the residents complied.

There is no sense of the amount of time that passes in the film. We see residents preparing in various ways for the reenactment taking place, leading up to the hundredth anniversary of the deportation; one making name cards with a 1917 penny emblazoned on them, 1,200 of them, one for each of the deported miners; and another researching what happened to the deportees after they were forced from Bisbee. There are committee meetings, and casting sessions, recreations of a rowdy International Workers of the World meeting, and tours of the town. Early in the film, viewers are introduced to Fernando Serrano who will play one of the deportees. Viewers quickly realize that he will be one of very few Hispanic faces you will see in the film, in what seems like an intentional choice by the director to highlight the immigrant miners' isolation.

Serrano's modern life story is not so different from that of the immigrant miners who had come to Bisbee over a century ago. He is in many ways an

outsider, born in the United States but raised in Mexico, not necessarily someone who has no one in the town, but definitely a solitary character, both in the reenactment and in the town. Greene spends a lot of time focusing on Serrano. We see him running his lines, and singing World War I labor songs. His presence is a unifying element in the film. It also symbolizes everything that went wrong in Bisbee and everything that is still simmering just under the surface.

The way Greene blends history with the modern lives of the residents is brilliant, and the modern recreation demonstrates just how long the fear, resentment, and anger over an incident can linger. In Bisbee, so far, that encompasses one hundred years of history. During that time Bisbee has seen its population drop from nearly 10,000 during the heyday of the mine to 5,000 full-time residents in 2018. After the closing of the mine in 1975, Bisbee could have disappeared like so many other former mining towns, but it reinvented itself as a destination for artists. It is a progressive modern town with a thriving art scene, restaurants, and shops. What is under the surface here, the ghosts of the deportation, no one ever talks about, but it is all in the open now. I left the theater wondering if through the act of recreating that horrible day the people find peace with the past of their town.

Bisbee '17 shows that it is not just that the past informs the present, but that the past of this town and the deportation in particular is still a part of everyday life. The film is an important lesson in how we perceive history, what we learn from it, and how history repeats itself. This story resonates in today's world with important lessons on immigration and the way the United States uses and discards immigrant labor. *Bisbee '17* is available for purchase on DVD and Blu-ray, and to stream or rent on Apple iTunes.

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Dunkirk [film].

Directed by Christopher Nolan. 2017.

Syncopy Inc.; Warner Bros.; Dombey Street Productions; Kaap Holland Film; Canal+; Ciné+; RatPac-Dune Entertainment. 106 minutes.

People have a fascination with war. We can see this is the endless number of films and books created and devoted to the topic. Every year, there are new blockbuster war films, many of them focusing on World War II. Movies from *Patton* to *Saving Private Ryan* have led the way for successful World War II movies. Out of the hundreds of World War II movies, only a handful focus on the events of "Operation Dynamo," also known as the "Miracle of Dunkirk." Before Christopher Nolan's *Dunkirk*, the small number of films dedicated to this event were made from the 1940s to the 1960s, and all dealt with some sort of romantic drama. Moviegoers are familiar with the classical war-romance story of

a soldier missing a woman back home and doing what he can to get back to her. The last attempt at making a film that at least somewhat resembled what happened on the beaches of Dunkirk was a 1958 film, also titled *Dunkirk*. This is a contributing factor to Nolan's success with the new *Dunkirk* (2017). He is not making another film on Hitler, D-Day, or Pearl Harbor, topics that already have a plethora of films dedicated to them. Rather, he focuses on what happened on the beaches of Dunkirk, a story that many have forgotten. "Operation Dynamo" was the evacuation of Allied soldiers during World War II on the beaches of Dunkirk, France. The soldiers (mainly British, some French) were being chased out of continental Europe by the Germans. They lacked the proper number of boats to escape the shores of France and to get to safety in England. This is where the film starts, in the middle of chaos, with soldiers trying to escape and survive.

Christopher Nolan is an accomplished director, screenwriter, and producer, known for films like *The Dark Knight*, *Interstellar*, and *Inception*. In *Dunkirk*, Nolan casts Harry Styles and Tom Hardy as the film's most notable actors. The film was released in 2017 and was a winner, receiving 92% on Rotten Tomatoes and 94% on Metacritic, and hitting \$527.3 million at the Box Office, balancing the film's \$100-\$150 million production budget rather nicely. *Dunkirk* runs one hour and forty-six minutes and won three academy awards (film editing, sound mixing, and sound editing). Nolan teamed-up with composer Hans Zimmer for the music of this film. This duo has worked together before for the films *Inception* and *Interstellar*. In an interview with *Business Insider*, Nolan explained the genesis for the music of this film: "Very early on I sent Hans a recording that I made of a watch that I own, with a particularly insistent ticking, and we started to build the track out of that sound. And then working from that sound, we built the music as we built the picture." The music is ominous; it increases the intensity of the movie and captures the dramatic tone for this important event.

Dunkirk is extremely immersive. It draws in the audience and keeps their attention. The use of actual planes and boats in the film is paramount. Nothing can take one out of a film like seeing an obviously computer-generated boat, plane, or person. Nolan spared no expense and hired hundreds of extras for the dramatic scenes on the beach. The lack of CGI (computer generated images) keeps the audience engaged and focused. The extra effort of the production team to maintain realism pays off. Another reason the audience feels so drawn into the film is the lack of a big-picture story. Nolan does not "zoom out" and tell the story of World War II. He does not reference anything outside of the beaches of Dunkirk. The focus is on these men trying to escape and survive.

One aspect that typical World War II films concentrate on is extreme and graphic violence. *Dunkirk*, however, does not force blood, guts, and exploded limbs at the audience like many war movies do. The movie is not about the violence men are capable of, but about what they can endure. When faced with life-threatening danger and the odds stacked against them, many of the men

suppressed their personal fears and emotions for the greater good, namely, to get everybody off those beaches and out of the enemy's reach.

The film's opening immediately throws the audience into the chaos of the war, there is no romantic story or extensive character build-up that we are so used to with Hollywood. We are introduced to one of the main characters as he flees from the Germans. We do not know his name or much about him. We do not even hear this character speak until halfway through the film. In the movie, characters are not talking the entire time, trying to crack jokes, or narrating the movie. This absence of permanent dialogue allows the ominous music and well produced scenes to have their own impact on the audience. The characters do not tell you what to feel or what is happening. There are no moments in the movie where soldiers share a stereotypical story about having a wife and young family at home. There is no romance and no slap-on-the-knee laughter. This is war. These soldiers are scared and in survival mode from start to finish. The film is authentic. There are no over-the-top fake accents, no poorly done uniforms, and no unrealistic battle scenes. One is kept in the mindset of Dunkirk in 1940.

The film's storyline seems simplistic at first glance: it simply starts in a battle and ends in a battle. The "good guys" are trying to escape and survive, and that is all. But an observant spectator or someone watching it for the second or third time will notice that the story line is not as simple as it seems to be.

Some of the most dramatic scenes in Dunkirk feature Tom Hardy as a pilot engaging with the enemy in aerial combat. There are many dogfight scenes in World War II films, and Nolan's rendition can be counted among the best. Tom Hardy does an excellent job playing a determined fighter pilot, combating not just enemies but also his plane's failing instrumentation. The fighter pilot's uniform (helmet and oxygen mask included) muffles voices and makes facial expressions hard to read. Tom Hardy acts brilliantly from a limiting costume, communicating comradery, drama, danger, violence, and terror to the audience, mainly through his eyes. *Dunkirk* follows three main characters, giving us three different perspectives. It shows us aerial combat with Tom Hardy but focuses on a group of young British and French soldiers on the ground, trying to survive. These soldiers show the audience just how desperate and grim their situation is, from ducking for cover from enemy bombs to stealing boots off of dead soldiers. They eventually make it off the beach and onto a boat, only for the boat to go up in flames and sink, whereupon they have to swim back to the shores of Dunkirk and return to the war.

The one sign of hope that Nolan provides for us in this film comes on the water. On May 19, 1940, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill ordered a fleet of over a thousand vessels to rescue the soldiers across the Channel. This fleet included civilian crews manning their private boats. *Dunkirk* follows an Englishman, his young son, and another young family friend as they make the trek across the Channel and into chaos. Risking their lives, they embark on their own private family boat to save as many soldiers as they can.

Nolan devotes his film to these three separate levels: land, air, and sea. As the story evolves, these three separate theaters intertwine. When the soldiers trying to escape the beach make it onto the boat, they are led by a confident leader, portrayed by the actor Cillian Murphy. After the boat goes up in flames and starts to sink, we see this character start to break. Later in the film, we see him stranded in the sea, only to be rescued by the Englishman, his son, and family friend on their private boat. Once the soldier is on the boat, he is no longer the confident leader he had been before. He is suffering from PTSD and becomes so paranoid that he accidentally kills one of his rescuers.

As Tom Hardy's character continues to fight in the air, he eventually makes it to the beaches of Dunkirk. When the plane soars over the beach, the soldiers realize how important the fighter pilot has been to their survival. In one of the most memorable scenes in the film, he saves the soldiers on the ground and glides over the beaches to hear a roaring ovation from the soldiers below. The intertwining of the three theaters (air, land, and sea) provides the film with depth and continuity. *Dunkirk* may seem like a simple story at first, but it is, in fact, very nuanced and well structured.

If someone asked me whether he or she should see the film, my response would depend on who is asking. Anyone with an interest in history and World War II should watch this film. Anyone with a family history associated with World War II should watch this film. Those interested in seeing the film should find a large-screen TV with a great sound system, close the blinds, lock the doors, and block everything out. They are in for a ride. Nolan captures the audience and brings them into an immersive and dramatic story of soldiers persevering and surviving. The film is not about violence, gore, or romance. It is simply about the mettle of man and survival at all costs.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Andrew Cordes of Orange, California, earned his B.A. in History (2016) and his Teaching Credential in Social Sciences (2017) from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, focusing on World War II along with the Viking Age. He works as a substitute teacher in the Fullerton Joint Union High School District.

Knightfall [TV series]. Season 1.

Directed by Douglas Mackinnon, David Petrarca, and Metin Hüseyn. 2017-2018.

The History Channel (A+E Studios); et al. 10 episodes (40-45 minutes each).

What is a king without a kingdom, or what are the Templar Knights without the Holy Land to protect? That is where the Order of the Temple finds itself in the History Channel series *Knightfall*, a story of the Templar Knights after the fall of Acre in 1291 when the Franks were driven out of the Holy Land. The Templars end up in France with nothing to protect, unable to get involved in local affairs, and a mounting financial debt without a way to pay for it. Yet, the story shifts drastically when one of the Templars, upon cleaning the sword of a fallen knight,

finds a picture of the Holy Grail mysteriously beckoning them to find it, the pursuit of which ensues.

Knightfall was produced by the History Channel, and its first season premiered on December 6, 2017. The series was created by Don Handfield and Richard Rayner, both writers and producers in the Television and film industry, though neither appear to be historians. The first episode's opening features the following disclaimer: "Although many characters in the following story are based on actual historical figures, and some events are a matter of record, *Knightfall* is a fictional account of the Order of the Temple of Solomon, otherwise known as the Knights Templar." The series clarifies from the beginning that it is fiction but set within historical events; thus, it is historical fiction.

The series focuses on the final years of the Order of the Temple Order, a community originally founded in 1119/1120 to help protect those traveling in the Holy Land. However, it eventually received papal protection and privileges, and it grew in prestige, wealth, and responsibility until its dissolution in 1312. Within the historical setting of the depiction of the Templar Knights appears the fictional mission to find the Holy Grail. Woven into this tale are additional historical figures and events, including Pope Boniface VIII, King Philip IV of France, and the latter's advisor Guillaume de Nogaret, and events such as the fall of Acre in 1291 and the ongoing tensions between France and England.

Because the storyline reflects historical fiction, the narrative borrows the characters from history but does not stay in line with historical dates. For example, the story picks up fifteen years after the 1291 fall of Acre, in 1306, with the knights in Paris, and it references historical figures like Pope Boniface VIII. However, in 1306, this pope had been dead for three years (after being insulted and temporarily detained in Anagni by Nogaret, Philip IV's advisor). Even though *Knightfall* includes Nogaret's attempt to capture Boniface, that attempt is unsuccessful, the pope eludes capture, and his character continues to be a presence in the series, providing further tension in the relationship between him and Nogaret. Additionally, perhaps to create a feeling of authenticity, the series uses names like Godfrey and Tancred, individuals associated with the Crusades, but long dead in 1306.

The inclusion of a subplot on the Holy Grail, the cup that Jesus had used at the Last Supper, adds to the fiction of the story. This chalice has long been the stuff of legend, though it seems to have emerged as a mythical focus in the late twelfth century in an unfinished romance story, *Perceval ou Le conte du Graal*, written by Chrétien de Troyes at the behest of Count Philip I of Flanders who was a Crusader knight. *Knightfall* further taps into the mythical narrative of the Grail and interweaves it with the historical accounts of the Templar Knights by inserting a character named "Parsifal," a seeming play on the name "Perceval," the title character in Chrétien's original story on the Grail. In *Knightfall*, Parsifal joins the Templar Knights after bandits kill his fiancée, which sets him on an initial path of revenge. Another fictional character that appears in later iterations

of the original Grail story, Gawain, is inserted into the *Knightfall* narrative. Gawain is a Templar Knight struggling with inner angst and frustration after being injured while saving the life of another knight, Landry, at Acre in 1291. The mythical desire to find the Holy Grail goes beyond religious devotion, as the cup is said to offer special benefits such as renewed or sustained life, as suggested in the movie *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989). This movie connects with the myth that the cup holds the power to heal or give someone eternal life and is used to heal Indiana's father, played by the eminent Sean Connery. In this case, the search for the Grail ends in a cave where Jones and his crew must select the correct chalice from among many lookalikes which are guarded by an aged Templar Knight who encourages them to "choose wisely." However, one of the major differences between a movie like *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* and a History Channel show like *Knightfall* is that most people probably understand that the former is fiction. In *Knightfall*, some people might not understand where history ends and fiction begins, at least not without additional aid or prompting. It is possible that people will simply assume that what they see on the show reflects accurate historical accounts, the opening disclaimer about the events notwithstanding. Television shows such as *Knightfall*, particularly on channels that claim "History" in their title, will continue to challenge the debate of how much fiction should be allowed in the retelling of history.

While replete with fictional events, *Knightfall* does at times mirror the medieval period rather well (or in some cases at least the prevailing stereotypes), for example in an instance of savage violence when a man is killed by a wooden cross that is being pounded into his mouth while he is laying on the floor; the (actually historical) persecution and mistreatment of the Jews; the use of illicit magic and superstition; physical acts of violence to purge souls of sin; and political intrigue and subterfuge, particularly involving the politics of the Church and the Crown. Additionally, the scene in which one knight carries a large wooden cross and is beaten by his fellow knights as penance is not only a powerful reference to the crucifixion story of Jesus carrying his cross toward death, it also reflects the era's religious beliefs with regard to purifying the soul. Such religious beliefs helped to define the understanding of God, the Church, and sin during the medieval period. The first episode's opening scene, the battle for Acre, is also visually gripping and suggests what some of the battles may have looked like during the Crusades.

Yet, what is most impactful, though not always the most convincing, are the show's human relationships, both good and bad, such as that between Landry (the Templar Master) and Queen Joan; that between the Templar brothers; that between King Philip and Landry; and that between Boniface and Nogaret. The political maneuvering illustrated through these relationships is true to form in the ever-changing landscape of the medieval period with its alliances, arranged marriages ensuring treaties between kingdoms, and assassinations of leaders. The Templar Knights are caught in the political tug of war, and their loyalty is

questioned as to whether they are more loyal to the pope or to France, despite the fictional friendship between Landry and King Philip. These relationships help to ground the series and transport modern viewers into the lives of the medieval period. However, these same relationships at times appear contrived and almost seem to belong to a soap opera (for example, Nogaret's obsession with Princess Isabella, and Landry's affair with Queen Joan) rather than a nuanced effort to understand complex historical characters. These historical figures were deeply flawed but also deeply committed to the causes they believed in (and to their own self-preservation). As with all history, what makes the past come alive is each person's unique and compelling story.

Knightfall, a series appropriating historical events and figures to weave a mythical medieval tale regarding the intoxication of love, the pull of power, and the insatiable desire for revenge, not to mention illogical and frenetic but also passionate and deeply held religious beliefs, aims high, but sometimes misses the mark through overkill. It contributes more backstory to the enigmatic Templar Knights, as well as the medieval period overall, which is to its credit. However, the story works best when it sticks to the historical account because, as the saying goes, truth is often stranger and certainly much more interesting than fiction.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Sanejo I. Leonard of Fullerton, California, earned her B.A. in Religion from Vanguard University (1999); her M.Div. (2008) and her D.Min. with a concentration in Spirituality and Leadership (2014; dissertation: "The Role and Effect of Faith Crises on Spiritual Formation in Postmodern Christianity") from Azusa Pacific University; and her M.A. in History (2019; with comprehensive examinations on Umayyad-Abbasid era Middle Eastern history, as well as modern Jewish history) from California State University, Fullerton. She works as an associate faculty member in Religious Studies at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California.

The Last Kingdom [TV series]. Season 2.

Directed by Peter Hoar, Jon East, Jamie Donoughue, and Richard Senior. 2017.

Carnival; BBC Two; BBC America. 8 episodes (58-59 minutes each).

Imagine living in a country that has been invaded by fierce warriors who raid, pillage, and kill everything in their path. Only one kingdom stands in these warriors' way. This is the reality of ninth-century England where the TV series *The Last Kingdom* takes place. Based on the historical fiction books by English author Bernard Cornwell, *The Last Kingdom* follows the story of Uhtred, a Saxon raised by Danes, who serves King Alfred of Wessex. Alfred was an actual, historical king and the only king in England's history to be called "the Great," namely, due to his dream of a unified "Angle-Land" (England), a dream that his son and grandson would realize. Uhtred is a fictional character, but he is loosely based on a real Uhtred, Uhtred the Bold, who lived in the eleventh century. *The Last Kingdom* has aired on the BBC and is available for streaming on Netflix. As of fall 2018, there have been two seasons, with a third season to be released on November 19, 2018; and a fourth season is in the works. The first season of the show covered Cornwell's books one and two (*The Last Kingdom*, 2004, and *The*

Pale Horseman, 2005), while the second season covered two more of Cornwell's books (*The Burning Land*, 2009, and *The Death of Kings*, 2011). Both seasons have eight episodes, so much of the material from the books is jam-packed into these.

Season 1 of *The Last Kingdom* introduced viewers to the main character Uhtred (played by Alexander Dreymon) and followed his journey from Northumbria to Wessex where he served King Alfred (played by David Dawson) as a warrior. Danes were invading the country, and it was up to Wessex to stop them. The first season covered quite a few historical events, including the 878 Battle of Edington, and focused on themes like loyalty, identity, and hope. *Season 2*, which is the subject of this review, continues Uhtred's story, but this time Alfred is more cautious of using him to achieve his goals. Alfred's main aim is to maintain the peace, negotiate with the Danes, and leave war as a last resort. He is less trusting of Uhtred because Uhtred is a pagan and constantly tries to overstep or disobey Alfred's commands. Each episode of *Season 2* gives viewers a summary of what has happened in the previous episode. This is helpful as each show is about an hour long, and if one does not watch more than one show a day it is a useful feature to get viewers back into the series. In *Season 2*, Uhtred is more determined to take revenge on the man who had killed his father and had taken his sister, and to finally return to his home of Bebbanburg (modern-day Bamburgh Castle in Northumberland, England) where he wishes to retake his rightful place as the local ruler. Uhtred is able to achieve the first two of these goals despite many setbacks, such as being sold into slavery, escaping, and serving Alfred yet again. The majority of the season is set in Northumbria in York, Benfleet, and Cumberland, but also in Mercia and Wessex. During *Season 2*, Alfred marries off his daughter, Aethelflaed (played by Millie Brady), to Aethelred, lord of Mercia. Alfred uses this marriage as a way to gain a foothold in Mercia to try and bring the two kingdoms (Wessex and Mercia) together in order to move his dream of a unified kingdom closer to reality. Uhtred assists in saving a slave and making him king in Cumberland. This king, Guthred (played by Thure Lindhardt), is portrayed as weak and easily swayed. The abbot in Cumberland is constantly at Guthred's side and questions his actions, Guthred's trust in Uhtred, and Uhtred's loyalty. Alfred wishes to use Guthred to secure Northumbria and the city of York for his goal of peace and unification.

The main antagonists in *Season 2* are the two Danish brothers Erik and Sigefrid (played by Christian Hillborg and Björn Bengtsson). They have come to England to seek riches and battles. They first capture the town of York, then make their way to London, and then to Benfleet. They are a nuisance to Uhtred, Guthred, and Alfred. During the first half of the season, the brothers appear to be only there to get rich and leave, but encounters with Guthred and Uhtred fuel their rage to return, this time with the goal of taking over the land and vanquishing Wessex. They almost achieve their goal by capturing Aethelflaed and demanding an enormous ransom, but this does not go as planned for Erik

falls in love with her. The season ends with Alfred and his forces, alongside Uhtred, recapturing Benfleet and driving out the rest of the Danes.

Bernard Cornwell, the creator of *The Last Kingdom*, has done his homework with regard to writing a historical-fiction book series turned TV series. He utilizes historical primary sources in his novels, including the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (Asser even makes an appearance in *Season 1* and is played by Nicholas Rowe), as well as the works of Symeon of Durham and Roger of Wendover. This enables him to create an accurate setting in ninth-century England to which he adds Uhtred as a fictional character. Cornwell has ancestry in the area of Bamburgh Castle, with some members of this family bearing the name Uhtred (though they are recorded in a later period of time), so he decided to use Uhtred as a homage to his family.

The Last Kingdom is clearly thought out. There are several directors for *Season 2*, including Peter Hoar, Jon East, Jamie Donoughue, and Richard Senior. Despite the different directors, the episodes blend well together, making the show evenly paced. The content in *Season 2* is rich and tells a vivid story that keeps you on the edge of your seat, and when an episode ends, you will want to watch the next one. The costumes, weapons, and sets are spectacular. Each piece of armor and weaponry looks genuine, as if it has been taken through an actual battle. The towns and architecture are simple, and the main halls and castles are extraordinary. The landscapes are beautiful, whether it be forests, fields, or rivers, but what is actually being shown is Hungary, not the United Kingdom, as most of the filming is done near Budapest. The directors and screenwriters make viewers feel as if they have been taken to ninth-century England. Both the story and the characters invest viewers into the series.

The series follows actual historical chronology and is based on medieval primary sources. Many of the events in the show are based on actual events, save for the love story between Aethelflaed and Erik, as well as the poor treatment of Aethelfaed by Aethelred. The show provides insight into Aethelflaed and her interests in the politics of the kingdoms. This is accurate, as both primary sources and scholars tell us that she later supported military campaigns and, after her husband had died, continued to campaign to help achieve her father's goal of a united land. Another example of using primary sources is the vision the abbot had about Guthred becoming king. This incident was chronicled by Symeon of Durham in his *History of the Church of Durham*. Comparing *The Last Kingdom* to the History Channel's show *Vikings*, from a historical perspective, one finds that *Vikings* is not really historically accurate as it jumps in time, and certain events did not actually take place until much later or earlier in history. Also, *Vikings* seems to use quite a bit more mysticism and sorcery, while *The Last Kingdom* grounds itself in a more realistic approach to the events, although there is some type of sorcery in *Season 1*. Both shows are quite graphic in content with a rating of TV-MA (mature audience), although *Vikings* is decidedly more graphic.

The Last Kingdom is of historical interest because of the topic of the show, namely, the unification of the different kingdoms into one that will eventually be called England. It is one of the few shows that depict England's origins and highlight the creation of the country itself. *The Last Kingdom* is a must-watch show, and it appeals not only to the general public, but to historians as well. The story is well written, and the actors and actresses give wonderful performances in their respective roles. The series is becoming more and more popular as evidenced by a third and (soon) fourth season. The way in which it ties fictional characters into real history is fascinating. Picking up on the names of the various characters may be a little difficult and confusing at first, but it becomes easier as the series progresses. In sum, *The Last Kingdom* is a "binge-worthy" TV show. It is riveting, it leaves the viewer wanting more, and is highly recommended.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Geoffrey Gue of Yorba Linda, California, completed his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2018), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is currently enrolled in CSUF's Teaching Credential program, pursuing a Single Subject Credential in Social Science. He is conducting research for an M.A. thesis in History that analyzes the role of medieval battles in the formation of English nationhood. In addition, he is working as a student teacher in the Placentia-Yorba Linda Unified School District. He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."

Operation Finale [film].

Directed by Chris Weitz. 2018.

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM); Automatik Entertainment. 122 minutes.

In a world where CGI (computer generated images) and loud, in-your-face films reign supreme at the box office, it is nice to take a break from the noise and sensory overload with Chris Weitz's *Operation Finale*. *Operation Finale* is a beautifully scripted and directed movie about the capture and first publicly televised trial of a S.S. officer. It is more of a psychological thriller in the style of Alfred Hitchcock. We are introduced to the reasons and mindset of why and how the slaughter of millions of people happened, as well as why people engaged in a relentless pursuit of S.S. officers after World War II. There is action, good acting, historical accuracy, and beautiful dialogue. The film is well balanced and well worth the viewing for movie buffs and historians alike.

The story begins after World War II. We follow Peter Malkin (played by Oscar Isaac), an agent of Mossad (the Israeli Secret Service), to Austria in 1945. Not only have refugees and victims of internment camps fled Germany, but many high-ranking S.S. officers and other Nazis have flocked to safety as well, a point which is subtly told by Weitz with guiding moments scripted between scenes. Adolf Eichmann (played by Ben Kingsley) is one such high-ranking officer who has fled Germany. Eichmann, the architect of "The Final Solution," is thought to be in a certain house that Malkin and his team have discovered. Yet, Malkin and his men kill the wrong man. Eichmann gets word of this incident so he, with falsified documents, escapes to Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1950. Two

years later, Eichmann smuggles his wife and family into their new country. All this happens within the first fifteen minutes of the movie. *Operation Finale* is quick when it needs to be and slow at the right moments. It is almost a song. There are beautiful crescendos and diminuendos throughout this movie that keep the audience entranced. The beautiful score by Alexandre Desplat feeds into these peaks and valleys throughout the film.

Case in point, with the help of the musical score, we quickly arrive in 1960. Chatter has reached the offices of the Mossad that Eichmann has been spotted in Argentina under an alias, Ricardo Klement. These rumors turn out to be true. Malkin has his chance at redemption. The Israeli government does not authorize the killing of Eichmann, only the capture and return to Israel to face charges of war crimes against the Jewish people. Malkin and a team of seven Mossad agents travel to Buenos Aires to implement what they call "Operation Finale." The details of planning the operation are not divulged. Some military or military-type movies spend much of their time going over extrication plans: *Argo* (2012) does just that with regard to rescuing six American hostages from Iran in 1979. This, at times, can be tedious. *Operation Finale* does not fall into this trap. So, if you love strategic planning, this point in the film might irk you. The plans are given just enough screen time for us, the audience, to stay clued into the inner workings of *Operation Finale*.

Ostensibly, the Mossad team travels to Argentina to help celebrate the 150th anniversary of the country's independence. Each member travels under an alias and from a different country to avoid suspicion. Argentina's government would have not sanctioned Eichmann's extradition. Weitz shows that there are several Nazis and Nazi sympathizers, including government officials, in Argentina at this time, and that Eichmann is still, albeit to a lesser degree, involved with these people. Therefore, the Mossad team must be very careful. This group of highly trained men and women sets up a safe house in Buenos Aires in preparation for kidnapping Eichmann and holding him hostage until they can all safely leave the country by plane. They plan to dress themselves and Eichmann as pilots and crew members. After a night of celebrating Independence Day, the agents plan to drug Eichmann and make it appear as if he is a pilot who has celebrated a bit too hard. Basically, they plan to smuggle Eichmann out of the country.

The phrase, "The best laid plans go awry," comes to mind as the plot develops. Eichmann is kidnapped and brought to the safe house. This is the most fascinating part of the movie. Well over an hour of this film shows Eichmann trapped in this house with his captors while they wait for their plane, which is scheduled to take off seven days after Eichmann's initial capture. Unforeseen circumstances ground the team for a total of three weeks. Naturally, Eichmann's family reports him missing, but the search for him is at best in the film's periphery. The focus now is of Eichmann signing a piece of paper, stating that he will willingly go to trial in Israel. No member of the Mossad team can get Eichmann to sign this piece of paper except for Malkin. It is here that we get to

watch a mesmerizing back and forth between Eichmann and Malkin. Malkin is the only person piercing the veil of Eichmann's psyche. Malkin treats Eichmann with human decency, which resonates with Eichmann, as Eichmann thinks of himself as a gentleman. Manners matter. Malkin understands this mentality. Eichmann believes that he was just doing a job for the country he loved. Malkin does not agree with Eichmann's view, but he understands it. The two begin to share their childhood and family stories, and break down barriers and walls. They are by no means bosom buddies, but they understand each other on a psychological level. If you understand a person on that level, you can get him or her to bend to your ideals or will. If they cannot be bent, then there remains at least a grudging respect. The takeaway from their tête-à-tête is Eichmann's grudging respect toward Malkin. This is why Eichmann signs the agreement. Malkin now understands better how Eichmann was able to convince others to engage in genocide. There is a reason Eichmann was put in charge of "The Final Solution." This part of the story is perfectly timed. The audience can process what is happening and see the true horror of this complicated villain.

Much of Eichmann's dialogue and story is accurate. Eichmann's actual writings and dossier were found among his possessions. They confirm his attitudes and the atrocities he committed. Many books have been written about Eichmann, including those about the Mossad members that captured him. In 1996, *The Man Who Captured Eichmann* (starring Robert Duvall as Eichmann) was made from these primary sources. *Operation Finale* follows suit, examining and showing the psychology of Eichmann and of the man who caught him.

We all know how the story ends: Eichmann was found guilty and hanged in 1962. But in the film, before Eichmann leaves Argentina, there is a dramatic build and a harrowing chase scene which left myself and my fellow moviegoers wondering whether Eichmann would ever make it to Israel, a great credit to the director and the style of the film. Not much time is spent on the actual trial at the end of this story. Weitz does mingle actual footage of the trial with his filmed version. At the beginning of the end credits, the reel of the actual trial continues to play. The fact that this was the first major televised trial and the first trial of an S.S. officer to be held in Israel, not Germany, really opened the world's eyes to "The Final Solution." Several characters in this script state that it is important for the world to see this trial, so the world will not forget or let this type of hatred boil over and destroy humanity again. Weitz has succeeded in sending that message in a very real and human way. If you are someone who wants to watch another intense, loud war movie, this is not the movie for you. If you want a historically accurate, psychological thriller, this is the film to go see.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Kelsey Anne Pierce of Carson City, Nevada, earned her B.A. in Theatre with an emphasis in Writing and Speech from the University of Nevada, Reno (2007). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), focusing on Medieval and Public History. She is a member of CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and served as an editor for this volume of *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History*.

Outlaw King [film].

Directed by David Mackenzie. 2018.

Sigma Films; Anonymous Content; Clockwork Sessions. 121 minutes.

Outlaw King portrays the epic struggle by Robert the Bruce in the early fourteenth century to free Scotland from the villainous King Edward I of England. Following the rebellion of William Wallace who had fought against the English a few years earlier, Robert seeks to be king of Scots, as he declares in the film to a group of Scottish, “not of the land, but of the people.” It is a powerful statement that Robert is breaking from the typical spoils that a king would take when receiving power. He fights for the people of Scotland, which will provide him with the strength to combat the horrors that will present themselves. Formerly loyal to the English king, Robert the Bruce undergoes a massive transformation when he sees William Wallace’s limbs posted as a deterrent. *Outlaw King* has received a mixed reception, but its story is compelling and makes viewers passionately side with the hero to pull off the unimaginable.

Outlaw King was directed by David Mackenzie who is known for films like *Perfect Sense* (2011), *Starred Up* (2013), and *Hell or High Water* (2016). The Scottish-born director takes on the challenging task of following Mel Gibson’s *Braveheart* story. Released directly on Netflix on November 9, 2018, *Outlaw King* stars actors such as Chris Pine (Robert the Bruce), Stephen Dillane (King Edward I of England), and Rebecca Robin (Queen Margaret of England). Many of the scenes were filmed in and around Glasgow and Edinburgh, in areas that the historical Robert the Bruce would have covered. Mackenzie allows viewers to admire the Scottish landscapes in vivid 4k format.

Following the typical historical action-packed Hollywood story line, *Outlaw King* sets the stage for a hero-and-villain showdown. Robert is portrayed as a leader who relates to the people and who will be the heroic figure that the peasants of Scotland can support, whereas his antagonist, Edward Prince of Wales, is portrayed as a villain who is willing to kill and torture in order to prove to his father that he is ready for the throne. The English are seen as lusting for tax and land gain, while the Scottish are shown as trying to make ends meet in an oppressive situation. While the story is dramatized and shot to make viewers side with the oppressed Scots, there is historical accuracy to the English oppressive presence in Scotland (as well as Ireland). Inspired by the execution of William Wallace, Robert feels compelled to start a resistance against the English control over the Scottish realms.

Robert’s character is altered when an ambush attack by Edward Prince of Wales and his army forces him to flee. Prior to the ambush, Edward and Robert had been set to have a one-on-one showdown to determine the fate of their disagreement. When this chivalrous pact is broken, Robert states that he will no longer hide. The Scottish inflict brutal guerilla warfare on the English to incite in them the same fear that the English had been inflicting on the Scottish for so

long. This film does not shy away from providing the viewer with a realistic portrayal of the ruthlessness of medieval battle scenes. Blood and violence are vital elements in *Outlaw King*. By utilizing their knowledge of the land, the Scots are able to build trenches and mud pits which cripple the English cavalry. There are a few questions that arise during the battle scenes in this film. Did the Scottish actually utilize such guerilla tactics to provoke a formal battle with the English? And, at end of Battle of Loudoun Hill (1307), did Robert have an individual fight against Edward Prince of Wales? Both questions illustrate the film straying from historical accuracy in order to dramatize its plot.

Robert's "hero" story, as well as the battle scenes, contribute to a vibe of nationalism in this film. Robert is portrayed as an every-man who is seeking power to liberate the "people" of Scotland. Nevertheless, who are these people that Robert is supposedly fighting to save? The film does not follow the people who are behind Robert, or those he is fighting to protect. While there is some interaction between Robert and the "common" people, this film, for the most part, features Robert's interaction with men who are willing to fight and die with him in battle, or with his enemies. The film utilizes Benedict Anderson's idea that the nation is "imagined." The film does not need to show who the people are because, according to the modern idea of the nation, the people communally follow the ideas that are constructed in the nation. Anderson states with regard to the nation, "it is imagined because the members in even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." This idea of the community coming together without its members knowing each other is reflected in Robert the Bruce's idea of being "king of Scots."

Outlaw King uses the idea of a primordial ethnic nationalism that unites the people of Scotland based on their Scottish roots. In addition to their Scottish heritage, they are united because they are all fighting against the colonization efforts of their English oppressors. With the modern nationalist movements that are presenting themselves on a global scale, this film touches on many unknown variables. For example, if Brexit indeed happens, will the Scottish people choose to leave the United Kingdom in order to stay in the European Union? Using historical stories of struggles against oppressors and the unifying power of nationalist ideology, modern viewers can relate to the stories and side with the heroes of the film. This film does an excellent job of stirring nationalist fervor and upholds the unifying characteristics of freedom within a group of people.

A comparison between the movies *Braveheart* and *Outlaw King* was to be expected because they both cover the topic of Scottish rebellion that ultimately leads to Scottish independence. Since its release in 1995, *Braveheart* has withstood a barrage of criticism for its historical inaccuracies. This is not to say that *Outlaw King* is a perfectly historically accurate film, however, it does present many factual key events until the Battle of Loudoun Hill. Granted, the sequence of events is altered to a certain degree, but *Outlaw King* makes a more sincere

attempt than *Braveheart* to be historically accurate. *Outlaw King* might have gained a much stronger reputation from a historical standpoint if it had taken the events all the way up to the Battle of Bannockburn (1314). This would have afforded the opportunity to give a more accurate depiction of the major campaigns of the Scottish against the English army. Aside from their historical depiction, both films place a large emphasis on the memory of history and on relating it to people that may not know about the epic conflicts of the past.

Both *Braveheart* and *Outlaw King* hint at the struggles that heroes face with regard to keeping their families together. In *Braveheart*, Mel Gibson's William Wallace loses his wife during his fight against the English. The murder of his wife is a driving factor for William Wallace to pursue and kill the men who once killed his wife. *Outlaw King's* story follows a similar script in that Chris Pine's Robert the Bruce sees his wife and daughter kidnapped and held captive by Edward Prince of Wales. While the English did indeed hold Robert's wife captive, this part of the story is used to make viewers relate to the hero. It is a powerful way to connect viewers to historical memory from a nationalist standpoint and to the way in which families were involved in and affected by these struggles.

Outlaw King offers an excellent opportunity for people who are interested in historical struggles for freedom and who enjoy the heroic actions of individuals throughout history. Amazing shots of the Scottish landscape and epic battle scenes keep viewers on the edge of their seats. The evident historical inaccuracies can be set aside once one understands what the film seeks to do. Viewers will not be disappointed when following the story of Robert the Bruce and how he navigated the political and military landscapes of early-fourteenth-century Scotland and England.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Patrick O'Brien of Palo Alto, California, earned his B.A. in History from Vanguard University (2011) and his M.A. in History from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2018), the latter with comprehensive examinations on medieval Europe (religious military orders) and the British Empire (gender, race, and violence). He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).

Silence [film].

Directed by Martin Scorsese. 2016.

SharpSword Films; AI-Film; CatchPlay; IM Global; Verdi Productions; et al.
161 minutes.

Martin Scorsese's film *Silence* (2016) depicts the intimate struggles of a Jesuit priest with faith and humanity in the face of cruelty while witnessing the persecution of Japanese Christians at the hands of the shogunate in mid-seventeenth-century Japan. The beautiful cinematography reflects Scorsese's passion for bringing the 1966 novel of the same name by Shusaku Endo (1923-1996) to the silver screen. *Silence* starkly contrasts with Scorsese's immediately preceding film, *The Wolf of Wall Street* (2013), a black comedy steeped in the materialism, hedonism, and even sadism of the ultra-rich in the 1980s. *Silence's*

sparing use of an unorthodox, Zen-like score, its emphasis on the natural world, and the minimalist simplicity of early-modern Japanese architecture convey resplendence even when the film's characters suffer unfathomable brutality. However, while the cinematographic elements create a beautiful film, even when depicting grotesque cruelty, the story flounders and leaves viewers with an upsettingly contradictory ending.

Silence follows two seventeenth-century Jesuit priests, Sebastião Rodrigues (played by Andrew Garfield) and Francisco Garupe (played by Adam Driver), who travel to Japan to find their mentor, Cristóvão Ferreira (played by Liam Neeson), who is rumored to have apostatized. A Japanese fisherman called Kichijiro (played by Yōsuke Kubozuka) smuggles them into the country, and Tomogi, a village of persecuted *Kakure Kirishitans* ("hidden Christians"), hides them. "Inquisitor" Inoue (played by Issei Ogata) discovers the villagers' secret Christian beliefs and executes three of them. The priests then leave Tomogu, which they believe is being targeted due to their presence, and part ways.

Kichijiro betrays Rodrigues and turns him in to the authorities. After the authorities attempt to have Rodrigues renounce his faith, he is brought to the shoreline where he sees Garupe in the distance being escorted along with other prisoners. The prisoners are taken on a boat offshore where they are to be drowned unless Garupe apostatizes. Rodrigues watches as Garupe refuses, drowning instead as he swims offshore in an attempt to rescue the last prisoner.

Rodrigues is taken to meet Ferreira who now serves the government and has adopted a Japanese name and lifestyle. Ferreira tries to convince Rodrigues that Christianity is futile in Japan and that the local converts practice not true Catholicism but instead a form of half-remembered rites and untranslated cultural misunderstandings. That night, Rodrigues is shown Japanese apostates as they are being tortured. He is told that they will die unless Rodrigues apostatizes. He hears a voice giving him permission to step on the image, which Rodrigues does. In the years that follow, Ferreira and Rodrigues both act as agents of the state and inspect Dutch imports to ensure no hidden Christian symbols enter the country. Many years later Rodrigues dies, and his body is placed in a wooden barrel for cremation. Hidden in his hand is the handmade crucifix gifted to him by one of the Japanese converts from his first days in Japan.

The film's first frame shows a man with a staff standing guard by a wooden frame with two heads impaled on the top and another spike seemingly waiting for one more victim. The camera focuses on this shot for several seconds despite the guard not moving and the mist obscuring most fine details, which leaves the viewer with a sense of foreboding. Father Ferreira is thrust into the left foreground, a guard shoving him forward, and the scene is composed with the horrified priest framing the slightly obscured figures out at a distance in the foreboding mist. A Japanese guard steps forward, dipping a long-handled sieve into the water before bringing it up to the face of a man dressed in Jesuit robes. The priest recoils as the water sizzles and burns the man's face, and as the priest

steps back into what is now evidently steam, he becomes more difficult to see. Only then does Ferreira's narration begin, the voiceover of a letter smuggled out of Japan and delivered to St. Paul's College in Macau (China), as the priests are stripped and slowly tortured with "each drop water like a burning coal" against their blistering flesh, some enduring the torture for thirty-three days.

This is the viewer's introduction to the country of Japan and the violent repression of Christians on its isolated shores. In a nod to Akira Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood*, mist plays a prominent part in the shot composition of this opening segment, but also in much of the first half of the film prior to Rodrigues's capture by Inoue. The mist in the film obscures the actions of Japan to the outside world. Like the Tokugawa shogunate's forced isolation of the island, smoke and mist isolate both the characters and the viewer. They hide the truth and put the characters in a position in which they must assume the mist hides great danger which they cannot see. As Ferreira looks at the men obscured by volcanic steam, he cannot help but be horrified, if not by the sight, then by the screams of the priests he hears. The priest cannot relate the news to the outside world, as the coasts of Japan are shrouded in the same mist, protecting the island from foreign prying eyes.

From the fog concealing the cruelty of the Japanese authorities, or its use in obscuring the dangers that exist in the countryside and along coast, the film emphasizes the island's harsh beauty. This use of the natural world underscores the brutality of the lives of the *Kakure Kirishitans* ("hidden Christians") that Rodrigues and Garupe find in their clandestine quest. Finally reaching the shore in the dead of night, the priests are welcomed into the village of Tomogi. The villagers live in huts and are so impoverished that they can afford only a small bowl of food for each of the priests while they themselves have nothing. Later, when the priests hide in a cabin in the mountains, men from another village come to ask the priests to give them the sacraments. The camera pans down to the two men's feet bloody as their rope sandals are half broken. Nature barely provides for the villagers. The land proves hostile and inflicts these injuries despite the film's depiction of Japan's natural beauty of the early summer mountains and the forests Rodrigues travels. The country itself is an antagonist as much as the shogunate. This antagonism is something that Inquisitor Inoue uses to his advantage in the persecution of the *Kakuri Kirishitans*.

The land proves so aggressive to the Jesuit priests and the converts that the authorities use Japan itself for the torturing and execution of Christians. The opening scene of the film is the viewer's first experience of the dangerous landscape in which the Christians find themselves. Ferreira watches as the priests are burned by the volcanic hot spring. In a later scene, one of the most harrowing in the film, the three Christian leaders of Tomogi are taken under guard to the rocky shorelines where they are tied to wooden crosses. The villagers watch as the tide comes in and drowns the three, some going quickly, but the last one dying over several agonizing days. This horrific act is contrasted

against the powerful image of the rocky outcropping and the light turquoise and foamy white of the waves barely taking their martyrs' heads under water as each wave comes rolling over them. These moments of violence and the weaponization of nature, though beautiful in the shot composition and vivid colors of the Japanese coast, show that the land itself is inhospitable to the plight of the hidden Christians. This subtly warns the viewer that what Inquisitor Inoue says to Rodrigues is true, that Christianity is anathema to Japan and that the land refuses to nourish the Jesuits' planted seeds.

The highlight of the film comes during Rodrigues's interaction with Inoue. Issei Ogata masterfully plays the charismatic and seemingly kind *samurai* magistrate. When first introduced, both Rodrigues and the viewer find it hard to believe that this old and slightly tottering man could be the enigmatic and powerful inquisitor the Japanese villagers speak of only in hushed tones. Issei Ogata portrays the inquisitor with such charm that the character remains alluring even after the cruelty he inflicts on the "hidden Christians." Rodrigues's interaction with Inoue always draws interest. Thanks to Endo's dialogue, from which the film draws directly in most parts, Inoue's verbal sparring carries a clever and sardonic tone. In a 1967 article, Endo famously described his Christianity as an "ill-fitting [Western-style] suit," one which he tried to remove several times "but in the end [he] was unable to do so." Endo ends his metaphor by stating he had to "refashion" the suit into a wrap-around kimono made for his body and his Japanese customs.

For Endo, Christianity is an import from the West, one that must not only be adapted to Japan to accommodate its traditions but also to the individual. Inoue acts as the speaker for many of Endo's difficulties with his struggles as a Japanese Catholic as well as his grievances with aspects of Christianity in general. Endo's depiction of Japan itself proving inhospitable to Christianity is expressed by Inoue. The magistrate calls his homeland a "swamp" that will never let the seeds of Christianity planted by the Jesuits take root. Inoue describes Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England like the "four concubines ... all beautiful ... all jealous" who vied for the *daimyo's* (i.e., the lord's) attention and fought constantly, each trying to gain advantage against the other and "destroy the house in the process." Once the jealous women were turned away from the castle, peace reigned. Rodrigues is unfazed by the uncharitable simile, countering that "our Church teaches monogamy," and asking what if Japan chooses the Church as its one "wife?" Inoue chuckles and compares the Church's missions to Japan to the "persistent love of an ugly woman ... a barren woman [who] should never be a wife." The shogunate sees the Western import as ill-fitting and even counter to Japan's needs. According to the shogunate, Christianity will never be fruitful in the context of Japan's traditions. It is, in Inoue's words, "dangerous" and threatens the metaphorical home that is Japan.

These scenes of barbed words and witty retorts between Inoue and Rodrigues are some of the few moments where the viewer is exposed to the reasoning

behind the magistrate's actions. These moments could also have been utilized to insert the context that brought about the shogunate's persecution of Christians at this time. Japan's *bakufu* (military government) had much reason to fear violent Western influence and the destabilizing political effects that had befallen the Philippines and New Spain. The *shogun* banned the practice of Christianity out of fear that Japan would be the next country to come under European sway. The *sakoku* (isolationist policy and laws) were an extension of that fear. However, the shogunate never forced complete isolation. By allowing the Dutch to trade in Deshima, Japan was open to some aspects of the world outside its shores, but the authorities could limit what goods and information would be allowed to affect the political and cultural spheres. Inoue's conversations with Rodrigues, though allowing viewers some understanding of the shogunate's reasoning, leaves out much of the context. These scenes could have been developed for a better understanding of the Tokugawa shogunate. Though the actions of the shogunate were horrific, placing the violence within the appropriate political context would have greatly benefited the viewer's comprehension of the crisis in which Rodrigues finds himself.

Despite the search for Ferreira, the driving force of Rodrigues's quest, the confrontation between the two comes later in the film than it should. The introduction of Ferreira, the apostate priest, ratchets up the tension for Rodrigues's crisis of faith. Having the words of a beloved teacher act as temptation would benefit from several prolonged attempts to persuade the priest. If instead Ferreira subtly manipulated Rodrigues by acting as a teacher to his new way of life in Japan and acted as a kindly, soft-spoken advocate, the proverbial "good cop" to Inoue's "bad cop," the film would build a sense of betrayal through the slow wearing down of Rodrigues's resolve. Instead, Scorsese chooses to have Rodrigues witness Garupe's death prior to Ferreira's introduction, which makes the subtlety of an intellectual argument, as well as the temptation of adopting a Japanese life full the indulgences banned by Jesuit vows, a moot point this late in the film. Ferreira's introduction arrives just thirty minutes before the end of the film and rushes what has been an erosion of Rodrigues's will, hastening the renouncement of his faith to occur just hours after the reunion of teacher and pupil.

While Ferreira's introduction to his Japanese life appears somewhat rushed against the slowness of the rest of the film, the first two hours suffer from pacing issues. Despite Scorsese's exceptional cinematography, the story often stalls and stutters. The 161-minute running time is certainly felt, as story points are repeated frequently. Travel between locations often seems unnecessary and provides little for plot development. The repetitive elements, combined with the minimalist score mostly comprised of nature sounds, though a bold choice for the large scope of the film, do little to relieve the long periods that neither add to the tension the priests feel in hiding nor to engage viewers in their plight.

The most egregious of these repetitive elements is the fickle Kichijiro. The character's introduction portrays him as an untrustworthy drunk who refuses to call himself Christian despite his obvious connection to the Jesuits (he is able to converse with Rodrigues and Garupe in their native Portuguese). The two voice their distrust of the Japanese fisherman stranded from his native shores, but they are forced to trust him to smuggle them onto the island. Once he gets them into Japan, however, he continually betrays Rodrigues. First, he endangers the priests by telling other villages of their location. He requests absolution and tells Rodrigues that he had renounced his faith previously. When Kichijiro is taken captive, he renounces his faith again, first by stepping on the *fumi-e* (a picture of Christ or Mary) and then by spitting on the cross. Once again, he returns for absolution, which Rodrigues grants, whereupon Kichijiro sells the priest to Inoue for 300 pieces of silver. Kichijiro represents Judas, but the way the film goes about the fickleness of the character, the constant betrayal, and the entirely predictable capture of Rodrigues leaves the viewer in a holding pattern, waiting for something different to happen to change the story pacing already an hour and a half into the film.

Of course, if Kichijiro represents Judas, that makes Rodrigues, the man he betrays, a Christ figure. The film indicates that Rodrigues certainly sees himself as having elements of Christ. Before he leaves Macau for his trying journey in Japan, there is a close-up of Rodrigues in bed, thinking of a portrait of Jesus he had seen as a kid, and the camera cuts to that painted portrait of Christ with the crown of thorns. The two images parallel each other, the face of each man taking up the center of the frame as the camera immediately cuts from the image of Jesus to Rodrigues, already setting up the Savior imagery for the priest. He even repeats Jesus's words outside of a context of preaching. When Kichijiro leads Rodrigues through the forest en route to the ambush, the priest stops, whispering "I thirst," and Kichijiro comments that the Savior also said that. This becomes more literal as Rodrigues, when drinking from the stream to which Kichijiro has led him to quench his thirst, looks upon his reflection only to literally see himself as Jesus, the earlier shown portrait of Christ superimposed over Rodrigues's face. Even Kichijiro's betrayal is paralleled. When Rodrigues learns that he was sold for 300 pieces of silver, he comments that he was sold for ten times the amount for which Jesus had been sold, signifying that he now sees himself as Christ-like which makes Kichijiro his Judas.

This Christ imagery would be more palatable had the priest acted in imitation of Christ. Rodrigues's deeply flawed nature and unpriestly behavior paints him less deserving of the association with Christ than the Japanese converts around him. During his and Garupe's first night in Japan, the two are given food while the villagers have nothing to eat. To Rodrigues's embarrassment, he greedily scoops the food into his mouth while the villagers and even Garupe behind him bow their heads, saying grace. Rodrigues spits the food back out while everyone else is distracted by their prayer. While in Japan, Rodrigues questions the

expression of his faith and occasionally fights with Garupe who adamantly adheres to his more mainline Jesuit view of their teachings to the Japanese converts. When the Tomogi villagers ask the priests what they should do if the Japanese authorities capture them and test them with the *fumi-e*, Garupe responds that they “should pray for courage.” Rodrigues cuts in, saying emphatically that the villagers should “trample, trample, it is alright to trample” (despite his own reluctance to follow his own advice during the climax of the film), and Garrupe is horrified. Despite the villagers’ fear that it will not only be those who are caught, but rather the entire village that will suffer, Garrupe refuses to back down from his Jesuit teachings, telling the villagers simply “you can’t.” While Rodrigues is able to compromise his moral guidance, or at least lead his flock to commit blasphemy, it is Garrupe who maintains the military-like discipline of his Jesuit Order. During the *samurai*’s inquisition in Tomogi village, the villagers pay the price for the priests’ clandestine actions, and they become martyrs. When captured, Rodrigues breaks down in front of imprisoned Japanese converts. He half-shouts at them for their calm reaction to being held prisoner. His anger flares, as he tells them that both they and he will die. The converts respond calmly and with a bit of confusion, asking that, since they will be in Paradise, would it not be better for them to be martyred. As Rodrigues continues to see himself as a Christ figure, the viewer must wonder if he is the appropriate Savior or whether the Japanese martyrs would be better suited.

The climax of the film proves especially troubling for the presentation of Rodrigues as a Christ figure. Set amidst the torture of five apostatized converts, Ferreira tells the priest that the captives will be killed unless Rodrigues renounces his faith. Rodrigues struggles with the decision, looking at the *fumi-e* carved with Christ’s image, and he hears a voice which tells him to step on the metal plate. Rodrigues agonizes over God’s silence, but the image says that He is not silent, He is suffering alongside the priest during his journey. Rodrigues steps on the carving, collapsing in his anguish. While the voice Rodrigues hears could have been left ambiguous (whether it was the voice of God, the voice of the Devil, or Rodrigues’s own desire), the film leaves attentive viewers with no ambiguity. As the camera leaves Rodrigues on the ground, it cuts to the captives being released. The first rays of dawn appear, and a rooster is heard crowing thrice. Alluding to the denial of Peter, the disciple of Christ, this removes doubt that Rodrigues’s actions were anything other than a betrayal.

The last ten minutes of the film follow Rodrigues’s life in Japan until his death. He is now a productive member of the Japanese government, ensuring that the persecution of Christians continues by inspecting imports for hidden Christian images. By his death in his sixties, the viewers see he has truly changed, annually renouncing his Christian faith and inheriting the wife and property of an executed man. Kichijiro even comes to Rodrigues once more, asking for absolution. Rodrigues denies this, saying he is no longer a priest. So, when Rodrigues’s body is being cremated and the camera pulls in to show a

small crucifix, one gifted to him by a villager during his first days in Japan, the sentiments of the complexity of Rodrigues's inner faith rings hollow. This ending is especially problematic since Endo's novel has no such ending. The addition of the hidden crucifix was a liberty taken by Scorsese. In Endo's version, Rodrigues's faith has actions to back up the sentiment. Rodrigues agrees to hear Kichihiro's last confession and grants him absolution. In addition, though he continues to serve the shogunate under the given name Okada San'emon, he asks the authorities for mercy for those who are found with contraband. Rodrigues's narration ends with the much more satisfying declaration of his faith: "He loved Him now in a different way from before." While one of Scorsese's best films and one of impeccable shot composition and bold stylistic choices, this final shot falls flat in tying together an already weak character development, leaving *Silence* a very beautiful, but deeply flawed film.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Gareth O'Neal of Anaheim, California, earned two B.A. degrees in French and Comparative Literature (2015), as well as an M.A. in English at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2018), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). His English M.A. thesis applied Albert Camus's absurdism to H. P. Lovecraft's Cthulhu mythos. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF with a thesis/project on the brass rubbings in CSUF's Roberta "Bobbe" Browning Collection. He is a 2019 recipient of CSUF's Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History. He also served as an editor for this volume of *"The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

The Vietnam War [TV documentary series].
Directed by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick. 2017.

Florentine Films; WETA-TV (PBS). 10 episodes (ca. 18 hours total).

Winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people was not easy for the men and women in the uniform of the United States, as well as for their loved ones that supported them back home while they fought their battles in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War. Although the war itself was the most difficult part in a nearly thirty-year-long attempt to counter the communist struggle for a unified Vietnam, living with the weight of its memory would prove to be a most hellacious effort for the people of the United States and the then separate nations of North and South Vietnam. Ken Burns's and Lynn Novick's documentary series, *The Vietnam War* (2017), situates itself on the periphery of being a film, as video and audio have been prominently enhanced to make it appear more theatrical. However, principally, *The Vietnam War* is a documentary series (in spite of the directors' subtitle: *A Film by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick*). *The Vietnam War* dramatically chronicles the stories of those who were directly and deeply involved in the Vietnam War by focusing on interviews of participants in the war in ten separate episodes that span approximately 18 hours. Each episode intricately captures the political, social, cultural, and military atmosphere that the United States and both Vietnams experienced during the tumultuous war years.

Burns and Novick scouted for American soldiers, marines, airmen, and sailors who fought in the war (including those who opposed the war), American prisoners of war as well as their loved ones, and those who lost family members in combat. To circumvent bias from the American perspective, Burns and Novick include combatants and civilians from both North and South Vietnam to attain a comprehensive viewpoint from all sides of the war. The directors presumably did this to give those that contributed to *The Vietnam War* an added mutual connection through their participation in the battles and social undercurrents that the documentary presents, as well as to signify that American, South Vietnamese, and North Vietnamese service members all fought equally and valiantly for what they and their nations believed in. This goes against the anti-communist rhetoric that one normally finds in predisposed American media that follow the trend that the United States fought for a justified and moral cause, while the North Vietnamese, backed by Soviet and Chinese communists, were evil in bringing about calamitous destruction in the wake of their virulent goal to unify one nation under communism. Burns and Novick appear to do this to demonstrate that in war there truly is no winner on either side of a conflict.

Lynn Novick is most prominent for her association with producing many of Ken Burns's recent documentaries and miniseries. Ken Burns is most recognized for distinguishing himself as a renowned filmmaker with a penchant for history to convey his body of work. Those who are familiar with Burns's other work, particularly his most famous documentary, *The Civil War* (1990), relish his iconic style of slow and steady panning and zooming into photographs (also known as the "Ken Burns effect") with historians' commentary in the background. In a similar fashion, although slightly different manner, Burns and Novick present *The Vietnam War* with its "boots on the ground" stylistic interpretation through photograph, film, and U.S. presidential reel-to-reel depiction, combined with personal narratives from civilians and former military personnel of the armed services of the U.S., South Vietnam, and North Vietnam and their revolutionary allies, the Viet Cong and Viet Minh. The directors apparently opt for this method of storytelling, instead of using high-ranking politicians or generals who served during this era, to present a more personal approach to everyday viewers and describe the situation of what was going on in their country during the war.

Nearly every episode of *The Vietnam War* begins with a brief overview of an individual's story that introduces and establishes the Vietnam War in context and arranges the war in chronological order. The initial episode sets up a succinct story of the First Indochina War (1946-1954) that portrays the reasons for North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh's desire to oust the colonial French and secure Vietnam as an independent nation. This led to the Second Indochina War (1955-1975, also known as the Vietnam War). Yet, within the episodes, Burns and Novick seem to maintain their own respective version of events and ignore certain elements of history. *Episode 1* briefly mentions the United States' rationale for originally sending advisors to help guide South Vietnam's ARVN forces

(Army of the Republic of Vietnam), and then over time building up its military forces until the U.S. government could no longer hide the massive troop accumulation taking place in Southeast Asia. The “Domino Theory,” as it was referred to by President Eisenhower, was the justification for quarantining the spread of communism in South Vietnam: if one nation were to fall to the “Reds” then the next more vitally strategic nation to the U.S. would topple like a row of dominoes. This was a key reason why the United States entered the Vietnam War to begin with, other than retaliation for the Gulf of Tonkin incident (1964). The “Domino Theory” is only mentioned in passing. Burns and Novick could have reminded viewers from time to time of its importance in U.S. policy, but chose not to do so. The directors also focus on a handful of decisive battles that resulted in defeats for the United States. Yet, even though America had “lost” the war by 1973, the tactical defeat the U.S. suffered allowed other nations to secure their own defenses against communist advances in the region. While Burns and Novick point out the importance of losing these battles, there were also victories during this same time frame that they do not mention, giving the impression of an imbalanced narrative. Burns and Novick imply that their narrative of the war is what actually happened; in fact, they merely give an academic interpretation.

Episode 2 delves into the political strategies between the Kennedy administration and South Vietnam’s Ngo Dinh Diem regime, and how deeply involved the U.S. military would find itself bogged down over time in the quagmire that the Vietnam War became. *Episode 3* revolves around the Gulf of Tonkin incident, and the subsequent bombing and troop deployment that initiated the portion of the war that involved the United States. Eventually, the first major battle between the U.S. and North Vietnam was fought in the Ia Drang valley (1965) with both sides claiming victory. In *Episode 4*, viewers are treated to the famous “Ho Chi Minh Trail,” which supplied the Viet Cong in the south with vital provisions to fight their guerrilla war against the U.S. (whom they saw as an occupying force). *Episode 5* deals with the psychological effects suffered by many of the veterans and the impact of the war by winter 1967. *Episode 6* details the Tet Offensive (1968) which was coordinated to coincide with the Vietnamese Lunar New Year. The North Vietnamese Army, along with the Viet Cong disguised as civilians prior to the assault, attacked 36 of South Vietnam’s 44 provincial capitals. After weapons were smuggled in on trucks containing firework boxes for the New Year’s celebration, communist commanders orchestrated the battle so their troops would “Crack the sky, and shake the Earth,” and break the essence of U.S. military invincibility. The Tet Offensive failed, but it proved to be the beginning of the end of a war once seen as winnable for the United States. *Episode 7* probes into lost battles, the war of attrition, the stalemate the war became, and Richard Nixon taking the helm of the U.S. presidency. *Episode 8* showcases the anti-war movement at its height by mid-1969, as well as President Nixon beginning troop withdrawal from South Vietnam and initiating “Vietnamization” (the process of handing responsibility to the South Vietnamese

government and leaving the fighting increasingly to ARVN forces). *Episode 9* covers a three-year time span from 1970 to 1973, including the Kent State shootings (1970), the U.S.-North Vietnamese Peace Agreements (1973), and the return of hundreds of American prisoners of war from North Vietnam. Finally, *Episode 10* emotionally relates the fate of the South Vietnamese government, of the thousands of Vietnamese who became American citizens after the war, and of the millions forced to live under communist rule in a now united Vietnam.

Throughout *The Vietnam War*, Burns and Novick rely heavily on combat veterans' experiences from all three nations as part of their primary source material. Their experiences are genuine, sincere, and bring a human and emotional quality to the war. The many interviews and oral narratives humanize the many individuals interviewed, despite the dehumanization they may have undergone from the trauma of war. One North Vietnamese soldier, who gallantly performed his duty for his nation, maintains how sympathy and hatred were interwoven on the battlefield, but that hatred was always the dominant sensation as it was needed to fend off any compassion for the enemy in order to destroy them. Likewise, in *Episode 5*, U.S. Marine John Musgrave, after feeling the guilt of killing a man in Vietnam, claims that he made his deal with the devil by saying, "I will never kill another human being as long as I'm in Vietnam. However, I will waste as many gooks as I can find. I'll wax as many dinks as I can find. I'll smoke as many zips as I can find. But I ain't gonna kill anybody, you know? Turn the subject into an object. It's racism 101. It turns out to be a very necessary tool when you have children fighting your wars, for them to stay sane doing their work." This may come as a shock to viewers, but it is an important part of the story of the Vietnam War and, perhaps, war in general. Burns and Novick maintain that a level of dehumanization of the enemy was a clear necessity for the fighting men of either side's military to counter the opposing nation. Nonetheless, it sometimes seems as if Burns and Novick only interviewed those U.S. veterans of the war, as well as family members of slain veterans, who were not in favor of the United States fighting the war. They interviewed those who became anti-war activists, such as Musgrave and author Tim O'Brien (who wrote about the gruesomeness and anguish the Vietnam War caused him). Ostensibly, the directors did not bother to seek out veterans who were proud of the fight they considered to be a righteous cause, namely, to halt the immorality of communism. Thus, Burns and Novick sideline any attempt to display a sense of pride and camaraderie between veterans.

The staggering attention to detail that went into this documentary, as well as the collection of war photographs and film footage that is accompanied by old-timey music reminiscent of the era, truly shows the impressive lengths Burns and Novick went to accumulate the sources necessary to accomplish *The Vietnam War*. Even though Burns and Novick display their own views of U.S. strategy and how the war was fought (such as periodic reminders of the usage of Agent Orange, white phosphorous munitions, and napalm strikes on innocent

civilians), they scarcely mention massacres committed by North Vietnam, except for calculated offenses to overrun South Vietnam. Yet, as Bao Ninh, a North Vietnamese Army soldier, proclaims in *Episode 1*: "In war, no one wins or loses. There is only destruction. Only those who have never fought like to argue about who won and who lost." Despite its flaws, this documentary, like any of Ken Burns's documentaries, provides viewers with a sensation as if they have lived through the era and actively participated in the Vietnam War. No other documentary series (to date) will give the same level of understanding and emotional empathy to its viewers.

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The Wind Rises/Kaze Tachinu [animated film].

Directed by Hayao Miyazaki. 2013.

Studio Ghibli; Buena Vista Home Entertainment; et al.; 126 minutes.

There are times when a film requires the kind of dynamic imagery that can be presented by animation alone to deliver a surreal illustration of the imagination of the human mind. *The Wind Rises* is an animation film directed and written by Hayao Miyazaki, a legend among animation directors, who is responsible for works such as *My Neighbor Totoro* (1988), *Spirited Away* (2001), and *Howl's Moving Castle* (2004). *The Wind Rises* is presumably Miyazaki's final directed and written work, nominated for over twenty-six awards and receiving seventeen awards, including Japan's 2014 Academy Prize for Animation of the Year. I believe that the overall success of the film is due to the romantic and tragic nature of the plot's historical context, which guides its audience through Japan's history before World War II by means of the protagonist's narrative, illustrating beautifully interaction with Germany and Italy and the economic and social state of Japan, while revealing Miyazaki's disapproval of Japan's involvement in World War II.

The opening scene encapsulates the film's overall romantic and tragic tone: a boy sleeping and dreaming of flying. The dream features Italian music in the background as the boy climbs into his bird-like plane, launches, and glides silently over the crisp morning air of the countryside, while Japanese people cheer him on from below. The dream, however, is abruptly cut short by a giant squid-like blimp, bearing the Iron Cross of the German Luftwaffe. The blimp releases its bombs, destroys the boy's plane, and sends him back down to earth.

The boy is Jiro Horikoshi (1903-1982), the protagonist of the film and future designer of the Mitsubishi A5M fighter plane used by Japan during World War II. Hayao Miyazaki wished to create a fictionalized biopic of Horikoshi by reimagining his life; he was inspired to create the film after reading a quote by Horikoshi: "All I wanted to do was to make something beautiful." This quote is

the driving theme for the film's main character, as Horikoshi consistently has additional dreams of flying that almost always feature an Italian aircraft designer by the name of Count Caproni, otherwise known as Giovanni Battista Caproni (1886-1957), first Count of Taliedo, an Italian aeronautical engineer. Caproni shares a similar dream, the dream of creating beautiful planes that everyone can enjoy. However, because their respective nations are only interested in an aircraft that can be utilized in war, both are forced to create fighters or bombers. In the film, Caproni tells Horikoshi, "But remember this, Japanese boy, airplanes are not tools for war. They are not for making money. Airplanes are beautiful dreams. Engineers turn dreams into reality." [00:12:00] Unlike western cinema, the film has a habit of not presenting time skips, so many moments of the film require the viewer to pay attention to the contextual background of scenes.

During the first half of the film, Horikoshi appears to have grown up and heads to Tokyo University. This is when the audience is introduced to the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, 7.9 on the magnitude scale. The animation used to depict the earthquake is ominous and hushed. You would expect the crashing sound of ground cracking, buildings falling apart, and explosions occurring. Instead, the quake is illustrated by the sound of rushing wind, a brilliant addition to the manner in which the city rattles and rolls. It is a quiet terror. It is during the aftermath of the tremor that Horikoshi recalls the success associated with the creation of Caproni's seaplane which, although built precisely like in the dream they had shared years prior, failed to fly. Caproni then asks out loud, "What do you think, Japanese boy, is the wind still rising?", to which Horikoshi replies, "Yes, it is a gale." [00:24:12] The film continues with its romantic and tragic storyline, an earthquake devastating Tokyo, and then the rapid recovery of Tokyo, accompanied by that familiar Italian music and the romantic, picturesque scenery of the city rebuilding. Japan is now entering the 1930s, and thus the film presents Japan's Showa Depression (1930-1932) to illustrate the severity of the country's economic and social state during that time.

Soon thereafter, Horikoshi has graduated and is traveling to meet his employer, Mitsubishi's aeronautical engineer division. Upon arriving by train, Horikoshi witnesses the countless unemployed people walking alongside railroads, heading to the city to look for work. In the town, Horikoshi sees people rushing a bank that has recently been closed due to bankruptcy. Horikoshi's friend Honjo remarks, "The economy is in the tank, and I hate to break it to you, Jiro, but so is our new employer." [00:31:55] The Mitsubishi headquarters represented in the film are dirt roads, poorly equipped, and a depressingly rundown base of operation. The running gag in the movie is that Japan still needs to tow their fighter planes out into the field with oxen, which takes them two whole days to accomplish. The first plane, Falcon-1, to the construction of which Jiro contributes, ends in utter failure, as the fighter cannot break 200 knots, tearing apart midair. The army decides then to go with a competing design, and Mitsubishi has to collaborate on behalf of the Japanese military with Germany to

build a new bomber. Thus, Horikoshi leaves for Germany to study the design of German bombers.

In this segment, Jiro witnesses firsthand the gap between Japanese and German technology, and perhaps the world. The behemoth bomber presented to Horikoshi is beyond anything he could have ever dreamed of; its full metal body and frame is visually frightening and elegant. The interaction between the German soldier who attempts to prevent Horikoshi and Honjo from examining German technology is an example of the animosity between these two nations. However, Hugo Junkers, the German aircraft engineer in charge, allows Horikoshi to study his work out of respect for fellow engineers. Later, when Honjo is examining the documents on the bomber, he addresses the difficulty of learning anything from the specs given to him, because the Germans have crossed out any useful information. Horikoshi replies that it is perhaps not necessary to make a bomber out of metal; wood and canvas are just fine. Honjo angrily states that Japan cannot fall behind any further, and that Japanese technology is already twenty years behind everyone. After a run-in with the German secret police who are chasing down people, Jiro has a dream in which he witnesses a Japanese bomber on fire, exploding midair before crashing onto the ground. In the dream, Jiro once again encounters Caproni who asks Jiro, "Is the wind still rising?", and Jiro replies: "It is." [00:54:58] Caproni then welcomes Horikoshi to embark with him on his final flight. There is a subtle transition from a winter scenery to one of spring, and Jiro is once again dreaming alongside Caproni of an aircraft that is designed for passengers, not as a tool of war. Jiro remarks that "Japan could never build anything as grand and beautiful as this. The country is too poor and backwards." [00:56:28] Caproni replies that inspiration is all an engineer needs; that technology eventually catches up because of inspiration; and that a world with planes, even if they are used as tools for slaughter, is still a better world than one without planes. Jiro tells Caproni, "I just want to create beautiful aeroplanes." [00:57:48] At this point, a rough version of the A5M glides past Jiro and Caproni. The scene is gorgeous, and a simple paper airplane modeled to look like the future A5M flies elegantly against the colorful horizon and onto Jiro's hand who then pushes it off as if it really is a paper airplane. With Caproni retiring, Horikoshi is determined to make his dream come true.

Jiro arrives back in Japan and is immediately given the task to create a new fighter plane; however, his creation, which mimics the A5M significantly, ends up in failure. Suffering from a depressing defeat, Jiro is told to travel to Hotel Kusakaru to relax, a hotel inspired by the Kamikochi Imperial Hotel located near the Japanese Alps. It is here that Jiro is reunited with Satomi, a young woman he had helped during the 1923 earthquake, and he eventually falls in love with her. This segment of the film, according to Miyazaki, was inspired by the novel *The Wind Has Risen/Kaze Tachinu* (1936-1937) by Tatsuo Hori (1904-1953) who wrote about his life experience with his ill fiancée who eventually passed away from

tuberculosis. Similarly, Jiro falls in love and has to deal with the hardships of following his dream to build his plane and attend to his ill wife. There are many beautiful and memorable moments that one could share from this passionate romance, however, it is a romantic tale worthy of being experienced firsthand.

Jiro continues by bringing life to the A5M, while caring for Satomi whenever possible. During his research, Jiro discovers flush riveting and implements it into his design for a new fighter plane. The day before the unveiling of the A5M, Honjo speaks to Jiro, requesting the use of his rivet and various other plans. Jiro agrees and asks how the bomber project is coming along. Honjo reveals that Japan will soon be at war with just about everyone and that the bombers especially are still inadequate. Honjo concludes the conversation by saying, "We aren't arms merchants, we just want to build good aircraft." [01:51:30] I believe that it is in this moment that all those years with Jiro pushing his beautiful-planes ideology finally have an impact on Honjo. This is the final exchange between the two in the film and embodies the true spirit of an engineer.

The film's ending revisits the romantic and tragic scene from the beginning of the movie. The A5M is flying in the sky above the country landscape with that familiar Italian music playing. All the while, Jiro is unaware that his wife has left the house to die in peace at a sanatorium. There is a moment in which Jiro realizes something is wrong, ignores his creation completely, and the music is replaced with silence: only the faint sound of wind is present. There is a sophisticated element throughout the film: the wind rises, carrying Jiro upwards; however, whenever the wind rises, tragedy cuts Jiro off and returns him back down to earth. Mayazaki's film is not merely an overly romantic, patriotic story about a Japanese engineer and his glorious contribution to Japan's World-War II effort, but also an anti-war message. I would recommend this film to virtually anyone. It is animated beautifully, easily capturing the imagination and attention of children. It is also intelligently written so that any adult will admire its emotional complexity. History compacted in an entertaining and creative manner, with a romantic and tragic backstory, all the while being visually stunning, *The Wind Rises* is a must see. The last few minutes of the film cut to a final horrid dream: Japan on fire, the landscape littered with Japanese planes, and Caproni once again present. Jiro remarks on what this landscape used to be like when he first met Caproni, but now it is a land of the dead. Caproni praises Jiro for his successful A5M planes, but Jiro states that it all fell apart in the end. There is an exquisite scene in which Jiro's A5M fighter planes glide past them and join innumerable planes represented by stars. Caproni declares, "truly a masterful design," [02:01:17] to which Jiro dismally replies, "Not a single one returned."

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Reviews (Games)

Assassin's Creed: Origins [action-adventure video game].

Developer: Ubisoft Montréal. Platforms: Xbox One, PlayStation 4, Microsoft Windows/PC. Release date: October 27, 2017.

Imagine walking through the wide streets of Alexandria and looking upon its great library, admiring its sheer beauty, and marveling at the splendor of its architecture. This may seem like the kind of fantasy only the most die-hard ancient historians would dream up, but it is a fantasy come to life in the form of the video game *Assassin's Creed: Origins*. Boasting its own fantastical narrative plot, *Assassin's Creed: Origins* immediately became popular among gamers, but soon after its release it also gained the attention of educators. The focus of this review is not the game itself, but the downloadable content, labeled the "Discovery Tour." The game development studio Ubisoft Montréal was the lead developer of this now famous "Discovery Tour," a virtual educational experience that provides gamers and other visitors with footnoted historical documents, data, and lectures about Ptolemaic Egypt. According to Jonathan Ore, an interviewer of CBC News, the game designers drew on the expertise of several historians and Egyptologists, enlisting the help of individuals such as Dr. Evelyne Ferron of the Université de Sherbrooke (Québec, Canada), in order to build the historically accurate foundation of the game's expansion. Both the "Discovery Tour" and the main campaign of the game are set in Egypt in 49-48 BCE, during the reign of Pharaoh Ptolemy XIII (51-47 BCE). Providing educational experiences of this kind in modern games constitutes an untapped market or mode of spreading reliable information, and both can and should be taken advantage of for the purpose of learning about history. Exploring this kind of potential with regard to hands-on learning offers an opportunity to use video games in a setting that has predominantly and repeatedly shunned them altogether, namely, the classroom.

Since the inception of the medium, various video games have shared a common theme: fantastical fiction. Especially prevalent in video games which aim for some sort of historical basis, game development studios tend to take major liberties with history in order to create their own versions of famous or impactful events. Such versions of history are often riddled with inaccuracies; examples are games like *Call of Duty: Black Ops* and *Wolfenstein* which succumbed to the pop cultural demand to integrate zombies into every game/story, solely to appeal to a larger market of consumers. While this practice is completely understandable (after all, developers work in the business to make money) games like *Assassin's Creed: Origins* offer a twist to the formula. The overall plot places the player in the role of a Medjay (an elite Egyptian law enforcer comparable to a modern sheriff) named Bayek and his wife Aya. Together, these protagonists set out to avenge the death of their son and work to protect the

people of Egypt during the Roman occupation of Egypt and the upheaval of Ptolemy XIII's reign. In the course of the game, Ptolemy struggles to maintain his rule, while his sister, Cleopatra VIII, gathers forces and creates alliances with various Roman leaders in order to launch a coup. Concurrently to these developments, the game also introduces Julius Caesar and his Roman forces as they make frequent incursions into Ptolemy's kingdom, stoking further fears of invasion. Bayek's role as a Medjay brings him and Aya into contact with the members of a fictional secret society who are revealed to be the true culprits, manipulating events from behind the scenes. With a story of this caliber, it is no surprise that the title sold very well and received favorable reviews. Shortly after the initial release of the game, a feature of DLC (downloadable content) titled "Discovery Tour" was added to the game. Offered to players for free, the developers hoped fans of the game and of the series would want to take an interest in the various historical locations and sources which had inspired their new work of art. This free content was also added for Windows as a standalone expansion with only the "Discovery Tour" included for the educational market.

The "Discovery Tour" refers to a new educational gameplay mode which allows the player to roam freely through this recreation of Ancient Egypt in order to learn more about its history and the daily life of its inhabitants. Players are encouraged to embark on guided tours, specifically curated by historians and Egyptologists for educational purposes. This mode disables all of the fantastical or fictional gameplay mechanics of the main story. Side quests, conflicts with enemies, and various other gameplay constraints are removed to avoid possible distractions and inaccuracies. There are a total of seventy-five different guided tours which players can take. These are divided into five major categories: "Ancient Egypt," "The Pyramids," "Alexandria," "Daily Life," and "The Roman Empire." The first of these categories offers general information about Ancient Egypt, ranging from its major political and social regions to the kingdom's geography, major imports and exports, flora, and fauna. The second category focuses on pyramids, both in terms of architectural engineering and their cultural significance. The information provided here ranges from the origins of their design, beginning with the conception of the first step pyramid, and continues with a focus on the great architect Imhotep (late twenty-seventh century BCE). As the category concludes, it shifts its attention to the monuments known today as the Great Pyramids of Giza and their lasting historical significance.

The third category strictly focuses on the city of Alexandria, originally founded by Alexander the Great. The tours in this section discuss its splendor and importance as a commercial hub for the Mediterranean region. During my research into the "Discovery Tour," I found one particular tour within this category to be extremely interesting, namely, a highly detailed virtual tour of the Library of Alexandria. This may sound impossible at first, especially considering that there are currently no known surviving descriptions of the library, but by using primary and secondary sources of similar locations available to them, the

developers at Ubisoft Montréal put an enormous amount of effort into this specific digital creation. In their artistic process, the design team drew inspiration from surviving descriptions of other ancient Roman libraries found in modern-day Turkey. The last several tours in the Alexandria category discuss the importance of the famous Hippodrome, derived from the Greek words *hippos* ("horse") and *dromos* ("course"). Both horse racing and charioteer competitions occurred here, and the tour dedicated to the Hippodrome specifically describes the social function of the facility. Alexandrians were highly devoted to these event. They were fascinated by the rivalry of these races, much in the same way modern sports fans are obsessed with their favorite sports teams.

The fourth category of the "Discovery Tour" gives an overview of daily life in Roman-occupied Egypt. Ranging from discussions about the traditions, diets, and daily routines of this society, from common people via Roman sentries to Roman and Egyptian elites, this category is by far the most extensive one in terms of concepts, discussions, and sources. The importance of mummification is explored, along with other religious rituals. Tours are available for those who want to learn about the basic agricultural food production techniques of the era. There is also information about medicinal salves and solutions, along with debates on the cultural lines between science and religion.

The final category details the influence of the Roman Empire through its occupation of Egypt. The initial tours explore the various military equipment and strategies used by the Roman legions, including descriptive accounts of weaponry and the construction of fortifications. Other guides explain the importance of aqueducts, and how the Romans took water management seriously. The Romans brought this beneficial knowledge with them to Egypt to bring fresh water into the cities for drinking/bathing and watering their crops.

The "Discovery Tour" is uniquely useful to historians and history teachers alike. *Assassin's Creed* has been a teaching tool ever since its first game. Ubisoft's historian Maxime Durand said: "[W]e also had a lot of testimonies from teachers, from professors, asking, 'Would you consider making a version of AC [i.e., *Assassin's Creed*] without conflict, without narrative?'" Prior to the "Discovery Tour," many history teachers conducted recording sessions with their own consoles or attempted to bring the game into the classroom, but due to age ratings, they legally could not show the material without consent forms.

The developers and Ubisoft Montréal have stated time and time again that their motto, when it comes to their *Assassin's Creed* franchise, is "making history everyone's playground." Ubisoft is one of many studios at the forefront of a movement that revolutionized the way we view video games from an educational standpoint. The "Discovery Tour" is a well of knowledge that many historians can draw from in order to teach the next generation with a medium that is familiar to them. This may be the first of its kind, but who is to say that other studios will not find inspiration from the "Discovery Tour" and create their own virtual tours? The "Discovery Tour" of *Assassin's Creed: Origins* is

recommended for all those who are excited to explore their passion for ancient history in a (still relatively) new and exciting medium.

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Battlefield 1 [first-person shooter video game].

Developer: EA DICE. Platforms: Xbox One, PlayStation 4, Microsoft Windows/PC.
Release date: October 21, 2016.

When *Battlefield 1* was first announced, many modern military historians and gamers were both excited and skeptical. Finally, there was going to be a game reproducing the Great War, the “war to end all wars,” a war that has become engrained in our psyches since high school when we read Erich Maria Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1928). Given the challenges that World War I presents to a video game design team, EA Dice endeavored to encapsulate the feelings of soldiers fighting in the trenches, while also telling the lesser-known stories of soldiers in various roles around the world.

Creating a marketable console and PC game in the competitive first-person shooter genre is no small task. Given the dozens of games already created about World War II, the creators at EA Dice sought to fill a void in the video game market while releasing the game to commemorate the centenary of the Great War. The game has two major components: the single-player campaign mode called “War Stories,” which consists of five chapters and follows the narrative of five soldiers in different theaters and roles in the war, and the multiplayer mode, which has various modes and maps throughout Europe and the Middle East. The developers have managed to stretch the narrative that World War I was a war of limited movement to make for an exciting first-person shooter scenario, while still upholding the war’s grim realities and senseless losses.

The game tutorial opens with the war that everyone knows, the Western Front. The player is thrust into the middle of an enemy counter-attack as a member of the all-black 369th Infantry Regiment, the Harlem Hellfighters. The cinematic opening briefly introduces the details of the war and that it “ended nothing,” and closes with the words, “You are not expected to survive.” In a daze, you pick up your Hotchkiss M1914 machine gun, rush to the men in front of you, and are told to “hold the line.” The enemy keeps pouring out of shell holes and from around trees and bombed-out buildings. After fending off as many soldiers as you can, you have expended the last of your ammunition and draw your handgun. Soon that, too, is out, and you are searching the ground for weapons and using your trench tool to whack at enemies as they approach. After a valiant effort, a soldier with a flamethrower appears, and you go down, the first of several casualties in a war that ended nothing. It would be a pretty boring game if it ended there, so you are transported further back in the line to keep up

the fight, but after each attempt, you are eventually overrun. A grim introduction to a devastating war.

The single-player campaign is dynamic, but relatively short-lived. Each of the five chapters takes about thirty minutes to complete, which is long enough to learn about the war, but not long enough to warrant purchasing the game solely for its single-player mode. While the *Battlefield* series has been criticized for its lack of attention to detail in single-player modes in the past, *Battlefield 1* delivers a cinematic and enjoyable, albeit short, introduction to the mechanics of the game. The first story follows a young tank driver who must battle mud, fallen trees, bombed-out buildings, artillery pieces, and other tanks to introduce the game's "capture-the-flag" objectives and the power of armor in this new, mechanized warfare. This first campaign was a bit of a letdown as it was quite glitchy, and the "capture-the-flag" aspect distracted from the historical realism. In similar games, objectives may be highlighted but usually involve destroying particular units, reaching waypoints, or simply surviving. But this first chapter felt a little too much like a game and was quite a departure from the dramatic realism of the tutorial that preceded it.

The next campaign puts you high above the action in a Bristol Scout plane as a pilot defending ground troops and shooting fighters, bombers, and balloons out of the sky. While defending the skies, the plane goes down, and you are once again thrust into the action in the trenches of the Western Front. Sneaking behind enemy lines and across No Man's Land is no easy feat, but seeing the barbed wire, mud, and bodies really adds to the realism. The final chapter requires that you defend the city of London from Zeppelins and leads to a dramatic *Mission Impossible*-like scenario where you must exit your plane, destroy a Zeppelin, and leap to safety. This Hollywood-style scenario is not the most historically relevant, but it provides a much more cinematic experience.

The third campaign is set high in the Italian Alps as you take on the role of Luca, a member of the Italian special forces unit, the Arditi ("The Daring Ones"), who is searching for his missing brother behind Austro-Hungarian lines. This is one of the more controversial chapters of the *Battlefield 1* campaign, as there are some doubts as to the historical realism of the Arditi as they are portrayed in the game. The Arditi acted as shock troops who specialized in working behind enemy lines. In the game, they are depicted wearing steel armor and "Farina" helmets (which resemble a mix between the rebel helmets in *Return of the Jedi* and those of a medieval knights) to charge the enemy lines under cover of artillery to surprise the enemy in their bunkers. While this shock tactic was certainly used (as supported by historical evidence), there is little to support the prevalence of this on a large scale, leading many to wonder why this is even included in the game. What this chapter does well, though, is illustrate the effect the war had on families and to remind the player that these countless soldiers were human beings with hopes and dreams.

The fourth chapter takes place in the Ottoman Gallipoli campaign as you follow an Australian veteran soldier and a young recruit. The veteran is reluctant to protect his green comrade, and the young recruit is eager to prove himself. The campaign itself is visually stunning as you begin the mission bombarding the beachheads from a battleship, only to storm the beach on makeshift ramps with artillery exploding all around and the deafening sounds of screaming, resembling Omaha Beach in *Saving Private Ryan*. Once the beach is secure, the young recruit acts as a runner relaying information across the chaotic battlefield. This sounds like Mel Gibson in *Gallipoli* and is, indeed, highly derivative of that film. While the story is not necessarily new, the action is adrenaline-pumping.

The final campaign in the single-player mode follows a Lawrence of Arabia-type Bedouin fighter who must infiltrate Ottoman strongholds in the deserts of Arabia. Again, while it is not the most inventive storyline, the stealth aspect of the missions and trying to avoid detection adds an additional layer of excitement to the game that culminates in the destruction of a massive artillery train. As a standalone component of the game, the single-player mode leaves much to be desired. While the five chapters do an excellent job of introducing you to each aspect of the game (infantry combat, armored warfare, dogfighting, special units, and how to utilize stealth) the single-player campaign seems to act as an extended tutorial to prepare players for the multi-player mode.

The real strength of *Battlefield 1* and the reason it is receiving much of its acclaim is because of its multiplayer mode. The developers did an excellent job of turning older weapons and technology into a fast-paced and exciting first-person shooter. The multiplayer game consists of thousands of weapons and different character loadouts that can be utilized in six modes: "Conquest," "Rush," "War Pigeons," "Team Deathmatch," "Domination," and "Operations." Each mode is just a variation of the "capture-the-flag" theme, but with unique objectives. The most popular, and a traditional feature of the *Battlefield* series, is "Conquest." Two teams capture flags with the goal of controlling the map to reach a certain number of points. "Rush" is basically "capture-the-flag" but with an emphasis on staying alive while taking objectives in sequence. "War Pigeons" is like "capture-the-flag," but once a pigeon is captured, it is released to a new area of the map and summons a massive artillery barrage that is difficult to evade. "Team Deathmatch" is similar to "Conquest," but without any flags to capture; the goal is simply to eliminate the enemy. "Domination" is also similar to "Conquest," but on a much smaller scale, which makes the battles more intense and faster-paced. The most realistic of the multiplayer modes is "Operations." It is a combination of "Rush" and "Conquest," but only the attackers have to worry about deaths as they only get three battalions worth of respawns. If the defenders kill enough of the enemy without giving up all of their objectives, then they win. If the attackers take all the objectives without losing too many troops, they win. What is fun about *Battlefield* games is that there are vehicles, airplanes, special units, Zeppelins, artillery trains, and even horses, that can help you

achieve victory. This leads to a chaotic battlefield and is much more unique than your typical first-person shooter title. All the game modes are exciting, and as you are playing other people, each battle is new and unique.

Overall, taking a game about World War I and turning it into a revolutionary new first-person shooter is no easy task. The attention to detail with regard to weapons, uniforms, game maps, and historical battles is impressive. The game is constantly coming out with new downloadable content and new levels, so it would be nice to see some more single-player stories in the future. For example, a recent update to the game provided a series of “Operations” maps based on the Russian Revolution, which was a welcome addition, but there was no update to the single-player campaign. While the game developers sought to tell untold stories in the campaigns, it was entirely Triple Entente (Allied Forces)-focused, perpetuating the narrative that the victors were the “good guys” and the Central Powers were the “bad guys.” If the goal of the game is to promote a diversity of perspectives about the Great War, it would be nice to see more missions from both sides of the conflict. This game is of interest to fans of first-person shooting games, but also to military historians or fans of the Great War who want to experience a simulation of the action. While this game may be played largely by adolescents, I would exercise caution as this is a violent first-person shooter with graphic battle scenes. However, it can also be a good gateway into studying history, as the game is very instructional, and all the cinematic scenes and wait screens employ the downtime to teach about different aspects of the war, often using stories told by voice actors based on World War I letters and memoirs. While the game could never fully replicate the horrific artillery barrages, days spent hunkered down in bunkers, or the massive infantry assaults across No Man’s Land to almost certain death, *Battlefield 1* does a great job of making an important historical event accessible to the modern gamer, which is a feat that is not easily attainable.

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Buchel, Alex. SAGA: Core Rulebook [miniatures wargaming manual].

Translated by Matt Morgan (Lingolsheim, France: Studio Tomahawk SARL, 2018). 52 pages. ISBN: 9791095599050.

Since the 1980s, the market for board and miniatures gaming has entered into what many call a “golden age” for board game producers and consumers. With formative games such as *Chainmail*, which motivated the creation of genre-defining juggernauts such as *Dungeons & Dragons*, as well as the influential and often controversial *Games Workshop*, the gaming industry has been on a near-

constant uptick in game production and consumption. The tabletop game industry and the miniatures hobby have come a long way since H. G. Wells wrote his miniatures wargaming rule set *Little Wars* (1913). The modern gamer has the ability to choose from games with rule sets inspired by nearly all time periods and geographical areas, with various levels of realism and scale to the battle. In 2018, a small French game company produced the second edition of its medieval rule set *SAGA*. Initially, in 2011, a quiet release by indie board game publisher Studio Tomahawk, the game was now a public affair drawing international attention within the gaming culture. Players were eager to once again dive into the game's mixture of legendary heroes standing alongside historical rulers in pitched battle. As the title implies, the game frames players participating in events within their army leaders' ever-expanding narrative, writing their deeds and glories through the clashes between opponents on the table top. *SAGA* and its rules supplements provide an easy entry into tabletop wargaming that would interest both historians and those wanting to try "what-if" battles of historical figures, both the culturally formative and the mythopoetic.

Miniatures wargames are simulated battle scenarios played between two or more players using miniatures representing the fighters on the battlefield. The size of these board games varies greatly. Some games use abstractions to represent soldiers, where one miniature could represent dozens or hundreds of troops. Others abstain from such abstraction and have each model represent a single participant in the battle. *SAGA* uses relatively small armies of a few dozen models, each representing a single person: the army's warlord and proxy for the player on the table top, the leader's veteran hearthguard, highly trained warriors, or conscripted levies. During games, players take turns maneuvering their units of warriors around the battlefield and engage in skirmishes, using dice to determine the outcome of these clashes. Each model and unit on the board is given pre-determined statistics to represent their combat capabilities. To assess whether a model succeeds or fails at a task, such as whether an archer's arrow manages to find its target, dice are rolled and compared to the model's statistics. The more difficult a task or the less trained the individual completing the task, the higher the number the dice will need to show in order for the model to succeed. For example, a veteran archer might only need a three or higher to succeed, but an untrained levy might need a five or even a six. Unlike a board game, a miniatures wargame uses rulers or other measuring devices to determine a model or unit's movements, which allows players a great degree of control over their troops. The elements simulating battle are only one aspect of the hobby. Players may use objects fashioned in the shape of physical features such as trees, rocks, or farmhouses to represent terrain and provide a three-dimensional element to the battlefield. Much of the interest and satisfaction for many gamers is to model and create a beautiful battlefield with fully painted armies. This celebrates their artistic abilities as much as their strategic skills.

SAGA provides an excellent starting point for individuals interested in beginning or even just trying miniatures or historical war games. The soft-cover book contains just 50 pages, including the glossary and other supplemental material. Printed in full color, the rules offer many color-coded examples to help new players understand the concepts. In addition, for those interested in the modeling part of the hobby, the book also includes numerous pictures of fully-painted and beautifully detailed miniatures to inspire hobbyists. Viking raiders and Norman crusaders gaze out to meet the players' eyes or to survey the field of battle before a charge. However, these options miss an opportunity, one which many more miniatures gaming rulebooks should embrace, namely, a center-fold depicting two armies clashing on a table top. Not only would this show readers the spectacle of a fully painted army and modeled terrain, but it could provide a benchmark as to what the creators intended for the players' full experience of the game. Even with this slight oversight, the game introduces readers to the key concepts of not just the game but also the greater sphere of the modeling hobby.

Studio Tomahawk had stressed simplicity with SAGA's first edition. While the second edition does make the game more complicated to mitigate uncertainty, this was needed as the rules now eschew the ambiguous wording that competitive players had been able to abuse to the detriment of the game. While the basics of the game are easily understood and learned, there are subtleties that require a half-dozen games or more to be fully grasped. However, the rulebook sometimes boasts the simplicity of its rules. Alex Buchel writes with almost a self-congratulatory tone: "We must admit that we are quite proud of having created a game where an army list can be written on a beer mat or a bar receipt." (45). While it is greatly appreciated that this comes after Buchel has stressed the game creator's focus of SAGA on socializing and simplicity, allowing more time to focus on being with friends, this boast rings a bit hollow.

This is no longer the first edition of only four model types (warlord, hearthguard, warrior, and levy). Now, army composition allows many more exceptions or changes based on differences between factions. For example, Vikings are allowed to change a unit of hearthguard into berserkers who sacrifice defensive capabilities for pure aggression. However, if Harald Hardrada (commander of the Varangian Guard before becoming king of Norway and claimant to the English throne before his death at the 1066 Battle of Stamford Bridge) leads a Viking army, he may change a unit into the defensive and heavily-armored Varangians. Yet, still, if Harald Hardrada leads a Byzantine army (called "The Last Romans" in "The Viking Age" rules supplement) the entire force must be comprised of Varangians. To make matters more complicated, the Viking Varangians and the Byzantine Varangians differ in their defensive capabilities, with the latter having lighter armor. These complexities usually only matter when one is looking at the game in its entirety, which most will not do. Many instead may choose to focus on one or two factions, learning the subtleties and intricacies of one faction before moving on to another. SAGA

must be given credit for the relative simplicity of their game. At its 2011 release, it was trend-setting. Since its initial publication, there has been a move toward simplicity in games and a paring down of rules. *SAGA* was at the forefront of that trend. In the seven years since its publication, larger publishers have taken notice and followed this trend. In 2015, the hobby giant *Games Workshop* whittled their *Warhammer* rulebook from hundreds of pages down to just four. While weathering much controversy in this choice, they made a similar move in 2017 with their more rules-dense game *Warhammer 40,000* to a mere 15 pages with much positive criticism. *SAGA* proved to be years ahead of the current trend.

SAGA occupies an interesting space within the miniatures gaming community. The game is not purely historical, nor is it purely fantasy. The game creator has attempted to give each historical faction an aesthetic impression based on their historical and cultural history. For example, Vikings have an aggressive playstyle, with their ability to use the suicidal berserkers and reliance on abilities that give the faction melee bonuses. This reflects the popular and not entirely inaccurate view of Vikings as aggressive raiders and pirates. Meanwhile, the Carolingians rely on their cavalry, and their abilities focus on lending their horseback units extra speed or combat ability almost to the exclusion of infantry. While not entirely historically accurate, these choices reflect and emphasize the cultural value of the units involved. Through this emphasis, the factions give the feeling of the historical culture they represent without the hindrance of over-reliance on minutiae.

This reflection may veer almost to stereotype in places, but the temporal, spatial, and cultural area *SAGA* covers allows for a certain level of extraction. The game pulls from literary sources to influence the feeling of playing a faction, inspiring the creation of the rules based on the values and themes of that culture's writing. Pulled from the lines of his *Chanson*, players may have Roland, Count of the Breton Marches, lead their Carolingian forces. Should Roland be dispatched by opposing forces, he sounds his *olifant* to summon reinforcements. Jarl Sigvaldi of Jomsborg (the leader of the semi-legendary Viking city of Jomsborg, whose inhabitants were known as vicious mercenaries) could join the player's faction as a sell-sword. The game brings a deep level of customization to players' medieval battles. There are even rules for non-standard battles, should players decide to recreate some historical struggles. These include rules in the supplements "The Age of Vikings" and "The Age of Crusades" for Steppe tribes, Umayyads, Lombards, Cathars, Cilician Armenians, and Mutatawwi'a, among others. In addition, players can choose from any company's range of models for their army and are not required to purchase the miniatures from a single publisher in order to participate in tournaments, which other miniatures games often demand. This large faction choice and the game's model agnostic method of army creation allow for a high degree of customization, as the game supports different tolerances of historical accuracy.

SAGA provides an easily understood, inexpensive entry into the previously niche culture of tabletop wargaming. It yields an interesting mixture of the historical with the mythopoetic without venturing too far into either camp to the point of alienating interested parties. I suggest the game to those interested in historical fiction, those who want to settle a “what-if” argument (such as, whether Roland’s Carolingians could defeat Harald Hardrada’s Varangian Guard), and those interested in trying a historical tabletop game. I would also recommend the game to teachers who want to supplement their instruction on the medieval period through visual and kinesthetic exercises. However, I offer a caveat that the game’s use as a teaching tool would require forethought on the part of the instructor, active participation from mature students, and a significant contribution of time for painting and set-up from both instructor and students.

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Call of Duty: WWII [first-person shooter video game].

Developer: Sledgehammer Games. Platforms: Xbox One, PlayStation 4, Microsoft Windows/PC. Release date: November 3, 2017.

In October 2003, Activision published the first *Call of Duty* game, and players were given the opportunity to storm the beaches of Normandy for the first time on console and have their first experience with the 101st Airborne Division and the 1st Infantry Division, commonly nicknamed “The Big Red One.” This marked the beginning of one of the most storied and successful franchises in video game history, with its name ringing familiar worldwide. In the decade since then, Activision has moved the *Call of Duty* universe to the present-day Middle East and to futuristic explorations, but their latest entry brings the series back to its roots. Teaming up with development studio Sledgehammer Games, the aptly-titled *Call of Duty: WWII* brings players back into the heat of the action of the western theater of the war. This review considers the historical accuracy of the plot and gameplay, as well as the suitability of this game for educators when teaching the subject matter to students.

Call of Duty: WWII’s opening mission starts off with a bang, having the player command Private Ronald “Red” Daniels of the “Big Red One” 1st Infantry Division on D-Day, (June 6, 1944). In a *Saving Private Ryan*-esque Omaha Beach scenario, Daniels helps lead the charge off the beach and to the fighting on the cliffs and trenches of the German defense stations. Of note to educators is the vivid detail of the battle in the storming of the beach, the remarks of the soldiers

that they are “lost” from their original landing zones (a common occurrence on Omaha Beach) and that the DD tanks are unable to make their way to shore, which explains their lack of tanks. Successful in their landing, Daniels and the rest of the squad begin to liberate France. In between battle missions and cutscenes, players witness how soldiers and officers in the war lived, talked, ate, and grew close to each other, giving them a sense of the camaraderie that the soldiers experienced, such as the group’s agreement that everyone’s favorite German was the actress Marlene Dietrich. Daniels and the “Big Red One” then take part in “Operation Cobra” and are tasked with securing the town of Marigny. Once this is accomplished, they team up with British and French Resistance forces to prevent V-2 rockets that are being transferred by armored train from being used against the Allied Forces’ upcoming liberation of Paris. Educators will recognize that the British in the game correctly identify the V-2 as the world’s first functional guided missile, but due to its extreme height and weight it had to be transported by rail. The player then takes part in gathering intelligence for the liberation of Paris and assumes the role of a female French Resistance fighter, Camille “Rousseau” Denis, going undercover as a French aide to steal German military documents and assassinate a high-ranking general. Having successfully completed her objectives, she brings the documents to Daniels and the group, and the Americans and the Resistance forces liberate Paris to throngs of cheering crowds. This mission is beneficial to educators in that its opening scene has the French Resistance meeting in an underground room beneath a bar, showing the Resistance’s reliance on secret meeting locations, and Rousseau’s “cover” reflects the levels of French collaboration with the occupying Germans.

The campaign then shifts from the action in France to the early battles in western Germany. The “Big Red One” fights its way through the city of Aachen and the Hürtgen Forest. In Aachen, Daniels and the player witness the ugly side of war, as the once beautiful city lies in ruins, and the player takes part in violent house-to-house fighting. A particular moving moment in this mission is when the player must rescue and escort two German sisters from a hotel basement to a rallying center for civilians, but as the player helps the older sister climb onto the waiting truck, German soldiers suddenly appear, and a firefight begins, and in the chaos the older sister is killed in front of the player and her sister, illustrating the cruel realities of war. The Hürtgen Forest mission takes place soon after and quickly becomes a bloodbath, as the “Big Red One” cannot overcome the German defenses, and the player has to witness two of their squad members and their lieutenant being killed in battle. Following this, the “Big Red One” is in the middle of the Battle of the Bulge (December 16, 1944, to January 25, 1945) and must defend their positions against advancing German armored and infantry advancements, and then press forward to attempt to quell the heavy artillery fire on their position. During this process, the team learns that the Germans plan to destroy the Ludendorff Bridge in Remagen should the offensive fail, and the

team attempts to stop the explosives from being delivered in order to protect the bridge. While successful, Private Robert Zussman, the squad's only Jewish soldier, is captured and sent to a notorious POW camp.

Here, the game shifts toward a heavier, more presentation-like mode. With its defeat imminent, most of the German Army rushes west to surrender to the Allies, so there is a lack of combat gameplay. However, as the Allies push east, they discover the horrors of the Holocaust and the mistreatment of POWs, and the squad decides to find Zussman at all costs since they see what the Nazis will do if they find out he is a Jew. The game cuts back to photographs of prisoners held in various concentration camps in horrible conditions, and it shows a cutscene of SS Commandant Metz (a reference to the real-life Erwin Metz) at Stalag IX-B executing prisoners and singling out those to be sent to forced labor camps, among them Zussman who is shown as being horded into the cattle rail cars. The game then starts back to the last camp of which the team has knowledge, Berga Camp. The player, encountering no enemies, walks through the camp, takes in the barbed-wire pens, prisoner quarters, shoe pile, work stones, prison gallows, guard-dog pens, and machine gun towers. Seeing that the prisoners have recently been moved from the camp, the squad moves out and rescues the prisoners from a death march, and Daniels frees Zussman from Metz, shooting and killing the latter. Zussman and Daniels embrace, and Daniels is then shown with his wife and child back home in America, promising to never forget his squad mates. Educators will respect this final mission as a mature and detailed look into the horrors of the Holocaust in relation to the living and working conditions of the camps.

Unspecific to any particular level or mission, the campaign has some strong historical accuracies. Weapons, uniforms, language, scenery battle tactics and flow, and sounds are spot-on, a personal favorite being the familiar CLING of the M1 Garand. Grenades and explosions will knock the player down, and wiping mud from one's face gives a sense of real-life combat. Unlike previous titles, the player must receive help from fellow squad mates to attain healing, replenish ammunition, and call for air support, adding to the reality. However, *Call of Duty: WWII* still has its inaccuracies, such as portraying black U.S. soldiers fighting on par with white soldiers, even though the Armed Forces were officially segregated at the time, and the developers' choice of omitting the swastika symbol completely (save for a few brief scenes in the Paris mission). While it is understandable that they would wish to exclude images of a vile symbol and racial discrimination, historians will recognize the absurdity of replacing the swastika with the German military cross or a simple red flag being draped across occupied France or Germany. Also, despite being called *Call of Duty: WWII*, the game omits completely any scenes or dialogues from the Eastern Front or the Pacific Theater, with Japan and the Soviet Union not even being mentioned in the game. It puts British characters into small-level support roles,

and it contains over-the-top action scenes such as taking out an entire armored train with two army jeeps, or neutralizing an entire enemy squad with a pistol.

Call of Duty: WWII's multiplayer mode is an enjoyable and fairly accurate experience. The player is able to choose a "Division" character of "Infantry," "Airborne," "Armored," "Mountain, or "Expeditionary," with each class having different strengths and weaknesses as different types of soldiers in the war would. For example, "Infantry" allows one to add more attachments to one's weapons, as infantry would get into firefights more often. "Mountain" allows one to remain undetected by the enemy, much in a way a sniper would. And "Airborne" allows one to move more quickly. Iconic weapons from the war are featured, such as the STG-44, PPSH-41, MG-42, M1 Garand, Luger pistol, and the Thompson "Tommy" submachine gun. Maps are based on real-life battle sites such as Pointe-du-Hoc, the Ardennes Forest, Aachen, Paris, Czechoslovakia, and aboard a U.S. destroyer, as well as places imagined as battle sites such as the docks of London during a German invasion or battling near the Great Pyramids and Sphinx in North Africa. Scorestreaks, or special attacks earned if players garner certain scores in their life, include calling in artillery strikes, mortars, the ability to wield a flamethrower, and the ability to call in an airstrike on a specific location. The new mode introduced in the game, "War Operations," is a team-based objective mode in which players are randomly assigned to the "Allied" or "Axis" side and must work as a team to accomplish their objective, such as stopping the enemy's tank from advancing or blowing up the enemy's communication equipment. This mode highlights the need for teamwork and communication, as one person alone cannot overwhelm the enemy team and do it all without help. Some criticism of the multiplayer mode includes the lack of a "battle royale" mode that has become increasingly common in first-person shooter games over the past few years, the lack of attachments that were previously available in other *Call of Duty* games, the lack of map and weapon count at the launch of the game (there has been more added on to date), and the number of glitches that plagued the game in its first few weeks after launch. Despite these criticisms, the mode remains enjoyable for the player community as there is much to appreciate, and it provides an accurate look at battle scenes and loadout in the war.

Call of Duty: WWII is a good game to add to the collection for gamers and historians alike. The great story and strong multiplayer (of the most important and extraordinary events in the history of World War II) earns an enthusiastic recommendation. In comparison to the many first-person war shooters, such as *Battlefield*, *Rainbow Six*, and *Counterstrike*, *Call of Duty: WWII* is the only one to include both a large, polished campaign mode (explaining and exploring its game setting) and a large and interactive multiplayer mode that suits the common player, with *Battlefield* hosting its iconic 100-person mass lobby and *Rainbow Six* and *Counterstrike* being made up of only small, more professional teams. In addition to its obvious entertainment value, *Call of Duty: WWII* can also

be used by educators to help illustrate and better connect with modern students' use of and experience with this and similar games to help show events such as battles, soldiers, human suffering, and the equipment and vehicles in action in a way that cannot be done in a classroom reading text or by looking at a still photograph. While this reviewer realizes that games such as these still have a few years to go before becoming accepted use in many classrooms, educators should be eagerly awaiting their arrival. Younger generations are increasingly using technology for all aspects of their lives, and their devices are only getting more sophisticated. Growing advances in the abilities of consoles, mobile devices, and platforms, and virtual-reality capabilities are leading to a growing expansion of gaming and viewing, and these platforms will undoubtedly make their way into education as well. For the educators that are looking for a leading point into this future, *Call of Duty: WWII* is a fantastic place to start.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Michael Ortega of Diamond Bar, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History, with a minor in Political Science, at California State University, Fullerton.

Total War Saga: Thrones of Britannia [strategy video game].

Developer: Creative Assembly. Platforms: Microsoft Windows, Linux, Macintosh operating systems. Release date: May 3-June 7, 2018.

The year is 878 CE, the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok and the Great Heathen Army have been halted by Alfred the Great, and the Viking raiders settle into the north and east of England with no signs of heading home. This critical period in British history is the backdrop for the latest installment in the *Total War* series, *Total War Saga: Thrones of Britannia*. Warring English kings vie for control of the island, new Norsemen arrive to carve out their own settlements, and, as the game's opening states cinematically: "Kings will rise. One will Rule."

Creative Assembly has developed a long list of strategic games in its *Total War* series, but this is the first installment in what they are calling the *Saga* series. While previous titles have focused on large geographic areas covering most of Europe and North Africa, the *Saga* series promises a more focused look at specific locations during particular crisis points in the history of a respective region. With the buzz surrounding shows like History's *Vikings*, HBO's *Game of Thrones*, and Netflix's *The Last Kingdom*, it is no surprise that ninth-century England was the choice for their newest game. Critics of previous titles, such as *Rome II: Total War* and *Medieval II: Total War*, have lambasted the lack of attention paid to the British Isles, so this title has in many ways been a long time coming.

Developers of the *Total War* series pay a great deal of attention to historical accuracy with the goal of replicating the economic, political, religious, and military aspects of whatever time period they are trying to recreate. *Thrones of Britannia* stays true to that goal, probably more so than previous titles, often as a detriment to the playability of the game itself. According to the developer blog, the creators utilized a variety of available primary sources, namely, the Anglo-

Saxon Chronicle for England, the *Annales Cambriae* for Wales, and the *Annals of Ulster* and others for Ireland. The developers also acknowledge the lack of period sources for northern England and Scotland, and they therefore turned to Dr. Neil McGuigan (University of St. Andrews) for help to create the most accurate historical depiction they could. They also wrote a downloadable book for early adopters that contains excerpts of the chronicles and historical research on the ten playable factions.

The campaign map is a detailed recreation of the British Isles with stunning graphics that bests most other *Total War* titles. Zooming in on this particular point in time allowed the developers to add a layer of historical authenticity that was not as feasible in previous games which spanned much larger geographical areas and much more extensive time frames. The developers created ten playable factions and a multitude of other non-playable factions based on historical sources. They even decided to name the cities, towns, and factions based on what they believed would have been their chosen names at the time and not based on modern conventions. For example, Wessex is Westseaxe, Northumbria is Northymbre, and so forth. While most of the regions are accurate, the developers do acknowledge that some regions had to be tweaked and some factions invented in order to make all the factions have a balanced early game.

The game consists of two parts, namely, the campaign map and the real-time battle map. It is based on a series of moves that the player makes on the campaign map during a specified turn, with each turn representing one season, or a quarter of a year. The player can make economic decisions like raising or lowering taxes, diplomatic decisions like declaring war or making alliances, military decisions like raising or moving an army or attacking enemies, and settlement decisions like upgrading buildings or technologies. When players have finished, they can end the turn and wait for the computer “players” (AI) to make their moves. When a player engages an enemy, the clashing forces zoom in to reveal the real-time battle map, where the player becomes the general and controls military forces to exploit an enemy’s weaknesses and emerge victorious, or sometimes be routed with the rest of the player’s forces.

What separates *Thrones of Britannia* from other games is the simplified gameplay and focus on events and game mechanics that are unique to each playable faction. With previous *Total War* titles, the player had to broker trade deals, establish building chains to allow for new units or technologies, and use agents like priests and assassins to influence political outcomes. *Thrones of Britannia* has simplified all of that by making trade automatic, having unit types and a technology research tree based on certain objectives, and replacing agents with “followers” who can be added to each of one’s nobles as they earn more accomplishments on the campaign map or on the battlefield. Having so many things going on in the background speeds up the gameplay significantly, but it can also leave the player feeling somewhat out of control of his or her kingdom. Each of the five cultures (Anglo-Saxons, Gaels, Welsh, Great Viking Army, and

Viking Sea Kings) and all ten factions have unique modifiers, events, and units that affect their gameplay, which ensures that no two campaigns are the same.

Campaigns all begin with a similar goal: crush the rebellion in your kingdom and then proceed to reach certain victory conditions, like conquering all of Britain or achieving fame. As a seasoned *Total War* player, my first impression playing Westseaxe was that this was not all that different from previous titles. I took Alfred the Great and his army to crush the rebels, using my usual tactic of pinning down infantry with my archers, engaging with my infantry, and using my cavalry to flank the enemy and crash into their rear, which caused the enemy to panic and disperse. The battle was over. With the confidence of a quick victory under my belt, I proceeded to make a few diplomatic alliances, and after a few hours I had managed to defeat the Viking invaders and conquer most of Britain. The early game was the most exciting, as each turn was uncertain, but as I gained more land and made more money through taxes, I had little difficulty in the middle and late game. I was a little disappointed.

So, I decided to play a Gaelic faction, Circenn, in Scotland. The game started out much the same way as with Westseaxe until I made a few wrong moves. First, I made a military alliance which dragged me into a war with three different factions. Soon after, I realized I had been neglecting my nobles by not giving them estates from the land I was conquering, which meant that I had two of my generals split my army and plunge my territories into rebellion. After finally quelling the rebellion, King Aed was assassinated, leaving me with a sixteen-year-old heir that none of my nobles respected. Soon my little faction was in open civil war. In almost the same amount of time it had taken me to conquer most of Britain as Westseaxe, I was defeated by infighting and ungrateful nobles in Circenn.

While I have played five or six campaigns since and am still impressed by the unique experiences and replayability of the game, there are some elements of the game that are repetitive or detract from the player's experience. The adherence to historical authenticity may have some critics praising the game's mechanics, while others may abhor the departures that *Thrones of Britannia* takes from other games in the series. One of the key changes is with unit recruitment. Generals can recruit units only when they are within a walled town or settlement, and it takes multiple turns for the unit to muster to full strength. This means that if one is attacked, there is no way to quickly raise a force in defense. In past titles, units took a turn or two to be created but would start at full strength, and generals who had the money could also hire mercenaries for a quick boost to troop strength. Another realistic modification that is controversial is the addition of food upkeep for recruiting units. Units and buildings require a certain amount of food, and when one falls below that amount, units suffer attrition. This makes farms a strategic target when attacking enemies who are stronger. This brings me to the third issue, which is that the enemy will relentlessly sack your villages while never actually besieging your towns or fighting a pitched battle. While this

is historically sound, it can be obnoxious to chase an enemy around the map when you are one or two turns behind them retaking each village that they raid.

In addition to the single-player campaign, players can also chose to do quick battles against AI, multiplayer battles, and multiplayer campaigns, which is new to the series. Quick battles allow the player to experience the different unit types and to play around with different unit match-ups. One highlight of the real-time battles are the modifiers and detractors that each unit has. Spearmen get a bonus fighting cavalry, infantry can form a shield wall against archers, archers can spook cavalry by using flaming arrows, and so forth. Knowing how to take advantage of these weaknesses is essential. Players can also compete online against each other in battles or with each other in campaign mode, but apparently *Thrones of Britannia* players are introverts because the servers are almost always void of anyone, which has not allowed me to try out the new campaign feature.

The game certainly has some bugs to be worked out as it is still relatively young in the constantly updating modern game world. It has so far undergone one significant update and is just now starting to release downloadable content. *Total War* also has a history of opening up its content for programmers to modify, improve, or tweak as they see fit, so I imagine a lot of the kinks will be worked out in the coming months. While some critics of the game may cite its departure from previous games in the series as a weakness, I argue that its departure is actually what makes this game so great. The lack of unit diversity, the dependence on food, and the constant sacking of villages are changes that make *Thrones of Britannia* all the more realistic. While this game might not have many applications outside of pure entertainment, the historical nature of the gameplay provides an interactive learning environment that encourages teens or young adults to investigate ninth-century English history and could be a starting point for those interested in experiencing a simulation of medieval life and warfare. Instructors interested in recreating battles for a lesson on military history could require students to play a “Quick Battle” or screencast themselves playing through a historical battle to demonstrate tactics or strategy. Anyone interested in military history, the Vikings, ninth-century England, or grand strategy games should think about giving *Thrones of Britannia* a try.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Matthew M. Payan of Arcadia, California, completed his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2012), where he is also a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society), and where he is currently pursuing an M.A. in History. He is writing a thesis that analyzes innovations in education by comparing the Ignatian pedagogical model to educational practices today. He is working as a teacher in the Garden Grove Unified School District. He also served as an editor for this volume of *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History*.

Department of History (Awards) 2018/2019

Student Award Recipients

Frank Agnew ♦ *Titan Shops History Student Scholarship*
Kristen Anthony ♦ *Lawrence B. De Graaf Outstanding Graduate Student Award*
Jocelyn Aponte ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Grace Ceja ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award*
Frank Folkes ♦ *Carmen Delphine Bayati Memorial Scholarship*
Michaela Malneritch ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Gareth O'Neal ♦ *Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History*
Emily Ortiz ♦ *Titan Shops History Student Scholarship*
Carl Privette ♦ *Lawrence B. De Graaf Outstanding Graduate Student Award*
Luis Roberto Renteria III ♦ *Seymour Scheinberg Jewish Studies Award*
Julie Romero ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award and Maag Local History Scholarship*
Christy Terry ♦ *Warren Beck Outstanding History Student Award*
Melanie Therrien ♦ *Nancy Fitch Women and Gender History Award*
Scott Torres ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Jacob Vela ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Scherly Virgill ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*

Faculty Award Recipients

Gayle Brunelle ♦ *Outstanding Faculty Service Recognition*
Jochen Burgtorf ♦ *James Woodward Faculty Achievement Award*
Nancy Fitch ♦ *Outstanding Faculty Service Recognition*
Aitana Guia ♦ *James Woodward Faculty Achievement Award*
Laichen Sun ♦ *Leland and Marlita Bellot Research Fellowship*

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Submission Guidelines for Volume 47 (2020)

The Welebaethan: A Journal of History invites authors to submit their scholarly articles and essays (including article-length theses); editions of archival materials (e.g., manuscripts, oral histories, and historical photographs); as well as reviews (e.g., of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, and games that are of interest to historians) for publication consideration; reviews must pertain to items with a publication date or release date of January 1, 2017, or thereafter.

Submissions should be authored either by undergraduate or graduate scholars at California State University, Fullerton, who are currently matriculated or have graduated within one year before the journal's next publication date (summer 2020); or by undergraduate or graduate scholars from other institutions, as long as a brief recommendation written on letterhead by a faculty member from the author's home institution is sent directly via [e-mail](#) to the journal's faculty advisor by the respective deadline (see below). Authors do not have to be History majors. Multi-author submissions may be considered. Authors may submit more than one item for publication consideration but must send each item attached to a separate e-mail (see below).

Citations must follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (Bibliography-Notes style). Authors should consult the journal's current volume as a guideline when they prepare their citations. Submissions must be in the form of MS Word documents, carefully proofread, and with as little formatting as possible. The responsibility to obtain copyright clearance and permission to publish with regard to archival materials and images rests with the authors and will be required in writing. Note that "public domain" does not equal copyright clearance or permission to publish.

Authors must attach their submission as a MS Word document and send it via [e-mail](#) by the respective deadline (see below). The following must be included in the original e-mail:

1. the author's full name, e-mail address, and cell phone number;
2. a very brief bio of the author (consult the bios in the journal's current volume as a guideline);
3. the title of the submission;
4. the type of submission (i.e., article, essay, edition, or review);
5. a brief abstract (for articles and essays only; consult the journal's current volume as a guideline);
6. the name of the class for which the submission was originally produced;
7. the name of the professor who taught the class;
8. the semester and year (e.g., spring 2019) during which the submission was completed;
9. the institution (e.g., CSUF) where the submission was completed;
10. a statement whether a plagiarism report (e.g., Turnitin) was generated for the submission;
11. for archival material and images only, a statement whether copyright clearance and permission to publish has been obtained; if yes, the respective paperwork must be scanned and attached (PDF);
12. the following statement: "If my submission is accepted, I, [insert author's name], agree to cooperate with the editorial staff of 'The Welebaethan' in a timely fashion to prepare my submission for publication. I declare that the work submitted herewith is mine and constitutes original, previously unpublished scholarship that is not currently under publication consideration elsewhere."

Incomplete submissions will not be considered. Complete submissions will be acknowledged via e-mail within ten business days. All submissions will undergo triple-blind review (usually by CSUF's matriculated scholars, faculty members, and alumni). Decisions will be communicated to authors within twenty-five business days after the respective deadline (see below). Acceptance for publication is provisional and contingent upon an author's collaboration with the editors and timely consent to final galleys. *The Welebaethan* is an online/digital (non-print) publication. Inquiries should be sent via [e-mail](#).

Deadline for fall submissions:

September 3, 2019, noon (PDT).

Deadline for spring submissions:

December 20, 2019, noon (PST).