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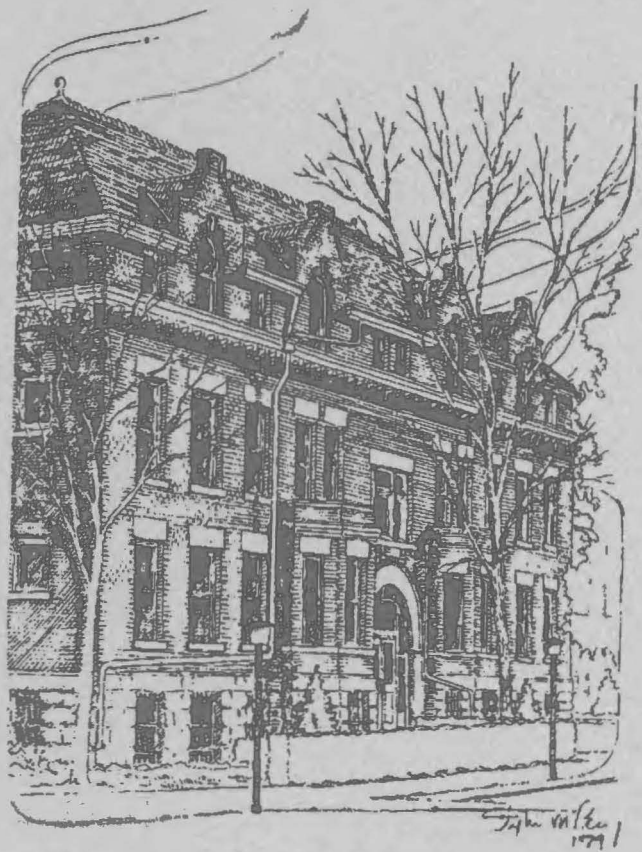

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Editor's Note

After serving as the assistant editor for last year's issue of *The Fairmount Folio*, I blithely assumed the publication process would be much the same this year. I revised this thinking early in the semester and am grateful to all who contributed time, effort, and counsel to make my job easier.

Dr. Helen Hundley, the supervising faculty member, was a great source of help and guidance throughout the entire process. We decided to accelerate the publication process so that this issue could appear in May rather than in September as in the past. This schedule allowed authors and contributors to receive the results of their work before the end of the school year. As a result, each step in the process had to move along more quickly than we had originally planned. That we have achieved our goal of a May release is due to the flexibility and cooperation of numerous people along the way.

I would like to thank Devin Brogan, a fellow graduate student who cheerfully agreed to serve as assistant editor without having any idea what would be asked of him. I was glad for his support.

I would also like to thank the authors who submitted their work for consideration for publication in this volume of *The Fairmount Folio*. Their articles were subjected to board review, and the selection process was both rigorous and competitive. The review board valued and considered each piece, ultimately recommending six articles for inclusion in this issue. I thank the board members, Dr. James Duram, Dr. Helen Hundley, Dr. Ariel Loftus, Dr. Jay Price, and Devin Brogan, for their thoughtful service and editorial suggestions.

Authors whose works were accepted were punctual and conscientious in ushering their work through these steps in the publication process. Their efforts made my task much easier and more enjoyable.

Each year the Department of History grants paper awards in three categories, and *The Fairmount Folio* presents these unedited except for the format. Nathan Heiman's paper on the Bay of Pigs incident won the Bendell Award for work done in History 300, an undergraduate research and writing course. Joel Schaefer's study of the origins of the Salvation Army received the Fiske Hall Graduate Seminar Paper Award, bestowed on a semester-length research paper from a seminar course. Marsha Wiese's work on Greek drama had been accepted for publication by the review board and then also won the Fiske Hall Graduate Paper Award, given to a piece completed during a lecture course. Congratulations to all of these authors, who adapted swiftly to the compressed deadlines of the publication process.

Besides printing the research works of students, *The Fairmount Folio* reviews materials of historical interest when possible. For this reason, I am glad to include a book review by Valancy Gilliam.

The Department of History and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences deserve special thanks for supporting this project. History faculty and staff have been generous with their time and advice, and the college graciously allocates publication expenses.

Finally, I thank my husband, Bill Head, an unfailing source of support.

Theresa St.Romain
May 2004

A Tendency of the American Mind: No Duty to Retreat

Linda S. Buettner

"The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience."
Oliver Wendell Holmes.

America's constitutional history was built upon many existing traditions in constitutional government. Americans took these traditions and molded them to fit a very uniquely American experience. The English common law of a duty to retreat when faced with the threat of bodily harm is an excellent example of the molding and changing of an existing tradition.

One of the many influences in the development of American constitutionalism was the old English common law. As early as the thirteenth century, the English government began to develop policies of administration and taxation that would be the beginning of a representative and more limited government.[1] The Magna Carta, drafted in 1215 to serve the aristocracy, functioned as an adaptive document to meet the needs of the colonists in America. They took the notion of no taxation without consent and the idea of limited government in forming their own definitive policies. Americans also used the common law to generate the core of their own bill of rights. Some of these core issues were the right to a trial by a jury of one's peers, the right to a speedy trial, the right to compensation for the taking of private property and equal protections under the law. The idea that a judge should not have interest in any case in which he sits in judgment helped to spark the idea of separation of powers. Twenty percent of America's bill of rights had first been stated in the Magna Carta.[2]

Americans were very selective in the appropriation of common law rights, and these rights were blended with the practices and principles that became unique American laws. Even the common laws that were initially blended were changed or developed differently as America began to grow, change, and expand to the west.

The common law doctrine of duty to retreat is an excellent study of the incorporation of an old English law that subsequently developed and then was changed completely because of the unique development of American growth and constitutionalism. This common law development and change can be traced through the developmental progress of America's notion of homicide and self-defense. In developing into America's concept of no duty to retreat, the deviation from this law is a telling example of the American perception of standing one's ground that has become prevalent in the laws of our society and the manner in which we approach other nations.

English law required that one who was attacked and in fear of death or great bodily harm should retreat back to a wall before killing in self-defense. English common law dealt very strictly with the act of homicide. Sir William Blackstone upheld the centuries-old view

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[1] Kermit Hall, *Major Problems in Constitutional History, Vol.I: The Colonial Era Through Construction* (Lexington: D.C. Heath Company, 1992), 23-25.

[2] Donald S. Lutz, *The Origins of American Constitutionalism* (New Orleans: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 67-69.

that all homicides were public wrongs.[3] In England, the burden of proof was on the one who committed the homicide and the presumption was against the accused killer. Blackstone's concern, and the concern of English law as well, was that the right to self-defense could be quite easily misconstrued to mean the right to kill. Two specific tests had to be met in English court before a self-defense plea would be considered. The first was that of retreat or avoidance, and the second was one of reasonably determined necessity.[4] The test of reasonably determined necessity meant that the accused must prove in open court that he killed in order to prevent his own death or serious injury. The logic in this requirement of duty to retreat was that the common law doctrine wished to impress upon the citizen that any quarrel should be handled peacefully or in a court of law. A threatened person was required to retreat from an enemy to a wall at his or her back, and even then a person must prove in court that following this retreat, there was still an existing threat that required a reaction in self- defense. The burden always fell upon the citizen, who was required to prove beyond a reasonable doubt, in a court of law, that the action was one of self-defense.[5]

The state wished to reduce the incidence of murder by shifting disputes from the streets to a court of law. Blackstone noted that justifiable homicide was restricted to the execution of a criminal for a capitol offense, the slaying of a runaway criminal, which was unavoidable, and the killing of one resisting arrest by an officer of the law.[6] Under excusable homicide, there was a slight guilt, but if the accused obeyed the duty to retreat and could prove reasonable necessity, the court would find for excusable homicide for which there was no serious penalty.[7]

The duty to retreat doctrine essentially dictated an avoidance of physical conflict between individuals, and initially many of the new states in America adopted this doctrine. In a few states, some remnants of the doctrine survived for a while, but in the nineteenth century, the nation as a whole rejected this doctrine in favor of the American doctrine of no duty to retreat.[8] This new doctrine essentially meant that one was legally justified in standing one's ground to kill in self-defense. This change took place with a combination of Eastern legal authorities and Western judges who viewed the doctrine of duty to retreat as upholding cowardice. The duty to retreat doctrine was replaced in this country by a tolerance for killing in situations where it might have been avoided if a legal duty to retreat had been exercised.[9] Standing one's ground is an attitude that has permeated the American identity and even the manner in which the country conducts its political and foreign affairs.

The no duty to retreat theme was not recognized as a federal law until 1921, but the beginning of the change from duty to retreat dates back to the American Revolution. According to Richard Maxwell Brown, the Americanization of the common law of homicide parallels the rise of the independent American nation.[10]

The erosion actually seems to have begun with noted English legal commentators. Two of these, Michael Foster in 1762 and Edward Hyde East in 1803, began to undermine the traditional requirement of duty to retreat. Their opinions detailed that an injured party

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[3] Richard Maxwell Brown, *No Duty to Retreat* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 1-4.
[4] Ibid., 4.
[5] Ibid., 5.
[6] Frederic S. Baum and Joan Baum, *Law of Self-Defense* (New York: Oceana, 1970), 5-9.
[7] Ibid., 7.
[8] Brown, *No Duty*, 1-5.
[9] Ibid., 5.
[10] Ibid., 6.

could repel force with force in the defense of his person against one attempting to commit a felony upon him. Foster wrote and East upheld that the self-defender was not obliged to retreat, but instead might pursue his adversary until he found himself out of danger; if there was then a conflict between them and the assailant happened to be killed, such a killing would be justified.[11] These opinions failed to cause much controversy in England and did not change the laws at all, but in America, where a new society was forming, these opinions from English legal experts had a very significant impact.

In a Massachusetts case in 1806, *Commonwealth v. Selfridge,* the Foster-East doctrine of duty to retreat was cited and upheld, and legal experts in the eastern United States absorbed the doctrine and incorporated it into influential textbooks. Joel Prentiss Bishop of Massachusetts published the first original American work on the criminal law in 1856, one written for use by lawyers. Bishop followed the Foster-East doctrine in drifting away from the doctrine of duty to retreat. Frances Wharton also incorporated the doctrine in his 1855 textbook, *The Law of Homicide.*[12] The Foster-East doctrine had no impact in England. The English Criminal Law Act of 1967 still retains the duty to retreat doctrine.[13]

The arena of decision with regard to the promotion of the no duty to retreat doctrine did not lie with the textbook writers, but fell instead into state supreme court appellate decisions. Following the massive movement of the country westward, state after state reversed the duty to retreat in support of no duty to retreat and the right to stand ones ground. Two of the most influential state supreme court decisions that set precedent for this turn of events came in 1876 and 1877, in the "true man" and "American mind" decisions of Ohio and Indiana. [14]

The "true man" case was *Erwin v. State*, decided in Ohio in 1876. James W. Erwin killed his son-in-law after much tension in the family regarding property rights. The son-in-law made an attempt to enter a shed where Erwin was working. Erwin warned him not to enter the shed and when the son-in-law entered the shed with an ax on his shoulder, Erwin fatally shot him with a pistol. Erwin was initially convicted of second-degree murder in Gallia County court. He appealed to the Ohio State Supreme Court partially on the grounds that the county judge had wrongfully instructed the jury that Erwin had a duty to retreat.

Judge George W. McIlvaine struck down the decision and reversed the Erwin decision. He found that Erwin himself had been without blame and that the duty to retreat doctrine was negated. McIlvaine found that as a "true man," Erwin was not obliged to fly from his assailant but was justified in standing his ground to fight. McIlvaine, in forming this opinion, ironically used the phrase "true man" taken from a commentary by Sir Mathew Hale upholding the duty to retreat doctrine in England.[15]

Using the views of Foster and the Massachusetts case of Selfridge, McIlvaine broadened the view that there was generally no duty to retreat in the state of Ohio. He surmised that a "true man" who was without fault in a confrontation was free to stand his ground against any menacing assailant, regardless of the consequences.[16]

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[11] Edward Hyde East, *A Treatise Of The Pleas Of The Crown* (2 vols.; London: A. Strahan, 1803), I: 271-272.
[12] Brown, *No Duty,* 5-9.
[13] Ibid., 7.
[14] Ibid., 12-20.
[15] Ibid., 10-12.
[16] *Erwin v. State,* 29 Ohio St. 186 (1876).

The following year, the Indiana State Supreme Court ruled in 1877 in the case of *Runyan v. State* that duty to retreat was contrary to the "tendency of the American mind." The accused, Runyan, was involved in a political hassle on Election Day, a not unusual activity as violence on Election Day was one of the most common forms of violence in Nineteenth Century America.[17] Runyan feared confrontation because of his political views and his vocalization of those views. This fear, as well as a physical limitation due to a war injury to his arm, led Runyan to borrow a pistol for self-protection on Election Day. After going into town to vote, he was struck several times by Charles Pressnall, a much larger and stronger man and a definite opponent of Runyan's political views. Runyan managed to push him away long enough to pull the revolver out of his jacket and fatally shoot Pressnall in the chest.

After Judge Robert I. Polk of Henry County instructed the jury that Runyan had a duty to retreat from the danger, Runyan was found guilty of manslaughter. William E. Niblack, Supreme Court Judge for the state of Indiana, overturned the decision and sent it back to the circuit court for retrial on the grounds that Polk had wrongfully instructed the jury. Niblack contended that Polk was in error when he instructed the jury that Runyan had a duty to retreat and stated that Pressnall's homicide was justifiable. He declared that American authorities had demonstrated that the ancient English doctrine of duty to retreat had been greatly modified. In citing the works of Bishop and Wharton as well as the previous court applications, Niblack stated that the doctrine had been modified in this country to a much more narrow application than previously implied in the English doctrine. In the widely quoted passage of this decision to uphold a no duty to retreat doctrine, Niblack argued, "indeed the tendency of the American mind seems to be very strongly against the enforcement of any rule which requires a person to flee when assailed—even to save a human life."[18] Niblack's conclusion implied that duty to retreat was a legal rationale for cowardice and that cowardice was un-American.[19]

The American exception continued to serve as a guiding principle in the twentieth century. In the Minnesota case of *State v. Gardner* in 1905, the courts further emphasized that the frontier conditions in the settling of America brought tough, brave men into conflict with deadly weaponry that did not exist in medieval times when the duty to retreat had been formulated. Judge Edwin A. Jaggard, in the decision, further qualified the duty to retreat. He held that the American combination of frontier conditions and lethal firearms made the duty to retreat an outmoded law. Jaggard contended that the origins of duty to retreat were derived in medieval times in England before the general introduction of guns. He stated that it would be folly to require an attempt to escape when experienced men, armed with rifles, faced each other in the open with intent to kill or do bodily harm. Jaggard's conclusion was that any requirement of the duty to retreat that turned self-defense into self-destruction was unreasonable and therefore unacceptable in the course of law.[20]

As Richard Maxwell Brown states, with the "true man" doctrine of Ohio and the "American mind" statement in Indiana, followed by the frontier and firearms contention of Minnesota, Supreme Court Justices across the nation put under siege the notion of duty to retreat.[21]

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[17] Brown, *No Duty*, 20-25.
[18] *Runyan v. State*, 57 Ind. 80 (1877).
[19] Brown, *No Duty*, 14-20.
[20] *State v. Gardner*, 104 N. W. Rep. (1st Ser.) 971 (1905).
[21] Brown, *No Duty*, 20.

In Missouri in *State v. Bartlett*, in 1902, the court viewed standing one's ground as a sacred right of human liberty.[22] In Washington State in *State v. Meyer*, in 1917, the court found that standing one's ground was more in keeping with the nature of humans than was the requirement to retreat.[23] It was Wisconsin, however, that in 1909 took the highest ground in announcing that self-defense was a "divine right". Standing one's ground, the state contended, was in preference to the flight rule embodying the ancient doctrine of Blackstone. Retreat to the wall may have been all right in the days of chivalry, but in the state of Wisconsin as well as generally in the nation, the notion was definitely abandoned in favor of standing one's ground.[24]

Texas, more than any of the American states, had altered the common law tradition of duty to retreat to the extent that legal scholars began to refer to the Americanized no duty to retreat doctrine as the Texas rule. The Texas penal code provided private citizens with wide discretionary powers to kill their fellow citizens both legally and with impunity.[25] Texas further widened the common law doctrine of justifiable homicide.

The impact in this change of law in America, even prior to its approval finally by the Supreme Court in 1921, has not even been restricted to homicide alone. The impact of the transition from duty to retreat to standing one's ground has become a doctrine related to the American identity. This attitude is evident as Americans deal with their foreign neighbors, because it is not characteristic of America to retreat in any matter; furthermore, it is viewed as a sign of cowardice.[26]

The official Americanization of the common law of homicidal self-defense gained the approval of the United States Supreme Court in 1921 in the *Brown v. United States* case, appropriately from Texas. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes made official the doctrine of no duty to retreat. His statement in 1881's *The Common Law* speaks of the law not as developing through logic but as developing as a result of experience, and this details the path of duty to retreat. His decision in the *Brown v. United States* case was the decisive abandonment of the notion of duty to retreat.

Convicted of second-degree murder, Brown challenged the idea that he had been under a duty to retreat before killing in self-defense. In a seven to two majority vote, the court stated that Brown did not have a duty to retreat. Holmes stated that the trial judge refused to instruct the jury that if the defendant had reasonable grounds of apprehension that he was in danger of losing his life or of suffering serious bodily harm, he was not bound to retreat. Holmes further stated in this decision, that concrete cases stated in early English law existed in conditions very different from those of the present in America. He stated that the law had grown and had tended in the direction of rules consistent with human nature. Many respectable writers agree that if a man reasonably believes that he is in immediate danger of death or grievous bodily harm from his assailant, he may stand his ground, and that if he kills him he has not exceeded the bounds of lawful self-defense. Justice Holmes additionally added that "detached reflection can not be demanded in the presence of an uplifted knife" and therefore, " in this court at least, it is not a condition of immunity that

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[22] *State v. Bartlett*, 71 S.W. Rep. (1st Ser.) 148 (1902).
[23] *State v. Meyer*, 164 Pac. 926 (1917).
[24] Brown, *No Duty*, 52.
[25] Henry P. Lundsgaarde, *Murder in Space City: A Cultural Analysis of Houston Homicide Patterns*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 149-152.
[26] Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 38-55.

one in that situation should pause to consider whether a reasonable man might not think it possible to fly with safety or to disable his assailant rather than to kill him."[27] Oliver Wendell Holmes, the champion of civil liberties, placed the final proverbial nails in the coffin of the doctrine of duty to retreat. It did not seem contradictory at the time to Justice Holmes because he, as well as many Americans, believed that the right to stand one's ground and kill in self-defense was, indeed, a great civil liberty in America.

Values have been a very critical factor in regard to America's violence and crime. The notion of no duty to retreat became an expression of American values as well as American behaviors. There is a contradiction in America regarding our values of peace and civility and our all too frequent behavior of violence. Violence is the nemesis of the values that Americans cherish, yet there are elements in our value system which not only encourage but also sustain violence. An underlying cluster of values have sanctioned violence.[28]

Thomas J. Kernan, a noted legal scholar, referred to "a jurisprudence of lawlessness" in American practices. Kernan listed certain late nineteenth century and early twentieth century practices that were approved by public opinion and often the actions of juries. Among them was the notion that a wronged husband may kill an adulterous man. Even in current times, juries sometimes refuse to convict a husband who kills his wife's adulterous partner and even sometimes kills his wife. Supported by the doctrine of no duty to retreat, the killer in what is viewed as a fair fight often wins the approval and sympathy of the jury.[29]

In his 1893 essay, Frederick Jackson Turner mentions the "dominant individualism" when he states, "these are the traits of the frontier," or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.[30] American westward expansion contributed greatly to the support of the formation of the doctrine of no duty to retreat. Both the myths and realities of the western gunfighter and the mountain man supported the notion of standing one's ground and the "dominant individualism" that were promoted and accepted as cherished American values.

The ideas of individualism and individual self-determination, which promote the desire to dominate situations, play a large part in the analysis of the westward expansion. Patricia Nelson Limerick stresses the notion of conquest in the history of the westward expansion in America. She notes the principle theme of conquest of the land and the people by the Euro-American pioneers as they spread across America. This notion of conquest correlates with the social theme of no duty to retreat in present day America.[31]

In a study of American values, Turner and Musick emphasize the centrality of individualism as the core of American values. The notion of individual self-determination as a key to American values is underscored with the desire to master their situations and to have a manipulative stance towards the world around them.[32] The impact of the change in common law from English doctrine of the duty to retreat to the American doctrine of standing one's ground is not confined simply to the legal notion of homicide. It has had a

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[27] *Brown v. United States,* 257 Fed. Rep. 47, 48-49 (1919).
[28] Brown, *No Duty,* 156.
[29] Ibid., 157.
[30] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1921), 37.
[31] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987).
[32] Johnathan H. Turner and David Musick, *American Dilemmas: A Sociological Interpretation of Enduring Social Issues* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 14-21.

strong impact on American activities in civilian life. The strong belief in no duty to retreat goes to the center of what it has meant and still means to be an American.[33]

Richard Maxwell Brown contends that the Americanization of the common law in favor of no duty to retreat helps to explain why Americans have been the most violent among their peer groups of the industrialized democracies of the world. He also contends that the idea of no duty to retreat has become second nature to America and is ingrained in our actions in foreign affairs and military conduct. He cites our actions in the wars and also our containment policy with regard to communism as examples of our nature in standing our own ground and drawing lines in the sand.[34]

Early Americans also selectively kept many of the folkways of their predominantly British cultural origins as American constitutional law developed. These folkways, especially the order ways, cannot be discounted in contributing to the unique American mindset and resulting development of accepted violence in the culture. David Hackett Fischer's extensive work *Albion's Seed* addresses the adaptation of British folkways into American tradition. He defines folkways as "a normative structure of values, customs and meanings that exist in any culture."[35] These folkways additionally contribute to the drift in the old English Common Law as they had an impact on legal decision-making.

In the period between 1629-1775 America was settled by four large waves of English speaking immigrants, each bringing particular folkways with them. Their order ways, or ideas of order, ordering institutions, forms of order and the treatment of the disorderly can demonstrate a tendency towards the notion of no duty to retreat. These order ways differed between the four main groups but do contain a similarity in the tendency to punish property crimes with severity and a leniency towards crimes of personal violence.[36]

The backcountry order ways from Fischer's study are an excellent example of the developing tradition of no duty to retreat. Personal relations between the backsettlers were brutally direct. The principle of backcountry justice was *lex taliones*, the rule of retaliation, and supported the principle of retributive justice.[37] A North Carolina proverb, "every man should be sheriff on his own hearth," is actually an old folk saying from the borderlands of North Britain. This idea implies both individual autonomy and autarchy. This system of order helped to create a climate of violence in the American early backcountry and in many of the immigrants that subsequently began to move westward. Fighting was not glorified here for its own sake, but for the sake of winning the battle. Fischer points to Andrew Jackson as the classic example of an instrumental attitude towards violence. He quotes James Parton's statement that Jackson's anger was "fierce but never had any ill effect upon his ultimate purposes." Additionally, he points out that the frame of mind of the backcountry order ways is demonstrated in the instructions of the mother of President Jackson, "Andrew, never tell a lie, nor take what is not your own, nor sue anybody for slander, assault and battery, always settle them cases yourself."[38]

America's conquest of the West required a constitutional adaptation to accommodate the expansion and establishment of organized government throughout the western territories

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[33] Brown, *No Duty*, 161.
[34] Ibid., 1-5.
[35] David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 4-5.
[36] Ibid., 768.
[37] Ibid., 765.
[38] Ibid., 765.

in order to keep the nation united and uniform in its progress. Conquest, exploration and discovery are often violent, harsh, and invasive and require a mindset that is conducive to a notion of individualism and survival. The changes in the law followed the discoveries of the West and the dangers those circumstances imposed. The capability of men to be able to mortally wound each other at a distance with a piece of metal made it necessary for America to adapt its laws to accommodate this rapid and often violent expansion.

The American constitutional development of no duty to retreat was not through logic but through the experiences of a new nation coping with rapidly changing times and industrialization as a by-product of these times. The laws adapted as men developed more sophisticated technology to kill one another.

The doctrine of no duty to retreat was a response to circumstances existing uniquely in America at the time. The English common law of duty to retreat was not as logical in the face of a gun in a wide-open space and the wall at one's back became the entire western territory. The gun itself changed the law, however, and the gun also, unfortunately, became another of the heroes of myth and romance in America's developmental years of westward expansion. Its myth and legend corresponded with the ethic of no duty to retreat and the gunfighters were glorified and idealized in fact and fiction in the nation. The gun is also a contributing factor in the high incidence of homicide in America even today.

It is interesting that the presence of the gun in England after medieval times did not provoke the same changes in the laws as the presence of the gun did in America. The rapid expansion in the West can account for the difference because it was America's imperialistic thrust and it occurred on the same continent and much of English imperialism did not take place on English homeland. It was perhaps easier to uphold a duty to retreat on one's homeland that was relatively peaceful and not involved directly in an imperialistic movement.

The transformation of the duty to retreat doctrine of old English common law into the no duty to retreat doctrine of America's legal system and values is an excellent example of how the law changed and developed with the growth of America. America's rapid expansion into the west as the Constitution was developing, and its acceptance and even promotion of the use of guns, helped to develop the doctrine of no duty to retreat. The use of guns in this endeavor promoted the idea of the gun as an acceptable weapon for any "true man" with an "American mind". Along with the spirit of standing one's ground, self-determination and rugged individualism, the ownership of a gun unfortunately remains sacrosanct in America today.

In England, where the duty to retreat still remains a part of the legal system, there has long been a very low homicide rate. It is an interesting contrast to America, where no duty to retreat promotes one of the largest rates of homicide in the World. The law changes as the values and morals of a nation change, and the law in America developed through experience. It is sometimes difficult to discern whether those changes and developments are always logical and in the best interest of all people for all time.

Britain's New Form of Imperialism: Raffles and the Foundation of Singapore

Benjamin Hruska

The founding of Singapore by the British in 1819 had a tremendous impact on the economic and political environments of the region. These transformations brought on changes not only for the small island but also the region. Such forces had great impact upon other European powers trading in the area and had implications for the trading patterns of China and Europe.

Changes in imperialism in the Far East affected more than just one European power becoming more powerful than another. The British imperialism that surfaced differed from that of the other European powers and also from what Britain had done in the past. This change resulted in a more friendly relationship with the natives in the area and a new idea of economic policy that would end the heavy tariff system that had dominated the area in the past. All of these changes can be traced to one individual, Sir Thomas Raffles.

Singapore's strategic location made it a prime site for a harbor. The location made it doubly important since the island is the southernmost portion of Asia. To the east lay the open waters and the South China Sea, which contained all the trade routes to China and Japan. To the west lay the important Straits of Malacca, passed by most vessels headed west to India and Europe. The British did not discover the importance of Singapore and establish a port first; they noted ruins of previous fortifications when they started to build on the island. A legend rooted in Malaysian culture reported an Indianized empire build the first port at Singapore. These stated that a prince, Sir Tri Buana, landed around 1150 on the island. On this initial landing, the group spotted a lion, which in reality was almost surely a tiger. The event inspired the name Singapore: The City of the Lion.[1]

The British did not even hold the claim of being the first European power to try their hands at imperialism in the area. The Portuguese, led by Vasco de Gama, had tried unsuccessfully to subdue Calcutta in 1502. Not deterred, the Portuguese returned to the area, this time attacking Malacca. This attack, led by Albuquerque in 1509, had the same result.[2] However, Albuquerque returned in 1511 with a stronger force of nineteen ships and captured the port of Malacca. From this point on, European powers played a role in the politics of Malaysia.

The Dutch also established ports to increase their trade in the region. The main port for the Dutch laid to the southeast of Malacca, on the island of Java. From here their trade spread rapidly to the ports of China and Japan. This dominance of the islands in the area led to an alliance with some of the natives on the continent of Asia. The state of Johore contained Malacca; the natives here made an alliance with the Dutch against the Portuguese in 1606. This agreement led to the falling of Malacca in 1641, which forced out the Portuguese in Malaysia. This resulted in Dutch dominance of the area, which Holland held on to strongly. This dominance, along with monopolistic trading practices, excluded other European powers and granted the Dutch much wealth.[3]

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[1] Donald Moore and Joanna Moore, *The First 150 Years of Singapore* (Singapore: Donald Moore Press Ltd., 1969), 18.
[2] A. Cabaton, *Java and the Dutch East Indies* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911), 12.
[3] Rupert Emerson, *Malaysia: A study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 63, 67.

The British first gained major holdings in the area as a result of a treaty signed with the Dutch in 1788. This treaty formed an alliance against a common threat in the response to a European war. This allowed both Holland and Britain to seize each other's colonies for the duration of the European conflict with a common enemy. With France overrunning Holland, the British took over Malacca and the Dutch East Indies island of Sumatra in 1795. The seizure of the island of Java leads to a topic that must be discussed when considering the formation of Singapore; Sir Thomas Raffles.

Raffles traveled to foreign areas throughout his life. He was born in 1781 on board a ship in the West Indies. Raffles started his carrier with the East India Company at the age of fourteen. Later the company stationed him at Penang. While serving as Assistant Secretary of Government there, Raffles broke away from many of his peers with his interaction with the natives. He studied the local language, Malay, and learned aspects of the local geography and culture of the natives. This curiosity about other areas of the world never left Raffles, as was clearly evident in his later career.

With the domination of Europe by Napoleon, and with Holland occupied by the French, the British seized Dutch colonies. The British authorized the island of Java for seizure in August of 1810. Raffles organized this invasion force, which successfully took Java in 1811.[4] The British introduced numerous liberal reforms to the island, which Raffles oversaw. These reforms resulted in improvements for the natives and yielded knowledge to the world about Java.

One of the first reforms addressed by Raffles in Java involved the labor of the people that lived on the island. Raffles later wrote of the Dutch system of labor being just a step above slavery. He described the Dutch system as having the natives work for no reward.[5] The local native rulers in the area enforced this system imposed by the Dutch. The Dutch tactic required a set amount of product and profit from these native rulers, which could be extracted without any interest from the Dutch on the welfare of the natives. The historian A. Cabaton, in his work on the Dutch East Indies, described the Dutch system as "an armed instrument from extracting wealth".[6]

Raffles's colonial philosophy contrasted with the Dutch view. He believed that a colony should make a profit and add power to the position of the empire, but not at the expense of the native population's right to earn a livelihood. Cabaton described Raffles's opinion that "it was the plain duty of England to give this people a just, humane, and suitable government."[7] Raffles later described forced labor as inhumane, as well as financially unsuccessful. Such labor practices of the Dutch and native leaders only led the workers to "becoming neither productive to themselves nor to the state".[8] Raffles ended forced labor, which resulted in improved living standards for the natives and increased production in the area. An 1817 critique in *Quarterly Review* of Raffles's book *A History of Java* noted his work on labor reform. This review noted the population increase on Java after the changes. A census of the population under the Dutch and British noted the tremendous increase that could not have resulted from reproduction. This increase happened from natives returning to the populated areas who had fled the area during the Dutch occupation.[9]

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[4] Ibid., 77,78.
[5] Thomas Raffles, *Statement of the Services of Sir Stamford Raffles* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), 10.
[6] Cabaton, *Java*, 16.
[7] Ibid., 18.
[8] Raffles, *Statement*, 10.
[9] *Quarterly Review*, vol.17 (London), 1817.

Reforms under Raffles also addressed the legal system in Java. These reforms added a European-style court system in the area. Raffles introduced the concept of trial by a jury to the courts.[10] The British also abolished torture in Java.[11] Raffles's time in Java yielded many reforms for the island, but it also granted Raffles the knowledge to write a two-volume book on the island.

The *Quarterly Review* regarded *A History of Java* as an outstanding work. This work covered topics of Java ranging from botany to the inhabitants and the languages.[12] In addition, Raffles had Java surveyed, resulting in the first maps for the public.[13] Of the Dutch occupation prior to the British landing, Raffles wrote, "although the Dutch possessed Java for nearly two centuries, no scientific map, whatever, was formed on the island".[14] The British interest in areas outside of profit illustrated the differences between British and Dutch colonialism. Having written a two-volume work on Java, Raffles demonstrated his interest in a number of fields outside of profit. He wrote the most passionately on the subject of slavery.

Raffles left no room for doubt on his views on slavery from his writings. Under his direction of Java, an act of Parliament forbade the slave trade; he also required that all slaves had to be registered with the government. Raffles's emotional view of the subject can be seen from the following statement: "Nothing but political circumstances, and the restrictions under which I was placed by a higher authority, prevented me from virtually abolishing for ever this dreadful evil throughout the whole of the Dutch possessions."[15] Raffles rejected the concept of returning Java to the Dutch. His greatest concern centered on the reintroduction of the slave trade.

With the defeat of Napoleon, the British Empire had increased its vast number of overseas possessions. The empire had complete control of Malaysia, Malacca and the Strait of Malacca. The British also had Java, which had a commanding position in the East Indies. Raffles, who had worked so hard in producing this position for the Empire, hoped that it would not be in vain. With the weakened position of all the European powers on the continent as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain found herself in a prime situation at the Congress of Vienna. However, Britain still feared France and desired a strong Holland to counter any aggressive actions from France.[16] Britain and Holland signed a treaty, established by the Convention of London, in August of 1814.[17] This treaty called for the return of all colonies taken over by the British. The nations hoped that this action would improve Holland's position and deter future aggression from France. The Dutch government took possession of Java in 1818 and did not replace the reforms implemented by Raffles.[18] In recognizing Raffles's improvements, and not replacing these, the Dutch paid him a high compliment.

Raffles clearly viewed the competition with the Dutch in Asia as good versus evil. His belief that the British system resulted in humane treatment and profit remained undaunted. Of these differences in governing he wrote: "It was not a simple question of finance, whether the Company was content to lose fifty or eighty thousand a year, and regulate their establishment

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[10] Raffles, *Statement*, 15.
[11] Cabaton, *Java*, 19.
[12] *Quarterly Review*, vol 17 (London), 1817.
[13] Thomas Raffles, *A History of Java*, vol.1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 5.
[14] Raffles, *Statement*, 14.
[15] Ibid., 16.
[16] Emerson, *Malaysia*, 79,80.
[17] John Baston and Robin W. Winks, *Malaysia: Selected Historical Readings* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966), 131.
[18] Cabaton, *Java*, 20.

accordingly; it was in the principles of government, and the management of the country, that the evil lay."[19] The moral high ground position of Raffles involved all aspects of society. He criticized what he called "vice" that the Dutch government profited from. These activities included the opium trade and cock-fighting farms, which in his view had no place in organized society. Of cock fighting he wrote that it was "destructive of every principle of good government and social order, and of morals of the people."[20]

British shipping in the East Indies suffered a number of setbacks due to the Dutch reentering the area in 1818. The British ships that called into Dutch ports paid tax. The Dutch navy also harassed these ships in the open sea, which demonstrated another restrictive trade policy by the Dutch.[21] These policies angered Raffles, who envisioned the great wealth that could be made by the British if allowed to trade in the area. He described these restrictive policies as "the sprit of exclusion and encroachment which characterized and animated their rising power".[22] Actions against the British diminished their commercial and political spheres in the area. Raffles summed up the British position in the East Indies with the following statement: "The Dutch posses the only passes through which ships must sail into this Archipelago, the Straits of Sunda and of Malacca; and the British have not now an inch of ground to stand upon between the Cape of Good Hope and China; nor a single friendly port at which they can water or obtain refreshment."[23] Raffles felt that this portion of the world could yield much profit for the empire, and the actions of the Dutch to exclude them from this frustrated him. He would try to establish a port as a foothold, with the belief that the superior trading practices of the British would lead to success for the empire in the archipelago.

Raffles wrote this opinion in a report to the governor general, the Marquis of Hastings, outlining his feelings about the situation. This report noted the trade practices of the Dutch to exclude the British from the Far East. This report outlined other nations' commercial activities in the area, including those of Russians, French, and Americans. These countries had been increasing their trade in the area and might possibly start a port facility before the British. The report overall called for the formation of a British port. In short, if Britain did not take advantage of the Dutch position, another nation surely would.

Raffles also called for a port to protect the reputation of the British Empire. He feared that British traders on their own would take advantage of the natives, thus endangering future British actions in the region. On this restraint of these traders he wrote: "Our duty to other nations, and to the cause of justice, no less than a regard for our national character, requires that the peaceable natives of the island should not be kept at the mercy of every mercantile adventurer of our own nation."[24]

The best location for the proposed port, in Raffles's opinion, lay somewhere south of the port of Malacca. Raffles informed Hastings of this in a meeting. Hastings authorized Raffles to locate and secure a port for the British East India Company that did not interfere with the Dutch position.[25] Hastings's instructions could be interpreted broadly, which Raffles took full

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[19] Raffles, *Statement*, 14.
[20] Ibid., 34.
[2121] *Anglo-Dutch Competition*, http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/singapore, October 30, 2002.
[22] Raffles, *Statement*, 54.
[23] Moore, *First 150*, 8.
[24] Emerson, *Malaysia*, 81.
[25] *Anglo-Dutch Competition*, http//reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/Singapore, October 30, 2002.

advantage of. For the commercial interests of Britain, Raffles could locate any port south of Malacca that would act as a free port for the British.[26]

With the instructions from Hastings, Raffles left India en route to his designation somewhere south of Malacca. On the way he called into the port of Penang. The governor general of Penang, Colonel Bannerman, declined to cooperate with the forming of the port; in fact, the Governor ordered him to wait in Penang until orders from Calcutta could arrive. Raffles ordered his second in command, Colonel William Farquhar, to head south without him. Raffles later left Penang aboard a fishing ship in the cover of darkness. Upon meeting up with Farquhar, the ships headed to the island of Singapore, which Raffles had read about in his studies of Malay.[27]

Once Raffles had arrived at the island of Singapore, he believed this represented the port for the British in the Far East. At the time the island held a small fishing village. The few people that lived on the island were Malays and Chinese. The forested small island had plenty of fresh water for future development. Most importantly for Raffles, the island granted a large harbor with no obstacles for the future port. In terms of geography, the site lay on the route from China to both India and Europe.[28] All of these factors would be reasons for success in the future harbor.

On January 28, 1819, Raffles's expedition ship sailed just off the shore from Singapore. The next day, Raffles and Farquhar landed on Singapore and visited the local leader named Temenggong. While being entertained at the leader's house, Raffles learned what he dreamed he would hear, that no Dutchmen lived on the island.[29] The local leader did not grant the British the right to establish a port, however, as the result of not having the power to do so. Raffles learned the Sultan of Johor possessed this authority. Raffles also learned that the Sultan had recently died, and more importantly, a dispute led to some question as to the proper heir. Raffles learned that the Dutch had already recognized one of the sons; however, he arranged to have a meeting with another one of the sons.[30]

The local chief of Singapore, Temenggpong, did sign a provisional treaty with the British. This allowed them to start the formation of the port while they waited for Tunku Long, the son that Britain would recognize as the Sultan of Johor. It can be speculated that Temenggpong in part signed the treaty out of fear. In the past he had witnessed the British expedition to Java in 1811 that passed by in the Straits of Singapore. The size of the ships and of the fleet had greatly impressed him.[31] So, on the same day Raffles first walked on Singapore, the Union Jack waved above the island.[32]

On February 6, 1819, Britain and their choice of sultan signed the formal treaty. The sultan, who might have believed that he was not the rightful heir, feared the British as much as he did the Dutch. But, since the British promised to protect him and Singapore, he agreed.[33] Raffles's conversation with the sultan can be thanked for the changing of his mind. One observer

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[26] Moore, *First 150*, 11.

[27] *Raffles Dream*, http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/singapore, November 20, 2002.

[28] *Raffles and Singapore*, http://www.geometry.net/basic_s/singapore_geography_page_no_2.php, November 30, 2002.

[29] Bastin, *Selected Readings*, 132.

[30] *Raffles and Singapore*, http://www.geometry.net/basic_s/singapore_geography_page_no_2.php, November 30, 2002.

[31] C.E. Wurtsburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984), 485.

[32] Emerson, *Malaysia*, 82.

[33] *Raffles and Singapore*, http://www.geometry.net/basic_s/ singapore_geography_page_no-2.php, November 30, 2002.

described Raffles as "smiling with infinite charm...his words sweet as a sea of honey...The very stones would have melted on the hearing of his words."[34] Raffles did such a good job persuading Tunku Long that he offered to attack and kill all the Dutch in Rhio to make good his position. Raffles deterred this planned attack by the new sultan.

The grand ceremony made an impression on the locals. The site included all the officers in full uniform and the ships decked with flags. A red carpet led up to a tent, within which were three chairs, the largest being for Raffles and the other two for the Sultan and Farquhar. After the signing, a party took place and gifts were exchanged; the Sultan received a number of things including guns.[35] The historian Maurice Collis described this week of activity by Raffles as "His was a tiny force with which to bring off the greatest political and commercial coup of the century."[36]

The treaty designated the island as under the sphere of British authority.[37] The British maintained and protected Singapore, and the sultan received 5,000 Spanish dollars every year. The local chief of Singapore received 3,000 Spanish dollars annually. Neither of these leaders could allow a foreign power to overtake the island. With the island secured for the British interests, Raffles left the island on February 7, having been there just over a week.[38]

Farquhar remained in charge of the small force on Singapore. His orders included clearing a portion of the island and beginning to construct a fortification, as well as informing all ships that entered the harbor that no duties on goods existed in Singapore. This varied a great deal from the practices of the Dutch, and news of this spread quickly.[39]

Having left Singapore, Raffles returned to Penang, where he quickly wrote a letter to the chief secretary and to the governor general. This letter explained the British title to Singapore and also addressed the question of the heir to the dead sultan. The title ended the Dutch monopoly in the area; now Singapore held the gateway to China, not Malacca. After the sending the letter, Raffles addressed Bannerman, the individual that had ordered him to stay in Penang a few weeks before. By the time Raffles arrived in Penang, so had the Dutch reaction.[40]

The reaction from the Dutch was quite angry, as this flew in the face of their monopoly. For the first few days, it did not look good for the future of the very young British port. The Dutch Governor of Malacca, Thyssen, threatened to attack Singapore and bring Farquhar back in chains.[41] News also reached Penang that both Tunku Long and Temenggong had sent letters out stating that Raffles had them sign the treaty under the threat of force. The Dutch Governor of Malacca and the members of the family of the sultan received these letters. The Dutch also found a British ally in Bannerman, who refused to reinforce Farquhar's position in Singapore.

Raffles refused to enter into the argument. He waited on the only real thing that mattered in the argument, the reactions of Hastings in India and London. If the government stood by Raffles, Singapore had a chance to remain, if it did not the history of Singapore would be extremely short. Bannerman also wrote to Hastings and accused Raffles of insubordination.

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[34] Maurice Collis, *Raffles* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 147.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Collis, *Raffles*, 146.
[37] John Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1865), 11.
[38] Collis, *Raffles*, 148,150.
[39] *Raffles Dream*, http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/singapore, November 20, 2002.
[40] Collis, *Raffles*, 152, 153.
[41] Raymond Flower, *Raffles: The Story of Singapore* (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm Ltd., 1984), 28.

Bannerman concluded the Dutch had recognized the proper sultan and that the British claim did not stand on its own.[42]

With the Dutch and British communicating over the issue, the Dutch came away with the impression of numbered days for Singapore. Bannerman, who believed what he wrote, told the Dutch that once the British government learned what Raffles had done they would nullify his actions. The Dutch falsely believed that once Hastings heard of the issue he would negate Raffles's actions. With this notion, the Dutch halted their attack.[43] Farquhar, with only 340 men, and no supplies from Bannerman, faced considerably worse odds if the Dutch attacked.[44]

While the question of the legality of Singapore played itself out, the city grew at a tremendous rate, in large part due to free trade. The definition of free trade in the late eighteenth century meant that any government or person could do business in a port and not pay a tariff. The Dutch in their system heavily taxed non-Dutch ships, thus they protected their source of profit. The *Quarterly Review* stated that Dutch trading practices "are rapidly falling into their old state of misgovernment, and have it in contemplation not only to forbid all foreigners from frequenting the ports of Java; but, under some antiquated treaties, to prohibit the sovereigns of several of the great islands of the archipelago from admitting foreign ships into their ports, and to compel then to trade exclusively with themselves."[45]

Rupert Emerson, in his study on the rule of Malaysia, noted the very liberal economic view of Raffles in formulating a free port in Singapore. Emerson rightly stated that Raffles's view on a colony predated some of the Manchester school of economic thought. This belief system centered around free enterprise and free trade. This view rejected the notion of what previous Dutch and British colonies had been in the past. The concept of bribing and harassing the natives would no longer be acceptable. This economic theory called for the end of feudal type systems of government and their replacement by colonial rule that remained consistent with the concept of rule of law. Of Raffles and free trade Emerson wrote, "he was prepared to stamp out short-sighted attempts at a quick turnover through exclusion."[46] Raffles himself wrote that Singapore should remain a free port and "that no sinister, no sordid view, no considerations either of political importance or pecuniary advantage should interfere with the broad and liberal principles on which the British interests have been established."[47]

Singapore's economic impact could be felt in the area by the neighboring ports. The other British port of Penang suffered as a result of the better-situated Singapore. Singapore attracted local traders because of the free trade, and this had a negative impact on the Dutch port of Batavia.[48] The information about Singapore spread fast; within two months of its founding over one hundred trading vessels were anchored in the harbor. When Raffles visited Singapore again some four months after he left, the island had almost five thousand residents, including Chinese, Arabs, and Indians.[49]

Raffles later wrote in his *Statement of Services* about the geographical advantage of Singapore. In these writings he focused on the native traders, who represented the majority, instead of the Europeans. He wrote that all the traders traveling from areas like Siam and China

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[42] Collis, *Raffles*, 153.
[43] Ibid., 154.
[44] Flower, *The Story of Singapore*, 28.
[45] *Quarterly Review*, vol. 17 (London), 1817.
[46] Emerson, *Malaysia*, 85.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Barbara Andaya and Leonard Andnya, *A History of Malaysia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 111.
[49] *Raffles Dream*, http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/singapore, October 20, 2002.

had to pass through the Strait of Singapore on the way to Dutch locations. Raffles rightly stated that if the traders received a better deal in Singapore, they would not pass by but would do business there.

In the statement, Raffles backed up his claims with real numbers. In the first two years, 2,800 vessels entered the harbor. Only 383 sailed from Europe, meaning that the vast majority of these vessels were Asian. Trade expanded so quickly that by 1823 more than 150,000 tons of shipping had passed into the harbor, which amounted to over thirteen million Spanish dollars.[50] The port of Singapore grew at a fast rate in part because of more efficient operating costs than other ports. The annual cost to the British East India Company to maintain Singapore hovered near 14,000 pounds, whereas the British port at Bencoolen cost the company almost 100,000 pounds annually.[51]

Raffles believed that the British needed to give the people of Singapore more than simply a way to earn money, though. He started a movement that is still productive today. In the autobiography of Abdullah Kadir, who witnessed the formation of Singapore, he noted a meeting called by Raffles. With the sultan and Temenggong also in attendance, Raffles addressed a subject he deeply believed in. He spoke of this project affecting their children and grandchildren, and they also spoke of death, believing that future generations would someday judge them all. Then Raffles made a statement that in other portions of the world even in the next century would have seemed radical: "It is my intention to build a place of learning for all races where they may study their respective languages under their own teachers, and those branches of knowledge which will be of greatest benefit to each of them: not religious studies, but literature, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and the like."[52] This imperialist called for schools that not only taught in the native language, but also called for schools free from religion. Even more radical, he said that the students would not pay the teachers. The teachers would be paid by the state, which meant the British port would have free schooling.

Raffles did not just talk about a concept and then let it pass. After his speech he started a list of contributions. He started the list with 2,000 pounds from the British East India Company and also 2,000 from himself. Then he asked the Sultan what he could donate for the school that would benefit the Malays more than the English. Using these tactics that earned the British the port of Singapore, Raffles earned some 17,000 pounds for the projected school. After the meeting Raffles and a few of the men walked around town and located a site of the school.[53]

Raffles believed that the Empire had the obligation to bring justice and Western civilization to the people in the colonies. He did not do this out of malice; he did this with the belief that his system was superior and the way of the future. In his statement on the formation of the Malay College in Singapore he mentioned this obligation. Education protected trade. If the uneducated were not given a chance to make money then evil activities would result, there by threatening the trade that earned them money.

In Raffles' statement on the formation of the college, he demonstrated his sense of history. He knew that all great empires ended and the same would take place with the British. Considering that the Empire had not reached its peak in power this was quite a remarkable statement:

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[50] Raffles, *Statement*, 55, 56.
[51] Ibid.,67.
[52] Abdullah Kadir, *The Hikayat Abdullah*, trans. A. Hill (Kuala Lumpar: Oxford University Press, 1970), 180.
[53] Ibid., 181.

> [T]hese monuments of her virtue will endure when her triumphs have became an empty name. Let it be still the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light; let her not be remembered as the tempest whose course was desolation, but as a gale of spring, reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling then to life from the winter of oppression."[54]

In one of Raffles's final acts he proclaimed certain rights that protected everyone. Proclaimed on June 26, 1823, the rights included equality of the law, the right to a fair trial, and the voice of public opinion. The rights also went as far as to recognize the native institutions of religion and inheritance.[55] For this time, these were extremely liberal laws and a great deal different from those of the Dutch.

Slowness of communication allowed Singapore to exist. The news of the founding took weeks to reach Calcutta, and months to reach the decision-making governments in Europe. While this time lapsed, the port of Singapore grew to an immense size.[56] Upon returning to Singapore after a few months, Raffles wrote that his free port would "destroy the spell of the Dutch monopoly; and what Malta is in the West, that may Singapore become in the East".[57]

The *Calcutta Journal* wrote of the founding on March 19. This article was reprinted in *The London Times* on September 7, 1819, some six months after the founding. It praised the location of the port that offered "protection of our China and Country trade".[58] It also supported the move against the Dutch and their exclusion tactics in the area and predicted that the future port would grow at a rapid rate. The work also noted the return of the East Indian colonies to the Dutch and a subsequent return to their restrictive trade practices: "The spell of Dutch monopoly, so justly reviled and detested, and which had nearly been again established, has been dissolved by the ethereal touch of that wand broke in pieces the confederacy".[59]

The formation of Singapore caused a problem for the members of the Secretary of the Colonies in London. A member of the British East India Company had established a port recognizing another sultan. This presented the government with a problematic question. *The Times* praised the event and copied the entire reaction of the *Calcutta Journal*. The government in London had a different view; it had treaties to live up to. However, with the commercial implication understood by the businessmen and traders of England, the reaction of Whitehall changed.[60]

With the economic realities facing the British government they recognized the right of Singapore to exist. This matter did not end until the Treaty of London in 1824. The treaty called for the Dutch to recognize Singapore and also give up their position in Malacca. In return, the British empire would hand over its settlements in Sumatra. This would clearly divide the spheres of influence as the British held colonies on the Asian mainland and the Dutch in the East Indies.[61]

The treaty also contained measures introduced by Raffles to stop these types of disputes. With the clearly defined spheres in the Far East, none of the powers could interfere with each

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[54] Emerson, *Malaysia*, 87.
[55] Ibid., 85.
[56] Andaya, *The History of Malaysia*, 110.
[57] Moore, *The First 150*, 48.
[58] *The London Times*, 7 September 1819.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Flower, *The Story of Singapore*, 29.
[61] Bastin, *Selected Readings*, 134.

other's territory. Also, agents in the area could not start new settlements. This authorization could only be given from the home governments back in Europe.[62]

In a few years the success of Singapore became evident. Twenty years after the founding it had grown to an amazing size. The population included Indians and Arabs from the Middle East, Armenians and Chinese from different ends of Asia; European residents included people of English and Jewish backgrounds. The diversity came from the main industry of the area, shipping. Most of the vessels that docked in Singapore remained Asian and these called from the ports of Calcutta and Madras. However, by this time, vessels from Europe were not that all uncommon.[63]

Raffles's impact on imperialism has two main components. First, he changed the very definition of imperialism, not only for Britain but also for Europe. This change yielded much better living conditions for the natives in the area under his control, as seen in the reforms he enacted on Java during the five years he managed the island. These reforms improved the relationship with the natives and increased production. Secondly, his formation of a free port at Singapore welcomed a turning point in the imperial history of both Britain and Holland. This action led to British power increasing in the region and Dutch power decreasing. Free trade enabled Singapore to become a major economic force. This demonstrated the economic power in this area. Singapore shipped massive amounts of goods, while producing very few herself.

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[62] Emerson, *Malaysia*, 84.

[63] Joanna Moore, *Malaya and Singapore* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), 38.

Silent Star: The Forgotten Film Career of Margarita Fischer

Theresa St.Romain

Childhood fame, a clandestine marriage, national popularity, nude photos, premature retirement from the public eye, a spouse's early death--the progression of silent film star Margarita Fischer's career from 1911 to 1927 was as colorful as the plot of any of her pictures. The moviegoing public loved Fischer's work. A June 1914 *Photoplay* poll named her America's most popular actress, and American Beauty Films selected Fischer's face as one of the nation's most beautiful and recognizable to serve as its logo the same year.[1] Her final film, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1927), directed by husband Harry Pollard, was one of the most expensive and highly-hyped films then made by a major studio.[2]

While film historians have generally directed their attention to the careers of iconic stars such as Mary Pickford and Charlie Chaplin, they have often not traced in detail the declining profile of other actors once equally popular. Today Fischer's stardom and body of work, like that of many other silent stars, have been largely forgotten. Sadly, her final screen appearance is the only one of her feature-length movies available on video, and she has been virtually excluded from major works of film scholarship since the mid-1920s. Her story reveals reasons why such a popular actress of the silent era should be so little known today and why she was forgotten so quickly. The causes of her career's end and her fame's eclipse lie in a complex interaction of personal, professional, and social factors.

Although she did not hail from a theatrical family, Fischer began her career early in life. She was born in Iowa to John and Kate Fischer on February 12, 1886. Three years later, her family moved to Oregon, where her father managed a hotel. In 1894, a theatrical agent cast eight-year-old Margarita Fischer in the play *The Celebrated Case.* After seeing her acclaimed work in other plays, John Fischer sold his hotel to manage his daughter's burgeoning career.[3] By the turn of the century, Fischer had gained teenage fame in an eponymous touring company as "the Youngest Leading Lady on the American Stage."[4] After her father died in 1906, she joined other theatrical companies and enjoyed years of professional success in comedies and dramas. In July 1911, at the age of twenty-five, Fischer secretly married fellow actor Harry Pollard. The two hid their marriage until the following year, possibly so as not to detract from Fischer's individual

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[1] June 1914 *Photoplay* poll, Margarita Fischer Papers MS 81-4 [hereafter Fischer Papers], Department of Special Collections, Ablah Library, Wichita State University, Wichita, KS, Box 13, personal scrapbook; June 1914 *Photoplay* cover, Fischer Papers, Box 13, personal scrapbook; "Margarita Fischer: The American Beauty," 1914 (?), Fischer Papers, Box 13, personal scrapbook. Few of the clippings in Fischer's scrapbooks include dates or publication information. In following the specific path of Fischer's career, the Margarita Fischer Papers and the Harry Pollard Papers proved invaluable. These collections, held in Ablah Library's Department of Special Collections at Wichita State University, comprise personal letters, fan mail, studio contracts, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and hundreds of still photographs from Fischer's and Pollard's films.

[2] "Sixteen pages of Proven Press Copy for the Universal masterpiece 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,'" 1927, Fischer Papers, Box 19.

[3] Biographical Note to the Fischer Papers, available from http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/ms/81-04/81-4-A.HTML; Internet.

[4] Margarita Fischer Co. advertising playbill, 1903 (?), Fischer Papers, Box 13, personal ledger.

fame; she held starring roles in theatrical productions until Independent Film Co. hired her to an eleven-month contract in November 1911.[5]

After Pollard followed his wife into film the next year, Fischer's personal and professional lives intertwined. Although she signed contracts with multiple studios over the course of her career, she returned time and again to making films with her husband, who actually maintained his own production company, Pollard Picture Plays, in the late 1910s.[6] The couple worked together as director and actress in such unusual films as the anti-abortion *The Miracle of Life* (1915) and *The Pearl of Paradise* (1916), in which Fischer appeared nude.[7]

In March 1917, after the pair had become established in film circles, American Film Co. offered Fischer and Pollard a year-long contract at $1000 per week for the couple; five months later, the studio re-extended the offer to Fischer alone at the same rate of pay.[8] The couple's agents apologized in a letter included with that of American Film Co., and despite the slight to her husband, Fischer accepted the contract and even renewed it the following year at terms much less favorable than those initially promised by the studio.[9] These contract negotiations hint at Pollard's troubled personal life. Fischer's own papers exclude any hint of discord relating to her marriage, but a biographical note attached to the collection of her papers states that Pollard lost his contract with American "probably due to a combination of alcoholism and artistic differences" and that the couple separated in 1919.[10] The following year, the independent young woman who had headed her own stage company as a teenager decided to retire, according to Universal Studios publicity, "in order to devote herself exclusively to being Mrs. Harry Pollard."[11] This progression of events suggests that Pollard might have been a liability to Fischer's career, and that her eventual devotion to the role of "Mrs. Harry Pollard" was a desperate attempt to save her marriage, even at the expense of her stardom. Despite this "retirement," she returned to the screen in the 1924 melodrama *K--The Unknown.*

Fischer's return to film was temporary; she made only two more movies after *K--The Unknown* before retiring in 1927 for the second and final time. According to a newspaper article written in 1936, two years after Pollard's death, Fischer ultimately "retired at the request of my husband ... who wanted me to be with him always, and this I could not do unless I gave up my career. ... At the beginning I missed my work terribly and it took me some time to get used to being without it."[12] The article places a positive spin on the end of "Mrs. Harry Pollard's" career--despite her wistfulness, she insists that she "never" regretted abandoning her work--but it seems that once again, she retired from filmmaking in order to provide emotional support for her

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[5] Marriage announcement, paper unknown, 1912 (?), Fischer Papers, Box 13, personal ledger; Independent Film Co. contract, November 27, 1911, Fischer Papers, Box 1, folder 26.

[6] Pollard Picture Plays advertisement, 1917 (?), Harry Pollard Papers, MS 81-5 [hereafter Pollard Papers], Department of Special Collections, Ablah Library, Wichita State University, Wichita, KS, oversized folder.

[7] Margarita Fischer and Harry Pollard filmographies, Fischer Papers, index folder; The Pearl of Paradise photographs, Fischer Papers, Box 19.

[8] American Film Co. to Margarita Fischer and Harry Pollard, March 12, 1917, Fischer Papers, Box 1, folder 26; American Film Co. to Margarita Fischer, August 13, 1917, Fischer Papers, Box 1, folder 26.

[9] American Film Co. contract, August 27, 1917, Fischer Papers, Box 1, folder 26; American Film Co. contract, September 4, 1918, Fischer Papers, Box 1, folder 26. The first contract proposes a second year at a salary of $1250 per week, but the second contract offers only three months of employment at $1000 per week. It does, however, maintain the clause that Fischer be cast only in starring roles.

[10] Biographical Note to the Fischer Papers.

[11] "Sixteen pages," p. 7, Fischer Papers, oversized folder.

[12] "Actress of Silent Days Visits Shanghai," *Vista Press* (Vista, Calif.), December 31, 1936, Fischer Papers, oversized folder.

husband. Harry Pollard directed seven films in the five years after his wife's retirement. The 1932 flop *Fast Life*, a formulaic vehicle for waning MGM star William Haines, proved Pollard's final directorial effort.[13]

The personal influence of her husband is in itself an insufficient explanation for the end of Fischer's career and the disappearance of her fame, though. For example, the late 1910s and early 1920s saw the increasing conglomeration of independent studios and movie theaters into larger organizations. This process of conglomeration, according to film historian J. M. Klenotic, resulted in a standardization of film content and production.[14] Fischer and Pollard--the innovative filmmakers of unconventional early works such as *The Miracle of Life*, *The Quest* (1915), a dramatic adventure story, and *The Devil's Assistant* (1917), a tale of morphine addiction--must have been limited indeed by the creative constraints of the studio system. Pollard's contract difficulties with American Film Co. certainly indicate the conflict between studios and artists whose dramatic tastes were too unorthodox.

As if creative differences were not enough to complicate filmmaking, studios increased their vigilance over stars to the extent of interceding in their personal lives. During Fischer's tenure with American Film Co., the United States' entry into World War I motivated the studio to change Fischer's name to "Fisher." A 1918 publicity shot shows her pulling the "C" out of a sign displaying her name and throwing it into a map of Germany (Figure 1). Fifty years later, Fischer remembered that "I had no choice" but to perform this action, as she depended on her salary to support several relatives, but that the name change and the photo "broke my dear Uncle Will's heart" and "saddened me for many years."[15] Fischer implies that her salary was contingent on her obedience in image-related matters such as the Americanization of her name--a symbolic wartime gesture, as her family hailed from Switzerland. These instances of studio-inflicted trauma might have lessened the blow of Fischer's retirement from acting, especially after Pollard stopped making films as well in 1932.

Figure 1. Margarita Fischer becomes Margarita Fisher.

Sound was another contributing factor to the decline of many silent stars' careers. In 1927, the year of Fischer's final film, *The Jazz Singer* became the first widely released film with integrated sound. "Talking pictures" were an immediate hit, and studios quickly began the process of conversion to the new art form. The final years of silent film were, ironically, the greatest years for artistic freedom

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[13] Filmography, Fischer Papers; William J. Mann, *Wisecracker: The Life and Times of William Haines, Hollywood's First Openly Gay Star* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 205-206. Mann suggests that Haines's career ended because he was unwilling to pose as a heterosexual for the sake of studio publicity. Haines's case demonstrates the power studios held over their artists.

[14] J. F. Klenotic, "Class Markers in the Mass Movie Audience: A Case Study in the Cultural Geography of Moviegoing, 1926-1932," *Communication Review* 2, no. 4 (1998) 461-495.

[15] Margarita Fischer to Roi Uselton, 1968 (?), Fischer Papers, Box 1, folder 22.

since the beginnings of the studio system. Studios in a state of technological flux were desperate for products to fill theaters and relaxed their control over filmmakers as a result.[16] The scenic bombast of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* represents the flowering of Pollard's creativity backed by the publicity machine and the $2 million budget of a suddenly cooperative Universal Studios.[17] After this period of adjustment and innovation, though, studios were anxious to associate themselves solely with sound film and stars who could perform well in this new medium.

The careers of many of the most popular silent stars did not survive the transition to sound for a variety of reasons. John Gilbert's career foundered because of an unsuitable speaking voice; Clara Bow was intimidated by on-set sound equipment; Lillian Gish's fragile onscreen image was irrevocably linked with the silent epics of D. W. Griffith.[18]

Such causes were not the case with Fischer, whose long professional history and stage training endowed her with the speaking voice and flexibility to adapt to a new filmic style. A 1928 article, written before Fischer's retirement was final, describes her "beautiful English" and "easy and quiet" voice, adding that "'Talkies' should hold no fear for her."[19] Her career was troubled even before the introduction of sound film, though. During her final years in Hollywood, film scholarship such as Terry Ramsaye's 1926 *A Million and One Nights* relegated her to brief mentions, describing her as "wife of Harry Pollard, director"--an indication that social change was already marginalizing Fischer's work in critical if not in popular circles.[20] The stardom of the 1910s was irrelevant in the filmmaking world of the 1920s.

A more significant reason for Fischer's career decline was the changing role of women in popular culture. Film fans of the 1910s had appreciated seeing trailblazing female-centered stories such as Fischer's *The Quest* or the comedic *Miss Jackie* serials set in Army and Navy circles (1916-1917). Such movies, says historian Nan Enstad, both reflected contemporary women's entry into the workplace in increasing numbers and offered escapist relief from the limitations placed upon them in this new sphere.[21] Filmgoers of the 1920s, by contrast, were increasingly fascinated by stardom rather than by storytelling, a preoccupation based on public desire to crack the mystery of an idolized star's personal life.[22] The Fischer-Pollard marriage filled this need for a time, but studio controls kept news innocuous in a desire to create an image that appealed to the public. By the end of the 1920s, the couple's publicity consisted of such revelatory headlines as "Shy Harry Pollard, Film Director, Has Never Been to a Hollywood Party."[23] This focus on ordinary life was a decade ahead of its time; audiences of the 1920s wanted glamorous offscreen

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[16] William K. Everson, *American Silent Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 334-336 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[17] "Sixteen pages," Fischer Papers, oversized folder; "The Pre-view Weekly Film Pictorial Section," *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, May 1, 1927, Fischer Papers, oversized folder.

[18] Ken Wlaschin, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of the World's Great Movie Stars and Their Films: From 1900 to the Present Day* (New York: Salamander Books, 1979), 20, 21; *Clara Bow: Discovering the 'It' Girl*, prod. Elaina B. Archer and dir. Hugh Munro Neely, 65 min., Timeline Films, 1999, videodisc.

[19] "Marguerita Fischer, Star of Movieland Here To Visit Old Scenes of Childhood [sic]," *Capital Journal* (Salem, Ore.), August 16, 1928, Fischer Papers, Box 18, folder 12.

[20] Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture Through 1925* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1926), 717.

[21] Nan Enstad, "Dressed for Adventure: Working Women and Silent Movie Serials in the 1910s," *Feminist Studies* 21, no. 1 (1995) 67-90.

[22] P. David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 81-82.

[23] "Shy Harry Pollard, Film Director, Has Never Been to a Hollywood Party," *St. Louis Star*, May 1, 1929, Pollard Papers, oversized folder.

personas that tallied with the roles actors played onscreen.[24] Margarita Fischer's wifely persona might eventually have ceased being interesting to new fans.

The interest of 1920s fans was drawn as much by the physical appearance of a star as personality or image; changing standards of beauty in the early decades of the twentieth century could have encouraged the discounting of Fischer's work after the end of her film career. Roles for actresses in the silent era fell into several major categories such as exotic "vamps," innocent "virgins," and free-spirited "flappers." All of these types were required to fit what historian Heather Addison calls a "physical culture" of idealized thinness, encouraged by the insecurity and need inherent in the growing culture of consumption.[25] Addison quotes a 1922 article from *Photoplay*, the magazine that crowned Fischer the "American Beauty" of 1914, that describes a "New American Beauty" of a "softened, feminized ... tiny, childish, girlish type."[26]

Fischer did indeed begin her career playing roles of what an early contract proposal called "the sweet, sympathetic class," yet in appearance she was, as a later newspaper article noted, "a lovely brunette of a Spanish type" (Figure 2).[27] The unexpected contrast between her capability and her femininity, between the exoticism of her appearance and the innocence of her persona, permitted Fischer great leeway in choosing film roles, but the impossibility of typecasting such an actress conflicted with the "New American Beauty" as the decade wore on. Her final film appearance in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which she played the light-skinned slave Eliza, confused her physical image further. With the advent of the oversexed platinum blonde bombshell at the beginning of the 1930s, Fischer's physical appearance became as outdated as her silent work.

Figure 2. "A lovely brunette of a Spanish type."

As with many silent stars, the passing of the silent film era resulted in Fischer's eventual obscurity. Studios concerned with the transition to sound no longer valued their earlier silent output or the stars of those features who failed to succeed in sound films; film stock was recycled or allowed to deteriorate. By one estimate, less than ten percent of silent films survived into the 1970s.[28] Fischer's career output has been decimated over the course of the past seventy-five years; only two of her more than 100 films and shorts are available on video, and the

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[24] Joshua Gamson, *Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 25-27, 29.

[25] Heather Addison, "Capitalizing Their Charms: Cinema Stars and Physical Culture in the 1920s," *Velvet Light Trap* no. 50 (2002) 15-35.

[26] Adela Rogers St. Johns, "New American Beauty," *Photoplay*, June 1922, 26-27; quoted in Addison.

[27] Walter Sanford to Margarita Fischer, October 24, 1908 (?), Fischer Papers, Box 13, personal ledger; "Actress of Silent Days."

[28] Everson, 14-15.

Library of Congress holds two others.[29] Some might still exist in private collections, but her most innovative works--including *The Pearl of Paradise*, *The Devil's Assistant*, and her dual roles in *The Girl From His Home Town* (1915) and *The Hellion* (1919)--probably do not survive and can be known only from stills. For Fischer and other silent artists whose more enticing works have not survived, the process of effacement in the public eye may be inevitable. Changing tastes in modern entertainment render the once-thrilling ice floes and escapes of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* more archaic and less enthralling to contemporary viewers with the release of every action-adventure movie.

Fischer's neglect by film historians, too, is in part due to the small amount of surviving material. Definitive monographs such as Lewis Jacobs's 1939 *The Rise of the American Film* omit her and Pollard entirely from discussions of silent film. Later works mention Fischer only in connection with the studios for which she worked; she is named in Timothy James Lyons's *The Silent Partner*, a 1974 history of the American Film Manufacturing Company, and in I. G. Edmonds's 1977 *Big U: Universal in the Silent Days*. Anthony Slide's *Early American Cinema* (1970) mentions Fischer and Pollard as American Beauty artists and notes Fischer's appearance in *Miss Jackie* serials in the 1910s, but incorrectly identifies her as "Marguerite," the sister of "Katie" Fischer--actually referring to her niece Kathie. William K. Everson's more general *American Silent Film*, published in 1978, includes a great deal of information not only about the most famous silent stars but also about less well-known ones; Fischer and Pollard are not included.[30]

Margarita Fischer herself was philosophical about the end of her career. In a 1936 interview, she professed the belief that sound film is "so much better than the silents which seem so funny now;" more than thirty years later, reflecting back over the course of her life and career, she told film historian Roi Uselton that "God has been good to me."[31] Certainly Fischer was not the only silent actress for whom a collision of factors resulted in career oblivion. The 1914 *Photoplay* poll that named her America's favorite actress is only one of many cases in which a now-forgotten star won popularity polls in silent-era film magazines.[32]

Fischer is therefore, in a sense, a case study for the ephemerality of celebrity in general and silent film in particular. Her personal choices, the professional environment in which she worked, and the society in which she lived all contributed to bring her career to a close and to remove her works from their former position of prominence. Understanding the decline of Margarita Fischer's career fosters an understanding of the social values that led to this process. Far from being irrelevant today, this silent star's life and work have much to reveal to modern scholars.

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[29] *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1927) and the short film *How Men Propose* (1913) are the sole works available to home viewers. The Library of Congress holds prints of *Draga, the Gypsy* (1913) and *The Quest* (1915).

[30] See Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1939; reprint, New York: Teachers College Press, 1968); Timothy James Lyons, *The Silent Partner: The History of the American Film Manufacturing Company 1910-1921* (New York: Arno Press, 1974); I. G. Edmonds, *Big U: Universal in the Silent Days* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1977); Anthony Slide, *Early American Cinema* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1970), 83, 84; Everson.

[31] "Actress of Silent Days"; Fischer to Uselton.

[32] Everson, 5. Everson offers Bessie Barrisdale and Dorothy Dalton as examples of such once popular but "now almost forgotten" actresses.

Pirates of the Prairie:
Fraudulent County Organization in 1870s Kansas

John D. Hays

"Scandal!" "Fraud!" These words often resounded through the late nineteenth century, as scandal, graft and criminal activity seemed to infiltrate and infect every level of American society. The disease wormed its way even more so into government, from the President of the United States down to the lowest levels of county government in south central and southwest Kansas.

In 1872 and 1873, four counties were organized in south central and southwest Kansas: Barbour (later Barber), Comanche, Harper and Pratt. This fact is not surprising, as Kansas enjoyed one of its greatest population growth periods during the 1870s and 1880s. Indeed, the peak years for homestead entries in Kansas were: 1871, 1879, 1886 and 1893.[1] What set these counties apart was the fact that all of them but one were completely uninhabited. They were all organized by fraud.

The reason behind the organization of four counties with no population was greed, pure and simple. No precautions were in place in 1870s Kansas to prevent fraudulent county organization. This was a definite oversight on the part of the Kansas Legislature, but no evidence surfaced to prove the oversight was intentional. Even though the "Gilded Age", the latter part of the nineteenth century, produced some of the most remarkable scandals in American history, few evidently thought it possible that someone would fraudulently organize a county for financial gain. This climate opened the door for some conniving men who wished to make a quick profit.

According to an 1872 Kansas statute, 600 *bona fide* inhabitants were required to form a county, organize its government and issue and sell bonds for county improvements. Forty signatures of legal county residents were needed to petition the Governor of Kansas and ask him to organize the county. Three householders were required to sign an affidavit certifying that at least 600 legal residents lived in the county. A census taken by an appointee of the Kansas Governor determined the population of that county. After the population was certified, the Governor appointed a county commission and named the county seat.[2] Since the petitioners usually recommended the census taker, the foxes were essentially given the key to the henhouse.

The "henhouse" consisted of bonds that the county was authorized to issue for relief of county debt. This debt was often incurred in the normal county organizational process. The counties issued bonds as a sort of promissory note to repay the bond holders. Bonds could also be issued to finance public works projects such as waterways, railroads and building construction. The bonds were issued at the county's discretion for five to thirty years. The interest rate was usually ten percent.

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[1] William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), 171.

[2] *Laws of the State of Kansas Passed at the Twelfth Session of the Legislature Commenced at the State Capital*, Topeka, Kansas Commonwealth, State Printing House 1872, Chapter CVI, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka S.P. 345.1 K13 1872.

A few enterprising foxes took full advantage of the opportunity. Harper County, for example, was organized August 7, 1873, though it did not boast even six inhabitants—let alone six hundred.[3]

The organizers reportedly came from Baxter Springs, Kansas, although accounts differed on other details such as the names of the perpetrators.[4] The facts are that this group of "scoundrels" set up shop on a barren piece of land in the center of what would become Harper County, approximately three miles northwest of the present site of Anthony.

The "organizers" arranged buffalo bones into groups and used a Cincinnati, Ohio hotel directory to furnish the bones with names. The process allowed the miscreants the ability to keep track of the names as well as playfully pass the time by addressing the bones as "Mr. So-and-so." They continued this process until they had named 641 "residents" for Harper County.[5]

The group, armed with a registry of 641 names, a fictitious petition signed by forty of those residents, and an affidavit stating that the above documents were true, petitioned Kansas Governor Thomas Osborne to grant a charter to the county of Harper. Osborne appointed John Davis as the special census taker, who duly swore that the census information was correct—even though Davis only existed on paper. Osborne declared the county duly organized on August 20, 1873 and unwittingly became an accomplice to fraud.[6]

The miscreants then set about issuing bonds. $25,000 in bonds was issued to build a new courthouse in the county seat of Bluff City. Another $15,000 was issued to repay debt incurred for the county's organization. At least another $3,000 was issued for funding the school district, but the true figure of fraudulent bonds issued by the faux commissioners of Harper County was never determined.[7]

The process was similar in the organization of the other counties involved, with one exception. Barber County did have people living within its borders when it was first organized, but few were interested in becoming permanent residents. Many of the residents were stockmen who moved their herds through the county to utilize the vast grazing afforded by the area. Other folk were in the process of leaving the area because of increased Indian activity in the vicinity.

The majority of the true residents of Barber County were unaware of any illegal goings-on until it was too late. The census of Barber County was taken without the residents' knowledge, although in this instance some of the names that appeared on the document were genuine.[8]

When the defrauders were finished, the residents of Barber County were saddled with $141,300 of debt—far more than any of the other counties. $41,300 of the debt was for funding bonds which included: $25,000 for a courthouse that was never built, $5,000 for G.W. Crane for services as an "advertising agent" and $1,000 for W.E. Hutchinson as an "immigration agent." The rest was divided up between the "officers" of the county. The bonds were sold on the cash market and not a penny benefited the county.[9]

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[3] *Harper County Times*, Nov. 28, 1878; *Anthony Republican*, May 19, 1938.

[4] T.A. McNeal listed their names as W.H. Horner, A.W. Rucker, and William Boyd. Other accounts named them as George Boyd, William Horner and N.W. Wiggins, a grocer from Baxter Springs. See: T.A. McNeal, *When Kansas Was Young*, (Topeka, KS: Capper Publications, 1934), 46; A.T. Andreas, *The History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883), 363 and *The Harper County Times*, Nov. 28, 1878.

[5] *Harper County Times*, Nov. 28, 1878.

[6] Andreas, 78.

[7] *Report of the Minority, Commission Appointed to Investigate the Conditions of Barbour, Comanche and Harper Counties* (hereafter *Report of the Commission*), Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, SP 328 K13 Pam. V.1 no. 10: 11.

[8] Andreas, 364.

[9] *Report of the Commission*, 9.

The citizens of Barber County held a legitimate election November 10, 1873 to bring the Nebraska, Kansas and Southern Railroad through the county. The people voted three to one to issue $100,000 in bonds for railroad construction, but this money was also hijacked into the pockets of flim-flam men. The populace was unaware that there was never any intent by the railroad's "promoters" to bring the railroad into the area, and again not a penny stayed in the county.[10]

The frauds perpetrated in these counties seem like small potatoes when put into the larger context of nineteenth century American politics. As mentioned earlier, scandals ran through the nation like a virus, infecting many facets of society. Political machines, such as the one organized by New York mobster "Boss" Tweed made daily newspaper headlines. In Washington, D.C., the very halls of Congress were shaken when key legislators, including Vice President Schuyler Colfax were involved in the Credit Mobilier scandal.[11]

The Kansas county bond scandals were also overshadowed by incidents a bit closer to home. Samuel C. Pomeroy, a U.S. Senator from Atchison, Kansas, was accused of bribing Kansas legislators to re-elect him to the United States Senate. His chief accuser was Alexander M. York, a state senator from Montgomery County, who claimed that Pomeroy had offered him $8,000 for his vote on January 27, 1873.

Pomeroy had been a U.S. Senator from Kansas since 1861. In 1873, he was one of, if not the, preeminent politician in the state.[12] York was a relative newcomer to politics and gambled heavily against his political future by accusing Pomeroy of questionable conduct.

York eagerly admitted that he had set out to uncover wrongdoing on Pomeroy's part. He allegedly agreed to sell his vote to Pomeroy for the sum of $8,000, but then reneged on his promise, and instead accused Pomeroy of bribery in full view of the legislature. Pomeroy's supporters thought duplicitous behavior such as this should not go unpunished. York's word could not be trusted because he broke his oath to a fellow gentleman. Evidently Pomeroy's friends felt it was all right to buy votes, but scandalous to go back on one's word, even if one's intentions were honorable.

Pomeroy was defeated for reelection by his rival, John J. Ingalls. He returned to Washington to plead his case to his fellow senators and was asked to resign, but his term expired before he was sanctioned otherwise. The Kansas Legislature decided to refer the matter to the courts, which in turn decided to return the money to Pomeroy, less $1,700 for expenses incurred in Pomeroy's "prosecution." While crime might not pay, it certainly did not cost very much in 1870s Kansas—if one knew the right people.[13] Ironically, York's political career was finished.

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[10] Ibid., 9-10.

[11] Credit Mobilier was a corporation used to siphon profits from the Central Pacific Railroad. Key legislators were given stock in the company to ensure support for the railroad. See: Jean Edward Smith, *Grant* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 552-53; Ulysses S. Grant III, *Ulysses S. Grant: Soldier and Statesman* (New York: William Morrow, 1969), 324-25; Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nothing Like it in the World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 373-75 and Oscar Theodore Barck, et al., *The United States: A Survey of National Development* (New York: Ronald Press, 1950), 497, 534-35.

[12] Pomeroy was a poster child for self-promotion. While chairman of the committee to distribute drought relief supplies to Kansans in 1860, he printed his name on sacked goods, such as beans. Cloth was a precious commodity, so women often made trousers for the men from the sacks. Thus, Pomeroy's name was emblazoned on the backside of many Kansans in time to be elected to the United States Senate in 1861. See: Andreas, 216; Albert R. Kitzhaber, "Gotterdammerung in Topeka: The Downfall of Senator Pomeroy," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (August 1950): 253, 267-269.

[13] Andreas, 220.

When high-ranking politicians get away with high-ranking crimes, it is easy to imagine that small-time criminals would try their hand as well. The above examples are but a sampling of the myriad schemes and scandals that plagued the nation during this period of rapid growth, as America came into its own as an industrial power. It seemed as though graft was just a part of doing business.

Why then should the relatively petty crimes of fraudulent county organization be of any concern? In the big picture, the bond frauds were probably not that important. However, the crimes were very important to the people of the counties that were forced to pay the bond money to the investors who bought the bonds. The residents of Pratt County were spared that ignominy, and the bonds issued for Comanche County were never sold, but Barber and Harper County residents were held accountable for their debts, fraudulent as they were.[14]

Harper County realized its plight in 1878, when it reapplied for a charter. The Kansas Supreme Court ruled that the citizens of the county were responsible for the repayment of debt, even though the debt was obtained by fraud. The ruling stood because the county had never filed the proper paperwork to petition the Governor to revoke the previous charter.[15]

The county bond scandals produced some positive results even if they were costly to the residents of Barber and Harper Counties. It forced the Kansas legislature to rethink the way counties were organized. Four counties fraudulently organized in less than two years were more than even nineteenth century politicians could take. The legislature appointed a commission to investigate the frauds and recommend ways to prevent similar schemes in the future. The commission consisted of W.M. Matheny, Thomas S. Jones and Kansas Attorney General A.L. Williams.[16]

The commission, appointed to investigate Harper, Barber and Comanche Counties, found in each instance that none of the counties had sufficient inhabitants to constitute a *bona fide* county. Barber County had approximately 400 residents at the time of Attorney General Williams' visit in the fall of 1874. Williams was able to review the county records, such as they were, but determined that the documents he read were hastily prepared and lacking in credibility.[17]

Comanche County had no inhabitants at all, but Williams did interview some Barber County residents who witnessed the Comanche County "election" of 1873. He discovered that there may have been eighty or so people who came to vote at an election in Comanche County, but oddly enough no one could remember the details of the election. Attorney General Williams stated in regards to Harper County, "It is not pretended that Harper county (sic) ever had an inhabitant."[18]

The Commission recommended to the legislature that the charters of these counties should be revoked and that the perpetrators be found. They also asked for more strict guidelines regarding county organizations in the future. The legislative aspects of this recommendation were easier to follow than the punitive recommendation, however. To this day, the fate of the miscreants remains a mystery.[19]

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[14] J. Rufus Gray, *Pioneer Saints and Sinners: Pratt County From Its Beginnings to 1900*, (Pratt, KS: The Printing Press, 1968), 33.

[15] *Harper County Times*, Nov. 11, 1878.

[16] *Report of the Commission*.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., 11, 16.

[19] T.A. McNeal gave the only accounts of the possible fate of the criminals, but did not reveal his sources. See McNeal, 23-24, 47-48.

Governor Osborne, in his address to the Legislature in January of 1875, said, "there is not a law in all our statute books more thoroughly defective than that providing for the organization of new counties."[20] The seats of Comanche, Harper and Pratt Counties were declared vacant. A joint committee was also appointed to oversee the revision of the statute, but the job was not a quick one.

The authors of Kansas' original constitution wrestled with a similar problem. Article XII, which dealt with the organization of Kansas counties, did not appear overnight. The conventioneers sampled several state constitutions—-most notably Illinois and Ohio—-and took four drafts before choosing the relatively weak wording of the final draft. The article was revised once by 1872.[21]

The joint committee of 1875 offered the following recommendation for the organization of future counties:

> A memorial of at least 250 householders who are legal electors of the state, of any unorganized county showing that there are more than 1500 *bona fide* inhabitants of said county. There will be a census taker appointed by the Governor, who will take the census and certify to the clerk of the Supreme Court that his findings are correct. False claims were made a felony punishable by up to five years. The Governor will then appoint 3 householders to serve as commissioners, one to be the clerk and name the county seat. No bonds can be issued for one year after organization by townships or counties or school districts. If the governor has any reason to believe the affidavits or claims are false, he can delay his proclamation until three householders of his choosing can investigate.[22]

The new law did deter further fraudulent organization of counties in Kansas. While the county bond frauds of 1872 and 1873 might be just a footnote in the scandals of the Gilded Age, they are important pieces of history. They underscore the thinking of the time; that anything was acceptable if it helped one attain a goal. The legislation of 1876, which put more safeguards in place to prevent further fraud, was also a precursor of the reforms that would come at the turn of the next century. Government was to be accountable to the people if legislators meant to keep their jobs.

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[20] *House Journal: Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas*, Topeka: State Printing Works, Geo. W. Martin, State Printer, 1875, Kansas State Historical Society, S.P. 328.1 K13 1875: 38.

[21] "The Sources of the Constitution of the State of Kansas," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901-1902*, VII (1902), (Topeka: W.Y. Morgan): 145-146.

[22] *Laws of the State of Kansas Passed at the Sixteenth Session of the Legislature Commenced at the State Capital on January 11, 1876*, (Topeka, KS: State Printing House, 1876): 159.

The Rape of Nanking: Historiographical Perspectives From Japan and China

Linda S. Buettner

The Nanking massacre, which is often considered one of the most vicious atrocities committed by the Japanese during the Asian-Pacific War, has stirred up much emotion and controversy in East Asian History.[1] This type of extreme controversy creates several different aspects of the history and historiography of the event as it is viewed in both China and Japan. The efforts of both countries to use the incident as either an ideological tool or for nationalist mobilization have affected the historiographical approaches to the topic as well.[2] A brief summary of the event and the numbers that are associated as well as the positions of Japan and China internationally, will set the stage for the diverse historiographical approaches to the Rape of Nanking over the sixty five years since the attack.

The Japanese invaded Nanking, the capital city of Nationalist China on December 13, 1937. The events that took place in the six weeks that followed the initial invasion and the resulting international handling of those events following World War II comprise the controversy. Japan joined other nations in the practice of imperialism, the practice of powerful nations seeking to control or influence weaker nations. Imperialism can be exercised either formally or informally, meaning full annexation of a weaker nation or merely asserting some political or economic influence. In the case of China, Japan sought full annexation and control.

In the mid-nineteenth century, China had already been divided into leased colonies belonging to Britain, France, United States, Russia, Germany and other European countries. It had lost two Opium Wars in 1841 and 1856 and had suffered much humiliation because of the sale of opium. China had engaged in an unsuccessful war in 1894 with Japan over Korea and China was forced to pay a large indemnity of 230 taels of silver, and cession of Taiwan, the Pescadores and the Liaotung peninsula. Meanwhile, Japan enjoyed a meteoric rise from third world status to world power with its rapid modernization progress. Japan regarded China's weaknésses with contempt and envisioned all of Asia as a part of the Japanese empire.

China's official modernization began with a revolution in 1911, which resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a new government. The father of modern China, Sun Yat-sen, became the first provisional president of the developing Republic of China in Nanking in 1911. His successor Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists made the city the official capital in 1928. It is a city of imperial palaces and there is a large stone wall encircling the city. The Yangtze River lies to the west and the Purple Mountain to the east provide beauty and protection for this ancient city.[3]

On September 18, 1931, the Japanese military blew up railway tracks that were Japanese owned in southern Manchuria. Japanese soldiers killed the Chinese guards and invented a story about Chinese saboteurs. As a result of this contrived action, Japan seized Manchuria. In 1932 a Shanghai mob attacked five Japanese Buddhist priests and killed one of them. Japan immediately bombed the city of Shanghai, resulting in the deaths of thousands of citizens. Japan

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[1] Daqing Yang,"Convergence or Divergence? Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing,", *American Historical Review* (June 1999).

[2] Joshua A. Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: 2000), 1-5.

[3] Julius Eigner, "The Rise and Fall of Nanking," *National Geographic* (February 1938).

was criticized for this action by the international community and in 1933 withdrew from the League of Nations. An undeclared war on China had begun.[4]

In 1937 Japan provoked a full-scale invasion of China. In July a regiment of Japanese were conducting night maneuvers near the Marco Polo Bridge. Several shots were fired at the Japanese and a soldier failed to appear during roll call. Japanese troops advanced upon the Wanping Fort and demanded the gates be opened so that they could search for the soldier. The Chinese commander refused and the Japanese shelled the Fort. The Japanese invaded Shanghai in August 1937, and began bombing Nanking on August 15, 1937. The bombings hit schools, hospitals, power plants and government buildings causing thousands to flee the city.[5]

The Chinese soldiers began preparing the city for invasion in December. They burned a mile-wide battle zone around the entire city, and on December 2, all of the palace museum treasures were transported for safer storage outside of the city. On December 8, Chiang Kai-shek, his family and advisors left the city along with the entire Chinese air corps and most of the communications equipment. Tang Sheng-chih was left in charge of a ground army with no method of communication and no air protection. Japanese airplanes dropped leaflets on December 9 demanding that the city surrender in twenty-four hours. On December 11, Chiang Kai-shek sent an order for Tang's soldiers to retreat.

There was only one way to get out of the city since the Japanese were converging on the city in a semi-circular front from the southeast. That one exit was through the northern harbor of the Yangtze River. There was a small fleet of junks remaining for those who could get there first.

When Tang gave the orders for the military to retreat, utter chaos broke out in the city as soldiers and civilians alike tried to reach the boats and exit.[6] The population that was left to face the Japanese were those that were the most defenseless: women, the poor and physically weak, children, the elderly, and migrants who had fled the countryside to escape the Japanese onslaught in what they assumed would be the safety of the city. On December 13, the Japanese soldiers entered the city.

When Miner Searle Bates, a history professor at Nanking University, testified at the International Military Tribunal of the Far East regarding the number of deaths at the Nanking massacre, he stated, "The total spread of this killing was so extensive that no one can give a complete picture of it."[7] Therein lies one of the biggest controversies of the massacre.

Estimates of the death toll range from near 400,000 to fewer than 38,000, and sources vary between Chinese and Japanese archival material. Judges at the International Military Tribunal of the Far East concluded that 260,000 were killed.

In addition to the horrific murders of the Chinese soldiers such as decapitation, burning them alive and using them for bayonet practice, the Japanese raped an estimated 20,000 women. These ranged from girls under the age of ten to women over the age of seventy; pregnant women and nuns were also raped. The international outcry over the rapes in Nanking caused the Japanese to put forth a solution. Their response was the establishment of the infamous comfort houses.[8] The first official comfort house was established near Nanking in 1938.

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[4] Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 6-63.
[5] Stephen S. Large, *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan* (London: Biddles, Ltd., 1992) 56-76.
[6] Chang, 77.
[7] International Military Tribunal of the Far East, Miner Searle Bates testimony, pp.2629-2630.
[8] Yoshiaki, Yoshimi, "The Japanese Expeditionary Force in Central China: Historical Understandings on the Military Comfort Women Issue", *War Victimization and Japan: International Public Hearing Report*, (Osaka-shi, Japan: Toho Shuppan, 1993).

In addition to the murder of the soldiers and the rape of the women, the Japanese soldiers attacked civilians in the city. One documented example was of 200 civilians who were stripped naked, tied to columns and doors of a school and then stabbed with small needles all over their bodies including mouth, throat and eyes. Babies were tossed into the air and bayoneted or eviscerated. Many vivid photographs of these horrors exist, having been smuggled out by foreign correspondents, confiscated from Japanese soldiers who took pictures of their victims or hidden by Chinese film shop employees who had been forced by the Japanese to develop them.[9]

A small band of Americans and Europeans created the International Committee for the Nanking Safety Zone. The Japanese refused to honor the Safety Zone. The Safety Zone consisted of twenty refugee camps that accommodated from 200 to 12,000 people in each camp. During the six weeks of the massacre, the leaders of the Safety Zone had to provide the refugees with food, shelter and medical care. They also constantly protected the refugees from harm. Many of the people in the Safety Zone documented and broadcast these occurrences to the world. The Safety Zone is a topic of much controversy as well.

At the time of the massacre the only recorded evidence of the brutalities that took place were the writings of a few Chinese and westerners who had stayed in Nanking. These writings were then smuggled to the outside world, but the stories became just a part of the many war stories that filled the media reports of the time.

A brief overview of the history and conduct of the military trials also lay a further foundation for the differing historiographical approaches to the Rape of Nanking. The Chinese government was active throughout the war preparing to demand justice for the aggression of the Japanese.[10] As early as 1941, the government was collecting data on physical losses due to the aggression of Japan. The Chinese signed the Allied Declaration of St. James concerning the future disposition of war criminals in 1942 and this helped to establish The United Nations War Crimes Commission in 1943.[11] At the end of the war, the war crimes trials in Tokyo began and China contributed massive records of burials, interviews, diaries, and damage statistics.

From the beginning, the United States used the office of General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, to dominate all phases of the trial.[12] Eleven judges were chosen, but only three came from Asian countries. The International Prosecution section chose to charge only twenty-eight of 250 high Japanese officials. Americans were appointed to help Japanese lawyers on the defense team.

The Tokyo trial failed to satisfy Chinese hopes for retribution, and China never was really the focus of the trial. Professor Yu Xinchu of Nanking University lamented at a 1983 Tokyo conference on the trial that the Pacific War was emphasized at the expense of everything else. The fighting with the United States only lasted four years and there had been a half-century of aggression against the Chinese from Japan that the trials did not fully take into account.[13] It became a showcase to avenge Pearl Harbor and exonerate the United States government in the eyes of the Chinese.

The Japanese and Chinese have approached the historiography of the Nanking massacre in differing ways, and the response or methodology from one has often sparked a different

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[9] The Avalon Project at the Yale Law School (database online) Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1997, available from http: // www. Yale./edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/j4htm., accessed 4/4/2002.
[10] Mark Eykholt, "Chinese Historiography of the Massacre", *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, (Berkeley, Los Angles, London: 2000) 11-70.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

methodology for the other. It is recently becoming apparent that over time some convergence has taken place, because there seems to be a developing trend towards the studies becoming more international. There still remain the difficulties of political, cultural and linguistic barriers, though, as we will see in the following overview of the methodologies.[14] The Japanese conception of the Nanking massacre has had an evolving historiographical approach. According to the scholar, Takeshi Yoshida, there have been five distinctive phases in the process.[15]

The first phase was the history of the massacre during the Asia-Pacific War, approximately 1931 to 1945. During this period of time there was no Nanking massacre in the public Japanese awareness.[16] Lantern parades took place throughout Japan to celebrate the capture of Nanking and the military was highly praised in the media for bravely fighting against the Chinese forces. The soldiers in most publications were praised as humane and courageous and the assault on China was viewed as the liberation of Asia from the western invasion.[17]

When the Japanese were defeated in 1945, a second phase of the massacre in historiography began. At the Tokyo War Crimes Trial from 1946 to 1948, the Japanese public learned of many atrocities committed by the soldiers in China, including the Nanking massacre. The trial was recorded in detail in the newspapers. Headlines read, "Horrible acts of the Japanese Army were first revealed to the people," (*Asahi*) and "Children, too were massacred." (*Mainichi*).[18] The trials served to inform the Japanese public about the massacre, but the massacre did not become a symbol of Japanese war crimes against the Chinese. It merely served as a reminder of a Japanese military that dragged Japan into a reckless war with the United States that cost the Japanese enormous sacrifices.

The history of the massacre as well as other Japanese atrocities during the war became a standard in Japanese history. The accounts of the atrocities appeared in elementary and junior high school textbooks that were edited by the Japanese Ministry of Education. Historians reflected upon a national education during wartime that was able to facilitate the peoples' support of the war. At this point the historians rejected historical education that was used to teach unscientific imperial myths and morals justifying national sacrifice for the emperor and Japanese imperialism.[19] These historians, most of whom were Marxists, were able to publish studies that had been suppressed during the war. They were active and influential at the time and also participated in the peace movements. It has been these progressives who have been the most influential historically. Conservatives and nationalists have been challenging the progressive version of history. They view the progressive version of history as demonizing wartime Japanese history.[20] It is noteworthy to distinguish the term "revisionist" in Japan as an historical approach that is associated with conservatism and is at odds with the progressive view of history. This is different from the United States, where the same term often refers to liberals who are fighting against conservatives.

With the beginning of the cold war, the Japanese revisionists began to gain influence. America did not want Japan to become a communist country but a country that could buffer the

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[14] Yang , 860.
[15] Takashi Yoshida, "A Battle over History: The Nanjing Massacre in Japan", *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: 2000) 70-133.
[16] Takashi Yoshida, "A Japanese Historiography of the Nanjing Massacre," http : // wwwcolumbia.edu/cu/cear/issues/fall99/text-only/yoshida.htm.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

United States against the spread of communism in Asia.[21] In the 1950s it was agreed that the Japanese government should foster patriotism that would bring the nation together. At this point, the representation of Japanese aggression was very extensively toned down in school textbooks. Instead of using words like aggression, phrases like advance were used in its place in the textbooks of the late 50s and early 60s. The description of the Nanking massacre disappeared altogether from the textbooks.[22]

China was reopened to the world in the early 1970s, and a third phase of the history of the massacre in Japan began. Newspaper journalist, Katsuichi Honda wanted to examine Japanese atrocities during the Asia-Pacific War. In a forty-day trip to China, he visited war memorials and interviewed the survivors of the attacks of the Japanese. His research included many photographs that were very sensational. Honda received harsh criticism from revisionists such as Shichihei Yamamoto and Akira Suzuki regarding his accounting of the killing competitions between the soldiers. They claimed that the killing competitions were something like an urban myth. Suzuki's efforts won him various awards in Japan.

Many historians were outraged at these denials and sympathetic to the victims. They responded by pointing out the multiple inaccuracies in the challenges to the long-standing accounts of the atrocities.

In the 1970s, the some of the atrocities, including the Nanking massacre appeared again in school textbooks, due to the work of Saburo Ienaga, who edited textbooks and challenged those disqualified for use by the Ministry of Education. The Tokyo high court ruled in favor of Saburo Ienaga.

The textbook controversy arose again in 1982 and opened another phase of the massacre's history in Japan. A renewed campaign by the Japanese Ministry of Education to tone down the representation of war crimes brought about international protests on this occasion. Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese governments submitted protests to the Japanese government.[23]

In 1984, Masaaki Tanaka wrote "Fabrication of Nanjing Massacre" which claimed that the massacre was merely a myth created by the Tokyo trial and the Chinese government. He had some support from distinguished scholars such as Shoichi Watanabe and Keiichiro Kobori, who were both history professors. In retaliation, the progressives established The Study Group on the Nanking Incident. The members of this group have published twelve books exclusively discussing the massacre. These publications forced the revisionists to realize that it was impossible to deny the atrocities completely, so they subsequently altered their strategy.[24] They made the concession that the massacre was over-exaggerated by the Tokyo trial and the Chinese government because relatively few people were killed, and that most of the deaths that did occur were not illegal under the laws of war. They determined that the event in Nanking did not deserve the special attention it was receiving.

The fifth phase of the history of the massacre in Japan occurred after the death of Hirohito and the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The revisionists began to gain new supporters such as Nobukatsu Fujioka, professor of education at the University of Tokyo.

The final analysis of the revisionist claims is that they are not based on historical materials that confirm mass atrocities in Nanking in 1937-1938. Their objective is to tell a history that describes a "just" Japan that was just standing up against the western invasion for the sake of the

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[21] Yoshida, "A Battle Over History," 100.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

Asian people. They regard progressive accounts of imperial Japanese history, especially as they appear in textbooks as full of masochism, darkness, and apologies.[25] It is their view that this destroys national pride. They desire a telling of history that instills national pride.

Today all Japanese school textbooks mention the massacre. In six out of seven of the junior high books published since the spring of 1997, the estimate of the Chinese that were killed is at least 200,000.

Revisionists, although they remain active, have enemies not only in Japan but also in China and the United States. Their representation of history actually increased the number of published historical accounts of the massacre around the world in an effort to discredit them.

The revisionists remain in the "nation-state" orientation, but the good side of this historiographic conflict in Japan is that the history and memory of the massacre have indeed been internationalized, and people have been working to remember the Nanking massacre in order to prevent other massacres in world history.

China's historiography of the massacre at Nanking has had differential approaches but China has also used the incident for political ends in the world arena as well. The massacre began in China as a specific incident experienced by hundreds of thousands of Chinese. Those who survived the horrors had no concept of the overall event but did feel the loss of family and people who suffered. It was hard to imagine the extent of all of the atrocities.[26]

After 1945, the extent of the massacre was revealed and so did its consequences because it became part of both official and popular histories and China. The massacre was transformed from a war atrocity experienced by Chinese in Nanking on a local scale to an international symbol of suffering that brings together all who identify with China or oppose Japan.[27] On this level, the Nanking massacre serves as a unifying event for all of the Chinese people. The nation-state orientation is evident here as it was with the revisionists in Japan.

The Chinese government has also used the massacre for political ends as a national fervor developed around this and other war atrocities. The Chinese government has used the media, protests and diplomatic threats to try and intimidate Japan and see that Japan accords it the respect it feels it is entitled. China was one of many victims of Japanese nationalism. Now China uses its own nationalism to intimidate Japan and also play up China's victimization.

The Chinese government has had a difficult time of balancing the intimidator/victim issue, as Chinese students have been willing to use anti-Japanese protests as a basis for their own antigovernment protests. In the 1980s, hard-nosed political oppression silenced dissent within China, while voices that moved abroad stirred others to spread the information about Nanking and other atrocities in the west and to protest the continuing textbook controversies that kept coming up in Japan. [28]

The Nanking massacre has the tendency to overshadow some of the other atrocities, such as the comfort women and the biological experiments of Unit 731, for several reasons. Information regarding the massacre has existed since the day it began, and more information has appeared yearly to hold attention. The information includes Chinese records, Japanese reminiscences, and western accounts, and therefore gives the incident a legitimacy that expands national borders. The Nanking massacre has proven to be an enduring symbol for Chinese grievances and a source of Chinese unity. It also calls up anti-Japanese emotions that remain

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Eykholt, 56-58.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

strong in other nations that fought with the Japanese during World War II. This emphasis takes it from a nation-state orientation to an historical event of international importance. The resulting treatment of the Nanking massacre in Chinese historiography remains essentially that of the colonial story of China as an innocent nation and Japan as the evil imperialist power/invader.

A timeless element remains in the historiography of Nanking because the largest protest concerning the massacre and against Japan comes from Chinese who were born after the war. The information that they gather comes from family stories, school lessons and newspaper accounts. It comes without much of the wartime context, and a tendency to ignore the situation surrounding the wartime event and the way the telling of it has changed for political benefit following the war.

China's evidence requires much more critical analysis to move beyond the description of the horrors to a better understanding of the meaning and implication of the massacre. Current Chinese historiography still lacks the depth of inquiry that an incident of this nature requires.[29]

The histories in these two countries regarding the Rape of Nanking still seem to be very "nation-state" oriented. They give privilege to the role of their own particular nation's subjects and they undervalue or virtually ignore the horrific experiences of others involved in the considered event.

In recent times, such publications as Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* have brought about more of an international discourse regarding the incident. Communication has played a part in narrowing some of the differences and while historians studying the topic are nowhere near forming a community, discussion is ongoing.

New evidence continues to come to light and an excellent example is the study of the Japanese veteran's organization *Kaikosha*. In the mid-1980s, the organization launched a major effort to gather information from its 18,000 members to dispute the Nanking massacre. It had to reverse its original stand of complete denial because of the evidence it compiled. The 1998 publication of *The Good Man of Nanking, The Diaries of John Rabe,* has added additional information regarding the circumstances of the International Safety Zone.

Several legal battles have been initiated since 1995 to force the Japanese to accept accountability for the crimes that were committed and to force them to make reparations. POWs from all nations and on behalf of the Comfort Women of Korea have filed the suits. As of December 7, 2000, a total of eighteen class action lawsuits have been filed in the United States.

In December of 2000, President Clinton signed U.S. Public Law 106-567, the Intelligence Authorization Act for F/Y 2001, in which original S 1902 of "Japanese Imperial Government Disclosure Act of 2000" is included as Title VIII. It allows the public for the first time to have access to classified U.S. documents regarding the war crimes committed by the Japanese imperial government during World War II. As additional information continues to be presented, new perspectives will undoubtedly continue to develop.

Several historiographical perspectives on how both China and Japan have handled the Nanking massacre have been presented. A large number considering that the Nanking massacre happened in what is considered very recent history. It is an excellent example of how different peoples view one incident in history in so many different perspectives and how only an ongoing critical and investigative analysis of even a small piece of history is necessary. It also demonstrates how a single incident in history can take on such a large international perspective and is used so effectively in international politics.

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[29]Ibid.

Fiske Hall Graduate Paper Award

What's All the Drama About?: The Development of Tragedy in Ancient Greece

Marsha D. Wiese

The art of storytelling is only a step away from the art of performance. Yet it took centuries to develop into the form we easily recognize today. Theatre, a gift of ancient Greece, pulled threads from many facets of Greek society – religion, festival, poetry, and competition. And yet, as much as historians know about the Greek theatre, they are still theorizing about its origins and how it suddenly developed and flourished within the confines of the 5th century B.C. Fascination concerning the origin of the theatre developed as quickly as the 4th century B.C. and remains a topic of speculation even today.

Many simply state that drama and tragedy developed out of the cult of Dionysus and the dithyramb, certainly ignoring other important factors of its development. As this paper will argue, during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. epic poetry and hero worship intersected with the cult of Dionysus and the dithyramb. This collision of cult worship and poetic art created the high drama of the tragedy found in the late 6th century B.C. and throughout the 5th century B.C. Therefore, the cult of Dionysus and the dithyramb merely served as catalysts in creating tragic drama and were not its origin. It was during this collision of poetry and religion that tragedy flourished; however, by the 4th century B.C., theatre had moved away from its original religious context to a more political context, shifting the theatre away from tragedy and towards comedy.

To understand this argument, it is important to first look at the evidence that epic and lyric poetry contained several important elements. First, epic poets performed for an audience. Next, epic poems were of a tragic nature. Finally, epic poetry served as a form of religious worship of both the gods and heroes.

Of the epic poems, the poetry of Homer provides the best and most complete examples for the modern reader. Homer's epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were most likely set down in writing between 750 and 700 B.C.[1] These epics belonged to the oral tradition; they were composed and sung for audiences. Green noted that both epic and tragedy shared the element of performance.[2] In his study of the oral tradition in Serbia, A.B. Lord concluded that the epic poet composed his poetry in three parts – by listening and absorbing, by imitating, and finally, by singing before an audience.[3] In ancient times, this mode of performance began with the *aoidoi*, or poets. According to Hagel, *aoidoi* sang the epic poem in unison with the four-stringed *phorminx* serving as accompaniment to their song.[4] This establishes the performance element as a crucial ingredient to epic poetry.

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[1] Claude Orrieux, *The History of Ancient Greece*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 28.

[2] J.R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (London: Routledge, 1994; Routledge, 1996), 16.

[3] Alfred Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 2d ed., (Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 2000), passim.

[4] Stefan Hagel, "Homeric Singing – An Approach to the Original Performance," (Classical Text Editor, 2002) available from http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kal/sh/, November 20, 2003. An interesting comparison could be made between poets singing their poems "in unison" and the tragic chorus.

Automatically associating epic poetry with the concept of tragedy, Plato referred to Homer as "the first among tragic poets"[5] and Aristotle claimed that Homer was the architect of "dramatic imitations."[6] Homer's poetry was like tragedyin several ways. First, Homer used a narrative style mirrored later by the tragedians.[7] While the poet was not removed totally from the story as he was in later narrative, Homer did not speak in third person either.[8] Rather, his careful style attributed different "voices" to his characters. Next, Homer permitted his audience to visualize his characters and the action before their eyes.[9] As Lada-Richards correctly affirmed, Homer was a "dramatist" while the *rhapsode* functioned very much like an actor.[10] It was the *rhapsode*, a "stitcher of songs," that performed the already famous works of Homer for audiences with a *rhabdos* in his hand. Unfortunately, only a bit of information about the *rhapsode* survives, but one of the remaining pieces is very enlightening. It indicates that the audience had an emotional experience during the *rhapsodes'* performances that was comparable to the emotional experience of the audience of a drama. In Plato's *Ion*, Socrates discusses with the *rhapsode* Ion the effects of his acting on his audience:

> Socrates: And are you aware that you produce similar effects on most spectators?
> Ion: Only too well; for I look down upon them from the stage, and behold the various emotions of pity, wonder, sternness, stamped upon their countenances when I am speaking: and I am obliged to give my very best attention to them. [11]

Socrates then states that, "the *rhapsode* like yourself and the actor are intermediate links, and the poet himself is the first of them."[12] The epic poet was the first link; the *rhapsode* and the actor fall somewhere after the creation of the epic. Thus, the epic poet wrote "tragic" poems which, when performed by *rhapsodes*, produced an emotional experience for the audience.

Epic poetry was the first literary step to establishing tragic performance, but in order for the epic itself to occur, it had to be established within a context. Religion provided that framework. The context of religion is important to the understanding of the development of drama because "religion provided the context for almost all communal activity throughout the history of ancient Greece."[13] While the subject of gods, goddesses, and heroes provided the poets plenty of myths to enhance their stories, the social nature of religious events and festivals provided the poets with a natural audience.

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[5] Plato, *Republic*, Book 10. *The Republic*. Translated by Benjamin Jowett. Available from The Internet Classic Archive, http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.11.x.html, November 10, 2003.
[6] Aristotle, *Poetics*, I.iv Available from http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/poetics.html, November 10, 2003.
[7] Ismene Lada-Richards, "Bards, Rhapsodes, and Stage-actors," *Didaskalia* 5, no.2. (2001) 1-8. Available from http:didaskalia.open.ac.uk/issues/vol5no2/ladarichards.html, December 5, 2003.
[8] Lada-Richards, "Bards, Rhapsodes, and Stage-Actors," 1-8.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Plato. *Ion*. Available from The Internet Classic Archive, http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/poetics.html, November 10, 2003.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Thomas R. Martin, *An Overview of Classical Greek History from Homer to Alexander*. Available from http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0009, October 15, 2003.

Epic poems, and later tragedies, were permeated with hymns, prayers, and other religious elements.[14] Homer, for example, refers to paeans and songs to Apollo and Demeter in his stories.[15] According to Furley and Bremer, there was not one stage of Greek literary development that was without cult songs.[16] It was difficult to separate the sacred from the secular in Greek poetry not only because of its content and form, but also because the Greek life did not separate the two. Since it remains difficult to separate the cult hymn from the literary piece in religious content, scholars must look at the purpose. Furley and Bremer stated that hymns were forms of "worship directed towards winning a god's goodwill and securing his or her assistance" while the literary piece was "concerned with the entertainment and enlightenment of the audience addressed."[17] It would not have been unusual to see the combination of hymn to a god, goddess, or hero within the performance of epic poetry. While creating hymns for religious purposes, the poets were also expanding their own literary abilities.

Ideas about religion from epic poetry are later emulated in tragedy. As early as the Mycenaean period, hero worship was established. The tombs of the unknown dead became heroes with names. The hero then became an integral part of the local population providing it with an identity. Ridgeway found that early forms of the tragic chorus were "closely attached to the tombs of heroes."[18] The fact that Homer's epics are based on heroes who were heavily worshipped in Greece provides evidence that the epic might have served a religious function, which included both the gods and the heroes. This idea was carried over into the early tragedies as well. It is clear that all three major tragedians – Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides – used the cults of heroes in their plays. All three poets used Agamemnon, Aeschylus portrayed Darius in *Persians*, and both Sophocles and Euripides depicted Oedipus. This was not the only literary similarity; another religious idea that was developed in Homer's poetry and continued in tragedy was the character's relationship with the gods. Characters in both literary types exhibit a "degree of intimacy with and knowledge about the gods."[19]

Clearly then, the creation of the epic poem fashioned both literary standards and performance standards for what would later develop into a much more recognizable form of tragedy, and ultimately, the theatre. But the epic poem and the epic poet's performance could only fashion it to a certain point; other elements were needed to continue to develop what had been started. The dithyramb and the cult worship of Dionysus were among such elements. To understand these as only catalysts to the development of tragedy, it is valuable to glance at why others have emphasized their importance.

At the same time that the official text of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was being written down, Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, founded the festival the Greater Dionysia sometime between 600-570 B.C. To only look at that date as the start of the cult of Dionysus would be inaccurate however. The cult worship of Dionysus started in the country and was later transported to the city. Unfortunately, dates are not as easy to pinpoint for the rural Dionysia. Traditionally, Arion of Methymna was said to have produced the first dithyramb at Corinth in the late 7th

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[14] William D. Furley and Jan Maarten Bremer, *Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from Archaic to Hellenistic Period*, Introduction (2001): 2, Available from http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~q67/Info/HymnsIntro.pdf, December 5, 2003. Based on the work of Easterling, 1985, 34-49.

[15] Furley and Bremer, 2.

[16] Ibid, 2.

[17] Furley and Bremer, 2.

[18] William Ridgeway, *The Origins of Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 61.

[19] Jon D. Mikalson, *Honor Thy Gods* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 205.

century B.C.[20] The dithyramb, a hymn that belonged to the god Dionysus, consisted of untamed sounds and rhythms that fit in with the tradition of its patron god.[21] As part of the cult worship of Dionysus, a chorus of men, often playing the role of the half man, half goat satyrs, sang this unique hymn. Over the centuries, scholars have suggested the dithyramb and satyr played as the start of the tragedy.

Why have so many scholars attributed the cult of Dionysus solely to the development of ancient Greek drama, and most particularly, tragedy? One of the first sources written about the origin of theatre was Aristotle's *Poetics*. In it, Aristotle stated that tragedy developed from the "impromptus by the leaders of dithyrambic choruses" and later he also attributed the origin of tragedy to the satyr play.[22] It is difficult to fully discern what Aristotle wanted his reader to take from this statement as in the sentences just prior he stated that out of epic poetry came tragedy and out of lyric poetry came comedy.[23] Scholars have tried to accommodate Aristotle's statement by assigning the satyr play to evolution of the tragedy.

Without taking into account other factors, namely the epic poem and the worship of all gods, goddesses, and heroes, however, this approach runs into major obstacles. First, from what the reader can learn of the Dionysiac cult from Euripides's *The Bacchae*, the cult of the god was frenzied and a bit grotesque. A close analysis of the "father of tragedy" Aeschylus and his plays would lead the reader to believe that they have very little in common with art depictions of the demonic satyr or the ritual surrounding the cult of Dionysus. Additionally, Winkler has suggested that scholars have misread Aristotle since Aristotle did not say that "tragedy grew out of dithyrambs," but rather that the improvisation of the satyr was *like* the performance of the tragic performers.[24] Ridgeway also pointed out that Aristotle's purpose in *Poetics* was not to trace the origins of tragedy (note that Aristotle does not even mention early and important figures such as Thespis or Phrynichus) but rather to discuss the theatre after it was fully developed.[25] Finally, it is worth mentioning that it is not until 500 B.C. that Pratinus introduced the satyr play to Athens. The first tragic competition took place in 534 B.C. If tragedy came out of satyr, surely tragic competition would have been introduced after, and not before, the satyr play.

Another argument that arises over the origin of tragedy is the word "tragedy" itself. Believed to have been derived from the word *tragoidia*, meaning "song of the goat," most scholars have agreed that the goat reference points in the direction of Dionysus. Explanations of this connection include: 1) Dionysus was represented as a goat in certain myths; 2) The prize for tragic competitors was a goat; or that, 3) It referred to the song of the satyrs. Several questions must be explored about these explanations however. Was Dionysus the only god to be portrayed as a goat? Why were the satyrs, depicted as half-goat, called satyrs and not tragedians if they were first ones singing the dithyramb? Since the etymology of the word tragedy may very well have had its roots in the "song of the goat," the argument cannot be totally disproved. However, this argument alone is not strong enough to support the theory that theatre developed

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[20] The Suda lexicon. Available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suda_Lexicon, November 10, 2003.

[21] Furley and Bremer, 12. Based on the work of Proklos.

[22] Aristotle, *Poetics*, I.iv.

[23] Ibid. It is interesting to note that the dithyramb is in lyric form.

[24] John J. Winkler, "The Ephebes Song: Tragoidia and Polis," *Representations* 52 (1985): 26-62. Available from http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=07346018%28198522%290%3A11%3C26%3ATESTAP%3E2.0.CO%3B2C; JSTOR Database, November 20, 2003. Winkler attributes the origin of tragedy to a ritual that focused on the *ephebes* and not necessarily cult god Dionysus.

[25] Ridgeway, 57.

solely out of the cult of Dionysus. So then the question is asked, did the development of theatre have "nothing to do with Dionysus?"[26]

It would be a mistake to discount the cult of Dionysus altogether. There were many myths, cults, and festivals dedicated to different gods, goddesses, and heroes early on in Greek history, but the theatre does not take its recognizable form until Thespis in about 534 B.C. Certainly, the cult of Dionysus served as a catalyst. There were several reasons that this cult played an important role. First, as Bieber stated, the cult of Dionysus was different from other cults not only because its late development, but also because the myths surrounding the god were open to variance not found with other cult religions. [27] Furthermore, the worship of Dionysus, the god of wine and revelry, lent itself to a frenzied and free approach. And finally, the Dionysian cult was "inclined to disguise individual personality in favor of a transformation into a higher being."[28] Perhaps all four reasons functioned as catalysts in the development of tragedy, but it is important to add that Bieber also stated that the reason the late arrival of the cult of Dionysus was important to the development was because epic and lyric poetry were already mature art forms.[29] In essence, it was time for a new type of performance to sprout from the old. The new form of tragic performance was not separate from the old form but rather linked and then improved.

The mask was an important invention stemming from the cult worship of Dionysus because it enabled the person behind it to "become" the character. Even in the early stages of the cult, as the dithyramb was being performed, men masqueraded as satyrs. As exhibited on Attic vases, the men wore pointed ears and long tails. Not long after, a visible distinction appeared between the leader of the chorus and the rest of the chorus. The satyr chorus lead by Hermes is a first-rate example of this difference. The leader is seen with a patterned cloak and boots, but he remains a satyr. Although he plays the god Hermes, he had not truly embodied the character.[30] The final stage occurred when the leader of the chorus was no longer a satyr, but actually puts on a mask and impersonates either a god or hero.[31] It is imperative to recognize however in the earliest vase paintings satyrs are mostly painted as mythical beings and not actors. Csapo asserts that, because of this, it is not viable to claim that satyrs are connected with drama in the 6th century B.C.[32] Nevertheless, the cult encouraged masks and impersonation, which eventually combined with epic poetry for entertainment purposes.

The cult also presented a larger "stage" for theatre to grow. Regardless of what one believes about the initial beginnings of the tragic theatre, it cannot be debated that once the Greater Dionysia was introduced in Athens, the theatre grew rapidly.

The Greater Dionysia festival, which lasted for several days, was to give honor to its patron god. It began with a processional that included the *phallephoria* and a wooden statue of

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[26] Several theories have been proposed as to the origin of this popular statement. The Suda Lexicon provides, "Originally when writing in honor of Dionysus they competed with pieces which were called satyric. Later they changed to the writing of tragedy and gradually turned to plots and stories in which they had no thought for Dionysus." Suda Lexicon available from Suda On Line: Byzantine Lexicography, http://www.stoa.org/sol/.

[27] Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 1-2.

[28] Ibid,2.

[29] Ibid,1.

[30] Ibid,15.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Eric Csapo and William Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), 92.

Dionysus. Sacrifice alongside the processional was recorded in both Chalkis and Priene.[33] The theatric competition trailed the processional. It is certain that Dionysus was honored in this cult festival for his statue loomed largely in the theatre.[34] However, just as scholars question the cult's importance in the theatre, many question how much ritual worship was part of the Greater Dionysia. Numerous scholars have regarded the festival as simply a way to promote Athenian superiority and Greek civic duty.[35] After all, it was during this festival that Athens' allies came into the city to pay tribute. Civic honors were also awarded before the performance of plays.[36] It was time to model for everyone present the duties that were expected of a citizen in the democratic *polis*.

At the core of the entire festival though was the entertainment of the theatre. The dramatists competed for three days in hopes of capturing three prizes – best poet, best *choregos*, and best actor. The contest must have been grueling for it lasted from sunrise until sunset. And so, it was here, in Athens, that epic poetry and hero worship intersected with the dithyramb and Dionysian cult worship to create the theatre, and more specifically the tragedy.

As epic poetry, hero worship, and the Dionysian cult became intertwined on the Greater Dionysian stage, it created something unique: the 5th century tragedy. The religious aspect does not last. As a matter of fact, in the short time that spanned from Aeschylus to his contemporaries, Sophocles and Euripides, the religious aspect had already begun to fade.

In general, there are some differences between the beliefs of the people of Greece and the beliefs of the characters of Greek tragedy. These differences provided a distance for the audience, and instead of creating a worshipful atmosphere, they created one of mere entertainment. For example, in Hellenistic religion people generally assigned the good things that happened to the gods and the bad that happened to fate, while the characters in tragedy readily assigned the bad to both the gods and fate.[37] Mikalson noted that this tragic religious concept was found particularly in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides.[38] An excellent example of this, taken from Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* occurs when Oedipus, upon piercing his own eyes, cries "Apollo, friends, Apollo was he that brought these woes of mine to pass/ These sore, sore woes."[39]

The concept of staging also removed the audience from a mode of worship to one of entertainment. For example, hero worship created innovative staging within the tragedy. While hero worship continued to be common in actual religious practice in 5th century B.C. Athens, the tragedians used the heroes in very theatrical ways for the effect and not for the religious experience. Aeschylus's *Persians* raised the hero Darius from the tomb for advice after the battle of Salamis as part of the staging. This must have been a shock and a thrill for the audience,

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[33] Susan G. Cole, "Procession and Celebration at the Dionysia," *Theater and Society in the Classical World*, ed. Ruth Scodel (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 30.
[34] Orrieux, 170.
[35] Simon Goldhill in his essay, "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology"; Orrieux suggests that the festival offered a "unique civic ritual," 171; and Josiah Ober and Barry Strauss note that dramatic texts were forms of public speech in "Drama, Rhetoric, and the Discourse of Athenian Democracy," *Nothing to Do with Dionysus?*, ed. John J. Winkler and Forma I. Zeitlin, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990),
[36] Simon Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology," *Nothing to Do with Dionysus?*, ed. John J. Winkler and Forma I. Zeitlin, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 104.
[37] Mikalson, chap.2 passim.
[38] Ibid, 19.
[39] Sophocles, "Oedipus the King," *Greek Drama*, ed. Moses Hadas (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1965), 144.

although according to Green, this could have been a common motif by the time Aeschylus staged it as there are earlier vases depicting the dead rising.[40]

Sophocles steadily moved away from the piety and reverence found in the plays of Aeschylus in his use of staging. From a series of five vase paintings, scholars have determined Sophocles staging for the play *Andromeda*.[41] With her knee-length tunic, Andromeda is pictured defenselessly tied to stakes; Green stated that, "Sophocles clearly aimed to shock the audience."[42]

Sophocles and Euripides visibly broke away from the traditional boundaries of tragedy, while Aeschylus remained the link between the old (religious foci) and the new (entertainment foci). Mikalson identified this split plainly:

> In Aeschylus religious beliefs often seem the center of attention in the play, and while many beliefs he presents are popular and conventional, the theological scheme and the theodicy into which he places them are not. For Sophocles and Euripides religious beliefs occasionally become objects of major concern, but most often they appear peripheral, introduced primarily to create or develop situations and characterizations. [43]

Ultimately, Aeschylus wrote "religious dramas," while at best Sophocles wrote "pious dramas," and Euripides wrote dramas with even less religious focus.[44]

In tragedy, Aeschylus had a few unique theological views, particularly of justice. He makes Zeus into the defender and distributor of justice.[45] He had his characters punished for unanswered sins in the afterlife.[46] And though not unheard of in the plays of his contemporaries, Aeschylus regularly had the gods in his plays decide the outcome of a conflict or war. For example, in Agamemnon the chorus sings, attributing the outcome of the war to Zeus:

> Hail, sovereign Zeus, hail, gracious night, high is the glory thou hast won, thou night, that hast cast over the towers of Troy meshes so close, that none full-
> grown, nay, nor any young could pass the wide enslaving net, one capture taking them all.[47]

Aeschylus seemed to have had a more systematic theology than his contemporaries. In fact, the genius of Aeschylean tragedy came from the "theological, philosophical line" which he established as a "counterpoint" to the vague and conflicting storyline.[48] Finally, another important feature of Aeschylean tragedy is his use of the chorus. The chorus later begins to fade in importance, but the strong religious roots that had helped propel tragedy forward remained intact within the chorus of Aeschylus's plays.

Sophocles's tragedies could be considered more philosophical, and maybe even a bit more political than that of his predecessor. Any reshaping that Sophocles did in his plays to

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[40] Green, 18.
[41] Ibid, 20.
[42] Ibid, 22.
[43] Mikalson, 15.
[44] Gilbert Norwood, *Essay on Euripidean Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 8. Norwood expressed this idea as well in his book. His conclusion was that tragedy did not have to be religious.
[45] Mikalson, 212.
[46] Ibid, 212-213.
[47] Aeschylus, "Agamemnon," *Greek Drama*, ed. Moses Hadas (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1965), 23.
[48] Charles R. Beye, Ancient Greek Literature and Society (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1975), 143.

convey religion were not because of some grand theological scheme, but rather for the enjoyment of the audience. Mikalson claimed that Sophocles was the "one most willing to distort it [popular religion] for literary purposes."[49]

Sophocles's primary focus was the human side of the hero. Perhaps this was a natural advancement in literary technique; when he added yet a third actor, perhaps character development became easier for the tragedian. Whatever the reason, Sophocles's heavier focus on the human characters meant that he did not have to utilize the gods as much in the action. He portrayed the concept of the "hero" differently from the "hero's" portrayal in epics or popular religion. It seemed that the greater the hero, like Creon at the height of his kingship in *Antigone*, the more likely he was to fall, often due to his own *hubris*.

His choruses, which were smaller in size and importance than earlier choruses, spotlighted humanity, giving little credit, if any, to the gods.[50] In Antigone, the chorus sings an ode to the achievements of man beginning with, "Wonders are many, and none is more wonderful than man."[51] The ode continues with praise for man and his actions, a far cry from Aeschylus and even Euripides.

When Euripides entered the tragic scene, the chorus had already been reduced, but it still played a role that was interwoven with the text. However, Euripides's chorus could have been completely removed from the play without disrupting the essence of the drama. According to Dearden, the depleted chorus can be attributed to a "change in the audience's attitude towards the state and politics" causing the playwrights to focus not on the religious themes, but rather on "more social and economic themes."[52]

Hadas wrote in his introduction that "by applying contemporary gauges" Euripides exposed social issues and problems at hand in the state.[53] Euripides was a "realistic" playwright, addressing political and social problems while focusing more on the everyday person. In addition, the characters in his plays were allowed the privilege of "having second thoughts" and do not seem to always bow to the will of the gods or fate.[54]

Euripides portrayed the gods differently than Aeschylus or Sophocles too. Instead of using the gods in the traditional *deus ex machina*, Euripides sometimes created a "*homo ex machina*" in his plays.[55] For example, Medea, in Euripides's play by the same name, uses her own abilities of prophecy and power to punish Jason. In addition, Euripides was sometimes criticized for his harsh treatment of the gods.[56] Aphrodite in *Hippolytus* and Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, for example, were unusually cruel and unjust to their human "subjects." Euripides's plays did not truly mark the end of the performance of tragedy, or even its creation, but after the "three great tragedians," tragedy as it had been known in the 5th century B.C. faded in importance, giving way perhaps to philosophy.

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[49]Mikalson, 219.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Sophocles, "Antigone," *Greek Drama*, ed. Moses Hadas (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1965), 89. This example is also used in Mikalson, 219.

[52] C.W. Dearden, *The State of Aristophanes* (London: The Athlone Press, 1976), 101.

[53] Moses Hadas, "Introduction," *Greek Drama*, ed. Moses Hadas (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1965), 8.

[54] Benard Knox, "Second Thoughts in Greek Tragedy," *Word and Action: Essays on the Ancient Theater* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 232.

[55]Norwood, 21. Euripides still utilized *deus ex machina* in his plays (Artemis in *Hippolytus* is an excellent example), but he did not rely on it as much as his predecessors.

[56] Aristophanes, writing at the same time as Euripides, often criticized Euripides. His criticisms demonstrate that the focus of tragedy had changed from the time of Aeschylus to Euripides. In his play *Frogs*, Aristophanes provides a literary criticism of tragedy by comparing Aeschylus and Euripides.

It is not within the scope of this essay to trace comedy's development, however, it is important to note a few aspects of 5th century B. C. Attic Old Comedy and the development of New Comedy and its relationship to tragedy. Attic comedy, like the tragedy, developed into highly political and social statements. Unfortunately, the only complete works from the era of Old Comedy come from Aristophanes, but they are insightful pieces. Aristophanes's plays involved so many contemporary events that scholars use them as a source for political and social history. According to Walton and Arnott, comedies of the 5th century B.C., like the "later tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides" were created for "an audience under stress and frequently under siege as a result of the Peloponnesian War."[57] It is possible to see the concerns of the Athenian population in his plays.

In the 4th century however, the population had a "new concept of what the theatre was for;" it was no longer religious, or even political. [58] It was a source of entertainment. Murray summed it appropriately by stating, "there arose in the fourth century, B.C., a kind of play that we could understand at once, ... New Comedy is neither tragic nor comic, but, like our own plays a discreet mixture of both."[59] In the New Comedy, plot was not an archaic myth; it was an invention in the playwright's mind. Whereas tragedy wanted to reveal human destiny, comedy revealed developed characters – human characters.

The quest to discover the origins of Greek tragedy will, without a doubt, continue. But perhaps the better quest would be to discover what impact tragedy had on the Greek world, the Roman world, and even today's world. It certainly served as a necessary step in literary development, and perhaps a necessary step in the spectrum of Greek religion and philosophy, pushing society forward. Instead of viewing Greek tragedy as a result of one cult religion, the scholar should view it as an integral part to a continuum.

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[57] J. Michael Walton and Peter D. Arnott, *Menander and the Making of Comedy* (London: Praeger, 1996), 2.
[58] Ibid, 30.
[59] Gilbert Murray, *Euripides and His Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 101.

Fiske Hall Graduate Seminar Paper Award

Booth's Army: The Salvation Army in Nineteenth Century Britain

Joel T. Schaefer

The religious landscape of nineteenth-century Great Britain was one that reflected the social and economic diversity and changes occurring. As the Church of England dominated the lives of most of Britain's populous at the opening of the century, its influence would be challenged by numerous missionary and evangelical groups in the latter half of the century. In 1851, the British Government conducted a religious census for the first (and last) time which examined church attendance. The Census of Religious Worship recorded where public worship occurred, how often they met, and the number of people involved in the parish. The attendance figures for England and Wales were: Church of England, 5,292,551; main Nonconformist Churches, 4,536,264; Roman Catholics, 383,000. The total population of England and Wales was 17,927,609. Over 34,000 places of worship were registered and millions of religious pamphlets were distributed and yet over five million people stayed away from the church census when it was given on March 30, 1851.[1] One of the many conclusions that these statistics reveal, or fail to reveal, was the changing social structure of British society. The social make-up of society became more subtle as a new industrial working class and a new commercial and industrial bourgeoisie emerged. With the creation of entirely new industrial communities, new religious sects formed and new tactics were employed to attempt to reach out to the urban poor. The Church of England continued its focus on the upper and middle class parishioners, neglecting the growing urban populace. In a meager attempt to address the lower classes the Church set out to create a Christian social climate which would by 'osmosis' influence the lives of the workers. This trickle-down religious philosophy of the Church never took root with the working classes of Britain, though.

One of the most successful sects was established by William and Catherine Booth in the 1860s in London. Known eventually as the Salvation Army, the Booths' mission group was targeting specifically London's inner city. "We have organized a Salvation Army to carry the blood of Christ and the fire of the Holy Ghost into every corner of the world." [2] By the end of the century, the Booths established the Army as a worldwide missionary organization which they based on the British military model. The Salvation Army became one of the formidable challengers to the Church of England's influence on Britain's urban population. For about a decade, the Salvation Army's growth was as striking as that of any post-apostolic missionary movement as it manufactured and sent out "officers" in an age of Christian imperialism.

The religious climate of the era was shaken by the evolving social and economic shift in British society. Upon visiting the new cotton textile factories in Manchester, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote, "These vast palaces of industry shut out the air and light from the human dwellings they overhang; they envelop them in a perpetual fog; here is the slave, there the master;

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[1] Anthony Armstrong, *The Church of England, the Methodists and Society 1700-1850* (Rowan and Littlefield, 1973), 159.
[2] E.H. McKinley, "The Salvation Army: A Missionary Crusade." *Christian History* vol. 9 (2) 1982, 18.

there the riches of a few, here the misery of the vast number."[3] As industrialization emerged in Britain, the Church of England would be called to minister to a new demographic of people- the destitute who lived and worked in the urban environment. Drunkenness, prostitution, and crime became serious issues within these communities. Threats of violence and riots among the urban masses in Victorian England posed a serious challenge to institutions attempting to maintain the status quo. William Booth later wrote to the privileged classes about these squalid conditions stating, "The overcrowded homes of the poor compel the children to witness everything. Sexual morality often comes to have no meaning to them. Incest is so familiar as hardly to call for a remark. The bitter poverty of the poor compels them to leave their children half fed. There are few more grotesque pictures in the history of civilization than that of the compulsory attendance of children at school, faint with hunger because they had no breakfast, and not sure whether they would even secure a dry crust for dinner when their morning's quantum of education had been duly imparted. Children thus hungered, thus housed, and thus left to grow up as best they can without being fathered or mothered, are not, educate them as you will, exactly the most promising material for the making of future citizens and rulers of the Empire."[4] How was the Church of England to respond to such changes in the people they were supposed to minister to? In separate studies, De Tocqueville and Friederich Engels noted that while there may have been a "decreasing faith," surprisingly there was no fierce anti-religious bias which was found in continental radicalism during the same period.[5] Yet, at the same time, people were showing less interest in the Church of England- a church they associated with the middle and upper classes. As early as 1800, a report from Wolds county concluded that out of a population of 15,000, approximately 5,000 had no affiliation with the Church of England or any established religious institution.[6]

One measure taken by the Church of England in response to the growing urban population was to erect thousands of new churches throughout the cities. Despite the religious show of force, the Church offered no social outreach programs. It was the Church's belief that it was the people's duty to attend if a church was made available. The urban classes felt no connection with the high doctrines and rituals offered. Simultaneously, in the midst of urban development, English clergy sought rural parishes to free themselves from the new dilemmas encountered by clergy. This flight to the countryside seemed to represent revulsion for the new industrial society. "Churchmen were concerned with the possibility of internal upheaval. From them all came the view that the Church was the appointed instrument for securing social cohesion, for maintaining existing ranks and degrees, for ensuring happiness in the next world if not in this."[7] As problems of drunkenness, crime, and prostitution mounted, the task was seemingly overwhelming for the clergy.

Out of this desire to retain the status quo arose other evangelical groups who represented a sort of rejection of the high church. Most prominent among the early sects was John Wesley and his followers known later as the Methodists. In the late eighteenth century, Wesley traveled tirelessly from village to town on horseback preaching to great crowds. Formal theology and ritual aside, he pleaded with the listeners to seek personal salvation. Many turned away from the Church of England to follow Wesley's belief in faith, repentance, and individual

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[3] Desmond Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England 1833-1889* (McGill University Press Montreal, 1968), 251.
[4] William Booth, *In darkest England and the Way Out* (Carlyle Press, 1890), 65-66.
[5] Bowen, 254.
[6] Armstrong, 178.
[7] Ibid., 177.

redemption. Later, as Methodism spread to the United States, such reformers as James Caughey, Charles G. Finney, and Phoebe Palmer took up Wesley's mantle as passionate speakers and ignited a religious fervor that they brought with them back to England in the 1840s. Through such methods as door-to-door visits in the slums and preaching at night, these revivalists caught the attention of a young William Booth. Booth was mesmerized by their abilities to bring sinners to open confession, train converts to win over others, and their fiery preaching abilities. Booth believed where the Church of England failed was because of its inaction.[8] While Booth was baptized in the Church of England tradition, to him the Church seemed to center more on ritual than on practical Christian activity. Methodism was a faith of action and this intrigued Booth to the point of giving his personal testimony, and then first public sermon, at age seventeen in Nottingham. Listeners were so moved by Booth's ability to articulate his personal experiences that he was invited back and encouraged to speak at local Bible clubs.[9] In 1852, Booth met Catherine Mumford, a deeply religious young woman with social reforms notions that sparked an immediate interest between the two. William and Catherine corresponded for eighteen months before they were married in what would be one of the most influential marriages in religious history.

With Catherine now by his side, William Booth became a Methodist minister in 1859 and remained an avid student to Wesley's Arminian theology which was based on the ideas of "free salvation for all men and full salvation from sin."[10] Booth had a distrust of education in religion because he felt it took away the spirit of one's convictions and was distorted into formal dogma that did not appeal to the uneducated masses who, Booth believed, was in need of salvation. Embracing the tenants of conversion as a remedy for basic human sinfulness and using this empowering experience to change one's behavior, Booth became a tireless preacher in Gateshead. He would go to the streets, speak with the poor, bring them into church, and have them take part in his services. These techniques often made other parishioners uncomfortable as they were forced to sit next to these undesirable elements of the community. Booth had his first clash with the church structure because of such innovative tactics.

Another challenge to the institution of the Church came from Catherine. She would become associated with feminism and an advocate of women's suffrage in the latter part of the century. Josephine Butler, a feminist writer of the age, argued alongside Catherine that a woman's "training from babyhood even in this highly favoured land, has hitherto been such as to cramp and paralyze rather than to develop and strengthen her energies, and calculated to crush and wither her aspirations after mental greatness rather than to excite and stimulate them."[11] Catherine also spoke out and worked to convince others, including William, that women should have the same opportunities as men in the ministry. In 1859, she composed a pamphlet entitled "Female Ministry: Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel." Booth responded to his wife's pleas by stating, "I would not stop a woman preaching on any account. I would not encourage one to begin. You should preach if you felt moved thereto; felt equal to the task ... I am for the world's salvation; I will quarrel with no means that promises help."[12] Catherine preached for the first

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[8] Harry Edward Neal, *The Hallelujah Army* (Chilton Company, 1961), 2. William Booth, born into poverty himself, was baptized into the Church of England but rejected its high doctrines and converted to Methodism as a young man.

[9] Ibid., 11.

[10] Norman Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army* (University of Tennessee Press/Knoxville, 1994), 26/

[11] Josephine Butler, "Catherine Booth." *Contemporary Review* (1890) vol. 58, 649

[12] Norman Murdoch, "Female Ministry in the Thought and Work of Catherine Booth." *Church History* vol. 53 (3) 1984, 351

time in 1860 when she gave her testimony at William's Methodist New Connexion Bethesda Chapel in Gateshead. She spoke of her struggle over a public ministry leading up to that moment. Many wept throughout her testimony and William immediately announced that she would speak again that evening. Over the course of the next three years "many agree, no man exceeded her in popularity or results." "You far exceed me in the influence you can command in a service. You heard how they pitched into my writing and praised yours. There, as elsewhere, I must decrease and you increase," wrote William upon Catherine's ministerial success.[13]

Thereafter, William and Catherine threw a tireless energy into making revivalism a practical solution to the spiritual poverty they witnessed among Gateshead's poor. Since the poor were not made to feel welcome into churches, Booth believed that they should not feel uncomfortable in such a setting so he sought other locations. The Booths went from town to town holding revival meetings in dance halls, theaters, vacant stores or other secular locations. William Booth became so popular in his ministry in Gateshead that other town ministers became upset at his evangelism because he was absorbing hundreds of converts from local congregations. Despite his influential ministry, Booth was denied by the Methodists New Connexion to continue his "unorthodox" evangelical methods. William had reached a crossroads. His personal conflict seemed to place him between his love of freedom for winning converts, and his love of the structure and discipline the church offered. But by 1865, it was Catherine Booth who was invited by the Free Church Methodists to conduct a mission in Rotherhithe, a suburb of southeast London. Catherine had desperately wanted to go back to London to be near her parents and so William agreed to resign from his ministry as he had ambitions for creating a mission in east London to continue his ministry to the urban poor.[14] Thus, these events set the stage for a missionary that would soon spread throughout the country and eventually the world.

When the Booths arrived in London in 1865, William opened the Christian Revival Association, a mission financed by two East London extra denominational evangelical groups who had heard Booth preach in Gateshead. Catherine became the breadwinner of the family as she preached throughout west London and sold her writings. William focused on his missions which he would accept no salary for initially. William wanted his mission to combine evangelism with an urban revival mission to save the unconverted masses in rapidly growing cities. He sought a plan that would reproduce aggressive first-century Christianity which relied on the public speaking of laymen (and laywomen). Laypersons would go out into the streets, offer his/her testimony, and invite the nonconverted to meetings. However, Booth faced difficulties during these initial years in London sustaining regular meeting sites and winning over converts. "We can't get at the masses in the chapels. They are so awefully prejudiced against all connected with the sects that they will not come unless under some mighty excitement."[15]

By 1870, as Catherine Booth had settled into the care of their children which would last the next twelve years, William had grown tired on continually trying to find accommodations for his meetings so he began to shift his tactics for his mission.

Using his Methodist background, Booth established a Methodist-style government in 1870 which he ran as a general superintendent. He laid out an organization which provided for district superintendents and lay speakers who ran mission stations throughout London. Lay speakers would preach, sing, make house visits to the nonconverted, distribute pamphlets, and enter pubs to offer temperance pledging. Booth instilled in the lay speakers a revivalist vigor. Booth

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[13] ibid, 354

[14] St. John Ervine, *God's Soldier: General William Booth vol. I,* (The MacMillan Company: New York), 247.

[15] Ibid., 275.

described the work of the lay speakers as "getting saved and keeping saved, and then getting somebody else saved, and then getting saved ourselves more and more, until full salvation on earth makes the heaven within, perfected by the full salvation without, on the other side of the river."[16] Despite being constantly bombarded with eggs, stones, and tomatoes, Booth and his lay speakers continued to proclaim the Gospel. Through constant pleading by converted thieves and prostitutes, gradually Booth's Christian Mission made an impression upon other wayward souls.[17]

The late nineteenth century witnessed a rise in the prestige of the British Army between the Crimean War of the 1850s and the Boer War at the turn of the twentieth century. "We may not be a military nation, but without doubt we are the most warlike people on earth," wrote General Garnet Woseley.[18] So popular had the Army become that a Volunteer's Army was created in 1859 which comprised over 600,000 volunteers from the middle class. While the upper classes would join as officers in the Army for an easy social and sporting life, the middle class enlisted "for want of work, pecuniary embarrassment, family quarrels, etc."[19] The Army constituted a kind of club where gentlemen could enjoy good fellowship, hunting, and a life of leisure, with a minimum amount of attention to the tiresome military routine. However, the pomp, glory, and leisure of the military-life eluded the working and poor classes of Britain. A London Recruiting officer noted that there was no incentive for tradesmen or skilled workers to enlist because aside from the care of horses, no useful trade could be learned by them.

Even though the British Regular Army did not enlist the working class, by 1877, William Booth had gathered that this love of military could be adapted to a "muscular Christianity" which might serve as an inroad into the tough lives of the working classes he was ministering among. "Booth wanted to merge the ideas of evangelism, lay enterprise, Methodist polity, and love for the military to produce a new sect with a sectarian polity, dogma, and discipline."[20] Booth thus drew up "Orders and Regulations" which were modeled upon the military orders of the regular British Army. In 1877 at the annual Christian Mission Conference, Booth made it clear that he was creating a system modeled after Queen Victoria's imperial command. As England was fascinated by militarism, Booth wanted to capitalize on the new mood by "invading the slums" and win over the souls of the urban masses. In order to bring a rebellious world to God, Booth believed that it required military tactics uncommon in churches. "The strong should help the weak and fresh troops should constantly join in."[21] Booth would weave military jargon into the same mission activity and lay speakers who had been working for the Christian Mission since 1870. In fact, if one ignores the military speech and terminology, there is not much difference from Booth's organization than from the Methodist structure.

The military aspects of what became known as the Salvation Army began in 1877 and it started with the autocratic leadership set up by William Booth. "Confidence in God and in me are absolutely indispensable!"[22] From 1873 until his death in 1912, Booth would control all property and funds of the Army. And while he created efficient management, many lay speakers in the Army were upset that Booth had so much control. Booth felt it necessary to maintain the

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[16] Murdoch, Origins of the Salvation Army, 86

[17] Neal, 15. After the Booths moved to London, the Christian Mission was initially known as The East London Christian Revival Society then The East London Christian Mission and finally the Christian Mission.

[18] Brian Bond, "The Late Victorian Army." *History Today* (Great Britain) vol. 11 (9) 1961, 616.

[19] Ibid., 623.

[20] Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, 117

[21] St. John Ervine, *God's Soldier: General William Booth vol. 2* (The MacMillan Company: New York), 623.

[22] Ibid., 635

rigid discipline of the Army because of the difficulties of their ministry. When Booth held the annual conference, its purpose was not intended for debating and legislation but to gather those who "are in perfect harmony with us in purpose and in design." Booth would allow no controversy in army councils. He believed voting and committees to be wasteful. Thus, in an era of rising democracy, Booth's autocratic approach, while initially successful for the organization, would allow for a rapid decline if members did not adhere to his ideas and practices. In the 1880s, ex-officers would voice their frustrations publicly indicating Booth's domineering style of leadership within the Army. "People who are not with me in purpose and plan must not complain if they do not have my confidence. If they keep secrets from me, they may be sure I get to know it; little birds come to me in the midnight hour with such secrets, and they will be found out."[23] The same year, Booth founded *The War Cry*, the official newspaper of the Salvation Army which allowed the now titled "General Booth" to communicate with his "officers." Such militant terminology was immediately infused into the Army's vernacular: "field officers" replaced evangelist, "corps" replaced stations. When Booth was asked why he put out a weekly newspaper, he responded, "Because our Army means more war! Because millions cry to our inmost souls to arise and fight more furiously than ever for the salvation of our fellows! We shall conquer! To that end, let *The War Cry* go everywhere. Quick!"[24]

To add to the military dimension of the newly formed Army, Catherine Booth suggested that members of the Army should wear uniforms. Believing many of the lay speakers dressed too fashionably for the slums of the cities, Catherine and her daughters set out to design a uniform that could be worn with the pride of Christ's followers. The colors eventually adopted were blue and red, which also became the colors of the official Salvation Army flag, designed by Catherine as well. The flag was constantly used in leading processions as it prominently displayed the mission's new militancy as William declared that the flag stood for their spiritual victory. Emblematically, its crimson symbolized the redeeming blood of Christ and its blue represented purity. The motto placed on the flag was "Blood and Fire" for the blood of Christ and the fire of the Holy Ghost. Catherine Booth even presented the Army's colors to newly formed corps — a function Queen Victoria handled in the British imperial system. As their influence spread, the Booths felt the stinging criticism of the crown. The Booths' adoption of military uniforms and titles evidently disturbed Queen Victoria, believing her army was supposed to be the only army in Britain and she as its royal commander. The Queen let it be known that William's "generalship" was not warranted as this sentiment spread to the upper and middle classes. As the 1880s progressed, more upper-class people moved away from financially supporting the Army in part because of Victoria's disapproval.

Despite the Queen's response to the Army, the Booths continued to incorporate more pomp and spectacle to the Salvation Army to win over the urban poor. Another tactic adopted by the Salvation Army to rouse the souls of the nonconverted and influenced by the spirit of militarism during the late Victorian era was the implementation of brass bands and music at the meetings. Booth was himself an organist and a singer but he initially shunned the idea of music at his services because he believed they encouraged immoral behavior. Encouraged by his administrative executive, George Railton, Booth eventually changed his tune, stating, "Let us rescue this precious instrument from the clutches of the devil, and make it, as it may be made, a

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[23] Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, 54.

[24] Neal, 14. . *The War Cry* was originally called the *Christian Mission Magazine*. Later it will take the name *The Salvationist* and it is still an international published newsletter today.

bright and lively power for God."[25] The Salvation Army acquired its first brass band by accident in 1878 when the Salisbury Corps were attempting to minister but were being heckled and mobbed by the people. Charlie Fry, who led the local Methodist choir, offered to come and play to drown out the hecklers. Fry was accompanied by his three sons Fred, Ernest and Bert who played the cornet, trombone, and euphonium respectively. Once they began to play, their music not only silenced the interruption, it attracted far more people than ever before. The demand became so great for the Frys to play at the meetings that by 1880, Fry and his sons gave up their building business and became the first staff band for the Salvation Army.[26] Booth made an appeal in the March 1880 edition of *The War Cry* to officers to take up playing whatever instruments they could including, "violins, bass violas, concertinas, cornets, or any other brass instrument, drums, or anything else that will make a pleasant sound for the Lord." The first official Salvation Army hymn was composed by W.J. Pearson in January of 1879:

Come Join Our Army, to battle we go,
Jesus will help us to conquer the foe;
Defending the right and opposing the wrong,
The Salvation Army is marching along[27]

Booth wanted to incorporate hymns that had themes of "blood that cleanses, the spirit that empowers, ... victories and triumphs that await" the soul.[28] Salvation Army bands began to be comprised of former drunkards, prostitutes and prizefighters who now led music hall revivals. Eventually, the "Salvation Army Soldier's Song Book" was issued in 1884, and in 1899, over 15,000 bandsmen from all over the world gathered in London for the first Salvation Army bandsmen's council.

After its official formation in 1877, the Salvation Army's initial years as a missionary organization were quite successful. In October of 1879, William wrote to his officers that God was using his Army "to mightily shake this whole land and to gather out of it a multitude of people to serve Him in the still mightier task of shaking the nations of the earth."[29] Much of the growth of the Army can be attributed to the efforts of lay persons who pushed the mission beyond its home base and financial resources. The individual "corps" led services which consisted of singing, short prayers, exhortations to be saved, personal interviews and personal testimonies to confirm one's faith. Members of the Army were given titles such as "Salvationists," "Bleeding Lambs," "Jesus," "Ranters," and "Shakers" by the communities. Between the years 1878-1886 the Salvation Army experienced phenomenal growth. In August of 1877, the Army maintained thirty-six stations and thirty-one evangelists. By 1879, the Army had increased to 122 stations, over 200 evangelists, and 4,000 lay speakers who were giving their testimonies to over two million in the street every week. The Salvation Army reached its pinnacle in terms of numbers serving in 1886 when there were 1,006 stations (now titled corps) registered and 2,260 evangelists (now titled officers) leading the mission.[30]

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[25] Ian Bradley, "Blowing for the Lord." *History Today* (Great Britain) vol. 27 (3) 1977, 192. Booth heard a lively rendition of "Bless His Name, He Set Me Free" at Worcester Theater in 1862 to the tune of "Champagne Charlie is My Name" and commented on the audience's response to the religious tune to secular music.

[26] Ibid., 194. Today there are over 41,000 men and women involved in Salvation Army bands worldwide.

[27] W.J. Pearson. "Come Join Our Army." *The Salvationist.* 1 Feb. 1879, 33.

[28] Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, 108.

[29] McKinley, 19.

[30] Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, 140.

William continued to borrow from the British military structure by establishing training homes for men and women cadets in 1880. Basing his ideas on General Wolesly, the British Army General-in-Chief who himself modeled his training schools from the Prussian example for the members of its Volunteer Army, Booth was able to manufacture officers from the working class in three months from these training grounds. Booth's Army was especially strong with the working class because they were left out of the British Army and membership gave them an opportunity to be a part of a military club. With working hours decreasing, people had more leisure time to pursue religious, recreational and patriotic diversions. The Salvation Army offered all of the outlets through its organization. Additionally, the urban, like many others in the late Victorian period, were enamored by the military and this militant spirit spread throughout society. Such groups as the Boys Brigade (1883), Church Lads Brigade (1890), and the Boys Life Brigade (1899) were established to protect the young from moral contamination.[31] However, with society's newfound militancy came "combat" or violence against the Salvationists. Coupled with the fact that the Queen disapproved of the Army, many felt this gave them a degree of legitimacy in persecuting the members. The Salvationists were trained to face the rough crowds of people who resented the Army because so many of the converts were former co-workers and pub mates of the people they were now trying to convert. In 1882, roughs assaulted 669 Army workers.[32]

Yet during the same period, the Salvation Army saw its organization spreading rapidly throughout the country and even throughout the world. In 1880, William Booth had devised an imperial plan and he moved to bring the United States, Europe, India and Africa under his flag. It was his dream to create a worldwide disciplined society obedient to God. In a sense, Booth was merging revivalism and imperialism, again another parallel with the British military structure. "My business is to get the world saved; if this involves the standing still of the looms and the shutting up of the factories and the staying of the sailing of the ships, let them all stand still. When we have got everybody converted they can go on again."[33] Booth's mission would spread faster than he ever imagined. By 1886, the Army had invaded thirty-four countries and placed 743 corps with 1,932 officers overseas.[34] The overseas expansion efforts of the Salvation Army made it the world's fastest growing Christian sect in an age of missions.

For all of the masculine military rhetoric that the Salvation Army perpetuated, it was women who brought the most converts into the organization. Initially, Catherine had trouble with male Methodists who were so upset by the "unscriptural appearance" of a woman at the pulpit that they wrote letters to newspapers denouncing her. Traditionally, the ministry had excluded women from its ranks. But witnessing the success of his wife, William was determined to introduce thousands of working-class women into the ranks of ordained clergy. With the formation of the Salvation Army, Catherine turned her attention to the recruitment of young women. These young women realized that evangelism was not the first solution to the poverty they were encountering in the slum houses. They pressed William for an improvement in social conditions as well. Thus, soap and water brigades marched into poor homes to help mothers, talk with drunken fathers and attempt to save their souls. Even those in the Army recognized the importance of women at the time. The April edition of the *Christian Mission Magazine* (before it became *The Salvationist*) stated, "It has sometimes been said the female preachers would be the

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[31] Neal, 17.

[32] Cyril Barnes. "*Salvation Army*." *Christian History* vol. 5 (1) 1984, 87.

[33] Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, 141.

[34] McKinley, 19.

ruin of the Mission. But on the contrary, it turns out that the prosperity of the work in every respect just appears most preciously at the very time when female preachers are being allowed the fullest opportunity... taking a leading position in the work at no less than nine out of 36 station."[35] Catherine went so far as to call for women's suffrage in 1886 in Britain becoming one of the forerunners in the women's rights movement. Led by Catherine, the women demonstrated an aggressive campaign for female ministry which many attribute the Army's worldwide success as it was recognized as a social reforming organization and an evangelizing agency.

At the height of the Salvation Army's influence in the early 1880s, some bishops in the Church of England began to court William Booth to join his ranks with their own. By the late nineteenth century, the Church of England was facing a decline in outward prestige as there were fewer registered communicants and fewer priests serving. Archbishop of York, William Thomson, told a workingman's meeting in 1878 that "The Church of England must either come into closer contact with the working classes of the country, or else her national position will suffer, and her leading position ultimately lost."[36] The Church of England needed some novelty in approaching the urban "heathen" and compared it to conducting a mission in Africa or Asia. The Church of England attempted to create more parochial schools for the betterment of "salvation, civilization, and subordination" but overall, the effort fell short.[37] Archbishop Longley remarked to Disraeli that the Church had lost the towns and Disraeli replied, "Your Grace is mistake. The Church never had the towns."[38] The Church of England began to replicate Booth's idea as they attempted a couple of urban missions which too possessed military jargon to them in hopes of reaching out the urban community. While Booth referred to these as "bogus armies," he was also willing to listen to the Church of England's offer. Recognizing the Salvation Army was increasingly shunned by the upper classes, Booth faced a conflict in his desire to be accepted by respectable Christianity and yet maintain the power and authority he possessed within the ranks of his own army.

In 1882, the Church Congress authorized a committee to approach the Salvation Army to discuss terms in which they would be used as an urban mission of the Church of England to attract the poor masses the Church felt unable to reach. Yet many in the church considered the Army's methods vulgar and demeaning to the high doctrines of Christianity. Randall Davison, the archbishop of Canterbury, expressed his concern with the Church of England's pursuit of the Army when he described the manner in which the Salvationists conducted themselves, stating, "When an excited and illiterate young man or woman is put forward to declare in the loudest tone 'what Jesus has done for me and what He will do for you,' there must be, here and there at least, the grossest irreverence. The risk, which is a grave one indeed, is inherent in the system pursued. And, again, in the excitement of a great meeting, when the rough audience has caught the enthusiasm of the speakers, and is joining vociferously in doggerel hymns or songs, to the noisy accompaniment of a great band, irreverence- gross irreverence in the view of every thoughtful Christian man- is, to say the very least, perilously imminent."[39] Issues of the sacraments, ordination of women, noisy worship, vulgar singing, and the exploitation of adult

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[35] Norman Murdoch, "Female Ministry in the Thought and Work of Catherine Booth," *Church History* vol. 53 (3) 1984, 354.

[36] Norman Murdoch, "The Salvation Army and the Church of England." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, vol. 55 (1) 1986, 33.

[37] Ibid., 37.

[38] Ibid., 38.

[39] Ibid., 42.

and children converts' deep emotional experiences all bothered elders in the Church of England as well. But the principle sticking point in negotiations between Booth and the Church of England was the structure of the Church. Booth continued his autocratic-style of government within the Army and it was too much for him to sacrifice this authority to the hierarchy of the Church of England. Both sides retreated and never found common ground on which to unite. Relations gradually deteriorated between the Army and the Church of England in the later 1880s when the Church of England circulated charges that the Army promoted "hysteria" and "sexual immorality" in its meetings.[40] Thus, the merger between the Salvation Army and the Church of England never took place and the Army continued to function as an autonomous mission led by the Booth family.

After its initial success as an evangelical organization, the Salvation Army began to struggle by the late 1880s. The soul-saving methods of Booth's earlier years were no longer attracting the numbers of working class as once before. Despite its origins in east London, the Army failed to ever win over significant amounts of people there. Many in the Army blamed "respectable Christians" for not offering support, but the Army had concentrated its efforts on the Midlands and the North of England after too many difficult obstacles to overcome in London. "If anybody would like to try their hand with London, come along. There is a difference between London people and country people... You must not judge the Salvation Army by what you see in London. Go to Bristol, or Hull, or Rhonnda Valley, and you will find what it is capable of accomplishing."[41] By 1887, all but one of the East End corps were in serious debt.

Booth believed he was living in an ever-growing secular society and so by 1890 he turned to social salvation. He gathered material for "In darkest England and the Way Out" which he published in 1890 and sold over 50,000 copies in its first month.[42] Booth's plan was to end unemployment by moving the unemployed poor of the cities to the British colonies. The British government failed to fund any of his scheme which would allow working class people to go to British colonies to accept menial labor and assist others as well. Many within the Army were divided about social salvation as opposed to religious evangelism. Even Catherine Booth voiced her suspicion of her husband's plan stating, "Praise up humanitarianism as much as you like, but don't confuse it with Christianity, nor suppose that it will ultimately lead its followers to Christ."[43] Yet Booth persisted in his social salvation campaign as a means to win over souls to the Army. While addressing a crowd at the Royal Albert Hall in 1912, Booth stated, "While women weep, as they do now, I'll fight; while little children go hungry ... while men go to prison ... while there is a drunkard left, while there is a poor lost girl upon the streets, while there remains one dark soul without the light of God, I'll fight — I'll fight to the very end."[44] Booth would die only three months later as a result of a failed eye surgery.

William and Catherine Booth came to London in 1865 and by 1880 they had created an imperial structure for evangelism. By capitalizing on people's love of military during the late Victorian era, the Booth's created an evangelical and social service ministry which administered

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[40] Ibid., 49.

[41] Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, 151.

[42] Booth, *In darkest England*, iv. There have been six editions of *Darkest England* published since and it has served as a textbook for social workers in the late twentieth century in England and the United States.

[43] Neal, 208.

[44] Barnes, 89. One of Booth's last charges before he died on August 20, 1912 was to his son Bramwell pleading, "The homeless children. Oh, the children! Bramwell, look after the homeless. Promise me." Thus, Booth was indeed fighting to the end.

to millions of followers worldwide. To many, the Booths were the Salvation Army. Seven of the eight children graduated to leadership and produced a family dynasty possibly unmatched in church history. The Army's success lay in its social services to an urban population neglected by the Church of England. While evangelizing the masses did not always succeed, many of the social services created exist today.

Ultimately, Queen Victoria commended the Army's efforts recognizing it as a valuable social service to the lower classes. Once Edward became King in 1901, he openly gave his blessing and generous support to the Army. As the Army was recognized in a more positive light by royalty, Booth was welcomed into castles and courts in his later years. And the influence of the Army in Britain and the world continued well into the twentieth century as a social service and evangelical organization. In Royal Albert Hall, London, during the Army's Centenary celebration in 1965, a congregation of 7,000, including Queen Elizabeth II, heard Frederick Coutts, the Army General, declare, "If we ourselves, for want of a better way of speaking, refer to our evangelical work and also to our social work, it is not that they are two distinct entities which could operate the one without the other. They are but two activities of the one and the same salvation which is concerned with the total redemption of man."[45] While the Church of England remained the predominant religious institution of Britain in the nineteenth century, they failed to evolve and minister to the new urban classes. William Booth's conscious decision to replicate the military and imperial structure of the late Victorian Era to his urban missionary organization proved to impact those neglected working classes. Booth's Army would march beyond Britain and eventually invade over ninety countries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[46]

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[45] McKinley, 20.

[46] Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, 164.

Bendell Award

Deception and Decisions: The Central Intelligence Agency, Two Presidents, and the Bay of Pigs Invasion

Nathan Heiman

In 1959, Fidel Castro rose to power in Cuba after overthrowing dictator Fulgencio Batista. Castro and his revolutionary group, the 26th of July Movement, were viewed with suspicion by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his administration, and by the end of the year, Castro's regime presented a grave problem to the outgoing president due to the far left-leaning politics of the group. The fear of Communism spreading throughout the Western Hemisphere in the relatively early stages of the Cold War was prevalent in American politics throughout the 1950s, and preventing such a fear from becoming a reality was a top priority. The possibility of a communist government only ninety miles away from the United States mainland did not sit well with Eisenhower or any other top national security official. The officials were well aware of the ramifications of Cuba becoming a strategic puppet for the Soviet Union, and they were willing to entertain any ideas to neutralize Castro and his regime. One such concept included President Dwight David Eisenhower authorizing the Central Intelligence Agency to plot the overthrow of the Cuban government. However, throughout the planning stage of the mission, the misinformation provided by the CIA to Presidents Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, as well as Kennedy's own poor decisions in the weeks leading up to the invasion, ultimately doomed its chances for success.

The reason the Central Intelligence Agency was chosen by President Eisenhower to execute the removal of Castro stemmed from two factors. First, the mission statement of the Agency is not only to provide intelligence, but also be able to "perform certain other functions as directed by the National Security Council."[1] The second, and probably most important factor, was the Agency's success in a prior operation during the Eisenhower presidency.

In 1954, the Central Intelligence Agency was able to accomplish the toppling of the left-leaning Guatemalan government led by Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán. The Eisenhower Administration proceeded with action after claiming the shipment of Czech and German arms to Guatemala violated the 130-year-old Monroe Doctrine. The CIA not only started a campaign of bombing strategic locations in Guatemala, but also an intense psychological operation of jamming radio frequencies to confuse and incite the officers in Guatemala's army into leading a revolt.[2]

While the CIA would base their operation in Cuba on the Guatemalan plan, a revolutionary in Guatemala would learn from the failure he encountered and apply the new knowledge seven years later in Cuba. Indeed, through Ché Guevara's experience in Guatemala, he became Fidel Castro's right hand man in suppressing the invasion at the Bay of Pigs.[3]

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[1] Grayston L. Lynch, *Decision for Disaster: Betrayal at the Bay of Pigs* (Washington: Brassey's, Inc., 1998), 13.
[2] Trumbull Higgins, *The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987), 35.
[3] Ibid.

Four years after overthrowing the leftist Guatemalan government, the spread of Communism once again worried Eisenhower, this time in Cuba. President Fulgencio Batista had lost the respect of his people, and Castro's guerilla movement experienced growing popular support. On January 1, 1959, Fidel Castro became the leader of Cuba. Once firmly in power, Castro proclaimed the revolutionary ideals of free speech, free elections, privatization of the economy and so forth. However, such ideals never became reality. He made his proclamations to buy time to create ties with Communist nations, particularly the Soviet Union.

The truth behind the revolutionary ideals, however, is something entirely different. After installing Communists into his cabinet and internal police force, Castro executed hundreds of anti-revolution supporters without due process. He promised free elections within eighteen months to allow for political parties to reorganize, but that time frame was pushed back to two years and then four. Also, within the first two years of control, Fidel Castro nationalized both Cuban and American private businesses.

Unfortunately, the State Department initially had become smitten with the charming, yet enigmatic leader of Cuba. When his revolutionary movement against Batista began, Castro befriended Herbert Matthews, a reporter for the influential *New York Times*. Matthews' glowing articles on the guerilla leader generated public sympathy for Castro's cause. When Fidel Castro came to power, the same charm worked on Roy Rubottom, the head of Latin American Affairs inside the State Department. Rubottom was emphatic in the belief that the United States should work with the new government of Cuba.[4]

The Central Intelligence Agency, on the other hand, was able to see through the revolutionaries' ideals and warned President Eisenhower of Castro's possible ties to Communism. Eisenhower wasted little time reacting, imposing an embargo on arms shipments from the United States and reducing the quota on Cuban sugar to pressure Castro on the economy. But most importantly, experiencing the CIA success in Guatemala during his first term, the President authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to increase surveillance on Castro and begin planning for the overthrow of Fidel Castro and his government. Eisenhower imposed a restriction of "plausible deniability" on the operation allowing the United States to disown such an operation for the international community.[5] "Plausible deniability" would be a hindrance to the CIA throughout the operation as modern arms (machine guns rather than rifles, for example) could not be provided to the brigade out of fear that such materials could be linked to the United States.

The task of overthrowing Castro fell on the shoulders of Richard Bissell, the Deputy Director (Plans) for the CIA. In January of 1960, Jacob Esterline, who was involved in the 1954 operation in Guatemala, headed a special task force created by Bissell within the Western Hemisphere Division of the Central Intelligence Agency, simply known as WH/4, to coordinate Castro's removal.[6] The CIA's original plan was to coordinate and support the various resistance groups inside of Cuba. The Agency had concrete evidence that such an internal uprising would be feasible. Although Castro enjoyed a honeymoon with the Cuban people after the fall of Batista, his popularity levels dropped quickly when his leftist policies came into effect. Even the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, the predominant religion, deplored Castro's policies and his close ties to the Soviet Union.

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[4] Lynch, 11.

[5] Peter H. Wyden, *Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 70.

[6] Peter Kornbluh, *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 268.

Supporting internal uprisings was not the only option the Central Intelligence Agency entertained. The Agency also pursued assassination, albeit reluctantly, as a way to dispose of the Cuban leadership. Richard Bissell desired an easy way out and believed Castro could be assassinated, therefore allowing the Agency to avoid expending its efforts on a coup.[7] Plots for which the CIA brass had little hope included paying a Cuban a sum of $10,000 to eliminate Fidel Castro's brother Raúl and poisoning Fidel's cigars with botulism. Both half-hearted attempts failed, the former due to the Cuban agent getting cold feet and whether the cigars were even delivered in the latter case is unknown, although it would be safe to assume they were not.[8]

Despite these poor attempts on Castro's life, one final plan was developed to violently remove Fidel Castro from power. In collaboration with the American Mafia, whose casino interests in Havana were seized by Castro, the CIA contracted John Rosselli, Santos Trafficante, and Sam Giancana, members of the Mafia, for $150,000 to neutralize Castro.[9] The scheme involving the poisoning of Castro's food was ineffective and ended the efforts to neutralize Castro prior to the military invasion in April 1961.

In early November 1960, the Deputy Director (Plans) Richard Bissell informed Chief of the WH/4 Special Group Jacob Esterline of the decision to de-emphasize the creation of an internal uprising and instead focus on the training and landing of an invasion force consisting of Cuban guerrillas.[10] Bissell stated in his post-operation report that the reason for the change in plans was because the CIA had believed Castro had solidified his power to the point where internal resistance would be quelled in a short period of time.[11]

WH/4 already had a few hundred Cuban exiles training in Panama since March, but the training was moved to facilities in Guatemala in July 1960.[12] The new Guatemalan camp raised eyebrows among those inside the American intelligence community and those of the people in Guatemala, many of whom had loyalties to leftists like Fidel Castro. The source of this amazement was in the lack of security the facility maintained. The air base was situated on a primary road and could be seen from a passenger railroad line.[13] In addition to the base being visible to the general public, the camp had no counter-intelligence division to screen the Cuban volunteers. Whether or not the Cuban regime was able to place a mole inside the training center is unknown, but there is no doubt that the base provided little security since Castro accused the United States several times of training guerillas in Guatemala in the months leading up to April 1961. This is hardly surprising since prominent newspapers in Guatemala and the United States were printing articles on the training of Cuban exiles as early as October 1960.[14] What was supposed to be a covert operation was known to the world six months before a single bullet was fired at the Bay of Pigs.

As the training for the exiles was being expedited so they could be used as soon as possible, time had run out before the troops could reach a state of readiness to enable President

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[7] Jacob Esterline, "Bay of Pigs Revisited," interview by Peter Kornbluh, (October 1996), *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 265.

[8] Wyden, 40.

[9] Higgins, 56.

[10] Victor Andres Triay, *Bay of Pigs: An Oral History of Brigade 2506* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2001), 12.

[11] *An Analysis of the Cuban Operation*, Richard Bissell, ed. Peter Kornbluh, *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 151.

[12] Kornbluh, 273.

[13] *Inspector General's Survey of the Cuban Operation October 1961*, Lyman Kirkpatrick, Jr., ed. Peter Kornbluh, *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 97.

[14] Kornbluh, 277.

Eisenhower to give the green light on the operation. Vice President Richard Nixon, one of the first supporters of overthrowing Castro with military force, was defeated by John F. Kennedy in the presidential election in 1960.[15] During the campaign, Kennedy lashed out against the Eisenhower Administration's apparent lack of concern about the growing threat in Cuba. Based on his campaign comments, those inside the intelligence community were confident Kennedy would permit the operation to continue.

Kennedy's comments caused concern among those in the State Department. Eisenhower's Secretary of State Dean Acheson warned the president-elect that his (Kennedy's) statements might be putting Kennedy into corners he could not escape.[16] Before Kennedy took office, he spoke with outgoing President Eisenhower who encouraged Kennedy to do whatever it took to oust Castro, and recommended the new president to hasten the training of the exiles in Guatemala and to recognize a government-in-exile.[17]

Taking his predecessor's advice, President Kennedy ordered the CIA to establish and recognize a government-in-exile that could be installed soon after the invasion. The CIA chose the Frente Revolucionario Democrático (FRD—Democratic Revolutionary Front) led by Miró Cordona to be Cuba's provisional government once Castro was removed. With the government chosen, American domination on the project created resentment among the Frente's leaders. The American contact with the group was unable to speak Spanish, and the CIA controlled all the finances, giving the FRD little input in the operation.[18]

Unfortunately for the President, Cuba was getting itself militarily organized to the point where action had to be taken immediately in order to remove Castro. Cuba's alliance with the Soviet Union was evident as Cuba sent pilots to Czechoslavakia to be trained in Soviet MiG fighters. The National Security Agency was able to intercept radio traffic between a Spanish-speaking pilot and Czech air traffic control as early as January 17.[19] Additionally, the Central Intelligence Agency was able to gain knowledge of Cuba making deals to import Soviet artillery and Czech antiaircraft guns.[20] Such arms shipments were expected to arrive in a matter of months. President Kennedy now had to decide whether or not to give the mission the green light before Castro could rebuild his military's firepower.

Besides worrying about Cuba strengthening its dilapidated military, soldiers and civilians alike in the Kennedy administration were concerned about the Cuban brigade being trained in Guatemala since the previous March. Brigade morale sunk as the Cubans had to endure the tropical rain season and because they were prevented from meeting with the leaders of the Frente Revolucionario Democrático.[21] The inability to see the FRD leaders angered the soldiers because they had every reason to want to know what kind of future they were fighting for in Cuba. Finally, the CIA arranged for three FRD representatives to go to Guatemala to meet the troops, and the volunteers' spirits rose markedly.[22]

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[15] Higgins, 44.
[16] Ibid., 59.
[17] Ibid., 77.
[18] Triay, 10.
[19] National Security Agency, "Spanish-Speaking Pilot Noted in Czechoslovak at Trencin, 17 January," available from http://www.nsa.gov/docs/cuba/images/cuba_1.gif; Internet; accessed 5 April 2003.
[20] Wyden, 103.
[21] Francisco Hernández, interview by Victor Andres Triay (1999), *Bay of Pigs: An Oral History of Brigade 2506* (Gainseville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2001), 52.
[22] Francisco Hernández, interview by Victor Andres Triay (1999), *Bay of Pigs: An Oral History of Brigade 2506* (Gainseville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2001), 52.

Even if President Kennedy did want to cancel the invasion, he felt that he could not do so. The words spoken by Former Secretary of State Acheson were beginning to ring true for Kennedy. Kennedy believed he had to act on his campaign promises to show the American people that he was in fact confronting Castro, Khrushchev, and communism. If the Cuban fighters in Guatemala were ordered to disband, Kennedy worried that they would return to Florida and speak out against the administration in the press. Former Vice President Richard Nixon, who was forced to stay quiet on the issue and whose political ambitions were still alive, and many other political enemies would surely have pounced on the opportunity to label John F. Kennedy as a man with no backbone. Kennedy felt it was better for the Cubans to go and fight in Cuba than return to the United States and smear him politically.

In early March 1961, President Kennedy was finally informed of how the invasion to remove Castro's regime would take place. The Trinidad Plan, taking its name from the town where the invasion would take place, heavily borrowed from the Guatemalan operation of 1954. Since the May prior to Kennedy's election, the Cubans were being exposed to psychological operations from a radio station on Swan Island in the Caribbean Sea off the coast of Honduras, with broadcasts similar to those made in Guatemala urging desertion and providing false information.[23] As for the actual military involvement, the Trinidad Plan called for pre-invasion air strikes using old B-26 bombers to destroy the tiny Cuban Air Force and strikes on the day of the invasion to wipe out planes that may have survived. With enemy planes eliminated, the guerilla force could storm the beachhead near Trinidad under the cover of the bombers. If the beachhead could be secured and a government-in-exile be established there, the American government could then recognize that government and begin overtly aiding the counter-revolutionaries with soldiers stationed at the American base at Guantánamo Bay on stand-by.[24] In addition, the ports at Trinidad were excellent for supply ships to dock, the city was strongly anti-Castro, and the nearby Escambray Mountains could allow the invading force to escape in the event the invasion did not go as planned.[25]

Those in the Central Intelligence Agency were confident that the Trinidad Plan would work. Those in the military had the gravest concerns. Colonel Edward Landsdale of the Defense Department believed an invasion would need at least 3,000 men and that the plan's "logistics were inadequate."[26] The generals comprising the Joint Chiefs of Staff were not so sure, either. A committee led by Brigadier General David Gray estimated a thirty percent chance of success and stated that the only way for the Cuban brigade to succeed was if total surprise and air superiority were achieved and "substantial popular uprisings or substantial" reinforcements were available to assist the invaders.[27] Regardless of Gray's assessment of the Trinidad Plan, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended that President Kennedy allow the operation to be continued.

Kennedy was perhaps even more skeptical than the Joint Chiefs. He never had high expectations for the mission. He doubted the revolt General Gray believed to be absolutely necessary for success was going to materialize after the force had landed on Cuban soil.[28] Even Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Allen Dulles said in his personal papers that President Kennedy was "only half sold on the necessity of what he was doing, and surrounded by

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[23] Kornbluh, 272.
[24] Lynch, 29-35.
[25] Wyden, 102.
[26] Higgins, 69.
[27] Ibid., 84.
[28] Higgins, 103.

doubting Thomases." These doubters instilled skepticism in Kennedy, but not to the point of calling off the invasion.

Though the invasion was to proceed, the President nixed the Trinidad Plan. Kennedy labeled the plan as "too spectacular" and similar to a "World War II invasion."[29] In the hopes of maintaining "plausible deniability," Kennedy asked for the planners at the CIA to develop an alternative to a landing at Trinidad. With Cuba soon receiving arms and freshly trained pilots from the Soviet bloc, the planners at the Central Intelligence Agency were forced to develop a new plan—and soon.

Within four days of Trinidad's cancellation, the CIA submitted three new plans for review by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The generals agreed the Bay of Pigs Plan was the best of the three, but all believed that its chances for success were not as good as those of the Trinidad Plan, a plan that was estimated as having a thirty percent chance for victory.[30] Even the creator of the plan, Colonel Jack Hawkins, warned that air strikes had to be carried out and Castro's air force eliminated for the Bay of Pigs Plan to succeed.[31]

Colonel Hawkins believed that the change from Trinidad to the Bay of Pigs was crippling since he felt that Trinidad provided all the elements for the invasion to succeed.[32] The Bay of Pigs lacked several features which would hinder the invasion force: first, instead of landing on soft, sandy beaches found near Trinidad, the counter-revolutionaries would be stepping on sharp coral rock; second, the spot did not provide a port like the one at Trinidad for ships to easily dock and unload supplies; third, the Bay of Pigs was close to Cienfuegos, a town full of Castro loyalists, and the invaders could not expect assistance; fourth, and most importantly, there were no mountains to escape to in case the mission failed.[33] Despite all of this, Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, especially the latter, stressed the need for "plausible deniability," and the supposedly quieter invasion from the Bay of Pigs was to proceed.

Around the middle of March 1961, the press began to publish major reports on the recruitment and military training of Cuban exiles from Miami. Though journalists had written on the subject before, none aroused serious interest from the public and their editors. Now, though, the Cuban community in Miami was informing reporters that action in Cuba was imminent. Reporters for both the *New Republic* and the *New York Times* had filed stories, but those in the White House, including John F. Kennedy himself, requested the stories not be published. Both the *Republic* and *Times* obliged in the request for the sake of national security.[34] Kennedy aide Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., believed that the invasion may have been cancelled had the President permitted the news articles to be printed due to the operation's loss of secrecy and public outcry against such an act.[35]

If Kennedy had been under the belief that the Cuban brigade was still a secret, he was sorely mistaken. If journalists were able to extract information on the invasion from Cubans in Miami, it would have been foolhardy to think Castro's agents could not have gathered the same intelligence. As a result of receiving excellent intelligence about the imminent invasion and a

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[29] Wyden, 100.
[30] Kornbluh, 294.
[31] Lynch, 166.
[32] Jack Hawkins, "Bay of Pigs Revisited," interview by Peter Kornbluh, (October 1996), *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 263.
[33] Lynch, 43.
[34] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 261.
[35] Ibid.

possible uprising, Castro arrested and imprisoned tens of thousands of suspected members in Cuba's counterrevolutionary underground in the weeks leading up to the invasion.[36] Castro's initiative thwarted any American hopes for a large-scale uprising after the invasion. Also, Castro positioned his regular army and militia in multiple areas where he believed an invasion might take place, including Trinidad, the Bay of Pigs, and the Isle of Pines outside of Havana.[37]

With the beginning of April, it was apparent that the operation had to be carried out within a short period of time. Though President Kennedy was receiving cautious counsel from low-level advisors, the Central Intelligence Agency was clamoring for a green light from an increasingly reluctant commander-in-chief, even to the point of misleading President Kennedy. In a paper dated April 12, the CIA cited seven thousand insurgents in Cuba, but failed to differentiate whether the people would take up arms against Castro or if they were just opponents with no desire to fight.[38] This was critical because President Kennedy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff were depending on the insurrection of those already in Cuba for the operation's success. Despite what the CIA was saying, Joseph Newman, a reporter for the New York Herald Tribune, told Kennedy aide Schlesinger that Castro invoked patriotism in the young, and those who were anti-Castro would not rise up because they associated America with deposed Fulgencio Batista.[39] Furthermore, the CIA told Kennedy that the rebels could turn guerilla if the invasion were to fail, and Deputy Director of Plans Richard Bissell even estimated the chances of success at sixty-six percent.[40] It is no wonder that Kennedy made his decision based on the information he received from his military and intelligence advisors. After the invasion turned into a debacle, President Kennedy remarked to his aide Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., that he simply assumed "that the military and intelligence people have some secret skill not available to ordinary mortals."[41]

If the President had wanted to cancel the invasion, he did not lack opportunities. First and foremost, Kennedy only had to say the word for the invasion to cease. He had reserved the right to call it off until twenty-four hours before the invasion.[42] On April 12, only two days before final approval was to be given, Georgi Kornienko, a counselor at the Soviet Embassy, contacted Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and hinted at the possibility of last minute negotiations with Castro.[43] Such a meeting never materialized, but it was a golden opportunity for Kennedy to avoid going ahead with the invasion. Also on April 12, President Kennedy confirmed in a press conference that U.S. military forces would not be used in any scenario in Cuba.[44] By stating this Kennedy was unknowingly shooting himself in the foot by not leaving any maneuvering room if the impending invasion failed.

On April 14, 1961, President Kennedy authorized the invasion with the belief that the Cuban brigade could retreat to the Escambray Mountains and fight as guerillas.[45] Richard Bissell of the CIA or one of the generals on the Joint Chiefs of Staff should have shown Kennedy a map of Cuba to show that the guerilla option was not available since the Escambray Mountains were eighty miles from the Bay of Pigs.. The scheduled pre-invasion air strikes received a "go,"

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[36] *Inspector General's Survey of the Cuban Operation October 1961*, Lyman Kirkpatrick, Jr., ed. Peter Kornbluh, *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (New York: The New Press, 1998) 53.
[37] Wyden, 108.
[38] Ibid., 52
[39] Schlesinger, Jr., 248.
[40] Higgins, 107.
[41] Schlesinger, Jr., 258.
[42] Wyden, 102.
[43] Schlesinger, Jr., 263.
[44] Lynch, 45.
[45] Schlesinger, Jr., 250.

but with a critical stipulation. Sixteen B-26 bombers were planned to carry out the mission to destroy Castro's air force, but Kennedy believed such a number was too large and ordered the number of planes to be halved.[46] In the attacks the next day, some of the Cuban planes survived, most importantly T-33 jet fighters.

The uproar the first air strikes caused in the international community was enough for Kennedy to make the costliest mistake of the invasion: he canceled the strikes scheduled for sunrise on the day of the invasion that were to eliminate the remainder of the Cuban air force.[47] Kennedy must not have realized the significance of these strikes in that he was sacrificing the success of the invasion for the sake of "plausible deniability." Deputy Director of Plans Richard Bissell was informed of this decision by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and was given the opportunity to speak with Kennedy to persuade him of the crucial importance of those strikes.[48] Bissell declined to do so and remnants of the Cuban air force survived.

The early air strikes that took place were a cause for concern among the generals on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They believed that the invasion might unnecessarily alert Castro that the invasion his army had been preparing to defend against was beginning.[49] In response to the attacks, instead of ordering his surviving planes to be dispersed, Castro instructed his pilots to be ready to fly at all times; while one Cuban pilot stayed vigilant in the cockpit, the co-pilot slept under the wing of the plane.[50]

When the Cuban brigade of exiles landed on the beaches of the Bay of Pigs, the invaders experienced immediate resistance as a result of Castro positioning his forces in strategic locations mentioned earlier.[51] However, the first encounters went well as the brigade routed Castro's militia, and B-26s strafed the opposing forces with machine guns and bombs.[52] The brigade was achieving its mission objectives.

However, the effects of canceling the second air strikes quickly became apparent. The ships carrying the supplies were exposed and highly vulnerable from an air assault, and Castro knew this. The ship *Houston* was sunk just after daybreak and the communications ship *Rio Escondido* suffered the same fate only three hours later, each at the hands of Cuban fighter planes.[53] This forced the remaining two supply ships to stay out to sea, and as a result, the invasion ran short on munitions. The B-26s were also affected. Rather than be able to support the invasion unmolested, the slow World War II aircraft were easily intercepted and destroyed by the faster Cuban T-33 fighters.[54] A total of nine B-26 bombers were downed in support of the invading brigade.[55] With ammunition running low and no air cover for protection, the exiles' fate was sealed.

The situation continued to deteriorate for the American-backed fighters on April 18. The Cuban militia used artillery and advanced in full force on the brigade on the beaches of the Bay of Pigs. Notified of the proceedings, Kennedy reneged on his April 12 promise of no United States military personnel involvement and allowed United States Air Force pilots to make flights

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[46] Kornbluh, 303.
[47] Triay, 70.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Higgins, 128.
[50] Wyden, 185.
[51] Wyden, 140.
[52] Triay, 75.
[53] Wyden, 228-229.
[54] Triay, 76.
[55] Higgins, 148.

over Cuba from the Nicaraguan base.[56] On the final day of hostilities, two B-26 bombers were shot down and four Americans who flew missions in support of the invasion perished.[57] American involvement could no longer be denied.

Events on the island only went from bad to worse for the rebels, as the Cubans unleashed air campaigns and made their final push to overrun the brigade on the beaches of the Bay of Pigs. Exhausted and demoralized, at 2:00 P.M. on April 19, the invading brigade surrendered.[58] Of the 1,300 members of the brigade, nearly 1,180 were taken prisoner and the remainder of the troops were killed in action.[59] Castro flaunted his victory, and President Kennedy was subjected to humiliation not only in his own country but throughout the world, as well.

The Bay of Pigs invasion was an abysmal disaster in every aspect, although through no fault of the Cuban exiles. The finger pointing must begin with the Central Intelligence Agency. When Eisenhower asked the CIA to undertake this mission, they were to do so covertly. When it became obvious that the operation was no longer clandestine due to Castro's intelligence or published reports on the Guatemalan training camp, the Central Intelligence Agency should have recommended the Department of Defense assume control or ceased the operation altogether. At the very least, the CIA should have provided the President with unaltered information in order to receive a green light. Three costly examples of this misinformation should be noted. First, Deputy Director of Plans Richard Bissell's estimate of success being at sixty-six percent was grossly inaccurate. Second, the CIA allowed Kennedy to continue to believe that in the event of failure, the brigade could retreat to the Escambray Mountains and fight a guerilla war. Unfortunately, these mountains were eighty miles from the Bay of Pigs. Third, and most importantly, the planners did not stress the importance of the air strikes to the success of the mission. All damage inflicted on the brigade resulted from the T-33 jet fighters, and a post-invasion report believed that had the invaders received more air cover and ammunition, the Cuban exiles could have at least prevented an embarrassing rout.[60] Had the Cuban Air Force been destroyed and the brigade had been able to possess air superiority, the B-26 bombers could have easily supported the landing forces by strafing the Cuban positions at will.

For all the grave errors the Central Intelligence Agency made, President Kennedy, as commander-in-chief, should bear the brunt of the blame. He never intended to fully support this operation, and his adamant stance on "plausible deniability" cost the invasion its success by Kennedy refusing to meet the needs of the brigade so that his political backside would be covered. He ordered a new, quieter plan to be used rather than one that had better chances of success. He also wanted the Cuban brigade returned to their homeland so that they could not come to Miami and tell the American press of Kennedy's failure to stand up to Castro and Communism. The critical error was limiting the air strikes two days before the invasion and then canceling the air strikes altogether on the day of the invasion. Another key error made by President Kennedy that was crucial to his decision was that he believed that the brigade could escape into the mountains and fight a guerrilla war. Kennedy should have looked at a map of Cuba and seen with his own eyes that the guerrilla option was not available since the mountains were eighty miles away.

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[56] Kornbluh, 317.
[57] Kornbluh, 318.
[58] Ibid., 319.
[59] Triay, 115.
[60] *An Analysis of the Cuban Operation*, Richard Bissell, ed. Peter Kornbluh, *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 273.

The fiasco at the Bay of Pigs could have been avoided had the planning been better and had the President been better informed. President Kennedy's first major foray in foreign policy was a costly one, as Cuba's relationship with the Soviet Union blossomed to the point of allowing Soviet nuclear missiles to be based in Cuba a year and a half after the invasion. A deceptive intelligence agency and a doubtful commander-in-chief permitted the Bay of Pigs invasion to be a mistake that should never have been.

Book Review

Chauveau, Michel. *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra.* Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.

For background on the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt, one could almost not do better than Michel Chauveau's *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra.* Using the latest or most accepted information, both archaeological and scholarly, Chauveau leads the reader through the entire breadth of the empire, from its beginnings as a satrapy of Alexander the Great's empire and Ptolemy I Soter's creation of a kingdom during the Successor Wars in the late 4th century B.C. to the fall of Cleopatra VII and Marc Anthony almost 300 years later. Using information from both the Greek and Egyptian populations, Chauveau does an admirable job in showing how the two societies co-existed, one immigrant and one native. The book is a brief overview of the social history of Egypt under Greek rule but concentrates less on the royal succession and the ideology of the ruling class.

Each chapter is a different section of society, both Greek and Egyptian. The first chapter is entirely the historical background of the ruling class and the politics driving the nation between the years 323 B.C. and 30 B.C. Despite the wars between Alexander's successors and their descendants, fighting over the broken empire, and the internal conflicts of the Ptolemaic family, Egypt seemed to have long periods of peace and short periods of war. Some of the rulers were competent, such as Ptolemy II Philadelphos, while others were not so quick in the political arena, such as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, who after fighting with his brother for years, seemed to have trouble managing his wives. These women fought each other to promote their individual offspring into becoming the heir apparent and thus becoming the next Ptolemaic king.

In the second chapter, titled "The Greek Pharaohs and Their Subjects," Chauveau approaches the Ptolemies' desire to be accepted as Greeks and Egyptians as well as the aspects and personas they took on to merge the two cultures together successfully. This is a touchy subject for many Ptolemaic scholars, and hypotheses are plentiful regarding many aspects of the interaction between the Ptolemies and their subjects, both native and immigrant. Chauveau skillfully takes the centerline of any touchy areas, giving the basic background and facts and shying away from anything controversial. One interesting turn taken by the author is the fact that he covers royal duties and mentions the involvement of the clergy, both Egyptian and Greek, with the Ptolemaic regime. To adequately maintain a hold on Egyptian natives, the Ptolemies had to take on Egyptian personae and thus become more acceptable to the native Egyptians. The Ptolemies offered protection and restoration of the temples, delved into philanthropy, visited the far reaching provinces (not done by their Persian predecessors), and intended to immerse themselves somewhat into Egypt culture in order to maintain allegiance. While there was some resistance, and Chauveau notes them, it was rarely successful for any long periods of time.

The following chapters regarding the cities, countryside, societies, and economy provide good background information on how the Ptolemies ruled Egypt. Like the Persians before and the Romans after, the Ptolemies essentially left the internal structure alone. Egypt had been self-sufficient for thousands of years without much internal strife. Its legal and judicial systems were good, public projects and private industry were still well-maintained, and the bureaucracy was not half as corrupt as many other civilizations were, so there was no need for "improvements". There were some changes made, however. The Faiyum, a swamp-like section of land located

east of Alexandria, had been drained and became a settlement for non-Egyptians as well as Egyptians who previously had not been landowners. Many of these individuals were military and the land was part of their pension for the services they had contributed to the state. The balance between the native and immigrant cultures was often confusing; sometimes it was not known who was an Egyptian and who was a Greek, so integrated was the society in some areas. A person may have had Greek parents and his siblings may have chosen to remain Greek, but one man could claim to be Egyptian and fall under Egyptian legal rulings. Ethnic status mattered little in a world where people were judged by the culture they ascribed to. The economic status of the peasants and the culture clashes figure prominently in the third and fourth chapters.

The fifth chapter deals primarily with the priests and the temples. The chapter covers both Greek and Egyptian aspects of religiosity in Egypt, both city and rural society, dealing specifically with Alexandria, which was a large cult center for the Greek population. In his coverage of the background on ceremonies and practices of the Egyptian priesthood, including the belief surrounding the Apis Bull, Chauveau also delves into the economies of the temples. Oracles and oaths of office are also covered. Chauveau uses specific examples to illustrate his points regarding the mix of the cultures in Egypt. Ptolemaios, the eldest son of a Macedonian soldier, had a good enough education that he learned to write Greek, retreated from his farm in the Faiyum south to Memphis, and joined a small temple dedicated to the Canaanite goddess, Astarte. It should be noted that as Greek he became a follower of a "barbarian" goddess, but even more remarkable, Ptolemaios was known for dream portents. His dream premonitions were sent everywhere, even to the Ptolemaic Pharaoh and his wife. Some of these portends indicated that current scandals were preludes to disaster for Egypt. Ptolemaios, a Macedonian turned Egyptian, is an excellent example of the cultural and religious mix between the populations that inhabited Egypt at that time.

The final three chapters of the book deal with funerary arrangements, military organization, and language. They are good sources of background to the culture being dealt with. The complexity of all three subjects continues to bring home the diversity of the population and yet the unity of the two main cultures. The Greeks adopted some funerary practices of the Egyptians. Egyptian priests embalmed Alexander the Great, and many of the Ptolemaic pharaohs followed the example of Alexander. Egyptians continued the embalming practices of the nobility and upper classes, and the embalming of animals such as baboons and ibises was at its height during the Greek occupation of Egypt.

The military was the most complex of the three. Ethnicity as a Greek, Egyptian, or Persian meant little up to a point. Depending on what the individual considered himself was the ethnicity he was to be regarded as. Two brothers born to a Greek man and an Egyptian woman may have one Greek name and one Egyptian, but what they used in their legal documents and military dispatches was the ethnicity that they were considered. So one brother, who used his Egyptian name, was Egyptian, while his brother, who used a Greek name, was legally considered Greek. The Greek would have the ability to get land in the Faiyum for his services in the army; the Egyptian would probably not. Soldiers could also deal heavily in business both abroad and at home, taking advantage of their mobility to find newer business opportunities.

The language was just as complex as the people. Many who were of two different backgrounds learned a variety of languages. Multi-lingual people were not unusual, but normal. Writing and reading required an education, which was to have been achieved by attending a scribe school, which was an enormous and difficult undertaking, but well worth it as it was the way to move up from the peasant class. To be able to read and write not only in Egyptian hieroglyphics and demotic, but also in Greek, Persian, Canaanite, and later Latin was a

tremendous social and caste boost. One could do more than become a scribe with such education. Literature, science, rhetoric, and medicine were Greek aspects of the culture that were highly prized. The Greek obsession with rhetoric and education fused into Egyptian, Persian, and Roman culture.

Chauveau's book is an excellent source for the amateur historian just starting out. It gives an excellent background to the cultures and societies, good jumping points to continue ideas of research, but does not bring out any new information that is not published in more respected journals. It is an overview book, though not a textbook by any means. Even being translated from its French text, the writing retains its personable storytelling style. The individual examples in the chapters bring home the points admirably, but sometimes seem too vague or leave the reader wanting a bit more clarification. The graphics in the book are black and white; some are a bit difficult to see in much detail, and none of them are anything that cannot be found in many other books on the subject of Greek Egypt. There is no bibliography, but the notes adequately provide the information needed for further research or clarification. The list of abbreviations regarding journals and texts the author used is nice as well, but a bibliography would have served better than the notes and list of abbreviations. The index is well put together and useful for looking up information, as many books of this type rarely have a decent index. What piqued my interest the most was the small glossary of terms included. Many authors take for granted that the reader knows what a *nome*, *cleruch*, or *aroura* is, not explaining it for the sake of "laymen" reading their text. A *nome* is an Egyptian administrative district, similar to the American concept of a county within a state. A *cleruch* is a soldier who had the revenue of a tract of land granted by the king, which technically he was not to have, but exploited through a third party. An *aroura* is a land measurement equal to roughly .681 acres, or 100 square cubits.

Michel Chauveau is a former member of the *Institut Francais d'Archaeologie Orientale* in Cairo and is the director of studies at the *L'ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* in Paris. This makes his credentials both as an educator and a scholar very credible. His translator, David Lorton, does not at first seem to have as good of credentials as Chauveau. The book states that he is an Egyptologist in Baltimore, Maryland. A quick search on the Internet brought up Norton's personal web page, which lists a very impressive bibliography and scholarly background.

In summation, Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra gives an excellent overview of Ptolemaic Egypt. It is a bit confusing why "age of Cleopatra" is in the title, as the book does not center on the famous Cleopatra VII and would mislead anyone browsing in a bookstore into thinking the book was concentrating on Cleopatra VII or her reign. Instead the book focuses on her family's dynasty, their influences upon the society around them, and that society's influences upon them.

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