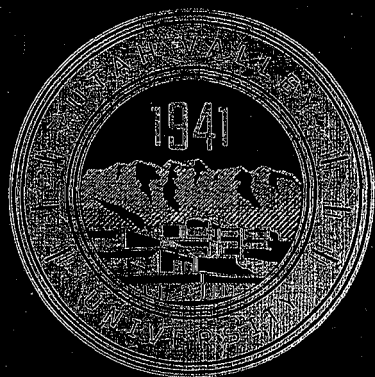


CRESCAT SCIENTIA

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CRESCAT SCIENTIA

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Editor-In-Chief

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I would like to dedicate
this edition to my
Senior Thesis Committee:

Lyn Bennett
William Cobb
and
Doug Jensen

• • •

We cannot always build the future for our youth,
but we can build our youth for the future.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

• • •

Thanks for helping to build
Me up for a great
Future!

MARISA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.

Margaret Mead

A very thoughtful small group of citizens consisting of university scholars have submitted informative, provocative, and fascinating articles for this journal of History and Political Science. These insightful and brilliant contributors have the power to change the world for the better. We can expect nothing less from them. The sharing of their time and talents are much appreciated.

Further appreciation needs to be extended to the faculty and staff who helped to promote the *Crescat Scientia*. You are as equally deserving of praise and success for your dedication and time, as the scholars who have contributed their articles. A personal thanks is extended to Dennis Farnsworth, William Cobb, Alexander Stecker, Paul Sampson, Paula Wankier, and Kathren Brown. We cannot name all of the people who assisted with this year's edition. However, for those who helped, but are not mentioned (and you know who you are), remember that you are also appreciated. It takes the efforts of all to make this journal successful.

I also need to thank Brenda and Kellen for their time and creativity.

Last but not least, thank you Reader, for taking up the challenge set forth by the *Crescat Scientia*, which is Latin for "may knowledge grow".

JOURNAL STAFF

M. Marisa Dore

Selected as the Outstanding Student for the History and Political Science Department, I have enjoyed serving on the journal for the past three years. I graduated May 1st, 2009, Magna Cum Laude, with a BS in History Education, a BA in General History, and a Minor in Spanish. My plans for the future include pursuing a career as a teacher and writer. Of course, all of these accomplishments and goals could not be achieved without the great support of a wonderful family, Phil, Hyrum, Alexander, and Nathaniel.

Kellen Hernández

My full name is Kellen Job Hernández DeAlba. I'm from Tlalnepantla, México State, México. I was recently married to a wonderful woman. I'm a History Major and Double Minor in Spanish and Native American Studies. I want to specialize in Latin American, Native American, and Polynesian History and Culture. Hopefully some day I will finish a doctorate and teach history college level.

Brenda Peterson

I am a 35 year old wife and mother of 4 who just started my "College Experience" in the fall of 2007. I attend school full time. In addition to my full time job as a parent, I also substitute teach at my kids' Elementary School part time. I am currently working on my General Education requirements and will apply to the Secondary Education Program after I am finished. I have always been fascinated by historical facts and can't wait to finish my degree and get into a Junior High History classroom to share what I have learned! I have always felt that there is so much to learn from the past! I was deeply impacted by my Junior High and High School History teachers and I hope to be able to pay the favor forward and make a difference in the life of teens. This has been the hardest and most rewarding thing I've ever done for myself and I am deeply grateful to my husband Toby for pushing me into going to school and supporting me as I strive to overachieve.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

1

An investment in knowledge always pays the best interest.

Benjamin Franklin

Your interest will be piqued by the unique History and Political Science flavors sampled in this journal. There is even a smidge of Public History to savor. Scholars from a wide variety of backgrounds have contributed an equally wide variety of subjects to choose from in order to permit you, the reader, with an increased investment of knowledge.

Take advantage of it, for as Mary Parker Follett so eloquently put, "It is not opposition but indifference which separates men." Too often aspects of history are overlooked or ignored when they should be explored and learned. History is lively with debates and differing points of view. With the exploration of these distinct points of view comes fantastic growth and dividends. For this reason, I felt that perspectives should be shared by all levels of students attending UVU whether they are majoring in History and Political Science, or in another equally scholarly area. All of the papers are well written, but vary in the breadth and depth of their portrayal of historical aspects.

It was T.S. Eliot who noted that "For last year's words belong to last year's language and next year's words await another voice. And to make an end is to make a beginning." The end of this year's edition marks the beginning for another year. I challenge you to build the future and become next year's voice.

M. Marisa Dore
Editor-in-Chief



GERMAN EXPRESSIONISM: LOOKING BACK TOWARDS THE FUTURE

CAROL 'ABSTRACT' ACEVEDO

From prehistoric cave paintings, the Italian Renaissance's *Mona Lisa* and Pop art's *Marilyn*, to local modern graffiti, all art tells a story and reflects certain conditions of a society. This includes German Expressionism, an art movement that took place between 1905 and up to 1933 with the rise of the Nazi regime. The rapid economic growth and industrialization that Germany experienced between 1870 and 1914 was among the social factors in the development of this art movement.

To a major extent, the artists of German Expressionism exhibited a general dissatisfaction against a rapidly developing German economy that became industrialized, urbanized, and capitalistic. The effects of industrialization, including mechanization and the increase of the working class, also created a sense of loss of individuality. The purpose of this paper is to gain a greater understanding of German Expressionism by examining various expressionistic works in the visual arts, cinematography, and many other written sources like poetry. This analysis will establish that the predominant thematic element and main social motivations behind the development of German Expressionism were the economic conditions of Germany at the turn the of the twentieth-century. While certain forms of Expressionism exist in the twenty-first century, the focus of this paper is German Expressionism as it was during 1905-1933. To better understand how this art reflected the economic developments and conditions of the German society, we must first have an understanding of the art itself.

Expressionism was a worldwide art movement that was most predominant in Germany.¹ The expressionist artist was interested in conveying inner, mental, and emotional experiences. Rather than projecting realism or trying to reproduce nature, the expressionist valued the communication of thoughts and feelings. Much broader than paintings, this movement was also exhibited in other art forms like music, literature, dance, theater, and architecture.² From paintings to films, there were observable common threads of design, technique, and thematic elements in Expressionism. For example, "[i]n order to communicate the human spiritual condition the Expressionists made use of new, strong, assertive, forms, often violently distorted, symbolic colours and suggestive lines"³ to produce the desired effect. The artist turned away from representing objects as they realistically existed in nature but wanted to represent the world according to his or her own perspective. To achieve this in paintings, the artists created pieces that were objective or nonobjective. An objective



piece has distinguishable objects or symbols; it is representational (Figure 1)⁴ compared to a nonobjective one, which is based on pure forms and colors (Figure 2)⁵.

Figure 1. *Arbeiter auf dem Heimweg* (Workers on Their Way Home), 1921 by Conrad Felixmüller.

¹ Jane Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996), 10:693

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Conrad Felixmüller, *Arbeiter auf dem Heimweg* [Workers on Their Way Home], 1921 in Dietmar Elger, *Expressionism: A Revolution in German Art* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2008), 222.

⁵ Franz Marc, *Der Mandrill* [The Mandrill], 1915, in Dietmar Elger, *Expressionism: A Revolution in German Art* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2008), 159.

This expressionistic style can be seen throughout different art media depending on the format. For example, in film, the set design of the 1919 German film *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*) reflected this style. This expressionistic film, directed by Robert Wiene, depicts stylized constructed sets, resembling scenography (theatrical scenery) that have uneven angled windows, painted bold black and white shadowing, and distorted pointed houses and buildings. The techniques employed in this film were used to create a sense of disorder, fear, and anxiety. Wiene's exaggerated, distorted, and surreal set designs are a fitting example of German Expressionism's style and technique used in cinematography. In poetry, there were thematic elements that made a piece expressionistic. For example, the voice and diction of the poem titled *An den Leser* (*To The Reader*) written by Franz Werfel in 1911, which has phrases like "fellow man," "your brother," and "[t]hus I belong to you and all," expresses feelings of camaraderie. Roy F. Allen described Werfel's poem by saying: "He seems to want to address the masses: like all the Expressionists, Werfel is concerned with human society, with the world created by people for people"⁶



Figure 2. *Der Mandrill* (The Mandrill), 1915 by Franz Marc.

German Expressionism originated in Dresden. *Die Brücke* (The Bridge) group was formed in 1905 by Fritz Bleyl, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, all architecture students.⁷ In their 1906 program *Chronik der Brücke* (*Chronicle of the Brücke*), written by E.L. Kirchner et al., we can observe an attempt at rallying the youth and other artists for their cause of change and revolution:

⁶ Roy F. Allen, *German Expressionist Poetry* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 27.

⁷ Dietmar Elger, *Expressionism: A Revolution in German Art* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2008), 15.

With faith in evolution, in a new generation of creators and appreciators, we call together all youth. And as youths, who embody the future, we want to free our lives and limbs from the long-established older powers. Anyone who renders his creative drive directly and genuinely is one of us. (Kirchner et al. 1906, 23)

From its early beginnings, German Expressionism exhibited its rebellious nature, especially against industrialization. One popular thematic element in the art of the *Brücke* was that of "man in a natural environment, unspoiled by any form of industrialization."⁸

In Munich, artists created another German Expressionist group. Much more loose and open than *Die Brücke*, *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider) group shared their artistic philosophies through publications and exhibits. The group was named after their first publication, an almanac, which was edited by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc in 1911.⁹ In the preface (not printed) of *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, Kandinsky and Marc echo the sentiments of a dissatisfied society against capitalism and industrialization:

In the nineteenth century just ended, when the flowering—the "great victory"—of the material seemed most intense, the first "new" elements of a spiritual atmosphere were formed almost unnoticed. They will give and have given the necessary nourishment for the flourishing of the Spiritual.¹⁰

This statement by the leaders of *Der Blaue Reiter* in 1911 clearly made a connection between the economic conditions of Germany and the need for a new artistic style. In addition, not only does it demonstrate their contempt against and their awareness of the effects caused by the thriving economy of the previous century but, it also shows how "the great victory" of "the material" was the perfect condition for "the Spiritual." By this spirituality, we can infer that Kandinsky and Marc meant introspectiveness, a longing to go inside in one's own thoughts and feelings. Industrialism and capitalism caused them to search within. They allude to this as the almanac preface continues:

⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁹ Ibid., 133.

¹⁰ Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, preface (not printed), ca. October 1911, for *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, in *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism*, ed. Rose-Carol Washton Long, trans. Nancy Roth (New York: G.K. Hall & Company, 1993) 44-46.

Therefore, the reader will find works in our series that bear an *inner* relationship to one another in the aforementioned context, although they may appear unrelated in the surface. We honor and attend, not the work that has a certain recognized, orthodox, external form (which usually is all there is), but the work that has an *inner* life connected with the great change.¹¹

Here they also describe the goals of this new art movement, one that could express the 'inner,' not the 'recognized' nor the 'orthodox' world; a sort of expressionism vs. realism, which they valued and 'honor[ed].' Technological devices at this time, like the photographic and film cameras, had taken the place of the production of reality. German Expressionism, specifically nonobjective art, could express and portray the inner workings of an individual that a camera could not capture. Although there were expressionistic pieces after 1920, this is generally referred to as the end of German Expressionism.¹² The statements by the founders of these two artistic groups are perfect examples of their common philosophies and laid out the groundwork for a rebellion against the "great victory"—of the material." They also tell us the story of a society that was affected by rapid economic changes and in search of individualism. What triggered the need for a new art style?

The political, economic, social, and religious conditions of a society are undoubtedly interconnected with the art produced by its people. One historical aspect that can be identified from almost all art, in any medium or format, is the economic development of the society from which it was produced. This can be determined by the mode of construction, materials, tools, technique, technology, and especially by the subject matter. Art can give us a glimpse into a society's political, religious, social and—most importantly—its economic development. In *Economic Conditions and Art Styles*, Vytautas Kavolis hypothesizes the correlation between a nation's economy and "artistic styles," where abstract art is "characterized by revolutionary increases in man's control over nature."¹³ One of Kavolis' theory is "that the modern abstractionism, which appears to be linked with the industrial system, has developed concurrently

¹¹ Ibid., 46.

¹² Although not included in the scope of this paper it should be noted that the Nazi Party used the term *Entartete Kunst* ('degenerate art') to describe modern art; including German Expressionism. German Expressionism was deemed as anti-German, which went against the goals of the Nazi regime. By 1933 all 'degenerate art' was prohibited in Germany. For more information see *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996), 10:413-414.

¹³ Vytautas Kavolis, "Economic Conditions and Art Styles," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 22, no. 4 (1964): 437, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/427935> (accessed February, 2009).

with the emergence of industrialism.”¹⁴ What, then, were the socio-economic changes that Germany was experiencing that brought about the creation of these groups into an entire art movement?

During the last part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth-century, Germany went through rapid and significant economic changes. Scholars often designate 1870 as the beginning of Germany's fast paced industrialization and by 1914, “Germany was the leading industrial nation on the European continent and in some respects even more advanced than Great Britain.”¹⁵ This period of European economy is known as the Second Industrial Revolution.¹⁶ The first one, with Britain as the leading country, was during the first half of the nineteenth-century. But by the turn of the twentieth-century, Germany and the United States¹⁷ became the industrial powers of the world, superseding Britain.¹⁸

The Second Industrial Revolution caused many changes in German society and some of the consequences of the industrialization of Germany were population and urban growth, modernization, and social changes, including an increase in the working class populations. Population and urban growth are common themes throughout German Expressionism.

Due to the high demand of labour, many people moved into German cities to fill jobs as factory workers and other blue collar jobs. As the agrarian population declined, the urban population boomed, “whereas only five percent of the population lived in large cities in 1877, by 1910 the figure had increased more than four-fold.”¹⁹ There were only two cities in Germany in 1800 with over 100,000 people, and by 1910 there were forty-eight.²⁰ There was opportunity, entertainment, and novelty in city life, but it had its drawbacks as well, such as noise, pollution, overcrowding and poverty. The transition from an agrarian to an urban lifestyle had its psychological effects on the population and the expressionist artists were like the bullhorns who amplified those emotions. “But the metropolis has to be painted!”²¹ wrote expressionist artist Ludwig Meidner in an essay titled *Anleitung zum Malen*

¹⁴ Ibid., 439.

¹⁵ Kenneth D. Barkin, *The Controversy Over German Industrialization, 1890-1902* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 109.

¹⁶ Robert Bucholz, *The Foundations of Western Civilization II: A History of the Modern Western World*. (Chantilly: Teaching Co., 2002), 36.

¹⁷ There was concurrent expressionistic art in the United States. An example is the play *The Adding Machine* (1923) by Elmer Rice.

¹⁸ Bucholz, 36.

¹⁹ Roy F. Allen, *German Expressionist Poetry* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 30.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ludwig Meidner, *Anleitung zum Malen von Grosstadtildern* [An Introduction to Painting the Metropolis] in *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism*, ed. Rose-Carol Washton Long, trans. Victor H. Meisel (New York: G.K. Hall & Company, 1993), 101-104.

von *Grosstadtbildern* (*An Introduction to Painting the Metropolis*) in 1914. Meidner continues:

Let us paint what is close to us, our city world! the wild streets, the elegance of iron suspension bridges, gas tanks that hang in white-cloud mountains, the roaring colors of buses and express locomotives, the rushing telephone wires (aren't they like music?)...and the night...Wouldn't the drama of a well-painted factory smokestack move us more deeply than all of Raphael's "Borgo Fires" and Battles of Constantine?²²

The city was a big part of the expressionistic artists' milieu and it served as the backdrop for inspiration, both positive and negative.

A Berlin resident during this time period, George Grosz, was a poet and artist who grew up in poverty and had a "sense of the grayness and hopelessness of proletariat life in a large city" since childhood.²³ A product of the city, Grosz used this landscape repeatedly in his illustrations and poetry. Some of his illustrations with titles like *People in the Street*, *Café*, 1915; *Germany, a Winter's Tale*; *Cross Section*; *Street*; and *Republican Automaton*s depict urban scenery. The factories and their iconic smokestacks are ever present in many of his cityscapes. Another major thematic element seen in Grosz's illustrations is capitalism and the working class struggles. Grosz' illustration *The Toads of Capitalism* (Figure 4)²⁴ gives us a perfect example of this. He depicts the industrial capitalist like an overbearing greedy man, unattractive, overweight, and well dressed guarding his money and the gaunt workers in the background—an extension of the capitalist's wealth and the victims of his greed. Another great example of the suffering and disadvantage of the proletariat under capitalism can be seen in Grosz' illustration *Five in the Morning* featured in his *Im Schatten* (*In the Shadow*) portfolio (Figure 5).²⁵

²² Ibid., 104.

²³ Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 15.

²⁴ George Grosz, *Räuber* [The Robbers] portfolio as *The Toads of Capitalism*, c. 1922 in Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 145.

²⁵ George Grosz, *Im Schatten* [In the Shadow] portfolio as *Five in the Morning*, c. 1921 in Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 134.

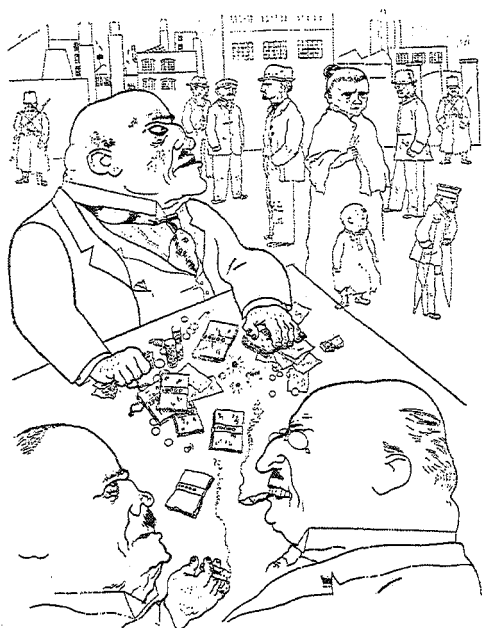


Figure 4. *The Toads of Capitalism* by George Grosz.

This illustration depicts the stark dichotomy between the social classes. Beth Irwin Lewis describes this piece by Grosz: "One drawing showed the contrasting scenes caught in the shadows of dawn: outside on the street the proletariat begin a day of work while inside the houses the capitalists finish a night of drink and sex."²⁶

Just as in paintings and illustrations, we can also see the dissatisfaction with economic changes in expressionistic poetry. In his poems, Grosz also gave the sense of a city "with its stock exchanges, filthy streets, decrepit tenement houses, baroque town houses, grey cement factories, and its incessant advertising—all of which conspired to dehumanize man."²⁷ The city represented everything that the expressionistic artist was against; modernization and capitalism. These attitudes were expressed in a poem written by Berthold Viertel and published in 1913 after a visit to Berlin:

I call you the hell of the contaminated —

²⁶ Lewis, 132.

²⁷ Ibid., 46-47.

City constructed without soul.
If I could escape. Have a field,
Covered only by the sky.
And there dig for my heart
That has sunken down so deep.²⁸

This 1913 poem illustrates how the German people longed for a return to the agrarian lifestyle. No better words can describe the general dissatisfaction and rebelliousness against industrialization in the early twentieth-century than this expressionistic poem about Vienna by Albert Ehrenstein:

I beg you, destroy the city.
I beg you, destroy the cities:
I beg you, destroy the machines.
Rip up all the rails of madness!
This place is desecrated;
Your knowledge is the desert of the north
In which the sun is drying up.

I implore you, trample this city under foot.
Wreck the cities.
I implore you, destroy the machine:
I implore you, destroy the state!²⁹

Besides the increase of people moving from rural communities to the city, and because of better transportation systems, people also moved between country lines with much more ease. Major cities like Berlin and Dresden saw an influx of foreigners, making cities much more diverse than before. This immigration was part of German Expressionism as "German painters, poets, playwrights, psychologists, philosophers, composers, architects, even humorists were engaged in a free international commerce of ideas"³⁰ at this time. Many expressionist artists that gathered in major cities in Germany to share their ideas, techniques, and ideologies were either born in other countries, traveled extensively, or were inspired by other cultures in their art. One of the founders of *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kandinsky, was a Russian who crossed international borders to learn new techniques and later developed his own artistic methods

²⁸ Berthold Viertel, untitled poem, in *German Expressionist Poetry*, Roy F. Allen, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 49-50.

²⁹ Albert Ehrenstein, untitled poem, in *German Expressionist Poetry*, Roy F. Allen, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 50-51.

³⁰ Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 6.

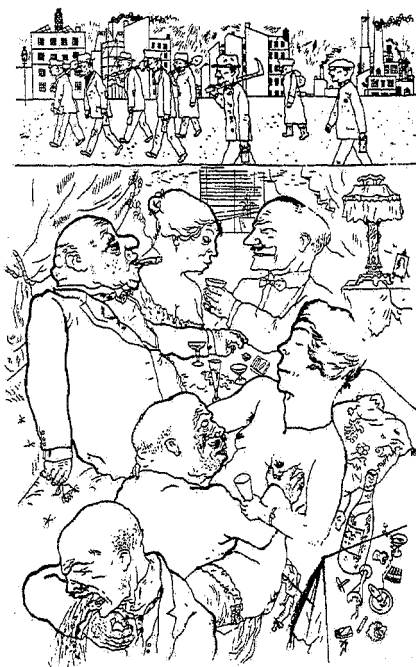


Figure 5. *Five in the Morning* by George Grosz.

in Germany.³¹ This exchange of ideas that was part of German Expressionism was a direct byproduct of urbanization and population growth due to the rapid industrialization of Germany.

We can identify the artists' rebellion not only through artwork, such as paintings and poetry, but by the voice of the artists themselves telling other artists to band together for the same cause through essays, pamphlets, and manifestos. The expressionist poet and painter Ludwig Meidner expressed his anger against what he felt were social class and economic injustices in his 1919 manifesto *An alle Kunstler, Dichter, Musiker* (*To All Artists, Musicians, Poets*):

We artists and poets must join in the first ranks. There can be no more exploiters and exploited! It can no longer be the case that a huge majority must live in the most miserable, disgraceful, and degrading conditions, while a tiny minority eat like animals at an overflowing table.³²

³¹ Ibid.

³² Meidner, *An alle Kunstler, Dichter, Musiker*, 174-175.

In the essay *Expressionismus und Sozialismus* (*Expressionism and Socialism*), also written in 1919, political editor and art critic, Herbert Kühn states: "Machines, created by men to help men, cannons, automobiles, railroads, airships, telegraphs—for the use of man, for his advancement—they arose, raised themselves above the creator—slew him."³³ This art critic interpreted the fast pace of technological developments, and its availability due to high demand and affordability during this time period, as dominating its own creators—humans. Kühn continues, "Man perished through materialism.... Matter destroyed us. Matter crushed us. Joyless work, which man invented, the increase of capital, when man created—the machine—raised itself up against man—killed him."³⁴ Kühn's words are very simple, yet they poignantly express the resistance, anger, and passion he had against the materialism, capitalism, and modernization his country was going through. In the same essay, Kühn summarizes what he thinks the Expressionistic movement is all about:

Expressionism is—as is socialism—the same outcry against matter, against the unspiritual, against machines, against centralization, for the spirit, for God, for the humanity of man... We want a new world. A better world. We want Humanity!"³⁵

Herbert Kühn's essay and Ludwig Meidner manifesto, both written in 1919, were evidence that the main driving force and philosophies of the German Expressionism movement were linked to the economic conditions of Germany of early twentieth-century.

"Where total oppression and manipulation of the masses is wielded by the unquestionable power of the few"³⁶ reads part of the first intertitle of the silent black and white film *Metropolis* (1924), directed by Fritz Lang. The same patterns of rebellion and discontent, especially dealing with oppression and class struggles, can be seen through the German cinema as well. This science fiction film, which is filled with social criticism, perfectly illustrates the popular attitude against authority, industrialization, and the hardships of the proletariat. At the beginning of the film, there are various shots of machines, wheels, valves, and other mechanical devices moving, large modern city landscapes, and a shot of a ten-hour clock (the working classes' working

³³ Herbert Kühn, *Expressionismus und Sozialismus* [Expressionism and Socialism] In *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism*, ed. Rose-Carol Washton Long, trans. Nancy Roth (New York: G.K. Hall & Company, 1993) 177.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

³⁶ *Metropolis*. DVD. directed by Fritz Lang. (New York, NY: Kino International Corporation, 2002).

hours) and a twenty-four-hour clock. These scenes give us a sense of the inner workings of a large factory. *Metropolis* shows a large modern city which is kept running by the workers from a dark factory below. Then the intertitle "The Shift Change" appears. At this point two groups of faceless, robot-like, perfectly aligned workers appear on the screen walking in unison with heads bowed down to the floor, they look like slaves. Wearing all the same colored and type of jumpsuit, these men look tired, unhappy, and surrendered. One group is getting in the elevator to start their shift as another leaves. The next shots show the dark factory with the workers toiling away with machine-like movements, almost like extensions of the machines themselves, and in some instances they look like slaves in bondage with ropes around their wrists. There is a scene where a worker operates a clock-like machine, which is as large as he is, and he has to move the clock arms around to different dials at a fast pace. He looks robot-like but soon becomes exhausted with the work.

These scenes express the loss of individuality due to industrialization portrayed by the faceless uniformed proletariat; the masses — man becoming the slaves of the privileged few and of machines. This possible exaggeration of a factory expresses how Lang feels about the ruling classes and industrialization. An interesting intertitle reads: "It was their hands that built this city of ours, father. But where do the hands belong in your scheme?"³⁷ This is what the son of the city builder and manager says to his father after discovering the conditions of the workers below the city. This dialogue is worthy of note. Who cares about the 'hands' that build everything in modern society? How do humans' lives fit into the scheme of capitalism? "We want Humanity!" said Kühn.

Another film that shows the general distress of the middle class during the German Expressionistic era is the film *The Last Laugh* (1924); directed by F.W. Murnau. This film is about a man whose pride and joy comes from his job as a doorman for a prestigious hotel, played by Emil Jannings. Because of his age, the doorman is considered to be too old for the position and is subsequently demoted to be the bathroom attendant in the basement of the hotel. The expressionistic use of light and shadow effects and camera angles used in the bathroom scene expresses the doorman's sadness and despair. When his family and friends find out, he is ridiculed and rejected. This expressionistic masterpiece conveys how a worker's happiness, livelihood, and dignity all depended on a single job, and when management (authority) decided he no longer fits with the companies' image, he is discarded like trash despite his long years of service and loyalty. It represents the dehumanizing of workers in a money-driven society. "But where do the hands belong in your scheme?"³⁸

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

There is no question that the economic conditions in Germany, caused by the Second Industrial Revolution of the late nineteenth-century, had an impact on its society and the art produced during this time in Germany. They were a direct consequence and reflection of it. The German Expressionism movement's goal was individuality and expression of the self in the midst of a rapidly evolving world where machines and other technological devices were taking the place of the human touch. In that newly industrialized society, the mind became the ultimate frontier, the only true device of originality and the individual. From its origins in Dresden with the *Die Brücke* and *Der Blaue Reiter* groups, German Expressionism's common philosophy was to express rebellion and social criticism against capitalism, urbanization, industrialization, class distinction, and an increasing oppressed proletariat under the upper class aware of each other's standing. Expressionism was a rebellion in its purest form and not just about design or 'art for art's sake.' Not an artistic movement just concerned with aesthetics, although that was a definite by-product of it. This resulted in the emergence of an art movement that would reflect, challenge, and rebel against these economic and social changes; also looking for a venue to channel individuality and free expression. These artists also valued handmade and simple forms, desiring to return to an agrarian lifestyle; a sort of 'back to basics' or primitivism by the use of avant-guard techniques employed in many art media, but especially in paintings and cinematography. By using modern techniques, artists dreamed of old stability. However, what can this past tell us about our present, almost one hundred years up to date?

"And read as history, we can learn much from Expressionism to help us...understand our turbulent and troubled times."³⁹ Just like early twentieth-century Germany, we too face great economic challenges at the beginning of this, the twenty-first century. History has patterns and trends that we must not ignore. Although much has changed since the *Die Brücke* and *Der Blaue Reiter* were formed, people's reactions to economic circumstances can be similar. The working class struggles and the human condition, seen through the art during the German Expressionism era, can resonate with our society today, "[f]or Expressionism represented an artistic response to an age profoundly similar to ours."⁴⁰ By taking a look at historical events, including art, we can get insight into our present circumstances and perhaps change our future. "To gain such insights is, after all, one of the primary purposes in studying literature, or studying history of any sort."⁴¹ New art movements will emerge out of the current economic situation that the United States and the world face, and new stories will be told.

³⁹ Allen, preface.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

•Carol Abstract

I currently hold an A.A.S. in Graphic Design from Salt Lake Community College and will receive a B.A. in history from UVU in May 2009. I also plan to go to graduate school next year to receive a Masters in Library Sciences. This summer I will doing an internship at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. The books I enjoy reading are typically in the history, art, or psychology section. An artist at heart, I love all types of creativity, but more specifically films, graphic, interior, and set design, and I believe all of those are interrelated. With a background in history, research, and design I hope to make great films one day.

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THE TIMBUKTU MANUSCRIPTS: IMPORTANCE, CONSERVATION, PRESERVATION, AND ACCESS

IRENE ADAMS

This paper will describe the wealth of primarily Arabic manuscripts in and around Timbuktu, Mali, made known to scholars in the last several decades, their history and potential value, their condition and need for conservation and preservation, the potential for electronic access anywhere and any time, and challenges related to these needs and potential access. Numerous agencies have provided funding to help with these needs and goals, but progress reports have been very difficult to find. Even the "Timbuktu Manuscripts Project" official webpage, reachable through the "Web of Memory" portion of the UNESCO website (www.unesco.org, hereafter referred to as the "UNESCO website") has not been updated since 2005. However, during the editing of this paper a web source was announced that does give some information about the project's progress, so a partial update will be included along with some suggestions for greatly decreasing costs and processing time.

History and Potential Value of the Timbuktu Manuscripts

Most of the knowledge of sub-Saharan West Africa comes from archaeology and oral tradition, but a potentially rich and underused source is the Arabic manuscripts written by geographers and chroniclers in the Muslim world between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries.¹ In the introduction

¹ Nehemia Levtzion and Jay Spaulding, eds. *Medieval West Africa: Views from Arab Scholars*

to a collection of translated manuscripts, the editors caution researchers to remember that the manuscripts they chose to translate were written by outsiders, by Muslims who lived north of the Sahara – only one of whom, Ibn Battuta, had visited the Sudan, himself. Some of these writers recorded accounts of people who had been there, but these remain second-hand accounts. The lack of first-hand knowledge is evident in such errors as descriptions that included the Nile twisting through “virtually every settlement from Benegal to Nubia and Egypt.”² Still, the manuscripts selected for that published collection include information about economic exchange, procuring of slaves, methods of government, and international relations. As will be seen, this brief list only begins to describe the wide range of topics that can be studied using manuscripts that cover several centuries in a region.

In 1964, John Hunwick initiated the “Centre of Arabic Documentation” with a goal to microfilm, catalog, and analyze Arabic manuscripts from northern Nigeria.³ The project grew over time to include all of sub-Saharan Africa, with Hunwick specializing in West Africa. Because a 4,706-page German work covering Arabic writings from Morocco to India contained only four pages about sub-Saharan Africa, Hunwick expected that the West African materials he would gather could be contained in one small book. As of 2005, he continues to be involved in the gathering, cataloging, preservation, and research use of the tens of thousands of manuscripts that have been brought to light in Western Africa as a result. In describing some of the collections uncovered in this process, he lists the two foremost cataloged collections as being from the Timbuktu area.⁴ One is the CEDRAB collection (the National Ahmed Baba Center for Documentation and Research) of Timbuktu, with about 20,000 manuscripts (9,000 of which had been cataloged as of 2005). The second collection is also from the Timbuktu region, but was captured by the French colonial forces in Segu (Mali) in 1890 and is housed in Paris. (It had not been cataloged as of 2005.) Beyond these two collections, Hunwick also lists the richest West African private libraries as also being in Timbuktu.⁵ These are the Mama (or Mamma) Haidara Memorial Library and the Fondo Kati library, containing 5,000 and 3,000 manuscripts, respectively. The latter collection includes manuscripts dating back to the 16th century as well as a Koran copied in Turkey in 1420. Hunwick cites a 1999 listing of 30 private collections in Timbuktu and approximately 100 private collections in the rest of the Middle Niger region of Mali, containing many thousands of

and Merchants. (Princeton, NJ: Marcus Wiener, c2003), ix.

² Ibid, xi.

³ John Hunwick. *Arabic Literature of Africa: Project and Publication*. Northwestern University Program of African Studies Working Paper Series, ([Evanston, Illinois]: Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa, 2005). 1

⁴ Ibid, 5.

⁵ Ibid, 7.

manuscripts between them.⁶ Though there are other manuscript collections in other parts of West Africa, this paper focuses on the collections in and around Timbuktu.

Hunwick describes Timbuktu as a key center of Islamic scholarship for the past one thousand years.⁷ As a trade center between tropical Africa and the Saharan and Mediterranean regions during the fourteenth century (and a stop on the pilgrimage route to Mecca⁸), it drew businessmen and religious men, some of whom brought traditions of learning. "Timbuktu distinguished itself from the sixteenth century onwards as a centre of study which attracted students from many parts of West Africa, and scholars of Saharan oases from Walata to Awjila, and also from North African cities."⁹ Hunwick says that some modern scholars refer to "Timbuktu University" or the "University of Sankore", but he says that there is no evidence of an actual institution. Teaching was done in different mosques and even in homes, under the scholars' individual authority.

Timbuktu was also noted for its writings, not only on religion, but also on history. Hunwick lists four general types of Western Sudanic African Arabic writings, and these would likely apply to the Timbuktu Manuscripts. They are *historical*, *pedagogical*, *devotional*, and *polemical*.¹⁰ *Historical* writings tended to be religiously based, with a goal of helping Muslim communities establish and confirm their identities. *Pedagogical* works were primarily textbooks, some written locally and some copied from elsewhere with modifications (abridgements or translation into verse to aid memorization) or commentary by local scholars. *Devotional* works, including prayers and poems, were written in both Arabic and local languages, such as Songhay in Timbuktu. (Since many African languages have no written form, the words were written using Arabic transliteration.) *Polemics* argued various interpretations of Islam.

There is obvious value in the four types of writings described above, but the manuscripts may also provide information about material culture, such as gold mining and textile manufacturing.¹¹ More importantly, their very presence refutes myths of African illiteracy prior to European colonization. They also show unique methods of conflict resolution and a tradition of tolerance. They include sophisticated scientific texts. There also appears to be significant material relating to applying Islamic knowledge to relations

⁶ Ibid, 8.

⁷ Ibid, 36.

⁸ Mary Minicka. "Safeguarding Africa's Literary Heritage: Timbuktu Rare Manuscripts Project", in *Proceedings LIASA WCHELIG Winter Colloquium: Collaboration for Success*, (Cape Town, South Africa, 2006),1

⁹ Hunwick, 2005, 37.

¹⁰ Ibid, 38.

¹¹ Alex Ulam. "Elusive Libraries of Timbuktu", *Archeology*, 57, no. 4 (July/Aug 2004):36-40, 38.

between Muslims and non-Muslims and between those who considered themselves Arabs and those who did not. Some scholars, though, dispute the significance of Timbuktu and its manuscripts, saying that the manuscripts are not particularly rare or important, and that Timbuktu was not a great learning center, just one of many learning centers.¹² They say that the prospect of funding from Western foundations may have caused owners to overstate the size and significance of their collections. But these criticisms seem feeble in comparison to Hunwick's praise, cited earlier.

Minicka's report is more in line with Hunwick's views. She reports estimates from one million to five million manuscripts being in the city or nearby, that scholars returning from Mecca brought back manuscripts, that scholars may have been willing to pay far more for books than for other trade items, and that an active copying and scribal industry produced many manuscripts in Timbuktu.¹³ Islam views teaching as an obligation and honor, so scholarship was held in high esteem. Writing covered a wide range of topics, including religion, law, administration, poetry, philosophy, geography, navigation, mathematics, medicine, and cooking, and was sponsored by leaders and the wealthy. She also noted that the sizes of these libraries, even if exaggerated, were unequalled in Christendom at the time.

Timbuktu first appeared on a European map as far back as 1375.¹⁴ It had a Great Mosque and another large mosque (named for the Sankore section of the city, in which it stood), establishing it as an Islamic city, and many Muslim scholars were attracted to it, creating a major center of Islamic learning.

Timbuktu's scholarship peaked in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, supported by the Songhay emperor Askia Mohammed.¹⁵ Scholars flourished in such fields as religion, arts, and sciences, and thousands of manuscripts were commissioned and created by academics. Additionally, the thriving book trade brought in manuscripts from other parts of the Islamic world. Borrowed manuscripts were also copied by what appear to have been professional copyists and proofreaders, who often included a "contract" (with the name of the copyist, the name of the person who commissioned the copy, the name of the paper supplier, the start and end dates, and the amount paid for copying) as a part of the book.¹⁶

Invasion by Morocco in the 1590s brought decline, but hundreds of thousands of manuscripts were safeguarded by descendants of the ancient

¹² Ibid, 39-40.

¹³ Minicka, 1-2.

¹⁴ John Hunwick. *West Africa, Islam, and the Arab World*. (Princeton, NJ:Markus Weiner, 2006), 39.

¹⁵ Rodney Thebe Medupe, et al., "The Timbuktu Astronomy Project: A Scientific Exploration of the Secrets of the Archives of Timbuktu" in Jarita C. Holbrook, R. Thebe Medupe, O. Urama Johnson, eds. *African Cultural Astronomy*, (Springer, c2008), 179.

¹⁶ Hunwick, 2006, 42.

scholars.¹⁷ Some of these manuscripts were kept in trunks, some hidden in the thick mud walls of mosques. Since so few are cataloged, even now, their contents are largely unknown and are at great risk of loss before being revealed. A group of astronomers noted that these manuscripts had not been studied in regards to their scientific content, so they proposed a study of astronomical information found in some of the manuscripts. Research goals included investigating how much African astronomers contributed to the Medieval Islamic scientific culture and promoting the role of Africans in Islamic science in order to encourage young Africans to pursue careers in Astronomy, Science, and Technology. Such motives can easily affect results or attributions of their importance, but the researchers did demonstrate that these medieval records showed an understanding of the field of Astronomy, including a definition of the field as well as definitions of Islamic calendars, months, and leap years, with accurate algorithms for determining leap years.¹⁸ Though it was known that Islam borrowed much of its Astronomy from ancient Greece, it was not known that Black Africans had been learning such ideas at their schools over three hundred years ago. This was much earlier than expected. The study achieved its goals and the researchers emphasized the potential value of the materials not yet cataloged or removed from the many threats to their material survival.

At the Center Ahmed Baba (named after a sixteenth-century scholar and more formally known as CEDRAB, mentioned earlier) there are works from throughout the medieval Islamic world, including books with elaborate gold-leaf decorations, a Koran made from gazelle skin, an eleventh century medical text that includes surgery for cataracts and stomach disorders, and works phonetically translated from West African languages such as Tamashek, Songhay, and Fulani.¹⁹ This library is the only government-operated library of historic manuscripts in Timbuktu.

Besides the value of individual manuscripts or the discovery of how much was known about specific topics, the largely intact family libraries allow studies in the recent field of intellectual history, in which an entire library helps researchers understand "the intellectual formation of educated people at the time".²⁰ The Fondo Kati Library can be largely traced back to one man, Mahmud Kati, "providing a palpable sense of how black Muslim scholars in Timbuktu wrestled with ideas and passed on knowledge in the 15th and 16th centuries".²¹

In early recognition of the value of the Timbuktu manuscripts, a UNESCO

¹⁷ Medupe, et al., 180.

¹⁸ Ibid, 183-184.

¹⁹ Ulam, 38.

²⁰ Christopher Reardon. "Secrets of the Sahara", *FFR: Ford Foundation Report*, 34, no.3 (Summer 2003), 10.

²¹ Ibid.

grant (and considerable support from Kuwait²²) funded the establishment of the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Ahmed Baba (CEDRAB) as a repository for West African Arabic and African language manuscripts in 1976²³ (or 1970²⁴, or 1973²⁵). It was to search out, inventory, and purchase Arabic manuscripts from private libraries. More than thirty years ago, scholars were declaring the urgency of conservation and preservation, pointing out that the manuscripts were not being used very much, anymore, so they were not being recopied when they became illegible and that they were owned by people who could not read Arabic so they were increasingly subject to neglect or destruction. Photographing and microfilming projects were developed with additional funding from American universities and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Changes in Malian policies, such as forbidding the export of films of Malian materials, even for developing (even though there were no facilities for developing film in Mali) created several obstacles to these projects.

As cooperation from owners and funding from a variety of sources was gradually obtained, CEDRAB did gather and inventory thousands of manuscripts and begin to provide training to local archivists (those who collect, organize, and provide access to records) and conservators (those who physically restore and preserve records). The Malian government transformed CEDRAB into an institute of higher learning, the Institut des Hautes Etudes et de Recherche Islamique Ahmed Baba, or IHERI-AB around 2005, with the charge to catalog, conserve, and disseminate documentation on African literature in Arabic, develop an Arabo-Islamic cultural center, and encourage research, information exchange, and cultural relations between Mali and the Arab world and others who are interested in African civilizations and cultures.²⁶ IHERI-AB's Timbuktu Manuscripts Project has four components to help it fulfill its charge.²⁷ The Research and Higher Education Component involves "revitalizing" the research unit at IHERI-AB and supporting formal graduate education. The Physical Conservation Component involves the establishment and operation of a Conservatory of Literary Arts accredited by and affiliated with the University of Mali but housed at IHERI-AB. The Electronic Document Management Component is to provide wide access to the content of the documents, primarily through digitization. The Tourism and Dissemination Component is to promote tourism and local income

²² Hunwick, 2006, 45.

²³ Louis Brenner and David Robinson. "Project for the Conservation of Malian Arabic Manuscripts", *History in Africa* 7 (1980), 330.

²⁴ "IHERI-AB" page of UNESCO website.

²⁵ Hunwick, 2006, 45.

²⁶ "IHERI-AB" page of UNESCO website.

²⁷ "Timbuktu Manuscripts" page of UNESCO website.

generation. The first component requires expensive development of formal graduate education programs, and is a worthwhile long-term goal, but one that will only be addressed in the conclusion section of this paper. Conservation, preservation, and digitization will be discussed at length in following sections. Tourism and local income generation will only be briefly mentioned in the conclusion.

Condition of the Manuscripts and Need of Conservation and Preservation

Thousands of manuscripts, written mainly on paper imported from Europe but occasionally on parchment (animal skin), are falling apart.²⁸ Some are stored in old chests infested with bugs. Insect damage caused some books to "look like relief maps".²⁹ Many are piled haphazardly on shelves or boxes or cabinets, resting at odd angles and falling into odd spaces.³⁰

In the IHERI-AB center, manuscripts are piled on top of each other in metal or glass-fronted wooden cabinets in a room in which the air-conditioner is generally not turned on.³¹ Small items are placed in folders that are not acid-free (acid accelerates breakdown) and are tied together in bundles. They are often damaged and sometimes misplaced. Many are extremely fragile.

The Mamma Haidara manuscripts are stored in a "well-designed building", and 3,000 of 5,000 have been catalogued, but they are awaiting scientific conservation and digitization.³² (The "well-designed building" was the result of an Andrew Mellon Foundation grant that Henry Louis Gates of Harvard University helped to obtain, after he featured the manuscript collection in a PBS special "The Wonders of the African World".³³)

The Fondo Kati manuscripts are in a new building "where they can be safely housed" and where cataloguing can be completed, but they have not been conserved.³⁴ Ismael Diadie Haidara, descended from a family that immigrated from Spain in 1468, spent years collecting manuscripts dispersed among family members and others, and opened his library to paying visitors in September, 2003, with funding from the Spanish government.³⁵ Every morning the room in which the manuscripts are kept is opened for airing.³⁶ There are no windows and there are no glass doors over the bookshelves to keep out the blowing Saharan sand or the termites. The room is fumigated once a week (probably with very damaging chemicals) to control the termites,

²⁸ Ulam, 38.

²⁹ Minicka, 11.

³⁰ Reardon, 7.

³¹ "Physical Conservation Component" page of UNESCO website.

³² Hunwick, 2005, 7.

³³ Ulam, 38.

³⁴ Hunwick, 2005, 8.

³⁵ Ulam, 36-37.

³⁶ Sarah Seawright. "Mali's History at Risk," *History Today*, 55, no. 5 (May 2005).

but the greater enemy is human theft. A burglar alarm cannot be installed because the electrical supply is erratic.

The dry climate of Timbuktu has helped preserve the manuscripts for centuries, but desertification has moved the Sahara southward and caused increased problems with sand that not only gets into the manuscripts but fills the streets, interferes with drainage, and causes repeated flooding, a much greater threat to the manuscripts.³⁷ Older papers and inks were relatively stable, but acidic paper and ferrous inks introduced in the nineteenth century caused paper brittleness and ink burning through not only the paper it was written on but also through adjacent manuscripts. The metal trunks also introduced in the nineteenth century tend to contract and sweat, depending on weather, causing the books to buckle and rot.

Relative humidity should be kept above 40% to preserve the paper most of the manuscripts were written on.³⁸ While Minicka was visiting the area, the relative humidity averaged about 23%. More damaging than the low humidity (which is less damaging than high humidity that encourages mold, warping, and stuck-together pages) is the rapid and extreme fluctuation of humidity caused by downpours that immediately evaporate because of the heat, producing very high humidity and then a return to very low humidity. Many of the manuscripts Minicka viewed also showed clear water damage, although the specific causes of direct contact with water were not given.

Many manuscript owners are selling their holdings to collectors in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States, since Mali has no laws restricting their export.³⁹ This could be stopped if Mali redefined "cultural property" to include manuscripts, allowing protections of the 1970 UNESCO convention on the illegal import and export of cultural property to apply to them.

Other potential sources of loss include the distribution of family libraries among relatives and others or the destruction of materials on the death of the owner, looting by unpaid soldiers, and simple deterioration.⁴⁰ Ordinarily, manuscripts that survive all these threats over long periods of time are manuscripts that were cared for right from the start, rather than the everyday books that are commonly mistreated and do not get preserved: one of the unique things about the Timbuktu collections is that the everyday works used by the scholars do remain.⁴¹ This provides the opportunity to learn much more than from a small sample of the most valued works.

"Conservation" includes the halting of destruction or loss of documents

³⁷ Reardon, 7-8.

³⁸ Minicka, 10-11.

³⁹ Ulam, 40.

⁴⁰ Minicka, 4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

and the restoration of materials to their original state as nearly as possible. It usually includes cleaning of surfaces, but can include repeated immersion of pages in filtered water to remove accumulated dirt and acid and to add buffering. It may mean re-binding of codex-style books (the common style of binding one side, leaving the other side open, and including front and back covers, that we generally mean when we use the term "book", as opposed to other forms of attaching pages or writings together). Individual pages or documents may need to be encased in protective coverings that must be physically and chemically non-reactive and must not adhere to pages or inks. Tears, holes, and broken creases may be repaired only if the repairs do no damage and are reversible.

Minicka, a Book and Document Conservator, reported on a conservation fieldwork trip to Timbuktu in 2004. Pervasive dust and sand scratched and damaged papers, leather, and inks.⁴² Everything needed to be carefully cleaned before it could be enclosed in protective enclosures. White gloves typically worn to protect materials during handling picked up so much gritty sand that they became as sandpaper, so conservators had to abandon their use and rely on frequent handwashing, instead.

Manuscript covers were so damaged that they were damaging the pages enclosed within them.⁴³ Conservation practice is normally to keep the covers attached, but these conservators decided that it was best in this case to separate the covers and box them together with the original book. The conservators created replacement covers that looked similar to the originals but included extensions to cover the tops and bottoms of the pages in addition to the sides, providing additional protection.

Unique bindings that used flaps and ties presented challenges.⁴⁴ The flaps were found tucked under the front covers in many of these manuscripts' bindings, unlike the exposed flaps seen in paintings and in other Islamic collections. Evidence of ties (long deteriorated away now) indicated that the flap usually did go over the cover, allowing tying of the manuscript. But, with the ties gone, it appears that local custom is to tuck the flap under. This tucking is very damaging to the pages, though, so conservationists will have to decide whether to be consistent with local custom or stop this damaging practice.

Fragments or portions of documents needed their own protective enclosures, too, creating the challenge of odd sizes and greatly increasing the number of enclosures needed.⁴⁵

Two threats have been largely avoided thanks to the neglect of the

⁴² Ibid, 11-12.

⁴³ Ibid, 12.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 9.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 12.

Timbuktu manuscripts: light and handling. With increased use and with any photographic or digitization processes, the manuscripts, their paper and their ink will be exposed to the damaging effects of light. Handling, even when done carefully, can cause pieces, pages, large portions, or whole bindings to break apart. Pages must be unfolded and spread for cleaning and imaging. All of the handling must be minimized and done as carefully as possible to prevent further destruction. With publicity regarding the manuscripts, many people want to see samples in exhibits. Display furnishings, environments, and handling must be carefully made and used to prevent causing further damage.⁴⁶

Once materials have been cleaned, repaired, and stabilized as far as possible, they need to be placed in protective enclosures, shelving, and buildings to prevent further damage – to preserve them in their current condition. All the conditions mentioned above need to be controlled – bugs, uneven pressure on the manuscripts and bindings, dirt and sand, chemical exposure (including acidity of folders as well as exposure to pesticides and other chemicals), humidity, light, handling, and the risk of theft. Facilities need reliable security and environmental controls, and staff must be trained in proper handling and storage. Electricity must be consistently provided to maintain the environmental controls, prevent the fluctuations of temperature and humidity, and maintain the security systems.

Digitization and Electronic Access Issues

As a librarian who works with archives and special collections, I know from my own experience and training that conserved and preserved materials are no better than lost materials if there is no adequate way to discover and view what is desired among them. Certainly a person could start with the first manuscript and read through to the last manuscript, hoping something of value to his particular project will be discovered, but most researchers do not have the time to waste on such inefficient searching. Instead, the materials must be organized, analyzed, and listed in ways that allow quick access to specific items. This requires the long-term efforts of trained archivists, who will recognize the value of specific items and how items should be grouped and listed. The archivists must not only know archival principles, but the history of the area and the cultures (including religions, in this case) in order to know what is significant and what goes together. They must create finding aids that describe the grouped materials, in terms of physical attributes (size, condition, media – paper, parchment, papyrus, etc. – and other physical properties), provenance or history of ownership, who created the items and when, how the collection is arranged, and a description of the contents and which box

⁴⁶ Ibid.

or folder each item or group is in. For example, a group of letters from a particular religious leader to an authority in Turkey might be in a collection of "Papers of Religious Leaders in (a specifically-named place), 1450-1600". That collection of papers is divided by leaders' names. Each leader's papers are subdivided by type, including "Decrees", "Correspondence", or other types of written records. The correspondence, if voluminous, might be subdivided into sender/sendee files. The finding aid for this collection would give the name of the collection, tell how large it is and what type of media (parchment or paper), give an indication of who has owned the materials and how they were obtained by the present library, and provide known biographical information about the people who created or were responsible for the writing of the materials. It would describe how the collection is arranged or organized, and provide as detailed as possible a listing of what is in each box and folder. The researcher would then easily be able to determine what box and folder to go directly to in order to find the letters from a particular local religious leader to an authority in Turkey.

But even this is not enough. The properly boxed collection must be clearly and safely labeled (using archival-quality labels and glues that will not either damage the collection or fall off) and stored in an orderly manner that allows them to be safely and easily retrieved when needed. The location must be recorded so that they can be easily located when requested. (The first collection processed may be put on the first shelf, followed by the second, third, and so on. But the discovery or donation of more materials that should be included in the first collection would require that everything on all the other shelves be moved to make room for that addition to go with the original portion. A simpler process is to place the addition wherever it fits on the shelving, and record its location in the shelves. Whenever anyone requests Collection #1, the shelving list is consulted and the appropriate boxes are pulled from wherever they are. This system accommodates the fact that some parts of the collection may be on larger shelves for oversized items as well.) Besides a record of where the item should reside, a log must also be created to indicate where it is when it is removed from its normal place, e.g. on exhibit, being digitized, being looked at by a researcher, etc., in order to track the item and ensure that it safely returns to its place.

Besides the actual collection being easily available in a known space, the finding aid that tells researchers what it contains and in which box or folder must also be readily available. This may mean a printed version sits on the open library shelves, and that printed version is described in some kind of a library catalog so that researchers can search by "authors", titles, or subjects and be led to that printed finding aid. More likely in this age and with so remote a library, the finding aid will need to be online and searchable. This

requires trained personnel who can use or create a catalog system open to Internet and local searching, enter the appropriate data for each collection, and maintain this system.

Even the best of systems has peculiarities and less-obvious options, so trained reference personnel are needed in order to help researchers find what they need in the catalogs and finding aids. They must be deeply knowledgeable about the whole library's collections, in order to suggest alternative subject headings or recommend specific collections to help people find additional sources. And they should be prepared to answer questions from far beyond the local region, including by e-mail, phone, fax, mail, or even instant messaging systems. Reference personnel would also have responsibility for training researchers in the proper handling of materials and monitoring the handling. This includes watching for theft or mutilation, so trained security personnel may also be required, as well as security systems like gates, secured reading rooms, and cameras.

Finally, in terms of physical access, there must be trained and trustworthy personnel assigned to retrieve and re-shelve the collections for and after use. A box or, worse, a folder put in the wrong place may be lost for weeks, months, or even years.

Again, because this library is so remote, access is more likely to be virtual than physical. All the same issues still apply, but several more come up when digitization is involved. The first issues are format, equipment, staffing, and database storage. Digital images can be stored in a variety of formats, including the more familiar JPEG, TIFF, and BITMAP formats, with each having advantages and disadvantages. These usually relate to size and quality of image. The larger the size, the slower or more difficult the transmission of images online, even to the point of not being currently possible. The smaller the size, the easier it is to send and display on webpages, but the poorer the quality for printing or studying. Initial format, size, resolution, and color issues will be decided at the start, but must be reviewed periodically because standards change. What can easily be read anywhere today may be totally inaccessible in only a few years. So images will have to be migrated to new formats as needed – and that means all images, so it will be an ongoing and large expense, especially as format changes result in ever-larger files and the need for more storage space. All images will also need to be backed up, doubling the amount of storage space needed. And backups need to be checked periodically for deterioration or loss, another ongoing project. The equipment used for scanning may need to be specialized or adapted so that it does not damage the originals as it scans them. Inevitably, there will be some damage from the light exposure and the repeated handling as each page is scanned, but improper equipment is more likely to break bindings, tear pages, or otherwise

damage fragile materials. Scanning staff must be technically proficient but also trained in the careful handling of materials. Although re-scanning will be required in some cases, due to loss of digital quality or other expected problems, re-scanning should be kept to a minimum, so attention to detail and careful handling to avoid folded or missed pages is essential. Of course, all of this electronic equipment requires a lot of dependable electricity, which is not always available in Timbuktu. That mean generators or other energy-production or storage means may need to be installed, or else the scanning and database storage will have to be done somewhere else – and that raises many security, transportation, ownership, and other issues.

Scanning images means also creating metadata – data about the digital version, itself. Information includes technical data such as resolution, possibly the camera settings, file size and name, where done and by whom, title, item number or other identification, and so on. It also includes information about the original, such as where it is, its size and material, and any other information chosen for inclusion. Search terms need to be attached so that search systems will be able to find it. Then the images must be organized – all the pages of a book attached to a single record so that the book may be read in correct order without missing pages, for example. The images and the finding aids must be attached in some way in a database, and must be searchable so that researchers can find the collection and the images. Metadata creation and database construction are far more time-consuming and labor intensive than the scanning, itself, and require more trained staff.

Once scanned and prepared for uploading online, there are issues of ownership and rights. Copyright is not an issue because no copyright laws extend to materials created hundreds of years ago. However, the libraries do OWN the materials and have a right to make them accessible or not, or to charge fees for access, just as any owner has property rights. Decisions will have to be made regarding whether to charge for access, how much to charge, and whether to charge different rates to groups such as organizations (profit-making or non-profit), individual researchers, funding providers, African or Malian nationals, or other user-groups they may choose to charge differentially. They will also have to decide whether to display only low-resolution scans and allow people to copy them freely (as they will, anyway, but may be instructed to do so only with proper citing) and reserve high-resolution images only for direct purchase for specific and restricted uses by permission of the library, or to place high-quality images online for free use. Charging for access and/or images provides income to help maintain the physical manuscripts (which remain just as valuable even though there are digital reproductions available), and may also help defray or recoup costs of digitization. But charging restricts access.

Digitization is usually considered a way of increasing access. But it increases access unequally. Those who live relatively close to the manuscripts, and whose cultures they may reflect, may have less access than previously, due to security and preservation measures, while those far away will have much more complete access because they have computers, reliable electricity, and Internet access. This local loss of access may be only a theoretical issue, however, because it seems very few people are using the manuscripts in their current state, so there is little access to lose, and much to gain.

Progress of Conservation, Preservation, and Digitization

As previously mentioned, through the efforts of several individuals and organizations, tens of thousands of manuscripts have been gathered into major libraries, and these and other collections are being cataloged. This creates basic awareness of what exists and where it can be obtained. Some buildings have been built to house major collections under far better conditions than have developed over the centuries. Conservation and digitization projects have been tested and begun in the last few years, but few reports indicate how much progress has been made. The Ford Foundation, one of many funding sources, reported in 2003 that eight local residents had been trained to scan and catalog texts, page by page, at the Ahmed Baba Center.⁴⁷ They are also creating a searchable database that identifies as many as 33 features for each text. But it is a very slow process, and only 1,000 of 20,000 manuscripts had been cataloged as of 2003. The report also said that the Mamma Haidara and Kati libraries were "starting to digitize their manuscripts" but, again, with no indication of progress. As noted earlier, the Timbuktu Manuscripts Project website has not been updated since 2005, and no other updates since 2005 had been uncovered in research for this paper until a colleague reported receiving notification that seemed to indicate that 300 Timbuktu manuscripts were now available online through Aluka. This organization is "an international, collaborative initiative building an online digital library of scholarly resources from and about Africa".⁴⁸ I was only able to find five pages on the website, but Aluka began (in 2005) a project to catalog 600 and digitize 300 manuscripts from the Mamma Haidara and Imam Essayouti Libraries, with the first manuscripts scheduled to be available in April of 2008 (but not found on the site in February of 2009).⁴⁹ So this is apparently the first five of the 300. No reports have been found that indicate the progress of conservation efforts in any of the libraries or projects.

⁴⁷ Reardon, 10

⁴⁸ "About Aluka" page of Aluka website, www.aluka.org.

⁴⁹ "The Manuscripts of Timbuktu" page of the Aluka website.

Funding Issues and Conclusions

Looking at the tremendous costs involved in conserving, preserving, organizing, and providing access to these manuscripts, one can understand the lack of progress just by comparing this project to other needs in the region and in the continent. Certainly medical and social issues are a much higher priority. Still, there are obviously already people willing to fund this project. The Timbuktu Manuscripts website lists many different sources of funding for various parts of the projects, including UNESCO, the Centre for Development and the Environment of the University of Oslo, the Government of Luxembourg, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), the Ford Foundation, The Norwegian Council for Higher Education's Programme for Development Research and Education (NUFU), and the United States Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation. Other funding sources were listed in various reports and articles cited above. It occurs to me that much money can be saved, and much more can be done in much shorter a time – on a project where time is an enemy – if the conservation, basic preservation, organization, and digitization are done elsewhere. Established universities – and even commercial entities – already have the equipment and the trained staff to do these things. There is no need to build extensive facilities and train or import large numbers of specialists for this project. The money earmarked for such facilities, equipment, and staff should be redirected to paying an existing university or commercial entity to do the work. Grants and philanthropic gifts can be sought to help with this one-time project, and universities with African Studies, Islamic Studies, or Archival programs would be especially interested in having students and faculty involved in the project, especially since they will be able to perform research using the resulting product. (Aluka mentioned partnering with Northwestern University's Advanced Media Production Studio and with the University of Cape Town's Department of Historical Studies in their cataloging and digitizing project that is showing results.⁵⁰ Aluka does not say how these universities are helping, but the department names indicate just the kind of assistance that I have suggested.) The grants can also cover the necessary servers and data storage, and computer students would be able to create databases or search systems. The use of interested students who are getting credit and working on a real-world project drives costs way down while enabling the use of high-end equipment and supervision by experts. Language and religion professors and students can add expertise, as well. Universities and donors may be willing to do this for educational and philanthropic reasons, only, but a greater good would be that the university receives the right to host the digital

⁵⁰ "The Timbuktu Manuscripts Collection" page of Aluka website.

materials and make them freely available to the world. There is an argument for recouping some of their costs by charging a minimal access fee, but that argument could be offset by the prestige of hosting such a valuable collection. (I do not think a fee should be charged.)

Security during transport and while at the university is certainly an issue, but there is little to no security, currently, so it is not an issue that would rule out this option. Artworks and manuscripts are loaned between universities, museums, and others on a regular basis, and the usual procedures for such loans can be followed in this case.

The Physical Conservation Component page of the Timbuktu Manuscripts website very briefly describes a pilot study done to develop realistic goals, and used its grant funding to do "a survey of the IHERI-AB collection and two private collections". It says nothing of the results, but says it used the rest of the funding for that project to buy enough "supplies" for 1000 small manuscripts and bindings, to repair some binding equipment, and to provide several preliminary training workshops in binding and paper restoration techniques. Then it says more funding is needed to renovate the restoration laboratory, and the rest of the long webpage is devoted to the development of a conservation facility and extensive training programs for professionals and for local artisans. Again, long-term planning is good, but if the need is urgent, the physical restoration should come first, then preservation training, and then conservation training that will help with restoring additional manuscripts that are acquired. The initial funding should be used for more timely and efficient conservation and access measures.

This arrangement does not leave out the Timbuktu libraries. They will retain ownership and physical possession of the manuscripts. The portion of funding that was already earmarked for construction of facilities can provide a better version of a more modest structure. It need only house the stacks for storage of materials and the reading room where they are used. There is no need for large processing and digitizing facilities. In fact, such facilities may even invite trouble. The manuscripts are a point of pride for local families, who seeing caring for them as a sacred honor but a costly burden.⁵¹ However, Mali is one of the poorest countries in the world, and to see books housed and cared for far better than people can cause unnecessary resentment. Advanced computer equipment can be a tempting target for theft and sale with no regard for the treasures contained within the computer drives. And it is not uncommon to destroy buildings or priceless materials in the process of theft. Clean and secure housing for the manuscripts can be unobtrusive, and local people can go in and see that the building contains the same manuscripts that have always been around the city, not whole climate-controlled rooms

⁵¹ Reardon, 8.

devoted to machines that use more electricity in a day than they might use in a year. (Private library owners who see the care given to other collections may feel safe in turning over their burdensome-but-important collections to be housed in the same environment after the same treatment, especially if their entire collection can be housed together under the family name.) Even the training facility can be held off, as a few training candidates at a time are sent to the university where the processing is being done, and where they can observe and be trained. They will also be trained in handling and reference, as well as security. Money earmarked for the training school can go into the library facility, itself, or into staffing and provision of adequate electrical supply to provide the proper environmental controls to preserve the original manuscripts. Though anyone will be able to see the scanned versions from anywhere, many researchers and others will still want to see the originals. (One researcher explained some manuscript-holders' reservations to digitizing was the fear that once everything was scanned and on the World Wide Web, "Nobody will ever come to Timbuktu."⁵² My experience with digital and physical versions of the same materials is that the original is almost always preferred over surrogates, not matter how good the latter is.) The Timbuktu libraries will still have what they have now, the physical manuscripts, but the manuscripts will be stabilized and protected and will be organized and cataloged so researchers can find what they want. All the Timbuktu libraries will lose is the exclusivity of the collections, since researchers will not have to come to them to see the materials. But few come now because there is so little access even when they are in the library. So that is not a true loss. And scholars gain by having access to the materials in a timely manner, at high quality, before they disappear.

⁵² Ulam, 40.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Irene Adams-

I am currently working on a Bachelor's degree in History, with an emphasis in Public History. I am doing this basically for fun, but also because it relates to my current job at Brigham Young University, where I work in Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library. I already have an Associate's degree in Registered Nursing, a double Bachelor's in Sociology and Psychology, a Master's in Library and Information Sciences, and a Master's in Sociology, as well as a very recent Associate's in History from UVU. (I actually have work experience relating to each of these degrees, including teaching in the Behavioral Sciences Department at UVU for 3 years.) I plan to continue learning through both formal and informal methods throughout my life. The interest in History came later in my life, and the coursework is very helpful in my work as a reference librarian in Special Collections, where I plan to stay until retirement.

If you enjoyed this article then seek out:

"Letters, Journals, Technology, and the Future of Biography," by Irene Adams, *Crescat Scientia* v. 6 (2008), pgs. 7-27.

"A Brief Historiography of Black Women Writers," by M. Marisa Dore, *Crescat Scientia* v. 5 (2007), pgs. 17-35.

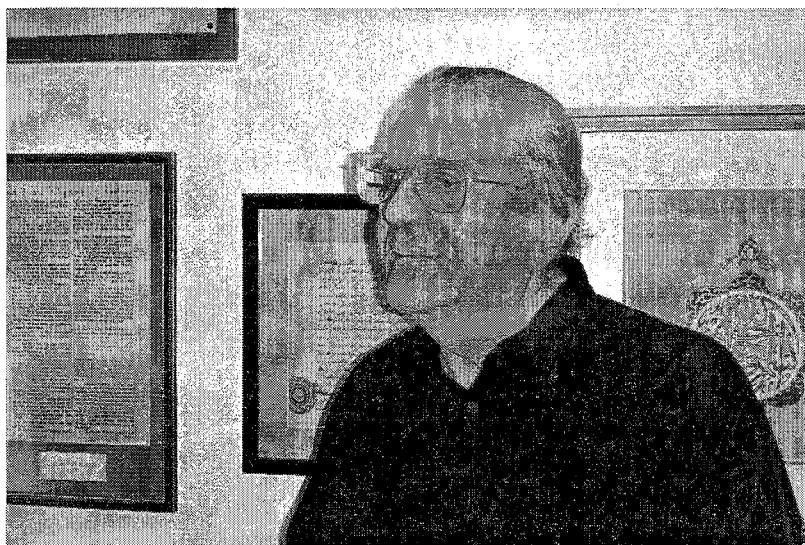
"Women as Technology in the Weimar Republic," by Liberty P. Sproat, *Crescat Scientia* v. 3 (2005), pgs. 55-75.

PRESERVING HISTORY

Noble thought produces
Noble ends and uses,
Noble hopes are part of Hope wherever she may be,
Noble thought enhances
Life and all its chances,
And noble self is noble song, --all this I learn from thee!

Robert Buchanan, To David in Heaven

UVU Professor of History and Political Science, Alex Stecker has worked in the field of Archeology. He understands the great importance of preserving historical artifacts, including noble words and manuscripts, for the benefit of societies. Behind him you will notice a page from both the Koran and New Testament that are centuries old.





THE ORIGINS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WITCH HUNTS IN RELATIONSHIP TO KING JAMES I AND ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH CULTURE

JOSHUA CARTER

The witch hunts of the seventeenth century, which lead to mass hysteria and the execution of hundreds if not thousands of accused witches in the British Isles, was greatly influenced by the superstitious biases of King James VI of Scotland who later became known as King James I of England. King James and his "Demonological Treatise" published in his handbook for witch hunters known as *Demonology* in 1597 included not only a call for witch hunts. It also gave the call for more extensive trials of accused witches and the acquiring of confessions through various torture methods known as ordeals or putting the question to the accused. The mass hysteria created by King James I spread throughout England and Scotland, paralleling similar movements in Germany and France, and the widespread witch hunts became a standard means to persecute individuals found to be different or disagreeable and primarily focused on women.

King James VI of Scotland, a highly educated ruler, came to power as the King of England in 1603, and was then known as King James I. Michael Lynch a historian of Oxford University stated that James was considered an "unusually intellectual monarch," who was tutored by the renowned scholar George Buchanan. James absorbed Buchanan's radical political ideas on a King's accountability to his people, but eventually revolted against these ideals.¹

¹ Michael Lynch, *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, (Oxford: University Press, 2001),



THE HISTORY OF 1800-1810

TRINA SHOWALTER

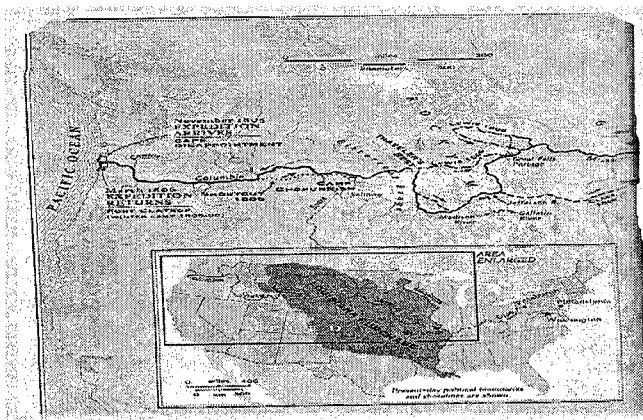
A great many important events took place during the first ten years of the 19th century. Many of these incidents of historical importance made certain people famous. The world also saw culture changes, fashion changes, new inventions, and a surge of population increase, among other things.

One such famous individual was young America's third president, Mr. Thomas Jefferson. He was one of the most brilliant men of his time and possessed a great many talents. He was an exceptional violinist and a great orator. Mr. Jefferson was also fluent in four other languages besides English. They included French, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and Greek.¹ Thomas Jefferson was renowned for his political genius in the field of writing. This talent was a major reason why he was selected to help draft the Declaration of Independence.

An interesting event happened in Mr. Jefferson's youth that sparked his interest in the exploring and mapping a route to the western edge of the continent. Mr. Jefferson's father, Peter Jefferson, also had a great interest in taking a certain group of friends to explore the far West. Young Thomas was shown his father's maps and inherited this dream of discovering what was out there in the American Northwest. But alas! tragedy struck. At forty-nine years of age, his father died. Due to his father's influence in shaping young Thomas's dream of mapping the unknown West, President Jefferson was determined to

¹ Francene Sabin, *Young Thomas Jefferson* (Memphis, Tennessee: Troll Associates, 1986), 19, 25, 43. By becoming fluent in French, this skill helped Mr. Jefferson as a French-American Diplomat later on in his life. Later on, studying Anglo-Saxon, which was the ancient language originally used for important English laws, helped solidify Mr. Jefferson's political opinions on British and American laws.

carry it out. As President, Jefferson made the Louisiana Purchase deal with the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. The price agreed between the two nations was three cents per acre of the vast American continental landscape.² This purchase enabled him to send the Lewis and Clark Expedition to map a western route through the Louisiana Purchase to the Pacific Ocean.



Map of the 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition.
The Journals of Lewis and Clark

The Expedition included three other influential people during 1800 to 1810. They were Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Sacajawea. Lewis was given specific instructions by President Jefferson in 1804 to make notes of everything from the aboriginal inhabitants and their ways of life, to the flora and fauna of each region.³ Clark and a team of other men, plus the Native American Shoshone woman, Sacajawea, and her baby, were to assist Lewis in this enormous endeavor. Her part in the Lewis and Clark Expedition was twofold. First, when the party reached the land of her Shoshone nativity, she acted as interpreter. Secondly, by simply traveling with the group her presence calmed the fears of other Native American tribes concerning the explorers, for no hostile party would bring along a young woman who carried her papoose on her back.⁴ The explorers and their party owed their lives to Sacajawea, one of the noblest Native Americans in United States history. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and others traded with these and other Native

² Alice Provensen, *The Buck Stops Here: The Presidents of the United States* (New York, New York: The Trumpet Club, 1990), 5.

³ Anthony Brandt, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2002), xxvii-xxxiii.

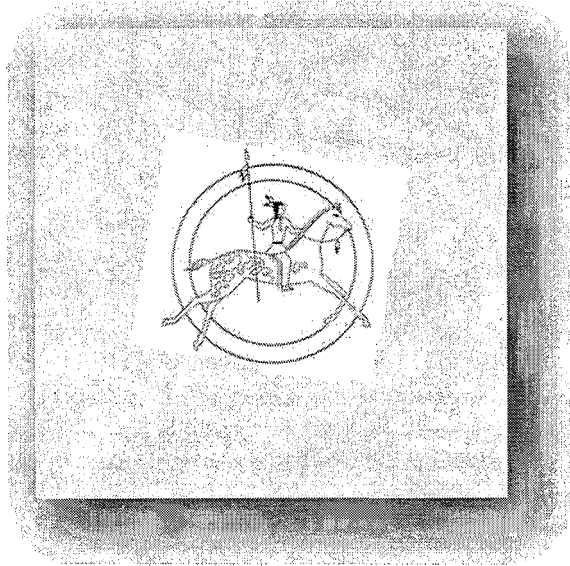
⁴ Brandt, xii.

Americans as they headed for the Pacific coast.⁵

Lewis and Clark discovered several wild animals while on their journey. One animal the explorers noted were the spotted Appaloosa horses, steeds owned and bred by the Nez Perce tribe in today's states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.⁶ The Lewis and Clark Expedition contributed invaluable scientific knowledge about the flora, fauna, and native peoples inhabiting not only the Louisiana Purchase, but all the way to the Pacific Northwest. Herman J. Viola said the following about the expedition's findings:

[Lewis and Clark] were also the first to identify scores of animals, birds, and plants including the pronghorn antelope, bighorn sheep, mountain beaver, prairie dog, mountain goat, grizzly bear, coyote, mule deer, and various species of rabbits, squirrels, foxes, and wolves.⁷

After two years of studying the West, the Lewis and Clark Expedition came back home to the United States as heroes.



Nez Perce Native American Riding Appaloosa Horse.

⁵ Sabin, 20.

⁶ Frank Fox, *North American Indians* (Los Angeles, California: Troubador Press, 1978), 15. Mr. Fox describes the Nez Perce as hunter-gathers and horse breeders of the Appaloosa.

⁷ Herman J. Viola, "Anthony Brandt, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2002), 419.

North American Indians

Another cultural highlight of the years 1800 to 1810 was the massive increase of the population in the United States and the world during the census counts. The 1800 census of America proved that a total of 5,308,000 citizens lived in the United States at that time. The next census, taken in 1810, shows a dramatic jump in population density at 7,239,000.⁸ The difference between those ten years was a total of 1,931,000 people who were either born in America, immigrated to America, or some of both by 1810.

Another talented and influential person was Mr. James Madison. He is commonly called the Father of the Constitution because of his work and role in presenting it to the Constitutional Convention. He also kept detailed notes of the Constitutional Convention, which is today's main source of information concerning what happened during that time. His careful notes of what took place during the secret meetings greatly contributed to our nation's future government rules.

The years 1803 and 1805 were exciting ones for the United States. These years are important because of the following two events. First, Ohio was made a state in 1803. Two other territories established during President Jefferson's time were Louisiana and Michigan. Both of those regions were formed in the year 1805.⁹

Three other events took place during the early 1800's. First, the capital of Washington, D.C. was created on a plot of land between Virginia and Maryland. Second, the Library of Congress was dedicated by President Thomas Jefferson in 1800.¹⁰ He even donated most of his books to this new library that would become one of the great historical landmarks of America. And last, the first steamboat was invented by Robert Fulton.¹¹ The invention of the steamboat proved crucial in improving the means of transportation at that time.

Clothing fashions during the early 19th century among the women were exquisite. For example, bonnets were adorned with feathers, lace, veils etc. Due to the fancy ornaments, it was becoming for young ladies to not wear such bonnets until they were either married or old enough to be on their own in society.¹²

The decade of 1800-1810 was truly, indeed, an exciting time to be alive.

⁸ Margaret L. Coit, *The Life History of the United States: Volume 3: 1789-1829: The Growing Years* (Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1963), 168.

⁹ Coit, 168.

¹⁰ Bailyn and others, eds., 168.

¹¹ Sebranek, Kemper, and Meyer, 582.

¹² R. Turner Wilcox. *The Dictionary of Costume*, (New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 33.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Trina M. Showalter was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Ms. Showalter also has lived in two other states: Virginia and Utah. She has traveled to many places in the United States to see many sites and tour places that range from old forts to museums to the White House. Ms. Showalter has several other interests. She loves to collect stamps. She has a love for various animals, especially horses. She also likes to go swimming, horseback riding, and also go hiking in the mountains. Ms. Showalter enjoys school and works hard at her studies. Ms. Showalter plans on becoming a large animal veterinarian one day.

If you enjoyed this article then seek out:

"The Road to Revolution," by Brenda Peterson, *Crescat Scientia* v. 6 (2008), pgs. 195-200.

"Ulysses S. Grant: The Fighting General," by Scott A. Walker, *Crescat Scientia* v. 4 (2006), pgs. 23-43.

"The Fates of Lee and Davis," by Marty Johnson, *Crescat Scientia* v. 4 (2006), pgs. 45-59.

"A House Uniter or a House Divider?" by Luke E. Peterson, *Crescat Scientia* v. 3 (2005), pgs. 29-39.

"The Bill of Rights: A Popular Victory for Liberalism in the American Founding," by Ryan Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* v. 2 (2004), pgs. 55-67.



THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1953 IRANIAN REVOLUTION

MICHAEL SMITH

In January 1954 former Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh was tried and convicted of crimes against Iran, and was sentenced to three years in a military prison, with a lifetime house arrest sentence to follow. His rapid rise and equally rapid fall from power is a prime example of the tenuous nature of power in most countries of the Middle East. I will examine the events that gave the momentum to his rapid rise in stature within Iran, culminating with his selection as Prime Minister, what he did to facilitate his rapid decline in popular support resulting in the coup in 1953, and what role the United States played in the removal of Mossadegh from power.

In order to understand the situation and problems that were facing Iran in the late 1940's and the early 1950's it is critical to examine briefly the period following the First World War. After the war the allied powers reinstated the Shah in Iran. At the time Iran had little to no infrastructure and no way to build one. The only thing that Iran had to offer as a way to supplement their economy was easements and speculation rights they were willing to sell to foreign countries. Because of their strategic location between India and the rest of Europe, Iran was a prime candidate to have railroad, and communications lines cross it. At the beginning of World War One the British acquired all rights to explore for and export Iranian oil under the name Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC). This agreement allowed the British to control all Iranian oil, and paid the Iranian government a pittance in return. In 1933 with the return of the Shah, the agreement was renegotiated under the name Anglo-

Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) this agreement was to last for 60 years, kept all oil production and exploration in British hands and stipulated that AIOC would pay the Iranians approximately 16 million British Pounds Sterling; this company was later acquired in its entirety by the British Government. The rights that were sold to the AIOC gave Iran steady revenue from the oil reserves, but there was no provision for increasing the revenue based on productivity.

According to the agreement the Iranian government would receive the same amount of money each year from the AIOC, regardless of how much money the company made, with no provisions being made for inflation or increased productivity. According to many reports the AIOC's revenue from its oil sales was over 200 million pounds sterling, with only 16 million going to Iran, and significantly more going to the British government in taxes.¹ During this period of time the United States was becoming more involved in the oil trade in developing nations and was typically offering 50-50 splits with the host nations for their oil rights. When the oil rights were set to expire, the British government tried to negotiate for the extension of the contract under the same or similar terms, something the Iranians were adamantly refusing to do.

In addition to the horrible returns on their oil reserves that the Iranians were getting, the conditions in the oil camps were atrocious. Most of the camps that the workers were required to live in were nothing more than slums, often gaining the name Kaghazabad, or "Paper Towns" because most of the houses they lived in during the summer months were made of nothing more than paper. During the winters they lived in barracks that would house 2-3,000 people, with no privacy, or adequate facilities for clean living. One report went so far to claim that the situation was "shocking for housing of employees of a large western oil company"² Clearly the living conditions in the camps were abysmal, but of greater concern for many of the workers was the importation of Indian workers for jobs the Iranians felt they should be entitled to.³

When the British had been given the rights to extract Iranian oil it had been agreed that they would use local workers in the fields, and would only bring in workers if none could be found amongst the local population. During this period the British began to import workers from India to work the oil fields, claiming they couldn't find Iranians who were willing to work. The reality was that the British were underpaying the Iranians, and the living conditions were so horrible, that they couldn't get Iranians to work. The British were trying to extract as much money, for as long as they could, and were not willing to pay a real wage to the Iranians, further straining relations

¹ Ray Takeyh, "Hidden Iran" (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006), 86.

² Kenneth M. Pollack "The Persian Puzzle" (New York: Random House, 2004), 52.

³ Ibid, 52.

between the British and Iran.

In early 1950 both Iran and the British turned to the United States to try to resolve the problem with the AIOC and the oil revenue. The British asked the United States to get involved to try to force the Iranians to extend the 1933 agreement. The British and the United States had an extremely close relationship and the British felt that this close relationship would sway the Americans to side with the British to the detriment of Iran. The Iranians were familiar with how the United States had dealt fairly with other countries, Venezuela and Saud Arabia, when negotiating oil rights.⁴ Furthermore, the Iranians did not believe that the United States had imperial aspirations, as the British did, and would treat them fairly. Both sides had good reason to believe that United States would side with them, as they each presented their case to the United States.

Surprising both, the United States refused to take either side, and encouraged both sides to come to a compromise and arrive at an agreement both could live by. Neither was willing to give in, the British claiming "One penny more and the company (AIOC) goes broke."⁵ The Iranians went even further claiming "You do not know how crafty they are, you do not know how evil they are. You do not know how they sully everything they touch."⁶ Neither was willing, nor able was at this point to arrive at any kind of compromise, and even the 50-50 split the United States had been pushing for now unacceptable to the Iranians. One newspaper even reported that Mossadegh claimed that he "Would rather be fried in Persian oil than make the slightest concessions to the British."⁷ Mossadegh had reached the point where negotiations were not going to work; he wanted an end to British interference in Iran. "I have no intentions of coming to terms with the British. Rather than come to terms with the British, I will seal the oil wells with mud."⁸

At this time Mohammad Mossadegh began to call for the nationalization of the Iranian oil fields, and the disbanding of the AIOC, in direct defiance of the Shah and the British government who were trying to work out some kind of modified extension that would give Iran small concessions, while maintaining British control of AIOC. In the early spring of 1951 Mossadegh political party was swept into office, and he was selected as the new Prime Minister of Iran. Shortly after, on April 30, 1951 Mossadegh was able to

⁴ Ibid, 54.

⁵ David Farber, "Taken Hostage" (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), 51.

⁶ Pollack, 59.

⁷ Stephen Kinzer, "All the Shah's Men" (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 3.

⁸ Pollack, 59.

push a bill through the Majlis, the Iranian parliament, which nationalized the Iranian oil fields and eliminated AIOC, replacing it with, the National Iranian Oil Company, (NIOC) controlled entirely by the government. Iran also severed all official ties with the British and ordered shut the British embassy in Tehran as well as all British consulates around the country and the removal of all British nationals from Iran.

The British immediately called for a boycott of all Iranian oil, as well as sued in the International Court to regain control of the oil fields. The International Courts refused to uphold the British position claiming that because the agreement was between Iran and Britain, and the property was in Iran, the only court that could hear the case was Iranian courts.⁹ While things were not going well for the British in the international court system, they were more successful on the international markets. The boycott that the British had called for Iranian oil was going full speed ahead and the Iranian economy was slowly starving.¹⁰

Moreover, there was a serious oil glut on the international market, Iran was not able to get any revenue from their oil fields.¹¹ Not only were they not generating any revenue, they were having to lay out money in order to keep maintaining machinery that was effectively doing nothing, putting a further strain on the economy. Up to this point the British had been continually trying to get the United States to directly intervene and work to get Mossadegh to work out an agreement, or if necessary to get rid of him. During the Truman administration the position of the United States was to try to get both sides to negotiate a settlement to either allow the British to regain control, or to encourage the Iranians to give the British significantly more than the Iranians wanted to for the seized property.

Throughout 1952 Iran slowly began to slip more and more into chaos with the economy crumbling, and the Shah and the Prime Minister battling more and more for political power. Mossadegh began to see more and more conspiracies around him, and in an effort to try to consolidate his power base and hold off the advances of the royalists he made two critical mistakes that would eventually lead to his down fall. The first mistake he made was the purge of the military in July of 1952. Mossadegh began to realize that more and more of the officers of the military were loyal to the Shah, and not to him, and he saw this as a threat to his power and moved to eliminate this threat. He eliminated over 100 officers from the military, including 15 popular generals.¹²

⁹ Ali M. Ansari, "Confronting Iran" (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 31.

¹⁰ Ibid, 31.

¹¹ Mary Ann Heiss "The International Boycott of Iranian Oil and the Anti-Mosadegh Coup of 1953," in *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, ed. Mark J. Gasiorowski (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 184.

¹² Kinzer, 174.

This direct attack on the autonomy of the military removed almost all support for Mossadegh and the Majlis, and would prove critical later.

The second mistake Mossadegh made was done out of desperation without fully realizing the impact that it would have later. While the economy was crumbling around him, Mossadegh began to lose the popular support that he had once held. Therefore, he turned to any means necessary to maintain power. Initially he held a vote of confidence for his leadership, but he made sure that there were two voting boxes set up, one to vote yes to support him, and one to vote no to not support him. By forcing anyone who did not support him, to publicly admit their lack of support he guaranteed that he would retain his support, and he was able to get a 99% of the vote to support him. When parliamentary elections were held in 1952 the voting took place first in the urban areas around Tehran where Mossadegh had the most support. When the returns for the election were coming in, it quickly became apparent that Mossadegh was going to lose the election. He arranged to have the Majlis vote to suspend the elections and claimed that due to outside forces, the elections would be canceled.¹³ This was the first step that Mossadegh would take that would begin to show the west that he was willing to do anything to maintain his power.

In addition, he began to accept to a greater extent the support of the Tudeh party, who held overt Communist sympathies, and had been banned in Iran from any direct political involvement in Majlis. Although the Tudeh party was able to arrange for large demonstrations most western intelligence agents in Iran felt that the Tudeh party was "well organized but not very powerful," and its significance was greater "in the minds of certain US officials than in reality."¹⁴ While the Tudeh party held no real significant power in Iran, the fact that Mossadegh was willing to allow the Tudeh party to openly participate in politics with him made him more suspect than ever before in the minds of Washington politicians.

During this period most Iranians including those in government felt that the Americans supported them, and were simply being deferential to the British, and would eventually support Iran, at the expense of the British. Throughout the Truman administration the United States had maintained a policy of providing aid to Iran, through a system called Plan 4. Although the Iranians felt that they should be getting a larger share of the Plan 4 money, most Iranians saw the United States as a source of support and friendship. According to William Warne the man responsible for distributing the Plan 4 money "I was pleased to hear one great shout 'Zende-bad Dowlat Americai'

¹³ Pollack, 60.

¹⁴ Maziar Behrooz "The 1953 Coup in Iran and the Legacy of the Tudeh," in *Mohammad Mossadegh and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, ed. Mark J. Gasiorowski (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 104.

Long live the government of the United States,"¹⁵ wherever he went. At the time most Iranians saw the British as the "Great Satan" and the United States as someone who they could depend on for help.

Following the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower to the Presidency of the United States the British began to once again approach the US to help intervene and overthrow the Iranian government. The British immediately began to try to convince the United States that with Mossadegh in charge of Iran, this critical country could possibly fall to communism, and quicken the perceived spread of global communism. Mossadegh gave the British all the ammunition they needed to push the United States away from neutrality when he declared that "If prompt and effective aide is not given this country (Iran) now, any steps that might be taken tomorrow to compensate for negligence of today might well be too late."¹⁶ Mossadegh may have been cryptically suggesting that he might turn to the Soviets, but was most likely arguing that the Iranians would not be willing to forgive the US if they did not continue or increase the aide they were receiving. There is little actual evidence that Tehran would have been willing to turn to the Soviets especially after the Soviets tried to take control of Azerbaijan in 1946. The Iranian government had been able to eliminate the communist threat in that country and held deep seated mistrust of the Soviets.¹⁷

Despite the lack of evidence to support the idea that Iran might fall to the communists, Eisenhower firmly believed that "Iran must in no circumstance fall to communism."¹⁸ The Eisenhower administration, in order to check the communist threat wherever they saw its potential was willing to overlook this lack of evidence. Despite the fact that the Tudeh party in Iran had no real power, the fact that Mossadegh had been willing to accept them into his power structure was all that the State Department needed to state that if the United States did not get involved, Iran could "feel compelled to seek an accord with the USSR or at least to attempt a course of neutrality."¹⁹ The combined paranoia over the spread of communism, Mossadegh's statements demanding more support, as well as the continued pressure from the British, finally convinced the Eisenhower administration that Mossadegh had to be removed from power.

On June 19, 1953 Kermit Roosevelt, Jr. crossed the border into Iran as an undercover CIA agent allowed to work out of the US embassy, but with no

¹⁵ Ansari, 26.

¹⁶ Takeyh, 91.

¹⁷ Gary Sick, "All Fall Down, America's Tragic Encounter with Iran" (New York: Random House, 1985), 5.

¹⁸ William J. Daugherty, "In the Shadow of the Ayatollah" (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2001), 36.

¹⁹ Ibid, 28.

official ties to the American mission to Iran. His stated mission, latter named Operation Ajax within the CIA, was to try to effect the removal from power of Mossadegh and the return of the Shah to a more prominent role in Iranian politics. Roosevelt was given a budget of roughly one million US dollars to achieve his goals, with little oversight from any supervisors. He immediately began to pay members of the Majlis, newspaper editors and religious leaders to publicly denounce Mossadegh. The Shah was a terribly timid man, who seemed to see threats to his remaining power and his life everywhere he went, and did not seem willing to challenge Mossadegh for power, let alone lead a coup.

On August 1, 1953 former general Herbert Norman Schwarzkopf, father of General H. Norman Schwarzkopf who would lead both Desert Shield and Desert Storm, was sent by the CIA to meet with the Shah in order to convince him to support the coup that Roosevelt was planning. During the 1940's Schwarzkopf had been instrumental in establishing the royal guards, as well as organizing the military and the police. For the next several days Schwarzkopf continued to meet with the Shah to convince him that his participation in the coup would be in both his and his countries best interests, and was able to convince the Shah to meet with Roosevelt at the royal palace.

For the next two weeks Roosevelt continued to organize operation Ajax, he also continually met with the Shah to keep him updated on the plans. The Shah seems to have been receptive to the idea, yet terrified of what would happen if things went astray. On August 12, 1953 Operation Ajax was finally set in motion, Roosevelt arranged to have two "firmans", or legal documents drawn up that would remove both Mossadegh and General Taqi Riahi the Army chief of staff who had remained loyal to Mossadegh, and would put General Zahedi in charge. After signing the firmans the Shah immediately flew north to a resort on the Caspian Sea where he felt he would be safer, and would return when the coup was over. Unfortunately for the plotters the documents did not arrive in Tehran until later that night, Roosevelt and all involved decided that it would be best to avoid trying to stage a coup over the weekend.

For the next two days Roosevelt and his conspirators stayed in the American Embassy and tried to do nothing that would raise the suspicions of the Iranians. On the night of August 15 the coup was set in motion when Colonel Nematollah Nasiri is sent to deliver the firmans and place under arrest both Prime Minister Mossadegh and General Riahi, and install Zahedi as the new Prime Minister. Unfortunately everyone knew that the coup was coming and Riahi was waiting at Mossadegh's residence and quickly subdued the attempted coup, and quickly placed Nasiri under arrest and the Shah quickly flies to Baghdad. Roosevelt is advised to leave Iran as quickly as possible due

to the fear of reprisals against any Americans left in Iran; however he decides to stay and to try to salvage his work.

For the next two days Roosevelt comes up with a new plan to have the Shah placed back in power, and to remove Mossadegh. He first turns to the newspaper editors that he had bribed and convinced them to publish articles claiming that the coup was really ran by Mossadegh to remove the Shah, and arranges to have copies of the firmans published to show that the Shah had legally ordered the removal of Mossadegh, and the prime minister had refused. Most Iranians had little actual knowledge of the Constitution, and the fact that the Shah had been forced to flee, and the printed firmans that had been ignored proved too many that it was the prime minister who was behind the coup, and not the Shah.

Next Roosevelt arranged to have pro Mossadegh protesters take to the street and violently protest the Shah and any remaining royalists that might still be in Tehran. Roosevelt arranged through bribes and a misinformation campaign to have the protests turn violent and destructive. While the initial protests were arranged by Roosevelt to show displeasure with the Shah, he knew that they would quickly spread. Those who genuinely did feel anger towards the Shah quickly joined the protests and they became more and more violent as the day went along.²⁰ Roosevelt declared "This was the best we could have hoped for, the more they shouted against the Shah, the more the Army and the people recognized them as the enemy."²¹ The United States government became so concerned that they strongly encouraged all United States officials within Iran to leave, but Kermit and US ambassador Loy Henderson remained, knowing the real reason for the protests, and their eventual outcome.

Throughout the day the police and army pleaded with Mossadegh to allow them to stop the protests, and to restore order to the capital, Mossadegh for reasons known only to him refused their requests. That evening Ambassador Henderson met with Mossadegh in an effort to get the Prime Minister to unknowingly implement the last part of Roosevelt's new plan. Ambassador Henderson met with Mossadegh and immediately began protesting the way Americans living in Iran had been treated following the failed coup, and demanded that the Prime Minister do something about it. Ambassador Henderson told the prime minister that many phone calls had been directed to Americans, and that many children had been the ones who had heard the vicious attacks intended for their parents. Knowing Mossadegh was very sensitive to how people should be treated, especially children, the stories had a significant effect the Prime Minister was "visibly shaken," and "became

²⁰ Kinzer, 172.

²¹ Ibid, 172.

confused, almost apologetic."²² When it was suggested that the US might have been involved in helping the British, the Iranians firmly believed that the coup had been a British action; the Ambassador insisted that they United States had no intention of interfering in the internal activities of a foreign nation.

Mossadegh immediately ordered the police to close the city and stop all protest. He turned to police Chief General Mohammad Daftary who was known both for his royalist feelings, and his cruelty in dealing with protests. According to a report in the *New York Times*, "the troops appeared to be in frenzy as they smashed into rioters with clubs, rifles, and night sticks, and hurled tear gas bombs."²³ In addition Mossadegh had ordered those who did support him to go home and not return to the streets, he had effectively turned the streets over to those supported the Shah.

The next day, August 19, Roosevelt arranged for athletes, actors, acrobats and others who could gather a crowd to march peacefully in support of the Shah. In addition, he had finally convinced most of the religious leaders to support the return of the Shah, who had been forced to leave Baghdad and had flown to Rome to seek asylum. The religious leaders turned out large peaceful crowds to support the Shah and to demand that Mossadegh be removed from power. Unfortunately for Mossadegh he had disarmed his supporters, and the police refused to stop the royalist protests, often choosing to join, and in many cases even leading the marches they were supposed to stop.

To the average Iranian they had seen a failed coup supposedly lead by Mossadegh to remove the Shah, two days of violent protests and both times the violence had come from those who claimed to support Mossadegh, as well as a year of economic devastation flowing from decisions lead by Mossadegh and his government. The Iranian people wanted a return to what they perceived as the peaceful era that had flourished under the Shah, and on August 19, 1953 Mossadegh finally surrendered to forces loyal to the Shah, and the period of democratic rule in Iran came to a close. After the Shah had been restored to his throne he met with Roosevelt and declared, "I owe my throne to God, my people...and to you,"²⁴ while all three may have played a role, it was probably the last one he mentioned that was the most instrumental in returning him to power. When the Shah returned to power a new agreement for oil exportation was reached wherein the British would maintain 40% rights to export Iranian oil, the US and other European countries would receive 60% and the Iranians would see a significant increase in revenue from their oil. Before the nationalization they were getting 16 million pounds, in 1955 they were

²² Ibid, 176.

²³ Ibid, 177.

²⁴ William Shahcross, "The Shah's Last Ride" (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 70.

receiving 90 million and by 1964 they were receiving 482 million because of increased pay due to production, rather than a set limit per year.²⁵

Because the British had been unwilling to negotiate a fair deal with Iran in 1951-1952 for their oil rights, the Iranians felt they had no other option but to nationalize their oil fields in order to get what they felt was a fair deal. The British were able to strangle the economy of Iran by successfully running an embargo against all oil exports from the country, and finally was able to convince the United States that Iran was going to fall to the communists. All of this eventually led the United States to overthrow the democratically elected, though somewhat corrupt, Mossadegh from power and return the Shah to power. All of this would eventually lead to the Islamic Revolution in 1979, something that might have been avoided had the United States not played a significant role in the coup. According to one woman who fled Iran during the 1979 Revolution:

Why did you Americans do that terrible thing? We always loved America. To us, America was the great country, the perfect country, the country that helped us while other countries were exploiting us. But after that moment, no one in Iran ever trusted the United States again. I can tell you for sure that if you had not done that thing, you would never have had the problem of hostages being taken in your embassy in Tehran. All your trouble started in 1953. Why, why did you do it" (Kinzer 2003, ix)

This is a question that Americans can ask, but never fully answer.

²⁵ Pollack, 75.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Michael Smith

I will be graduating in May 2009 with a degree in History Education. I have previously earned a Bachelors of Science in Political Science in 2002 from the University of Utah. After graduation I intend to start teaching history with either a local Jr. or Sr. High School. I would like to continue my education after I begin teaching, with intentions of earning a Masters degree in History. I have lived in Utah County for most of my life, however I have spent significant time working in southern Maryland working for National Four H Council, as well as a research assistant for Dr. Omar Kader at Pal-Tech in Arlington, Virginia. In my spare time I enjoy playing golf, hunting, fishing, camping as well as reading, especially books about the Southern campaign of the American War of Independence.

If you enjoyed this article then seek out:

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"Sharpening the Sword in Defense of Islam: The Evolution of Jihad from the Seventh Century to Today," by Lee Koelliker, *Crescat Scientia* v. 3 (2005), pgs. 97-113.



THE WAR OF ABRAM GENESIS 14

ALEXANDER T. STECKER

In the Book of Genesis ¹ there is one chapter that stands out, it is the War of Abram against the four kings found in chapter 14. This chapter contains some of the most debated material of the bible. Why it was included in the stories of the Patriarch is not clear, but its location is where it should be. Just after the separation of Abram and his nephew Lot, and before the destruction of the Sodom and Gomorrah. I believe that this is an historical account of a major event for the land of Canaan. It appears to reflect the political conditions of the neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian periods as we understand them from the royal inscriptions of that period. It is told in typical narrative style, the language is terse and direct. There is no wasted verbiage. Almost every sentence is filled with antiquarian information. Nowhere in all of the patriarchal stories do we find such a wealth of historical and geographical details.

Josephus in his Jewish Antiquities sets the stage for the impending action.

"At that time, however, when the Assyrians War, were masters of Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition; their wealth had grown and their youth were numerous; and five kings governed their country, Balas, Balaias, Synabanes, Symmobor, and the king of the Baleni each ruler having his own province. Against these kings the Assyrians marched out and, dividing their army into

¹ All scriptural texts were taken from the King James Version.

four bodies, with one general in command of each, besieged them. A battle took place, and the victorious Assyrians imposed tribute on the kings of the Sodomites.”[i.ix]²

It appears that the kingdoms in the Trans-Jordanian region had amassed considerable wealth being on the King's Highway and the commerce that flowed through their region made for some enemies.³ The biblical account begins:

“And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of nations.”[Verse 1]

These four kings of the east would gather in a coalition of war against the kings of the Trans-Jordanian region. In the Genesis Apocryphon [hereafter Apocryphon]⁴ it has a slightly different beginning “before these days came Chedorlaomer”. In reference to a feast that Abram had with three of his

² Josephus, Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* Books I-IV, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930).

³ The King's Highway, was ancient trade route that was of vital importance to the ancient world. Army's moved along it and merchants as well. It began on the banks of the Euphrates river from there south to Damascus to the Trans-Jordan region continuing south to Aqaba then east across the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. In the Palestinian region it ran through such kingdoms as Edom, Moab, Ammon and Aramaea. Trade was an important factor for its continuance. The first scriptural mention of this ancient route is when Moses and Israelites attempted to pass through Edom on the Kings Highway.

17Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country: we will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's high way, we will not turn to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy borders.

18And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword.

19And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go by the high way: and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then I will pay for it: I will only, without doing any thing else, go through on my feet.

20And he said, Thou shalt not go through. And Edom came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand.

21Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him. Numbers 20:17 [See also Numbers 21:21ff]

Many of the wars fought by the Kingdom of Israel and the Kingdom of Judah were over the control of this road. Later the Nabateans used this route for the transport of merchandise such as frankincense and spices. During the Roman times it was rebuilt and renamed the Traiana Nova by emperor Trajan.

⁴ N. Avigad., *A Genesis Apocryphon*, (Jerusalem, Magnes Press of the Hebrew University Press, 1956) . *The Dead Sea Scroll Electronic Library* (E. J. Brill Publishers) Text known as: 1QupGen or 1Q20.

Amorite friends.⁵ In the Book of Jubilees, [hereafter Jubilees]⁶ it states that "in the year Chedorlaomer, king of Elam" [13:22] that is in the same year that Lot parted from Abram. The biblical order of listing of these four kings is identical with that in the Targum Onkelos [hereafter Onkelos] [xiv]⁷ but the order is different in the Apocryphon which is identical with Jubilees. These kings of the east represent the ancient powers of Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, and Hatti. The kings mentioned in the text have never been identified,⁸ we also have no external sources for the establishing a date for this encounter. As for their domains we have had better success. "Amraphel king of Shinar", Shinar is designated as Babylonia in all the places in the bible where it is mentioned.⁹ In the Apocryphon and in Onkelos, he listed as the "king of Babylon" [*BABAL*] [Col.21, line 23]. Ellasar is found midway between Babylon and the mouth of the Euphrates or Assyria. In the Apocryphon he is listed as coming from KPTWK this could mean Cappadocia. This interpretation would be without any foundation. It is possible that the author had a misunderstanding of the text. Elam is always identified with Elamite kingdom.¹⁰ The last mentioned is Tital king of nations or Goiim in Hebrew. The word Goiim is the Hebrew word for nations, and it seems improbable that this is the name of a nation state. It is well possible that the reader would have understood what the writer meant by this phrase, or the real name was lost to writer at the time. Thus finding the name of the kingdom is of no hope, but his name Tital is name that was borne by a number of kings of Hatti. Of interest here is that in the Apocryphon it has the added a location "who is between the rivers" [Col. 21, 23-23].

⁵ The feast of Abram is not mentioned in any other source. It tells that when Abram returned to his home in Hebron there he built an altar and offered sacrifices to the Most High God. Afterward made a feast for all his household, to which he also invited three Amorite brothers, his friends. They ate together and they drank with him. Col.21, lines 19-22.

⁶ The Book of Jubilees is found in the Pseudepigrapha, it appears to have been written between 153 and 105 B.C.E. Its background reflects the period of the Maccabean hegemony under Simon and Hyrcanus.

H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1963) Vol. II, Pseudepigrapha.

⁷ The Targum Onkelos is an Aramaic translation of the first five books of the Bible. Onkelos is considered a disciple of Rabbi Akiva who died in 135 BCE. It is the most important of the Targums and is the one that is read on Friday in worship services. There are two important Targums, Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel. *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch*, (New York, KTAV Press, 1968), translator J.W. Etheridge.

⁸ There are a number of sources that identify Amraphel with Nimrod, Targum of Palestine XIV. In Augustine's 'City of God' [16,17] his supposed to be Ninus the grandson of Nimrod.

⁹ Shinar was the site of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11:2. Used elsewhere as a synonym for Babylon, see: Joshua 7:21, Isaiah 11:11, Zechariah 5:11

¹⁰ See Genesis 10:22. Elam is also the name of a civilization that was located in what is now southwest Iran.

The four kings will make war on the five kings of the Trans-Jordan region. The kings namely Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah and Shemeber king of Zeboiim and the king of Bela which is Zoar [verse 2]. These five cities or the Pentapolis [Wisdom 10:6] were collectively known as "the cities of the plain" [Genesis 13:12] according to the biblical text these cities of the plain would latter be destroyed [Genesis 19:22-25]. These cities also are the border of the lands of the Canaanites [Genesis 10:10]. The Targum of Palestine [hereafter Palestine]¹¹ describes these kings in the following manner.

"[they]...made war with Bera, whose deeds were evil, king of Sedom, and with Birsha, whose deeds were with the wicked, king of Amora: Shinab, who had hated his father, king of Admah, and Shemebar, who had corrupted himself with fornication, king of Zeboim; and the king of the city which consumed the dwellers thereof, which is Zoar" [xiv]

Of interest to note is that all the kings are mentioned by name with the exception of 'the king of Bela'. [verse 2 see also verse 8] This is also confirmed by the Josephus account. The antiquity of the text is evidenced by this use of supplementary names alongside the ancient with the modern. The five kings of the Trans-Jordan will form a collation of self defense and their rallying place will be the vale of Siddim, the author then adds that is now called the Salt Sea [verse 3]. After the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah the area became submerged and become the lower part of the Dead Sea. This term the vale of Siddim will only appear in this chapter and no where else in the biblical text. The Palestine document has an interesting difference that had to come about by a miss understanding the original text for it states, "...all these were joined in the vale of the gardens (paredesaia), the place that produced the streamlets of water that empty themselves into the sea of salt." [xiv] Or perhaps the gardens of paradise. Latter in the same text they use the same verbiage. These five kings of the biblical were making preparations for they know that there actions would bring disastrous results. They had accepted the overlordship of the kings of Mesopotamia and paid tribute for twelve years [verse 4]. The Apocryphon has an interesting addition, "...And the king of Elam and the kings that were with him prevailed over the king of Sodom and all his confederates and they levied a tribute upon them." [Col. 21, lines 25-26]. This would confirm the Josephus account. Thus in the thirteenth year

¹¹ The Targum of Palestine is also entitled, The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel. It is an Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Book of Genesis and contains a commentary attributed Jonathan ben Uzziel. It is believed that he was a student of Hillel at time of King Herod.

'they rebelled', [vers 4] this would constituted an act of rebellion.

One year latter, the fourteenth year, [verse 5] the four kings of the east would attack, this was but a preliminary campaign to the real battle that would take place latter. This coalition of kings moved along the Kings Highway and took the cites along its length. This attack was more then punishment of rebellious kings, but a war of economics. They needed to have control of the Kings Highway and the control of the flow of merchandise that moved through this area. This coalition of kings in a series of attacks moves down the Kings Highway against some of the aboriginal inhabitants of the region, the Rephaim. Zuzim, Emim and the Horites. Who in time would be replaced by Edom, Moab and Ammon. The first mentioned attack in the Biblical text [verse 5] are the Rephaim in Ashteroth Karnaim. This city is mentioned in Joshua 12:4, the Egyptian pharaoh Thut-mose III mentions the city in one of his expeditions. The name is also found in the Amarna tablets.¹² In Assyrian documents the region was known as Qarnini after the city. The Apocryphon adds the addition phase "taking spoil all the way from the river Euphrates" [Col.XXI, 28]. They then moved against the Zuzim in Ham. This city was also mentioned by Tut-mose III.¹³ Of interest here is that the author prefixes the definite article to their name, the Zuzim which indicates that they were well known. There is a notable change in the Apocryphon where it records this as the "Zamzumim who were in Ammon" [Col. 21, 29]. The article is also affixed here.

They then moved against the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim who were the original inhabitants of the land and latter would be defeated by the Moabites. It is a city on the Moabite plateau. It was spoken of as a Moabite town in Jeremiah 48:23. It was mentioned in the Mesha Inscription [line 10].¹⁴ The city gave its name to the plain Shaveh Kiriathaim. The expedition continues to move to the south this time against the Horites [verse 6] who are also mentioned in Gen. 36,20-21, 30 and also in Deut.2:12, 22 where they are described as having been dispossessed out of Seir by the Edomites. This is the hill country between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Eliath. El-paran [verse 6] has been identified with Elath in the Gulf of Akabah. The wilderness that is mentioned, is the wilderness of Paran [see Gen.21:21] which is between the Gulf of Akabah and the borders of Egypt. The Apocryphon adds a line to this account, "and the Horites who were in the mountains of Gebal," [Col. 21, line 29].

Having reached the southern portion of the Kings Highway the Gulf of

¹² J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955) Thut-mose III see page 242, Amarna page 483.

¹³ Same as above.

¹⁴ Ob. cit. The Moabite Stone page 320.

Akabah they turned north west toward En-mishpat by the time this text was written it was known as Kadesh [verse 7]. They attacked the Amalekites, a nomadic people who latter would oppose the Israelites [Exodus 17:8]. They then moved north east against the Amorites in Hazezon-tamar, which according to the 2 Chronicles 20:2 is known as En-Gedi which is the southern end of the Dead Sea. They now have arrived at the place where the Trans-Jordanian kings decided to make a stand. Here the author of the biblical text includes all the names of the kingdoms involved [verse 8], but does not include the names of the kings as he previously had done. The author now lists the foreign kings and the kingdoms involved that had wracked such havoc until now. But the list is different then in the biblical verse 1, in that the order is different. Reflecting now the order of importance, with the concluding statement that there are four kings against five [verse 9]. The list in the Apocryphon is shorter by stating "Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam and the kings who were with him." [Col. 21, 32]. The biblical text states that in the valley of Siddim which was full of slimepits or bitumen there the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell and the survivors fled to the mountains, the mountains of Moab east of the Dead Sea [verse 10]. The changes in the Apocryphon are most interesting. The author leaves out that the valley was full of slimpits, and continues to state that the king of Sodom fled and escaped, while the king of Gomorrah fell in the pits. In Jubilees [13:22] it reads "...and [they] slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom fled." This apparent contradiction from the biblical text was motivated to explain the fact that in the biblical text verse 17, the king of Sodom came out to greet Abram when he came home from the defeat of the Chedorlaomer. In a midrash it has that the kings fell in the slimpits and stuck there, only the king of Sodom was rescued.¹⁵ Jubilees records, "...and many fell through wounds in the vale of Siddim, by the Salt Sea." [13:22].

The victors sack Sodom and Gomorrah and take their food and departed [verse 11]. The Apocryphon adds that it was the king of Elam that sacked the two cities [Col. 21, line 33-34]. In the process they also took Lot, Abram's brother's son [verse 12]. Josephus in his Antiquities adds "...many of their number perished, and the rest were taken prisoners. Among the latter was Lot, who had come to fight as an ally of the Sodomites." [i:ix:ix] The biblical text continues, "...and there came one that escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew" [verse 13]. The Apocryphon adds to this, "...and there came one of the herdmen of the cattle that Abram had given to Lot, one of that escaped from captivity to Abram..." [Col. 21, 1-2]. Of interest is that the bible records 'Abram the Hebrew' this is the first time that this term appears in scriptures.

¹⁵ The midrash adds "...for the purpose that he might convert those heathen to faith in God..."

Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1901), volume 1, page 230.

This is necessary in that he is dwelling with three brothers, Mamre, Eshcol and Aner who are Amorites, who are confederates of Abram. Onkelos adds that they were men of the covenant [XIV]. This would explain the reason for inviting them to a meal when he offered sacrifice. The location for this event is near Hebron. The Palestine text adds that this was on the first night of Passover [iii,xiii] The Apocryphon adds that as the four kings retreated, "...the kings had gone by the way of the Great Valley to their land and that they were taking captives and booty, and smiting and slaying and making their way to the province of Damascus..." [Col. 22, 4-5]. In contrast to the route they had taken come to the war, "...by the way of the Wilderness..."[Col.21. 28].

Upon hearing the news of the captive of Lot, Abram takes three hundred and eighteen men born in his house to rescue his brother's son. The Apocryphon adds "...servants trained for war [Col. 22, 6]. If we take the number of trained men in the household and add the wives, children and parents and others. We might arrive that household of Abram totaled more then a thousand. Not a small herder living a solitary life. Not mentioned here but he also took with him the three Amorites brothers [see verse 24]. Josephus adds that he Abram had compassion for Lot and his friends and neighbors the Sodomites [i.x.1]. The biblical text continues that he pursued them unto Dan [verse 15]. Abram divides his forces and attacks at night and pursued them to Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus. He rescues Lot and all the captives. Josephus adds to this account by stating, "...on the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians in the neighborhood of Dan...surprising them before they had time to arm, some, unconscious of their fate, he slew in their beds, while those who were not yet plunged in sleep but through drunkenness were incapable of fighting took to their heels. Abram followed them hotly in pursuit until the following day he had driven them all into Oba [Hobah] in the country of the Damascenes [i.x.1]. Having rescued Lot and the other captives all of their goods he returned home victorious.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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“The Beatitudes: An Interpretation,” by Dr. Alexander T. Stecker, *Crescat Scientia* v. 1 (2003), pgs. 65-71.



SWIFT JUSTICE: A PRECESS THAT HARMS THE INNOCENT

WILLIAM SWADLEY JR.

A national survey taken shortly after 9/11 revealed that 86% of American respondents felt their sense of personal safety shaken to some degree due to the breach of national defense.¹ Six months later 37% of respondents claimed they still felt shaken.² Americans expected President Bush to pursue the perpetrators and keep the nation safe. Bush responded by saying, "The U.S. military is ready to defend freedom at any cost.... We will win the war, and there will be costs."³ The war on terrorism began to evolve; secret prisons were established, innocent suspects were arrested without sufficient evidence, detainees were tortured and denied access to a fair trial- in summary human rights were violated. A review of historical events reveals remarkably similar government measures in other time periods. In times of hysteria, government removes the legal rights usually granted in order to swiftly pursue the guilty, and due to the suspension of rights, the innocent are harmed.

As I refer to human rights throughout this paper, my definition will include two parts: 1) The rights of an individual upheld by the laws that govern that particular region, and 2) The right to humane treatment whether it is explicitly stated in law or not (often an expected norm if not law). This second definition is important because governments have tried to modify human rights definitions to justify their actions. For example, The Bush

¹ Michael Traugott, et al. "How American's Responded: A Study of Public Reactions to 9/11/01" (Cambridge University Press. 35, 2002), 512.

² Ibid.

³ Charles Babington, "'Dead or Alive': Bush Unveils Wild West Rhetoric," *The Washington Post*. September 17, 2006. <<http://www.washingtonpost.com>>.

administration has narrowed their definition of torture and expanded their definition of interrogation in an effort to validate their methods. As Alan Clarke said, "Torture like pornography cannot be bound precisely."⁴ Alan Clarke then recited the words of former Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, "I know it when I see it." The same is the case with human rights, the violation of them is readily recognizable. The events described throughout this paper illustrate times when a government removes human rights to peruse the guilty and the consequences of that decision.

During the 16th and 17th century in what is now Germany, the area contained two territories named Bamberg and Wurzburg. The territories were governed by two prince bishops. Robert Rapley in his book explains the events that transpired. These two territories were swept up in the European witch hunt craze. This craze started in 1580 and lasted for another 70 years. During this time, at least fifty thousand persons were executed for the practice of witchcraft. The craze reached a new level of insanity in Wurzburg when children between the ages of 10 and 12 were burned. The records indicate that at least 41 children suffered this fate. The witch craze in these two territories violated the human rights of its citizens by assuming guilt without evidence, torturing for information and executing children. Concerning the government's role, one author said "what we do know is that once things started, the two prince-bishops were convinced that the devil was at work through his acolytes, the supposed witches, and that they were determined to pursue these women and men to the end."⁵

These princes believed the situation to be so serious that drastic measures were allowed. The Princes believed that by seeking out these witches, the general public would be protected. The exact initial cause of the witch hunts is not known but it is thought that famine was the provoking factor. When a frost took place in 1626 that killed crops, the blame was placed on witches. The crop failures and fear of lurking witches created a public mindset conducive of hysteria. Because these witches proved a threat to the lives of citizens, the prince-bishops determined to see their demise.

Instead of the usual process of collecting evidence and proving the guilt, a much more subjective practice was put into place. Secret accusations and heresy became substantial proof for condemnation. Once the suspected witch was apprehended, torture would ensue until a confession was extracted. The story of Georg Hann illustrates how the process worked. Someone accused his wife and daughter of witchcraft; his wife and daughter were then tortured and gave the torturer his name and that of another immediate family member.

⁴ Allen Clarke, "Creating a Torture Culture," 49.

⁵ Robert Rapley, *Witch Hunts From Salem to Guantanamo Bay* (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 9.

Georg was then tortured and under the agony gave the torturer other names. The torturers seemed to base their success on the number of names received, rather than the accuracy of the accusation. One torturer required 1,000 names from those he tortured. This quickly led to the majority of citizens being accused of witchcraft and left no one safe from accusation. The rights removed in an effort to persecute witches, led to the torture and death of citizens that would have ordinarily been protected.⁶

The British government fell into the same scenario in an effort to protect its citizens from the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA was an organization that opposed British rule in Northern Ireland. In 1968, British troops were sent into Northern Ireland and sparked decades of tension and conflict. In 1974, the IRA began a series of bombings in English pubs. The first attacks were in the town of Guildford on October 5, 1974. Two other attacks occurred on November 21, 1974 in Birmingham. The combined fatalities reached 26 and the number of serious injuries reached over 160. The British Parliament's response was intended to assist law enforcement in squashing future terrorist attacks and bringing the perpetrators to justice but instead scarred the lives of innocent citizens.

Only 8 days after the Birmingham bombing, Parliament passed and put into effect the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). According to Rapley the PTA "swept away the legal protections of the individual that had been constructed into British law over centuries."⁷ Elements of the PTA were to undermine rights that dated back to the Magna Carta of 1215. Under the PTA, the definition of a terrorist act was broadened to anything that "causes risk to the health or safety of anyone."⁸ The act gave authorities the power to arrest anyone, regardless of whether or not evidence existed to make a case; authorities simply needed a suspicion to take in a suspect. The act allowed authorities to hold suspects for up to seven days without charges and restrict the suspect's outside communication. The fear aroused in public minds and pressure on the government to protect the peace created a climate conducive of judicial miscarriages.

These miscarriages occurred not because of innocent mistakes but because protections usually in place were removed. The most prominent miscarriages as a result of the PTA were the cases of the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven. Not even a day after the PTA went into effect, the first arrest was made in conjunction with the IRA bombings. Shortly after three others were arrested and tagged as the Guildford four, on trial for the Guildford bombings. The police were not able to come up with any material witness or forensic

⁶ Rapley.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁸ *Ibid.*

evidence; all they were able to obtain were confessions from the four suspects. Later, information would come to light that these were forced confessions produced through abuse. The four were all found guilty and sentenced to prison. This bares striking resemblance to the witch hunts in Bamberg and Wurzburg, and like the witch hunts, the Guildford Four were beaten until they spat out names of others that could be linked to the crime. One of the four, Gerard Conlon, gave the names of family members, which led to the case of the Maguire seven.

Because of the PTA Gerard Conlon was not given the same rights as suspects in the past. He was forced to confess and implicate others through physical abuse. The government wanted to know who supplied the Guildford four with the bombs. Gerard Conlon's false confession led to the arrest of his father, aunt, uncle, great uncle, two cousins and one other man. They had nothing to do with the IRA and there was no reason to arrest these people other than the fact that they were related (except for one man) to Gerard. The police were only interested in finding persons to blame and then building a case around them. They were taken into custody and Gerard's aunt describes how she was treated by saying:

They had taken my tights and shoes away, and would make me stand spread-eagled against a wall, arms and legs outstretched. I was weak and had a very heavy period. I kept falling down. They would just kick and kick me, using foul and abusive language, telling me to get up. Their kicks stuck around the lower back and kidney area. I would somehow manage to get up, but not for long. Soon I would collapse again and they would grab me by the hair, pulling and kicking me around the room."⁹

The seven went to trial and were convicted due to the lying police officers and faulty forensic evidence. They received sentences ranging from four to fourteen years. One those convicted was a fourteen year old boy; he received the four year sentence. The next injustice was eleven innocent people spending years in prison.

The injustices inflicted on the Maguire seven would not have happened in ordinary times. However, because of the hysteria the judicial process did not function properly. The Maguire seven had all served their sentences (except one who died in prison) when the government was finally willing to reinvestigate the case and admit to the injustices. The Guildford four were released from their longer sentences early. Shockingly, the government had a chance to correct the problem before it started; before the trial of the Maguire

⁹ Clarke.

Seven a group of men associated the IRA were brought in who admitted to the Guildford bombings. The government carefully danced around the confession and never gave it serious attention. Years later, a reinvestigation of the cases took place and the illegal and subjective actions of the police officers and judges were uncovered. In February of 2005, Prime Minister Blair offered a long awaited public apology to all eleven saying:

I recognize the trauma that the conviction has caused the Conlon and the Maguire families and the stigma that wrongly attaches to them to this day. I am very sorry that they were subject to such an ordeal and such an injustice. That's why I'm making this apology today. They deserve to be completely and publicly exonerated."¹⁰

The government's focus on apprehending the culprits led authorities to fabricate crucial evidence, force confessions and violate the rights of innocent citizens.

The events that took place in Great Britain, Bamberg and Wurzburg all have had a striking similarity to what happened after 9/11 in United States of America. All had a tragic event that took place that threatened the welfare of citizens; all felt fear and uncertainty about particular groups of people and the leaders in all these incidents decided to take away rights and protections previously provided in order to serve the common good. How America responded after 9/11 shows a current and clear example of the pattern of the rights of the innocent being trampled in pursuit of the guilty.

The cases of the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven illustrate the danger in authorities picking up suspects without sufficient evidence and using abuse in order to gain information. Immediately after 9/11, America began to condone such behavior by establishing secret prisons throughout the world. Dana Priest reported on the secret prison system explaining that at its height, the prison system was established in 8 countries and from its origination until 2006 had held 100 prisoners. These covert prisons which were run by the CIA were not publicly acknowledged by the administration until an address by President Bush in 2006. The interrogation techniques used in these prisons have been described as harsh but the term has been proven a euphemism. Dana Priest reported that interrogation tactics consisted of "feigned drowning, extreme isolation, slapping, sleep deprivation, reduced food intake, and light and sound bombardment—sometimes in combination with each other."¹¹ The tactics previously mentioned are only the tip of the

¹⁰ Rapley, 201.

¹¹ Dana, Priest, "Officials Relieved Secret is Shared," *The Washington Post*, September 7, 2006, available online <<http://www.washingtonpost.com>>.

iceberg compared to what took place at Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib.

Abu Ghraib was a prison known for violating human rights of prisoners during the reign of Saddam Hussein but is now known for injustices inflicted on prisoners by the U.S.. Seymour Hersh was among the first to tell the story. After the U.S. military invasions, Abu Ghraib became part of the U.S. military prison system. In June of 2003, Army reserve brigadier general Janis Karpinski was put in charge of the prisons in Iraq. Due to the events that took place under her watch, she was suspended and an investigation was initiated. Major General Antonio Taguba's report identified the following violations of human rights:

Breaking chemical lights and pouring the phosphoric liquid on detainees; pouring cold water on naked detainees; beating detainees with a broom handle and a chair; threatening male detainees with rape; allowing a military police guard to stitch the wound of a detainee who was injured after being slammed against the wall in his cell; sodomizing a detainee with a chemical light and perhaps a broom stick, and using military working dogs to frighten and intimidate detainees with threats of attack, and in one instance actually biting a detainee.¹²

However, those are not the most disturbing incidents of abuse that took place. Photographs were found that exposed the soldiers forcing prisoners to perform sexual acts on each other. Soldiers took photographs that were eventually made public. The pictures reveal males prisoners being forced to perform sexual act on fellow male prisoners.

The release of the pictures provoked a public outcry. Taguba's completed report was released at the beginning of March of 2004 and prior to that his findings had been reported to the pentagon and central command headquarters. Yet months later when both Bush and Rumsfeld claimed they didn't find out about the abuses at Abu Ghraib until the pictures reached the public. Taguba condemned those involved by saying:

I know that my peers in the Army will be mad at me for speaking out, but the fact is that we violated the laws of land warfare in Abu Ghraib: We violated the tenets of the Geneva Convention. We violated our own principles and we violated the core of our military values. The stress of combat is not an excuse, and I believe, even

¹² Seymour Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib," *The New Yorker*, May 10, 2004, available online <<http://www.newyorker.com>>, 1.

today, that those civilian and military leaders responsible should be held accountable.¹³

While only common sense and speculation inform us that administration leaders were aware what was happening in Abu Graib, there is evidence of the administration's hand in the detainee abuses at Guantanamo Bay.

At Guantanamo Bay, The American government not only violated the rights of detainees but specifically informed interrogators on what measures to take. Guantanamo Bay was used post 9/11 for detaining suspected members of the Taliban or al-Qaeda. By the middle of 2003, over 700 prisoners populated the prison. The first rights removed by the U.S. government were those of POWs. Prisons usually fall under the Geneva Conventions and their rights are upheld by international bodies. The Bush administration considered detainees to be "enemy combatants", not prisoners of war.¹⁴ Jack Goldsmith former Assistant Attorney General for the office of legal council describes the choice of using Guantanamo for detainees by saying the following:

The Pentagon considered other facilities besides GTMO, including military bases inside the United States and on the island of Guam. But these bases were relatively easy targets for terrorists to attack. They would frighten and possibly endanger U.S. civilians. GTMO, by contrast, was isolated and well defended. And because it was technically not part of U.S. sovereign soil, it seemed like a good bet to minimize judicial scrutiny.¹⁵

The strategic placement of "enemy combatants" allowed the U.S. government to wiggle around international rights. The right to a trial was denied to many until the Supreme Court became involved.

In June of 2008, the Supreme Court voted 5-4 in favor of allowing detainees the right to seek their release in federal court. Despite the administrations attempts to remove detainee's rights, the Supreme Court ruled that they had the constitutional right to such procedure. In November, a judge heard the case of 6 inmates. William Glaberson reported on the court case. The judge ordered that 5 of the 6 be released due to weak evidence. The Justice Department was forced to present their justifications for confinement of the inmates and the justifications did not hold up for five. The five will be

¹³ Seymour Hersh, "The General's Report," *The New Yorker*, June, 25 2007, available online <<http://www.newyorker.com>>, 9.

¹⁴ Rapley, 233-6.

¹⁵ Jack Goldsmith, *The Terror Presidency* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 108.

released after spending 7 years at Guantanamo Bay.¹⁶ The judge was quick to say "This is a unique case", pointing out that this is not an indicator of the other cases. However, one thing this case indicates is that these detainees are finally being granted their rights. For many of the detainees that were tortured in Guantanamo Bay, their rights are being granted too late.

Guantanamo provided the setting for another right to be removed, the right to humane treatment. The public has been made aware that at least three cases of water boarding took place at the facility.¹⁷ Water boarding is simulated drowning; a cloth is placed over the individual's head and water is then poured over the rag. A high profile inmate named Mohammed al-Qahtani experienced a different kind of torture. Reporter Jane Mayer described his treatment by saying "He had been stripped naked; straddled by taunting female guards, in an exercise called "invasion of space by a female"; forced to wear women's underwear on his head, and to put on a bra; threatened by dogs; placed on a leash and told his mother was a whore." He had also been "subjected to a phony kidnapping, deprived of heat, given large quantities of intravenous liquids without access to a toilet, and deprived of sleep for three days."¹⁸ William Haynes, the Pentagon's general counsel justified the treatment received by inmates by saying "U.S. officials believed the techniques were necessary to obtain information."¹⁹ Haynes was just one of many in the administration all the way up to the top justifying the removal of the right to humane treatment.

The news broke in early 2008 that members of the administration all the way up to President Bush were aware of the harsh interrogation techniques or torture being used at Guantanamo Bay. Members of the cabinet were meeting to discuss the specific tactics to use on inmates. President Bush admitted his awareness by saying "Yes, I am aware that our national security team met on this issue. And I approved."²⁰ (qtd. in Clarke 52-53). The security team was working out the details and passing them down to the CIA. The administration's use of such forms of interrogation was based on faulty legal advice given by John Yoo and others on the legal council. Jane Mayer reported, "Yoo believed that the President's role as Commander in-Chief gave him virtually unlimited authority to decide whether America should respond militarily to a terror attack, and, if so, what kind of force to use."²¹ That belief led to the administration neglecting the rights of those who were detained in

¹⁶ William Glaberson, "Judge Declares Five Detainees Held Illegally," *The New York Times*, November 20, 2008, available online <<http://www.nytimes.com>>.

¹⁷ Clarke, 48.

¹⁸ Jane Mayer, "The Memo," *The New Yorker*, February 20, 2006, available online <<http://www.newyorker.com>>, 3.

¹⁹ Ibid., 8.

²⁰ Clarke, 52-3.

²¹ Mayer, 10.

Guantanamo. In the administration's sincere effort to protect the innocent, those accused of terrorist involvement were tortured and treated inhumanly and denied the opportunity to have the evidence against them validated. The Bush administration did what so many other governments have done previously.

A careful look at the example cases that took place in Bamberg and Wurzburg, Great Brittan and the United States reveals a similar government mentality. This mentality is that the government can quickly and accurately apprehend the guilty that threaten society; the outcome of the example cases proves otherwise. In the case of Bamberg and Wurzburg, innocent people were forced to produce false admissions and confess false accomplices. In the case of Great Brittan, the police apprehended the wrong people with no evidence, built a faulty case, forced false confessions and then sent all the innocent people to prison. In the case of the United States, some innocent suspects were swept up without sufficient evidence and were denied a trial. Not only did the government fail to pursue the guilty but also innocent lives were forever changed.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

William Swadley is currently a student at UVU. His major is Integrated Studies with an emphasis in Business and Religious Studies. He claims Highland Utah as the home of his youth and currently resides in Provo. Although not a student of history by major, he tries to indulge in historical reading in his free time. The Abraham Lincoln biography Team of Rivals helped pass the recovery time after knee surgery last summer. He believes that although the details may change, the challenges facing mankind have ultimately been the same and knowledge of history can help us make better choices today.

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HISTORY OF UTAH MONEY

DEAN R. WHITE

"Show me the money!" This memorable line from the 1996 movie "Jerry Maquire" describes the life focus of the majority of the world's population. The Bible records that "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."¹ But, long before the days of Jesus, men of faith have used money to bring forth their righteous or evil desires and in the present day, not much has changed. In the 18th century, a new religious sect founded in North America established a city at the foot of the Great Salt Lake beginning the history of what was to be the State of Utah. Throughout the history of Utah, men and women used various forms of money as a medium of exchange to facilitate the growth of their economy and provide stability during times of economic crisis.

HISTORY OF UTAH MONEY

Fur Traders

Early in the 19th century, the fur industry dominated the wilderness of North America. Utah was a central focus of this industry and mountain men of fur companies, such as the Hudson's Bay Company, often held their annual "rendezvous" in Utah. As other forms of money were scarce, beaver pelts or deerskin were often used as a medium of exchange allowing the mountain men to obtain needed supplies. These beaver pelts known as "country pay" were acting as commodity money.

¹ *Authorized King James Version Bible*, Allen, Ward (1969), New Testament, Matthew 6:24, p. 1196.

In the East, the skin of a buck brought a dollar giving rise to the slang "buck" referring to a dollar. Out West, the Hudson's Bay Company used the "made beaver" as the measure of exchange and eventually issued tokens based on this type of money.²

LDS Pioneers

In 1847, persecuted members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints began a mass migration to the banks of the Great Salt Lake to establish a new land where they could live according to their religious beliefs. During colonial times, "capital formation was a primary challenge to the settlers, and the settlers always needed much more capital than was ever available to them."³ This was true for the pioneers that crossed the plains to settle Utah. Possessing little tangible wealth, the settlers used all the types of money to convert the one huge store of wealth they had, labor, into tangible wealth.

Deseret Mint

After the historic trek of the Mormon Battalion, members discovered gold at Sutter's Mill spending sufficient time to produce enough gold to equip themselves for the trip back to the Great Salt Lake Valley. This gold dust aided in alleviating the lack of a medium of exchange. The dust was difficult to weigh and exchange, which caused waste, so LDS leaders decided to coin it. Dr. Willard Richards, Second Counselor of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, weighed the gold dust and put it into paper packages in values of \$1 to \$20. He then sealed the packages with the seal of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. These packages were circulated as money and could be exchanged for coin when it became available. The first gold dust was deposited at the Deseret Mint on December 10th, 1848 by William Follet. That first day, the Deseret Mint produced 25 \$10 coins and charged a premium of \$0.50.

By December of 1848, the crucibles had cracked and the minting of coins came to a halt. With the stock of money in circulation still inadequate, leaders of the church issued hand-written, and later printed, Valley Notes. Valley Notes were backed with 80% gold dust by the treasury. Thus they were called treasury notes. In his book, Alvin Rust describes the Valley Notes as being,

² Eddins, O. Ned. Mountain Men Indian Fur Trade History. [Online] <http://www.thefurtrapper.com/rendezvous.htm>, November 14, 2008.

³ Walton, Gary M. and Hugh Rockoff. *History of the American Economy, 10th Edition*

"...stamped with the official seal of the Twelve Apostles, which consisted of the emblem of the priesthood – a three-pronged Phrygian crown over an all-seeing eye. Encircling the emblem were the following 16 initials: PSTAPCJCLDSLCAW Private Seal of the Twelve Apostles, Priests of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in the Last Dispensation All Over the World."⁴

The minting of coins resumed in September 1949 and continued until June 19, 1851. This added to the supply of money in circulation, but the minting also contained a hidden element that expanded the economy. As stated by Edgar H. Adams, "Most private mints never weighed out exactly."⁵ To the author of this paper, this represents a hidden tax that quite often occurs, contrary to the theory that higher forms of money contain lower transaction costs.

In 1858, a second minting of coins occurred after the gold discovery in Colorado. These were \$5 coins. In 1861, Governor Alfred Cumming stopped the minting of coins by the Deseret Mint and most of the outstanding coins were exchanged at the mint for U.S. gold coin. Three years later, June 8, 1864, the U.S. Congress enacted a law forbidding the private coinage of gold.

Deseret Currency Association

In 1857, the Deseret Currency Association was formed, which was often referred to as the Bank of Deseret. Scrip produced by the Deseret Currency Association added to the stock of capital available for the territory and was used to pay church employees. The scrip was backed by livestock and thus was representative money which could be converted into livestock by two prominent mercantile firms, W.H. Hooper and Andrew and Levi Stewart. Only two instances of the redemption of the scrip were ever recorded and the scrip was eventually retired in 1868.⁶

Cooperatives

One of the most effective devices the early Utah settlers used to create wealth was the use of Cooperatives. In October 16, 1868, Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, which would dominate this arena, was founded with a capitalization of \$3 million, issuing 30,000 stock shares at \$100 per share. By

⁴ Rust, Alvin E. *Mormon and Utah Coin and Currency*, Salt Lake City, Utah: Blaine Hudson Printing, 1984, p. 47.

⁵ *Various Californian Private Mints 1849-55*, American Journal of Numismatics: New York, 1912, Pgs. 58-61.

⁶ Rust, Alvin E., p. 74.

March of 1870, there were over 600 shareholders.⁷

The purpose of the ZCMI was to allow people to buy goods at a lower price, provide convenience in purchasing goods, and help church members be more self-sufficient. ZCMI issued two forms of credit money. ZCMI due bills were established to pay employees which in turn would stimulate trade. Employees were paid 1/3 in cash and 2/3 in due bills which they could redeem for goods and could be used in other locations, so ZCMI bills became a medium of exchange. In 1869, ZCMI also issued scrip that did not include the employee's name, thereby allowing any bearer to use them. The scrip was widely used until it was taxed out of existence by the U. S. Government.

Co-ops were so successful that at one time over 164 different co-ops existed including various organizations such as the Beaver Wool Manufacturing and Milling Company and the Spanish Fork Young Men's Co-op Institution.

General Tithing Storehouse Scrip

In 1888, U.S. money was still scarce in Utah so the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints began to issue scrip called General Tithing Storehouse Scrip. The scrip was backed by the tithing of church members. Members mostly tithed in kind and members were allowed to exchange some of their excess produce for scrip. They could then use this scrip to purchase other items from the General Tithing Storehouse. Workers laboring on church projects were given credit for their labor and could draw supplies from the General Tithing Storehouse. Two types of scrip were issued. One issue was good for meat and the other was good for merchandise and produce. Other storehouses in such places as St. George, Sanpete Stake, Manti, and Logan Cache also had storehouses that issued scrip. The storehouse closed in 1908 after tithing in kind was discouraged as currency was more available

Great Depression

On October 29, 1929, the New York Stock Exchange experienced a devastating crash in the value of the issues on the exchange. This and other factors brought on the Great Depression. As the economy sank, cash money became almost non-existent. Utah was also devastated by this depression with income down by 45% during the decade and unemployment reaching 35.8% in 1933. In 1932, 32 out of 105 banks in Utah failed.⁸ As representative money vanished, the people turned to more basic forms of money to survive. Barbers traded haircuts for onions and Idaho potatoes. Real estate developer Benjamin Stringham organized the barter system to increase efficiency.

⁷ Deseret Evening News, March 3, 1870.

⁸ Shlaes, Amity. *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression*, New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007, p. 120.

Workers were sent to farms to work for the day and returned with peaches, eggs, and pork. Thus once again Utah used commodity money to convert its intangible wealth of labor into tangible wealth. In 1932, various cities took the next step in the development of money. Salt Lake City created the National Development Agency which created scrip called Vallar.⁹ An estimated 10,000 people would use the Vallar system with an estimated \$150,000 in business transacted through this medium. Other entities likewise issued scrip including the Weber County Ogden Relief Committee, the Guaranteed Emergency Certificate of the Church of Jesus Christ, Roosevelt City scrip, and the Trade Stimulus Certificate among others.¹⁰

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was also proactive in providing aid to its members. Pioneer Stake President Harold B. Lee developed a program to help members become free of outside economic aid. The church adopted this program and called it the Church Security Program. In 1940, members were given Welfare Square Tokens in exchange for work they performed on behalf of the church. The church issued approximately \$1,000 in tokens to stimulate trade by paying employees half their wages in tokens and half in U.S. currency. These tokens could be redeemed at the Bishop's storehouse and other places and remained in use until 1975. The Church Security Plan became the basis for the modern church welfare system.¹¹

Modern Day

Today, Utah uses both the minted coin and printed scrip of the United States of America. Other forms of minted coin and scrip are not legal tender. As of late, use of this tangible form of Fiat money has given way to electronic money. The widespread use of debit and credit cards has started to make cash obsolete. This gravitation towards electronic money is based on the first goal of money, ease of use, but ignores the second goal of money, low transaction costs. Electronic funds often carry high fees and transaction costs the consumer is unaware of as the merchant pays these fees. Naturally, these fees are "passed on" to the consumer in price increases. In 2006, Brigham Young University discontinued accepting credit cards for tuition fees. The university estimated that they paid \$900,000 in fees for 2005.¹²

CONCLUSION

⁹ Shlaes, Amity, p. 105, 106, 137.

¹⁰ Rod. Depression Scrip.com. [Online] <http://www.depressionscrip.com>, November 15, 2008.

¹¹ Rust, Alvin E., p. 218-220.

¹² Lusk, Brittani. Using Credit or Bank Cards for Tuition Could be Costing Extra. [Online] <http://deseretnews.com/article/1,5143,645191276,00.html>, November 16, 2008.

Throughout history, man has used the invention of money to expand their wealth. Such was the case in the history of Utah. All forms of money were used effectively to stimulate and stabilize the economy. Although money accomplished its goal of expanding the economy and providing stability, in my opinion, the vast distribution of the sources of money used dampened the positive effects of money as the transaction costs of using money as a whole were higher than if a single or few sources were used. Although, transaction costs are not a loss of wealth, they are a transfer of wealth. In the end, the population of Utah was able to tap into their largest source of intangible wealth, labor, and convert it into the tangible wealth that provides modern Utahans the tremendous financial and religious freedom that abounds today. Thus for Utah, Fyodor Dostoevsky's comment from "House of the Dead" rings true, "Money is coined liberty."

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Currently a Secondary Education – History major, Dean spent the last 25 years in various fields of finance. Born in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, he spent most of his life in metropolitan Phoenix, Arizona. Dean plans on enjoying his second career as a high school history teacher with his wife Carey who has taught high school in Utah for the past 20 years.

If you enjoyed this article then seek out:

"Utah Freemasonry's Formal Exclusion of Mormon Membership, 1925," by Nord Derek Anderson, *Crescat Scientia* v. 3 (2005), pgs. 131-150.

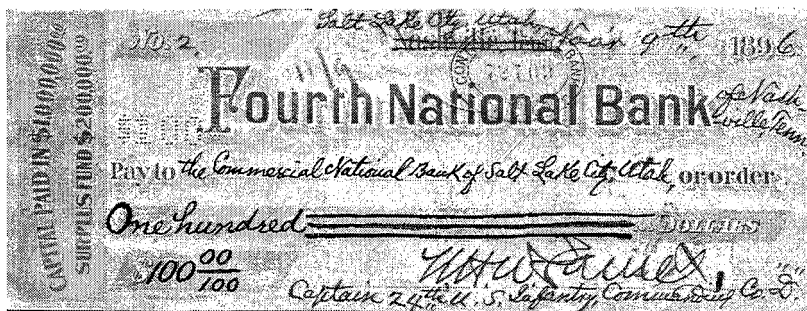
"Property Rights, Constitutions, and Corporate Law in Economic Development," by Kathren Brown, *Crescat Scientia* v. 1 (2003), pgs. 3-23.

MONEY

Words are wise men's counters, they do but reckon by them;
but they are the money of fools.

Hobbes, The Leviathan

Below is a copy of a check written to the Commercial National Bank of Salt Lake City, Utah in 1896. It was signed by a military serviceman who had been stationed in Utah, William Henry Williams James. It is an interesting example of a type of currency used over a hundred years ago.



The early history of White Bluff

By Tony England

W.H.W. James was first stationed at Fort Brown and Ringgold Barracks along the Rio Grande in Texas. He was promoted to First Lieutenant on August 30, 1878. He fought against Indians on the frontier and stated in a letter that they had captured 75 Indians and were sending them by railroad to a reservation. He was also stationed at Fort Grant, Arizona at which time he was appointed Captain on August 30, 1890.

His most distinguished accomplishment was the siege of Santiago, Cuba and the Philippines. He was pro-



Colonel James in 1903

with their grandmother and uncle at 10 Court Square.

Just five years later, the Colonel's mother died and the merchant store closed. His brother stayed Postmaster of Charlotte, but could not make enough to pay his own bills, much less the four children. The Colonel had to dig deeper now to support his family. He sold a couple of mines and even some land. All of a sudden, the lost brother R.A.W. showed up represented by his lawyer. He was wanting to sell everything that belonged to their "Pa and Ma" he stated in a letter to

A thank you to Tony Epps England for providing this example.

