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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS...

The Spring 2012 issue of Chronos builds upon the successes of the 2011 issue. The process of acquiring and assessing submissions, which was overhauled during the 2010-2011 academic year, remained unchanged. The most significant development this year occurred in our editorial staff. Joclyn Wallace and Eugene Park, whose work proved instrumental in publishing the Spring 2011 issue of Chronos, departed. Fortunately, we acquired four new members, all of whom have demonstrated an equally robust commitment to publishing the journal. That, combined with continuity at the editor-in-chief position, made our transition between last year and this year virtually seamless.

We would like to thank all the people who made this publication of Chronos possible. Professor Michael Ebner of the History Department has been unwavering in his support and guidance as our Faculty Advisor and this issue of Chronos would not have been possible without him. We would also like to thank Fran Bockus. Her assistance and encouragement also made this publication possible. Finally we would like to thank the History Department and all the writers who submitted their papers for evaluation and publication. Their passion and enthusiasm for history is truly the backbone of the project.

This year we received thirty-four submissions to our journal. These papers covered a wide range of topics, geographical regions, and time periods. In the process of determining this year’s selection of papers, our committee strove to have a diversity of topics while also choosing the most well written papers. In this regard, we are confident that we have come to the right decision. Once again, we want to thank everyone who submitted papers, and we encourage those who were not selected to enter again next year.

Sincerely,

Davor Mondom
Max Lewis
Ashlie Daubert
Gregory Fitzton
Pauline Yang
The Assassinations That Shook a Nation:  
The Deaths of John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy

Elana Bodow

The legacy of the Kennedy family is one laced with tragedy. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy in 1963 and of his younger brother Robert F. Kennedy five years later in 1968 are two of the greatest tragedies in recent American history. After President John F. Kennedy was killed, Robert F. Kennedy would always live in his brother’s shadow – even after his own death. While the world stopped when the news of John’s death spread, it merely slowed for Bobby.

In the nearly three years that John F. Kennedy held America’s highest office, his promise of a New Frontier resonated with people the world over. Kennedy reaffirmed a sense of possibility and promise for Americans, and many were able to ignore the tensions in the country boiling directly under the surface. Extremists were not a concern to most Americans, as they seemed to be on the fringe of American life. A few short years later, in 1968, this picture of America no longer existed. Riddled with fear and uncertainty from the assassinations of John F. Kennedy in 1963, Malcolm X in 1965, Martin Luther King Jr. in April of 1968, and Robert F. Kennedy two months later in June, America was no longer the bright beacon of hope that it had been at the beginning of the Kennedy presidency. ¹ Both at home and abroad, the perception of America had changed. There was a shared worldwide sentiment that America had shifted from a peaceful society leading the free world to a country where violence was uncontrollable and rampant.

When Bobby Kennedy was murdered, there was an outcry for a lost American society now plagued by violence.² John Kennedy’s death was not greeted with the same emotions. While both Kennedys were mourned worldwide, the difference in reactions to their deaths was significant. The death of John touched people to their core; many felt as though they had lost a family member or worse.³ The nation simply did not grieve in the same manner for Bobby – even in his death, he was remembered in the context of his brother and his accomplishments. In the very first line in a breaking story on Bobby’s death, The New York Times wrote, “Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the brother of a murdered President, died at 1:44 am today of an assassin’s shot.” ⁴ Bobby Kennedy was consistently defined through his relation to John both in life and in death. Even his obituary was highjacked by John’s memory. Alden Whitman, a reporter for the New York Times made several comparisons between the two and alluded that Bobby’s political success had only been possible because he was John’s younger brother. Whitman wrote that Bobby had won a Senate seat simply because John had made the Kennedy name magical, and that the aura of his last name had also enabled his run for the Democratic Presidential nomination.⁵ The inability of Bobby to inspire the nation the same way

his brother had was also highlighted. Whitman quoted an anonymous businessman identified as a leading Democrat, stating, “I had great respect for his brother Jack, but I would not vote for Bobby.” The anonymous source was not alone in his opinion, as an editorial in Life magazine expressed similar sentiments, writing, “Robert Kennedy, a complex man, ambitious and fatalistic, did not inspire so universal an admiration as his brother.”

The coverage of Bobby’s death was largely done with less focus on him as an individual, and more through a lens of what it meant for the Kennedy family. Because he was the third brother to die, and the second to meet death through assassination, Bobby’s death became the story of a family tragedy – taking the focus off him and placing it on the Kennedy legacy instead. Within the first week of Bobby’s death, there was already a great deal of attention placed on the next Kennedy brother, Teddy Kennedy. Teddy had now become his brothers’ heir, and while a presidential run at the age of 36 would have been premature, he immediately became a popular choice for vice president in the aftermath of Bobby’s death.

The loss of Bobby shocked the world in a different way than John’s had. When John was murdered, assassinations of public officials in America were a rare occurrence. When Bobby was shot, assassinations had unfortunately become less rare, as both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. had been killed shortly before Bobby. His death scared Americans and people throughout the world, as they believed it symbolized the downward spiral of America into a violent, unsafe country. An article in Time magazine published a week after Bobby’s death read,

> Many foreigners fear that U.S. violence is rapidly becoming almost banal, espoused by Maoists and Minutemen alike, routinely threatened – if not actually practiced – by students, racial militants and antiwar dissenters. The U.S. is undeniably starting to lead all advanced Western countries in what Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal calls “the politics of assassination.” No French President has been murdered since 1932; West German leaders go virtually unguarded; the last (and only) assassination of a British Prime Minister occurred in 1812.

President Johnson tried to reassure the nation that the death of another Kennedy did not represent the collapse of American values and leadership. He established a presidential commission on violence, called for reformed gun laws, and promised better protection of all high profile political candidates. An editorial in Life magazine questioned if these reforms were enough to leave a lasting change on American culture, or if Kennedy’s death was a byproduct of American society. It read, “It is surely a good thing to ask ourselves whether the compulsion to violence was born entirely within a killer of whether we and our society are somehow accomplices?” This questioning of American society as a whole is unique to the

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aftermath of Bobby Kennedy’s death. Similar questions were not raised when President John Kennedy had been killed.

Bobby was significantly impacted by the loss of his brother, and in the four and a half years between John’s death and his own, he was constantly reminded of both his personal loss and inherited legacy. When Bobby died, his obituary would read, “The assassination plunged Mr. Kennedy into a deep grief that amounted virtually to melancholy. For the remainder of his life he lived with thoughts of his dead brother never far from the surface of his mind.” He was haunted by John’s death and felt personally responsible for carrying out his brother’s agenda.

John F. Kennedy, the 35th president of the United States of America, was the fourth president to be assassinated in office. He was both the youngest man elected to the nation’s highest office, and the youngest to die. He was the nation’s first Roman Catholic president, and he challenged his country’s citizens to aim for new heights by running both his campaign and presidency on themes of challenge and sacrifice. He delivered a frequently quoted Inaugural Addresses, saying, “Ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country.” Kennedy himself seemed to personify America’s promise to reform the world, and from his very first speech as President he received wide praise for his goals. He changed the future of American politics through his televised debates with Richard Nixon – now, looks, personality, and a sense of humor can make or break a candidate as much as their policies can. In life, he was an inspiration, and he would become an even more iconic figure in his death. He was loved not just for his policies and the ease with which he captivated television audiences, but also for his beautiful and youthful family.

The First Family received extensive press coverage, and the American public loved them as if they were personally acquainted. Many young parents in America easily identified with them, as they were also raising young families of their own. The new media and the large amount of coverage the Kennedy family received enhanced the first couple’s image as not only the President and First Lady, but also as celebrity figures.

The public thrilled to pictures of Caroline and John Jr. playing in the oval office. They loved stories about Jackie’s ever-so-tasteful redecoration of the White House, and the celebrity guest list of artists, movie stars, and intellectuals who lent their aura to a growing Kennedy mystique.

The focus on his family only increased President Kennedy’s appeal to both the American public and worldwide audiences.

One of John Kennedy’s biggest strengths during his campaign proved to be his foresight on the impact television could have on outcome of the election. Because the popularity of television was still in its early stages in 1961, its value was

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16 Mark Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 96.
17 Mark Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 104.
18 Mark Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 104.
not yet widely recognized, and especially not by Kennedy's opponent, Richard Nixon. The first televised debate showed Nixon just how large of a miscalculation he had made. The polls of viewers showed that the radio audience considered the outcome to be very close or in Nixon's favor, but the television audience declared Kennedy the clear winner. This would have an incredible impact on the positive outcome of Kennedy's campaign. Said historian Thomas Reeves, “To many Americans Kennedy became the hero, Nixon the villain.”

Television would grow to dominate the public culture throughout the sixties, having a higher impact on Americans than any other medium. Kennedy had skillfully managed to help build his career through sly manipulation of the media, and his death "marked not only the death of a president but the birth of the television phenomenon that now dominates the national attention and very nearly the national life, not least its political competitions." Politicians would never again doubt the power of television in shaping public opinion.

On November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy were in the Presidential limousine with Texas' Democratic Governor John Connally and his wife Nellie Connally. They were in a motorcade through a conservative Dallas, followed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson behind them. Most of the route was lined with people ten to twelve deep, and they had been greeted with warm applause throughout. Nellie Connally laughed as she told the President, "You can’t say that Dallas isn’t friendly to you today." She would never receive a response from Kennedy, as he was shot moments after.

The first shot was fired at 12:30 Central Standard Time. Kennedy’s body fell to the left, his head coming to rest in his wife’s lap. Blood poured from the wound in his head, dotting Jackie’s skirt and stockings. Kennedy was then rushed to the emergency room of Parkland Memorial Hospital.

Senator Ralph Yarborough had been riding two cars behind the presidential limousine in the motorcade, and was reduced to tears as he gave his account of the shooting to the news crews waiting outside the emergency entrance of Parkland.

I walked up to the car where Mrs. Kennedy was still there on the back seat, lying there with her head bowed over covering her husband’s head, his blood running down her leg and on her clothes, and twice saying, "They've murdered my husband. They've murdered my husband." It's the most tragic sight of my life.

As nine doctors at Parkland desperately worked to revive the president, the police at the scene surrounded a schoolbook warehouse where a rifle barrel had been spotted in a window on the sixth floor. Police had received a tip describing a suspect that was a white male, about 5 ft. 10 in. tall, weighing 160 to 165 pounds, and about 30 years old. Upon hearing this call, Patrolman J.D. Tippitt stopped a man

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19 Mark Lytle, America's Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 101-102.
21 Mark Lytle, America's Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 149.
that fit the description. Tippitt was then murdered himself by the man in question. He was shot in the head, chest, and abdomen.  

Shortly after, a cashier at Texas Theater called the police about a suspicious looking man constantly moving around in the theatre. This tip led to the police catching Lee Harvey Oswald, the man responsible for shooting Kennedy and Tippitt. Back at the hospital, the doctors worked tirelessly trying to save President Kennedy. A team of eight doctors led by Dr. Kemp Clark spent forty minutes examining wounds in the president’s head and throat, attempting to revive him. Despite their best efforts, he would never regain consciousness. “It was apparent that the president was not medically alive when he was brought in,” said Dr. Clark.  

At 12:45 pm, two Roman Catholic priests entered the emergency room to bless the fallen president. They granted the president conditional absolution, and then the newly widowed Jacqueline Kennedy joined the priests in prayer. At 1:36 pm, Press Aide Malcolm Kilduff gave a statement outside of the hospital. With tears in his eyes and a shaky, hesitant tone, he said, “President John F. Kennedy died at approximately 1 p.m. Central Standard Time here in Dallas. He died of a gunshot wound in the brain. I have no other details of the assassination.”  

A white Cadillac hearse appeared outside the hospital and a simple bronze casket was taken inside the hospital. Jackie removed her wedding band and placed it onto her husband’s finger. She then walked alongside her husband’s body, her hand lightly gracing the surface of the casket as it was carried outside en route to the presidential plane waiting in Dallas’ Love Field.  

The American public had not been left in the dark about the sorrowful fate of their President. The television networks were reporting on Kennedy’s condition as quickly as they received information, and all of the major networks had interrupted their scheduled programming to keep their viewers updated. Walter Cronkite first came on air for CBS at 1:34 p.m., and for the next hour, he reported on the conditions of the president and Governor Connally, the whereabouts of Vice President Johnson, and how the First Lady was handling the tragedy.  

At 2:38 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, Cronkite appeared visibly shaken as he officially announced Kennedy’s death on television. In a later interview, Cronkite spoke about how jarring it was for him to read the news of Kennedy’s death aloud. “I was far too busy covering this story for the first couple of hours until I had to say, ‘The president is dead.’ And when that moment came, I choked. Tears certainly filled my eyes. I know because I felt them”.  

Two days after Kennedy’s death, an estimated 500,000 people gathered at the Capitol to watch the procession of the president’s casket. After a brief ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda where Chief Justice Earl Warren, House Speaker John McCormack, and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield gave eulogies, the doors to the Capitol were opened to allow America’s grieving citizens the opportunity to say goodbye. The line wrapped through the city, spanning forty

blocks. Despite the bitter cold, people patiently waited in line to pay their final respects, some waiting for ten hours or longer. Such a large turnout had not been expected – instead of closing at 9 p.m. on Sunday as scheduled, the doors remained open until mid-morning on Monday. By that point, more than a quarter of a million people had walked through them. People from all backgrounds made the trip, including former heavyweight champion Jersey Joe Walcott, who waited in line for almost eight hours. Much of the media was taken aback by how many people came to see their fallen President.\textsuperscript{32} Roger Mudd covered the night for CBS, and was among the surprised. He said,

Much of the Washington media, cocooned as it is, simply was not aware of how Kennedy had touched the country. So it was astonishing, almost breathtaking, to watch thousands of Americans filing by the president’s coffin through the night. CBS stayed on the air until midnight.\textsuperscript{33}

Kennedy’s assassination warranted an unprecedented amount of coverage at home and abroad. For the three days following his assassination, the television networks devoted their entire airtime to coverage of the shooting, and what Kennedy’s death meant for Americans.\textsuperscript{34} His death represented a new era of news – one in which television would capture the nation.

CBS announced that it was suspending all programs and commercials until after Kennedy’s funeral on Monday, and both NBC and ABC made similar announcements. The continuous loop of Kennedy’s life and accomplishments paired with live coverage of breaking events was incomparable to anything else in the history of television. “Within an hour of President Kennedy’s assassination, the tragic word had been transmitted to every corner of the earth.”\textsuperscript{35}

The endless coverage Kennedy’s assassination received led television into new territory. The accidental live broadcast of Lee Harvey Oswald’s death marked television’s first real death, as well as increased competition among stations. Roger Mudd, a correspondent for CBS, was covering Kennedy’s procession. CBS producers had made the executive decision to cover the scene at the Capitol instead of covering Harvey Lee Oswald’s transfer from the Dallas city jail to the county jail. Therefore, when Oswald was shot and killed by Jack Ruby while he was being transferred, they missed the breaking news that would go down in history. CBS was forced to replay tapes from their rival station NBC. NBC’s Tom Pettit had been live at the scene reacting to the shots as they were fired. With this footage, their viewers witnessed a death in real time on television for the first time in history. CBS had lost out on an unbelievable story. For days after the initial shots had been fired, Americans remained glued to their screens, eager for new images or information. It was through television that Americans began to accept the unbearable truth that their president was really dead.\textsuperscript{36}

The death of Oswald on live television led Americans into a new age, one in which they turned their television on for news or information. Prior to this, television had been used merely as a way to escape from their daily lives. Walter Cronkite had only begun his thirty-minute broadcasts on CBS earlier in the year;

\textsuperscript{32} Roger Mudd. The Place to Be: Washington, CBS, and the Glory Days of Television News, 130-133.
\textsuperscript{34} Mark Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 140.
\textsuperscript{36} Roger Mudd. The Place to Be: Washington, CBS, and the Glory Days of Television News, 131.
previously news on television had been limited to fifteen-minute sound bites. Cronkite’s broadcasts would grow to be incredibly influential on Americans attitudes, earning him the titles “the father of television news,” as well as the “most trusted man in America.” Cronkite’s respected status shows just how important television would become.

Millions of viewers worldwide watched live on November 25, 1963, when President John F. Kennedy was buried in Arlington National Cemetery on his son’s third birthday. The salute John Jr. gave the casket would be the leading photo in many newspapers the following day, as the sorrow and strength of a young boy saying goodbye to his father were captured perfectly in one still frame. Heads of state from over 100 countries were in attendance.

Television was not the only medium thoroughly covering Kennedy’s death. The print media devoted seemingly endless coverage to the assassination. The New York Times cleared its first section of all advertisements and gave its first 16 pages to the story on November 23. The paper’s run was increased by fifty percent to 864,000 copies, and was completely sold out. Newspapers around the world covered the assassination in great detail, and in America, some articles on Kennedy dominated the entire paper. The Times Herald in Dallas covered the assassination with remarkable speed. They were immediately aware of the situation, and remained constantly informed. “Within 20 minutes the Times Herald knew that Kennedy was at Parkland Hospital, and within 30 it knew that he was dead.” By 2:30 the first afternoon, they had already gathered an impressively comprehensive account of the day that included quotes from both eyewitnesses and police, and a detailed description of the assassin. By 4:15 on the same day, the paper had already reported on Lee Oswald’s arrest. Naturally, there was a huge demand for the paper given the gravity of the day’s events. 82,000 copies were printed in addition to the normal press run of 200,000, and vendors were hawking the 5-cent paper for up to $1 per copy.

Many publications issued special memorial issues commemorating Kennedy’s life. Life magazine produced an 84-page issue featuring the content from its previous two editions, both of which had sold out. Sold for 50 cents, the John F. Kennedy memorial edition of Life magazine had two separate press runs, selling out quickly both times. In total, 2,400,000 copies were sold, and the profit from the issue was donated to charities of the Kennedy family’s choosing. Daily newspapers also wanted to do something special to commemorate the late president, often opting to include additional supplements to their regular paper in tribute to President Kennedy. The Sunday edition of the Philadelphia Inquirer included an ambitious color addition to their paper in Kennedy’s honor. Several books were also already in the works shortly after Kennedy died. The Associated Press was among the first to

37 Mark Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 140.
announce a book deal. They expected that *The Torch is Passed* would be available by the end of the year. United Press International, American Heritage, and Simon & Schuster came together to produce *Four Days*, which would be published in January 1964. By mid-December, advance orders had already reached 650,000.44

As Americans struggled to deal with a deeply personal loss, they were not alone in their mourning. The assassination of such a young, adored president shocked people throughout the world. As written in the November 29, 1963 issue of *Time* magazine, “Millions mourned John Kennedy. Perhaps even more than his own countrymen, other peoples saw in him the embodiment of American virtues – youth, strength, informality, good looks, the idealistic belief that all problems can eventually be solved.”45

The streets in front of many U.S. embassies were full of mourners patiently waiting in line for hours on end to write their names in condolence books. In London, Big Ben tolled every minute for an hour in Kennedy’s honor – a gesture typically reserved for members of the royal family. Services were held in so many churches throughout the city that the American embassy nearly ran out of American flags to lend out. No American had ever been so deeply mourned abroad – not even Franklin Roosevelt.46

As president, Kennedy had truly charmed a worldwide audience. Even the Pope was distraught by his death, immediately entering his chapel to pray upon hearing the news. As he gripped the autographed photo of the fallen president that had been given to him as a gift from Kennedy himself, he inquired with American Broadcasting Co.’s Jack Casserly about the well being of Mrs. Kennedy and the children.47 Kennedy’s assassination affected both powerful leaders and their citizens. Canada’s Prime Minister Lester Pearson said, “The world can ill afford at this time in our history to lose a man of his courage.”48 The General Assembly of the United Nations was silenced as the U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson spoke, saying, “All of us who knew him will bear the grief of his death to the day of ours.”49 Kennedy’s violent and untimely death had an unparalleled effect on millions of Americans. His death marked a rare occasion in American history, one in which every American had a vivid and precise memory of where they were when they discovered that their President had been murdered. As diverse as the American population was, on November 22, 1963, all Americans were united in their grief.50

Kennedy’s brief term in office and his sudden assassination “touched people of all walks of life, and of every social class, economic station, political sensibility, region, religion, and race. Whether they adored, were indifferent to, or frankly disliked JFK, countless Americans shared the feeling that their own lives would never be the same after their young President died so violently.”51 No one was immune to the horrors of the day. Regardless of their party affiliation, senators were horrified when the news reached them. “Gathered around the AP ticker were half a dozen senators. In the center was Richard Russell of Georgia, no public admirer of

John Kennedy. As the bulletins from Dallas spilled from the ticker, Russell began to read them aloud. His voice began to wobble with each devastating detail until finally tears ran down his face.”52 The House Republican leader, Charles Halleck of Indiana, branded the assassination “an unspeakable crime against all the people of this country. The world should know,” he said, “that in this hour of national tragedy, Americans stand together as one – shocked and grieved at this unbelievable news.”53 This outburst of support from a key figure in the Republican Party demonstrated the unity of all Americans regardless of political affiliation. Americans had come together to mourn their fallen president despite political differences with each other or with their murdered president.

In a decade of tension over civil rights, the death of a president who was an advocate for civil rights brought people of different races together, sometimes for the first time. An editorial in Life’s memorial issue tells the story of a black cab driver in Brooklyn driving a white couple home. All three of them received the news of the assassination from the radio in the car, leaving them in tears. Said the driver, “It was the first time I cried with white people.”54 The heartbreaking news of Kennedy’s death united the nation, transcending differences of racial backgrounds. From cab drivers to the leaders of the civil rights movement, everyone mourned together, as Kennedy’s death touched them all instantly and directly. Dr. Martin Luther King was particularly moved by Kennedy’s assassination, saying, “We’ve lost a real friend to the cause.”55

Millions of Americans were so overcome by the assassination that they wrote letters to Jacqueline Kennedy expressing their sorrow. Her husband was killed on a Friday afternoon, and by the following Monday, the White House had already received 45,000 condolence letters addressed to Jackie. Seven weeks later, Jackie had accumulated over 800,000 letters, and over time would eventually receive a total of over 1.5 million letters.56 These letters captured the deep emotions felt by American citizens, and provided an outlet for many people to share their personal stories and recollections of the day. Margaret McLean’s story was very moving. Her husband died of a heart attack at the same time the news of Kennedy’s death was first breaking, leaving both women to become widows simultaneously. She shared with Jackie her husband’s last words, “How could anyone have such hate in his heart that he could do such a thing to our President?”57

There was no generic letter, and no typical author. Citizens of all ages from all backgrounds wrote to Jackie, including those of a very young age. One such author was Nancy Ashburn, who wrote her letter as she heard the announcement in school over the intercom. As her principal announced the president’s death, her teacher and classmates started crying. She wrote, “As I write this letter I burst into tears over the loss of a great man. I have grown up without a father. Your husband was the man I looked up to. I feel that I knew him as a man and a friend, not the head of a country.”58 Martin Rosenberg, a student at the University of Massachusetts, wrote only one sentence to the former First Lady, saying, “I have never seen our

football players cry...but today, they did."\(^5\) The high number of letters sent to Jackie demonstrated the wide range of people affected by President Kennedy’s death, many of whom were compelled to share intimate details of their lives and their personal sense of loss with Mrs. Kennedy.

While the nation was in mourning, Americans were also concerned with the future of their country without their beloved President Kennedy leading them. When news of the president’s death reached Wall Street, panic ensued. The board of governors closed the New York Stock Exchange at 2:07 p.m., shortly after Kennedy was killed. But the exchange had already remained open long enough to plummet drastically. On November 22, 1963, the Dow-Jones industrial average sank by 21.16 points, equating to $11 billion in losses. The major stock exchanges agreed to remain closed through Monday for the funeral.\(^6\)

In the aftermath of the assassination, top Republicans declared a monthlong moratorium on partisan political activity. This didn’t last a full month, as it wasn’t long before many of them began reconsidering presidential aspirations. The loss of Kennedy gave many Republicans hope that the race now became anyone’s to win, and they viewed the 1964 election as wide-open for the taking. Many thought that the likelihood of a Republican president becoming elected was much higher without Kennedy in the picture.\(^7\)

Though their hearts were still heavy, Americans had to acknowledge the necessity of moving on. As they remembered their fallen president, their next one was sworn in. Lyndon B. Johnson became the 36th President of the United States ninety-eight minutes after the 35th President was pronounced dead. Sworn in on the presidential jet, he inherited the presidency in the saddest of circumstances.\(^8\) Johnson was dealt the unlucky responsibility of leading his grieving country through their sorrows and encouraging Americans to recognize and accept that their country was changing.

The world was looking to America for cues as to what would come next, and the country responded quickly. “The orderly transition with which one democratic leader gave way to another in a moment of great stress was acknowledged with profound respect. It created a sense of reassurance and clarity about the U.S.’s role in the free world.”\(^9\)

The immediacy with which Johnson assumed the presidency provided a sense of continuity for Americans. It reminded them that even in times of sorrow, America is greater than one individual, even an individual that was one of the most admired and respected presidents the country had ever had. This reminder of the nation’s strength bound the people together as they struggled to cope with their sorrows and fears. What they found was the resilience that has always defined the American spirit.

Changes in the White House were made within 24 hours of Kennedy’s assassination. Starting at 9 a.m. the next morning, all of Kennedy’s furniture and

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http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875402-1,00.html, para 1.
http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875428,00.html.
<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875359,00.html>.
decorations were removed from his office to make room for Johnson. While these physical changes were occurring, so were transitional changes within the government. Much of Kennedy's government had been extremely loyal to him alone, but given the severity of the situation and their love and concern for their country, some of Kennedy's staff chose to stay on as part of Johnson's new administration. As discussions of the Johnson administration went on in the White House, one man declared,

I'm here because I loved John F. Kennedy, not because I'm a Democrat. We served this man, we talked his language, we thought his thoughts. It was his magnetism, his ability, his brain that drew this remarkable group of men together. Lyndon is a man of different background, different abilities, and it's damned hard to shift. But I didn't spend ten years of my life trying to do what's been done and let it all be wiped out with one shot by some nut in Dallas. Whether it's five weeks or five years, I'm going to go on here trying as hard as I can to help."

There was no doubt that Johnson as President would differ from Kennedy both in his strengths and in his leadership style, but there was also no question that the two men shared a similar vision for the future of their country, and that Johnson was well prepared for the job. Johnson had been one of just two men who had been in every meeting with JFK, and was well versed on Kennedy's policies. As the above quote affirmed, some politicians were able to put aside political differences and loyalties to work towards a shared vision for the future. Seeing their government continue on without a hitch gave Americans faith in their new president, and hope that in the future America would continue to be the guiding light of the world.

Four and a half years after the world mourned the loss of John F. Kennedy, the Kennedy family would suffer another heartbreaking tragedy. John's younger brother, Robert F. Kennedy, who had served as his attorney general while he was in office, was also assassinated. History repeated itself on June 5, 1968, as the world once again mourned the loss of a Kennedy whose promising life had been cut short.

In June 1968, America was in a far different place than it had been on November 22, 1963. Shaken by the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. shortly before Bobby Kennedy was killed, the country now faced fears that violence was rapidly becoming a huge threat to society. In addition to these assassinations, life for the average American was also vastly different. Race riots, shootings, and protests of the Vietnam War were a common occurrence. America embodied a culture that embraced violence.

In 1970, The Kerner Commission published its findings on the causes of urban racial violence in America. The purpose of the report had been to better understand the racial disturbances of 1967. The Commission implied that white society was responsible for ghetto conditions and their accompanying violence, findings that were later viewed as incomplete. The Report urged white society to support and facilitate the development of black organizations and black political

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action. It also noted that some governmental bodies failed to reform to respond to black needs, choosing instead to continue to repress their progress. The Commission stated, “America cannot be a just society if repression is substituted for redressing the inequalities of our society.”

The death threats on Martin Luther King, Jr. showed just how violent the country had become. His preachings of nonviolence were met with great opposition, and his life was in danger several times before his assassin would succeed. On a flight from Atlanta to Memphis in 1968, the plane was delayed due to a bomb threat on King’s life. The flight went off safely, and Martin Luther King arrived in Memphis to deliver a riveting speech to rally striking sanitation workers. Just a week earlier, a 16-year-old boy had been killed when a march for the workers met a violent end. And, on April 4, 1968, the day after he delivered one of his most influential speeches, King’s life would end similarly. Escaped convict James Earl Ray shot and killed King as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel.

There were no doubts that violence in America had become an increasingly relevant problem since the death of President Kennedy. When Bobby Kennedy learned of King’s assassination, “his eyes went blank, and he seemed to shrink back, as though struck physically.” Putting his hands to his face he said, “Oh God. When is this violence going to stop?” Bobby had never spoken publicly about the death of his brother, but the death of King marked the first occasion in which he did. Bobby had just recently announced his campaign for the nomination. He was scheduled to give a speech for his first primary in a poor, black area in the inner city of Indianapolis on the day King was killed. Though he had been warned by the chief of police to cancel the speech, Kennedy went ahead as planned. Because the shooting had been just earlier that night, the crowd did not yet know that King had been killed.

Kennedy delivered the news to the unsuspecting crowd. As people began to sob, he said,

For those of you who are black and are tempted to be filled with hatred and disgust at the injustice of such an act, against all white people, I can only say, that I feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my own family killed, but he was killed by a white man. But we have to make an effort in the United States, we have to make an effort to understand, to go beyond these rather difficult times.

The death of King marked a violent turn in America, as people took to the streets to express their anger and sorrow at the loss of their hero. The night Dr. King was killed there were riots in 110 cities across the country, causing 39 deaths, 2,500 injuries, and 21,000 arrests. The citizens of Indianapolis, however, did not riot. Moved by Kennedy's touching words, the city was quiet.

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74 Mark Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 251.
This was not the case in Washington, D.C., a city where the worst of the riots had erupted. By midnight on April 4th, the skyline was ablaze with the flames of over 700 fires. While Bobby Kennedy’s speech urged people to honor King’s legacy of nonviolence, his message had not reached the majority of Americans. Instead, King’s death would polarize the nation to an even higher degree, and deepen the divide across the country over civil rights.\textsuperscript{75}

After King was killed, there was an even greater fear that Bobby Kennedy would be next. This did not stop Kennedy from continuing his campaigning with minimal security, in spite of his realizations that his life was at risk. He incorporated messages of peace into his campaign stops, and would address the disturbing rise of violence in America right before he was murdered. After winning the California primary, he told the audience, “I think we can end the divisions within the United States, the violence.”\textsuperscript{76} These would be among the last words he ever said.

John and Bobby had been very close. Not only were they brothers, but they were the closest of friends and served as personal confidants for each other. “They were totally loyal to each other,” recalled Fred Dutton, who had served as JFK’s Cabinet secretary. “They almost didn’t need to communicate with each other, they almost knew what the other person was thinking and doing. Bob’s sole focus was to make sure everything was working for his brother. He gave him everything.”\textsuperscript{77}

On November 22, 1963, Bobby received the very call he had so desperately feared. When he returned to the White House with his brother’s body early the next morning, he broke down in sobs as he cried, “Why, God? Why, God, why?”\textsuperscript{78} His brother had been the center of his world, and without John, Bobby would never be the same. Bobby took to wearing John’s old clothing, wrapping himself in his brother’s leather jacket as he sought a sense of comfort that his older brother could no longer provide him. Bobby’s friend John Seigenthaler visited Washington to check on him and was dismayed by the mere shell of a person Bobby had become. “He looked to me like a man who is just in intense pain,” commented Seigenthaler.\textsuperscript{79} Father Richard McSorley, a longtime friend of the Kennedy family, was concerned about Bobby’s well being, and wrote him a letter in the early summer of 1964. The letter read,

\begin{quote}
Your grief goes as deep as your love. Because you were close to him, you received the impact of his rare personality more fully than others. Yours was the inspiration of constant, daily, personal contact. I look at you as Jack’s twin spirit. No one is in a better position to lead those whose hearts have caught fire from his flame than you.”\textsuperscript{80}
\end{quote}

While Bobby wanted nothing more than to continue his brother’s mission for him, he could not be as engaged as he had been before his brother was murdered. His heart was simply no longer involved in the way that it had been before. When he ran for the Senate in 1964 against the Republican incumbent Kenneth Keating, neither Bobby nor the American public could shake their memories of John. When the crowds saw Bobby, they saw a living reminder that the Kennedy dream had not yet died. But when Bobby looked at the crowds, he could think only of his brother,

\textsuperscript{75} Mark Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon, 251.
\textsuperscript{78} David Talbot. Brothers: The Hidden History of the Kennedy Years, 17.
\textsuperscript{79} David Talbot. Brothers: The Hidden History of the Kennedy Years, 266.
\textsuperscript{80} David Talbot. Brothers: The Hidden History of the Kennedy Years, 269.
telling his friend Ed Guthman, “Don’t you know? They’re for him – they’re for
him.”81 Bobby’s reaction to the crowd shows that he was still linking himself to John
even after John’s death. The media and the American public always connected the
two as well. The coverage of Bobby was always in terms of his brother – he could
never escape the constant comparisons that occupied his mind as well as the papers.

Bobby won the election by over 800,000 votes, yet was distraught even in his
success. Instead of celebrating his win, he told his bodyguard, “If my brother was
alive, I wouldn’t be here. I’d rather have it that way.”82 Bobby quietly broke down in
tears when Johnson was sworn in, thinking only that he should have been watching
his brother begin his second term. It seemed as though the loss of John would
always haunt him.

When Bobby sought the Democratic nomination for president in the 1968
election, he was different from the man he had been at 35. The youthful attorney
general, often referred to as “the second most important man in the country,”83 had
grown into a man with a deep sense of duty. His sense of obligation ran deep in his
family, and Bobby had been raised with high expectations.

He believed that it was his duty to restore the leadership of the country that
his brother had begun and Johnson had disrupted. “John Kennedy explained his
family’s involvement with politics before he was killed, saying, “Just as I went into
politics because Joe died, if anything happened to me tomorrow, my brother Bobby
would run for my seat in the Senate. And if Bobby died Teddy would take over for
him.”84

Bobby had a blind loyalty to his brother that didn’t cease when John died.
Bobby was more noticeably affected by the loss of his brother than anyone else in
his family. His office was full of mementos that reminded him of his brother. The
loss of John was a deep and always present wound for Bobby. Out of both love and a
sense of duty, Bobby felt that it was up to him to carry on his brother’s legacy.

When a reporter asked Bobby Kennedy if he was worried about his constant
exposure to large crowds, Bobby replied, “I play Russian roulette. Every time I get
up in the morning. But I just don’t care...If they want to get you, they can get you.”85
Bobby was typically unfazed by the constant mobs that would meet his campaign at
every stop. John Barlow Martin, one of Bobby’s advisers, recalled the scenes in
March of 1968 after Bobby had initially announced his bid for the nomination. “The
crowds were savage. They pulled his cuff links off, tore his clothes, tore ours. In
bigger towns, with bigger crowds, it was frightening.”86

Extremely committed to his cause, Bobby Kennedy threw himself into his
campaigning without any special regard for potential assassination attempts. He
worked harder than any other candidate, pushing through eighteen-hour days that
drained the press more than he allowed it to affect him. By the end of the day, it was

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81 David Talbot. Brothers: The Hidden History of the Kennedy Years, 298.
82 David Talbot. Brothers: The Hidden History of the Kennedy Years, 300.
84 Robert Semple. Four Days In November, The Original Coverage Of The John F. Kennedy Assassination, 133.
not uncommon for the press corps to chant, “Hey, hey, RFK, how many reporters did you kill today?”

Through his undeniable hard work he secured major primary wins in Indiana, Nebraska, and California. While he was undoubtedly aided by his last name, he also strived to create a separate image for himself that would not be linked with his deceased brother. In his eloquent campaigning, Bobby strongly identified with the disadvantaged population, often making stops in ghettos to greet large crowds of supporters there. He developed a passionate following that loved his messages because they differed from those of other candidates. He was cultivating an authentic voice of his own, prioritizing compassion for the ghettos and concern for law and order, decentralization of big government, and private involvement in social programs.

For many Americans, their dream of seeing another Kennedy elected to the nation’s highest office died on June 5, 1968 with the death of Robert Kennedy. He was assassinated in Los Angeles after winning a critical primary in California. Soon after he gave his victory statement, he was shot in the kitchen of the Ambassador Hotel. The bullets would be fatal.

Robert Scheer had been covering the California primary for the magazine Ramparts, and offered a first hand account of what happened behind the scenes on June 5, 1968. A defeat in California would have ended Kennedy’s presidential run, so Kennedy and his staff had been closely monitoring the returns as they came in that night. The early returns from northern California were highly unfavorable, and at the beginning of the night the outlook was bleak for the Kennedy camp. Born into a family that refused to lose in politics, Bobby did not handle the prospect of defeat well. After an additional two hours of waiting the announcement came; Kennedy had won the primary. After he gave his victory speech in the Empire Ballroom, he exited through the kitchen where his killer, Sirhan Sirhan had been waiting.

When Kennedy was shot, chaos broke out. People began screaming and crying all at once, shouting, “He’s been hit! He’s been hit!” The police captured the suspect and took him to the waiting police car through the kitchen. When Kennedy’s supporters heard that the suspect had been caught in the kitchen, many of them began violently chanting, “Kill him! Kill him!” The desire to murder Sirhan was eerily familiar, as JFK’s assassin had been killed shortly after shooting John.

When Scheer returned to the Kennedy suite upstairs, he found a room full of Kennedy’s staff in a state of shock at the sudden turn of events. They were gathered around the television hoping for a positive shift of events. As they waited for updates, Kennedy’s shaken staff cried as they tried to comprehend the tragic shooting of their ill-fated boss.

It was Bobby himself, rather than his ideas, that had kept his people together; and when the moment of his death was approaching, they quickly separated. The family went back to Virginia. Press aide Dick

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Tuck went downstairs to give an exclusive interview to the Washington Post. Jack Newfield returned to New York to finish his biography of Kennedy. And most of the delegates went off to Humphrey. Bobbyism had died as an ideology.⁹⁴

When twenty-four year old Sirhan shot Kennedy and five others, he also killed the hope and unity that Bobby Kennedy had brought to so many people. When John had been murdered, his ideas had lived on through Bobby. The loss of Bobby left many Americans stunned and embittered. Bobby had been the voice of the powerless, and without him, many Americans become uninterested in politics and the outcome of the 1968 election.⁹⁵

President Johnson declared the following Sunday a national day of mourning for the fallen Senator.⁹⁶ Johnson was visibly disturbed by Bobby's death, and promised the Kennedy family any aid the government could provide. He also appointed a commission to study the causes of the surge in violence and called for immediate revisions to gun control laws. On Johnson's urging, Congress passed emergency legislation that authorized Secret Service protection for the other major presidential candidates. This measure would cost the United States $400,000 per month.⁹⁷ These immediate reforms were unique to Bobby's death. The assassination of John Kennedy had not brought about the same demand for reforms that Bobby's did – possibly because violent assassinations had not yet become routine.

Robert Kennedy's assassination was not met with the same shock, horror and sadness that his brother's death had brought about. Assassinations had recently become more common and almost expected, and while Americans certainly mourned the premature loss of Bobby Kennedy, they were not as taken back by it. After John's murder, Bobby was seen as a likely candidate for a second Kennedy assassination. This was no secret to the American public, or to Bobby himself. In 1966, a reporter asked Bobby about his long-term political goals, and he answered with, "Six years is so far away, tomorrow is so far away. I don't even know if I'll be alive in six years."⁹⁸

Bobby's death marked a panic across the nation and the world that was less about the death of Bobby, and more about what his assassination said about the state of America. People across the world were quick to judge Bobby's death as a sign that America was a violent nation in tatters. President Johnson sought to rectify this image in a TV address to the nation saying,

200 million Americans did not strike down Robert Kennedy any more than they struck down his brother or Dr. King. While it would be self-deceptive to ignore the connection between lawlessness and hatred and this act of violence, it would be just as wrong and just as self-deceptive to conclude from this act that our country itself is sick, that it's lost its balance, that it's lost its sense of direction, even its common decency.⁹⁹

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⁹⁸ Nation: A LIFE ON THE WAY TO DEATH. Time Magazine, para 2.
Because he lived his last years as a marked man, Bobby was blamed for his death in a way that John never was. William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester [N.H.] Union Leader, wrote that the Kennedys had encouraged dissent and disorder, essentially intimating his belief that Bobby knew he had it coming.\(^{100}\)

Bobby’s staff was horrified by the assassination, yet not surprised. A reporter covering Kennedy’s campaign jotted notes down as he observed Kennedy workers get word of the news in San Francisco, writing, “They seemed to almost expect it. There is grief. But more, there is a kind of weird acceptance. Horrible to see. They’ve been through assassinations before.”\(^{101}\)

There were differences in the reactions and coverage of the losses of the Kennedy brothers. When John Kennedy was killed, he was serving in the highest office in the world’s most powerful country. The murder of a president was monumentally important news worldwide. Bobby Kennedy was as equally well known as his brother, but not for the same reasons. Bobby had never been the president of the United States, and was more famous for being the brother of a dead president. John and Bobby Kennedy were not only united in death, but also defined by death. Their deaths immortalized them.\(^{102}\) The Kennedy family expressed a preference to celebrate John Kennedy’s life on his birthday instead of the day he was killed, but the nation did not take to the idea. This was because the assassination itself had shaped the way many remembered his presidency.\(^{103}\)

Many Americans held John Kennedy in a unique reverence after his death. Aided by the passage of time and the sorrow surrounding his early death, it is often forgotten that Kennedy was seen as a dangerous choice for the Democratic nomination in 1960, and won the election with very narrow margins.\(^{104}\) The Camelot myth associated with JFK evolved only after his death. Just one day after Kennedy was killed, he would be compared to famous American presidents Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. The Miami News wrote,

> Only rarely in the course of our history have we been blessed with a president whose qualities of leadership combined to inscribe his greatness forever in our national shrines. Jefferson was one of these, and Lincoln was another. And more and more you are going to hear Mr. Kennedy’s name mentioned as one of the great ones.”\(^{105}\)

Jacqueline Kennedy, the fallen president’s wife, was partially responsible for creating the Camelot mystique. By choosing to remain in her bloodstained Chanel suit after her husband was assassinated, she created a defining visual moment that

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101 Nation: A LIFE ON THE WAY TO DEATH. Time Magazine, para 1.


allowed the myth to develop.\textsuperscript{106} When she told the media that her husband had enjoyed the Broadway musical “Camelot,” the legend developed further. \textit{Life} magazine ran with the initial idea, incorporating the musical’s tagline “for a brief shining moment” into their story on Kennedy. This became an overnight cliché used to describe the idealism of Kennedy’s “thousand days.”\textsuperscript{107} The myth of Camelot would only grow stronger with time. Twenty-five years later, The \textit{Miami News} ran a piece about the anniversary of John’s death, with the headline, “25 years after Dallas, the Camelot mystique of JFK burns brightly.”\textsuperscript{108}

The myth of Camelot transformed Jackie as well.\textsuperscript{109} All coverage of Jackie throughout the tragic assassination was incredibly positive. She was always portrayed as graceful, courageous, silent, and heroic. She was loved worldwide – in France a weekly picture magazine \textit{Paris Match} devoted an entire issue to her. Instead of featuring the assassinated president, the magazine chose to run a tribute on Jackie, which included pictures from her entire life. The cover read, “Hommage a Jackie Kennedy.”\textsuperscript{110}

\textit{Time} magazine offered impressive journalism during JFK’s assassination, raising many questions in their coverage. On December 20, 1963, just one month after the president was killed, \textit{Time} inquired about what his legacy would become. “The college students, the housewives, the intellectuals, and many of the people who were critical of him while he lived, were now transforming that image into legend.”\textsuperscript{111} While Kennedy had been an impressive president, the article expressed fear that people would remember Kennedy without thinking of his flaws. This was partly due to the love people felt for him while he was alive, but also because of his violent and untimely death in Dallas. His assassination seemed to erase any mistakes he made in office.

Equally concerning was Victor Lasky’s response to Kennedy’s death. Lasky had written \textit{JFK: The Man and the Myth}, a presidential biography of Kennedy that had been released before Kennedy died. The bestselling biography of the president was withdrawn from sale after the assassination upon Lasky’s request. The book was a hostile appraisal of JFK, which Lasky considered inappropriate after the president was assassinated. He said, “As far as I’m concerned, Kennedy is no longer subject to criticism on my part.”\textsuperscript{112} Luckily the publishers continued to fill special orders when demand persisted. The concept of censoring negative speech from the marketplace simply because of an assassination is an un-American concept, one that would likely appall any American president. The First Amendment was written to ensure that freedom of speech would be protected under the law, and the American public has a right to access all opinions – even those that may not hold Kennedy in the best light. Regardless of the author’s reluctance to take credit for his work, it is disturbing that a critical account of the president would be pulled out of stores because of a hesitation to criticize the president after he had been assassinated.


\textsuperscript{108} 25 years after Dallas, the Camelot mystique of JFK burns brightly. \textit{Miami News}.


\textsuperscript{110} Publishing: In Memoriam. \textit{Time Magazine}, para 3.


When Robert Kennedy was assassinated four and a half years later, the shock, sadness, and horror felt throughout America was very similar to when his older brother was killed, but the demands for reform were new. The meaningless killing of Robert Kennedy just two months after Dr. Martin Luther King had been assassinated led Americans to become more vocal about serious problems within American society.

While the Kennedy brothers were gunned down just five years apart, much had changed in that time. The war in Vietnam had escalated, assassinations occurred more frequently, and rioting was common. America had become a more violent country in those five years. So, while Americans mourned the loss of a great man with the death of Bobby, they also mourned for their country. Americans were not the only ones concerned. Messages of sympathy and sorrow from press around the world directed their sympathies not just to the Kennedy family, but also to the American people, urging them to ‘get well,’ and stop the rampant violence. A headline in the *London Sun* read, “Land of the Gun,” and the editorial read, “Violence has become the brutal hallmark of the most prosperous and most powerful nation on earth.” The focus on the violence in America dominated much of the coverage of Bobby’s assassination.

At the time of John’s assassination, the media focused on his life and accomplishments, not the violent state of America. When Bobby was murdered, the focus was rarely on his life, but more frequently on his relationship with John, how his death embodied the violent nature of America, or the tragic story of the Kennedy family. Focus was often diverted to his older brother John or his younger brother Teddy. Bobby’s story was largely lost behind these details. Even in *Life* magazine’s commemorative issue on Bobby, the featured story was “A Tragic History of the Kennedys.” The focus was not on Bobby as an individual, but on his family. The allure of both brothers rests on their stolen futures. The fascination with John and Bobby is based less on what they accomplished and more on what they may have achieved had their lives not been cut short.

The added loss of Bobby affected Americans greatly. For some young people, it would mark the end of their involvement in politics. John and Bobby had inspired and motivated America’s youth to consider giving the political system a chance, and after America’s youth witnessed two of their heroes murdered for their political activism, they were hardly inspired to remain interested in politics.

John and Bobby Kennedy were the fallen brothers of a generation. They had dared to ask more of their countrymen, and they had dared to demand equality. Their lives were taken prematurely in an unbearable and horrific manner that shocked the world twice. With the losses of John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy, Americans lost brave leaders, the ideals they stood for, and their unmatched abilities to inspire their country and many others throughout the world.

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Effects of the Ice Trade Development in 19th Century Transatlantic America

Irina Dvalidze

First "domestic" uses of ice date back thousands of years when grape juice was poured over snow to make a cooling treat for hot weather. The concept of storing snow underground was a frequently observed approach for means of preservation. However the incorporation of ice into daily domestic and medicinal uses, across a variety of landscapes and climates is a relatively recent development. Ice consumption as we know it today is a mere shadow of a once complex and multifaceted industry, which not only developed ice harvesting technology which eventually led to domestic refrigeration, but also helped reshape the social and agricultural landscape of 19th century Transatlantic America.

Early Days of Ice Use

In its early days of mass consumption, ice use was restricted according to climate and geographic compatibility. In Vertie Knapp's analysis The Natural Ice Industry of Philadelphia in the Nineteenth Century, the author notes Philadelphia as one of the earliest locations to start adapting ice into consumer culture. The conducive climate for freezing during winter time, provided traders in Philadelphia with an opportunity to harvest ice and store it in the ice houses for comparatively warmer periods:

In Philadelphia six or seven families shared an icehouse in the 1790s. This was a brick-lined cell in the ground that was filled in winter, by the families using the icehouse, with about 1,200 cubic feet of ice. They began using the ice in May, removing what they needed daily and placing meat in the cell to keep it cool. The ice lasted throughout the hot weather (Knapp 415).

The public began using ice in order to keep produce and dairy cool while it was delivered to the market and distributed to the consumers' homes. For a society, which predominantly used methods of salting and pickling food in order to prolong its edibility, introduction of ice as a mass cultural commodity started presenting opportunities for fresh food consumption therefore leading to changes in dietary habits. Philadelphia reflected the evolution sparked by the adoption of ice throughout the rest of the states that had suitable environments for ice harvesting.

Beginnings of Transatlantic Ice Trade

In the beginning of the 19th century, an ambitious young man by the name of Frederick Tudor had the idea to capitalize on ice harvesting and trade in regions with much hotter climates. A Massachusetts native, Tudor observed the demands rising within the public for forms of refrigeration.

Tudor had an idea to capitalize on trading ice in locations that have never had access to ice before. Initially ridiculed by most of his peers, Tudor had to finance the endeavor independently. His plan was to cut sufficient amount of ice and transport it via a ship to locations in the tropics.
Tudor's first attempt occurred in 1806 and to many people's surprise, turned out to be physically tangible. On February 10th, *Boston Gazette* ran the following blurb, which didn't sugarcoat the public's disposition towards Tudor's plan:

No joke. A vessel with a cargo of 80 tons of ice has cleared out form this port for Martinique. We hope this will not prove to be slippery situation (Weightman, 37).

With the help of his brother William, Frederick was able to acquire monopoly concession rights for selling ice in Martinique. Since no captain would agree to carry the melting cargo on board with the fear of sinking, once the weight and the mass of ice blocks would change, Frederick bought a ship on his own and outfitted the lower compartments to the best of his abilities in order to insulate the ice. He used the same techniques as the ones that were already in use for constructing icehouses in order to prolong the product’s life span.

He made his first delivery to Martinique with most of the ice intact, however he failed to make any profit. What Tudor didn’t consider prior to his arrival in the tropics was that he would not have a suitable storage space that would insulate the ice after it was shipped. So while the ice sold, most of the purchases made by the locals were based in the novelty of a new product, not in the value of its functionality, since the people living in the tropical climates had never seen or utilized ice prior to this. In the first two days Tudor sold $50 worth, charging sixteen cents per pound (Weightman 38). As he would shortly realize, Frederick Tudor faced the challenge of not only getting the ice to hot climates but also creating a market for a new product.

Ice Houses

As mentioned before icehouses were a fairly familiar concept going back as early as 1790s. However given the new circumstances Tudor aimed to perfect it in order to achieve longevity of storage. Gavin Weightman details Tudor's experimentation in *The Frozen Water Trade*. According to Weightman, Tudor decided to experiment with insulators that were available in bulk at cheaper prices. Tudor had immediate access to charcoal and spongy peat, which were both being used as fuel at the time, making them into the top two choices:

To determine which might be a better insulator, he took two large wooden casks, put pulverized charcoal in one and peat in the other, filled them with ice and put the lid on. Forty days later when he opened the casks, the ice had melted in both of them—this was between mid-June and the end of July— but the meltwater was warm in the barrel insulated with charcoal and cool in the peat barrel. He carried out the experiment again, opening the casks sooner and found that some ice remained in the peat barrel whereas it had all melted in the charcoal barrel. Peat, although the poorer fuel, was the better insulator. (Weightman, 48).

Tudor would continue to perfect ice harvesting and storage process with the help of the most imaginative minds in the field that barely even existed, but before that he faced a number of financial and circumstantial misfortunes.

The War of 1812 hindered his new trade model, but Frederick Tudor was finally able to resume the shipment of ice following generous donations from
interested parties that saw the potential in ice trade. At this point Tudor's focus had shifted to Cuba. In 1815, while still quite heavily in debt from his prior unprofitable attempts with the ice trade, Frederick Tudor was able to borrow enough money to finance a new ship and a construction of a suitable icehouse in Havana.

As Tudor would eventually become successful in ice transport and trade, many would mimic him, leading to a boom in ice trade and consumption across America. This would lead to several close encounters for Tudor with his demise, as he struggled to maintain monopoly over the ice trade industry. Richard Cummings quotes Tudor's diary in his anthology on the ice harvesting industry *The American Ice Harvest.* The passage is of Tudor's reaction to an "interferer" (a competitor in Savannah):

“This Interferer will get about $5.00 in all for what must have cost him at least $100... This business in mine. I commenced this new business [the depot in Savannah], and I have a right to rejoice in the ill-success attending others who would profit by my discovery without allowing me the credit of teaching them.” (Cummings, 15).

It is clearly evident that, after seeing the success Frederick Tudor achieved, many realized the potential of ice trade. It was a commodity that was cheap to acquire as the frozen lake water belonged to no man and required no payment. The overall reason that Tudor was able to survive the vultures who hoped to profit of his “discovery” was because he was able to do it better than the rest of them. But that was not due just to Tudor’s own brilliance and innovation, it was due to the company that he kept. Tudor would find his strongest ally in the young Nathaniel Wyeth, who would become responsible for the most efficient developments in the ice harvesting process. But before discussing the innovations in the harvesting process, it is important to observe the evolution of the storage methods.

The information available regarding icehouses in Transatlantic America, suggests one fact without a doubt. The ice preservation methods boomed in the middle of the 19th century, circa 1850s. A number of the domestic journals and newspapers from the period are riddled with the information about how to construct icehouses. Journals such as *The Christian Recorder* and *Godey's Lady's Book* both provided their own instructions for their readers on how to best construct a suitable space for ice storage.

The November 22, 1862 article in *The Christian Recorder,* on how to build an icehouse opened with the following:

Since publishing the following mode of constructing our own ice house two years since, we have received numerous applications for a copy of the paper containing it, and by others that we would republish it. To republish is the best we can do. The success of the house has more than met our expectations, which were confident. When well packed there is comparatively no waste.

The demand for information was clearly strong enough for the public to take notice and request it. Judging from the tone of the article, the demand was also high enough for the publishers to feel the need to reprint it. The actual instructions for the icehouse structure seem pretty simple and straightforward. The article proceeds to describe the process as following:
We built our own house, twenty feet square, all above ground, enclosing the same with tongue and groove plank - one and a quarter inch thick - with battened joints. Next inward of this we placed another partition six inches distant, of undressed boards nailed on horizontally. Within this was placed another partition of dressed boards, tongued and grooved, and placed also horizontally. The latter space or chamber was packed with spent tan, charcoal dust, and rice chaff, in equal parts. This we are satisfied is the best arrangement for the protection of ice from the exterior heat of summer. However heated the outer surface may become, it will not communicate that heat through the air chamber to the contiguous chamber filled with packing. Besides, the space packed is constantly chilled by is contiguity to the large body of ice within. In our own structure we carried the inner ceiling to and under the rafters, so as to create an air space under the roof. In this, however, were left ventilating openings, so as to avoid the accumulation of heated air. The sides of the ice should have a packing of saw-dust, shavings or straw, closely pressed next to the ceiling, and well covered on the top when filled.

The most important detail provided by the above article however is the author’s focus on the minute aspects that one considers in order to make the storage process more successful. The author of the instructions states: “In our own structure we carried the inner ceiling to and under the rafters, so as to create an air space under the roof. In this, however, were left ventilating openings, so as to avoid the accumulation of heated air.” This structure, while still simple, is causing the users to think of the process in more scientific ways. It also should be noted that unlike Tudor’s approach, this article recommends the use of sawdust and shavings, which implies people’s awareness to a number of alternative methods.

Which leads to the *Godey's Lady's Book*’s article on icehouses. In March 1855 *Godey's Lady's Book* published an article on Chinese icehouses. As this article predates the one by *The Christian Recorder*, the tone of the writer sounds more like an advertisement for the icehouses instead of an instructional guide for an interested/demanding readership. The article begins with the statement:

“Did you ever, reader, whist panting under the hear of July, and felling yourself listless and useless from its influence, wonder how you could have thought the cold of winter disagreeable, and long for some of its ice-cold water to sip at? No doubt you have, and so thousands do every summer. Now, there is no great reason why iced water, and iced or at least well-cooled butter, instead of the oily mass we often get, and iced other things, should not be much more common than they are.

The description above rings far too familiar for anyone who has ever watched an infomercial. Yet it is hard to see this in any other light. Judging from the date of the article, such a promotion for a product seems more than logical. The same article proceeds to identify the residents of villages, rather than cities as the target audience for the “Chinese Icehouse.” The article points out that the import of ice to the cities at such a large scale, makes it a more affordable commodity, however the same is not true in the villages where only the wealthy can afford to obtain ice since the wealthy are the only ones who can afford the construction of ice houses where it can be kept for longer periods of time. The issue makes perfect sense due to the way that cities differ form villages. In the cities, where the population is densely packed together, keeping an ice house is a lucrative form of
business since it can serve as the distribution point where average citizens can buy ice and even have it delivered by carts and wagons to their homes. The same can’t stand true in the villages, as the population is widely dispersed and relies on farming for livelihood. For an average sized farm that relies on agriculture as the primary source of income, an icehouse is not an investment worth a large sum of money since it will not stand to profit the farmer as much as it will a salesman in a city setting. So, in order to counter the inaccessibility of the product that is becoming so wide spread the article offers a DIY version of what appears to have become an elaborate industrial construction. The article also gives a particularly good insight into how wide span the icehouse use is throughout U.S. in 1850s:

In cities, it is true the preservation of ice, and its importation on a large scale, render it now obtainable at comparatively little expanse; but in the country such a thing is unknown, except in the establishments of persons of persons of wealth, who can afford to have icehouses constructed on a the present expensive plan.

This implies that while there is a demand for ice, in the 1850s ownership of an icehouse is limited to the wealthy, but there is a movement to make icehouse ownership a standard within the masses.

The Icehouse is described as the “Chinese Icehouse” because it is claiming to be drawing on a technique developed by the Chinese, who frequently use the icehouses to preserve fish. “To them ice is not only a luxury, it is almost a necessity,” states the writer. The fact that the focus is on a Chinese way of constructing an icehouse shows that the public of the era is seeking technological improvements and advancements in a newly emerged trade that has gained incomparable value, not only financially but socially as well. The article is looking to a culture, which the author argues to be superior in its use of “refrigeration” for food preservation.

Ownership of Ice and Social effects of Ice Consumption

The discussion that is at the heart of Godey’s Lady’s Book’s article on icehouses, is about the necessity of icehouses for domestic use. However as mentioned above the lack of widespread use due to financial inaccessibility suggests that in its early days, ice was very much a novel product that was struggling to establish a wider consumer base. It was around the 1850s that ice use and consumptions became a prominent part of domesticity that was not only limited to the eastern seaboard but thanks to, Tudor’s now somewhat estranged technical mastermind “partner,” Nathaniel Wyeth, was ready to spread to the west coast via railroad. So, while Frederick Tudor may freely reserve the credit for introducing ice trade as a valuable business, Wyeth is the man truly responsible for ending the free-for-all ice harvesting endeavors and turning the ice trading industry corporate by pioneering ownership requirements over pond water territory in 1841 (Cummings, 42). While Nathaniel Wyeth as an individual was not the most successful businessman, he was part of the reason that the ice trade became a national and shortly after a worldwide industry. The rapid spread of ice trading as an industry in the 1840s, consequently led to a much wider consumption of it by the public in the 1850s.

In accordance with the demand for ice that can be seen in the Godey’s Lady’s Book’s article on icehouses, published in 1855, is the emergence of a new product patented by James Stimpson of Baltimore in 1854. The new product was called a double-walled pitcher. Following some improvements over the rest of the decade, the double-walled pitcher would become the triple-walled ice water pitcher, used
strictly to serve ice water. The design of the pitcher ability to maintain the water cool by keeping the warm air out with the help of a "Layman's Patent Double Valve":

That pitchers were marketed at a cost ranging from $8 to $150 indicates that manufacturers were responding to a demand that cut across socio-economic boundaries. Judging from surviving examples with histories of ownership and vintage photographs of interiors, however, the great bulk of these pitchers appear to have been sold to middle-class customers." (Venable, 41).

The evolution of the pitcher closely reflects the timeline as well as the fate of the ice trading industry. Judging from the material evidence the industry was at its highest and most lucrative from the 1860s all the way to the early 1890s.

As early as 1857, the newspapers began to buzz with advertisements ice cream parlors and saloons. A woman by the name of Henrietta Hall put the following advertisement in the Delaware County American on June 17, 1857:

ICE CREAM! ICE CREAM!! - This luxury, as well Water Ice, Raspberries, Refreshments, &c., can be had at the Saloon of the subscriber, back of the Court House Square, in Media. Parties and families will be supplied at the shortest notice.

The above is a single example of the hundreds of similar advertisements that appeared in the same time period. The general public was no longer just using the ice as a storage product but instead it was being valued for its culinary, as well as commercial value. The supply of ice was clearly steady enough to prompt the establishment of ice cream saloons, essentially creating a whole new type of business, reshaping the ice trading industry into a more complex system. It was no longer just about the transport of ice to hot climates for the use in food preservation. Those who harvested ice, transported fresh produce along with the ice, supplied butchers and grocers with cooling agents, offered city residents with means of better food preservation and by making ice cream into a widespread trend, they created a whole new socializing environment for people to mingle and spend time at.

It appears that Henrietta Hall, was not merely one of the many ice parlor operators, she was also an ideal example of fierce businesswoman. Twelve years after the advertisement captioned above, she ran a second ad with the Delaware County American. The ad read as follows:

Mrs. Henrietta Hall, at her residence in East Media, at the corner of Front Street and the Providence road, has again commenced the manufacture of ice cream, and will furnish it to families or at her residence. Her make of this now almost indispensable summer luxury, is far superior to any other in this vicinity, and we so commend it to all who prefer getting what they call for instead of the milky trash served in too many instances at other establishments.

The above advertisement is unique in that it gives insight into a number of social and business issues at hand in 1869. First and foremost emphasis must be made on the word choice of the advertisement "has again commenced the manufacture of ice cream," it suggests that the Mrs. Hall's ice cream parlor is a reoccurring endeavor and the fact that it is held at her residence implies the it is a seasonal business that can operate from her home as was the case with most ice cream parlors. The service
also includes an option for home delivery/service making the attendance at the ice cream parlor optional. The fact that there was a market for home deliveries may imply that the ice cream making process was time consuming and most likely not worth the time for smaller households, unlike businesses that profited off that very fact. The advertisement also describes ice cream as “now almost indispensible summer luxury” giving a hint regarding its popularity. However the most crucial point made in the advertisement is Mrs. Halls claim to her ice cream being superior to all others. The ad goes as far as to refer to the competitors as the “milky trash.” That very description implies the level of competition present in the industry at its height. Ice had clearly become a lucrative asset to many people, to the point at which competition for the customer base got extremely heated due to the fact that the public was given a larger variety of options then before.

Hydropathy: The Golden Age of the Ice Industry

Early 1860s was when ice trade and consumption closed the gap between being a novelty item and being a household necessity. People started to view ice utilization as not just necessary. It had become so significant that it led to the unofficial social and cultural movement of hydropathy (Venable 42). The public began to believe in the healing powers of ice-cold water. Doctors started seeing the medicinal value of ice in surgical procedures. Provincial Freeman published a piece on July 12th, 1856, which described one of the earliest references to ice use in medicine. According to the article, Dr. Wolcott of Utica, following a suggestion from a French journal, was using ice as a pain reliever during surgery. He observed a much lesser loss of blood and minimal pain in the patient after removing a tumor from a man’s leg. He even went as far as to recommend ice over chloroform in surgical procedures, due to the fact that it was less risky and reacted better when coming in contact with blood.

Dr. Wolcott’s pro-ice arguments were clearly based in legitimate scientific observations. Which is why it is no surprise that The Charleston Mercury published a concerned piece on March 20th, 1862, regarding the Confederate States’ supply of ice in Charleston. The article discusses the hospitals need for ice in order to assist Civil War soldiers wounded in battle. The article urged for the military to control the ice supply to keep various hotels, ice cream saloons, and soda water fountains, from “exhausting the present supply, and depriving the poor suffering fevered soldier of this most indispensible necessary” in the coming summer months.

However, as medical benefits of the new product came to light, so did many theories regarding its other potential values. Most of these theories were not based in scientific research and were far more exemplary of the poorly calculated conclusions created by the crowd mentality. There were a number of not so reasonable claims that emerged regarding ice’s healing properties.

According to an article published in 1853 by The National Era, ice “pills,” which essentially were crushed bits of ice, could cure Cholera Morbus. Cholera Morbus referred to a non-epidemic form of Cholera as well as other forms of gastrointestinal issues. According to The Domestic Encyclopedia: or, A dictionary of facts and useful knowledge chiefly applicable to rural and domestic economy by Anthony F. M. Willich published in 1821, it was a common disease in United States in the summer months. According to Willich, a bad diet, excessive drinking and exposure to “night air while being thinly covered” were the leading causes (Willich 451). In his version of the treatment M.D. Willich recommended a number of herbal remedies and warmth that could contribute to cleansing the patient’s system. His treatment was hardly similar to the treatment offered over 30 years later by the
new ice obsessed culture via *The National Era* article. It is hard to judge how legitimate the research, which went into the article was but concluding from the overall tone of the piece, the author appears to be basing his claims in speculation. “Rather than any observation of it of late years during which I have had little to do with general practice, I have come to the conclusion that the remedy for it is ice,” states the author. The author doesn't proceed to provide any scientific evidence, experimental proof or research to support such claims, he simply advises the readers to swallow pills of ice aiming for them to apply directly to the affected area of the stomach.

*The National Era* was not the only publication to have had such blind faith in ice as the all-curing remedy. Both Godey's Lady's Book and the infamous Catherine Beecher endorsed the product. In *The New Housekeeper's Manual*, Beecher claimed:

> The impression common in this country, that warm drinks, especially in winter, are more healthful than cold, is not warranted by any experience, not by the laws of the physical system. At dinner, cold drinks are universal, and no one dreams them injurious. It is only at the other two meals that they are supposed to be hurtful” (Beecher, 144-145).

Strangely, the popular opinion often differentiated between ice and ice water as the remedies. In an April 1865 article, *Godey's Lady's Book* argued that ice water can be fatal and could sometimes cause sudden death. It claimed that ice could be taken freely due to its ability to promptly subdue external and internal inflammation "by application of ice or ice-water because it is converted into steam, and rapidly conveys away the extra heat, and also diminishes the quantity of blood in the vessels of the part."

**Fall of the Ice Harvesting Empire**

The greatest irony in the century long history of ice trade lies in its demise. A commodity that the world didn’t even know was essential to a healthier agricultural existence, led to a series of technological and business improvements that reshaped the transatlantic American landscape.

Paradoxically, the technological advancements that were always an essential part of the ice harvesting industry, would be the leading cause behind its ultimate downfall. Frederick Tudor was the first to pioneer marine transport of ice as well as improve different methods of insulation. He was closely followed by Nathaniel Wyeth, who perfected large scale harvesting techniques, by coming up with ways and utensils to cut ice in more perfect rectangular shapes in order to maximize the storage capabilities. He also had a hand in rail transportation that breached the trading gap between Atlantic and Pacific coasts. As the industry spread, James Stimpson came up with the triple walled ice water pitcher allowing a deeper domestic incorporation of ice into people’s daily lives. So as the larger population became more adamant about domesticating ice consumption, it should not come as a surprise that the need for technological improvement, driven by human necessity, soon overshadowed and even negated the industry that sparked such a drastic need in the first place.

As people became more and more dependant on ice for everyday necessities, the manual production of ice appeared less sufficient. The market went through an interesting change in supply and demand. First there was little to no demand for ice in most of the regions, especially the one's that had never been exposed to ice
before. After the multitude became more accustomed to the product, realizing its value, the demand and supply evened out one another producing a prosperous outcome. However after the demand overshadowed the supply, the product producers failed to adapt.

In the 1880s, the American public annually consumed 10 million tons of ice. Returning to the comparison between ice trade and the ice water pitcher, this utensil was in high demand through most of the second half of the 19th century, just like natural ice, however it virtually stopped production due to lack of demand in the 1895 (Venable 41). This coincided with the making of widespread technological improvements in artificial refrigeration, minimizing the need for natural ice harvesting, making the natural ice industry practically obsolete.

The most interesting bit of information regarding artificial refrigeration can be found in Thomas Moore’s Essay A Description of the Newly Invented Machine Called the Refrigerator. In the essay Moore somewhat subtly credits himself for coming up with the term Refrigerator. He goes on to describe a fairly intricate structure that used aluminum and wood for construction. Judging from his description of the structure, it bore more of a resemblance to an icebox, rather than an actual artificial icemaker. The point of interest regarding his research is not how successful his structure was, but the fact that he published the essay on his research in 1803, at the very dawn of the ice trading business.

Through most of the century there are minor hints and attempts at alternative forms of refrigeration. It is clear that that public was aware of the value of ice and was seeking more convenient ways of utilization. In 1863 The Christian Recorder ran a piece from the Scientific American on more practical refrigeration methods. The article described how evaporation was able to have a cooling effect on the surrounding objects and could be applied to refrigeration. The article also recommends a mixture of chemicals for refrigeration:

The following is a list of mixtures which may be useful to our readers:-
First, - Muriate of ammonia, 5 parts; nitrate of potash 5 parts; Water, 16 parts. In such a mixture as this the thermometer sinks 40 degrees.
Second- Nitrate of ammonia, 1 part; water, 1 part. The thermometer sinks 46 degrees. Third- Sulphate of soda, 5 parts; dilute sulphuric acid, 4 parts. The thermometer falls 47 degrees. With the use of ice or snow, other mixtures may be made, in which the thermometer will fall 50 deg. below zero.

Hardly a perfect recipe, considering the toxic qualities of Muriate of ammonia, nonetheless reached a significant audience. In 1860 Ferdinand Carré was able to patent the use of vaporized ammonia in a steam-powered apparatus, which produced cooling effects. He figured out that he could recycle the ammonia gas in the process as well, minimizing the production cost on the machine (Weightman 223).

So the question remains, if there was a machine in the 1860s that could produce artificial ice why were natural ice harvesting companies able to stay in power for another 40 some years? According to Weightman, the artificial ice production could not catch on due to the amount of technical difficulties it still faced. There were numbers of reports constantly emerging about exploding ice machines and leaks that contaminated the ice with oil. There was also an issue of price. Many believed that the manufacturing of the artificial icemakers was far too expensive and not worth the effort in comparison to the established natural ice harvesting costs.
This would change towards the end of the century as milder winters minimized the crop and the harvesting companies would have to go to further extremes to edge out the competition. Ice harvesting was at this point a nationwide industry. So when scarcity occurred a number of natural ice harvesting companies had to consolidate their efforts to stay afloat. Under Charles S. Morse, a Consolidated Ice Company was created. He was soon dubbed the “New York Ice King.” This however led to a fairly monopolized natural ice industry causing a hike in prices. As a commodity that was essential to the public, this caused enough of a concern that The New York Times decided to investigate. The investigation concluded with a massive scandal, exposing officials and political figures as being involved in Morse's corrupt dealings, for which he was sent to jail. The industry started its slow collapse shortly after. More and more people began switching to artificial ice manufacturing, starting with the manufacturers in the food trade. Eventually, following more inadequate winters, the water supplies began to be repurposed for electrical industries and making them no longer suitable in ice form for food consumption, since the water lost its purity and became somewhat contaminated.

Weightman further argues that as the public’s disposition towards the industry changed as well, as they no longer saw natural ice quite so essential in comparison with the artificial ice production that was swiftly picking up steam and becoming more affordable, thus a century long reign of the natural ice harvesting industry came to end.

Conclusion

The biggest irony lies in that nowadays few are aware that the natural ice trade even existed, let alone had such a great impact on Transatlantic America. Ice harvesting industry will remain a unique example because in many ways it resembles the way products are developed today. It created a market for a product that people did not know they needed. It altered the public’s diet by giving people across the country an opportunity to consume fresh food. It established a new type of business in the form of ice cream saloons that gave homeowners, especially in metropolitan areas, a new source of income. By becoming as widespread as it did, it provided improvements in medicinal practices. Not to mention the fact that after catching on as a lucrative industry across most of the country, ice harvesting employed thousands of people.

In some ways ice harvesting is one of the very first examples of mechanization taking over a man’s work, considering that machines for artificial ice production replaced manual labor leaving hundreds of people unemployed.
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Do the British “Fascist” Movements of the Inter-War Period fit the definition of generic fascism and what, if any, political success did these groups experience?

Daniel Foley

In the turbulent era between the First and Second World Wars a new political movement arose that would alter the European political landscape forever. This new movement would bring the nations of Europe to their knees during the Second World War. On the verge of doom Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, assessed the situation as follows: “Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization... If we can stand up to it, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world... including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age.”\(^{117}\) The name for this new political movement was fascism. Originating in Italy in 1919 under the leadership of Benito Mussolini, the word itself derives from the Italian word *fasci*, the emblem that represented the power, authority, and unity of Imperial Rome. *Fasci* are bundles of sticks held tightly together, symbolizing unity, with an axe protruding out of the side of the bundle. In nineteenth century Italy, the word *fascio*, also meaning bundle, began to be used as a label for small rebel groups. Mussolini founded the *fasci di combattimento*, “combat groups”, in 1919, marking the beginning of fascism. Fascism spread across Europe, attaining political success in Italy and Germany. In his speech, Churchill was referring to the conquests of Nazi Germany across Europe in early 1940, which resulted in Britain standing alone against Germany in the fight for a free Europe. Churchill’s speech aimed to prepare the British people for the seemingly impossible battle Britain would face in the coming months in order to protect the liberty of their country. The rhetoric of Churchill and the British government at the time suggests that it would be unlikely that fascism would have a presence in Britain; however, “fascist” groups existed in Britain since 1923 and remained a nuisance for the government right up until the outbreak of the Second World War. The goal of this paper is to determine whether these British “fascist” movements fulfill the definition of generic fascism laid out below and to examine what political success British fascists experienced. This paper will argue that the fascist movements in Britain during the interwar period did not fulfill the characteristics of generic fascism and they achieved minimal to no political success. Prior to examining fascism in Britain further, we must first establish a definition of ‘generic fascism’.

Accurately defining ‘generic fascism’ is extremely difficult because fascism lacks a single political doctrine like, for example, *the Communist Manifesto* for Marxists. For the purpose of this paper, the definitions of Stanley Payne and George Mosse are used in order to determine whether the fascist movements in Britain truly fulfilled the essential aspects of a fascist movement. Both scholars incorporate the fundamental characteristics of fascism into their definitions, which is a combination of myth and action. Important sub-themes within the two scholars’ definitions are the mobilization of the masses with an elite group or leader at the head of the movement, the destruction of liberal institutions, and the use of violence in political action. Key to a fascist movement is the rejection of established values

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and a call for the destruction of liberal institutions.118 Fascism is a form of popular sovereignty, in which instead of elected assemblies, a group of elites that expresses the "general will" represents the people.119 In regards to violence, Mosse argues, the fascist movements violent actions stemmed from the First World War, which desensitized the majority of Europeans, making fascist violence seem trivial to the public and allowing the fascists to use violence as a political tool.120 A fascist movement is not complete without the creation of what Payne calls a "civic religion" or in Mosse’s terms the "Third Way". A necessary component was the creation of national myths that bonded the people together with the fascist elite and provided a third option from Marxism and capitalism.121 Stemming from these myths was the idea of the “new fascist man”. Mosse describes this man as “...naturally, masculine; fascism represented itself as a society of males, re-enforced by the struggle for national unity that created fellowships such as “Young Italy”, or the German fraternities and gymnastic societies.”122 The core of fascism, which both Payne and Mosse make apparent in their definitions, is the combination of these national myths, which act as a catalyst for the fascists to take action, often violent, against liberal institutions and enemies of the state.

Payne’s analysis of British fascism is quite critical, referring to fascism in Britain as a “political oxymoron”. According to Payne, since Britain was a “prosperous, economically developed, and relatively balanced society, with well-educated citizens and established parliamentary traditions” there was no need for revolutionary nationalism, thus fascism experienced little success.123 In contradiction to the larger fascist movements in Italy and Germany, British fascists preached peace and prosperity versus war and expansion because of Britain’s well-established empire.124 Ultimately, the violence that began to surround fascist movements disgusted the majority of Britons, curbing the growth of fascism and eventually leading to the internment of prominent fascists during the Second World War.125 Kenneth Lunn and Richard C. Thurlow present the clearest evidence of fascism as a political failure in Britain. They explain, “in fact, fascist parties never won a parliamentary seat in Britain and only two local council seats in the inter-war period.”126 This information alone makes it quite clear that fascism failed in Britain whether the movement met the definition or not. Scholars tend to focus on the British Union of Fascists (BUF), led by Sir Oswald Mosley, which was the most successful of the British fascist groups. Phillip Rees argues that Mosley and the BUF strove for a “non-sectarian authoritarian solution to the problems of stagnating advanced capitalist states but whose ultimate failure was the cognitive one of having selected an inappropriate model, the ideology reflecting the delayed industrialization of Italy.”127 In addition, Rees argues the BUF failed not because of “virtues of the British Constitution” or the British ruling class’ opposition to the use of violence, but rather it failed because “these ruling classes had not yet exhausted

120 Mosse, The Fascist Revolution, 15.
121 Mosse, The Fascist Revolution, 42.
123 Payne, A History of Fascism, 303
124 Payne, A History of Fascism, 305
125 Payne, A History of Fascism, 305
all their traditional means of preserving capitalism.”

Mosley tried to implement a movement unsuited for a developed state like Britain and failed to convert those in power, resulting in very little success. In regards to Mosley’s New Party, a prelude to the BUF, Matthew Worley argues that the New Party never posed a threat to the British political system and this was reflected in the 1931 general election. It gained little support and accomplished nothing. Worley believes Mosley’s “vanity and egocentricity” damaged his aspirations and led him away from the political center towards politics of violent expression and ultimate failure.

Perhaps the most telling example of the failure of fascism in Britain is from a former member of the BUF. A.K. Chesterton, an ex-BUF lieutenant, expressed his loss of faith in fascism following the Second World War. In his biography of Chesterton, David Baker discusses Chesterton’s loss of faith after the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, which only increased after the failure of Mosley’s movement and later the revelation of the Holocaust. In addition, Mosley’s movement failed to create the “classless brotherhood within its own ranks” often preached by Mosley, resulting in upper-middle classes in leadership positions and lower classes serving as rank-and-file members. Chesterton went as far as saying “the Fascist edifice which he... constructed was about as stable as a house built of cards. Its organization was a joke...” Certainly Chesterton soured towards fascism and Mosley, expressing his thoughts on the movement in 1947: “Fascism certainly failed. It failed so disastrously [that] it is impossible even to mention the word without invoking, not what its adherents meant when they used it, but what its deadliest enemies intended people to believe it to have meant. And that is defeat indeed!”

One defender of fascism in Britain, not surprisingly, was Sir Oswald Mosley. Understandably so since Mosley led the most successful fascist movement in Britain, but his argument embellished the accomplishments of fascism and what it might have done for Britain if the economic crisis worsened and the Second World War had not occurred. “Our British movement achieved so much in face of steadily declining unemployment figures that it cannot be doubted we should have won Britain if the crisis had deepened.” Mosley believed that the economy was on the verge of another downturn in 1938, which would have allowed the fascists to step in, but the rearmament surge followed by the war saved the economy. Mosley points out that he was not the only one who held this opinion,

...a leading journalist of the Left, Hannen Swaffer, wrote in World Press News on August 5, 1943, under the heading ‘Saved by the War’, that it was ‘left to the war and 18B’ (imprisonment without trial) ‘to deal effectively with Mosley and his movement,’ and concluded: ‘Yes, but for the war we might today have been a Fascist country’.

Unfortunately for Mosley, the conditions for success never occurred and fascism went down as a failure in Britain. Mosley remained proud of his work and having led

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128 Rees, “Changing Interpretations”, 190
132 Baker, Ideology of Obsession, 187
133 Baker, Ideology of Obsession, 188
134 Baker, Ideology of Obsession, 189
136 Mosley, My Life, 310
what he claims to be a movement that “stopped Red violence and restored free speech to Britain.” If the situation arose where Britain was under threat again he would gladly do it again. However, his argument did not concur with historical fact: fascism failed, whatever the circumstances. Ultimately, this paper supports the arguments of Payne, Rees, and others who argue that British fascism was unsuccessful.

Prior to examining the BUF and Mosley, it is important to examine the earlier “fascist” movements in Britain, to determine if they experienced any political success, and whether they fulfill this paper’s definition of fascism. The first political organization to proclaim itself to be fascist and second only to the BUF in significance was the British Fascisti, founded in May 1923, to be later renamed the British Fascists (BF). Twenty-eight year-old Rotha Lintorn-Orman founded the movement; impressed by Mussolini’s “March on Rome” in 1922, she strove to create a similar movement in Britain. Like the rest of the radical right, the BF was thoroughly opposed to communism and socialism; in their opinion communism was simply a label that covered any number of socialist organizations who desired to depose the King, constitution, and Empire. From the beginning, the goals of the BF focused more on protecting Britain from the communist threat, rather than proclaiming fascist ideology. In fact, in its early days the BF maintained strong connections with the party system, with many of its members possessing dual membership with the Conservative Party. In its early stages the BF was nothing more than a radical right party professing more aggressive ideas against the left. A commander in the BF, Lionel Hirst, expresses the views of the BF bluntly in 1927: “A Socialist is the most vile specimen of humanity that has ever been seen.” Despite her initial admiration of Mussolini’s movement, Lintorn-Orman shed away from wearing black shirts to avoid connection to the violent actions of Mussolini’s *squadristi*. In fact, the BF wore no uniform at all, only wearing a badge with the words ‘For King and Country’ which encircled the initials of the group, which in time was replaced by just the letter F. The views of the BF remained undeveloped and certainly not fascist until the late 1920s. This stagnation was due to Lintorn-Orman’s poor comprehension of Italian fascist doctrine and the failure of her deputies to have any better understanding than their leader. The President of the BF at the time, Brigadier-General Blakeney, famously considered fascism as an adult offshoot of the Boy Scouts. The BF more than anything promoted anti-Bolshevik views, the “ideal of class-friendship”, and presented itself as defenders of the traditional society and status quo.

The BF began to reform itself after the Great Strike in Britain in 1926 and began to develop more of a fascist ideology. The BF’s doctrine began to reflect the doctrine of Mussolini, beginning with its 1927 Manifesto, which focused on anti-trade union policies calling for the outlawing of strikes and the “abolition of card voting.” Further indications of the BF’s shift towards a more fascist-like ideology

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137 Mosley, My Life, 315
139 Woodbridge, “Fraudulent Fascism”, 496
140 Woodbridge, “Fraudulent Fascism”, 496
141 Woodbridge, “Fraudulent Fascism”, 496
142 Thomas Linehan, British Fascism 1918-39 Parties, ideology, and culture (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 64
144 Linehan, British Fascism 1918-39, 63
145 Linehan, British Fascism 1918-39, 64
146 Linehan, British Fascism 1918-39, 66
was the advocating of the Corporate State, led by E.G. Mandeville Roe, a relatively new member of the BF who held great enthusiasm for the new economic ideas coming out of Italy. Mandeville Roe admired the industry of the Italian Corporate State, in which "disputes are settled within industry itself" rather than becoming political issues and argued that the Italian state was "a democracy more efficient than any which existed before it." Not until the early 1930s did the BF truly begin to exemplify characteristics of fascism. In 1933, it released a 24-point political program, calling for the dismantling of the existing party system and its replacement by the Corporate State, with a distinctly more anti-Semitic view, calling for a ban on Jews from holding official state offices, voting, and participating in Britain's political, economic, and cultural life. Unfortunately, this shift came too late for the BF, and had begun losing members to Mosley's BUF in 1932, including Mandeville Roe, who saw Mosley as a more dynamic leader, while Lintorn-Orman saw him as a "near communist". BF members continued to defect to the BUF and due to lack of funds and support, the BF ceased to exist by 1935.

When examining the history of the BF it becomes quite evident that the movement was not fascist and its political impact was minimal. Until 1933, when it released its 24-point political program, the BF was nothing more than an ultra-conservative movement. Since the movement dissolved less than two years after releasing the new program and lost several members to Mosley's BUF throughout that time, the program never became significant. Many scholars of the BF agree that the movement differed very little "in terms of outlook and policy" from the Conservative Party and the BF's "impact on the wider society and political life" was "negligible".

In his study of the BF, Thomas Linehan argues that few characteristics that make up authentic fascist ideology existed in their ideology; there was no rebirth mythology, nor a desire to develop a new "fascist man". Until 1933, the BF never indicated any desire to overthrow the liberal institutions of Britain or use violence as a political tool to advance their cause. In his memoirs about his father, Nicholas Mosley briefly discusses the BF, referring to them as "mostly middle-class men who had no experience of, nor indeed taste for, serious revolutionary nor counter-revolutionary violence: they never went in for the intimidation of civilians by street fighting as their counterparts on the Continent did." In addition, the BF never had an absolute leader; riddled by internal dispute and splits into different factions from the beginning, the BF failed to unite around one leader, a vital part to the success of fascist movements on the continent. One impact the BF did have was unintentional and damaging to their group; namely influencing the BUF. The BF's method of "stewarding" during meetings, with "hints of political violence," et an important model for the BUF, which became famous for ejecting hecklers and leftists from their meetings in a less than civil manner. Additionally, several defectors who left for the BUF brought "administration" and "discipline" to Mosley's movement, which it needed in its early existence. Ultimately, the BF does not fit the definition of generic fascism; rather it resembled a right-wing conservative movement. In addition, the BF had minimal political impact, never winning a seat in any government body. The BF failed as a political movement and at fulfilling the

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147 Woodbridge, "Fraudulent Fascism", 499
148 Linehan, *British Fascism 1918-39*, 67
149 Woodbridge, "Fraudulent Fascism", 502
152 Mosley, *Beyond the Pale*, 272.
characteristics of a generic fascist group, but they did lay a base for other fascist movements to come.

The Imperial Fascist League (IFL) under the leadership of the former army veterinarian Arnold Leese was another early fascist group that emerged in 1928. The IFL was one of the period’s most fanatical, uncompromising, and idiosyncratic fascists. During its existence, the IFL adopted a paramilitary structure, wore black shirt uniforms, and believed that democracy was interfering with the ‘laws of nature’ allowing the unfit to thrive at the expense of the fit.\footnote{Linehan, \textit{British Fascism}, 76.} The ideology of the IFL centered upon race as the fundamental component, hoping to establish a new aristocracy of race, which only those “pure Aryan stock” could be a part of.\footnote{Linehan, \textit{British Fascism}, 75.} Leese often concerned himself more with this “racial nationalism,” than economic solutions as a road to “save” Britain.\footnote{Woodbridge, “Fraudulent Fascism”, 502.} Leese strongly believed in the idea of Mussolini’s Corporate State, which would remain a fundamental part of the IFL’s platform for its entire existence.\footnote{Linehan, \textit{British Fascism}, 74.} However, the IFL advocated for the maintaining of the monarch and lacked ideology pushing for the overthrow of other liberal institutions. The IFL focused the majority of its efforts on race relations and attempted to reveal the ‘Jewish Conspiracy’, while it failed to develop any national myths or advocate the use of violence for political gain.

Originally a member of the BF, Leese became fed up with the organization’s lack of what he considered, real “fascism”. From the beginning of his time in the organization, Leese worked to change the name of the BF, the initials of which he thought, “were just asking for it!”\footnote{Arnold Leese, \textit{Out of Step: Event in the Two Lives of an anti-Jewish camel-doctor} (London: The Carmack Press, 1951), 49.} Leese left the BF, coming to the understanding that the organization was “merely Conservatism with knobs on it”, the only reason for its continued presence being the persistent effort of the Communists to break up its meetings which led to media attention.\footnote{Leese, \textit{Out of Step}, 49.} Leese blamed the ultimate failure of the IFL and fascism in Britain on Oswald Mosley. Mosley had the money and the connections to surpass the IFL in media coverage and national prowess, taking “what little wind there was out of the IFL’s sails”.\footnote{Leese, \textit{Out of Step}, 52.} According to Leese, Mosley practiced “kosher” fascism and hindered any success of further development of the IFL by recruiting potential members to his movement and forcing the IFL to frequently explain to its audience that it was not the BUF, but something quite different. Ultimately, the IFL advocated a right-wing platform similar to the other fascist movements in Britain, with the addition of extreme racism and anti-Semitism along the lines of the National Socialists in Germany. The group was the least successful of all the groups discussed here in both rallying members, never surpassing a few hundred, and winning political gains. Leese is an interesting figure to examine; however neither he nor the IFL were effective in terms of political gains and the IFL fails fit the definition of ‘generic fascism’.

Britain’s most notorious and successful “fascist” group from the interwar period, the British Union of Fascists (BUF), officially formed on October 1, 1932 under the leadership of Sir Oswald Mosley. The BUF stemmed from Mosley’s failed New Party, which had launched less than two years prior. The BUF would become Britain’s largest fascist group and irked he British government to such an extent that several political actions were taken to hinder further development of the movement.

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\item \footnote{Linehan, \textit{British Fascism}, 76.}
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\item \footnote{Arnold Leese, \textit{Out of Step: Event in the Two Lives of an anti-Jewish camel-doctor} (London: The Carmack Press, 1951), 49.}
\item \footnote{Leese, \textit{Out of Step}, 49.}
\item \footnote{Leese, \textit{Out of Step}, 52.}
\end{itemize}}
The BUF experienced small successes early in its existence, including a meeting in Albert Hall in 1934 that drew 10,000 people and significant media attention in Britain and abroad. Yet, by 1936, the BUF was experiencing a decline in membership; however, in October they held the most successful rallies since their inception. In November 1936, this success was quickly curtailed by the government, which passed The Public Order Act prohibiting the wearing of political uniforms in public and forbidding the formation of any paramilitary organizations with the potential to usurp the police and army. In the aftermath of The Public Order Act, the BUF faced an internal feud resulting in the extremely anti-Semitic members of the party splitting off and forming the National Socialist League, thus moving the BUF’s platform away from anti-Semitism. The years 1938-39 saw the BUF struggling to survive with low membership and a troubling financial situation. While events were taking place on the continent that would launch Europe into the Second World War, the BUF came under increasing pressure from the British government. Once war broke out the government decided to end the nuisance that was the BUF by enacting Defence Regulation 18b (1A), which permitted the arrest of Mosley and other leading party officials. The government took a final step, pronouncing the BUF an illegal organization in July 1940 thus bringing an end to Britain’s most prominent fascist movement.

In 1932, Mosley published *The Greater Britain*, his manifesto for the BUF and fascism in Britain. Upon examining *The Greater Britain*, it becomes clear that Mosley’s ideology does not fulfill all the characteristics of a generic fascist movement. However, the ideology does meet some characteristics of generic fascism including the attempt to mobilize the masses around one leader (Mosley), the desire to create a new “fascist man”, the aspiration to launch the Corporate State and the attempt to have every man become a member of the state in the public sphere. Mosley’s ideology lacks several aspects of a generic fascist movement, perhaps the most important being strong national myths that aimed to unite the people. Not until their internment did members of the BUF develop a strong myth for their movement, but by that time, it was too late. It is important to examine *The Greater Britain* to understand further what aspects of fascism Mosley advocated and perhaps more importantly what aspects he disapproved of or lacked that hindered the BUF from ever becoming a true fascist organization.

Mosley opened *The Greater Britain* by discussing the British political system and why it was not suitable for the modern era. Mosley contended that the system was designed for 19th century Britain and was no longer relevant. The author then argued that this out of date political system “creates bad government and hampers the individual citizen” and fascism has the ability to revitalize it. Fascism, to Mosley, was not a “creed of dictatorship in the continental manner”, rather fascism was a creed of “effective government” that would once again be a voice for the people, unlike the contemporary Parliament which took up manners of irrelevance to Britons. Mosley argued that the fascist solution to this problem was to grant the party “entrusted with government” absolute power because the debate process hinders the functions of the government. However, the government must

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166 Oswald Mosley, *The Greater Britain*, (Suffolk: Richard Clay and Sons Ltd, 1932), 11.
still be subject to dismissal by a vote of censure by the Parliament. Mosley concluded his discussion of the British political system by arguing that the structure of the fascist movement combined with the "suggested structure of Government" will produce "true democracy" with quick decision-making, avoiding the chaos of debate on irrelevant particulars. From the beginning of his manifesto, it becomes clear that Mosley's movement will not fulfill all the fundamental characteristics of generic fascism. Mosley argued that the Parliament in Britain was weak and outdated, however he was not argue for the overthrowing of the institution, rather fascism would improve it by limiting the ability for debate, resulting in a much more effective government. By calling for the maintenance of Parliament Mosley failed to adhere to a fundamental trait of fascism, the desire to overthrow liberal institutions, thus nullifying any chance of his movement becoming truly fascist early on in his work.

Mosley subsequently began a discussion of the Corporate State, which he described as "the main object of a modern and Fascist movement". In a Corporate State, all interests are subordinate to the well being of the community and if any interest tries to supersede the community, the power of the Corporate system will "descend upon them". The Corporate State will eliminate class warfare because, as an impartial body, it will equally distribute the profits created by industry, thus ending questions over wages. Mosley strongly emphasized the point that unlike communism, fascism will not destroy all elements of the old state, which he argued happened in Russia under Lenin; Rather, fascism will incorporate "useful elements" of the state into the Corporate system. Already we see Mosley failing to meet the standards of the definition of generic fascism, by arguing for the continuation of existing institutions. This becomes ever clearer when Mosley proclaimed loyalty to the King, which he determined was a quality aspect of the state, thus he "respects and venerates the Crown". He did call for the destruction of the House of Lords; however, Mosley’s argument in support of the King contradicts the basic definition of generic fascism. It is true that Mussolini did not remove the King in Italy, but he did make him virtually obsolete; Mosley argued for the combination of the Monarch and the Corporate State and hoped for the King's support in the rise of his movement. The author continued by discussing Members of Parliament (MP) in the Corporate State, specifically the manner in which they elections would take place. Instead of a residential basis, MPs will be elected by their occupation; for example, "an engineer will run as an engineer" and those who vote for the engineer will be fellow members of that trade, who can best determine which candidate is suitable to represent their trade in Parliament. Mosley concluded by arguing that the present political system had become stagnant and corrupt, bribery was rampant, and the electoral system was a "farce". The present system could not lift Britain out of another economic crisis, barely doing so in 1921 and would likely fail to do so during the present crisis of 1932. Without the Corporate State, there was a strong likelihood that Britain will turn, violently, Communist. As previously mentioned, Mosley argued for the amending of the existing liberal institutions, such as Parliament, rather than eliminating them altogether. This continually emerges in

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172 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 27.
176 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 33.
177 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 35.
Mosley’s ideology and inhibits his movement from fitting the definition of fascism used in this paper.

Mosley continued by discussing how fascism would alter the lives of British citizens. The author argued that British citizens had little to no freedom; the government deeply involved itself in the personal lives of everyone and treated the nation like children, wasting time passing legislation to inhibit citizens from harming themselves. This overprotective government according to Mosley “transformed Parliament into a bleating of ineffective sheep; which blundered into the War, the Peace, the Debt Settlement, and the Financial Crisis.” Mosley greatly emphasized “public service-private liberty” as fundamental to his idea of fascism. In essence, what this means is that when a person is in public they must conform all their actions to benefit and protect the state; in private one may do as one pleases, as long as they are not decadent and harmful in any way towards the state. Mosley also mentioned physical fitness as an essential part of fascism, that he wanted “men, not eunuchs” for the movement because they would accomplish the goals put before them. Moving from men to women, Mosley claimed that under his fascist movement while women engaged in professional industry will belong to the corporations of that occupation, motherhood will also be an industry because it is “the highest calling” and vital for the state, thus they should be represented equally with industry. In this section, Mosley sounded more like a true fascist, advocating Mussolini’s ideas about the state, the idea of a fit, “fascist man” willing to protect the state, and the sanctity of motherhood, which most fascist movements emphasize because they need people to continue the movement. Mosley’s ideas in this section best reflect generic fascism; however it does not change the outcome that his movement does not fit the definition used in this work.

Mosley’s major argument was that Britain was in a social, economic, and political crisis, the state was drifting along on the verge of collapse, and either Fascism or Communism would prevail. If Communism were to arise, his movement would meet it with all the force they could in order to save Britain. He further argued that fascism was a “world-wide movement, invading every country in the hour of crisis as the only alternative to a destructive Communism.” He additionally argued that fascism would take a different shape in Britain than those countries on the Continent, with British characteristics and avoiding the “excesses and the horrors” of the struggles on the Continent. Mosley went on to dispute the claim that his movement promoted violence; on the contrary, his group only used violence to protect themselves and their meetings, which were often attended by Communist aggressors. Only when they were met by “red terror” would Mosley willing use violence to combat what he saw as the most dangerous threat to Britain. Violence was not sought or promoted, but at the same time they were unwilling to back down from Communists who threatened him, thus violence often occurred. Mosley made it clear that his movement would never resort to violence against “the forces of the Crown”, that violence reserved for the “forces of anarchy.” Mosley continually fails to fit the criteria for a generic fascist movement in this section. True, like most people on the right, Mosley distrusted communists, perhaps taking it one-step further by labeling them as the biggest threat to Britain. However, putting aside his hatred for Communists, Mosley frequently made points contrary to the

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179 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 38.
180 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 41.
181 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 150.
183 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 156.
184 Mosley, The Greater Britain, 158.
definition of fascism used here. Claiming that fascism could be adopted to fit Britain’s needs and work with Britain’s political system nullifies the movement from becoming fascist because he was willing to work with the liberal institutions already in place. In addition, Mosley’s refuting that his movement promotes violence is in direct contrast to a genuine fascist movement, which promotes violence to attain political means. Mosley’s complacency towards violence is one more aspect that distances his movement from an authentic fascist movement.

Upon examining The Greater Britain, it is quite clear that Oswald Mosley’s ideology was not fascist. The only characteristics defined by Mosley that resemble true fascism are the emphasis of creating a “fascist man” and the desire to establish a Corporate State. He continually goes against the characteristics of generic fascism when he discusses only altering Parliament, respecting and defending the sanctity of the Crown, and denying that his movement promoted violence. If his ideology were truly fascist, he would advocate the destruction of Parliament and the monarch, and use violent action for political gain. In addition, Mosley did not mention myths, whether about re-birth or the national mystique. They were not part of his ideology, but are essential to a genuine fascist movement. Mosley’s focus was the Corporate State and combating Communism, but these traits alone do not warrant the label of fascist, especially when so many key elements are absent from his work.

Mosley’s adamant stance against using violence needs more examination because the lack of violent behavior is one of the fundamental reasons why the BUF fails to fulfill the definition of generic fascism. Beyond not condoning violence, Mosley went out of his way to dispute claims that the BUF advocated violence and frequently took the position that the BUF only used violence defensively. In his autobiography, Mosley stated, “among all the profusion of falsehoods which these events generated, I most resented the imputation that I took pleasure in violence because I had to organize the blackshirt movement for protecting my meetings.”

The frequent claims of violence against the BUF made no sense to Mosley, who took great pride in his speeches and the size of the audience the BUF attracted. He thought it crazy to purposely interrupt them with violence. Whatever political affiliation, violence was not prominent in Britain; the BUF often found their political enemies perpetuated the violence, despite their own reputation. Rank-and-file BUF member John Charnley supported this in his autobiography, specifically discussing the violence surrounding the BUF’s rally at Olympia in 1934. Charnley described the BUF as trying to leave the meeting in an orderly fashion while the hostile crowd frequently attacked them. Charnley pointed out that the police collected a variety of weapons from Communists attackers, including bicycle chains and woolen stockings full of broken glass; in addition, all the official reports exonerated the BUF.

However, similar to Mosley, Charnley expressed anger that despite the official reports, the BUF received the blame for the violence, tainting their image. When Mosley discussed the events at Olympia, he could not comprehend why his stewards received the blame for punching men who were attacking them with razors and pipes. Both Mosley and Charnley’s disgust with being blamed for violence exemplifies one of the elements missing from the BUF that are required in order to be a true fascist movement. The lack of violence separated the BUF from the true fascist movements on the continent, notably the Fascists in Italy and the National Socialists in Germany. Nicholas Mosley wrote, perhaps the most telling

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185 Mosley, My Life, 289.
187 Mosley, My Life, 297.
excerpt on violence and the BUF, “Throughout all my father’s fascist years in England no one, whether friend or enemy, was killed in a street fight...”.188 In addition, the author pointed out that at the height of the BUF’s reputation for violence, at the time of the Olympia meeting in 1934, only three people spent the night in the hospital. Numbers alone reveal that the violence surrounding the BUF was nothing close to the level of violence on the continent and further support the position that the BUF did not condone violence in anyway, thus failing to fit the definition of generic fascism.

Perhaps the most important piece missing from the BUF’s platform that is necessary to fit the definition of generic fascism is the presence of national myths. The creation of these myths, or in Mosse’s terms, the “Third Way”, is an essential aspect of a fascist movement in order to bond the people with the fascist elite. Mosley and the BUF failed to establish national myths when politically active; the closest example of these myths came after the government interned prominent members of the movement during the Second World War. The time prominent BUF members spent in internment camps was similar to Hitler’s time in prison in 1923, where discussions amongst members turned into “think tanks” for the future.189 Internment unified members of the BUF from all over Britain, a major obstacle before the war. Their time interned by the crown bolstered many of the fascists’ thinking, leading to MI5 stating in 1945 that internment “did less than nothing” to diminish fascist beliefs.190 For British fascists, internment represented the ritualized conception of sacrifice for the state, often equating it with the “hero’s death” of the Nazi pantheon, which would lead to the state’s rebirth.191 However, while the men inside strengthened their resolve for the movement, British society continued to associate Fascism with war and death, not a mythic rebirth. Upon release, many former BUF members and their families faced harassment and often suffered psychological trauma from their internment, leading to a change in their political views.192 The “myth of internment” was short lived, with many former BUF members altering their political views upon their release and the failure of fascism to connect with the British people, who suffered through drastically different experiences during the war, often victims of the fascists on the continent in one way or another. Mosley became a social pariah, representing to many Britons what they had fought against during the war.193 The creation of the “myth of internment” was too late to be effective and failed quickly after internment ended. In its prime, the BUF never created a national myth; by the time they had, fascism was tainted with the images of World War II and stood no chance of gaining acceptance in British society. The lack of development of a national myth is the biggest failure of the BUF in becoming an authentic fascist movement.

The characteristic of generic fascism that the BUF most successfully developed was the establishment of loyalty to one leader, around whom the entire organization revolved; this leader was Sir Oswald Mosley. A leadership cult developed around Mosley, with many members of the BUF more loyal to him than the movement. From the early days of the movement, Mosley’s superb oratory skills and charisma helped him develop an intense devotion amongst his men, which lasted throughout and beyond the Second World War. The most telling evidence of this loyalty comes from Mosley’s men. John Charnley, rising in the ranks of the BUF

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188 Mosley, Beyond the Pale, 269.
190 Macklin, Dyed in Black, 18.
191 Macklin, Dyed in Black, 20.
192 Macklin, Dyed in Black, 24.
193 Macklin, Dyed in Black, 28.
during the 1930s, frequently reflected on his devotion to Mosley and dedicated an entire chapter of his autobiography to discussing Mosley in terms of society as a whole. Charnley's faith in Mosley's leadership was so great that he believed that if Britain had followed Mosley he would have prevented the war, the Holocaust, and saved millions of lives.  

This passion was common amongst BUF members, even after their arrest and subsequent internment. The government's destruction of the BUF successfully encouraged the bulk of former members to separate themselves from fascism, but not from Mosley. He suffered through internment with them, and represented whatever hope they had left for success. Fascist internees founded the “Hail Mosley and F’ Em All Association” in an attempt to maintain and honor the tradition of Mosley and the BUF throughout their detention.  

Certainly, Mosley had a tremendous affect on his men; a leading BUF lieutenant Harold McKechnie described his loyalty as follows: “I accept Sir Oswald Mosley in the same way as the average Catholic accepts to the Pope.” In a similar vein, Charnley proclaims, “There’s never been a man like OM. I would have died for him.” Despite this immense devotion, the BUF does not meet the definition of generic fascism. The rallying of the movement around one leader is an aspect of a true fascist movement; however, it is merely a minor part in a much larger picture, which the BUF failed to fulfill.

The BUF was the most successful, self-proclaimed, fascist party in Britain; however, they were, like all the interwar fascist groups, insignificant to the British political system. The “success” of the BUF must not be mistaken for success on the larger political stage; rather they experienced success in comparison with other fascist groups. Charles W. Hurd, writing for the New York Times in 1937, argued that the fascism symbolized by the BUF, had the least effect on public life of any political movement to develop after the First World War. Hurd went on to say that Mosley's movement only received the attention they did because of the enthusiastic Communist and anti-fascist opposition which often unintentionally put the BUF in the news. Without the stern opposition, Hurd believed Mosley and the BUF would have died out long before. Hurd continued by pointing out that many Britons resented the BUF because it magnified the threat of the Communists, while in reality this threat was negligible, because most British Communists considered themselves Britons first and Communists second. The BUF was a political failure, with minimal political impact, never winning a seat in a major government body and consisting of no more than a few hundred members at the time of its disillusion. The failure of the BUF, the most successful British fascist movement, only further supports the argument that fascism failed tremendously in Britain.

As a political movement fascism experienced tremendous political success in Europe during the Inter-War period, taking hold of two major European powers and eventually conquering almost all of the continent. Britain stood alone against the fascist powers, yet its own political system was not free of fascist groups. However, unlike continental Europe, fascism failed miserably in Britain. The groups that called themselves “fascists” in Britain fail to meet the definition of ‘generic fascism’

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194 Charnley, Blackshirts and Roses, 62.
195 Macklin, Dyed in Black, 14.
196 Macklin, Dyed in Black, 10.
197 Charnley, Blackshirts and Roses, 94
199 Hurd, “Mosley’s Fascists Shrink”.
200 Hurd, “Mosley’s Fascists Shrink”.
established in this work and their greatest political accomplishment was winning two local council seats. The most prominent fascist movement, Oswald Mosley's BUF, never surpassed a few thousand members and lacked several criteria necessary of a true fascist movement. Fascism emerged in Britain only four years after Italy, but the groups were poorly funded, failed to rally support, and appeared alien to many British citizens. While Mosley's BUF in particular made great efforts to distinguish itself from its counterparts on the continent, political failure was inevitable for such a radical movement in the economically prosperous, well developed, and traditional society of inter-war Britain. The Second World War quickly ended the efforts of Britain's fascist groups, with many of the prominent members interned throughout the war. Upon examining the work and memoirs of several of the men involved in these movements, it is clear that despite what they called themselves, these groups do not fit the definition of 'generic' fascism and experienced no political success.
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Social Sacrifice of the Commoners During Modernization

Thomas Hoang

The Meiji Period is considered to be one of the most influential periods in Japanese history. This period saw the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the end of the samurai, and the adoption of Western culture and innovations. Many city dwellers prospered in the new economy which allowed trade with foreigners. Japan also was determined to increase economic output and to promote industry that would gain them respect from the West. The resulting industrialization made Japan not only an economic power, but a major military one as well. However, despite the development of the Japanese state as a whole, many changes were happening to Japanese society on the lower levels. Military service was now required for all males between the ages of seventeen and forty. The samurai class was now gone due to this development. The farmers’ lives were as difficult as before, sometimes even more so. Social outcasts including the Ainu also lived harsh lives. The modernization of the state was made possible by the work, sacrifices, and suffering of the commoners.

The Meiji Restoration overthrew the two hundred and sixty-eight year rule of the Tokugawa shoguns, or bakufu. The middle of the Nineteenth Century was a turbulent period that can be characterized by the phrase naiyu gaikan. The phrase, which means "troubles at home and dangers from abroad," came from the ancient Chinese idea that the dynasty is about to fall when serious foreign and domestic troubles occur simultaneously (Huffman 39). The Tokugawa regime was being faced with pressure from the West to open up its ports for international commerce, and from within wanting to drive out the foreigners and to restore power to the emperor. In 1868, the Meiji Restoration returned Japan to imperial rule. Fully aware of China’s exposed weakness at the might of the West, the Japanese knew that the Western powers were far ahead of them and they sought to combine traditional Japanese values with the advancements of Western technology.

The Meiji oligarchs believed that they had to emulate the West in order to compete with them. Commodore Perry’s forced opening of Japan in 1853 marked the beginning of what were called the “unequal treaties,” which were imposed on Japan and most rights favored the Western powers. Thus, the Meiji leaders began looking at Western ideas on politics, economy, and military. The Meiji government’s desire to Westernize is documented in the 1868 Charter Oath, which outlined the government’s central goals. Articles 4 and 5 in particular document this desire. They say that “evil practices of the past shall be abandoned... actions shall be based on international usage” and “knowledge shall be sought all over the world.” Both of those statements are simultaneously denouncing Japanese practices that they deemed undesirable, and embracing the advancement of the West. Expeditions such as the Iwakura Mission sent Meiji leaders to Europe and America to take in as much Western culture as they could and to adapt them to Japanese society. The government used ideas and technology borrowed from the West to industrialize. In particular their collaboration with the large companies, called zaibatsu, allowed them to dominate the Asian market for manufactured goods, becoming an industrialized nation in the process. Also, the modernizing of the military made Japan comparable to the West in military might and the strongest in East Asia. But all of these advancements did not come without social expense. While those living in the large cities were taking in modern Japanese and Western culture, those in the countryside and slums were working the harder so that the state could modernize.
It was the commoners and the farmers that supported the state and made modernization possible, but they were the ones who suffered because of it.

The Meiji government looked to the countryside to support the numerous changes taking place. The government needed a stable revenue source to pay for the reforms in administration, military, and stipendiary payments (McLain 162). They sought to eliminate the unpredictable annual revenue system that was associated with the Tokugawa era by calculating taxation based on an individual’s landholdings. Since the land was no longer owned or governed by local daimyo and belonged to the emperor, it became necessary to standardize tax rates and collection procedures. In 1873, the emperor issued the Land Tax Reform Law, which introduced this standard tax rate, but it put the burden primarily on the farmers. This is illustrated in the novel Tsuchi (The Soil, which describes the harsh conditions under which farmers lived. It describes a man named Kanji and millions of other farmers like him who spent all day working the fields, parting with most of their yield. Once the farmers paid off their debt to the government, they were lucky to have enough to sustain themselves through the winter. It describes how it was a perpetual struggle to have enough to eat every day. This is exemplified when one day, Kanji damaged one of his tools and had to devote an entire day’s pay to repair it. The book not only describes how hard the lives of farmers were, but it shows how reforms by the government, such as the Land Tax Reform, put a heavy burden on them. While the standard tax rate brought reductions to some farm families, most families experienced increased pressure (McClain 162).

The Land Tax Reform was just one method that the Meiji government came up with to help pay for the numerous changes to society. Another method was the withdrawal of samurai stipends. The samurai were being dissolved as a social class during this period. Laws such as the ban of swords and the cutting of their topknots were steps in this slow process. To replace them, the government initiated the formation of a conscript army created from mandatory military service. The announcement of the military draft, issued in November 1872, explains the rationale for conscription. One of the main issues it addresses is the difference in the nature of the conscript army and the former samurai. While the samurai were "living presumptuously without working... and cutting down people in cold blood," this new national army was made up of people from different classes. It was what they described as a basis for "uniting the farmer and the soldier into one." There was this idea that all people were united under the emperor, and each had his own obligation to his country. This is further explained when it describes the idea of the "blood tax," which meant that when the country is in a crisis, everyone cannot help but be affected, so it is one's duty to defend the country through military service. While in theory, there existed this nationalistic view of serving one's country, there was a sense of entitlement that came with this law. The families of the soldiers argued that since they are sacrificing their sons, brothers, and husbands, they should have more participation in politics. There was a great feeling of sacrifice and burden in supporting the country with military service. The conscript army blurred the distinction between soldier and farmer, a stark contrast to the previous existence of the samurai as an elite class. This burden put on the common people provided the foundation for Japan's military might in later decades.

Life was just as difficult for the people living outside the mainstream, such as the burakamin, or social outcasts. Although their "outcast" label was removed in 1871, they were now known as "shin heimin" (new commoners), and were still separated from other commoner groups (Huffman 70). The minority group that probably suffered the most was the indigenous Ainu of Hokkaido. The Meiji government introduced a policy of assimilation and forced the Ainu to change their
hunting-fishing lifestyles to ones of farming. To "civilize" the northern frontier, the Japanese banned Ainu native festivals, forced them to worship Japanese *kami*, and compelled them to adopt Japanese style dress (McClain 133). In his memoir, *Our Land Was a Forest*, the Ainu activist Kayano Shigeru tells of a time when immigrants from Honshu came to Hokkaido to force his grandparents out of their rich lands. He describes the Ainu villages in Hokkaido as being good farmland, rich in resources, and ideal for human habitation. The *shamo*, or Japanese, then forced the Ainu living in the fertile town of Hidaka, east to a barren land called Kaminukibetsu. Shigeru not only describes the sad fate of his people, but also the methods of deception that the government used to make the situation look more appealing. The term "horse railway" between Nioi and Kaminukibetsu was used to make the latter seem like a convenient location, when in reality it was barren. The government also subsidized the cost of relocating the Ainu, but it did not amount to much. This account shows that the government tried to gloss over what they knew was morally wrong. The suffering that Shigeru and the Ainu experienced due to relocation was worsened by the fact that the government did very little to support their society or their hardships afterward. Modernization of the state needed more arable farmland, hence the Japanese push to the north. The cost of this development was the Ainu sacrifice of their homeland and the suffering caused by their subsequent relocation treatment.

Perhaps the most significant sacrifice made to modernization was that paid by the samurai. They began to diminish as a social class when the formal imperial army made them obsolete. The withdrawal of their stipends, the banning of their traditional traits such as the topknot and swords, and their assimilation into the rest of society gave them a huge sense of dishonor. One instance came during the Satsuma Rebellion. There was a debate of what to do with the invasion of Korea, with the radical side being backed by the former samurai Saigo Takamori. Because the government chose not to invade Korea, Takamori resigned from his position and led several ex-samurai against the central government. The samurai found that only in death could they retain the honor that was taken away from them through modernization. A microcosm of this idea is seen in the novel *Kokoro*, by Natsume Soseki. The story is about a man simply referred to as Sensei. He lived during the Meiji Restoration and was mentoring a young man who represented a new generation. The young man came to have immense respect for him, but Sensei had a dark secret from his past. In his college years, Sensei had indirectly caused the suicide of his best friend when he became engaged to a woman that his friend had told him that he loved. In the end, Sensei killed himself to atone for the dishonor he created in his past. He was influenced by the death of General Nogi, who had also killed himself to regain his honor from when he lost his flag during the Satsuma Rebellion. Both Sensei and General Nogi were influenced by the death of Emperor Meiji in 1912. They both viewed this event as the end of an era, and that they were now "left behind to live as anachronisms" (Natsume 245). Sensei and Nogi felt that they no longer belonged in the world and viewed death as a means of regaining their honor. Such was the case for the samurai during the early years of Meiji. The samurai were remnants of a bygone era, with their honor stripped of them. Men such as Takamori found it honorable to die in battle rather than live as anachronisms in the Meiji state. The samurai class paid the ultimate sacrifice to the Meiji state because modernization of society and military stripped them of their privileges, honor, and status.

Modernization during the Meiji era turned Japan into a world power by the early Twentieth Century. What helped Japan to compete with the West was its adoption of their advancements in military and industry. However, this period of rapid change came at an immense cost to the common people. The Land Reform Tax
Law standardized land tax revenue in the countryside, but it did nothing to help the plight of the farmers. The creation of the imperial conscript army was a step towards military modernization, but it put a heavy burden on the draftees as well as their families. The lives of social outcasts, especially the Ainu, seemed to worsen as the government ordered the acquisition of their pasturelands. Finally, the samurai paid the heaviest toll with the stripping of their status, and the disappearance of their social class. In retrospect, many consider the Meiji era to be when Japan developed into a world power and the strongest in East Asia. But what sometimes goes unnoticed is the fact that this modernizing period was supported by the sacrifices of the common people. These people did not experience the wonders of an industrialized and modern Japan, but they were the ones who made it possible.
Bibliography


The Presidency of John F. Kennedy and the Cold War

David Kadamus

The presidency of John F. Kennedy only lasted from January 20, 1961 until November 22, 1963 but in those short two years, he effectively changed the world. During his presidency the world was brought to the brink of nuclear destruction, there was a failed coup in Cuba staged by the U.S., the space race was in full swing, and it was all brought to an end on November 22, 1963 when he was assassinated. This short term was marked with some successes and some failures that came to define the Cold War.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, affectionately referred to as Jack, was born on May 29, 1917 in Massachusetts to Joseph P. Kennedy Sr. and Rose Fitzgerald and was raised in a family with 9 children. He moved multiple times in his youth between Massachusetts and New York until he was 14 when he was sent off to boarding school in Connecticut. He was known as a consummate trouble maker but that all changed when he attended Harvard University in the fall of 1936 where is interests in military matters and current events heightened and set the foundation for his political career. After he graduated in June of 1940, Kennedy joined the Navy following in the footsteps of his older brother Joe and was assigned to command a patrol torpedo boat in the Solomon Islands. In charge of the PT-109, Kennedy has a crew of 12 men and on August 2, 1943 a Japanese Destroyer rammed into the much smaller PT-109 and split it in two. Kennedy injured his back, two men were killed, and one was seriously injured and Kennedy swam with this man on his back to the shore. The men were stranded for 5 days on this deserted island until some local fishermen spotted them and they were saved. Kennedy was awarded the Purple Heart for sustaining his injuries in combat and the Navy and Marine Corps Medal for “extremely heroic conduct” (JFK Library).

After he returned home, Kennedy entered into the world of politics and ran for Congress in Massachusetts’s 11th Congressional District and won in 1946. After six years in the House of Representatives, Kennedy was elected Senator of Massachusetts in 1952. His political stardom was beginning to burn bright and he was a recognizable figure in Washington D.C. at this time. On November 8, 1960 Senator Kennedy was elected the President of the United States. He was 43 when he was elected making him the youngest president to ever be elected and he was also the first Catholic and Irish-American elected to be President. In his inaugural speech, Kennedy famously proclaimed, “Ask not what your country can do for you” he added, "ask what can you do for your country." These famous words came at a perfect time for the United States that was now getting into the full swing of the Cold War.

I will discuss the events that took place from January 20, 1961 until November 22, 1963 in regards to the presidency of Kennedy and the Cold War. This includes his relationship with Soviet First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev, the involvement of the United States in Latin America and their role in thwarting communism there, the Alliance for Progress, the Berlin Crisis, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Space Race. All of these events had a profound effect on the world and one wonders what would have happened between the United States and the Soviet Union if President Kennedy had not been assassinated on that fateful day in Dallas, Texas.
Kennedy’s First 100 Days

On January 20, 1961, John F. Kennedy was sworn in as President of the United States and immediately thrown into the issues of the Cold War. Kennedy ran his campaign on the basis that he was going to be a President tough on Communism and he vowed to improve the nuclear missiles and bridge the gap with the Soviets. This campaign was the exact opposite of how the incumbent left office. President Dwight D. Eisenhower left office with his farewell address that requested the limitations of the military-industrial complex. He said “In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex” (LaFeber 219). In other words, Eisenhower was proposing to limit the amount of money and the amount of labor the United States was expelling every year in order to keep up with the Soviets in relations to the number and quality of missiles and nuclear bombs. Kennedy ran on the fact that we, as Americans, have to spend more money and expend more labor because we cannot be second in the world. The Americans would have to be more efficient than the Soviets and this would grant reassurance to Americans that we are the most powerful nation in the world and that if the Soviets were to choose to go to war with us, that we would undoubtedly crush them. This campaign proved to obviously be effective and true to his word, Kennedy increased missile and weapons productions after he was elected. In 1961, the administration increased the defense budget by 15 percent. They did this by doubling the number of combat-ready divisions in the Army Reserve, increasing the size of the Marine Corps, adding seventy vessels to the Navy’s fleet, and giving twelve more airplanes for the Air Forces tactical fleet. By 1965, the United States was exporting $1.9 billion worth of arms to Europe, Japan, Iran, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, and multiple other nations (LaFeber 218).

Out of all the foreign nations where Communism was being expelled in 1961, Kennedy gave special attention to the nations of Latin America. He believed that they were under the biggest threat from Soviet influence and since it was in our backyard, it was our business too. This idea of the United States policing the western hemisphere goes back to the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 which restricted European expansion in North America and even down into Central and South America (Makarov 2/3/11). One of the ways Kennedy established American influence in Latin American to undermine Soviet ideology was through the creation of the Peace Corps on March 1, 1961. The goal of the Peace Corps was to teach and train people in technical services in newly emerging nations. This group of young men and women would go to nations such as Venezuela or other Latin American nations and give the people, mainly children, something that they did not have easy access to which was an education. On March 13, just twelve days after the establishment of the Peace Corps, Kennedy furthered his initiative in Latin America and announced the Alliance for Progress which was a ten-year commitment of $20 billion of American money, aid, and image to Latin America. As part of this alliance, Latin American nations promised $80 billion in investment over the ten-year commitment, land, tax, and socioeconomic reform (LaFeber 220). The aspect of socioeconomic reform was most likely the most important to Kennedy because at this time the United States was just throwing money around the world as if it were worthless. What Kennedy cherished more was loyalty and commitment. He wanted these Latin American nations to be partly dependent on the United States for aid but more so committed to the United States by way of capitalism. The alliance was met by some reluctance in Latin America, mainly from Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil. These are all major nations but the real nation that the United States was after was Cuba.
In the early hours of April 17, 1961, a group of about 1,500 U.S. trained Cuban insurgents stormed the beach of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba with the intentions of overthrowing the Socialist government of Fidel Castro. The Cuban insurgents were trained and led by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and were given the go by President Kennedy on April 16th. The invasion had no air support, as planned, and went horribly wrong. Cuban intelligence discovered the invasion plans and the army was fully prepared in a defensible position. The United States also believed that the Cubans knew about the invasion plans, but this information was never relayed to Kennedy (Reeves 91). The invasion lasted three days and was an utter failure. By the 19th, the Cuban army had either captured or killed just about all of the 1,500 insurgents. Kennedy was forced to negotiate the release of the captured insurgents and did so over a twenty-month period, spending about $53 million in ransom money (Reeves 105). After the Bay of Pigs failure, Kennedy ordered an investigation of the CIA and this led to the removal of some of its high officials. After the failure, Kennedy remarked publicly that “All my life I’ve known better than to depend on the experts, how could I have been so stupid, to let them go ahead” (LaFeber 221). This failure led to the assurance of Castro’s power as well. Since the United States failed to overthrow this charismatic leader, it gave him the feeling that he was untouchable. With the power of the Soviet Union at his back, Castro had the right to feel untouchable. However, this failed invasion also had to make Castro worried. He was now an enemy of the United States. Yes, it is great for him to have the support of the Soviet Union and Nikita Khrushchev in his corner, but there is not much he can do from over 5,000 miles away. The United States is a mere twenty miles away from the shores of Cuba and now Castro was under the watchful eye of President Kennedy. This failure also proved the worth of Cuba to Khrushchev. There were meetings between U.S. and Soviet officials immediately following the invasion in Havana and Moscow and in one of the meetings the First Deputy of the Soviet Council of Ministers, Secretary Rusk said to Kennedy that “Cuba means a great deal to Bolsheviks like Khrushchev and me, more than the Americans know” (Reeves 105).

The Bay of Pigs Invasion and U.S. involvement in Latin American was taking place in the public eye. Generally ignored by the public is the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia in April of 1961. In the nations of Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Vietnam, and Thailand there was increasing guerrilla activities under the communist movement of Pathet Lao. These nations border China and the communist insurgents were given aid from the Chinese by way of weapons, resources, and cross-border safety. Kennedy saw this region as a very important region because of its ties with our old ally France and the economic resources that come out of the area. Therefore, Kennedy pledged over 300 American military advisors and $32 million in assistance to the governments under threat. This action became the precursor to the Vietnam War through the initial U.S. involvement in the area that did not stop until 1975 (LaFeber 225). However, as China increased its presence in the area, Kennedy and Khrushchev decided that a growing Chinese influence was bad for both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Therefore, both nations enforced neutrality in the area and told the Chinese to stop building roads to Laos and to respect its territorial sovereignty. Southeast Asia was a new region of conflict in the Cold War but our involvement was shadowed by our involvement in Latin America. Kennedy even remarked, “Thank God the Bay of Pigs happened when it did, otherwise we’d be in Laos by now – and that would be a hundred times worse” (LaFeber 225).

August 13, 1961 marked a day in the world that may people remember vividly because this was the day when the Berlin Wall was erected in Berlin, East Germany by East German officials with assistance from the Soviet Union. The wall was obviously created under heavy influence by the Soviet Union with the aim of not
letting East Berliners travel to West Berlin which was very “Americanized” at this point. Kennedy was appalled by the actions of the Soviet Union and thought that the wall was completely unnecessary and showed more the weakness of the Soviet Union because they had the entrap their citizens to make them follow their ideologies. Regardless, Kennedy refused to risk American lives and go to war with the Soviet Union. Instead, he tested out the strength of the wall and the guards by ordering a battalion of tanks and other military vehicles to travel through one of the checkpoints that they did successfully but then met Soviet tanks and a standoff ensued. The controversy of the wall led to a greater faction between Kennedy and Khrushchev. Shortly after in November of 1961, Khrushchev ordered the testing of a 58-megaton weapon that was 3000 times more powerful than the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II. This meant that nuclear testing was back in session and the U.S. continued underground testing in preparation for nuclear war. This all started after the creation of the Berlin Wall which only led to greater distrust and faction between the two rival nations (LaFeber 223-4).

The first 100 days of a presidency is where you prove your value to the American people. Kennedy’s first hundred days were characterized by limiting the Soviet influence in Latin America through the establishment of the Peace Corps, the creation of the Alliance for Progress, and the Bay of Pigs Invasion. The invasion may have failed but it proved that the U.S. is committed to Latin American and will go to great lengths to keep Soviet influence out of their backyard. The first 100 days were also marked more globally with the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia and the U.S. disdain for the Berlin Wall. Through his first 100 days, Kennedy had defined the Soviet threat in global terms and it would lead to the rivalry between President Kennedy and Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

1962: Kennedy’s War against Khrushchev

On June 4, 1961 President Kennedy met with Premier Khrushchev for the first time and it became instantly forgettable for Kennedy. He was bullied throughout the meeting by Khrushchev, who bragged how the Soviet Union was making Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles “like sausages.” Khrushchev was not impressed by the new American president and thought little of him. However, the one bright spot for Kennedy in the meeting was when he proclaimed that any act by the Soviet Union against the people or infrastructure of West Berlin would be considered an act of war. This meeting sparked the rivalry between the two leaders that would be heated throughout Kennedy’s presidency.

The year 1962 went through virtual peace for the first half of the year with one major bright spot for the United States. Yuri Gagarin was the first man to fly in space on April 12, 1961 for a total of 108 minutes. This was a great achievement for all of mankind but not the U.S. because Gagarin was Russian and a member of the Soviet Air Force. This was the major achievement that the Soviets had over the Americans. The Americans may have produced more missiles and bombs at this point but the Soviets won in the “Space Race” and that always hung over Kennedy’s head. However, the Americans launched their first man into space on February 20, 1962 when John Glenn orbited the Earth on a Mercury-Atlas rocket named Friendship 7 (Reeves 285). Glenn had orbited the Earth three times in four hours and fifty-six minutes clearly trumping Gagarin’s 108 minute flight. This was a major moment for Americans and it proved to be one of the highlights of the first half of 1962 for Kennedy. Continuing on positive moments for Kennedy, one of his all time speeches happened on September 12, 1962 when he boldly proclaimed that the U.S. planned to put a man on the moon within ten years. He continued by saying “we
choose to go to the moon in this decade among other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard” (Reeves 338). This proclamation in some ways was a direct challenge for the Soviet Union because the U.S. admittedly lost the “Space Race” but now they had to do one better than the Soviets and put a man on the moon. The U.S. accomplished this on July 20, 1969 when three men, Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin, and Michael Collins aboard the Apollo 11 landed on the moon. Neil Armstrong was the first man to ever walk on the moon and his “one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind” argued won the Space Race for the Americans.

The year 1962 was not all fun and games for President Kennedy and the Americans because in October the world was put on the brink of global destruction with the Cuban Missile Crisis. The controversy dates back to April of that same year because it was at this time that the United States began building missile launch sites in Turkey, only a couple hundred miles outside of Moscow (Reeves 345). This was not seen as an act of aggression in the eyes of President Kennedy but a calculated act of military strategy. The U.S. had no intention to launch a preemptive strike on the Soviet Union but they wanted to be prepared in case the Soviet Union was to attack. These bases also operated as collateral because Khrushchev knew they were there and that Moscow was in striking distance of the bases. This prevented Khrushchev from doing anything that would make Kennedy angry because he had a plethora of ICBM’s at his expense that he could use at anytime.

On October 16, 1962, President Kennedy received photographs taken by a U-2 spy plane showing the construction of a nuclear launch pad that could potentially fire an ICBM up to 1000 miles away. In the following days, another U-2 spy plane located another site built for specialized weapons that could launch missiles up to 2,200 miles (LaFeber 233). This was a clear act of aggression by Nikita Khrushchev but the U.S. was doing the same thing in Turkey, effectively creating a global nuclear standoff. After some days of deliberation with his cabinet, especially his brother Bobby who was the U.S. Attorney General, Kennedy decided that his preferred course of action would be a preemptive air strike against all nuclear launch sites, airfields, weapons and ammunition factories, and all potential nuclear storage sites.

Thankfully, Kennedy was convinced otherwise by the diplomatic members of his cabinet who feared that a preemptive air strike would bring about a nuclear war that could wipe out almost half the population of the United States (Reeves 373). Kennedy kept the knowledge of missiles in Cuba a secret from the American public for as long as he possibly could but on October 22 he addressed the nation in regards to the missiles in Cuba. He said that the Soviets were building nuclear bases in Cuba “to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere” and announced that the U.S. was imposing “a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment being shipped to Cuba.” Kennedy continued to say that the United States would “regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union” (LaFeber 234).

The world was at a standstill with millions of people caught in between. The Cuban Missile Crisis instantly became the biggest fear of Americans, especially those who lived in major cities within reach of the ICBM’s, which included Miami, Washington D.C., Baltimore, and even New York City. Khrushchev adhered to Kennedy’s warning and did not even try shipping offensive military equipment into Cuba in the days following but after a U-2 spy plane was shot down by Soviets in Cuba Khrushchev took off the gloves. He demanded that the U.S. missiles be removed from Turkey or the world would inch ever closer to nuclear destruction. American and Soviet cabinet members deliberated in the days following to no avail.
The leaders from each nation just became irritated with each other and nothing substantial was ever achieved. On Friday, October 27th, Kennedy received a telegraph from Nikita Khrushchev that became part of a series of letters sent to Kennedy who in short said that he was scared of the danger that could erupt from this crisis. After some time of bickering between the two, Kennedy remarked “It is insane that two men, sitting on opposite sides of the world, should be able to decide to bring an end to civilization” (Reeves 411). This series of conversation between the two men showed their lighter side which was that both of them were fearful of what could happen as a result of this standoff. However, the day after he sent the message to Kennedy, Khrushchev went on Soviet broadcast and boldly proclaimed that the Soviet Union will not remove its arms from Cuba until the U.S. removes its arms from Turkey. Robert Kennedy quickly made Khrushchev aware of the fact that the missiles in Turkey had been ordered to be removed months before because they were outdated and not needed (LaFeber 235). Neither side seemed to listen to each other in their official meetings on the matter of Soviet missiles in Cuba; the only way to achieve any of their goals was through secret negotiation. In part of the series of messages sent from Khrushchev to Kennedy, Khrushchev proposed a solution to the crisis that came to be the results. Khrushchev proposed that the Soviet Union would end all armament processes with Cuba if the United States swore not to invade Cuba and in addition the United States had to remove their missiles from Turkey (Reeves 412). This proposal seemed as a way out for the Soviets that actually hurt the Americans but it was more costly for the Soviets, especially Khrushchev.

This secret proposal to Kennedy met opposition from many members of Kennedy’s cabinet including his brother Robert but the President approved. His idea was that Khrushchev proclaimed his weakness and that if the crisis were to escalate to war, that Khrushchev felt that the U.S. was stronger. In the end on October 28, Kennedy and Khrushchev agreed to the terms and the Soviet Union began deconstructing its nuclear missile launch sites in Cuba, the United States removed its missiles from Turkey, and President Kennedy gave his word to Khrushchev that the United States would not invade Cuba. The U.S. media quickly jumped on the story as a victory for the Americans and an embarrassing defeat for the Soviets. This angered Kennedy greatly because he did not want Khrushchev to feel embarrassed or that he lost because then he might order a preemptive strike against the U.S. out of pure emotion (Reeves 424). After the Cuban Missile Crisis, life went on in the United States but not as if it never happened. All Americans were fully aware that the world was on the brink of disaster and after this point in the Cold War, Americans never truly felt safe from the Soviets.

1963: The Year of Nuclear Test Bans and Vietnam

In the year 1963, Khrushchev and Kennedy were both adamant about avoiding another nuclear standoff like they had the previous October in Cuba. In the summer months they negotiated and signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. This test ban was the first of its kind to limit the arms race between the United States and Soviet Union and it significantly reduced the battle for the stronger nuclear arsenal. The Nuclear Test Ban prohibited above-ground nuclear testing by either nation which seems minute today, but that was a significant step during that time considering they were months removed from obliterating the entire world. The test ban was met in the Senate with a strong opposition because many Senators believed that nuclear war was imminent with the Soviet Union and they simply did not trust Khrushchev to obey the treaty. The other side of this argument was made by nuclear scientists and physicists from all over the world, and they convinced Khrushchev and Kennedy that this arms race would only lead to world destruction (LaFeber 237). On October 7, Kennedy and Khrushchev officially signed the Nuclear
Test Ban Treaty that put the official end to aboveground nuclear testing and set
the tone for the Cold War for the future where all the treaties become about nuclear
limitations, not nuclear expansion.

The crisis and the resulting test ban treaty had opposite effects on the world
leaders involved. Premier Khrushchev was now seen as weak and was being
questioned internally and externally, most famously by China who simply stated
that he was an idiot for placing missiles in Cuba and a coward for removing them.
The Chinese thought the Americans to be “paper tigers” that would not actually
strike with their full power, to which Khrushchev responded with that assumption
as “dung.” As Khrushchev was becoming less influential, Kennedy’s star was
becoming even brighter and some say it peaked at a speech at American University
in Washington D.C. on June 10, 1963 where he appealed to the Soviets to seek a
“relaxation of tensions.” At this speech, he continued his push for nuclear test bans
and was met by an outstanding applause (LaFeber 237).

The summer of 1963 also held one of Kennedy’s most famous speeches in his
presidency in Berlin on June 26. In this speech at the Berlin Wall, Kennedy spoke of
Communism in the city of Berlin and the differences between East and West Berlin.
He proposed the argument that there is a great difference between Communism and
Capitalism and this difference is shown in the economic status of the separate sides
of the city. He famously says, “There are some that say that Communism is the wave
of the future. Let them come to Berlin. Lass sie nach Berlin kommen!” He ends his
speech with the now famous phrase, “Ich bin ein Berliner” which translates to “I am
a Berliner” (Reeves 536). This speech is considered a direct attack at the ideologies
of the Soviet Union and the faulty system of communism because the differences at
this time between East and West Berlin were great, and Kennedy made sure the
world knew of it.

With the plans of nuclear limitations in the works, Kennedy began to focus
his attention on the liberation movements taking place around the world but
specifically in Southeast Asia because he hoped to halt the expansionist Communist
China. The United States focused on two nations in Southeast Asia for specific
reasons advantageous to the U.S. First, the nation of Laos was regarded as the
American stronghold in Southeast Asia after the Americans effectively rid Laos of
Chinese influence and it became the hub of American influence in Southeast Asia.
Second, the nation of Vietnam was seen as the primary target of the future because
it was vital to American interests but it was also the “cornerstone of the Free World
in Southeast Asia, the keystone to the arch, the finger in the dike...Her political
liberty is an inspiration to those seeking to obtain or maintain liberty in all parts of
Asia” (LaFeber 242). None other than Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts
said these words in 1956 when the U.S. was beginning their involvement in Vietnam.
When he became President, Kennedy further increased American influence in
Vietnam saying that the civil war going on was a battle of freedom against tyranny
and that only American involvement could assure that freedom won. The Kennedy
administration bought into the Eisenhower idea of the “domino effect” and that if
one country fell to communism, that the next country over was now susceptible to
falling as well (LaFeber 242). Kennedy, among others, believed that American
involvement with our substantial firepower would quickly eradicate any communist
liberation movement. In Vietnam, regardless of the number of troops or amount of
firepower the Americans had, the Vietminh and the Viet Cong were still making
ground gains because they were using classic guerilla tactics which boil down to hit
and run tactics, assassinations, and the use of small and mobile units (Nagl 120).
Against an insurgency using guerrilla tactics, you cannot use conventional war
strategies and be successful. This was something that Kennedy understood but his
top military advisors did not. When the American forces cleared the landscape in large battalions, they were susceptible to small bands of soldiers attacking them and scattering. This causes the conventional force to scatter, making them more vulnerable to attack. Kennedy proposed counterinsurgency tactics to fight these guerilla forces to the U.S. Army generals but they fell upon deaf ears. With him being up for reelection in about a year, Kennedy chose not to push the issue with Vietnam.

American involvement in Vietnam at this time was nothing that it would become but President Kennedy was adamant about the U.S. being there to thwart the Chinese and Soviet Communist influences in the area. However, his presidency came to an abrupt halt on November 22, 1963 when he was assassinated in Dallas, Texas in his motorcade. The man who allegedly assassinated President Kennedy was Lee Harvey Oswald, a former American soldier and communist, who spent time in the Soviet Union. The day of his assassination is often referred to as one of the darkest days in American history and the conspiracy around his assassination lives on even today.

Conclusion and JFK’s Cold War Legacy

The presidency of John Fitzgerald Kennedy was cut short but not after he greatly influenced the world. In his first hundred days of being the president he made it clear that he was going after the Soviet Union, especially in regards to their influence around the world. He created the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress, both of which goals were to expel communism from the areas of their reach. Even though it was a total failure, the fact that he approved the Bay of Pigs Invasion showed his commitment-undermining communism in the world.

A president is defined by his actions and no one’s actions spoke louder than those of President Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis where he stood his ground and waited for Nikita Khrushchev to blink first that he did. Kennedy was not afraid of compromise and frequently went against the opinions of his top advisors, including his brothers, and this was never more evident in the removal of our Mid-Range Ballistic Missiles from Turkey as a part of the deal to end the Cuban Missile Crisis with the Soviet Union.

Kennedy frequently attacked and berated the Soviet Union in his speeches but he also applauded them in some aspects because he knew that everything he said was going to be heard by Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. His Cold War legacy is that of a president who quivered in the beginning against the Soviets but came out strong. This was ever present in his deals with Khrushchev or the expansion of U.S. influence around the world. His legacy will also include that he began the process of increasing the American involvement in Vietnam which proved to be a failure in the long run but that cannot be blamed on him. It becomes a hypothetical argument if he would have lived long enough to see the results of our involvement in Vietnam and what his actions would have been. The world will truly never know how extensive his reach would have been if he had not been assassinated in Dallas on November 22, 1963, but we know that he made great change in his short time with us.


The Inquisitorial System and its Impact on the Witch-Hunts

Rachel Kenny

The witch-hunts that swept across much of Europe between the late medieval ages to the eighteenth century were a dark time in European history. Power was constantly shifting between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The rise of Christianity and the Catholic Church spiked a need to repress other religions that denied Christian teachings. The target of this repression would change throughout the centuries from pagans, witches, and heretics to Protestants and then back to the witches and heretics. Due to the complex nature of the times no single event, person, or idea can be pinpointed as the cause of the hunts as a whole. Why this slice of history occurred is not necessarily as important as what allowed it to reach the severity it did, in particular the Inquisition as it existed in the Italian Peninsula. Like with any crime, there could not be a crime without laws, and there could not be laws without punishment nor punishment without a punisher. The adoption of the Inquisition and inquisitorial procedure in the 13th century was a response to the revival of interest in Roman Canon law. By changing the trial procedures and allowing the use of torture to gain confessions, the Inquisition advertently made prosecuting witches easier and allowed the formation of the cumulative concept of witchcraft. However, in the mid to late 16th century, the Inquisition played a role in ending the witch-hunts when the frame of mind of the Church began to change.

Revival of Roman Law

As early as the Roman Republic, Roman law was poised to prosecute the crime of witchcraft. The “laws from the Twelve Tables of the Corpus Iuris Civilis of Justinian...condemned magic and its practitioners as vigorously as they were denounced by Augustine” (Peters, 8). The law carried harsh penalties for magic, particularly when it could be confirmed that the magic caused a loss or injury. Most harmful magic earned the accused the death penalty. A revitalization of interest in these Roman Laws greatly influenced the new canon laws and criminal procedure introduced in the thirteenth century.

In 1140, a monk from Bologna, Gratian, published the Concordia discordantium canonum, or the Decretum. In the Decretum, Gratian organized the Church’s legal doctrines. It created a single, comprehensive body of church law that made it immensely popular amongst priests and theologians. The Decretum was largely used as a teaching aide for ecclesiastical law and was a source of information throughout the course of the witch hunts (Peters, 71).

Another section of the Decretum outlined imaginary trials and potential responses from the church. It is important to note only small parts of the Decretum talked about any specific aspect of what would later develop into the concept of witchcraft. The main part on witchcraft, as it was understood in the later centuries, is Causa 26. Here, Gratian talks about divination and superstition. Based on his opinion of other documents, Gratian declares that divination is a sin and magicians are to be excommunicated; he uses the Canon Episcopi to touch on superstition. Because the Decretum was a collection of ecclesiastical law only canons or edicts from the Papacy were included. Gratian was more selective still on which of these documents he included in his book. This led to the narrowed view of magical practices that later judges would turn to (Peters, 71).
In the thirteenth century lawmakers would add to the *Decretum* two more texts, the *Liber Extra*, written by Pope Gregory IX in 1234, and the *Liber Sextus*, by Pope Boniface VIII in 1298. These texts continued the subject of divination but also developed the link between magic and heresy. The *Liber Sextus* contained a letter from Pope Alexander IV, which stated that the Church could only prosecute magicians if they were heretical.

It is reasonable that those charges with the affairs of the faith, which is the greatest of privileges, ought not thereby to intervene in other matters. The inquisitors of pestilential heresy, commissioned by the apostolic see, ought not intervene in cases of divination or sorcery unless these clearly savour of manifest heresy. Nor should they punish those who are engaged in these things, but leave them to other judges for punishment.

(Peters, 99)

The Papacy paralleled magicians with the anti-Christ. As the anti-Christ, magicians became soldiers against God. From here, it was not a far leap to being guilty of heresy against the one true religion. The ambiguity of both the terms, "*magia*" and "heresy", that Alexander IV used caused later theologians to then broaden the scope of power the inquisitors were able to exercise under the Pope.

Once the Church had established that magic was a form of heresy and needed to be controlled, a great explosion of writing depicting heretical beliefs and activities became more widely available. The Church saw the spread of magic and, by association, heresy as a direct threat to the establishment of power that the Church had been slowly gaining throughout the past centuries. Two of the main groups the Church targeted as heretics in the beginning were the Cathars and the Waldensians. The Cathars preached a dualist view of the world. They believed that there was a constant battle raging between God and Satan. Satan was the prince of this world and God was the king of the next. If one wanted to go to heaven they needed to live the most moral life possible. They did not use the sacraments or abide by the dictates of the clergy. This proposed a threat to the Church who easily turned their fear of the powers of Satan into a demonic worship; also, any sect that did not abide by the clergy was harder to control and a threat to its authority. The Waldenseins posed an even larger threat; they preached a life of poverty, devoid of worldly goods, much like the original apostles. They openly criticized the clergy for their wealth. These new sects could not be suppressed solely by the church and would require the dual power of the state and church.

A consequence of defining magic as heresy was that it became a crime of mixed jurisdiction. Secular courts had been trying heresy and condemning those convicted to death already, but when the church and state combined authority they created a formidable front. Punishments became more severe with the death penalty being introduced in ecclesiastical courts by Pope Gregory IX in 1231. Even with the added help of secular courts, the church needed its own policing force if it was going to stop the spread of heresy.

The Early Inquisition

The problem of an ecclesiastical police force was solved by the creation of Inquisitors. Prior to the Inquisition and for a long time after their initiation, various local bishops and priests, not the papacy, were the main authority in prosecuting heretics. With increasing use after 1231, the Inquisitors fought for the church to bring an end to heresy. They were appointed by the Pope or his generals and drew
all powers directly from the Pope. “They were outfitted with full powers of ‘inquisitio,’” (Decker, 10). These powers included the right to investigate and try those they deemed heretics. The changes the Inquisition would bring about in the court systems greatly facilitated the spread and intensity of the witch-hunts across Europe.

The Inquisition, as it became known, was a well-established system from the last half of the thirteenth century on. It was not made to eclipse the local church jurisdiction but rather serve as a strong helping hand. The two systems were to collaborate with each other on trials and judgments when at all possible. The Inquisition also utilized the secular forces when it came to following through with the sentencing of the church. Inquisitors were sent to an area by request of local priests or bishops when heretical actions required more assistance. Other times, the Pope dispatched Inquisitors to regions where rumors said heretical sects were located or the government asked for the Inquisitors aid.

The Inquisition brought with it a whole new system of trial procedure. Prior to the 1200’s most courts had been running under an accusatory arrangement. Each case had to have an accuser, someone who would point the blame of an incident onto another person. The accuser would present evidence against the defendant in an open court; the judge served as an unbiased party and the defendant served as his own attorney. “The accusation was a formal, public, sworn statement that resulted in the trial of the accused before a judge. If the accused admitted his guilt, or if the private accuser could provide certain proof, then the judge would decide against the defendant. If there was any doubt, however, the court would appeal to God to provide some sign of the accused person’s guilt or innocence” (Levack, 75). The defendant would be required to undergo a test of sorts to prove his innocence. A common test involved holding a burning hot object and then showing his hands free of burns. There were other alternatives including a duel between the two parties or obtaining a certain number of people who would swear to the innocence of the defendant. Throughout the whole process the judge remained a mere regulator and did not play a hand in the prosecution.

This old process of criminal procedure made prosecuting crimes extremely difficult, no more so than in hidden crimes like magic. It was a non-rational process that relied on divine intervention, not an analysis of facts, to prove the innocence or the guilt of the defendant. “The court in effect abdicated its own responsibility to investigate crimes and left the matter in the hands of Gods” (Levack, 76). People put their faith in the hands of God and not their own judgments.

Under the Inquisitorial system the procedures of a trial changed drastically. These changes “facilitated the prosecution of all crime, but it proved to be most useful in the investigation and trial of heresy and witchcraft” (Levack, 79). First, both the secular and ecclesiastical courts could initiate trials, which led to an increase in prosecution. Trials also no longer required an accuser to step forth. This eliminated the liability or fear the accuser was likely to face when accusing someone of magic. Instead, judges were given the power to initiate investigations of individuals or communities. Something as small as a rumor was enough to start an investigation and many trials began on information the court officer had obtained himself. This is especially important since most witches and “heretics were known only by reputation, and since there were no victims of their crimes demanding retribution, the only effective way of bringing them to justice was through either renunciation or official promotion” (Levack, 79). The procedural changes also improved the chance of conviction since the judge could collect his own evidence.
Another change brought on by the adoption of the inquisitorial trial procedure involved the proof needed for conviction, which directly resulted in the institution of torture that is so often attributed to witchcraft trials. Since heresy and witchcraft were capital crimes, a strict set of standard was set in place to establish guilt beyond a doubt. In the old accusatory system the accuser acted as an eyewitness and could verify the guilt of the defendant; however the citing of trials based on rumors or reputations took away that vital proof of guilt. To bridge this gap, he Inquisition turned to the Roman-canonical law of proof. Under this law, two eyewitness accounts of the crime being committed or the full confession of the accused were the only evidence that sufficed for a capital punishment. Finding two eyewitnesses presented a large problem in heresy cases, so confession became the only way to condemn witches and heretics. “Confessions, however, were not always forthcoming, and consequently judicial authorities began to allow the use of torture in order to obtain them” (Levack, 80). With this knowledge one is able to speak of torture as a direct consequence of the implementation of the inquisitorial system.

“In 1252 Pope Innocent IV authorized papal inquisitors to use torture in the prosecution of heresy” (Levack, 81). This authorization got its basis from the Roman law as well; in ancient Rome, those who committed treason were often tortured, free or not. Because heresy was the equivalent to treason in the eyes of the Church, the adoption of torture was deemed acceptable. The theory behind using torture was that a person subjected to pain would confess the truth, and, while this was sometimes true, it could also elicit false confessions. This is particularly true if the accused is innocent asked leading questions, or the torture is excessive. The officials, aware of the possibility of false confessions, wrote a set of rules that were to be followed by the courts. These rules were not uniform across countries and the degree they were abided by varied. The original rules stated that torture could not be used unless the judge could prove that a crime had been committed and there was concrete evidence of the accused guilt. Evidence of guilt amounted to half of what was needed for conviction: one eyewitnesses testimony or circumstantial evidence. The judge could only administer the use of torture as a last resort and after the accused had been threatened with it. When it came to the torture itself, the severity and length of the torture was regulated. Torture could not kill the accused and no repetition of the torture was allowed. Leading questions were not to be used and any confession made while undergoing torture had to be reiterated later under no distress.

Unfortunately, these rules were rarely followed in their entirety. Through the use of torture the cumulative concept of witchcraft carried in the mind of the Inquisitors was pushed onto the peasant population. “Although the various ideas regarding witchcraft were synthesized and spread mainly by the authors of learned treatises, their fusion first occurred in the courtroom, where inquisitors used torture to confirm their suspicions and to realize their fantasies” (Levack, 87). Leading questions caused the accused to say what they believed the Inquisitors wished to hear. They would speak of midnight flights, devils, the Sabbath, and accuse others of witchcraft with the hopes of ending the torture. These ideas, once substantiated, were spread in the literature written by the Inquisition.

Early Inquisitorial System in Italy and England

The best way to illustrate the impact the Inquisition had on the prosecution of witchcraft in Europe is a comparison of two regions. In Italy, the Inquisition was readily established and the Inquisitorial procedure swiftly employed in its fullest force. In England, however, the Inquisitorial ideals were not accepted nor established and the accusatory system was still heavily relied upon.
When looking at the Inquisition in Italy we are presented with a model of an Inquisition at its finest. Early in the thirteenth century Roman pontiffs instituted the Inquisition in order “to make the repression of non-conformist religious ideas and movements speedier and more efficient, in a time in which heresy seemed to grow at a pace that threatened the Catholic Church’s monopoly” (Duni, 23). These tribunals were not sufficient which caused Pope Gregory IX to create the Papal Inquisition which was made up of special judges tasked with finding, trying, and punishing heretics solely and independently. The Papal Inquisition did not replace the local tribunals; instead, they worked at times as assistants who were available when needed.

Italy also employed the use of torture; this allowed the witch-hunts to reach their severity. The laws governing the use of torture stated previously also applied in Italy. However, due to the lack of centralization of the Inquisitors, the rules were largely disregarded or creative loopholes were found, such as stating a second round of torture was simply a continuation of the first. Since Italy used torture, the cumulative concept of witchcraft manifested itself completely in the mindset of the Italian Inquisitors and the peasants. Literature of the time, written by Inquisitors, struck fear into the minds of the peasants and large-scale witch hunts created a world of chaos. From the late fifteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century large trials began in northern Italy and resulted in mass executions. Throughout the Italian countryside in areas such as Milan, Val Camonica, and Venice, large-scale trials led by the Inquisitors shook the foundations of peasant life. Writers at the time stated over a thousand trials took place a year and more than a hundred witches were executed (Duni, 30). These figures are most likely exaggerated but they point to the scope of the witch-hunts in the Italian Peninsula. Between the initial creation of the Inquisition and its reordering into the Holy Roman Inquisition of the mid sixteenth, no central cooperation was in charge of all the various courts and judges. The inquisition in Italy in the sixteenth century will be discussed later but it is relevant to state that the witch-hunts were still active beyond the fifteenth century.

England never adopted the Inquisition and all that it entailed, because of this we are faced with a very different situation. The witch-hunts never became the epidemic it did on the continent mostly due to England’s unique justice system of centralization that “had its origins in the establishment of the common law” (Levack, 100). England never instituted the Inquisitorial procedure into its courts and instead relied heavily on accusations that were brought forth. The courts never initiated trials and a jury instead of a single judge tried people. Almost all witchcraft trials took place in circuit courts that were strictly monitored and controlled by judges appointed directly from the Crown. The courts were required to make a unanimous verdict and, thanks to the English Statutes of 1542, 1563, and 1604, had other forms of punishment besides execution they could levy against the accused.

Another aspect of English laws was the sparse use of torture which meant the cumulative concept of witchcraft never fully formed. “Torture [in England] could be used only at the specific command of the Privy Council and only when matters of state were involved. This prohibition was strictly enforced” (Levack, 218). Without torture the concept of witchcraft was never solidified or absorbed by the English. The elite never accepted the image of the diabolical witch, since it was not spoken of in confessions. They did not experience the paranoia felt in the continent. The lack of torture stopped the domino effect of trials moving from one community to the next by lessening the likelihood that the defendant would accuse others of witchcraft, which was often the case when torture was applied. Due to the fact that the Inquisitorial system was not adopted in England nor was torture used heavily,
the overall concept of witchcraft was not accepted and the trials never reached the magnitude they did in Italy.

The Inquisition from the Mid Sixteenth Century On

The mid-sixteenth century marked a turn in the history of the Inquisition. It was reorganized in response to the emergence of a new threat and, later, the mindset of the Church evolved causing the very institution that facilitated the spread and severity of the witch-hunts to help put a stop to it. It was a time of political and religious unrest. The new religious ideas of the Protestant Reformation were infiltrating the region from the north and the papacy was on constant vigilance against them. The threat of Protestantism was deemed top priority and constituted the greatest threat of heresy against the Church. It became quickly apparent that the Inquisitorial system of the past centuries was not adequate to stifle the new insurgence of heretical ideology.

In 1542 Pope Paul III established a new committee under the bull Licet ab initio. It was made up of six cardinals who were given distinctive powers to fight heretics. This new group was deemed the Holy Office of the Inquisition to differentiate it from its predecessor. It differed in many ways from the earlier system; the Holy Office was a much more centralized organization with six cardinals located in Rome who exercised absolute control over the local bishops, “from the appointment of judges to all the decisions of importance these had had to take: when to torture a suspect, whether evidence was solid enough to condemn someone, what kind of punishment to inflict, and so on” (Duni, 32). They routinely requested manuscripts of whole trials and were often approached by the local authorities for advice. The six cardinals had at their disposal a highly qualified staff, including a chief prosecutor, a secular priest, and a variety of theologians (Decker, 86). The strengthening and reorganizing of the Inquisition into the Holy Office marked a change from trust in a local authority to a more centralized one located in Rome. The Holy Office held unquestionable power throughout the Italian Peninsula. This made it different from other Inquisitions at the time who barely controlled land beyond the Papacy's borders.

The reason the Inquisition had been reorganized was not forgotten and for the next forty years the Inquisition focused on prosecuting Protestants rather than witches based on the edicts of zealous popes such as Paul IV. The Protestants became the central focus in the eyes of the Church and the Reformation presented a larger evil than witchcraft. “Paul IV, in one of his first decrees, ordered that any persons who denied the Trinity and thus the divinity of Jesus were to be punished with death” (Decker 87). In this way, the Inquisition’s duties grew to incorporate the prosecution of blasphemy. While those who practiced witchcraft were also guilty of denying the Holy Trinity, the decree was aimed at Protestants. The responsibilities of the Holy Office under Paul IV did not stop there; they prosecuted prostitution, homosexuality, and the Jews. “Paul IV regarded his creation, the Inquisition, as the most important means to accomplish these means: ‘We hold that no court works more honorably or with greater zeal for the honor of God than the Inquisition, and so we have decided to hand over to it every case that touches upon the articles of the faith or could have an effect on them” (Decker, 90). However, witchcraft trials were not unheard of during this period, yet in many regions, only one trial or less a year took place.

“Following the destruction of the Italian Protestant movement, witchcraft came back to occupy center stage, but in a context that was substantially different from that of the earlier decades of the century” (Duni, 33). The Roman Inquisition
took on a more cautious approach to witch-hunting. An excellent example of the early caution of the Roman Inquisition comes to us from a case involving the archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo. He was characterized as highly ambitious, educated, and the perfect example of piety; he was also a zealous combatant of magic. He wrote to Rome about four women who had pleaded guilty to participating in a witches' Sabbath and killing children. They were not given the death penalty because they were first time offenders and repentant; Canon law required leniency towards them. Borromeo wished for the Holy Office to repeal an early decision made by the late Paul IV and sentence them to death. The cardinals responded by questioning the facts of the case, particularly the deaths of the children. They showed reluctance at condemning the women to death when magic as the cause of the children’s deaths could not be attested to with any certainty. The outcome of the case is not known but the indication that Rome was beginning to question the legitimacy of the trials was very telling to the new mindset evolving (Decker, 96).

Another aspect of the late sixteenth century was the growing reluctance to try witches when heresy was not involved. Under Pope Gregory XIII, the Holy Office extended its cautious approach to witchcraft. The cardinals were approached with a case in 1575 where six women were accused of magic. One woman failed to confess and was accused of infanticide. The direct statement of the Holy Office was as follows: “Proof of the woman's guilt must not consist only in the fact that she was seen at the witches' Sabbath. It must consist in some circumstance or some fact separate from the witches' Sabbath, something that indicates heresy” (Decker, 98). This showed a lack of willingness of the Holy Inquisition to prosecute someone based on the testimony of a fellow witch and a strengthening of the need for heretical activity to warrant a trial by the Inquisition. By not trying witches based solely on another witch’s accusation successfully ended the threat of mass prosecutions.

After the 1580’s the church began to show skepticism on the reality of the Sabbath and respect for the due process of the law. “They insisted that the corpus delicti—proof of the connection between a harmful spell and the sickness or death of somebody—be present before prosecution could start. They systematically urged local courts to caution and respect of legal propriety in cases of witchcraft, stressing that more often than not the defendants—especially if women—were somewhat deluded and therefore not to be believed” (Duni, 35). The idea of skepticism was not unheard of in the Holy Office. The Canon Episcopi was written in the first century CE and included in Gratian’s Decretum. The canon expressed a view of disbelief in the reality of the Sabbath; it characterized witches as poor deluded women. For centuries earlier there had been people who cited the Canon Episcopi to support their own distrust in the Church’s view of the demonic witch. The growing sense of doubt in the reality of major aspects of witchcraft led to distrust in the legality of torture as well.

After the reformation, the Church desired to stamp out superstitions in its Counter Reformation. The Inquisition was expanded to incorporate a more complicated system of priests, bishops, and judges in order to pursue the goals of the Counter Reformation. This complexity created a lag time in trials. It could take months or years for permission to start a trial or approval of sentences to reach the local level. The Church saw witch trials as a liability and created discord. “Roman cardinals must have seen witch-hunts as an unwelcome occasion for friction and conflicts with lay magistrates and governments, whose cooperation was needed” (Duni, 36). All of these facets merged together to lessen the Church’s interest in the prosecution of witch-hunts. Just as the rise of the Church's power coincided with the rise of the witch-hunts, its lessening of power led to the gradual end of the hunts.
More often witch trials were given over to secular authorities for prosecution. Without the zeal of the church leaders, the threat of the witches less imminent.

The Inquisition was a response to the need of an ecclesiastical force able to persecute heresy. Interest in ancient Roman law set the groundwork for the Canon laws of the thirteenth century and the Inquisitors became the highest authority, taking their power from the pope. The Inquisitorial procedure in courts allowed the crime of heresy to be more easily tried. Torture proved to be of monumental importance in validating the guilt of a defendant and led to the formation of the cumulative concept of witchcraft that spread throughout Europe. Inversely, the Inquisition also brought about the end of the Church’s prosecution of witches. After the Protestant Reformation, a change in the Church’s views on the reality of witchcraft and legality of torture lessened the ambition of the Inquisitors and a decline in trials resulted. Unfortunately, witch trials and executions would continue in Europe at a lesser level and by the secular authorities until the eighteenth century.
Bibliography


Busted: How Cocaine Went from Friend to Fiend in the 19th Century

Rebecca Kheel

“Great things were at first anticipated from the use of cocaine in internal medicine, and more particularly in the management of certain nervous and mental derangements. From the known stimulating action of the leaves, whether chewed or given in the form of tinctures or elixirs, it was confidently hoped that the much more powerful alkaloid would prove proportionately efficacious, notable as cocaine when sprayed upon the expectations have not been fully realized.”

—Dr. J. Leonard Corning, New York neurologist

Cocaine is one of the cornerstones of today’s war on drugs, but in the latter part of the 19th century, physicians jumped on this newly synthesized drug as the solution to most everything that ailed. Need surgery? Eliminate the pain of the incision with a dab of cocaine. Bothered by throat cancer? Drink up a cocaine tonic. Feeling depressed? Cheer up with three glasses of coca wine per day.

Though Andean peoples have chewed coca leaves as a stimulant for centuries, the Americans and Europeans did not co-opt the drug until the 1860s, when the active alkaloid was first extracted from the plant. Cocaine experiments began, but excitement did not truly burst until the 1880s. In 1884, Carl Koller, an ophthalmologist in Vienna, successfully used cocaine as a local anesthesia. “It is probable that no living man does humanity owe a greater debt of gratitude than to Dr. Carl Koller, the discoverer of the application of hydrochlorate of cocaine as a local anesthetic,” Harper’s Weekly exalted. That same year, before he became famous for his theories of psychotherapy, Sigmund Freud, published an extensive treatise on the therapeutic uses of cocaine.

In America, one disease in particular seemed to plague the middle class, and cocaine’s stimulating effects were a natural fit to become the cure de jour. American middle-class men – and eventually women and lower class men – increasingly suffered from something called neurasthenia. Physicians with few tools at their disposal to figure out why someone might feel impotent or constipated crafted the proto-psychiatric diagnosis of neurasthenia, a catch-all disease said to be caused by modernization and most often characterized by exhaustion or nervousness. Cocaine joined the ranks of the various recommended cures. Doctors and researchers issued reports hailing cocaine’s effectiveness. Drug manufacturers concocted new, popular tonics using the drug. Newspapers ads shouted at consumers that all their affictions can be cured with the new drug or a tonic containing it.

But newspaper articles, editorial cartoons and scientific research on the dangers of cocaine soon followed the initial enthusiasm. Reports of overdoses, crime, insanity and addiction flourished. People feared the drug was moving from a middle-class cure to an African-American indulgence. Cocaine was lumped in with the other social ills of the day, the alcohols and opiates temperance movements sought to eradicate. In a few years, the drug would be regulated.

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Americans, desperate to make sense of the ever-changing society of the late 19th century, clung to an uncertain disease and dubious cure. However, the negative aspects of cocaine were too much to ignore. As with most fads, cocaine’s path was not to remain uncut.

Neurasthenia

In the 19th century, there were no MRIs. There was no such thing as Zoloft or Ambien. People did not sit down on couches and unfurl their problems on their psychiatrist. The 19th century may have been on the cusp of many scientific and technological breakthroughs, but medicine was still relatively rudimentary. Instead, doctors relied on the limited tools they had before them to make sense of the changing world around them and those that seemed to fall ill because of those changes. Neurologists were no different. As F.G. Gosling explains in Before Freud, “The neurologists of the late nineteenth century had little in common with their present-day namesakes. There were a curious blend of physician, psychiatrist, and anatomist, and...they were much nearer to being the forerunners of twentieth-century psychiatrists than our modern neurologists because of the emphasis on emotions and the social origins of stress.”203 One result of that was the popular diagnosis of neurasthenia, a term coined in 1869 by New York neurologist George M. Beard. But neurasthenia was not a particularly steadfast concept. Neurasthenia was a disease of loosely defined symptoms and treatments that reflected physicians’ own views of society, as well as the gender, racial and class divides of the time.

Despite Beard’s work to pin down what ailed the American populace, neurasthenia encompassed a wide array of physical and psychological symptoms that were treated in an equally varied amount of ways. According to Beard’s seminal works on the disease, neurasthenia resulted from a deficiency of nerve force, or stored energy that every person had inside him or her. This deficiency was caused by five specific 19th century innovations: steam power, the periodical press, the telegraph, the sciences and the mental activity of women.204 Though Beard did not believe neurasthenia was exclusively an American disease, he thought it was more prevalent here because of “dryness of the air, extremes of heat and cold, civil and religious liberty, and the great mental activity made necessary and possible in a new and productive country under such climatic conditions.”205 Those who were most struck by the disease were the “brain workers,” or middle class professionals. Once this peculiar affliction of the late 19th century middle class was put in concrete terms, “neurasthenia was used to characterize practically every nonspecific emotional disorder short of outright insanity, from simple stress to severe neuroses.”206 Beard separated symptoms into seven categories – digestive, vascular, motor, sexual, mental and sensory. This encompassed manifestations ranging from indigestion to palpitation to polyuria to twitching to impotence to headaches.207 Though the list of symptoms was nearly all encompassing, “physicians of all types, in major cities and smaller communities across the country, were in agreement as the symptomatology of neurasthenia. Although it might be difficult to diagnose, because it could involve any or all of the body’s functions, the key lay in the recognition of mental distress.”208

204 George M. Beard, American Nervousness (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1881) vi.
205 Beard vii
206 Gosling 9
207 Gosling 81
208 Gosling 82-83
Despite the agreement on the main symptom, there was no agreed upon treatment of neurasthenia. One discussion of the New York Academy of Medicine recommended patients drink hot water as the heat “increased activity of the skin, warmth of the extremities, the circulation became more uniform, and it was believed the viscera became disengorged,” among other improvements. Hydrotherapy like that was among the top ten most prescribed treatments, according to Gosling. Another top treatment was drugs. Strychnine, today known to be a poison, was often used in small doses to stimulate the central nervous system. But the most popular treatment was physician Weir Mitchell’s rest cure, which involved “total isolation of the patient from all but the doctor and a trained nurse.” Ultimately, though, a doctor’s analysis of the symptoms and course of treatment – and at the root, why the term neurasthenia came to be – depended upon the doctor’s own values and how society viewed gender, race and class.

Neurologists like Beard drew from their personal experiences to develop their theories on neurasthenia. As Barbara Sicherman notes in her article, “The Paradox of Prudence: Mental Health in the Gilded Age,” “George M. Beard...clearly illustrates the continuity between personal experiences of depression, religion, and childhood fears, and an interest in preserving mental health...it is apparent that the restrictive model of mental health was a metaphor that helped physicians make sense of their own professional and personal experiences.” Doctors in the late 19th century needed to reconcile their conservative, religious upbringings with the changing world, one that increasingly valued self-determination and science over self-restraint and religion. For example, Sicherman points out the medical community of the late 19th century was the first to work under the notion of evolutionary theory, as Charles Darwin’s Origin of Species was published in 1859. Beard’s life particularly fits the trend of trying to reconcile a conservative upbringing with his medical practice. Beard’s father was a Congregational minister, “ever mindful of the temptations of earthly life.” After he graduated from Yale in 1862, Beard experienced many of the symptoms he would later describe as neurasthenia. Among his concerns was the conflict between his success and spirituality. This conflict was revealed in journal entries such as “How long will it be before I shall be humbled and crushed?” something he wrote even after he decided to become a physician and cast off his father’s expectations. Thus, when he tried to help his patients, he drew on his own troubles and experiences with nervousness. As Sicherman concludes, physicians and neurologists like Beard, who had experienced the social and personal strains about which they wrote, prescriptions for health may variously have reflected satisfactory personal solutions to their own problems, attempts to remedy the perceived errors of their own upbringing, and perhaps even goals for others that they themselves could not, perhaps did not wish to, achieve...Bolstered by the growing prestige of science, mental hygienists contributed to this quest by providing a secular rather than a religious context for evaluating the good life.

210 Gosling 109
211 Gosling 116
212 Gosling 110
214 Sicherman 892
215 Sicherman 902
216 George M. Beard, Private Journal, 203, in Sicherman 903
217 Sicherman 911-2
Neurasthenia was a physical and mental illness, but it was equally a way for scientists and doctors to explain their own fears and tribulations. Bringing in personal values also influenced the views of neurasthenia as relating to gender, race and class.

Neurasthenia was also a way for middle-class men to solidify their status in society as it changed and legitimize their seeming failures to keep up. Class and political issues arising in the late 19th century threatened to displace middle-class white men from their authoritative status in society. A greater number of immigrants in the work force, as well as the beginnings of the labor movement in socialist and anarchist movements, contributed to men’s fears, according to Gail Bederman in *Manliness and Civilization.* At the same time, women were pushing farther out of the home and for greater rights, exasperating men’s fears. Men explained their falling behind with neurasthenia. Immigrants and the lower classes were able to push ahead because of their unrestrained, primitive aggression. The middle-class white men were expected to remain restrained and civilized in Victorian culture. They felt weak, and “Neurasthenia’ was in part an effort to construct the cultural weakness of self-restrained manliness as a bodily weakness, and to ‘cure’ it.” Physicians were able to step in and help men define their roles in society because, according to Gosling and Joyce M. Ray in their article “The Right to be Sick,” “members of the medical community took advantage of the increasing prestige of science in general and medicine in particular to establish themselves as experts eager to counsel Americans on a wide range of personal issues.” Thus, physicians provided white middle-class men with the opportunity to justify their exhaustion and apprehensions at trying to outpace the lower classes, other classes and women by saying they had a physical ailment that could hopefully be cured.

Because neurasthenia was primarily considered a diagnosis for white middle-class men, when women, lower classes and other races exhibited signs of neurasthenia, they were treated differently and sometimes with less respect. Middle-class white men had a right to be sick because they were legitimately overworked. For other patients, physicians “also sympathized, though to a lesser degree, with those biologically predisposed to nervousness (women of all classes), but expressed little sympathy for those believed to be guilty of vices such as sexual excess or other bad habits (most often lower-class men).” Women developed neurasthenia because they tried to fight against their nature of domestication. Thus, when someone like prominent writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman complained of neurasthenia, she was advised, “And never touch pen, brush or pencil as long as you live.” As Bederman explains, women diagnosed with neurasthenia were done so under the presumption that “while men must have their nervous forces recharged so they could return to the demanding intellectual pursuits of civilization, nervous women were advised to recognize their biological limitations and devote themselves exclusively to domesticity and the home.” Lower class men who exhibited neurasthenia were also seen to develop the disease because they broke societal rules. But in their case, it was because they acted like degenerates. Lower class men were often diagnosed with sexual neurasthenia, a less respectable form of

219 Bederman 84
221 Gosling and Ray 253
223 Bederman 130
the disease. "The strong cases are those in which the irritation of masturbation or excessive coition, re-acting upon the brain for many years, has eventually, in the very prime of life and apparent physical development, produced something more than a mere functional disease," a Washington, D.C., doctor described of sexual neurasthenia.\textsuperscript{224} Again, while middle-class white men with neurasthenia were victims who needed help to return to their rightful role in society, lower class individuals inflicted the disease upon themselves through degenerative actions. Thus, even when others got diagnosed with neurasthenia, the disease was still used as a vehicle to promote the status quo. Neurasthenia was a reflection of society's lesser views of women, lower classes and other races and the middle class' desire to remain in control.

In addition the reflecting white middle-class men's worries, neurasthenia mirrored physicians' own fears and confusion over the changing world. Without advanced medical technology, doctors and patients needed to draw from their own lives and societal norms to understand what ailed them. Almost any physical debility could be a symptom, and there were almost as many cures to match. As the century progressed and new drugs were discovered, one cure would rise in popularity and fascinate the nation.

The High

The effects of cocaine are well known today. It increases the levels of the pleasure-inducing neurotransmitter dopamine and causes users to feel energized and alert. Looking back, it seems like a natural solution for anxious and depressed neurasthenia patients. The benefits of the drug were not lost upon doctors, who began recommending it to their patients and conducting research on its effectiveness. Often, the research was conducted on themselves. Cocaine tonics flooded the market. Though the one tonic to outlive the era, Coca Cola, is most famous now, it was an imitation of Vin Mariani, a coca and wine mix that helped make its founder, Angelo Mariani, "the world's first cocaine millionaire."\textsuperscript{225} Prominent people from Ulysses S. Grant to Pope Leo XIII drank Mariani. Imitators popped up. On the recommendations of doctors and with its addictive properties, coca wine surged in popularity to treat enfeebled neurasthenics.

In 1881, a New York physician named William Searle linked cocaine's effects with the potential to cure neurasthenia. A book describing his take on neurasthenia, \textit{A New Form of Nervous Disease}, was capped off with an essay in which he detailed his experiences with cocaine. Searle wrote that "no drug has so baffled all investigation into its effects upon the healthy human system,"\textsuperscript{226} but still went on to try to explain cocaine's effects. By his own account, Searle first encountered coca leaves in 1865 when he had them shipped from Peru. The journey had damaged the leaves, but he chewed them anyway. He felt some loss of appetite and a little increase in physical endurance, but was unimpressed. In 1878, he found a better specimen, but experiments still yielded unsatisfactory results. Still, Searle asserted that "we have the testimony of an entire nation, employing it constantly during centuries of time, as well as many who have used it by way of experiment, that it does in some way obviate the necessity for food and sleep to a remarkable degree."\textsuperscript{227} In other words, Andean peoples and others who travelled to South

\textsuperscript{224} Gosling and Ray 256
\textsuperscript{227} Searle 117
America could testify to cocaine’s effectiveness. For example, Searle described a
doctor’s walk up a 3,000-foot mountain, where he felt “so fatigued that it required
much determination to get over the last three hundred feet.” At lunch, the doctor
chewed coca leaves, so “he experienced no fatigue while going down, and after
returning home felt no hunger, nor thirst, nor weariness.”

Though his own experiences with coca and cocaine proved substandard, Searle still believed that
with so much mounting evidence of its benefits that it would be the perfect cure for
neurasthenia. He concluded his essay by recommending:

> If, then, my philosophy and physiology be correct, and if Coca is and
does what is claimed, and what I believe it will be proven to be and do,
the introduction of this substance into general use is a matter of
exceeding importance, and its employment should be fostered by
every true physician.

The rest cure and other drugs like strychnine were already been used to treat
neurasthenia, but in cocaine, Searle believed he found the key to the widespread
affliction. Other doctors and drug manufacturers would agree and push cocaine onto
the American population.

While Searle’s recommendation of cocaine for neurasthenia was mostly
based on intuition of its effectiveness, other physicians began testing it on
themselves and prescribing it to patients with seemingly positive results. Doctors
came to the conclusion that “The use of cocaine in neurasthenia is a valuable
addition to the treatment.”

For example, an article in the American Journal of Pharmacy describes the experiments of Italian neurologist Paulo Mantegazza, which
amounted to him taking the drug himself. After taking an infusion of the drug for
several days, Mantegazza noted how he felt: burning skin, heart palpitations,
headaches, vertigo, roaring in his ears. But eventually he began to feel that “an
apparent enlargement of the intellectual horizon indicated that the specific
influence upon the brain commenced.”

He concluded that “the individual intoxicated by coca feels but a gradually augmented vigor, and a desire to spend this
newly acquired strength in active labor...The most prominent property of coca,
which is hardly to be found in any other remedy, consists in the exhilarating effect it
produces, calling out the power of the organism without leaving afterwards any sign
of debility.”

If someone needed to complete hours of hard labor or rigorous
mental activity without feeling exhausted afterward, Mantegazza recommended
cocaine. In other words, cocaine could prevent neurasthenia. But aside from aiding
those before they needed to work, doctors also found cocaine worked in reversing
the effects once a patient was neurasthenic. For example, Dr. J.J. Caldwell details his
trials with sexually neurasthenic patients in an article for Medical and Surgical
Reporter. One of the patients, Mr. K, was a 33-year-old athletic man who had lost his
“color and vivacity.”

Mr. K was worried about becoming impotent, and Caldwell
found Mr. K suffered from all typical the factors of neurasthenia: “prolonged an
arduous mental work, neglecting the regularity of sleep, diet and recreation.”
Caldwell prescribed a tonic of coca, vanilla and sandal. Caldwell wrote that Mr. K

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228 Searle 102
229 D. R. Brower, “The Effects of Cocaine on the Central Nervous System,” Medical and Surgical
Reporter 54.5 (1886): 135.
231 Mantegazza 419-420
232 J.J. Caldwell, "The Erectile Tissues: Their Physiology, Pathology, and Treatment," Medical and
Surgical Reporter 70.3 (1894): 101.
233 Caldwell 101
gradually improved, and Caldwell was sure “a case neglected long enough undoubtedly might have ended in some permanent pathological legion.” Thanks to Caldwell’s judicial administration of a coca tonic, Mr. K was able to continue living a neurasthenia-free life and more medical proof of cocaine’s benefits was added to the canon.

Of all the coca and cocaine preparations, many doctors pointed to coca wine as the most effective. One reason coca wine theoretically worked best for neurasthenia was because wine helped correct digestive issues, a common symptom of neurasthenia. Years after Mantegazza’s initial experiments with cocaine, The Atlantic Medical Weekly reported that Mantegazza recommended coca wine over other forms of the drugs, especially if using cocaine to treat neurasthenia. The wine was more suited to cure neurasthenia, he said, because “it seems to directly stimulate the process of digestion, and by its action upon the muscular tone and vasomotor system to increase peristalsis and remove circulatory congestion.” In layman’s terms, wine complimented cocaine’s effects on neurasthenia symptoms, especially poor digestion. A few years earlier, neurologist Graeme M. Hammond came to a similar conclusion in the Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders. Digestion is hampered in neurasthenia because digestive juices are not secreted in the proper proportions or there are changes to the juices’ chemical composition, Hammond said. He thought that “wine of coca is the best, as it seemed that the tonic and stimulating effects of coca on the nervous system, together with the gastric stimulation from the small quantity of alcohol, had generally a very beneficial effect.”

But coca wine’s benefits extended beyond curing digestive issues of neurasthenia. U.S. Surgeon General and founder of the American Neurological Association, William A. Hammond, experimented on himself with coca wine for various ailments. Hammond drank a glassful at the close of each day and found that “it certainly had a decidedly restorative effect without being followed by a feeling of depression.” He decided he would use it “generally when he wished in any case to produce a powerful therapeutic effect.” Dr. E. R. Palmer, who would later become the president of the American Medical Association, employed coca wine in treating patients with fatigue. While attending a race one day in 1884, Palmer noticed one of the runners limping with dark circles enveloping her eyes as a result of little rest, pitiful living conditions on the road, bad food and travel. Palmer approached her trainer to ask if he could treat her, and provided the runner with a glass of coca wine. After two doses, "her step was quick and elastic, and with head up she moved easily around the track humming the air the band was playing, and declaring that she felt like a new woman.” Palmer spent the next few days with her until she was back in full health. He concluded, “To my mind the experiment was both striking and conclusive, in every way favorable to the vaunted efficacy of coca wine in physical fatigue.” Coca wine seemed to be the solution to the tired, overworked populace, and one brand in particular would rise above the rest.

234 Caldwell 102
237 William A. Hammond, “Remarks on Cocaine and the So-called Cocaine Habit,” Medical and Surgical Reporter 55.22 (1886) 684
238 Hammond 684
240 Palmer 73
One of the proponents and pioneers of coca wine was a Frenchman, Angelo Mariani. Mariani produced a mixture of ground coca leaves and Bordeaux wine he called Vin Mariani. The company was headquartered in Paris, but had a production branch in New York. The recommended dosage was one glass a half hour before or immediately after each meal. Children were supposed to take half the dosage. A pamphlet Mariani produced in 1884 that accompanied wine sales claimed Mariani was able to overcome people’s hesitations about cocaine’s effectiveness and create a popular drink because of “the importation and careful selection of leaves, and the superiority of his preparation of Coca.”241 The 1884 pamphlet, the third edition, reveals that Mariani wanted his drink to be more than a recreational enjoyment; he wanted it to be the go-to cocaine tonic for physicians to recommend and patients to want to cure them. The 53-page book starts off with a description of cocaine’s history and scientific properties. Testimonials from doctors and customers fill page 21 onward. Typical of the praise was a reprint of an article that originally appeared in the New York Medical Journal written by a Boston doctor, H.D. Hicks. According to the doctor, Vin Mariani cured him and his patients of “backache accompanied by high-colored urine...palpitations of the heart...It renews the vigor of the intellect and relieves mental exhaustion...It dissipates the ‘blues,’ leaving the mind calm.”242 Hicks was describing symptoms typical of neurasthenia. Though the word is not used in the pamphlet, Mariani set his drink up to be a prime remedy for neurasthenia.

After trying Vin Mariani on themselves and their patients, physicians’ published research corroborated the claims in Mariani’s pamphlet. An article in Medical Times and Register said of Vin Mariani, “There is no doubt whatever that this preparation has proven itself a boon to mankind.”243 Those who wrote the article said they had prescribed it many times to businessmen who felt rundown from work. Almost immediately upon trying Vin Mariani, “the cares and worry entailed by business and the physical flaccidity brought on by overwork, all seemed to give away completely...despite the fact that subjects continued uninterrupted at their usual occupations.”244 The authors were even more impressed that the effects were everlasting, though they added to get everlasting effects, one needs to regularly drink the coca wine. Though the article does not specifically mention how Vin Mariani compares to other coca wines, the implication from the astonishment is that Vin Mariani works the best. Prof. Marius Odin, writing in New York Medical Monthly, likewise found that Vin Mariani was the best cure for neurasthenia after trying a number of other typical remedies. Odin was treating a 25-year-old Austrian woman, Madame de G. Madame de G. suffered from a catalogue of neurasthenia symptoms:

I was stuck at first by her pallor; her skin, the mucous membranes of her eyelids and lips were quite colorless...This young woman complained of weakness and general atony, cephalalgia, dizziness, vertigo, tendency to lipotynie, caused by sorrows, sitting up late at night and generally depressing influences. There was gasalgia, with alternate constipation and diarrhea. Menstruation was irregular, and an abundant leucorrhoea was accompanied by gasalgia exacerbation. Her pulse was weak and depressible; there was a blowing sound with the first heartbeat; very accentuated in the carotids. On auscultation I found weak respiratory murmurs, much prolong expiration; dry

242 Mariani 39-40
243 “Vin Mariani in Exhaustion,” Medical Times and Register 38.7 (1900) 244.
244 “Vin Mariani in Exhaustion” 244
jerking and cough. There was insomnia and a tendency to night sweats.\textsuperscript{245} Nothing seemed to work to cure that long list of symptoms; Odin tried some of the popular treatments like arsenic and hydrotherapy to no avail. Then he tried Vin Mariani. He prescribed a glassful at morning and night, 15 minutes before meals. Finally, there were results: “Appetite appeared, food was taken, and the digestive functions were becoming more regular – day by day...Madame de G., who has since resumed her daily occupations, tells me that thanks to the medicament, taken at proper times, she can bear, without fatigue, long conversations, and, at the same, her vocal powers have acquired ampler development.”\textsuperscript{246} Madame de G. was on the road to recovery. Where other cures failed, Vin Mariani combated a battery of symptoms. As research like Odin’s showed, Vin Mariani was most effective in curing neurasthenia.

Soon, ads across various types of newspapers and magazines proclaimed to customers the virtues of Vin Mariani. The ads, like the pamphlet provided with the wine, were normally flanked by celebrity or medical endorsements. Blurbs like actor Richard Mansfield’s in an ad in \textit{The World} were typical: “When fatigued a small glass of Vin Mariani works wonders.”\textsuperscript{247} According to the ad, that is one of 8,000 endorsements sent to Vin Mariani by celebrities or doctors. Aside from the endorsements, the ads also provided the company’s own claims of what Vin Mariani was capable of. One ad on the front page of the \textit{New York Evening Post}, told readers that “If overworked bodily or mentally, if the system is run down by any cause whatsoever, if everything fails, try effects of the popular French tonic, ‘Vin Mariani,’ since 30 years recognized by the entire Medical Profession as uniformly reliable and beneficial.”\textsuperscript{248} Such claims again attempt to both align Vin Mariani with medical expertise and assert its benefits as a cure for neurasthenia. Other ways the company proved its value was by listing its awards. An advertisement in \textit{Puck} magazine said Vin Mariani won the following awards in 1895: A gold and silver medal from the Academie Nationale de France, a gold medal and diploma of honor from the Wine Exhibit of Bordeaux, France, and a gold medal and diploma from Leamington, England.\textsuperscript{249} The ads were also very concerned with keeping up Vin Mariani’s reputation. The same ad that Mansfield’s endorsement appears in contained a promise of a reward for anyone who provided information leading to the arrest or conviction of people slurring Vin Mariani; a notice that the company has copies of all the endorsements and is willing to provide them to anyone who asks; and a warning to avoid imitations.\textsuperscript{250} Whatever elements Vin Mariani advertisements included the message was the same: Vin Mariani is both medically and popularly the best treatment for neurasthenia.

With the popularity of Vin Mariani, coca wines and similar tonics appeared to try to replicate Mariani’s success. The most well known of these imitations today is Coca-Cola. Coke started life as creator John Pemberton’s French Wine Coca. In an interview with the \textit{Atlanta Journal}, Pemberton touted the benefits of cocaïne and noted that Vin Mariani was an increasingly popular tonic. But, he added, “I have observed very closely the most approved French formula, only deviating therefrom when assured by my own long experimentation and direct information from intelligent South American correspondents that I could improve upon...I believe that

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\textsuperscript{246} Odin 157
\textsuperscript{249} “Among many awards to Mr. Mariani,” \textit{Puck} 18 Dec. 1895: 319.
\textsuperscript{250} “Vin Mariani: The World Famous Tonic for Body, Nerves and Brain” 12
\end{flushleft}
I am now producing a better preparation than that of Mariani."\(^{251}\) So while Pemberton may have been inspired by Vin Mariani, he claimed he did more than recapitulate it; he improved it. Ads for French Wine Coca displayed similar hyperbolic claims as Vin Mariani. One promised French Wine Coca was the “the ideal nerve tonic and intellectual beverage...One trial will charm and excite your enthusiasm.”\(^{252}\) Like Vin Mariani, the ad also said a book on coca would be provided with purchase of French Wine Coca. Pemberton’s direct imitation of Vin Mariani was to be short-lived, though. Atlanta passed an alcohol prohibition law that took effect in 1886, forcing Pemberton to change the formula and name to today's more recognizable Coca-Cola.

But there were many more coca wines and tonics besides Coca-Cola that history have forgotten. Leibig Coca Beef Tonic combined sherry, coca and beef, a variation on popular beef, wine and iron tonics. Leibig's ads went the route of Vin Mariani, amassing an array of medical endorsements. Leibig snagged the praise of one of the original proponents of cocaine, Searle, who in an ad said, “Your preparation of coca is the best I have ever seen.”\(^{253}\) There was also Restorative Wine of Coca, which advertised itself as being used “for nervous prostration, brain exhaustion, neurasthenia, and all other forms of mental and physical debility.”\(^{254}\) Restorative Wine of Coca claimed it was better than all other coca wines, as it did not contain superfluous ingredients that hinder effectiveness. This company garnered the endorsement of William A. Hammond, who is quoted as saying, “It gives a feeling of rest and relief...I have discarded other wines of coca and use this alone.”\(^{255}\) Metcalf’s Coca Wine highlighted the various demographics that could benefit from drinking its product. Public speakers, singers and actors could eliminate stage fright and strengthen vocal cords. Children would enjoy the taste. Athletes could perform better during games. Metcalf’s was also apparently trying to build up its reputation, as it promised $1 sample bottles of the wine to medical professions and clergymen who sent in their identification.\(^{256}\) Those are just a few of the many coca wines that flooded the market after Vin Mariani, all vying to be the go-to coca wine to cure neurasthenia.

The Come-Down

As the nation drank up copious bottles of coca wine and cocaine’s popularity rose, people began to notice some peculiar side effects. Though cocaine undoubtedly alleviated neurasthenia, it brought its own whole host of issues. Doctors started second-guessing their initial praises of the drug, and those who had experimented on themselves fell to addiction. People were getting addicted, overdosing or becoming crazed to the point of committing a crime. Some started worrying that cocaine was being used for illegitimate reasons, specifically for recreational purposes by African-Americans. What was once seen as miracle became a threat to society, associated with drugs already seen as dangerous, such as opium. Druggists became entangled in legal battles. Legislatures debated how to curb the downfall of decency. After years of reports of theft, murder, suicide and insanity brought on by cocaine, the drug began to be regulated. Cocaine’s heyday was over.

\(^{255}\) “Restorative Wine of Coca” xiii
Even as doctors praised cocaine’s effectiveness, inklings of its dangers snuck into reports and research. The same doctor who concluded, “The use of cocaine in neurasthenia is a valuable addition to the treatment,” D. R. Brower, worried about the effects of too much cocaine in the same paper. “Cocaine, as mentioned in the beginning of this paper, is as powerful for evil as for good, and it requires no special prophetic gift to say that more disastrous results will be experienced by the laity from its indiscriminate use than have been known from either opium or alcohol,” Brower warned. Dr. J. K. Bauduy expressed similar worries about cocaine being more dangerous than opium or alcohol. A brief in The Evening Post: New York explained Bauduy believed a patient treated with cocaine will become an “object of pity, contempt, or solicitude” unless the drug is administered “by the hand of the physician himself. The drug should not be known to the patient, nor the amount of the alkaloid being given.” In Bauduy’s view, cocaine was still an important enough medicine to continue its use, but dangerous enough that is should not be readily available to anyone who wants it. Refuting William A. Hammond’s statement at a New York Neurological Society meeting that there is no such thing as a cocaine habit, Brooklyn doctor J. B. Mattison replied he had already seen seven cases of cocaine addiction, five in physicians and two in druggists. The addicts, who suffered from hallucinations and delusions, “had acquired the cocaine habit gradually, making comparatively small injections several times a day.” Despite observing cocaine addiction, Mattison, who a few years later founded the Brooklyn Home for Habitues for drug addicts, still agreed with Hammond about the positive effects of the drug. Though much of the medical community saw cocaine as a boon to medicine, there was definite hesitation about its effects.

While all forms of cocaine – powder, injections, tonics – were being questioned, some research focused on the dangers of coca wine. Coca wine proved to be no safer than other forms of cocaine, researchers concluded, because there were no set guidelines, rules or labels that defined what was in coca wine. “Some kinds are made from the coca leaves themselves, others from the liquid extract of coca...whilst another variety is not made from coca at all, but from hydrochlorate of cocaine,” Dr. William Snow explained. Because patients did not know specifically what they were drinking, they easily fell victim to the cocaine habit. Coca wine drinkers also displayed a naivety in thinking coca wine was safer than plain wine. For example, Snow said it would not be uncommon for a mother to think, “I never allow my girls to touch stimulants of any kind, but I give them each a glass of coca wine at 11 in the morning, and again at bedtime.” If alcohol can be considered dangerous, then mixing in a dubious drug logically cannot be considered safer. Thus, coca wine drinkers’ illogical thinking left them vulnerable to addiction. Furthermore, though coca wine was intended to cure neurasthenia, Snow believed a drinker became “nervous, tremulous, sleepless, and without appetite, and finally drifts into a condition of pitiable neurasthenia.” Still, some doctors continued to contend that it was only certain coca wines that were ineffective and dangerous. As

257 Brower 135
258 Brower 135
260 Hammond 685
262 Snow 1666
263 Snow 1666
previously mentioned, Vin Mariani ads warned against imitators. In addition to probably wanting to protect his sales from competition, Mariani was also referencing some doctors’ belief that Vin Mariani was the only safe coca wine. *Medical Times and Register* warned against “spurious and dangerous preparations” because, like Snow said, the ingredients are ill defined and can include any amount of cocaine and low-quality wine.264 Also similar to Snow’s argument, *Medical Times and Register* believed Vin Mariani imitators did not cure neurasthenia and actually brought “unpleasant or dangerous after-effects.”265 As in the general discussion about cocaine, merits of coca wine existed, but the pitfalls became more apparent.

As the century progressed, newspaper articles detailed the growing cocaine habit doctors initially debated. According the *The World*, there were 60,000 victims of opium, morphine and cocaine habits in New York in 1895, 15,000 of whom were solely addicted to cocaine.266 The figures came from a New York City druggist. The article blamed the current problem on the initial excitement by doctors and the media, saying, “The papers were filled with cocaine stories and the soothing effects of the drug were widely proclaimed but unfortunately with a correspondingly earnest that its use was full of peril.”267 As a result the initial hype of cocaine, *The World* said people were now "slaves to the cocaine habit" to the point that "there literally was not an unpunctured spot on his body where he could introduce a hypodermic syringe."268 The "he" *The World* was referring to was a doctor, and it seemed that many doctors who experimented on themselves became addicted to cocaine. *The New York Times* reported on Dr. A. S. Hazen and his daughter, both cocaine addicts. Hazen had experimented with cocaine on himself and his daughter, and "their brains had undergone slow but sure poisoning," according to the reporter, who witnessed their "wild ravings."269 The only time Hazen and his daughter appeared stable was when they were high from cocaine, "which they used constantly to keep them braced up."270 Hazen's story reads like an almost textbook example of an addict. Where initial research might have been murky on whether cocaine could be a habit-forming drug, news reports cleared up the debate in the public eye.

But there greater worries than just developing a cocaine habit. Evidence started to mount that people were dying from cocaine poisoning. Dr. Charles Wilson Ingraham of Binghamton enumerated the trend in a report in an 1896 issue of *Medical News*. According to Ingraham, cocaine “ordinarily possessed of no immediate danger to life,” but cocaine poisoning was on the rise because of “the increasing, promiscuous use of this drug among the laity for the relief of various affections.”271 People had no idea how to administer the drug to themselves and so were inadvertently poisoning themselves. Even some doctors “have not solved many important questions relative to its safe administration,”272 Ingraham said, and so were accidentally killing patients. Death by cocaine overdose was apparently widespread enough that *Harper’s Weekly* mocked the medical profession with a cartoon. The text of the illustration read:

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265 “Dangerous Spurious Imitations – So-Called Coca Wines Which Are a Source of Danger” 296
267 “New York’s 60,000 Slaves to the Cocaine Habit” 28
268 “New York’s 60,000 Slaves to the Cocaine Habit” 28
270 “Slaves to the Cocaine Habit: The Pitiuable Condition of Dr. Hazen and His Daughter” 3
272 Ingraham 204
Doctor: 'It was the most difficult case I ever saw. I exhausted every resource on him, and at last I was successful with a very complicated system of injections of cocaine.'
Layman: 'But, doctor, he died.'
Doctor: 'I know very well he died, but he died cured.'

_Harper’s Weekly_ was joking about medicine’s stubborn use of cocaine, however effective it may be, in the face of growing evidence that it can be deadly. But it wasn’t just a joke; it was reality. For instance, _The New York Times_ reported on the death of Dr. Edward J. Sherow, who had become addicted to cocaine. Sherow, who the Times described as a “prominent young physician,” started taking cocaine to cure a nasal catarrh and struggle to stop taking it, becoming a “cocaine fiend.”274 The coroner concluded he died from “an overdose by accident, or was killed from his customary dose, as he suffered from a derangement of the heart.”275 The article does not make it clear if the cocaine caused Sherow’s heart issues or if he already had heart problems. If he already had heart problems, it is possible Sherow’s death could be looked at as exceptional. But with other reports of cocaine overdoses, it is clear Sherow’s death was part of growing, disturbing trend.

If the cocaine habit didn’t kill its users, it seemed to drive them criminally insane. Cocaine fiends’ crimes ranged from petit theft to murder. Some believed cocaine turned the users delusional enough the accidentally commit a crime, as in the case of Dr. Charles K. Stickney, who was arrested for shoplifting. According to the _New York Herald_, Stickney was in treatment for neurasthenia and cocaine and opium habits at Mattison’s Brooklyn Home for Habitúés. While in the city one day, Stickney went to a trinket store on Broadway, took a silver snake ring and placed it in his pocket. When Stickney was arrested, he claimed “he had simply placed it in his pocket through absentmindedness and had walked across the store to look at something else.”276 The _Herald_ concluded – though Mattison said it was unlikely – that “the use of drugs may have led to temporary hallucination or loss of memory.”277 Thus, cocaine could turn even the most well meaning individual into a criminal without the user even realizing. There were also reports of much more clear-cut crimes – the traditional image of an addict stealing to feed his habit. Twenty-year-old John Penrose came from what _The New York Times_ called a respectable family. He began taking cocaine and opium to cure nasal issues, and became addicted. A 2:45 one morning, Penrose broke into a home, but accidentally woke up the resident. The resident attracted nearby police by shooting a revolver out the window. Penrose hid in the bathtub, and when police found him, he jumped out of the second-story window of the home. Police searched the neighborhood and found Penrose hiding under the stoop of his own house two doors down wearing a black mask and with a bottle of chloroform in his pocket. This ordeal unfolded because “when [Penrose] was denied money and could no longer purchase the drugs, he decided to turn burglar, but was caught in his first attempt,” the _Times_ reported.278 With cocaine fiends on the loose, people were not safe to sleep in their own homes. One way or another, cocaine was going to turn its users into thieves – or worse, murderers.

Several murders or attempted murders reported in the 1880s and 1890s eventually were linked with cocaine use, both pointing to cocaine’s already

275 “Cocaine Kills a Doctor” 11
277 “Cocaine May Have Caused It” 9
tarnished image and further destroying the goodwill held toward the drug. William J. Koerner was convicted of second-degree murder for killing his fiancé, Rose Redgate, in 1896.279 Redgate’s parents prohibited the engagement because of Koerner’s “dissolute habits.”280 Koerner threatened to kill Redgate if he was not allowed to marry her, and on Sept. 23, Koerner chased Redgate from the steps of a house and shot her three times.281 During the trial, Koerner pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity caused by cocaine and other drugs. The arresting officer testified that Koerner “seemed dazed, as though under the influence of drugs,” when he caught him.282 Koerner could not have believed he had a chance of getting off by blaming the murder on cocaine unless the public held an increasingly negative view of the drug. Likewise, the arresting officer immediately thought Koerner could be on drugs, even though there was no proof other than demeanor. Koerner’s story is relatively tame compared to other wild, violent crimes blamed on cocaine. One sensational story that swept the media was that of Eva Ray Hamilton, “alias Mann, alias Steele, alias Parsons, and alias a half a dozen other things.”283 Hamilton, who The National Police Gazette called “one of the vilest conspirators on record,”284 stood accused of tricking former New York state legislator Robert Ray Hamilton into marrying her by pretending to be pregnant from him. In reality, Hamilton carried on an affair with another man, Joshua Mann, and hatched a plot with Anne Swinton to purchase a baby to claim to be Mr. Hamilton’s. The entire convoluted conspiracy was publicly uncovered after the baby’s nurse, Mary Ann Donnelly, figured out the truth and confronted Hamilton. In response, Hamilton “attempted murder in carving her nurse girl.”285 According to The World, the stabbing, which Donnelly survived, was committed in a “cocaine frenzy.”286 Hamilton obviously had greater mental and moral issues than cocaine use, but the role the drug played in the attempted murder provided more fodder for cocaine detractors. If such a deranged woman as Hamilton, who brought about a “wretched scandal,”287 used the drug, then what good could it possibly do?

Another issue that worried the general public was the seeming change in demographics of cocaine users, specifically that African-Americans seemed primed to become addicts. As previously explained, neurasthenia was primarily a diagnosis for white, middle-class men. Therefore, cocaine use by white, middle-class men to treat neurasthenia was considered perfectly legitimate. But if respectable middle-class white men were falling victim to the drug, then surely inferior races were even more likely to become addicted to and deranged from the drug, especially if they were not using it for legitimate medical concerns. As the public feeling toward cocaine tempered, sensational newspaper reports of African-American communities embracing the drug surfaced to further push cocaine out of public favor. According to the Utica Sunday Tribune, African-American use of the drug, referred to as “the evil,” was so popular that “the average negro walks into a drug store and puts down a quarter or a half dollar without a word and receives a box of cocaine tablet in return.”288 One article in the New York Daily Tribune, claimed that African-American communities formed “cocaine clubs” to hold nightly “coke parties.”289 The New York Daily Tribune described what surely would have been troubling scene:

281 “Hughes Releases a Prison Editor” 20
282 “For Killing Rose Redgate” 3
284 “Amorous Eva” 6
285 “Amorous Eva” 6
286 “New York’s 60,000 Slaves to the Cocaine Habit” 28
287 “New Yorn’s 60,000 Slaves to the Cocaine Habit” 28
Annie Ramsey, a depraved negress, who is known as the ‘Queen of the Cocaine Fiends,’ sniffed the drug up her nostrils until her nose had swollen and split open. She is the ruling spirit of these gatherings. She is going blind from the use of the stuff, but still takes enough of it into her system daily to kill six men unused to the drug.290

The description invokes an image of a crazed ritual and a woman without control of her own body, enough to scare someone out of using the drug. The gathering of the African-American community to do cocaine – and perhaps force others to do it, too – was of particular worry to the white community. Besides the “coke parties,” people told stories of streets filled with drug users. For instance, in Utica on Post Avenue, “there are said to be cocaine dives there, operated on a money making basis, where strangers who stray into the avenue are rushed and provided with enough ‘dope’ to send them to the land of nod.”291 The story of Post Avenue was of particular worry because it involved an 18-year-old white boy buying cocaine for the African-Americans. The message of the article was clear: African-Americans using cocaine were a danger to the stability and order of society.

With such worrisome trends developing as addiction, overdose, crime and African-American users, people started looking for a cure to the cocaine habit. Some doctors started to test out medicines to see if they would rid patients of their cravings for cocaine. Dr. Isaac Oppenheimer of New York, who later founded the Oppenheimer Institute to cure alcoholism and drug addiction, claimed that he found a tasteless liquid medicine that cures patients of addiction – not just to cocaine, but to morphine, opium and alcohol, too. The medicine was to be taken once every three hours. Oppenheimer supposedly treated hundreds of patients in this method, and “the results of his treatment, he said, have been entirely satisfactory, a complete cure having been effected from one to three day,” The New York Times reported.292 Newspaper advertisements, too, promised patients complete recovery from addictions to products that advertising may have gotten them addicted too in the first place. With lofty promises, businesses sought to capitalize on the increasing stigma of cocaine use and the problem of a cocaine habit. One ad for a center called the Empire Institute promised “an improved scientific cure...Not a single failure or unfavorable physical result has occurred. No detention from business is necessary.”293 While some like Oppenheimer and the Empire Institute concentrated a medical cure for the issue, chatter began over legislative regulation to cure inebriety. The same year he opened the Brooklyn Home for Habitués, Mattison advised the American Association for the Cure of Inebriety that the only way to cure narcotics addiction is to prevent the public from freely obtaining the drugs.

Mattison’s resolution read:

Whereas, A leading cause of morphinism, chloralism and cocainism is the facility with which morphine, chloral and cocaine can be procured from pharmacists; and

Whereas, The refilling of prescriptions containing these drugs is a potent factor in the rise and growth of these disease; therefore, be it

Resolved, As the sense of this Association, that no retail druggist should sell morphine, chloral or cocaine, except on a physician’s prescription; that no prescription containing morphine, chloral or

290 “Cocaine Victims Organize” 2
Medication might alleviate a drug habit, but in Mattison's mind, the only true cure was to never become addicted in the first. Addicts were on their way to recovery, and society was on its way to ridding itself of cocaine.

The idea of avoiding of cocaine altogether gained traction as other neurasthenia remedies directly positioned themselves as safer alternatives to cocaine. An ad in 1894 suggested that cocaine may be too strong a drug to use for everyday ailments like a headache. The cocaine may “deaden pain,” but once a user forms a habit, it is “almost impossible to shake off.” That’s why, the ad said, headache sufferers should take Dr. Pierce’s Pleasant Pellets, a sugar-coated vegetable extract pill. An endorsement attested to the fact that “in the course of an hour my headache is cured and no bad effect.” Though the text of the ad makes it clear that the pill was meant to be a cocaine alternative, the headline does not mention cocaine. In a few years, products would more directly assert their lack of cocaine. As one 1904 ad promised in its first two lines, “Catarrh cured by herbs and not by cocaine.”

The ad was for To-ni-ta, a mix of herbs and roots that was meant to cure inflammation of the head, throat, lungs and other body parts, a common symptom of neurasthenia. Like most tonic advertisements of the time, To-ni-ta included doctor testimonials about its effectiveness. One doctor is quoted as saying, “I feel quite sure the patient would have died” had the doctor not employed To-ni-ta.

Capitalizing on the growing fear of cocaine and referencing doctors' theories, the ad emphasized that cocaine may seem to cure neurasthenia, but only “deaden[s] the pain” and “leave[s] dangerous after effects.” Had cocaine not been proven to be harmful and already been falling out of favor, this ad's strategy would be ill conceived and ineffective. People still suffered from neurasthenia and still needed treatment. So while cocaine was still available and considered a valid medicine, other products stepped in to treat those who grew to fear cocaine.

The stage was set for cocaine to disappear from legitimate medical use. Addiction and crime caused by cocaine was apparent. The wrong types of people were using it. Cures and alternatives were being discussed. The only thing left was to decide the legality of the drug. A court case in Ohio would serve to question the morals of druggists and drug makers and set a path for regulation. Ohio passed an act in 1884 to prevent adulteration of food and drugs. One of the provisions of the law was that the strength of a drug had to comply with industry standards and be accurately labeled. Ten years later, the Ohio Dairy and Food Commission raided numerous druggists to ensure they were complying with the law. One of them, John Keeshan, “one of the oldest druggists and best known druggists in Cincinnati,” was charged with selling Vin Mariani that misrepresented its strength. Professor Charles T. P. Fennel, the commission’s chief chemist, analyzed the Vin Mariani and concluded, “It doesn’t contain any such amount” of cocaine it claims to.

Lawyer argued that the analysis was not valid and Vin Mariani cannot possibly accurately state how much cocaine is in each bottle because “the crop of coca varies so much that no fixed standard can be made for the percentage of cocaine in Vin

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296 “Call it a Craze” 2
298 “Catarrh Cured by Herbs” 3
299 “Catarrh Cured by Herbs” 3
Additionally, the lawyer “urge[d] that, inasmuch as there has been found no ground for the charge of adulterating their tonic, they are entitled to a more complete recognition of that fact in the public mind.” The case against Keeshan and Vin Mariani was eventually dropped as Fennel came to agree with the lawyer’s argument. But without the “complete recognition” of the public the lawyer urged, the damage was done. The illustrious Vin Mariani, the leader of the cocaine market, was tarnished. The rest of the industry was following, and states would soon turn to regulation more specifically aimed at cocaine.

By the turn of the century, many state legislatures were preparing to regulate the sale of cocaine to curb the social ills that its use caused. A bill to prohibit the sale of patent or proprietary medicines containing cocaine appeared in the New York state Senate as early as 1900. Nothing concerning cocaine would be added to New York state law until 1907, and the law did not entirely ban cocaine. According to The New York Times, the fight to outlaw – or at least regulate – cocaine did not begin in earnest until Father James B. Curry became involved. Curry was a pastor at the St. James Church in the seedy Bowery neighborhood of New York City. Curry witnessed the cocaine habit “reach out toward ‘his boys,’ as he calls the young men of his parish” and “arose to combat it.” Curry and others brought the matter before the state legislature, and Senator A. E. Smith sponsored a bill to “prevent the general and indiscriminate sale of cocaine.” Drug interests, obviously, opposed the bill. Dr. William Muir of the State Pharmacists Association said the bill “had been so drawn as the meet the opposition of pharmacists” and that it was “too drastic and altogether impractical.” Muir, along with several other representatives of the drug industry, testified at a New York state Assembly hearing, saying the bill would ultimately restrict the sale of other medications. But the legislature was not swayed by the drug interests’ obviously partial arguments. On March 28, 1907, the Assembly unanimously passed the bill followed by unanimous passage in the Senate on May 7. The New York state Penal Code now contained Section 1746 specifically against cocaine:

It shall be unlawful for any person to sell, furnish or dispose of alkaloid cocaine or its salts...except upon the written prescription of a duly registered physician, which prescription shall be retained by the person who dispenses the same, shall be filled but once and of which no copy shall be taken by any person...Any person who violates any of the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a felony punishable by imprisonment of not more than one year or a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or both.

Cocaine was still allowed for legitimate medicinal use, but the passage of the New York law and similar laws around the country harkened the beginning of the end for the once-heralded drug. The cocaine habit was now officially “the most terrible vice

305 “The Growing Menace of the Use of Cocaine” SM1
306 “The Growing Menace of the Use of Cocaine” SM1
311 “Anti-Cocaine Bill, Amended, Passed by Senate,” American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record 50.10 (1907): 269.
ever acquired by a civilized people,” and it would not take much longer for the United States to outlaw the drug altogether.

Conclusion

From its synthesis in 1860, cocaine moved from being a miracle cure for neurasthenia to menacing society to being highly regulated. All the initial excitement over cocaine gave way to fear of its dangers and lethality.

In the latter half of the 19th century Americans were afflicted with neurasthenia. Though revolving around mental distress, neurasthenia was a loosely defined set of symptoms and treatments that was as much about societal interpretations as it was about actual ailments. The doctors who defined neurasthenia drew from their own lives to help them explain medicine and illness. Neurasthenia was a diagnosis primary meant for white, middle-class to help them cope with and explain the rise of the working class and other races that modernity brought. The men who suffered from neurasthenia were wronged by society. But if women, other classes or other races exhibited neurasthenia symptoms, they were treated as if they did something wrong. There were already a number of approved treatments for neurasthenia, the most popular being total isolation and rest. Then cocaine swept the scene.

Doctors conducted research, mostly on themselves, showing cocaine’s powerful stimulation could help cure neurasthenia. Of all the options in forms of cocaine, many doctors concluded that coca wine was the most effective way to treat neurasthenia. And of all the coca wines that eventually flooded the market, many doctors agreed that the original, Vin Mariani, was the best. With Vin Mariani’s success, many other companies produced imitations, the most famous today being Coca-Cola.

But all that excitement and research eventually led to cocaine’s downfall. Research on cocaine’s effectiveness in curing neurasthenia started to include sections on the possibility of cocaine being addictive. Research also appeared saying coca wine was no less dangerous than other forms of cocaine. The doctors who experimented on themselves appeared in the news for the wrong reasons – as victims of addiction or overdose. Worse than addiction or overdose was the crime that cocaine fiends committed. Crazed by the drug, addicts stole and murdered. People also began to fear that cocaine was not being used for legitimate reasons. Instead, reports surfaced saying African-Americans gathered to indulge in the drug for recreation.

As evidence mounted that cocaine was not all it was cracked up to be, people started looking for ways to curb its use. Doctors experimented with medical treatments to addiction, and products advertising their lack of cocaine tried to replace the cocaine tonics used to cure neurasthenia. Some doctors began suggesting that the only way to cure addiction was to pass legislation regulating its use. The morals and legality of druggists and drug manufacturers like Vin Mariani began to be questioned in court. Finally, governments, like New York in 1907, stepped in with regulation to ensure cocaine was only used for real medical purposes.

Cocaine’s saga obviously does not end in 1907. New Yorkers would continually add amendments to strengthen the penal code section about cocaine.

313 “The Growing Menace of the Use of Cocaine” SM1
Seven years later, the United States would basically outlaw cocaine with Harrison Narcotics Tax Act. The war on drugs would start and rage on. Nevertheless, in New York’s 1907 Smith bill, there was the sure sign that all the great things anticipated from cocaine were no more.
An Emperor Without Empire: A Study of the Qing Emperorship Through the Lens of the Last Qing Emperor Pu Yi

Werner Kuang

Introduction

Pu Yi, later known as Henry Puyi in Western media publications, was the last emperor of the Great Qing dynasty and the last emperor in Chinese history. Born in 1906, he ascended the throne at the age of two as Empress Dowager Cixi’s handpicked successor after the passing of the Guangxu Emperor in 1908. Pu Yi took on the reign name of the Xuantong Emperor but his reign did not last for long. He was forced to abdicate in 1912 when he was just six years old because of the republican revolution that “overthrew” the Qing dynasty. The resulting “Articles Providing for the Favorable Treatment of the Great Qing Emperor after his Abdication” allowed Pu Yi to retain his imperial title and continue his residence in the Forbidden City while also granting him an annual subsidy from the newly established republican government.

Pu Yi remained and grew up in the Forbidden City under such provisions until 1924, when he was expelled from the palace by the forces of Christian warlord, Feng Yuxiang. The period from 1912 to 1924, when Pu Yi was still emperor despite being stripped of all his political power, was referred to as the “Twilight period” in the Forbidden City by Pu Yi’s tutor, Reginald Johnston in his book, Twilight in the Forbidden City. It was in this period that we see the emergence of Pu Yi’s life as the embodiment of the importance of the emperorship over the emperor’s own personal self. We can also see Pu Yi’s struggles and subsequent failures to retrieve and live up to the emperorship that had been taken away from him.

The Qing Emperorship

What exactly was the emperorship, or more precisely, the Qing emperorship? Janet C. Moyer, in her Ph.D. dissertation Hostage to Fortune, Footnote to History: Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi, sums it up as thus:

By becoming the emperor, a man ‘became the symbolic center of the known world, the mediator between heaven and earth.’ Much of the imperial life was consumed by ritual activity: court audiences, offering prayers for good crops, listening to court scholars lecture on the Confucian classics, and on performing sacrifices to the ancestors. Almost every detail of the emperor’s life emphasized his uniqueness and superiority to lesser mortals: he alone faced the south, only he used vermilion ink, and the use of his personal name was taboo. Certain clothing and hat styles, the designs on them, and the colors used for him were only for the emperor. His subjects had to kowtow to him. He was more than human, he was the Son of Heaven, and viewed as a cosmic being but not divine...the Emperor sat at the apex of the hierarchical Confucian system in his roles as Son of Heaven and father to his people. The Chinese emperor was ‘the supreme executive in history: he was the conqueror and patriarch, theocratic ritualist, ethical exemplar, lawgiver and judge, commander-in-chief and patron of arts and letters, and ... the administrator of the empire. (p.1-2)
In addition to this multitude of what can be called “typical” functions and identities of the emperorship was the highly unique “cosmopolitan” aspect of the Qing emperorship.

Being one of the fringe or peripheral peoples themselves, the Manchus could relate and understand other peoples like themselves better than their Han Chinese predecessors. The “cosmopolitan” aspect of the Qing emperorship thus was displayed in the emperorship reaching out to all the diverse peoples of the Qing Empire and encompassing them by paying homage to their cultures. For example, the Mongolians and Tibetans, whom today have mediocre, if not hostile relations with the People’s Republic of China, had very strong relationships with the Qing by virtue of marriage and religion. Mongolians, through said marriage to the imperial family, gained elite positions of power while Tibetans grew loyal to the Qing after the emperorship accepted and promulgated Tibetan Buddhism.

The “burden of the emperorship to impersonate its diverse peoples” (*Translucent Mirror* p.2) was high on the Qing agenda and it certainly paid off as Turks, Mongols, and Tibetan lamas filled the streets of Beijing and even the Dalai Lama came all the way from Tibet to pay his respects to Express Dowager Cixi after her passing in 1908. (McAleavy, p.70) This loyalty continued after 1911 when the proclamation of a republic disintegrated the old imperial unity: “Tibet and Outer Mongolia, which could glory in their subordination to a Tartar Son of Heaven, had no stomach for a purely Chinese overlordship and drove out the garrisons which maintained the rule of Peking.” (McAleavy, p.156)

The Qing emperorship was also the head of religion but this was different from Western conceptions of religion. As the Son of Heaven, the intermediary between Heaven and Earth, and the successor of previous Qing emperors, the emperor was the head of ancestor worship, which was more so “a manifestation of family loyalty than an expression of religious sentiment (social ritual).” (McAleavy, p.88) This worship of ancestors had bearings on the emperor and his subjects because it served as a means of communication between the past and the present where said spirits of the ancestors expressed their approval or disapproval of the emperor’s actions. The “divine response” (*Rulerships of China*, p.1477) then influenced the emperor’s future actions and hence, the course of events in the empire.

**The Articles of Favorable Treatment**

Pu Yi’s life as the embodiement of the emperorship’s importance over the emperor’s own personal self began with the republican revolution of 1911. Seeking to preserve the dynasty, Empress Dowager Lung-yu, after being convinced by Yuan Shikai (who is viewed by many as one of the great traitors in Chinese history), signed the previously mentioned “Articles of Favorable Treatment” with the republic and abdicated the throne on Pu Yi’s behalf. Pu Yi was only six years old at the time and had been ruling as emperor for roughly three years since 1908. Consisting of eight articles (an auspicious number for the Chinese), the Articles most importantly provided for the retention of Pu Yi’s imperial title as emperor, an annual subsidy of four million dollars for Pu Yi, permission for Pu Yi to continue his residence in the Forbidden City and later the Summer Palace, maintenance and construction of Qing ancestral tombs by the republic, and protection of the imperial family’s personal property. (Johnston, p.96)
A second document was released shortly afterwards to clear up any possible misunderstandings regarding the Articles and it stated that the imperial house should recognize and not contradict republican authority, the republican calendar was to be used over the emperor’s reign title calendar, the emperor could confer honors and rewards on his own staff and clan but not on citizens and servants of the republic, and the imperial house had to follow the laws of the republic. As said by Henry McAleavy in his book *The Origins and Misfortunes of Henry Pu Yi*, the dynasty was indeed saved, but only, paradoxically, by surrendering all its powers. (p.77) Furthermore, Johnston wrote that through the Articles,

The Throne itself [was] converted into a bridge to facilitate the transition from the monarchical to the republican form of government. The emperor [remained] absolute to the last and the very republican constitution, which [involved] his own disappearance from political existence, [was] created by the fiat of the emperor in his last official utterance. Theoretically, the republic [was] established not by a people in arms acting in opposition to the imperial will but by the emperor acting with august benevolence for his people’s good. (p.87)

The Articles hence can and was viewed by many as a way for the imperial family to save face. The imperial family, despite many years of corruption and misrule, abdicated not because it was being forced to by the newly established republic, but out of consideration for the people.

Serving as the architect behind the drafting and signing of the Articles, Yuan Shikai had great ambition and wanted to eventually become emperor himself. He manipulated the republican and imperial parties to his advantage. Yuan was like the bat in the Aesop’s fable of the war between the birds and the beasts he constantly switched sides and the only person to whom he was loyal was himself. He gave the following already paraphrased argument to the republicans on why they should sign the Articles:

This agreement provides for the abdication of the emperor and will give you what you want—a republic. In return, you are asked to let him keep a purely honorary and empty title, and to pay him an annual subsidy which though seemingly large will be only a trifle compared with the cost of a prolonged civil war. The permission granted him to remain in the Forbidden City is only temporary, and when you desire him to move to the Yi-Ho Park (the Summer Palace) he will be obliged to obey. The other privileges reserved to him and his family are of no practical importance and will be in no way detrimental to the prestige and dignity of the republic. All these privileges may be regarded as a kind of insurance against his taking part in any anti-republican or reactionary activities, and will simplify the task of keeping him under observation...You secure the substance; he is left with the shadow. Foreign countries will extol your magnanimity, and the new republic will start its career amid general applause and in a blaze of glory. For you, there will be a clear sky and brilliant sunshine: for the Ta Ch’ing emperor, only a slowly darkening twilight. (Johnston, p.102)

Concurrently, Yuan Shikai gave the imperial family (namely Express Dowager Lung-yu) the following argument for the Articles:

This agreement saves the throne, and the emperor remains emperor. All he sacrifices is *cheng ch’uan*—the right of ruling. That is really no sacrifice at all; for his majesty is only a child, and could not personally assume the imperial
responsibilities for many years to come. By giving up the right to rule, the imperial family will save themselves a great deal of trouble and anxiety. By the time he is grown up, the revolutionary madness will have spent itself, and the emperor will resume the powers he has temporarily delegated to a crazy organization that calls itself a republic. It will prove itself unable to govern or to keep order, and the people will grow weary of it. Then they will remember that their emperor still lives, that his throne has never been vacant, and that he is ready to respond to the call of his suffering people...You secure the substance; the revolutionaries are left with the shadow. Foreign countries will extol you for your magnanimity in having laid down your arms because you could not bear to see your people enduring the horrors of civil war. The Throne will regain its lost prestige, and in a few years time the whole world will rejoice to see the Son of Heaven step forth to rule once more over a happy and prosperous China. (Johnston, p.103)

To Yuan, none of the advantages of the Articles to either party really mattered to him because he planned on taking over and claiming power anyway. This was all temporary in the scheme of his hidden agenda and only furthered his plans. Yuan Shikai’s plans did eventually come to fruition when he arose to the throne as the Hung-Hsien emperor of “Chung-Hua Ti Kuo” (Empire of China). (Johnston, p.128) He even performed the emperor-exclusive worship of heaven ceremony at the Temple of Heaven while dressed in the robes of a duke of the Chou dynasty. (Bio of the Hsuan Tung Emperor, p.71) It was only disapproval from the people and his peers and his untimely/time death that Yuan’s run at the emperiorship was ended.

As mentioned by Yuan Shikai in his argument to the imperial family, the Articles also hinted at the potential of the emperor claiming power again because “the word ‘abdication’ [was] not used in the Edict. Instead, it [used] the words ‘retire into a life of leisure.’ In the opinion of certain Chinese scholars, it implied the possibility of a return to the throne by the Manchu.” (Chan, p.38) This kept alive the hopes of the restorationists as they strived over the post-revolution years to restore Pu Yi. They even succeeded in their efforts once in 1917 under the restorationist Chang Hsun, albeit lasting only for twelve days. The potential contained in the Articles for restoration endured until 1924, when Feng Yuxiang ousted Pu Yi from the Forbidden City.

There were many ways that scholars described the strange situation in the Forbidden City that resulted from the “Articles of Favorable Treatment.” Moyer called it an “oddity where China had an emperor and a president: one without power and one without tradition...[living] side by side.” (Bio of the Hsuan Tung Emperor, p.54) Johnston, a witness of the event and the times, called the situation “anomalous” and elaborated:

In the heart of Peking were two adjacent palaces. In that which still retained the distinction of being the Forbidden City dwelt a titular monarch; in the other resided the chief executive of the republic. In the latter was a presidential chair occupied by one who exercised the powers of an emperor without the name; in the former was a throne on which sat one who was an emperor in name alone. He who ruled the vast realm of China was called a president; he whose rule did not extend an inch beyond his palace walls was called an emperor. (Johnston, p.178)

Pu Yi himself called it “absurd” in his autobiography because “at a time when China was called a republic and mankind had advanced into the twentieth century [he]
was still living the life of an emperor, breathing the dust of the nineteenth century.” (Pu Yi, p.38)

Pu Yi’s Empty Title

The ineptitude of Pu Yi’s title was “exposed” in a myriad of different ways by a number of groups, the first being the republicans. Johnston first asked “How can the republic [agree] to tolerate the existence, in its very capital, of a person calling himself emperor of China?” The answer was that “the republic did nothing so foolish” because while the emperor’s title remained intact, “that title, in its technical Chinese phraseology, was not, and never had been, ‘emperor of China.’” The title assumed by monarchs and described by foreigners as “emperor of China” was a dynastic title, not territorial. Each dynasty adopted an exclusive name for its use alone and it was custom for the character Ta meaning “Great” to be included before said name. According to Chinese custom, the Ta was only dropped when the dynasty passed out of existence and the succeeding dynasty adopted its own exclusive name. “The important point to notice is that in the name of the dynasty there is nothing to indicate the territorial limits of its dominions.” So technically, a dynasty could continue existing elsewhere without a name change and rule over some area or people, as long as it could maintain itself. (Johnston, p.112)

It was by this logic and technicality that the republicans had nothing to fear about Pu Yi and felt not the slightest unease over his continued residence that was “right under their noses.” “Each of the ten emperors of this dynasty was Ta Ch’ing Ta Huang-Ti—‘emperor of the Great Ch’ing dynasty’—and it [was] this title, not any such title as ‘emperor of China’ which the last of the line was specifically allowed, by formal agreement (Articles) with the...republic, to retain.” (Johnston, p.114) Pu Yi was at this point at least, still Ta Ch’ing Ta Huang-Ti but what good was that title when the Ta Ch’ing empire was merely the Forbidden City with a population consisting of eunuchs, clan members, servants, and possibly a harem? The situation, while quite misleading, “[didn’t] matter and [didn’t] affect the republic” (Johnston, p.115) and this was obviously so as the republic, without issue, took on the “dynastic name” of “Chung-Hua Min Kuo” (simply the Republic of China) and adopted a calendar beginning with “Republic Year 1.”

Another occasion in which the ineptitude of Pu Yi’s title was “exposed” was the Qing emperor’s very own wedding. He was seventeen at the time and his bride and empress-to-be was a Manchurian woman by the name of Wan Jung (later given the Western name of Elizabeth by Pu Yi). For the wedding, the imperial family and court invited the foreign embassies in Beijing to attend the wedding festivities but in a twist of diplomatic embarrassment, “the ministers [of the foreign embassies] said they could not attend in their official capacity, as their governments did not recognize Hsuan Tung as the head of his government.” (Bio of the Hsuan Tung Emperor, p.66) Other representatives from the embassies were sent to attend the wedding in their stead. Even on one of the supposedly happiest days of his life, Pu Yi was still slighted and shown disregard by others.

The Nei Wu Fu and the Eunuchs

Pu Yi’s wedding to Wan Jung came about at the urging of one of the few institutions that still operated in the Forbidden City under the emperor’s rule. Two such institutions to which attention should be paid were the Nei Wu Fu (the imperial household department) and the over one thousand eunuchs still in service. First off, the Nei Wu Fu was the officially recognized organ through which the affairs and
finances of the imperial family were conducted. (Johnston p.99) However innocuous the Nei Wu Fu seemed, the department was actually knee-deep in incompetence and corruption. Johnston in particular seemed to harbor a rather hateful view of it and wrote that Pu Yi was left with the enormously expensive and barren task of maintaining an unnecessary and otiose mock court, solely for the purpose of continuing the Nei Wu Fu’s existence and interests. (p.109, 209)

Johnston continued to argue that besides Yuan Shikai, it was also the Nei Wu Fu that used the Articles of Favorable Treatment as a means to manipulate Pu Yi to its own advantage: “One of the most serious [problems] was that it (Articles) left intact the pernicious system (that the Nei Wu Fu was part of) which had been the principal cause of the Throne’s decay...It was not the Nei Wu Fu that was to be maintained for the purpose of serving its imperial master” but the other way around. (p.109) Pu Yi was reduced to “being a parasite on his own former subjects” and “a completely functionless monarch” who was unable to serve his country in any way whatsoever since “the Articles deprived the emperor of all that was worth having—the privilege of being of service to his people—but left untouched the vampire (Nei Wu Fu) that had drained the life-blood of the dynasty.” (Johnston, p.110)

The second institution that still operated in the Forbidden City were the eunuchs. Just like the Nei Wu Fu, there were “hordes” of eunuchs who were also corrupt. They constantly stole treasures from the palace and engaged in bribery and extortion. Of course, all of these corrupt activities were conducted in secret or at least veiled as proper protocol of palace behavior. For example, one eunuch, who missed out on his share of the loot, purposely spilled water on the loot coordinator’s coat in order to the collect the “rental fee” for a replacement coat. The loot coordinator was in a rush to meet with high officials and had no choice but to pay the fee, effectively making up for the share of loot that the eunuch missed out on. The corrupt eunuchs may or may not have been agents of the Nei Wu Fu, but it seems highly possible that the two at least had some sort of “working” relations.

The only time when it seemed that the eunuchs “slipped up” was the event referred to as the burning of the Palace of Established Happiness. Pu Yi conducted random inventories of palace treasures and upon discovering that he could not locate certain ones, declared his own personal inspection of some of the rooms and palaces where the treasures were stored. A fire so happenly consumed Chien Fu Kung (the Palace of Established Happiness) overnight, which was supposed to be inspected the very next day. The losses were tremendous, as over 6,500 articles of value were totally destroyed, including countless gold Buddhas, golden Buddhist ornaments, porcelain, jade and bronze items, and books. (Johnston, p.336) Local newspapers quickly pinpointed palace eunuchs, desperate to cover up their trail of treasure theft, as the culprits. Investigations into the eunuchs were carried out by the Nei Wu Fu, but they amounted to basically nothing, furthering the idea that the two institutions may have had some connection.

As mentioned before, Pu Yi’s life as the embodiment of the importance of the emperorship over the emperor’s personal self began with the republican revolution in 1911. The revolution led to the signing of the Articles of Favorable Treatment and it was from this that the tragedy known as his life began to unfold. Johnston, most likely writing in 1922, stated that “the real welfare of the emperor was not taken into consideration at all and his true interests have never been consulted...The palace people are anxious...to preserve his life. So long as he is kept alive, however, they are fully satisfied, and they care little or nothing for his physical well-being.” (Johnston, p.290)
Johnston based his statement off the three years since his appointment as Pu Yi’s tutor, during which he witnessed and observed the events of the Forbidden City firsthand. He said that the most telling example of the palace people’s (eunuchs, Nei Wu Fu, etc.) lack of care for Pu Yi’s health was their constant denial of the emperor having any eyesight problems or needing spectacles. It was only at Johnston’s relentless urging and even threat of resignation that Pu Yi was finally examined by a foreign oculist and discovered to have severe progressive myopia, a defect that most definitely required the use of spectacles. (Johnston, p.272) No one, except for a select few, really cared about Pu Yi the young boy because they only cared about Pu Yi the emperor. They were concerned with how the latter identity would maintain their existence and “rice bowls” and it was Pu Yi’s existence, not well-being, health or happiness to which they ever paid attention. Johnston summed up this sentiment:

There [was] nothing in the Articles to suggest that Yuan Shikai, or the revolutionaries, or the imperial household department took the smallest interest in his personal welfare or gave a moment’s thought to it. They were concerned with the system which he represented...No one asked whether it would be beneficial to his character or conducive to his happiness that he should be surrounded by hundreds of idle and servile eunuchs and flatterers and taught to believe himself semi-divine, yet debarred from assuming the duties and responsibilities that [were] the only justification of kingship. (Johnston, p.104)

To be fair, it was not just the Articles of Favorable Treatment and the palace people’s consequent treatment of Pu Yi that determined the young emperor’s life as the embodiment of the emperorship over himself. As said by Dr. Samuel Wells Williams in his work The Middle Kingdom, “Nothing in Chinese politics [was] more worthy of notice than the unbounded reverence for the emperor. The reverence was rather for the throne than for the person of the emperor, of whose character and personality no ordinary subject knew anything.” (Johnston, p.92) The phenomenon of the emperorship exceeding the person who held such title was an inherent part of the emperorship. The person behind the title was intentionally depersonalized so as to increase the nobility and importance of the emperorship to the point where it became essentially a symbol that was “larger than life.”

This was further supported by the previously mentioned fact that use of the emperor’s personal name was considered taboo. Johnston wrote that an emperor’s personal or private (“Christian”) name was never used and instead, because he was “unnamed,” he was referred to by huang shang or “his majesty the emperor.” The emperor did take on a nien-hao or “reign name” and it was this name that was used like a personal name by foreigners. Even after death, the personal name was not used, and a miao-hao or “temple name” was assigned. The “temple name” was how the emperor was to be referred to in speech and writing and also how he was to be recorded in history. (Johnston, p.78)

The few select people that genuinely cared for Pu Yi as a person were his wet nurse Mrs. Wang, his younger brother Pu Jie, and last of all, his tutor Reginald Johnston. Johnston, while recognizing Pu Yi as the emperor, never lost sight of who Pu Yi really was. In a letter to an English-speaking Chinese friend, he wrote “Although he is an emperor (a titular one) he is also a boy...I quite understand that you and other loyal Chinese regard him primarily as emperor, whereas to me he is primarily a very human boy.” (Pu Yi, p.243) It was this recognition and concern for Pu Yi that led to Johnston’s realization of the dismal situation created in the Forbidden City by the Articles and the dire need for change. In the same letter to his
friend, Johnston wrote that “The highly artificial life that the emperor leads must be detrimental to his health, physical, intellectual and moral; and I sincerely hope for his sake that some means will be devised whereby he may be enabled to live more naturally and rationally.” (Johnston, p.243)

In Action in the Forbidden City

Under Johnston’s tutelage and influence, Pu Yi himself began to realize and see the same reality that his tutor had come to see. Johnston used to tell Pu Yi many stories of his travels in Europe and it was inevitable that the young emperor began to question his confinement of being “cooped up in the palace since [he] was two without even having the chance of going outside on the street.” He soon determined that he wanted to go to Europe or the United States to study and unsurprisingly, Johnston was the only one in favor of the idea while everyone else was against it. It was then that Pu Yi’s discovered the truth: “I understand now what they (the palace people) were afraid of. They knew if the tree fell the monkeys would be scattered. In other words, once I went away, they would lose their rice bowls and their positions. They were all living off me!” (McAleavy, p.127)

Pu Yi’s realization gave birth to what shall be called his “rebellions.” The young emperor’s first acts of rebellion, which served to break down some of the conventions and formalities that regulated his daily life, started in the latter part of 1920 before he was even sixteen: “He shocked the palace officials by the apathy or amused contempt with which he regarded many of the things that in their eyes were the be-all and end-all of his existence—court ceremonial, the etiquette of audiences and the observance of solemn anniversaries.” (Johnston, p.266) Pu Yi knew that many of the people around him were merely insincere flatterers and in response, “he distressed his courtiers by refusing to take them as seriously as they took themselves.” (Johnston, p.266) His ultimate act of rebellion came in 1922 when he cut off his own queue with a pair of scissors after voicing his desires to do so a few times before. Johnston was blamed for this act because of his “Westernizing” of Pu Yi and while “Westernization” did contribute, it was more so Pu Yi’s way of saying he was fed up with all the artificialities that surrounded him.

Pu Yi’s rebellions eventually gave way to honest efforts to change the system and to live up to his emperorship. Seventeen at the time, his first such efforts was a desire for the removal of the actual system. As he “became more and more...aware of the evils of the system of which he was the unwilling centre...[he] gradually awoke to his inglorious position [and] began to feel the ignominy of his position as an idle pensioner of the republic.” (Johnston, p.281) Pu Yi wanted to renounce his emperorship, his annual subsidy and his right of living in the palaces on his own accord. He felt shame and humiliation because he was being supported financially by the republic for doing nothing and “at the expense of his suffering and almost bankrupt country.” Making matters worse, a large part of the subsidy that he received went to supporting “a huge staff of unnecessary and more or less worthless parasites.” (Johnston, p.289) This remained only a desire as Johnston convinced Pu Yi to not carry out the plan.

Unable to abolish the system, Pu Yi decided to do “the next best thing” by reforming the system instead. Reforms had been long desired; even before the republican revolution, “people were asking how the emperor could expect his people to look up to him for guidance in the affairs of life if he himself proved incapable of regulating the affairs of his own household and curbing the malpractices of his own servants.” (Johnston, p.223) Thus, in retaliation for the
burning of the Palace of Established Happiness, Pu Yi started reforms by expelling all of the eunuchs from the Forbidden City. He gave them very short notice, so that the eunuchs would have no time to steal more before they left, or even worse, set fire to more buildings. The over one thousand eunuchs waited outside the Forbidden City for their turn to go back “in twos and threes to collect their personal property and to receive the grants of money which each one received according to his age and seniority.” (Johnston, p.339) In the end, Pu Yi allowed about fifty eunuchs to return to service in the Forbidden City, but only at the tears of the three elderly t'ai fei over the loss of their favorite servants.

Pu Yi then appointed Cheng Hsiao-hsu as the first Chinese head of the Nei Wu Fu. He was a brilliant Confucian man of great loyalty to his emperor who, while not a politician, held both civil and military offices under the Qing. Cheng resigned said position at the birth of the republic and rejected multiple offers of working for the latter, where he undoubtedly would have enjoyed a successful career. Johnston’s opinion of him was equally as positive: “In [his] twenty-five years of experience in China [he] had never met a Chinese for whom [he] had conceived a greater respect and admiration.” (Johnston, p.342) This man of immense ability was charged with reorganizing and “cleaning up” the Nei Wu Fu and as expected, he soon delivered. To add another blow to the “corrupt fraternity,” Pu Yi appointed Johnston as the imperial commissioner in charge of all affairs of the emperor’s soon-to-be new residence, the Summer Palace. (Johnston, p.358) Not only did the Nei Wu Fu witness a possible change in location that would entirely remove its power and influence, but it even lost all hopes of gaining strength in the new location.

Pu Yi’s Expulsion and Turn to Japan

Pu Yi was praised by news agencies for his reforms and hailed as “one of the very few progressive Manchu princes of the present day” (Johnston, p.340). But, just like his restoration in 1917 by Chang Hsun, success and good times were short-lived. Pu Yi’s aforementioned expulsion from the Forbidden City by the forces of Christian warlord Feng Yuxiang occurred in 1924 because “the new authorities...determined to put an end once and for all to the dynasty whose survival, in their eyes, provided a puppet likely to be used at any time by domestic reactionaries and foreign enemies.” (McAleavy, p.148) They issued a “revision” of the Articles of Favorable Treatment that abolished Pu Yi’s emperorship, reduced his annual subsidy to 500,000 dollars, removed his right to stay in the Forbidden City, provided for the maintenance of Qing ancestral tombs by the republic, and protected the imperial family’s private property. (Pu Yi, p.146-47) Thus as an ordinary citizen of the republic, “Mr. Pu Yi” and his family were ordered to permanently leave the Forbidden City in three hours. (Johnston, p.390)

His expulsion marked the starting point in Pu Yi’s life where he constantly struggled to regain his emperorship and failed many times. Despite Feng Yuxiang’s efforts to remove Pu Yi’s potency as a symbol, he was still so important that “he was a virtual or actual prisoner of one nation or another most of his life and, as such, peculiarly subject to the political shifts of fortune in East Asia.” (Hostage to Fortune, p.vii) Pu Yi expressed pleasure at seeing the Articles of Favorable Treatment annulled or “revised” and he said to the soldiers of Feng Yuxiang’s army at the time of his expulsion: “I had no freedom as an emperor, and now I have found my freedom’...I was sick of the restrictions with which the princes and high officials surrounded me. I wanted ‘freedom,’ freedom to realize the ambition of regaining my lost throne.” (Pu Yi, p.149)
Pu Yi was finally unfettered from the fake emperorship that he was allowed to hold for all those years and it was that title that also blocked him from seeing the "real" emperorship. He had the freedom to dictate his own terms and now, at the crossroads, was faced with three roads. The first road was to follow the suggestions of the "revised" Articles by "[abandoning] the imperial title and [his] old ambitions and [becoming] an enormously wealthy and landed 'common citizen.'" The second road was to appeal to his sympathizers (i.e. the restorationists) and have them help to "cancel the new Articles and restore the old Articles in their entirety, to regain [his] title and return to the palace to continue to live [his] old life." The last road was to enlist the help of a foreign power in planning a restoration. (Pu Yi, p.156) The ex-emperor went with the third option and opportunities did arise but, "Unfortunately for him, that opportunity came from the Japanese." (Hostage to Fortune, p.113)

Taking shelter at the Japanese legation in Beijing and later the Japanese concession in Tianjin, Pu Yi lived under the protection of this foreign power for about seven years from 1924-1931. During this time, he harbored and expressed hopes of the Japanese restoring him to the Qing throne, while the relationship between the two grew closer. However, instead of the Qing throne, a new prospect for a different throne had emerged—that of Manchuria. Johnston offered a description of the long-forgotten emperorship:

The title "Manchoukuo Huang-Ti" or "Emperor of Manchuria" replaced the title "Chin-kuo Khan" formerly used by the founders of the Manchu power...if the Manchu emperor had returned to Mukden and declared himself Ta Manchou Kuo Huang Ti, he would not merely have been returning to the throne but also reassuming an ancient title, of his Manchu ancestors. (p.255)

Pursuit of this Manchurian emperorship could be viewed as an appropriate act of "returning home" and it was very tempting because more importantly, it could also be used as a stepping stone to regain the Qing throne. Japan at the time was extremely interested in expanding to Manchuria but Pu Yi hesitated at agreeing to explore this new prospect because of his attachments to the land in which he grew up. It was only after the discovery of grenades hidden in a fruit basket sent to him (suspected to be Japan fabricating an assassination attempt by the Chinese (McAleavy, p.201)) and the desecration of Qing ancestral tombs by plunderers, in particular those of Qianlong and Cixi, that pushed Pu Yi to proceed with Japan's plans. The ex-emperor left Tianjin for Japanese controlled-Manchuria in late 1931.

Shortly after his arrival to Manchuria, Pu Yi became the chih-cheng or "Chief Executive" of an independent "Manchukuo" republic in 1932, which the Japanese said was only a temporary and transitory position before emperor. (Johnston, p.450) Sadly, he was too naïve to realize that it was essentially a trap and "did not understand that once he cooperated with the Japanese he would become their hostage." (Hostage to Fortune, p.112) The Japanese never had any intention of helping Pu Yi regain his Qing emperorship and to them, it was simply another instance of the importance of the emperorship over the personal self. Pu Yi was the ideal pawn to install as the head of the new independent state that Japan wanted to forge out of Manchuria, because his "presence and past title of Qing emperor lent authenticity and legitimacy to those actually wielding power." (Hostage to Fortune, p.15) Pu Yi seemed to also be aware of such sentiment. After being told about becoming Chief Executive, he said in protest: "The people of Manchuria are longing not for me as an individual but for the great Ching emperor." (Pu Yi, p.245)
Despite his disappointment, Pu Yi still did all he could to retrieve and live up to his lost Qing emperorship. He asked his advisor Chen Tseng-shou to help him prepare for presentation to Itagaki Seishiro of the Kwantung Army (the Imperial Japanese Army presence in Manchuria), a list of twelve reasons why “the ‘right system’ (the restoration of the Ching monarchy) was necessary.” (Pu Yi, p.241) The list invoked principles of Chinese history, morality, and even the relationship between China and Japan. However, Cheng Hsiao-hsu, his ex-head of the Nei Wu Fu, refused to deliver the list to Itagaki because he thought it was unwise and tried to convince Pu Yi to think likewise. Pu Yi could not be calmed and, during his meeting later with Itagaki, strongly and resolutely remonstrated against the decision to make him Chief Executive, but to no avail. Itagaki said smilingly that “The demands of the Army cannot be altered in the least,” to which Pu Yi countered that he would resign his Chief Executive position if the imperial system was not restored after one year. (Pu Yi, p.247)

**Emperor of Manchukuo**

In spite of this, Pu Yi did not resign after one year because he lacked the courage to do so and “even if the Kwantung Army had allowed it [he] would have had nowhere to go.” (Pu Yi, p.273) He was also advised that it was better to wait because that kept alive the hopes of restoration. Pu Yi’s waiting “paid off” because he was upgraded to Emperor of Manchukuo in 1934 as the Manchukuo republic was transformed into an empire, per the decision of the Japanese. The latter reassured that China did not need to worry because Pu Yi’s ascension to the Manchurian throne was not an indication of a restoration of the Qing and “they stressed he (Pu Yi) would not be known as the Ch’ing emperor.” (Bio of the Hsuan Tung Emperor, p.131-33) The new Manchurian emperor took on the reign name of the Kangde Emperor, which was of particular significance because the characters käng and de meant tranquility and virtue respectively and “represented the virtues Confucius prescribed for a sovereign.” (Hostage to Fortune, p.137)

While it was not the Qing emperorship, Pu Yi still continued doing what he could to make the best of it. He wanted to uphold his lost emperorship by wearing to the ascension ceremony the same dragon robes that his predecessor, the Guangxu Emperor, wore. However, the Japanese did not allow it. After some negotiations, the two parties came to a compromise and Pu Yi was allowed to wear the dragon robes to the memorial ceremony but had to don a Western military uniform when he was actually ascending the throne. (Hostage to Fortune, p.135) In other words, Pu Yi’s allowance to wear official Qing robes (authentic since Pu Yi had personally sent for them) merely pro forma seemed to echo a familiar theme from his earlier years. It was like the Forbidden City all over again but instead of the 1910’s, it was the 1930’s.

At the time of Pu Yi’s crowning, the Japanese authorities in Tokyo announced that Pu Yi was to be known as “ko-tei” while the Japanese emperor was called “tenno.” As explained by Moyer, “Although both terms [meant] an emperor, the word ‘tenno’ [had] a connotation of heavenly or sacred emperor. A foreign ruler [was] not called ‘tenno.’ The difference in status was quite clear to the Japanese.” (Bio of the Hsuan Tung Emperor, p.133) The Japanese had pulled a move very similar to that of the republicans and Yuan Shikai at the drafting and signing of the Articles of Favorable Treatment. As recalled by Pu Yi in 1956, “When the Kwantung Army made a decision, they would write it down and tell me to sign it. Edicts, laws, treaties, everything was managed in the same way.” (McAleavy, p.216) From this, it was apparent that once again, he was left with an empty emperorship, placed in a
fake environment and surrounded by people who only wished to use him. They “secured the substance” and Pu Yi was “left with the shadow.”

When Pu Yi became Emperor of Manchukuo, he also became a traitor to both the Chinese people and his own family. He betrayed the Chinese people because he became “the cover for a sanguinary regime which turned a large part of [his] country into a colony and inflicted great sufferings on thirty million of [his] compatriots.” (Pu Yi, p.247) He was forced to betray his family when the Japanese ordered him to implement Japan’s state religion (Shintoism) in Manchukuo since he was the head of state and hence, religion. Pu Yi explained his internal torment at the time:

I had previously been prevented...from sacrificing publicly at the graves of my imperial ancestors, and now I was being called upon to acknowledge myself as the descendant of a foreign line. This was very hard to bear. Although my every action since the time I yielded [to the Japanese]...had been an open betrayal of my nation and my ancestors, I had managed to justify my doings to myself. I had represented them as filial deeds done for the sake of reviving the ancestral cause, and pretended that the concessions I made were only for the sake of future gains. I had hoped that the spirits of my ancestors would understand this and protect me. But now the Japanese were forcing me to exchange my ancestors for a new set. Surely my forebears would never forgive me for this. (Pu Yi, p.299)

Although on the outside he accepted Japanese orders, on the inside, he tried to uphold the honor of his family and the lost Qing emperorship by continuing to worship his ancestors at home and saying to himself that he was worshipping at Kun Ning Kung (the Palace of Earthly Peace) whenever he had to go bow at the altar of Shintoism’s deity. (Pu Yi, p.300)

Pu Yi’s Fate

After Japan’s defeat in World War II, the Manchukuo empire was abolished and its lands returned to Chinese sovereignty. Pu Yi consequently lost his emperorship again and was arrested by the Soviets who wanted to use him to testify negatively against the Japanese at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in 1946. They also wanted to keep Pu Yi “as a bargaining chip” since he could be “traded to the Chinese in exchange for any number of things the Soviets wanted.” (Hostage to Fortune, p.174) The Soviets got what they were waiting for and released Pu Yi to the jurisdiction of the newly formed People’s Republic of China in 1949. The PRC wanted to reform him to show that even a former emperor could be changed by the Communist thought and therefore “prove the superiority of their system over other political systems.” (Bio of the Hsuan Tung Emperor, p.239)

Pu Yi thus spent ten years in reform camp in Fushun and Harbin, during which he grew to blame his current state and the failures throughout his life on the deceased Express Dowager Cixi and others from the Forbidden City: “Her (Cixi’s) dim memory had only seemed frightening to me in the past, but now I hated her. Why had she picked on me to be emperor? ...Was not my present state the fault of Tzu Hsi, the princes and the Ching ministers?” (Pu Yi, p.376) Finally on September 24, 1959, Pu Yi was declared genuinely reformed, pardoned by the Communist government, and granted citizenship to the People’s Republic of China. (Chan, p.158) He spent the last eight years of his life in relative peace, marrying his fifth wife in 1962 and succumbing to kidney cancer in 1967 at the age of 61.
In his formative years, Pu Yi was groomed to be the Qing emperor but never got a chance to fulfill what he saw as his destiny. In the spirit of importance of emperorship over the personal self, he was taught only to assume and uphold the emperorship and, as a consequence, he was not equipped “to live in the modern world or to pursue another career.” (Hostage to Fortune, p.3) His later life was marked by self-hated incompetence (as he had trouble simply taking care of himself) and a lack of many meaningful relationships. Pu Yi had few friends and the limited list included the aforementioned Mrs. Wang, Reginald Johnston and Pu Jie, of whom only the last was still alive to be with him.

Pu Yi also seemed very selfish in all his years. The most compelling examples of this was the “exclusive concern for his own safety” that he displayed when he abandoned the two elderly dowagers as he was leaving the Forbidden City in 1924 (McAleavy, p.149) and when he abandoned his wives as he was fleeing Manchuria by plane in 1945. His selfish actions can be viewed as another form of Pu Yi’s efforts to live up to his lost emperorship because he once said during his time in Tianjin: “As long as I am alive the Great Ching shall not perish.” (p.196) The preservation of his life as a means of continuing hopes for his emperorship and dynasty was always on Pu Yi’s mind and it was not surprising to learn that no matter which regime he was under, he was in constant fear of getting killed.

Conclusion

Many scholars and authors who studied and wrote about Pu Yi’s life characterized it as a tragedy. In his life, Pu Yi ascended the throne three times but never truly held power. He was a hostage of three nations and had to survive through a republican revolution, Chinese warlordism, Japanese imperialism, Soviet imprisonment, and Chinese Communist reformation. His own life was rarely, if ever, in his control and having lived as “a gilded bird in a cage,” he died a pauper in the People’s Republic of China. (Hostage to Fortune, p.155,vii) Pu Yi’s life was tragic because, as researcher Nathaniel Peffer notes, “he had the misfortune to be born a prince” (Bio of the Hsuan Tung Emperor, p.208). What’s more, he had become emperor during such a tumultuous era of Chinese history: “In happier days he would have officiated as Son of Heaven and Father of his people.” (Johnston, p.434)

Like the Guangxu emperor before him, Pu Yi was emperor in name only. But unlike his earlier imperial predecessors, he was unable to enjoy the compensations and real powers of his emperorship while being bound in freedom by the same, or perhaps even greater conventions. (Johnston, p.291) With the Articles of Favorable Treatment beginning the nightmare, he spent the majority of his life chasing after the “true” Qing emperorship. Pu Yi did so during his time in the Forbidden City and after having lost whatever semblance of the “true” title in 1924, worked endlessly to regain it. He even went to the Japanese for help but only received treatment similar to what he experienced in the Forbidden City—in both instances, people only saw him as an emperor/ex-emperor, not as a person.

Pu Yi’s life embodied this concept of the importance of the emperorship over the emperor’s personal self and the saddest fact of it all was that not many people ever really cared about him. He struggled and experienced numerous setbacks in the pursuit of his emperorship. Due to this and also his attempts to uphold and live up to what his emperorship was supposed to entail, Pu Yi was robbed of a normal life. In the dedication of his book Twilight in the Forbidden City, Reginald Johnston hoped for “the dawn of a new and happier day” for Pu Yi and it seemed that the last Qing emperor may have found it in the last few years of his life as an ordinary citizen.
Bibliography


The Civil Rights Movement and the Media

Jim Levulis

The media had a profound effect on the entire Civil Rights Movement from 1955 and the murder of Emmett Till to 1968 and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The reluctance of national print media to issue proper coverage of the Civil Rights Movement and the racist environment existing in the southern states kept the effort for equality at a local level in the early years of the cause. The movement gained more attention and momentum when the national media realized the importance and newsworthiness of the various events involved in the cause. Events such as the Montgomery Bus Boycotts (1955-56), the Freedom Rides of 1961, the March on Washington and the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing in 1963, signified the brutal conditions blacks suffered, especially in the southern United States. Due to the events and media coverage of the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans gained legal equality with the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These historical moments can be linked together by the increasing media coverage they received. Once the civil rights struggle became a major topic in the news, Americans throughout the country were able to see and read the unfavorable treatment of blacks by government officials, businesses, and law enforcement. Civil rights groups recognized the important role the media played and therefore shaped and promoted their efforts to be ideal for media coverage which allowed their messages to extend throughout the entire nation. Furthermore, as television developed as a valuable tool for media and journalism in the mid-1960s news networks broadcast moving images complete with sound across America. The sights and sounds of police brutality, civil rights activism, and racist treatment had a profound effect on the American public's view of civil rights and equality. The increasing of media coverage of civil rights activism from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s is directly correlated to the gaining of momentum by the Civil Rights Movement as a whole.

The first significant event for the Civil Rights Movement occurred in the summer of 1955 in the Mississippi Delta. A 14 year-old boy named Emmett Louis Till left his native home of Chicago, IL with his cousin to visit his great-uncle before the school term began in the fall. Till’s trip down to the southern United States would forever change the views of racial injustice throughout America. Till spent his days in Mississippi working in the cotton fields with family members and the other half of his days enjoying the summer heat. On August 24th, Till and other teenage family and friends went into the small town of Money, Mississippi. There Till and his cousin entered Bryant’s Grocery and Meat Market to buy candy and drinks. Till purchased two cents worth of bubble-gum and exited the store. On his way out, it is said, Till wolf-whistled at the store’s owner Carolyn Bryant, a 21 year-old white woman. Other accounts of the story say Emmett spoke directly to Mrs. Bryant, even referring to the older woman as “baby.” When Mrs. Bryant’s husband returned to town on August 27th, he was informed about the incident that occurred in his store three days prior. Furious that a black boy would so much as look at his wife nevertheless whistle or talk to her, Roy Bryant and his half-brother J.W. Milam began searching for Emmett. The two men arrived at the house of Emmett’s great-uncle, Mose Wright, in the early hours of the morning of Sunday, August 28th. The men entered the home armed with a pistol and kidnapped Emmett. Three days later, Till’s body was found in the Tallahatchie River by two boys fishing. The body was swollen and disfigured beyond recognition, other than a ring that had belonged to Emmett’s father found on the body. The body was weighed down by a 75 pound
cotton gin fan tied around the victim’s neck with barbed wire. When Emmett’s mother, Mamie Till, learned of her son’s murder, she requested his body to be shown in a public open-casket funeral so everyone could see what those men had done to her son.\footnote{314}

The funeral proceedings attracted thousands of mourners, many of whom became physically overwhelmed or ill when they smelled and saw Emmett’s body in the glass-covered casket. A picture of Emmett’s body was published in black-owned publications, such as \textit{Jet} magazine and \textit{The Chicago Defender}. The murder of a northern black boy by two white southerners became national as well as international news. “The case caused considerable national excitement and even attracted international attention.”\footnote{315} The sensation over the events occurred because “both the teenagers’ ‘crime’ and his punishment seemed an atavism, an incongruity in the modern era, the definitive expression of Southern racism, the lethal but logical culmination of the Jim Crow system.”\footnote{316} In September 1955, the media rushed to the Mississippi Delta as “fifty to seventy reporters descended on the drowsy hamlet of Sumner [the site of the murder trial], whose population was barely ten times larger” because “the court proceedings provoked front-page coverage throughout the nation.”\footnote{317} The media coverage of Emmett’s murder further enlightened Americans across the country of the racial abuses occurring in the South. On September 17, \textit{The Lima News} in Ohio featured a full page article complete with pictures of Mrs. Mamie Till, Mose Wright, Roy and Mrs. Bryant, J.W. Milam, and a living photograph of Emmett “Bobo” Till under the headline “Nation Turns Eye to ‘Whistle’ Murder.”\footnote{318} Furthermore, in Nevada the \textit{Reno Evening Gazette} featured an Associated Press article titled “Slaying Trial Is Near Jury: Two Whites Charged In Negro’s Death.”\footnote{319} The all-white jury found the two suspects not guilty on charges of murdering Emmett Louis Till. The resulting media coverage and reports of the court’s findings displayed the instituted and accepted racial injustices in place in the South.

Journalists were surprised themselves that the case was even brought to court, since the charged crime was the killing of a black boy by two white men, which was not necessarily a rarity in the Mississippi Delta during that time. Similar to a \textit{New York Times} editorial, “it appears that the indictments were so exceptional that the black newspaper in Jackson felt obliged to praise ‘white men [who] took this step against other white men for a crime against a Negro.’”\footnote{320} However, following the non-guilty verdict, Mississippi newspapers quickly published articles declaring the men had not been brought to the justice they no doubt deserved. The \textit{Jackson Clarion-Ledger} stated “it was a ‘stupid, horrible crime. Intelligent Mississippians can only suppose it came about in the sick mind[s] of men who should be removed from society by due course of law.”\footnote{321} The critical response by Mississippi newspapers caught the attention of blacks throughout the state “to a degree unprecedented in Mississippi, blacks ‘heard on every side a strong and vigorous condemnation by white people, friend and stranger alike, of brutality in

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\item \footnote{314}{The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till, Dir. Keith Beauchamp Perf. Mamie Till, Wheeler Parker, and Simeon Wright. THINKFilm, 2005.}
\item \footnote{315}{Stephen J. Whitfield. \textit{A Death in the Delta: The Story of Emmett Till}. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988 (Page vii)}
\item \footnote{316}{Whitfield (Page vii)}
\item \footnote{317}{Whitfield (Page 33)}
\item \footnote{318}{James L. Kilgallen. "Nation Turns Eye to ‘Whistle’ Murder." \textit{The Lima News} 17 Sept. 1955: Pg. 12}
\item \footnote{319}{Associated Press. "Slaying Trial Is Near Jury: Two Whites Charged In Negro’s Death." \textit{Reno Evening Gazette} 23 Sept. 1955: Pg. 1}
\item \footnote{320}{Whitfield (Page 24)}
\item \footnote{321}{Whitfield (Page 26)}
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race relations.”\textsuperscript{322} The reactions did not go unnoticed as “many of the state’s Negro leaders paid tribute to this development.”\textsuperscript{323} Some journalists even called for the national government to take action in “the Emmett Till case we hope someone gets this over to the nine ninnies who comprise the present United States Supreme Court,” stated the \textit{Yazoo City Herald}. “Some of the young Negro’s blood is on their hands also.”\textsuperscript{324}

The murder of Emmett Till and the failure for his murderers to be brought to proper justice ignited the modern Civil Rights Movement in the United States. The media’s fixation with the story of Till and his accused murders allowed Americans throughout the country to see firsthand the unequal society they were living in. This event and the subsequent media craze over it, served as the catalyst for more than a decade of struggle and protest for African Americans to achieve legal equality in the United States of America. However, without the media coverage that the events did receive, Emmett’s murder would have become just another of the about 500 lynchings that had occurred over the past 75 years in the state of Mississippi. The media attention allowed others beyond the borders of Mississippi and those outside Emmett’s family to see, recognize, and realize the cruel racial hatred apparent in the United States, especially in the South. \textit{New York Times} reporter John Popham covered the trial in Sumner calling it “the first of the changes that eventually came to the entire South [and] it gave us the general sense of where things would be in the future.”\textsuperscript{325} Furthermore, another reporter who covered the trial, this time for the \textit{New Orleans Times-Picayune}, Bill Minor, stated the case was significant because “for the first time you couldn’t have a quiet little lynching without getting real attention.”\textsuperscript{326} Myrlie Evers, wife of the former director of the NAACP Medger Evers, said the Emmett Till’s murder shook “the foundations of Mississippi, both black and white – with the white community because it had become nationally publicized, with us blacks, because it said even a child was not safe from racism and bigotry and death.”\textsuperscript{327}

The momentum of the Civil Rights Movement increased rapidly over a short amount of time following Emmett Till’s murder and the court ruling of innocent for his accused murderers. On December 1, 1955, approximately three months since the Bryant and Milam trial, Rosa Parks, a black woman, refused to give up her city on a Montgomery, Alabama city bus to a white man. Unlike the murder of Emmett Till, Parks’ actions did not find the front pages as “the \textit{Montgomery Advertiser} buried the story the next day on a back page under the headline, ‘Negro Jailed Here for Overlooking’ Bus Segregation.”\textsuperscript{328} Parks’ resistance against an established practice of racial injustice in Alabama expanded to be known as the Montgomery Bus Boycott. However, the national press was not all that concerned with matters of the civil rights movement at this time. “None of the nation’s more influential newspapers and magazines had made a substantial commitment to the boycott story,” considering “\textit{The New York Times} and \textit{The Washington Post} relied exclusively on wire services, [while] in both papers, all the stories ran inside [and] most were only a few paragraphs long and devoid of context.”\textsuperscript{329} Finally, “\textit{Time} magazine ran its first story on January 16\textsuperscript{th}, six weeks after the boycott began while \textit{Newsweek} would

\textsuperscript{322} Whitfield (Page 27)
\textsuperscript{323} Whitfield (Page 27)
\textsuperscript{324} Whitfield (Page 35)
\textsuperscript{325} Whitfield (Page 145)
\textsuperscript{326} Whitfield (Page 145)
\textsuperscript{327} Whitfield (Page 60)
\textsuperscript{328} Whitfield (Page 88)
not show up until the thirteenth week."330 However, these protests served as the first significant action for the eventual leader of the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The national press gave its full attention to the boycotts when a state grand jury in Montgomery returned indictments against King charging him with illegally conspiring to hinder a lawful business by boycotting the city buses. The grand jury dished out 115 indictments in all to the demonstrators. "From the moment the indictments came down on February 21, the Montgomery bus boycott grew to a national news story, and King became the journalistic touchstone for what suddenly was being recognized as a civil rights movement."331

After news of the boycott in Montgomery finally spread so did fear of similar actions in other parts of the country. All the way up in Fairbanks, Alaska an article titled "Negro Bus Boycott Becomes Famed, Big Dixie Skirmish" written by a United Press correspondent was published on the second page of the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner.332 The article leads off with "The Negro boycott of city buses here has become one of the most famous skirmishes in the southern segregation feud." The correspondent continues by reporting fears the spreading forms of activism with "the question is whether this boycott will remain among isolated cases or whether such a weapon will be used more widely and create a serious economic situation throughout Dixie." The article warns other cities how effective such resistance was by stating "the boycott today is nearly 100 per cent effective, and while the bus company won’t reveal its figures the loss is estimated to be well above $100,000." A few months later, under a section titled "Segregation Roundup" The Bismarck Tribune in North Dakota, published an Associated Press article titled "Caution Urged in Bus Boycotts."333 The article warned that "Negro leaders advised caution in two Florida cities where there has been talk of bus boycotts similar to those at Montgomery, Ala. and Tallahassee, Fla." The boycott would continue for more than a year until the United States Supreme Court found Alabama and Montgomery laws requiring segregated public bus systems unconstitutional in its ruling of Browder v. Gayle on December 20, 1956.

The struggle for equal civil rights in the United States continued to target the South and its public services. In 1961, civil rights activists planned a public bus trip from Washington, D.C. to New Orleans which came to be known as the Freedom Rides. The national media continued to follow the developments of the civil rights workers even if progress seemed to be slow at times. While two black reporters rode with the seven black men, three white men, and three white women on the buses, "no white reporter showed up for the trip, although reporters for the AP, Washington Post, and Washington Star attended a pre-ride press conference."334 Coverage of the Freedom Rides increased, when the buses completed their journey and reached the southern United States, specifically Birmingham, Alabama. Describing the overall scene of racial hatred and violence delivered by a white mob attacking the activists, The Birmingham News questioned the control of its own city. Running with the headline "Where Were the Police?" the News stated "fear and hatred did stalk Birmingham streets yesterday."335 The article summed up the events by saying "It was a rotten day for Birmingham and Alabama, the thugs did what they came to do – up to now they have gotten away with it." The story then begs the questions, "When will the people demand that fear and hatred be driven

330 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 128
331 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pgs. 138-139
334 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pgs. 242-243
335 “Where Were the Police?” The Birmingham News in The Race Beat in Pg 249
from the streets?" Other journalists continued to question the morality of Americans in spite of the recent events in Alabama. CBS television and radio broadcast Howard K. Smith used his weekly radio commentary as an outlet to guilt Americans. Comparing the racist thugs who attacked the Freedom Riders to the “vilest of the Nazi Jew-baiters,” Smith said if America did not give justice and protection for black citizens the United States could become “a racial dictatorship like Nazi Germany.” Smith’s later television documentary titled “Who Speaks for Birmingham,” which further described the racial injustices practiced in the city, drove the city’s commissioners to file libel suits against CBS and Smith totaling $1.5 million.

Following the events in Alabama, papers across the country turned their focus to the Freedom Rides and their impact on the nation and the civil rights struggle. Publishing an Associated Press article, the Lawrence Journal World in Lawrence, Kansas questioned the effectiveness of the Freedom Rides. Titled “More Freedom Rides Set Despite Criticism,” the article states “the so-called ‘Freedom Rides’ to Southern cities will continue despite some criticism that the segregation tests have not aided the cause of the Negro.” The article continues by stating the ultimate goal and theory behind the Freedom Rides and other acts of passive resistance challenging the racial inequality standards existing throughout America at that time. “Leaders of the movement felt they would ultimately achieve desegregation through moral pressures exerted by the riders, legal pressures, and an educational program.” The pressures of the civil rights activists and the national media attention did influence government procedures considering racial equality standards. The Arizona Republic published an Associated Press article titled “U.S. Judge Drops Ban on Freedom Riders” as U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. refused “to prolong a temporary restraining order” therefore leaving “the door open for new Freedom Rides in Alabama.” Not long after a photograph of a police dog launching at a black boy, President John F. Kennedy appeared on national television and “announced that he was sending to Congress a remedy for the events of Birmingham.”

However, the most effective journalistic coverage of the Freedom Rides would come in the form of a photograph. When one of the buses, the Greyhound, rolled into the terminal in Anniston, Alabama a mob of white protestors attacked the bus and its passengers. Photographer Joseph Postiglione captured the scenes that would make front page news across the country. The images “showed flames leaping from the windows, from the open doors, and from the roof, and massive columns of smoke billowing into the sky.” Another photo showed “Freedom Riders sprawled on the side of the road, too stunned to move away from the burning bus.” The photos allowed Americans to see what the racial hatred in the south was doing to the country. CORE, Congress of Racial Equality, director James Farmer, who had organized the rides, “called his New York office and told his staff to put together a composite of that photograph [the burning bus] and one of the Statue of Liberty to create a new logo for the Freedom Ride.”

336 “Where Were the Police?” The Birmingham News in The Race Beat Pg. 249
337 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 250
338 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pgs. 249-251
342 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 245
The year 1963 would deliver both highs and lows for the Civil Rights Movement throughout the United States. On August 28, 1963, the sixth anniversary of the murder of Emmett Till, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. permanently cast himself into American history books. The March on Washington climaxed with Dr. King’s famous “I Have a Dream” speech. The media began paying tribute to the great event even before it occurred. The Salt Lake Tribune ran an article highlighting the believed impact the civil rights march would have almost a week before it happened on August 22nd. “The great ‘civil rights march’ on Washington, now only a matter of days away, has the full support of President Kennedy.”343 With the media accepting the efforts by activists as a movement, the federal government followed suit. President Kennedy “said that the Washington demonstration, ‘which is a peaceful assembly calling for a redress of grievances,’ is in the great tradition.” President Kennedy also “underlined his support with the announcement that leaders of the August 28th march would be received at the White House.344 As the march’s date approached in Washington, D.C. “the Metropolitan Police Department handled more press requests than it ever had: 1,900 police passes were distributed for the march, in addition to the 1,200 it had routinely handed out to the regular press corps covering Washington.”345

Moreover, some media outlets thought the popularity of the March on Washington was a news topic itself, regardless of the messages delivered during the speeches. The day after the gathering, The Corpus Christi Times in Texas, ran an article titled “TV Coverage of March Draws Wide Audience,” highlighting the attention the Civil Rights Movement has drawn from the American public. The story, delivered through the New York Times News Service, stated “television in the New York area found a much larger audience than usual yesterday, presumably because of coverage on the civil rights march on Washington.”346 An estimated 200,000 to 250,000 marchers took part in the event as ABC, NBC, CBS, and the Mutual Broadcasting System assigned 460 of their employees to Washington on August 28th along with hundreds more assigned to New York. The three major television networks shared twenty-three cameras for coverage, while each had twenty-six of their own.347 Part of that television coverage was a live feed from CBS television. Roger Mudd, anchor of The Washington Report recalled how “the march was a magnificent peaceful display of discipline, genuine love of country, and grit.” Mudd continued to say, “it changed the face of the civil rights movement from one of isolated acts of violence and defiance into an indefatigable, determined, and respectable movement that gave notice to President Kennedy and the Congress that they had to deal with the issue.”348 The influence of the Civil Rights Movement and the March on Washington specifically was solidified as live coverage was delivered to six countries while West Germany, Japan, and France had sent their own media crews to Washington, D.C.349

However, despite all the promise and pride the summer of 1963 symbolized for civil rights activists, their world and the rest of the United States was about to be flipped upside down. On September 15, a Sunday morning, four innocent black girls were killed in an apparent racist bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in

343 “Peaceful Petition vs. Danger of Riot” The Salt Lake Tribune 22 Aug. 1963: A14
344 “Peaceful Petition vs. Danger of Riot”
345 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 346
347 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 346
349 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 347
downtown Birmingham, Alabama. The killings in Birmingham presented a media craze even more fervently covered than the Emmett Till murder back in 1955. The Colorado Springs Gazette ran the story on its front page with an Associated Press article titled “Bayonets Will Not Solve Race Strife, Attorney General Says.” Inside the article, “U.S. Att. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said today he does not think that sending federal troops to Birmingham would solve the racial crisis there.” Kennedy continued, “The Negro has been subjected to injustices for many decades and wants to be heard.” The article concluded with “He [Kennedy] said he thought progress would be made if the white community would take the attitude of ‘maybe we’ll disagree, but at least we can discuss these grievances.”

In a subsequent article underneath the previous headline, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was quoted saying “they did not die in vain.”

“God has a way of bringing good out of evil,” King said. “The innocent blood of these little girls may well serve as a redemptive force for this city.” The article recognized the girls’ funeral procession as “police estimated that 4,000 including numerous white persons, went to the funeral.” Recalling the media coverage of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing, CBS Evening News anchor Walter Cronkite, said he believed the north did understand the nature of hate in the south or throughout America until then. “This was the awakening.”

The most influential media coverage of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing was a column written in Atlanta by Constitution editor Gene Patterson. Patterson retracted the original article he had filed for that Monday and decided to write a column in an effort to guilt his fellow white southerners for allowing the tragic murders to happen. Patterson began with, “A Negro mother wept in the street Sunday morning in front of a Baptist Church in Birmingham. In her hand she held a shoe, one shoe, from the foot of her dead child. We hold that shoe with her. Every one of us in the white South holds that small shoe in his hand.” Patterson continued by writing that it was far too late to blame the criminals who actually placed the dynamite that killed the four girls. In reality, Patterson said it was the other white Southerners who allowed the killings to occur. “We watched the stage set without staying it. We listened to the prologue unbestirred. We saw the curtain opening with disinterest.” Patterson concluded by writing, “May God have mercy on the poor South that has so been led.” Other members of the media were so moved that they asked Patterson’s permission to use his column on their own broadcast. It started with the Atlanta CBS television station and ended with Patterson receiving a phone call from national CBS News anchor Walter Cronkite, asking him if he could use some of his column on the evening news that night. Cronkite would go on to read the whole column on air.

Furthermore, the media continued to pay attention to the developments in Birmingham even after the dust from the bombing had settled. Running a front page article titled “Two White Men Are Jailed in Bombing Inquiry,” the Ironwood Daily Globe in Michigan highlighted the Associated Press’s coverage of the southern city. “Two white men were placed in city jail early today for further investigation into the series of bombings that have rocked this racially-troubled city for several years.” Beyond the justice being served for the bombings, the paper mentioned the immediate response to the killings. “The church bombing almost sparked a riot.

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353 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pgs. 351-352
Sporadic outbursts of violence continued through the day and night. Two young Negroes were shot to death.”

Moreover, in 1964, the Civil Rights Movement was finally given a reason to celebrate their struggles and efforts over the past nine years. Legal advances for racial equality were achieved with the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The House of Representatives passed the bill by a substantial 290-130 vote and the Senate approved the legislation with a vote of 73-27. Obviously the passing of this legislation was important news and the media realized the monumental feat. In an editorial in the Press-Telegram from Long Beach, California the act receive praise and concern with a story titled “Not a Perfect Law – but a Necessary One.” “The Civil Rights Act of 1964 now takes it place among the great documents in American history. Like some of the other historic acts, it becomes the law of the land amid misgivings – [and] was probably debated more thoroughly than any other measure in congressional history, and enjoys the support of the majority of Americans.” The editorial continued with “although the measure will tear down traditions, alter customs, and at first create turmoil, ultimately the act will build a stronger and a happier nation.” The article’s final line symbolizes the morality of the media during such a pivotal time in American history. “Today, with a new civil rights law on the books, America can hold its head a little longer.”

The national media quickly realized the importance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 soon after it passed into law. Using an Associated Press article, the Montana Standard highlighted the event with a front-page headline reading “Historic Civil Rights Bill Signed.” The article begins, “President Johnson signed the strongest civil rights law in nearly a century Thursday night, only three hours after Congress approved it amid cheers, and called on Americans to ‘eliminate the last vestiges of injustice in America.’” The article continues by quoting President Lyndon Johnson, “I urge every public official, every religious leader, every business and professional man, every housewife – I urge every American – to join in this effort to bring justice and hope to all our people and peace to our land.”

Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, African Americans continued to make protest for further legal rights. Martin Luther King Jr. was leading a voting rights drive in Alabama and into Montgomery with a path through the city of Selma. As King and his fellow marchers reached Selma’s Edmund Pettus Bridge, Sheriff Jim Clark’s police force savagely attacked the crowd injuring many of the demonstrators, while the police horses trampled women and children. Television news broadcast these striking images across the United States and into Americans’ living rooms. This had an enormous influence as “public pressure became so intense that Congress, despite the heated opposition of some powerful Southern political leaders, passed the 1965 Voting Rights Act.” The media continued to follow the developments in Selma and so did Sheriff Clark and his police force. When the activists marched on Selma’s courthouse to demand the right to register to vote, Clark and his deputies would not allow it. The next day The New York Times ran a photographer showing an activist being held down by two deputies while Sheriff

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355 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 359
356 “Not a Perfect Law – but a Necessary One.” Editorial. Press-Telegram 3 July 1964: Pg. 16
357 John Beckler. “Historic Civil Rights Bill Signed.” Montana Standard 3 July 1964: Pg. 1
Clark stood over her with a nightstick. *Times* reporter John Herber noted Sheriff Clark "brought his hilly club down on her head with a whack that was heard throughout the crowd gathered in the street."\(^{360}\)

Following the events occurring in Selma, the federal government moved a voting rights bill to legislation. On August 6, 1965 President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law which banned illiteracy tests and other obstacles to black voter registration in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, as well as more than twenty counties in North Carolina. The Act also allowed federal intervention into state’s voting registration if the state governments did not follow the law’s provisions.\(^{361}\) The national media paid just as much attention to the historic civil rights bill signed the previous year, while also taking special notice of the emphasis President Lyndon Johnson placed on the law’s swift enforcement. *The Charlestown Gazette* in West Virginia ran a front-page headline of "Voting Right Act Signed: Johnson Orders Quick Policing." The article continues by referencing the long struggle African Americans had fought for racial equality and fair justice in America. The "signing took place in the President’s Room of the Capitol, just off the Senate chamber. There, 104 years ago Friday, President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill freeing slaves impressed into the service of the Confederacy."\(^{362}\) National coverage of President Johnson’s promise of prompt policing of the Voting Rights Act did not go without response or notice. Running an Associated Press article titled “U.S. Files Suit To Ban Poll Tax In Three States,” *The Evening Standard* in Uniontown, Pennsylvania gave attention to the federal government’s enforcement of equal civil rights. “The Justice Department sped today to abolish the poll tax in Texas, Virginia, and Alabama,” read the article. “The move was another step in implementing the Voting Rights Act of 1965.”\(^{363}\) The article was given more attention by the newspaper editor than other articles farther down the page including one titled, “101st Airborne Finds Viet Nam ‘Rough Go.’” The media’s work was not done just because the 1964 and 1965 acts had been passed as “the press carefully monitored enforcement of the Acts, helping minimize segregationists’ resistance and ensuring steady federal enforcement.”\(^{364}\) The legal gains secured by the 1965 Voting Rights Act symbolized the climax of the Civil Rights Movement, but it also represented the beginning of the end. John Lewis, former SNCC chairman, looked back on the victory and said it had been the efforts in Selma and later efforts to keep the issue of voting rights in the news that had held the movement together for so long.\(^{365}\) Not long after, the media turned its attention to another matter sweeping the nation, the Vietnam War. Soon activists groups across the country followed suit, specifically focusing on antiwar sentiment. At a press conference on January 6, 1966 the SNCC announced “we’re in sympathy with, and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States military aggression in Vietnam in the name of ‘freedom’ we find so false in this country.”\(^{366}\)

Journalism and the media played a significant and vital role throughout the more than decade long Civil Rights Movement. Newspaper and magazine coverage allowed Americans across the country to read speeches and quotes while also seeing still photographs of civil rights activists protesting against racial injustices.

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360 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pgs. 380-381
361 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 394
365 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 394
366 Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 397
Also depicted in the headlines and on the front pages was evidence of police brutality and harassment African Americans and their fellow civil rights activists experienced throughout their struggle for equality. Despite the successes of the print media in being a catalyst for the Civil Rights Movement, a greener form of journalism would serve as a final push to equality for blacks in America.

As televisions found their way into more and more American homes in the 1950s, television journalism began to emerge as a viable and more influential media tool than the preceding outlets for communication. Jack Gould, The New York Times television critic noted the media coverage of the Civil Rights movement by writing “the medium of television is proving an indispensable force in the Negro’s pursuit of human rights.” Gould continues with, “through the home screen, the Washington drama of mass protest was brought to life in virtually every household in the nation, a social phenomenon inconceivable before the age of electronics.”\textsuperscript{367} Gould concluded by saying historians of tomorrow will look at television as an influential factor in persuading “the indifferent white millions for whom integration or segregation was of scant personal concern” to the side of the African American activists, “The sociologist of tomorrow may find it was television more than anything else that finally penetrated this huge camp of the uncommitted.”\textsuperscript{368}

With the proper use of television as a medium, the American public was able to hear and see the Civil Rights Movement and the racial injustices in the United States through newsreels right in their own living rooms. As Roger Mudd, former anchor of CBS’s The Washington Report recalled, “the White House had seen on television pictures of young black demonstrators in Birmingham being washed down the streets by overpowering blasts from the city’s hoses.” Americans “had seen Bull Connor’s police dogs leaping and snarling at Birmingham’s marchers.”\textsuperscript{369} Also, as Eric Severeid stated on the CBS Evening News “A snarling police dog set upon a human being is recorded in the permanent photoelectric file of every human being’s brain.”\textsuperscript{370}

The media coverage of the assassination of the undisputed leader of the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., further displayed the importance the media placed upon the actions of the civil rights activists. The national media exhibited its ability to summarize public feelings into a headline flawlessly when news of King’s assassination spread. An Associated Press article titled “Shock Waves Triggered By King’s Murder” headlined the front page of the Northwest Arkansas Times. The article noted the impact King’s death had on the entire nation even causing the federal government to crawl to a stand still following the news of the civil rights leader’s murder. The murder “caused President Johnson to delay this morning his departure for Hawaii” while “Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and three other federal officials were sped here in an Air Force jet.”\textsuperscript{371} The front-page was littered with other articles covering the reactions and implications of Dr. King’s murder with such titles as “Black Power’s Carmichael Urges Revolt,” “Troopers Sent To Memphis,” “Racial Violence Erupts Over U.S.,” and “Assassination Disrupts ’68 Campaign.”\textsuperscript{372} Such articles are found higher on the page than other articles concerning the American conflict in Vietnam titled “White House Aides Split Over Peace Chances” and “Thieu [South Vietnam’s President] Warns He May Veto Future

\textsuperscript{367} Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 348
\textsuperscript{368} Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. Pg. 349
\textsuperscript{369} Roger Mudd. Pg. 115
\textsuperscript{370} Diane McWhorter. Pg. 22
\textsuperscript{371} Associated Press. “Shock Waves Triggered By King’s Murder.” Northwest Arkansas Times 5 April 1968: Pg. 1
\textsuperscript{372} Northwest Arkansas Times 5 April 1968: Pg. 1
Peace Agreement.” Running a United Press International article titled “Point of No Return’ Came At Montgomery” in the Obituary section, the Beckley Raleigh Register in Beckley, West Virginia brought attention to the achievements of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The story highlighted King’s leadership beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 and until his death in 1968. The article attributed the success of the modern Civil Rights Movement to King’s “advocating nonviolence [and] became the nation’s best known civil rights leader and his ceaseless battle won for him the Nobel Peace Prize of 1964.” The article also praised King’s ability to harbor public opinion and use the media to benefit the push for racial equality and justice throughout the United States as he “leaned heavily on the dramatic and on the weight of public opinion.” The article continued, “He used symbolic cities for campaigns that gained worldwide attention.”

Even members of the media realized the significance and importance they were having on the Civil Rights Movement and the United States overall. Legendary CBS television anchor, Walter Cronkite, recalls his experiences covering the movement in his memoir, A Reporter’s Life. The struggle for civil rights in America “may have been the most severe test of my own journalistic integrity since World War II.” Cronkite says all the newsmen were on the same side painting the Nazis as the world’s evil during that time, but “this civil rights struggle that was tearing at our nation was of a vastly different order, an order of much greater magnitude in terms of the demands for neutrality in our reporting.” Cronkite recalls how the public, generally in the South, responded to national media coverage of the Civil Rights Movement. “Cameramen were not infrequently pelted with stones, and their cameras were pushed into their faces.” Cronkite continues, “sometimes the police joined in the harassment, suggesting in language as violent as their looks that our newsmen had better get out before those threats were carried out.” Cronkite recalls how CBS reporter Dan Rather was struck down by a blow from a rifle butt delivered by a National Guardsman who had aimed it at Rather’s head but missed. Even CBS affiliate stations did not agree with the attention the national network was giving to the movement’s events. Southern affiliates complained to CBS management “maintain[ing] that our reports were biased in favor of the blacks and that they distorted the position of the whites by suggesting that all white Southerners were as violence-prone as those we pictured on television.” Cronkite writes that some of the stations threatened to withdraw their affiliation with CBS, which with enough support could have shut down the network. Unknown to Cronkite at the time, one station in Mississippi denied CBS network reporters from using its facilities to send reports and messages back to New York for the national news. Many stations flatly refused to make an issue of civil rights and “stepped up their equally vehement protest over our Vietnam coverage.” Moreover, Jack Nelson, a reporter for the Atlanta Constitution in 1950s and 1960s recalls how “some Southern newspapers were part of the segregationist establishment and vehemently opposed what they called "race-mixing." Nelson continues his point by saying "some major newspapers with strong editorial policies of supporting law and order nevertheless failed to provide comprehensive news coverage of the civil rights movement.”

373 Northwest Arkansas Times 5 April 1968: Pg. 1
374 United Press International. “Point Of No Return’ Came At Montgomery.” Beckley Raleigh Register 5 April 1968: Pg. 2
375 “Point of No Return’ Came At Montgomery.”
377 Walter Cronkite. Pg. 293.
378 Walter Cronkite. Pg. 293.
379 Walter Cronkite. Pg. 294.
Furthermore, Nelson recalls how reporters worked differently covering the Civil Rights Movement than any other newsworthy event when he served as the Atlanta correspondent for the Los Angeles Times. "It quickly became clear that reporters on the scene felt so deeply about the importance of this movement that at times they even exchanged information with competing publications." Nelson continues, "in more than 50 years of reporting, I covered no other continuing story where reporters of rival newspapers routinely shared information." Nelson continues his argument and mine by writing, "many journalists, no matter what else they might have covered, look back on that period as the highlight of their careers—a time when the press had a profound impact on the most dramatic and important domestic revolution of the 20th century." Overall, “news coverage of the civil rights movement helped galvanize public opinion and prod the government to enact and enforce laws to protect the rights of minorities and demolish the old system of segregation and white supremacy.”

In conclusion, the media coverage of the efforts of civil rights activists and the racial injustices they encountered in the United States was directly related to the obvious gaining of momentum the Civil Rights Movement experienced from the mid-1950s to eventually achieving legal racial equality in the mid-1960s with the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The media played a vital part in the progression of the modern Civil Rights Movement by exposing the wrongs done to blacks in America during the 1960s and before. Beverly Robertson, Executive Director of the National Civil Rights Museum, offered her views on the role of the media in the primary years of civil rights activism during an interview featured in the film Freedom’s Call directed by Richard Breyer. “The media allows us to live vicariously those experiences of those who have come before us and who have made such a tremendous difference, said Robertson. “We will never appreciate what these folks did for us without the work of the media.”

The Civil Rights Movement would not have had the same influential impact upon American society without the media coverage and headline news that it received. Without the ability for those outside of the activists groups to see, hear, and read about the injustices experienced by African Americans at that time, the movement would have floundered. The media and news agencies existing from the mid-1950s throughout the 1960s served as a voice and a communication outlet for those suffering from racial hate crimes and legal inequality. By exposing such conditions and occurrences, the media created a mirror for American society to review itself upon while also serving as a watchdog for the entire population of the United States. If the journalists, editors, and photographers did not provide such devotion and courage in covering the actions of the civil rights activists, the Civil Rights Movement would be barely a blip in the American history books. During the more than ten years of struggle for racial equality, the American media proved its societal role as a voice for the people and a watchdog for the public against apparent injustices.

382 “Reporting on the Civil Rights Movement.”
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Ideas of Freedom in The Modern “Gothicization” of Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*

Sarah Spencer

In 1835, Gaetano Donizetti composed his now famous opera, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, based on Sir Walter Scott’s historical romance, *The Bride of Lammermoor*. While Donizetti’s original opera was heavily influenced by the gothic revival and its corresponding sentiments, the 2011 Metropolitan Opera performance of *Lucia di Lammermoor* exhibits an increasing use of the Gothic. Through an analysis of the Gothic influences in Zimmerman’s contemporary production of Donizetti’s opera, this “Gothicization” of *Lucia di Lammermoor* can be seen as an expression of the desirability of freedom of natural humanity from the societal constraints of moral codes and social orders; traditional values; and ingrained, accepted roles.

In 1835, the famous Italian operatic composer, Gaetano Donizetti, originally composed *Lucia di Lammermoor*. For his subject matter, he selected Sir Walter Scott’s sensational story of the Scottish bride who, forced against her will into marriage despite her love for another, is driven to insanity and horrifically murders her new husband. In her article “Donizetti’s Gothic Resurrections,” Melina Esse refers to this opera as “perhaps the most well-known exemplar of Donizetti’s Romantic gothic style...featuring madness, hallucination, murders, and a sinister phantom.” However, Mary Zimmermann’s production of Donizetti’s *Lucia* at the Metropolitan Opera resets the opera from medieval Scotland to the time period of the Gothic Revival and adds more Gothic elements on top of Donizetti’s already Gothic opera. Not only are the sets incredibly dark and sublime, there is an ever-present, romanticized sense of death, doom, and decay in the looming gothic design. This increased use of the Gothic in Donizetti’s *Lucia* brings along certain connotations from the constantly evolving definitions of the Gothic style. As a result of these connotations of the Gothic, Zimmerman’s production becomes filled with commentary on the superiority of natural humanity over an adherence to society.

To understand the Metropolitan Opera’s newest production of *Lucia* as this more complicated commentary on natural humanity, it is important to first analyze the ways in which this production is especially Gothic. One of the more obvious Gothic stylemes present is the theme of irrationality. This derives from the Barbarian Gothic view, which denounced the Gothic as disorganized and representing a lack of order. Confusion or disorganization is present in the production of *Lucia* through Lucia’s mental confusion and eventual breakdown. This lack of reason is especially clear in Lucia’s mad aria, which includes hallucinations and an inability to distinguish between fantasy and reality. Furthermore, the Metropolitan Opera’s production includes disproportional sets and places an

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386 See Figures 1 through 6.
387 Matilde Mateo, "'Gothic’ the Barbarian," Syracuse University (Syracuse: 2011), Lecture 9/8/11.
emphasis on the presence of ghosts with their physical manifestation in Acts One and Three. The disproportion of the sets is particularly relevant in this case with respect to the Barbarian Gothic view. This take on medieval Gothic architecture focuses on its lack of order, specifically referring to the style’s break from classical architectural orders, rules, and constraints. In this way, the Gothic style can be seen as an expression of freedom. Moreover, the increased use of Gothic elements in the Metropolitan Opera’s contemporary production of Lucia emphasizes emancipation from “classical” or usual constraints.

The styleme of imagination and lack of clarity further illustrate that the Gothic elements represent freedom from traditional barriers. These restraints developed out of the Oriental Gothic view, which arose from the notion that architecture and style embodied the culture of its creators. When this view was gaining momentum, the delicate and over-ornamented Gothic style was thought to best represent Eastern cultures, rather than the stereotype typified “barbarians” from the North. This “Eastern” delicacy of ornamentation in the gothic style is evident in both the delicacy of Donizetti’s music as well as in the character Lucia’s mentality and physicality — a characterization that is played up by Natalie Dessay’s fragile performance. Furthermore, the theme of imagination runs rampant through the opera’s plot and staging. The presence and use of ghosts, which begins in Lucia’s opening arias concerning the very ghost that foreshadows her unfortunate end, further demonstrates this theme of imagination. Most notably, the dark romanticism in the opera’s lyrics and imagery firmly establishes imagination as an ever-present theme. Both over-ornamentation and the imagination required to produce it further reflect a break from the traditional, classical rules for decoration. Consequently, the presence of these stylemes in the “Gothicization” of Lucia di Lammermoor further emphasizes the idea of freedom from traditional restrictions.

In particular, these Gothic elements emphasize death and insanity and then portray them as freedom. While death is presented as a terrifying fate, it also can be viewed as a path to freedom from the restrictions of life. This is especially clear in the final scene of the opera when Edgardo learns of Lucia’s death and innocence. The Metropolitan production portrays death as freedom through the use of Lucia’s ghost to help Edgardo stab himself, who dies declaring that “if we were divided on earth, let God unite us in Heaven.” The romanticization of his death, communicated through the music and staging, makes Edgardo’s suicide bittersweet; the horror is removed, Lucia’s memory is vindicated, and Edgardo is able to escape earthly restrictions to join his beloved in heaven. Therefore, using the Gothic and all its corresponding connotations, the Metropolitan Opera’s production of Lucia presents death as another form of freedom from earthly or social constraints.

388 See Figures 7 through 9; Donizetti, Lucia di Lammermoor, Performed by Natalie Dessay.
390 See Figure 10; Donizetti, Lucia di Lammermoor, Performed by Natalie Dessay.
391 This literary embellishment is reminiscent of the intricate reasoning/poetry of the Eastern rhetoric as discussed by Western critics of the gothic style, such as Francois de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon; Francois de Salignac, Dialogues sur l’Eloquence, trad. De William Stevenson (Glasgow, 1750), 97.
392 According to “Literary Gothicism,” some of the many Gothic stylemes present in the 2011 production include themes of decay (Lucia’s mental state and the decaying noble houses), heightened realism (insanity, hallucinations, ghosts), jumping between extremes (both vocally and emotionally), and especially a fascination with death; Linda Bayer-Berenbaum, The Gothic Imagination: Expansion in Gothic Literature and Art (London-Toronto: Associated University Press, 1982).
Insanity also represents a freedom that is vocally expressed through Lucia’s “mad aria” and overall musical prominence. Lucia’s famous mad scene aria builds upon the idea of vocal freedom as mentioned in relation to delicacy and imagination. Here Donizetti’s Lucia truly is bel canto singing; the aria’s “frantic coloratura, trills and chromatic runs” highlight its musical complexity. Moreover, the music reflects the mental chaos as the ornamental flourishes and structure lie outside the musically expected or traditional. Mary Smart, in her article “The Silencing of Lucia,” connects this musical freedom to an idea of social freedom. She states that “the mad scene has been interpreted...as a feminist victory, an escape from patriarchy...[as] her vocal flourishes resist the confining structures of operatic convention.” In other words, Lucia’s insanity and Gothic “irrationality,” both musical and mental, break free from reality and musical conventions to suggest a similar freedom from traditional social roles.

Therefore, use of the Gothic in the Metropolitan Opera’s 2011 Lucia di Lammermoor emphasizes freedom through a subversion of conventional social roles. Similar to the theme of insanity that runs through this opera, Gothic literature especially uses altered states, such as insanity, to disturb concepts of reality and create a sense of sublime fear in its audiences. Taking Lucia’s mental reality as symbolic of her social reality, Lucia’s insanity can then be seen as an upset of her social reality. Therefore, her insanity and mental detachment, as played up in the Metropolitan Opera’s 2011 performance, represents Lucia disturbing social conventions and gaining freedom from those societal limitations. Simply, her insanity is an escape from her inferior social role that forces her to be “manipulated and driven crazy by the men in her life.”

Furthermore, it is important to note that Lucia’s prominence in the opera, like her insanity, is also a subversion of traditional social gender roles. Her “vocal assertiveness” and physical presence throughout the opera works against a traditional idea of female inferiority in opera performances. In fact, she seems to ultimately hold the power in this particular production; not only does she dispatch with her unwanted husband, her ghost is the one who reaches out and takes the life of her lover, Edgardo. This strongly brings to mind Ruskin’s idea of the Gothic as embodying changefulness, or “the capability of the gothic to break every single canon of classical architecture.” Like the Gothic’s changefulness, Lucia’s musical prominence and power in the opera demonstrate her freedom from social canons. Overall, the Metropolitan Opera’s modern production uses Gothic ideas and stylemes, such as irrationality, imagination, insanity, and unconventionality, to convey the message of freedom from expected or usual definitions.

In addition, the Gothic Sublimity in the Metropolitan Opera’s Lucia demonstrates that this freedom, in the form of natural humanity, is desirable over order and social constraints; to first understand the freedom conveyed by the Gothic style as natural humanity, it is important to observe the writings of John Ruskin. In

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394 Charles Osborne, The bel canto operas of Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini (Amadeus Press, 1994), 244.
397 Corinne Blackmer and Patricia Smith, En travesti: women, gender subversion, opera (Columbia University Press, 1995), 64.
398 Ibid, 65.
his chapter, “The Nature of Gothic,” Ruskin outlines six general characteristics of
the Gothic style. According to Ruskin, the first trait of the Gothic style is savageness.
However, when Ruskin refers to the idea of savageness, he does not use it to imply
inferiority or scorn. Instead, Ruskin states that the quality of savageness found in
the Gothic style conveys “a profound truth, which the instinct of mankind almost
unconsciously recognizes.”\(^\text{400}\) In short, Ruskin argues that the Gothic is the most
natural style, and that its savageness, or rudeness, makes it both natural and
desirable.\(^\text{401}\) Therefore, this “profound truth” of the natural Gothic can be seen in the
violent, animalic human instincts shown through the madness, emotions, and
violence of the opera’s plot. Consequently, the use of Gothic elements to express
freedom also expresses the freedom found in natural humanity, a relation that is
further emphasized by Ruskin’s characterization of Gothic as the most natural style.

Having established the Gothic style as an expression of both freedom and
natural humanity, it is necessary to discuss the relationship between natural
humanity and society. The idea that society and order are the repression of natural
humanity can be found in writings from both Donizetti and Zimmermann’s time. The
contemporary author Elias Norbert develops this idea with his argument that
society acts as a restraining force on the animalic aspects of natural humanity. He
states that over time, “the more animalic human activities were progressively thrust
behind the scenes of people’s communal social life and invested with feelings of
shame.”\(^\text{402}\) In other words, social norms repress natural humanity and force it to
conform to the accepted moral codes.

More famously, in 1754, Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s wrote his Second
Discourse, \textit{A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality}, to argue that the natural state of
humanity is one of freedom from the corrupting force of society.\(^\text{403}\) Rousseau states
that, “in instinct alone, he had all he required for living in a state of nature...[and]
Man is weak when he is dependent.”\(^\text{404}\) Therefore, he is suggesting that natural
humanity and instincts are more than adequate, and it is only when man enters into
a social contract, creating dependence on others in society, that he becomes weak.
Furthermore, Rousseau exclaims that “such is the force of natural compassion,
which the greatest depravity of morals has as yet hardly been able to destroy!”\(^\text{405}\)
Understanding morality as a social code, this statement expresses natural humanity
as a desirable state of being that is under attack from the accepted social
constraints. Therefore, infusing the Gothic’s representation of natural humanity
with the idea of Norbert and Rousseau, the presence and emphasis on the Gothic in
the Metropolitan Opera’s production of \textit{Lucia} begins to emphasize natural humanity
and freedom as desirable over social conventions and order.

However, an analysis of Gothic Sublimity is the most convincing argument to
support the “Gothicization” of \textit{Lucia di Lammermoor} as a promotion of freedom, or
natural humanity, over order. In his 1757 work, \textit{A Philosophical Enquiry into the
Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful}, Edmund Burke proposed that
Sublimity was superior to Beauty. He argued that while viewing classical beauty and
order brings about pleasure, viewing something sublime elicits the deeper

\(^{400}\) Ruskin, \textit{The Stones of Venice}, 185.
\(^{401}\) Mateo, “Christian Gothic.”
\(^{402}\) Elias, Norbert. \textit{The Civilizing Process: sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations}. (Wiley-
\(^{404}\) Ibid, 71-72.
\(^{405}\) Ibid, 74.
emotional response; in incorporating the fearsome aspects of nature and human
nature, the sublime appeals more to our basic emotions and natural humanity. As
the emotional response of the viewer was integral to an aesthetic experience, Burke
concluded that the deeply emotional response to Sublimity made it more powerful
and desirable than Beauty. Because Sublimity is an inherent aspect of the Gothic
style, using Burke’s theory, the Gothic style is the most desirable. Moreover, as the
Gothic style represents a freedom that can be interpreted as natural humanity, the
increased use of the Gothic style in the Metropolitan Opera’s production of Lucia di
Lammermoor places an emphasis on freedom and the idea that natural humanity is
preferable over social constraints and order.

Through an understanding of the Gothic freedom, and natural humanity as a
representation of freedom from society, the Metropolitan Opera’s 2011 Lucia’s
increased “Gothicism” demonstrates that natural humanity is the most desirable
state. Through Lucia’s Gothic irrationality, imagination, and insanity the opera
presents the romanticized death and insanity as a desirable freedom from societal
constraints. Furthermore, this emphasis on freedom could only have been acquired
through the use of the Gothic – the most natural and sublime style. As a result of this
“Gothicization,” the Metropolitan Opera’s 2011 production of Donizetti’s original
opera is further transformed into a sublime reflection of the struggle for freedom
from oppressive social restraints.

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406 Mateo, "Gothic Horror"; This importance of emotions to the aesthetic experience can also seen in Lucia
di Lammermoor’s vastly emotional plot and characters, as well as the importance of emotional expression
in performing the opera (acting in order to incite emotional responses in the audience).
Figure 1: Lucia near the well against the dark silhouettes of a forest.

Figure 2: Lucia's marriage
Figure 3: Lucia after murdering her husband (note the engorged moon)

Figure 4: Lucia’s death after her mad aria
Figure 5: Edgardo wandering in the cemetery

Figure 6: Edgardo and the cemetery
Figure 7: Lucia and the drowned lover
Figure 8: Edgardo after stabbing himself with the aid of the ghost Lucia

Figure 9: The enormous moon dominates the set behind a grand winding staircase
Figure 10: Lucia's madness\textsuperscript{407}

\textsuperscript{407} All images were taken from a Google image search and feature Mary Zimmerman’s production of Donizetti’s \textit{Lucia di Lammermoor} performed by the Metropolitan Opera; Gaetano Donizetti, \textit{Lucia di Lammermoor}, Performed by Natalie Dessay (Metropolitan Opera: 2011); ”Metropolitan Opera Broadcast: Lucia di Lammermoor.” \textit{Opera News} (March 2011).
The Legends of Mary Magdalene and Thaïs: Illuminating Issues of Gender and Virtue

Sarah Spencer

Although Mary Magdalene may now be the most commonly known legend of the penitent prostitute saint, a vast number of other legends of similar saints exist, from the satanic Pelagia to the mystical courtesan Thaïs.\(^{408}\) Surprisingly, at first glance the actual legend of Mary Magdalene seems atypical of the traditional "holy harlot", but the fundamental ideological themes are quite in alignment. More specifically, the underlying issues of gender and virtue in the evolution of the legends of Magdalene and of Thaïs, a typical saintly prostitute, progress similarly from the time of their inception to the late Victorian era.

While in the most fundamental sense Mary Magdalene is by definition a "holy harlot", her legend displays many discontinuities with the legend of the typical prostitute turned saint. According to a study of this subset of saints, "The Legends of the Holy Harlots", the average legend tells of a bereft young woman led to prostitution through circumstance and monetary necessity, who spends the rest of her life in a state of harsh repentance and asceticism after being convinced to repent by a male cleric.\(^{409}\) Taking Saint Thaïs as the archetypal "holy harlot", this pattern is clear in even her earliest Greek legend. Left to fend for herself by her mother at a young age she becomes an actress and courtesan due to necessity. At this point in her life she is converted by a monk, in later versions named Paphnutius and then Athanaël, who convinces her to burn her earthly possessions and travel painfully across the desert to be locked in a remote nunnery to plead for forgiveness and divine grace.\(^{410}\) In contrast, the Mary Magdalene from the twelfth century medieval Cistercian account comes instead from a wealthy noble family and therefore her fall into sin is completely unrelated to monetary circumstance.\(^{411}\) Furthermore, in the Gregory Homilies using the “composite” Mary Magdalene, which attributes several stories of unknown women to Magdalene, she is the one who physically seeks out Christ to gain redemption instead of the male church authority figure seeking her.\(^{412}\) Finally, Mary Magdalene is shown divine mercy for her sins first and then goes about a life of penance and asceticism inspired by her conversion – a path that is the reverse of Thaïs’ journey towards redemption. Mary’s journey appears to be in contrast to the typical "holy harlot".\(^{413}\)

However, despite these superficial differences in the legends’ basic premises, the story of Mary Magdalene has more in common ideologically with the typical reformed prostitute legend than is immediately apparent. One of the common pre-


\(^{409}\) Beresford: *The Legends of the Holy Harlots Thaïs and Pelagia in Medieval Spanish Literature*, 34, 36, 39, 40.


\(^{413}\) Gregory the Great, *40 Gospel Homilies*; Mycoff, *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of Her Sister Saint Martha*. 
requisites, along with virtue, for a lady saint in the Middle Ages was noble heritage, a requirement to which the medieval legend of Mary Magdalene adheres.\textsuperscript{414} Contrasting with Magdalene’s inherited nobility, Thaïs lacks the status of nobility, seeming to make her the atypical medieval saint. However, even though Thaïs is not of noble birth, her nobility and grace of character is heavily emphasized in many renditions of her legend, most notably in Anatole France’s 1890 novel, \textit{Thaïs}.\textsuperscript{415} Whenever France physically describes Thaïs, there is always a mention of the grace or nobility of her movements or carriage; This approach is apparent in the description of the scene where Paphnutius first sees Thaïs at the theater: “The crowd recognized this woman’s power of clothing with superhuman grace the forms and acts of life”.\textsuperscript{416} This is a clear instance of physiognomy, or implying the nature of a person’s character through their physical description. This same literary technique is also used in a rendition of the legend of Mary Magdalene in Wilkie Collins’, \textit{The New Magdalen}. In this work, the “Magdalene” character, Mercy Merrick, is constantly described in a noble light like France’s Thaïs. In fact, the first description given for Mercy is that “there was an innate nobility in the carriage of this woman’s head, an innate grandeur in the gaze of her large gray eyes” – a description sure to immediately bias any reader in Mercy’s favor.\textsuperscript{417} Therefore, while a nobility of birth is not shared between Mary Magdalene and Thaïs in the legends, there is a definite effort in both legends to establish a nobility of nature.

Another key element of the legends of the saintly prostitute, seemingly not shared by Mary Magdalene, is the physical transformation of the courtesan’s beauty to ugliness that accompanies their transition towards sainthood.\textsuperscript{418} In the legend of Thaïs, after being locked away in the nunnery to live out a life repenting for her past sins, she is ordered by Paphnutius to “Break your body, destroy your flesh!”, and, in earlier versions, to even allow herself to become “befouled by filth”.\textsuperscript{419} This ruination of the body, and therefore the ruination of the physical element that led her into sin, is very symbolic. Mary Magdalene does not adhere to this physical prerequisite o redemption, she does undergo a similar symbolic transformation. Once again using Gregory the Great’s Homilies, he states that after Mary Magdalene’s repentance “What she had earlier used disgracefully for herself she now laudably offered for the Lord”.\textsuperscript{420} Both the physical denial of the body and the descent from beauty that results during Thaïs and Mary’s transition, turn the vehicles for sin into vessels for God. This idea is even further emphasized in Anatole France’s novel, \textit{Thaïs}, when the abbess is relating Thaïs’s participation in the monastic community’s presentation of biblical plays to the returned Paphnutius; “You yourself would have been touched if you had seen her, in those pious scenes, shed real tears and stretch out her arms, like palms, to heaven”.\textsuperscript{421} This illustrates how after her conversion Thaïs no longer uses her gifted acting skills for the pagan stage, but only to help others in the convent experience affective piety – the practice of achieving the emotional states of biblical characters in order to reach their state of grace.\textsuperscript{422} In this way, both the legends of Thaïs and Mary Magdalene demonstrate

\textsuperscript{415} Massenet, \textit{Thaïs}, iii.
\textsuperscript{416} France, \textit{Thaïs}, 61, 62, 85, 89.
\textsuperscript{417} Wilkie Collins, \textit{The New Magdalen} (BiblioBazaar, 2007), 15.
\textsuperscript{418} Beresford: \textit{The Legends of the Holy Harlots Thaïs and Pelagia in Medieval Spanish Literature}, 46.
\textsuperscript{419} Massenet, \textit{Thaïs}, 15; Beresford, \textit{The Legends of the Holy Harlots Thaïs and Pelagia in Medieval Spanish Literature}, 12.
\textsuperscript{420} Gregory the Great, \textit{40 Gospel Homilies}, 269-270.
\textsuperscript{421} France, \textit{Thaïs}, 181.
\textsuperscript{422} Samantha Herrick, lecture for “Mary Magdalene: History of a Legend,” Syracuse University, 16 October 2010.
a tangible conversion of their talents and gifts from perpetuators of sin into glorifications of God.

This physical transformation of Thaïs also speaks to the underlying reason for both the saints’ downfalls – beauty. As the Cistercian account of Saint Mary Magdalene explains, “outward beauty is rarely allied to chastity”. 423 This same sentiment is reflected in the 1890’s op Massenet,” where Thaïs herself claims “I have no more chosen my lot than my nature!...it is not my fault if I am beautiful!”. 424 So while the typical holy harlot’s profession may seem to have been a result of their impoverished conditions, the language of the legends keeps focusing on physical feminine beauty as the fatal component. In this way the legends of both Thaïs and Mary Magdalene are perfectly in harmony.

Another strong connection between the legends of Mary Magdalene and Thaïs is the parallel evolutions of their legends, specifically in reference to the ideas of gender roles and virtue in society. Both legends undergo a definite progression from a relatively authoritative and active woman to a passive saint clearly subservient to and reliant on men. In the earliest version of the legend of Thaïs, she is the one who chooses to follow the example of the monk and repent, she chooses to burn her past possessions and money, and she locks herself in the nunnery to repent for her many sins. 425 Similarly, the first mention of Mary Magdalene in the Bible is of her in a role of some authority, referring to her as “apostle to the apostles”, as Christ commanded her to announce his resurrection to the other apostles. 426 However, in both these legends the women are still shown the way by men and therefore only attain salvation through the presence of men. Despite this both women retain a comparatively strong autonomy as shown by their authority over life decisions or position of some authority over select men.

The next step in the evolution of both the legends of Mary Magdalene and of Thaïs is the elimination for their relatively authoritative roles. The consistently strong and free-willed Thaïs of the first version now becomes in the later Greek redaction the “virtuous-whore” who must “surrender her free will” to the monk in order to be saved. 427 Thaïs now repents as part of a command by the monk rather than through an act of self-realization. Nor is she responsible for deciding her penance – the legend now expresses the “absolute power and authority...of the male-dominated Church”. 428 Similarly, in the sixth century version of Mary Magdalene by Gregory the Great, Mary is described as avidly seeking out Christ, but not as an act of independent will but because “he [Jesus] drew her to himself”. 429 As with the revised legend of Thaïs, Mary Magdalene is portrayed as lacking the ability to realize the way to salvation on her own. Furthermore, in the late twelfth century Cistercian account of her legend, Mary Magdalene places herself under the protections of Saint Maximinus despite her more elevated spiritual status. 430 The fact that such a spiritually powerful woman must still be subjected to the authority of a man, emphasizes the apparent necessity of men to the spiritual deliverance of

424 Massenet, Thaïs, 9.
427 France, Thaïs, 5; Beresford, The Legends of the Holy Harlots Thaïs and Pelagia in Medieval Spanish Literature, 6.
428 Ibid, 7.
429 Samantha Herrick, lecture for “Mary Magdalene: History of a Legend,” Syracuse University, 29 Sept. 2010; Gregory the Great, 40 Gospel Homilies, 269.
430 Samantha Herrick, lecture for “Mary Magdalene: History of a Legend," Syracuse University, 6 October 2010; Mycoff, The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of Her Sister Saint Martha, 90.
women and therefore reflects an increased domination of men over women. Yet despite this alteration of each saint’s character from more authoritative to more passive, Thaïs still remains in control of the decision to burn her possessions and destroy her past sinful life. Mary Magdalene retains some power through her position as “apostle to the apostles” and through her control over her fall into sin.

Moving forward to the late Victorian period, the women in both legends transform after their repentance into totally passive creatures – their proper role in society – a position in direct opposition to their beginning wayward roles as prostitutes – behavior that flew in the face of social norms. Wilkie Collins’ 1873 novel, *The New Magdalen* presents an image of women, especially his “Magdalene” character, as totally powerless.\(^{431}\) This characterization is highlighted by Mercy’s account of her fall into sin, a downward spiral in which she plays a pitifully passive role. The climactic moment in her fall basically amounts to rape, the ultimate loss of control – “I fainted in the street...when I partially recovered my senses I was conscious...of having a wine-glass containing some cordial drink held to my lips by a man...the stimulant had a very strange effect on me...I lost my senses once more”.\(^{432}\) This surrender to sin is totally different than previous versions such as the Cistercian account or even the popular medieval “Digby Mary Magdalene” play where Mary Magdalene succumbs to temptation brought about by her beauty and curiosity.\(^{433}\) In one of the most famous Victorian accounts of the legend of Thaïs, the 1894 opera by Jules Massenet, there is an evolution towards passivity in the character of Thaïs similar to what occurs with the Victorian version of Mary Magdalene’s legend.\(^{434}\) In this Victorian account, Thaïs no longer makes the decision to burn all her possessions; instead, the monk Anthanaël forces her against her will.\(^{435}\) Additionally, Anthanaël constantly exclaims to the audience his plans and desire to “conquer” Thaïs, “I realized how glorious it would be for me to conquer you [Thaïs]!”.\(^{436}\) This language of the righteous man triumphing over the unvirtuous woman only serves to emphasize the inferior, role of women explored by Wilkie Collins. Furthermore, at her moment of conversion, the opera’s stage directions instruct Thaïs to throw herself “weeping and moaning...at Anthanaël’s feet”.\(^{437}\) In contrast to her time as the famous courtesan in the beginning of the opera, when all men were at her feet, this role reversal, with Thaïs at a man’s feet, demonstrates the Victorian idea that women could only attain salvation by adhering to their proper gender roles in society. It is interesting to note that it is Thaïs’ demerit that allows her to realize her role as the heroine, in contrast to the male hero who goes through the opposite process.\(^{438}\) While this necessary reversal is not as explicitly seen in the Victorian version of Mary Magdalene, both these adaptations of the legends do emphasize the passive subservient woman as the ideal and, therefore, as the most virtuous.

More fascinating, however, is the evolution of Mary Magdalene and Thaïs’ legends regarding the subtly changing idea of virtue, especially in relation to each woman’s role in society. The idea of virtue in these legends transform from medieval times to the Victorian era, with virtue shifting from being reliant only on a

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\(^{431}\) Samantha Herrick, lecture for “Mary Magdalene: History of a Legend,” Syracuse University, 17 Nov. 2010.


\(^{434}\) Massenet, *Thaïs*, iii.

\(^{435}\) Ibid, 11.

\(^{436}\) Ibid, 8.

\(^{437}\) Ibid, 9.

\(^{438}\) Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 44.
true repentance to being dependent on past reputations despite an honest and passionate repentance. In Gregory the Great’s medieval version of the biblical Mary Magdalene, once she has repented weeping at the feet of Christ all her past sins are wiped away as if they never existed. Gregory explicitly stated that “when he has nullified what he has done by his repentance, our neighbor is no longer a sinner”, further emphasizing that once a true repentance has been made, the sinful past is no longer relevant to a person’s present or future.439 An early version of the legend of Thaïs, translated for French laity in 1250, strongly reflects this same theological principle discussed by Gregory and even uses his same language and imagery.440 Just as Gregory explained penitence as the medicine that will remove the rust of sin from a golden soul, the legend of Thaïs instructs that “So as not to lose the brightness/Of Heaven...get rid of the stain/Of the sins that encumber you”.441 Therefore like Gregory’s legend of Magdalene, this medieval version of Thaïs also implies that once penitence has removed the “stain of sins”, those past sins are gone forever. Furthermore, this legend of Thaïs actually references Mary Magdalene as the precedent that proves all sins can be washed away completely: “[God] can forgive all sins/As He did with Mary Magdalene...When she begged Him...God forgave her at once...So that she changed her life”.442 So clearly, both these early legends of Mary Magdalene and Thaïs accentuate the independence of the future from past sins and sinful reputation once acts of penitence have been performed.

Moving forward to the late Victorian era, Wilkie Collins’ The New Magdalen is rife with social commentary on the idea of virtue being a quality that once tarnished is unrecoverable. No matter her present conduct as a virtuous woman, Mercy cannot escape her past reputation, introducing the idea that a person is forever contaminated morally by a disreputable past: “Who I am can never alter who I was”.443 In the Victorian era, this idea of irrevocable moral contamination replaces the previous medieval belief in the power of penitence to erase the burden of a past sinful life. The hopelessness of repenting sinners in Victorian society is clearly evident when Mercy states that “...all that a sincerely penitent woman can do I have done. It doesn’t matter! Once let my past story be known, and the shadow of it covers me; the kindest people shrink”.444 While this excerpt illustrates the completely passive role this woman holds, it also demonstrates this altered idea of virtue being a delicate matter that profoundly affects a person’s reputation and therefore their status in society.

The same idea of permanent contamination and the relationship between virtue and societal status is clearly illustrated in the Victorian legend of Thaïs by both Anatole France and Jules Massenet. In the novel Thaïs, the monk Paphnutius is visited by an apparition of Thaïs and takes it as a sign that he must convert her, and consequently cleanse the city of Alexandria from her influence. However when he first mentions his plans, a fellow monk exclaims, “God help me if I suspect the intentions of my brother!”, suggesting that Paphnutius’ true intentions are only masked by spirituality, implying that just the mere vision of Thaïs has already began to corrupt this holy man.445 Furthermore, as Paphnutius starts out on his journey to Alexandria, a city whose very air he claims is corrupted, France introduces a foreshadowing metaphor of a plower freeing his trapped mate from a nest, ending

439 Gregory the Great, 40 Gospel Homilies, 271.
440 Cazelles, The Lady as Saint, 290.
441 Gregory the Great, 40 Gospel Homilies, 271; Cazelles, The Lady as Saint, 291.
442 Cazelles, The Lady as Saint, 294.
443 Collins, The New Magdalen, 22.
444 Ibid.
445 France, Thaïs, 35.
with “the plover becom[ing] entangled in the trap that he had earlier torn”\(^{446}\). This signals to the reader that in saving Thaïs, in exposing himself to her presence and moral contamination, Paphnutius is himself doomed to fall into the trap of moral corruption. This idea of contagious immorality through proximity with sinners is further solidified in the banquet scene when Thaïs herself asks a man who kisses her, “But aren’t you afraid of tarnishing your soul in the arms of a woman?”\(^{447}\). While this could refer to becoming sinful through future illicit sexual behavior, it also could be interpreted as the moral danger inherent in the simple physical contact with the un-virtuous.

Also during the banquet scene, the “heretic” philosophers introduce the idea that even a saint could be contaminated by past indiscretions. Their pagan saint Eunoia was a similar holy harlot, who they refer to as “the courtesan of atonement, the scarred Host, the wafer soaked in the wine of our shames”\(^{448}\). This curious verbal treatment of their saint implies that despite her achieved holiness, her virtue is continuously counterbalanced by her past sins. This duality is highlighted by the use of three pairs of descriptors, each with a sinful aspect and a holy aspect, courtesan versus atonement, scarred versus Host, wine of shames versus wafer. The idea that even one so divinely favored as a saint cannot escape a past reputation truly drives home the same point made by Wilkie Collins about virtue never receiving second chances from society.

In the 1894 opera “Thaïs,” Jules Massenet continues these same themes of contaminated virtue and its tangible effect on society\(^{449}\). Effectively expressing this idea that Thaïs’ mere presence gives the city an air of corruption, the monk Anthanaël states “The city is given over to sin! A woman... Thaïs...fills it with scandal! And through her hell rules men there!”\(^{450}\). This further reinforces France’s theme of virtue being an active force that when corrupted affects all of society through proximity. The idea that hell rules the city through Thaïs elevates her role as a courtesan to something greater than herself and into an influence that threatens all of society—a threat that actually is Anthanaël’s initial motivation for converting Thaïs. Looking at this theme on a more personal level in the opera, Anthanaël’s moral fate is once more doomed by his efforts that bring him near the corruptive un-virtuous influence of Thaïs. Later, when his unquenchable lust for Thaïs torments him, he exclaims “I reconquered the soul of her who was the impure Thaïs...well, in me, peace is dead!...A demon possess me! The woman's beauty haunts my vision!”\(^{451}\). So despite his firm moral background as an intensely spiritual and ascetic monk, Anthanaël’s exposure to Thaïs’ immorality condemns his own virtue, implying that even the most virtuous in society are still subject to the danger of the un-virtuous. In the climactic scene, Anthanaël falls at the feet of the dying Thaïs, pledging his sinful love to her while the vision of her ascension to heaven blinds her.\(^{452}\) The fact that this now holy woman still exerts such an immoral pull on Anthanaël serves to demonstrate once again how Thaïs has not truly left her past sins and therefore sinful influence behind her. Anatole France’s “Thaïs” - as well as Wilkie Collins’ “The New Magdalen” - thoroughly explore this altered idea of virtue; that one can never escape from past sinful acts regardless of any penitence, that immorality is seen in the late 1800’s as a definite threat to society, and that

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\(^{446}\) Ibid, 45, 36.  
\(^{447}\) Ibid, 117.  
\(^{448}\) Ibid, 115.  
\(^{449}\) Massenet, Thaïs, iii.  
\(^{450}\) Ibid, 1.  
\(^{451}\) Ibid, 17.  
\(^{452}\) Ibid, 19.
immorality can spread like a disease to infect all who come in contact with the un-virtuous.

Because these legends of holy harlots, particularly of Mary Magdalene and Thaïs, evolved so similarly throughout time, it follows that they evolved as a result of the same force – the changing social and religious climate of each time period. As *The Lady as Saint* states, holy harlot legends are reflective of male enforced feminine ideals and virtue, or of the dominant socially acceptable ideals. Consequently, a study of the progression of these saintly legends throughout time can reveal insight into the development of gender roles and the implications of virtue in the societies that produced the legends. As the roles of both Mary Magdalene and Thaïs in their legends became progressively more passive and less authoritative, it makes sense to conclude that society’s view on proper feminine roles generally followed the same trend. Drawing on the same legends and logic, one could say that society changed its view on virtue – from being reliant on penitence to being a delicate, easily corruptible status marker, as seen in *The New Magdalen*. Therefore even this focused analysis of specific saintly legends demonstrates that changing cultural views in works of literature are heavily influenced by the changing social and religious climate that produces them.

On an ideological level, the legends of Mary Magdalene and Thaïs parallel each other closely in the evolution of themes of gender and virtue from the pre-medieval to the Victorian era. While Mary Magdalene differs from the legend of Thaïs in literal events and circumstances, the ideology behind the two legends is analogous – especially concerning nobility of character, the danger of physical beauty, and the application of attributes previously used to sin now towards holy ends. Regarding the evolution of the treatment of gender roles in the two legends, both the characters of Mary Magdalene and Thaïs are clearly given less and less authority and control over their own life, and retreat in an increasingly passive position. Finally, over time, virtue becomes independent from future penitence or holy works and immorality takes on a darker nature as a corruptive force endangering all of society. As these legends reflect the evolving social stance on both gender and virtue in their themes and messages, it will be interesting to see how our constantly shifting society will continue to affect future permutations of the legend of the holy harlot.

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453 Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 43.
Idylls of the King: Searching for Equilibrium in Victorian Society

Sarah Spencer

In the idyll, “The Last Tournament”, Sir Tristram describes King Arthur and his court to his lover, Isolt, reporting how Arthur binds his knights with “inviolable vows, which flesh and blood perforce would violate.” While this statement can be interpreted as simply part of the tragic story of the doomed King Arthur, it captures the essence of the tension between morality, the “inviolable vows,” and its repression of humanity, the “flesh and blood” that cannot maintain those vows. As in literature in general, this relationship expressed in Tennyson’s poetry reflects the social discussions of the culture and time period in which it was produced. And as literature mirrors the ongoing dialogue within a society attempting to deal with conflicting ideas, it allows that society to come to a better understanding of itself. An examination of those discussions therefore offers a way to understand the dynamics of the social and political atmosphere within which that society functioned. Idylls of the King, a highly popular and influential Victorian collection of narrative poetry of Arthurian legend by Alfred Lord Tennyson, reflects the discussions of both morality and humanity that fascinated Victorian society. More specifically, Victorian society’s discourses on those topics are exposed by Tennyson’s treatment of his overly moral and severe character, King Arthur – especially in contrast to his portrayal of the more human and flawed Lancelot. An analysis of these ideas of morality and humanity as they are presented in Tennyson’s text, supported by an examination of those concepts in Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness written at the end of the Victorian era, reveals how Idylls of the King conveys morality as the repression of humanity. This analysis offers a useful commentary on the dual natures of Victorian society which ranged from fanatically moral on one end to animalistic and depraved on the other.

The portrayal of morality and humanity in Tennyson’s text provides the context for the argument that morality entails the suppression of humanity. Consequently, these ideas must be defined in order to take a meaningful look at Idylls of the King’s treatment of morality and humanity in relation to Victorian society. Morality is defined as the social codes determining acceptable or ideal behavior. Humanity is defined as essentially what it means to be human or to refer simply to the human race rather than the usual definition of humanity as sympathy or kindness. Defining these concepts more specifically allows a more detailed and accurate examination of the relationship between morality and humanity in Idylls of the King.

Idylls of the King, published between 1856 and 1885 and written by Alfred Lord Tennyson – dubbed the Poet Laureate of England in 1850 – was incredibly popular in Victorian society, with the first volume selling over ten thousand copies in only the first week. As such a popular and important literary work of the Victorian time period, Idylls of the King was both highly influential and reflective of that era’s ideals. Though his work may not represent the opinions of all Victorians, the popularity of Tennyson’s poetry suggests this text reflects widely shared in that society. On the surface, this collection of narrative poems recounts different aspects

454 Alfred Tennyson, Idylls of the King (New York: New American Library, 2003), 250.
of the Arthurian legend. Nevertheless, a focused examination on how Tennyson portrays the conflicting ideas of morality and humanity leads to a more in-depth conclusion concerning their relationship and therefore their understanding by Victorian society.

Throughout *Idylls of the King*, Tennyson consistently depicts Arthur as an inhuman representation of morality, which suggests that the Victorian concept of morality is opposed to that of humanity. A great many passages explore both the morality and the lack of humanity of the excessively moral King Arthur throughout *Idylls of the King*, from “The Coming” to “The Passing of Arthur.” The passage concerning Arthur’s origins states that “...since his ways are sweet, and theirs are bestial, hold him less than man; and there be those who deem him more than man, and dream he dropt from heaven.” This quotation not only clearly separates Arthur from the rest of humanity, but also suggests that Arthur’s behavior, mannerisms, or morality is what makes him inhumane. Furthermore, this description of Arthur reveals him to be more moral or “sweet” compared to his “bestial” subjects, and introduces a possible aura of divinity about Arthur that is only strengthened throughout Tennyson’s idylls. So while this particular quote is indecisive concerning whether Arthur’s morality makes him less or more than a man, what is clear is that Arthur is represented as both inhuman and as the incarnation of morality. And because his morality is the factor that separates him from the rest of humanity, Tennyson’s consistent treatment of Arthur clearly establishes the argument that morality is counter to humanity.

This view of morality and humanity as conflicting concepts is strengthened by examples in later poems. In “Lancelot and Elaine,” Guinevere’s scornfully compares her husband, Arthur, as “the sun in heaven” to her lover, Lancelot, with “a touch of earth.” Tennyson’s description of Arthur’s quasi-divine perfection, or ideal morality as “the sun in heaven,” is a direct contrast to Lancelot’s less moral humanity – a relationship where morality is inversely proportional to humanity. Like Tennyson’s earlier description, Arthur is once again a non-human tinged with a divinity that now is more explicitly Christ-like. This inhuman perfection is set in opposition to Lancelot’s “touch of earth,” a phrase suggesting the earthiness of Lancelot implies a certain crudity or impurity of his character. Therefore, this contrast to Lancelot’s immorality only enhances the idea that Arthur, with his suggestion of divine inhumanity, is the definitive representation of morality.

Additionally, Guinevere ruefully describes Arthur as a “height to which I would not or I could not climb” and “that pure severity of perfect light,” after her last encounter with Arthur following his discovery of her betrayal with Lancelot. This second quotation depicts Arthur as so perfect and so pure that he is blinding to mere humans. This description of his purity by Tennyson through the words of the now worshipful Guinevere only reinforces Arthur’s otherworldly, Christ-like divinity – especially as it brings to mind the biblical description of Jesus as “the way and the truth and the light.” Looking at the first quotation with this biblical reference in mind, Arthur is described as a height of morality to which humanity is unable to rise or a perfection that humanity rejects as alien – “would not.” Therefore, Tennyson drives home the idea that Arthur is an inhuman paragon of virtue and morality – a being so perfect and moral that he is not human, lacking the “warmth” and core humanity of Lancelot. And as the Christ-like morality of Arthur is

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456 Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, 10.
457 Ibid, 155.
458 Ibid, 270.
459 John 14:6 NIV.
the absence of Lancelot’s humanity, *Idylls of the King* distinctly sets up the understanding of morality and humanity as conflicting concepts.

However, Tennyson not only portrays morality as counter to humanity, but also portrays Arthur’s extreme morality as causing humanity’s downfall. Tennyson represents Arthur as unwise (although tragically noble) for trying to project his moral and inhuman expectations on a humanity who cannot hope to actually rise to his level. Throughout this collection of poems, Arthur imposes many exacting moral ideals on both his wife and his knights. Arthur expects his knights “to break the heathen and uphold the Christ, to ride abroad redressing human wrongs...to lead sweet lives in purest chastity...teach high thought, and amiable words, and courtliness,” to name only a few required values.  

And Guinevere was meant to be like Arthur, a paragon of virtue, as well as the perfect wife that helped her husband uphold his “purpose and rejoice in [his] joy.” But Arthur’s expectations were too much and, as a result of imposing these unachievable morals, everything in his world falls apart – Guinevere violates her marriage to her emotionally remote husband, Arthur, with the passionate Lancelot. Lancelot’s betrayal of Arthur and his vows of knighthood is a fatal blow to Arthur’s world; indeed none of Arthur’s knights can live up to his expectations. Most notable among the failings of Arthur’s knights are the betrayal of Arthur by “Mordred whom he left in charge of all, the traitor” who causes many other knights to forget “their troth and fealty” to Arthur, and Sir Bedivere’s struggle requiring three tries to fulfill his dying lord’s wishes to return Arthur’s sword, Excalibur, to the Lady of the Lake.

Clyde Ryals expresses this situation as Arthur’s “failure...to project fully his will on his people,” in his article “The Moral Paradox of the Hero in Idylls of the King,” where Arthur’s expectations, or morality, seem to be a yoke that none can bear. The result is Arthur’s ultimate failure. This idea that morality fails to modify humanity is supported throughout Tennyson’s poetry. In “Lancelot and Elaine”, Guinevere states that Arthur cares not for her as he is too busy “swearing men to vows impossible, to make them like himself” – or in other words to make humanity inhumanly moral. In “Gareth and Lynette” a Seer tells Gareth, the future knight of the Round Table, that “the King will bind thee by such vows...no man can keep.”

The vows or expectations Arthur has for his knights are spelled out more clearly in an address to Guinevere, where most simply he asks that his knights “serve as a model for the mighty world.” Therefore Arthur’s required vows imposing morality on his knights are so unrealistic that “no man can keep” them. If this is true, then the failure of Arthur’s moral expectations is an example of morality, attempting to refine humanity and, ultimately, failing. Furthermore, the difficulty of Arthur’s vows can be viewed as arising from the fact that they go against natural instincts or humanity. Therefore, this attempt by morality to refine humanity can be viewed as morality repressing the essential humanity of those upon whom it is imposed.

In order to better understand Tennyson’s presentation of morality as the repression of humanity, it is helpful to turn to another classic piece of Victorian literature. Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* is a novella that was first published as a three-part series in 1899, at the end of the Victorian era. Surprisingly, this work,

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460 Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, 265.
461 Ibid, 265.
464 Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, 155.
465 Ibid, 27.
466 Ibid, 265.
detailing a fictitious expedition to the Belgian Congo, deals with the issues of
morality and humanity in a fashion similar to Tennyson despite radical differences
in subject matter.

*Heart of Darkness* examines the darkness in Conrad’s definition of humanity
and is therefore a window into the idea of morality as a repressive force on natural
humanity. While navigating through the treacherous Congo River towards the ailing
Kurtz, Conrad’s protagonist, Marlowe, catches sight of a native village with its
inhabitants all in an “incomprehensible frenzy.”468 In his description of the spectacle
created by these natives, Marlowe clearly states the view of morality as a repression
of humanity – “Yes, it was ugly enough; but if you were man enough you would
admit to yourself that there was in you just the faintest trace of a response.”469 This
is a suggestion that even within he most civilized or “moral” of humans, like
Conrad’s gentleman Marlowe, there exists this darkness or wild humanity wanting
to break free and join that “incomprehensible frenzy.”470 And as this wild humanity
exists beneath the mask of civilization, civilization can be seen as a force repressing
this humanity. Also, this passage introduces the idea that the concepts of morality
and civilization are linked, an important connection that allows for the
interpretation that morality is repressive of base humanity.

The next idea apparent in *Heart of Darkness*, central to the argument that
morality and civilization are repressive of humanity, is the equating of restraint with
morality. Daniel and Birgit Maier-Katkin, in their article “At the Heart of Darkness”
critiquing the novella make the comment that, “the restraining impulses of
civilization” are what keeps humans from becoming savages – that civilization
represses animalistic human instincts.471 Keeping this in mind, the next passage
deals with the protagonist’s amazement that the cannibal crewmen on Marlowe’s
vessel refrained from eating the other crewmembers despite their obvious hunger
and ability to overcome them as they outnumbered the rest of the crew thirty to
five.472 “Restraint! I would just as soon have expected restraint from a hyena
prowling amongst the corpses of a battlefield. But there was the fact facing me...”473
Here Marlowe views the cannibals’ resistance to their natural state of existence, as
something extraordinarily moral. By putting all these ideas together, it is clear that
restraint is portrayed as equivalent to morality, and morality is the force that stops
humans from becoming “savages,” or a repression of natural humanity.

Conrad’s idea that morality is not just counter to humanity, but repressive of
humanity, can readily be applied to Tennyson’s poetry. Tennyson’s greatest
expression of restraint as morality appears during Arthur’s speech to his adulterous
wife, Guinevere, at the nunnery. By this time in the plot, Arthur’s knights have
uncovered Lancelot’s affair with Guinevere, who ends up fleeing to a nunnery while
Arthur is forced to go to battle against Lancelot who has fled to his holdings in
France. Arthur, now aware of his wife’s betrayal as well as the betrayal of his
knights, arrives at the nunnery for a final confrontation with Guinevere. Throughout
the entire encounter Arthur remains unfeeling, aloof, and restrained in a discussion
of a subject that normally would be emotionally explosive. Instead of raging against
his unfaithful wife who has helped bring about the doom of his kingdom, Arthur tells
Guinevere to “think not that I come to urge thy crimes; I did not come to curse thee,

468 Ibid, 76.
469 Ibid.
470 Ibid.
471 Maier-Katkin, Birgit, and Daniel Maier-Katkin. "At the Heart of Darkness: Crimes against Humanity
472 Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 82.
473 Ibid, 83.
Guinevere, I, whose vast pity almost makes me die to see thee, laying there thy golden head, my pride in happier summers, at my feet...all is past, the sin is sinn’d, and I, Lo, I forgive thee." 474 So while Arthur has been defined throughout Idylls as a representation of morality, this characterization is further enhanced by his superhuman restraint in this encounter.

In fact, Arthur explicitly refers to himself as an equal to God and a moral epitome of inhumanity when he states, "And all is past, the sin is sinn’d, and I, Lo, I forgive thee, as Eternal God Forgives!" 475 Not only is Arthur the perfectly restrained husband dismissing his wife’s betrayal, but he forgives her as only "Eternal God Forgives". 476 So Arthur, the ethereal and non-human character totally representing morality, displays this morality through superhuman restraint. Therefore, through this portrayal, Tennyson conveys the ideas of restraint and morality as counter to humanity. Since this self-control is in direct opposition to normal human emotions, it suggests that morality restrains humanity. So it can be argued that Tennyson presents morality as not the highest expression of humanity, but rather as the repression of humanity. So while, on the surface, Heart of Darkness and Idylls of the King deal with very different subjects, they share similar discussions and ideas concerning the repression of humanity.

Norbert Elias’ The Civilizing Process explores this same idea of morality, as a suppression of humanity. He states that over time, "the more animalic human activities were progressively thrust behind the scenes of people’s communal social life and invested with feelings of shame." 477 This statement clearly expresses the same stance on morality, and civilization, as a repressive force demonstrated in both Idylls of the King and Heart of Darkness. Furthermore, the proposition that civilization has assigned shame to our natural humanity suggests a foundation for a commentary on the dual nature of Victorian society. Victorian society can be seen to have clear extremes, with the animalistic seedy side of society indeed being assigned shame by the opposite, restrictively moral side. Therefore, Elias suggests that the moral standards that had evolved by the Victorian era were a repression of the natural, “animalic,” and shameful side of Victorian society.

In order to more directly apply this idea of morality’s repression of humanity to Tennyson’s Idylls of the King, and by extension to Victorian society, it is necessary to explore how Tennyson represents these two extremes of morality and humanity. William Brashear in his article, “Tennyson’s Tragic Vitalism,” discusses how all civilizing ideals are an impossibility in Arthur’s world, and how Tennyson’s Arthur is imperfect because of his impossible perfection. 478 This concept of impossible perfection is reminiscent of Guinevere’s discussion in “Lancelot and Elaine” where she contrasts Arthur and Lancelot, likening Arthur to the Christ-like being, or the “sun in heaven.” 479 Even more explicitly, during her rant against her husband Arthur in the same passage, Guinevere states that, “the faultless King...is all fault who hath no fault at all.” 480 Therefore Tennyson describes the ultimate paragon of virtue as so "faultless" that he is both impossible and undesirable.

474 Tennyson, Idylls of the King, 267.
475 Ibid.
479 Tennyson, Idylls of the King, 155.
480 Ibid, 155.
Expanding upon this idea of imperfect perfection, Guinevere later touches upon the excessive morality of her husband after he has confronted and forgiven her at the nunnery. In reference to her “great and gentle lord, who wast, as in the conscience of a saint,” Guinevere states that she, “half-despised the height to which I would not or I could not climb – I thought I could not breathe in that fine air, that pure severity of perfect light.” 481 With this statement, Tennyson suggests that this extreme morality, this idealized civilization, this repression of humanity, is something either undesirable (“half-despised” and “would not...climb”) or unrealistic (“could not breathe” and “could not climb”) for Victorians.

The unrealistic morality suggested by these quotations might also imply that humanity, and by extension, Victorian society was just not worthy enough to reach that height or purest potential. At the beginning of the poem “The Passing of Arthur,” Arthur states his regret that “the world is irredeemable” and as a result “all [his] realm reels back into the beast, and is no more.” 482 This lament by Arthur describes that as a result of forcing his world to adhere to a level of morality they were not meant or able to achieve, a violent backslide to the other brutish extreme resulted. Sir Tristram describes this same concept to Isolt in “The Last Tournament” as, “the vow that binds too strictly snaps itself.” 483 The conflict presented here by Tennyson concerning the struggle between morality and humanity was extremely relevant to the society of his time, as it clearly reflected the reality of Victorian society’s dual nature, which ranged from the seedy and “shameful” to the exceptionally restricting and moral.

The most notorious expression of this squalid side of Victorian society was the thriving Victorian prostitution trade. Prostitution had become such a part of Victorian life that Parliament passed a series of Contagious Diseases Acts, beginning in 1864, in an attempt to regulate prostitution and limit the spread of the venereal diseases that increasingly plagued even the supposedly moral elite, such as noble gentlemen. 484 It had even become a tradition for upper-class Victorian men to gain sexual experience through encounters with prostitutes, and it was common for middle- and upper-class men to engage regularly in such activities – almost like an expected rite of passage for young Victorian men. 485

Naturally, the espoused moral standards of the time frowned upon such practices. Significantly, it was the women prostitutes who were blamed for the behavior, leaving the men, even in law, innocent victims. 486 During that period there were even prostitutes, “dollymops,” who supposedly worked as servants with the malicious intent to seduce and corrupt members of the household. 487 Publicly, however, prostitution was regarded as a great shame especially as it was “supported and upheld by men whose positions in society should afford a guarantee against a morality so lax,” and was considered a pollution of the city. 488

Furthermore, while the Industrial Revolution resulted in great scientific and technological advancement, it also resulted in marked degradation of the living

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481 Ibid, 270.
482 Tennyson, Idylls of the King, 272; Ryals, “The Moral Paradox of the Hero in Idylls of the King,” 67.
483 Tennyson, Idylls of the King, 249.
485 Ibid, 6.
486 Ibid, 7.
487 Judith R. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society: women, class, and the state. : (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 34.
488 Ibid, 34.
conditions of the lower classes of Victorian society. The Industrial Revolution
was an important step towards modern comforts and technology, and gave birth to
new and unlimited energy sources, such as the steam engine, as well as the idyllic
Crystal Palace. However, in a sanitation report on the newly industrial
Manchester, an investigator stated that there were "everywhere heaps of debris,
refuse, and offal; standing pools for gutters, and a stench, which alone would make it
impossible for a human being in any degree civilized to live in such a district."
Expanding on the descriptions of inhumane living conditions, the famous Florence
Nightengale observed that, "A large number of poor cottages have been recently
condemned as ‘unfit for human habitation,’ but though ‘unfit’ many are still
‘inhabited,’ from lack of other accommodation." So despite all the positive
scientific advances, the lower classes of Victorian society were simultaneously
reduced to subhuman conditions, almost to the state of animals.

As presented in Heart of Darkness, the firsthand impressions of imperialism
can be likened to the masks of civilization which, stripped away, reveal the violent
and dark aspects of humanity. Before Marlowe begins telling the story of his trip
down the Congo, he remarks that conquerors of old, like the imperialists, "grabbed
what they could get for the sake of what was to be got. It was just robbery with
violence, aggravated murder on a great scale, and men going at it blind." This
description of the civilizing imperialists paints a very different picture from that of
the composed English gentlemen like Kurtz and Marlowe at the beginning of the
novel. More specifically, Kurtz is described as becoming a savage after being
"disconnected...from the restraining impulses of civilization." Hence, imperialism
has removed the restraining forces on humanity, and as a result Kurtz regresses
completely into an animalistic being.

This new characterization of the imperialists as savage is only emphasized by
the natives of Canton who described the invading imperialists as, “wild beasts, with
dispositions more fierce than the tiger or wolf, and natures more greedy than
anacondas or swine. These people having long steadily devoured all the western
barbarians, and like demons of the night, they now suddenly exalt themselves
here." In this description all the repressive forces of civilization, and thus of
morality, have evidently been lifted, leaving base humanity unrestrained and
running free to become perverted with animalistic violence. Considering these two
accounts together, though Heart of Darkness is fictional and both accounts are
naturally biased, they both offer a counter view that reflects the reversion from
morality to the appalling and violent human instincts that perhaps lurked
underneath the morally repressive standards of Victorian society.

On the other highly moral and restrictive side of Victorian society, the
civilized ideals or social codes set by the fashionable and most respected segments
of society created a very repressive environment. "Moralistic literature" such as
conduct and etiquette books were extremely influential and educated Victorians on
how to properly “conceal real feelings and to maintain an appropriate appearance

489 Pat Hudson, The Industrial Revolution (Oxford University Press, 1998), 23; Hermione Hobhouse,
The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 44.
Sonnenschein & Co., 1892).
492 Conrad, Heart of Darkness, 41.
493 Birgit, and Daniel Maier-Katkin. "At the Heart of Darkness: Crimes against Humanity and the
Banality of Evil," 589.
and gentility."\(^{495}\) However, this complete suppression of “animalic” humanity in order to maintain the acceptable appearance of morality was unrealistic. As Norbert Elias states, “the effort required to behave “correctly” within becomes so great...[that it] produces such collisions with social reality.”\(^{496}\) These unrealistic moral expectations promoted in Victorian society, like Arthur’s ideals in *Idylls of the King*, perhaps resulted in the growth of this other seedy side of society. The failure of morality to completely rein in base humanity led instead to the creation of animalistic and socially unacceptable outlets such as prostitution and the violence of imperialism.

These two very conflicting and opposite aspects of Victorian society, from the base and depraved (such as the prostitution trade, the subhuman conditions that resulted from the industrial revolution, and the violent nature of imperialism) to the repressive mask of strict social codes, are reflected in Tennyson’s discussion of morality as a force repressive of base humanity. As stated earlier, the Victorian’s extreme social codes were in truth as much a failure as were Arthur’s ideals of knighthood and civilized behavior, as evidenced by the thriving dark side of Victorian society – at least in the sense that these social codes were unable to make everyone “good”. When Guinevere is offered the ultimate dilemma of choosing between the human Lancelot with his natural human instincts and the inhuman and emotionally repressive Arthur, *Idylls of the King* becomes a reflective commentary on the difficulty in Victorian society of finding a realistic and genuine balance between extremes.

Tennyson also emphasizes the need for finding the balance between the extremes of morality and humanity through the fool, Dragonet, in his poem “The Last Tournament.” After Sir Tristram has already won the tournament, Dragonet implies that King Arthur “conceits himself as God that he can make figs out of thistles, silk from bristles, milk from burning spurge, honey from hornet-combs, and men from beasts.”\(^{497}\) While at first glance this statement merely reinforces the argument that the divine Arthur imposes morals to repress the bestial nature of humanity, it conveys more than that. The phrase “conceits himself as God” suggests that it is profoundly wrong for Arthur to style himself as a divine being in order to alter the natures of men. Consequently, if the problem is that the human Arthur is taking on the essence of the inhuman, then the notion of humanity completely rejecting itself to become entirely the other moral extreme is also presented as wrong. Therefore, Tennyson rejects fanaticism of any extreme, suggesting the desirability of discovering a realistic and proper balance in Victorian society.

Tennyson’s own political beliefs demonstrate the importance he attached to this very issue of finding the truthful state or balance between the extremes explored with the issues of morality and humanity in *Idylls of the King*. Tennyson was generally considered a conservative, however he also adhered to “liberal ideologies” and was described as “either an unconvincing liberal or an unconscious conservative.”\(^{498}\) In offering an explanation of the fact that Tennyson was such a politically contradictory man, Cornelia Pearsall, in her work *Tennyson’s Rapture*, conjectures that this contradiction was due to Tennyson’s affiliation with the now extinct Whig Party. The Whig Party was described as consisting of “democratic aristocrat[s],” and therefore embodied a balance between conservatism and


\(^{497}\) Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, 241; Ryals, “The Moral Paradox of the Hero in Idylls of the King,” 64.

\(^{498}\) Cornelia Pearsall, *Tennyson’s rapture: transformation in the Victorian dramatic monologue* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 9, 12, 38.
liberalism. This embracing of two political extremes and from them creating a balance reveals an important aspect of Tennyson’s life in relation to his ideals and poetry.

Furthermore, in his dedication for Idylls of the King, where he expounds upon the greatness of the late Prince Consort Albert, Tennyson remarks on Albert’s similar political balance. Tennyson’s idealized and “all-accomplished” prince, like himself, did “not sway to this faction or to that; not [make] his high place the lawless perch of winged ambitions, nor a vantage-ground for pleasure.” Therefore, the fact that Tennyson’s real life ideal man, or realistic King Arthur, was a man who also remained in the middle of political extremes suggests that a balanced equilibrium not given way to extremism or fanaticism was Tennyson’s own ideal.

This political balance is most beautifully summed up by the account of Tennyson’s elevation to a peerage in 1884. Instead of joining either political party after his elevation, he sat on the middle cross benches to show his lack of affiliation. This symbolic gesture of sitting in the middle between conservatism and liberalism can be connected to the idea of finding the middle ground between the extremes: morality and restraint versus human and lack of restraint. Therefore it can be suggested that Tennyson infused his own political beliefs and took on the dual nature of Victorian society in his discussion of morality and humanity in Idylls of the King.

Tennyson’s dedication to the late Prince Albert also more explicitly encourages the same balance between social extremes that he demonstrated in his political ideologies. Specifically, Tennyson applauds Prince Albert’s ability to find the perfect equilibrium between repressive morality and natural humanity, stating, “what sublime repression of himself, and in what limits.” Here Tennyson suggests that while the ideal Albert imposed moral restrictions upon himself, he did so with prudent moderation. The idealized balance outlined in the dedication, combined with his political balance, drives home Tennyson’s presentation of morality as the repression of humanity while at the same time promoting moderation rather than fanaticism in all facets of life.

Tennyson’s Idylls of the King conveys morality and humanity as conflicting concepts in the story of the struggle between his inhuman moral Arthur and his less moral and human Lancelot, and explores the idea that morality is the repression of natural or even bestial humanity. The literary tension created by the exploration of these two extremes in Arthur’s world thus offers a commentary on the dual natures of Victorian society. The extremes of Victorian society encompassed both overly repressive moral social codes and expressions of animalistic humanity revealed by prostitution, the Industrial Revolution, and imperialism. Finally, a look at Tennyson’s own political beliefs and practices suggests his belief in the importance and difficulty of finding the balancing point between two vastly contrasting stances – a rejection of the fanaticism represented by the two extremes existing in the Victorian society during the time in which he lived and wrote that continues to be relevant for today’s society.

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499 Ibid, 39.
500 Tennyson, Idylls of the King, 3.
501 Pearsall, Tennyson’s rapture: transformation in the Victorian dramatic monologue, 39.
502 Ibid, 3.
The Gracchi: Could They Have Prevented the Downfall of the Roman Republic?

Brad Weiler

There is no question that the events surrounding the Gracchi in the second century BCE directly contributed to the collapse of the Roman Republic. The political violence that transpired as a result of the brothers’ actions set a precedent in Rome that drastically altered the conduct of state officials and the People alike. An interesting question that can be raised, however, is whether or not it all could have been avoided. If Tiberius and Gaius represent a watershed moment in the annals of Rome— if they embody a crucial fork in the road that is the history of the Empire—could it be that choosing to go left rather than right may have lead to a longer-lasting Republic? Through an exploration of different choices the brothers could have made, we will examine a new course of Roman history in which we attempt to determine whether or not the replacement of Republic with Imperial rule could have been prevented. The specific moment in which we take the first step down Rome’s alternate path will lie with Tiberius’ land reform. What if it had succeeded instead of provoked violence? What if the Senate had not resorted to bloodshed to silence the brothers? There will be several supported assumptions that allow us to consider this different trajectory of history, and while it may be purely speculation, we will see that the effectiveness of the lex agraria will have circumvented many of the critical problems facing Rome. However, based on certain unavoidable events, the attitudes of all parties involved, and simply the state of the Republic, no matter what happened with the Gracchi, representative rule by the people was already on the inevitable path to failure. A different course of action may have delayed the downfall, but it certainly wouldn’t have stopped it.

The State of Rome During the mid-Second Century BCE

Before proceeding to our alternate historical narrative, we must first understand the troubles of Rome. As her borders were expanding and neighboring territories were being enulfed within them, newly acquired land was partitioned off to be made available to Roman citizens and Italian allies for a small rental fee. The “poorest and most needy” received an allotment for which they could pay rent to cultivate while the rest was auctioned off to whomever was willing to pay for it.503 Initially, a law had been put in place to protect the impoverished from the wealthy. It limited the number of iugera a single individual could own to 500 and also stated that a certain number of free citizens had to be employed on larger estates.504 Over time, however, the affluent landowners – oftentimes political figures, including Senators – found ways around the law and it became less respected and enforced. The wealthier individuals who owned larger tracts of land found the means to force their poor neighbors off of their small allotments, thereby increasing the size of their shares of land. Instead of hiring the peasant to work for him, the landholder populated his estate with foreign slaves.505 As the years went by, these prosperous individuals invested much of their time and money into their estates and they began to see the land as their own private property, forgetting that

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503 Plutarch, TG 8.1.
504 Appian, BC 1.1.8.
505 Ibid., 1.1.9.
much of it was still state-controlled. Sale of their cash-crop yield as well as the
offspring of their slaves added to the riches of the landowners.\footnote{506}

It is important to recognize the motivations of the upper classes at this point
in history. Why would one be so eager to increase one’s wealth? And why use land
as a means to do it? A growing empire brought with it an influx of wealth in the form
of booty, war indemnities, tax collection, and trade among other things.\footnote{507} According
to Boren, in the years preceding the birth of the Gracchi, these fortunes precipitated
a “moral decline” that took hold of the Roman people both in their private and
public lives.\footnote{508} The growing power of Rome in the second century BCE brought with
it prosperity and also gave the nobility the means to live quite comfortably. As
Boren puts it, “a wave of materialism” swept over those who were of sufficient rank
to enjoy the excesses of empire, and with luxury came “greed and arrogance.”\footnote{509}
Those who could afford to spend their riches on homes, clothing, monuments,
games, and anything else that would increase their standing among their fellow
citizens.

As for why land was the most popular avenue toward fortune, Stockton sums
it up best: “The development of large-scale ranching, the growth of individual
agglomerations of estates, and the spread of farming for profit were all nurtured by
this new wealth which sought investment and deployment in a world with few other
safe homes for capital outside real property.”\footnote{510} Simply put: land was not the most
popular way to gain wealth, it was one of the few means to gain wealth – especially
for a man in a position of power.

What did all this mean for the average citizen? The combined effects of long
terms of military service, land speculation by the wealthy, and having jobs that they
once occupied filled by foreign slaves pushed peasants deeper into squalor. Having
lost their land to ruin or to their prosperous neighbors, the property-less were
forced to flock to the cities. As Scullard describes them, they became a “useless mass
of unemployed,” that would undoubtedly cause future trouble.\footnote{511} Aside from the
widening economic disparity, the consequences of this process affected Rome in
another way: peasants no longer met the minimum property qualifications required
for military service, creating a crisis in which the pool of available men that the
army could draw from saw a considerable decline. Evidently, the upper classes were
perfectly willing to sacrifice the well being of the lower classes (and probably
unwittingly, that of the Roman state) in the name of affluence. Their ravenous desire
for a profitable agricultural operation upset the balance long maintained between
the city elite and the rural citizens. Unbeknownst to them, any radical change to this
equilibrium would undoubtedly cause “acute political, social, economic, and military
problems.”\footnote{512}

\section*{The Alternative Tribunate of Tiberius: His Prudent Decisions}

Tiberius Gracchus recognized these problems and set out to alleviate them.
The manner in which he sought to do that, however, may have been his downfall.
We cannot question the sincerity with which he aimed to help the People: Gaius
once told the story of how his brother witnessed during his travels the scarcity of

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\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{506}{Appian, \textit{BC} 1.1.7.}
\item \footnote{507}{Scullard 1959:11.}
\item \footnote{508}{Boren 1968: 32.}
\item \footnote{509}{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{510}{Stockton 1979: 17.}
\item \footnote{511}{Scullard 1959: 17.}
\item \footnote{512}{Boren 1968: 20.}
\end{itemize}
native peoples farming the land and the abundance of alien slaves in their place and immediately had the desire to correct these ills. Not only that, but pleas directly from the People drove him to find a way to mend their plight.\(^{513}\) After his election to the tribunate, he proposed his land reform bill: all possessors of state-owned ager publicus were allowed to keep 500 iuga\(\text{ra}\) and 250 iuga\(\text{ra}\) for each of their sons and the remainder was to be distributed to the poor for a small rent.\(^{514}\) What in Plutarch’s eyes seemed quite generous toward men who knew the land wasn’t lawfully theirs, was satisfactory toward the peasantry who simply wanted assurance that they would not be taken advantage of again in the future.\(^{515}\) This, of course, upset the owners of the large estates who had much to lose from this proposal, many of whom were Senators. This proposal, however, is not exactly what set in motion the tragic events of 133 BCE; it was the manner in which Tiberius went about bringing his law into consideration. Rather than take his bill to the Senate as was customary, he chose to take it straight to the assembly of the People for a vote, an act considered to be an affront to the nobility.

This is the precise moment that we have Gracchus take a step down the path of our diversionary history. What if he had presented his law to the Senate? This single action could have altered the series of events that took place afterward. It is unclear exactly why he chose to bypass the aristocracy and go before the People. There are hints in Plutarch and Appian that suggest Tiberius believed that there was no way his reform would have passed in the Senate, but Boren offers up the possibility that he was simply “influenced by the Greek experience,” meaning that it was more about expediting the process of approval.\(^{516}\) Both of these motives are plausible, but regardless of his reason, Gracchus brought upon himself the strong dissatisfaction of the ruling class. If he had not insulted the Senate, he may very well have avoided all of the political flak fired at him over the course of the ensuing year. So, let us assume that Tiberius brought the bill before his superiors for their consideration. Scullard informs us that Tiberius was not on an island in the world of politics – he certainly had supporters in the Senate: influential men in their time, including Appius Claudius Pulcher, the consul P. Mucius Scaevola, and M. Fulvius Flaccus among others. So while the Senate was populated with the very men who would suffer because of his proposal, there is no reason to believe that they would not have at least considered Gracchus’ plan.\(^{517}\) And considering his renowned oratorical skill, it would not be a stretch to suppose that he would have been able to argue a strong case for his agrarian reform, especially when the detrimental problems of the day would have been checked by it.

In our timeline, after much debate, the Senate decides to pass the proposal brought before them by the tribune, recognizing that it is a practical solution to many of the day’s problems, in particular the massive, unemployed mob in the city as well as the recruitment crisis. The entire affair with the revolutionary dismissal of Octavius – Tiberius’ fellow tribune – is avoided. Octavius is not driven by the Senate to use his veto to obstruct Gracchus’ bill and there is no unprecedented impeachment.\(^{518}\) This event was one of many that brought the label of tyrant upon the tribune, but with the decision to act according to tradition, Tiberius’ image is left un tarnished in the eyes of the oligarchy.

\(^{513}\) Plutarch, \textit{TG} 8.7.
\(^{514}\) Appian, \textit{BC} 1.1.9.
\(^{515}\) Ibid. 11, at 9.2.
\(^{516}\) Boren 1968: 57.
\(^{517}\) Scullard 1959: 22.
\(^{518}\) Appian, \textit{BC} 1.1.12.
With that, it can be assumed that Gracchus immediately begins the process of collecting the land and allocating it to the Roman citizens in need of it. The commission set up to attend to this business included himself, his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and his brother Gaius. We know that in reality, the Senate, being in control of State funds and resentful toward Gracchus for everything that had transpired, allots a pitifully meager amount of money to allow the triumvirs to carry out their work.\textsuperscript{519} In order for the entire operation to succeed, each peasant who receives land would also need a small amount of wealth to start up. Keeping in mind that the Senate is still comprised of many men who stand to lose vast amounts of property (and wealth) because of the land reform and despite the fact that they had enacted the bill, we cannot presume that they would automatically be willing to dole out ample funds for the redistribution of ager publicus. With a more favorable opinion of the young tribune, however, they would be less inclined to withhold funding. In our historical universe, therefore, the Senate issues a greater yet still unremarkable allowance to the land commission. However, it still is not enough to carry out their tasks to the fullest potential and provide for each new farm. Of course, with splendid timing, the king of Pergamum, Attalus III dies and leaves his fortune and kingdom to the Roman people.\textsuperscript{520} Rather than brazenly introduce a bill that calls for the entirety of the king's estate to be given to Roman citizens, thereby offending the Senate even more,\textsuperscript{521} Gracchus and the rulers come to an agreement to allow a portion of the riches and land to be used by the land commission. In the long run, this would have been preferable to infringing upon the responsibilities of the Senate as "controllers of finance and foreign affairs," an action which cost Tiberius all of his political support and increasingly perturbed the Senate.\textsuperscript{522}

At this point in his promising career, Gracchus has achieved reform in a perfectly legal way, and while his land appropriation may not have left him in the highest favor of the upper class, he has in no way drawn the intense hatred that would inevitably lead to his downfall. Armed with the approval of the Senate and enough funds and extra land from Attalus, he is able to successfully carry out his plan to parcel out small plots of state-owned acreage to the citizens and give them enough capital to buy supplies and maintain a healthy farmstead. This undoubtedly draws a portion of the jobless and destitute from Rome back out into the county. At the same time, of course, the of age male citizens who now have some property to their name are eligible for military service, checking any sort of conscription deficit the state may have been facing. Scullard confirms the “progress” made by the land commission, citing census figures taken in 125 BCE, 8 years after their work began, that show an increase of about 75,000 from figures collected in 131.\textsuperscript{523} What the figures represent is not entirely clear – in all likelihood it was the number of male citizens – but the outcome of the land reform is undoubtedly reflected within them. Moreover, after Tiberius’ death (in the real timeline of Rome) the Senate did not set about dismantling the land triumvirate, suggesting that it was the actions of the tribune that led them to their murderous ways more than the reform itself.\textsuperscript{524}

At the end of his one-year term as tribune, Tiberius took the somewhat unprecedented action of running for re-election – possibly as a means to ensure that the Senate would not rescind the reforms he had put into place.\textsuperscript{525} And while not technically illegal, it was had been an almost unspoken rule that a tribune was not to

\textsuperscript{519} Plutarch, _TG_ 13.2.
\textsuperscript{520} Plutarch, _TG_ 14.1.
\textsuperscript{521} Ibid., 14.2.
\textsuperscript{522} Scullard 1959: 24.
\textsuperscript{523} Scullard 1959: 26.
\textsuperscript{524} Ibid., 25.
\textsuperscript{525} Plutarch, _TG_ 16.1.
serve multiple terms in succession. This action, of course, infuriated the Senate to no end, feeling they had a would-be tyrant on their hands. Tiberius’ re-election bid was the tipping point – the straw that broke the camel’s back that set the ruling class into their destructive warpath that ultimately resulted in the tribune’s demise. The combination of turning to the People for an important vote, deposing a colleague of his seat, and seeking out another year in office overstepped the customary boundaries set in place for a man in his position.

Our Gracchus however acts in a more prudent manner. Being on fairly civil terms with the Senate, he would have no reason to suspect they would plot to undue all of his hard work after he left office, and therefore, no cause to seek another year in the tribunate. Besides, there is no evidence to suggest that there was a limit on the number of terms one could serve as a triumvir on the land commission. Would he not maintain some power over the administration of the committee he had created? With these thoughts in mind, and recognition of the sanctity of the traditions of the office of tribune, Tiberius would bow out from his political post graciously. Nowhere in this alternate timeline does the Senate resort to violence.

Now, we have no grounds to assume that Tiberius, upon exiting the tribunate, would not pursue a further political career, perhaps seeking to complete the cursus honorum. But in all likelihood, those who had established their place among the rulers of Rome would not have allowed his advancement unchecked. Yes, they approved his land bill, but only for the sake of Rome, not for the man himself. They and the rest of the upper class had lost much as a result of his reform, why would they want him among their ranks? For our purposes here, to avoid complicating the principal series of events, we shall say that Gracchus backed away from the political spotlight despite his relatively young age, knowing it would be a struggle to continue a life in public affairs. In his place, he would encourage his brother, nine years younger, to follow a career in government. And so Gaius would, running for the tribunate in 123 BCE, the same year that he did in actuality, at the age of 29.

Gaius Gracchus: A Tamer Tribune

Appian tells us that the contemptuousness directed toward him by the Senate drove the younger Gracchus to run for the office of tribune and that once that office was secured, he proceeded to “lay plots” against the ruling elite. However, there is no doubt that the sensible decisions that Tiberius made would change this and affect the course of his brother’s civil conduct and life. Gaius would not begin his political career at a disadvantage because of the ruling class’ default hatred for his brother and name. If they did not look on Tiberius with unfavorable eyes, why should the Senate expect the worst from Gaius? More than anything, however, the younger brother would not live out his days with vengeance in his heart. The choices he would make would not be based on the death of Tiberius and he would not use his power to spite the ruling aristocracy.

For what purpose would he run for election though? Based on his early career in the military and the excellent oratorical skills for which he was well known, it would seem that Gaius was destined to hold political office. No doubt Tiberius would promote his younger brother to carry on the illustrious name that he, his father, and grandfather had laid before him. The lex agraria solved a few short-term difficulties in the Roman world, but improvements to the lives of her

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526 Scullard 1959: 27.
527 Appian, BC 1.3.21.
citizens could certainly be made. Whereas earlier tribunes had done as the Senate told them, Tiberius served with the true purpose of the office: to be a voice of the People. His younger brother would undoubtedly follow in his footsteps.

Based on the ancient sources available, the chronology of actions taken by Gaius during his term in office is quite unclear, but we are aware of his proposed reforms. Of course, because of the series of events that took place during Tiberius’ tribunate, we can be absolutely confident that our Gaius would not have introduced a bill that addressed magistrates who had been deposed from their seat in office and one concerning office-holders who banish citizens without trial. The existence of these vengeance bills would be nullified and therefore Gaius would avoid upsetting the Senate as he did in real life. It would not be a stretch to say, however, that he would still propose a law that called for distribution of food to citizens at the expense of the state, a move that would (and did) gain him the favor of the People.

Certainly Gracchus would have carried forth laws that improved the livelihood of Rome and her people, just as he did in actuality. He would found colonies, improve the infrastructure of the countryside by building an improved road system, and finally propose the construction of granaries to store food for the public. That these undertakings would put people to work and raise their standard of living is certain.

What complicates our efforts to envision this alternate history is the matter concerning Gaius’ re-election to a second term as tribune. Sources are vague in regards to opposition from the Senate, but this can be answered by a possible (although uncertain) explanation given by Appian. The historian informs us that a shortage of candidates for an office resulted in the People choosing one of the incumbents to be re-elected; this is apparently the manner in which Gracchus was allowed to serve a second term.

The most crucial bill created by the tribune during that year was undeniably the reform to the courts of justice. We are told they had become plagued with bribery, for “The system which committed judgment to the same group which supplied the transgressors was at fault...” Many examples of such instances Gracchus brought forth to support his proposal. The Senate, recognizing their follies, conceded and allowed their power to be transferred out of their hands and into those of men of their same census class; the Equestrian order (although how this was done is debatable based on the accounts of Plutarch and Appian). We can be sure that this same event would have occurred in our timeline, even if our Gaius was not exclusively “out to get” the ruling elite; he recognized serious misconduct and sought to fix it for the sake of Rome. Later on, as his term in office came nearer to its end, Gracchus would support calls to grant citizenship to Rome’s Italian and Latin allies, only to be rebuffed by the ever-conservative Senate.

We can assume that Gaius’ reign as tribune would come to an end after two years, having accomplished much for the benefit of the People. As with his brother, the combination of a more sensible approach to the duties of a tribune and a lack of provocation of the Senate would ensure peaceful exits from office. It is even more

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528 Plutarch, CG 4.1.
529 Appian, BC 1.3.21.
530 Ibid. 26, at 6.3.
531 Appian, BC 1.3.21.
533 Ibid. 29, at 1.3.22.
difficult to say what his course of action would be in the years following, but that is inconsequential to our account. What is most important is that the Gracchi served Rome with dignity and level heads, securing relief for some of her problem and enhancing the standard of living of her people. What's more is there occurred no civil strife that would degenerate into vile conduct in the years to follow.

The Inevitability of the Decay of the Republic

We have addressed how alternative behavior of the Gracchi would have benefited Rome, specifically in the short term. There is, however, much evidence to suggest that despite any action the brothers could have taken, there was too much that was simply out of their control. The influence of certain men and certain behavior on the fate of Rome was just too great for either of the tribunes to overcome. A brief overview of just three circumstances – laws following Gaius’ death, the allied bid for citizenship, and the events surrounding the ascension of Gaius Marius – is enough to illustrate the fatal destiny of the Republic.

Reform to the Agrarian Plan:

Despite the fact that it does not occur in our invented history of Rome, the subsequent actions of the Senate following the murder of Gracchus displays the mindset of the ruling elite. After 121 BCE – the year of Gaius’ death – three land bills were passed over the course of about a decade. The first allowed any “Gracchan settler” to sell off his allotted property if he so chose (for instance, if his farming operation had failed). The second law abolished further land distribution and dissolved the commission while at the same time doing away with rents on *ager publicus*. The final bill transferred the land in question from state-owned to private property.\(^{534}\) The wealthy essentially just took up land from the poor, either by buying it or through force, so that the peasants were again left in an abysmal state. Whether the Gracchi had acted as a check to this sort of behavior or the upper class was just consumed with greed is unclear. But their actions do demonstrate the apparent disregard for the health of Rome and her people.

The Social War:

During the interim between the tribunates of the Gracchi, the work of the land commission encountered problems pertaining to the Italian and Latin allies of Rome and their land. Those who were on *ager publicus* disputed the fact that they would need to vacate their property in favor of Roman citizens and as a result, sought Scipio Aemilianus for his aid in championing their plight to the leaders of Rome.\(^{535}\) He did so by convincing the Senate to halt the activity of the land commission, which they did, handing over the cases of the allies to a consul, Tuditanus, for reconciliation. Upon realizing his monumental task, the consul left Rome, avoiding the work bestowed upon him. The actions of Aemilianus so angered the Roman people that he was eventually found dead – most likely the result of suicide.\(^{536}\) With their patron deceased, the Italians and Latins began flocking to Rome to voice their grievances.

Fulvius Flaccus, consul and trusted friend of the Gracchi, attempted to settle the matter by granting the allies citizenship, but the Senate sent him off to Gaul to thwart his plans. As a result, a Latin colony revolted in the hopes of leading a

\(^{534}\) Appian, *BC* 1.4.27.

\(^{535}\) Appian, *BC* 1.3.19.

\(^{536}\) Ibid., 1.3.20.
countrywide mutiny, but Rome annihilated her to make an example of anyone thinking of rebellious activity. Had the Senate acted on Flaccus' sensible proposal rather than use force, it could have averted disaster further down the road.537 Later on, when Flaccus had returned to Rome and obtained a seat in the tribunate with Gaius, he again brought forward measures in favor of the allies. This time, however, he did not have the fortune of being sent off on military duty, he was instead killed with his Gracchan colleague.538 In our timeline, with no murder taking place, it would be safe to say that the Senate would continually impede any attempt to bring Rome's foreign allies onto the same constitutional ground as them. These blatant affronts to the ever-loyal Italians festered for several years, culminating in the destructive Social War that would change the landscape of Roman politics afterward.539 Henceforth, men would use the force of their own personal armies to assert their dominance and enact laws.540

Gaius Marius:

The Rome of the late-Second century BCE was engaged in numerous wars with various enemies, the most notable of which being Jugurtha of Numidia.541 Full-scale war with the North African Empire dragged on for several years under the command of the consul Caecilius Metellus. Meanwhile, the 110s saw the rise of the incredibly ambitious and controversial figure, Gaius Marius. While fighting ensued in Africa, Marius secured the consulsip of 107.542 The People of Rome broke from tradition and defied the Senate's decree to prolong Metellus' supervision of the fighting, choosing to elect Marius to take over for the consul – an act which "established a very dangerous example which was later followed to exalt Pompey and Caesar to extraordinary commands to the detriment of the Republic."543 At the same time, Gaius himself set another perilous precedent: he recruited men from outside of the traditional property qualifications as volunteers. A man shunned by his own country looks upon the leader who provides him with assistance before, during, and after war with dependent and devoted eyes. This act by Marius eventually evolved into the raising of personal armies of men loyal to their general and not the state. The implications of this are well known.

These affairs are briefly highlighted to demonstrate that there were other events happening in Rome – apart from those centered on the Gracchi – that sustained the Republic on its path to destruction. These incredibly adverse situations occurred irrespective of the brothers.

Conclusion

We can trace how the personal accounts of each brother could have played out differently if they had made alternate choices and how this would have affected Rome. But the question is, in the grand scheme of things, would it have made a difference? If they had succeeded in their proposed reforms and averted the political violence that set off a horrible chain of civil strife, would the Republic have persisted? True, 'Tiberius' land reform certainly would have alleviated Rome's problems for the immediate future, but with continuous agitation from Italians and Latins, unending overseas wars, and an unaltered recruitment philosophy, there

537 Scullard 1959: 27.
538 Ibid. 33, at 1.5.34.
539 Appian, BC 1.5.38
540 Ibid. 1.5.34
541 Sallust, Jug 27.
542 Plutarch, Mar 9.1.
543 Scullard 1959: 42.
would be no long-lasting solution.\textsuperscript{544} And all of those things were out of the hands of the Gracchi. The ability to make those reforms lay in the hands of the men at the top and there is certainly no reason to believe that they would have made those necessary changes. Additionally, there was nothing to stop power-hungry men like Marius and the other warlords from rising to dominate political life. As we can see, Tiberius and Gaius were just two men that were part of a much larger machine. Whatever they could have done, there was no turning back from the course that Rome was already set on. They may have attempted to steer the ship against the current, but in the end, the pull of the river was just too strong.

Scholars can agree that “...without doubt, [the Gracchi] precipitated the revolution that overthrew the Republic.”\textsuperscript{545} They may have been the spark that set off the implosion of Roman Republicanism, but it was bound to happen at some point. A divergent path may have delayed the event, but its inevitability was certain. If political murder did not start with the brothers, it was bound to start with someone further down the road. While we can make assumptions concerning different choices both Tiberius and Gaius could have made, we cannot infer that the attitudes of the ruling elite would have been any different. And therein lies the problem. It was they who brought about the downfall of the Republic. They are the ones that chose to kill the brothers out of greed. They are the ones that denied citizenship to their long-lasting allies. They are the ones that chose to prolong overseas conflict. “The oligarchs,” in the words of Boren, would embrace change, “only at the point of a sword wielded by Caesar or Augustus.”\textsuperscript{546} For the Republic to have survived, there would have needed to of been a complete overhaul in the attitudes and perspective of a whole class of men – a feat completely out of the hands of two ambitious brothers.

\textsuperscript{544} Scullard 1959: 22.
\textsuperscript{545} Scullard 1959: 33.
\textsuperscript{546} Boren 1968: 129.
Bibliography


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