
CRESCAT SCIENTIA

Utah Valley University
Journal of History



Volume X
2013



FACULTY NOTES

Dear Reader,

For its tenth anniversary Justin Andersen and his editorial staff have assembled an especially fine issue of *Crescat Scientia*. I particularly want to congratulate the student authors who have contributed to this volume. The intellectual fruit of their hard work and dedication is admirably showcased here.

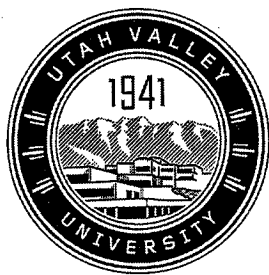
Although *Crescat* is principally about student achievement, I would be remiss not to mention the final retirement of faculty colleague Alexander T. Stecker. A biblical scholar of the first water, Alex was Utah Valley's very own Jaroslav Pelikan. For over twenty years he brilliantly and popularly lectured on archaeology, ancient history and religious history. His intellectual generosity found expression in so many ways, just one of them was his funding of the library's acquisition of the Loeb Classical Library, hundreds of green and red-bound volumes representing the literary heritage of ancient Greece and Rome. It tells of his astonishingly catholic (note the lower-case c) worldview that when others demurred Alex crossed disciplinary boundaries to take over as Political Science coordinator; he became the chief mover of the baccalaureate degree program. Political Science simply would not exist as it now does at UVU without Alex Stecker. Nor would *Crescat* be what it is. Alex was an ardent supporter of its student authors and editors; he also contributed four articles to this journal over the years. For all of those who you have helped and inspired – including myself – our heartfelt thanks, Alex!

Now as you leaf through these pages keep in mind the invisible hands of the many students who have kept this journal going for the past decade. Theirs has been a marvelous performance. As faculty advisor for most of that time, I've learned that my job is largely to get out of the way and let them perform. This volume is a good example of the marvels they are capable of.

May knowledge grow.

Keith Snedegar

Faculty Advisor



History is the witness that testifies to the passing of time; it illumines reality, vitalizes memory, provides guidance in daily life, and brings us tidings of antiquity.

Cicero

A child, from the time he can think, should think about all he sees, should suffer for all who cannot live with honesty, should work so that all men can be honest, and should be honest himself. A child who does not think about what happens around him and is content with living without wondering whether he lives honestly is like a man who lives from a scoundrel's work and is on the road to being a scoundrel.

José Martí



We would like to dedicate this edition of the *Crescat Scientia* to Professor Lyn E. Bennett. She first ignited the passion for history and research within me. Without her inspiration and constant push toward excellence, my journey would not have traveled down this road.

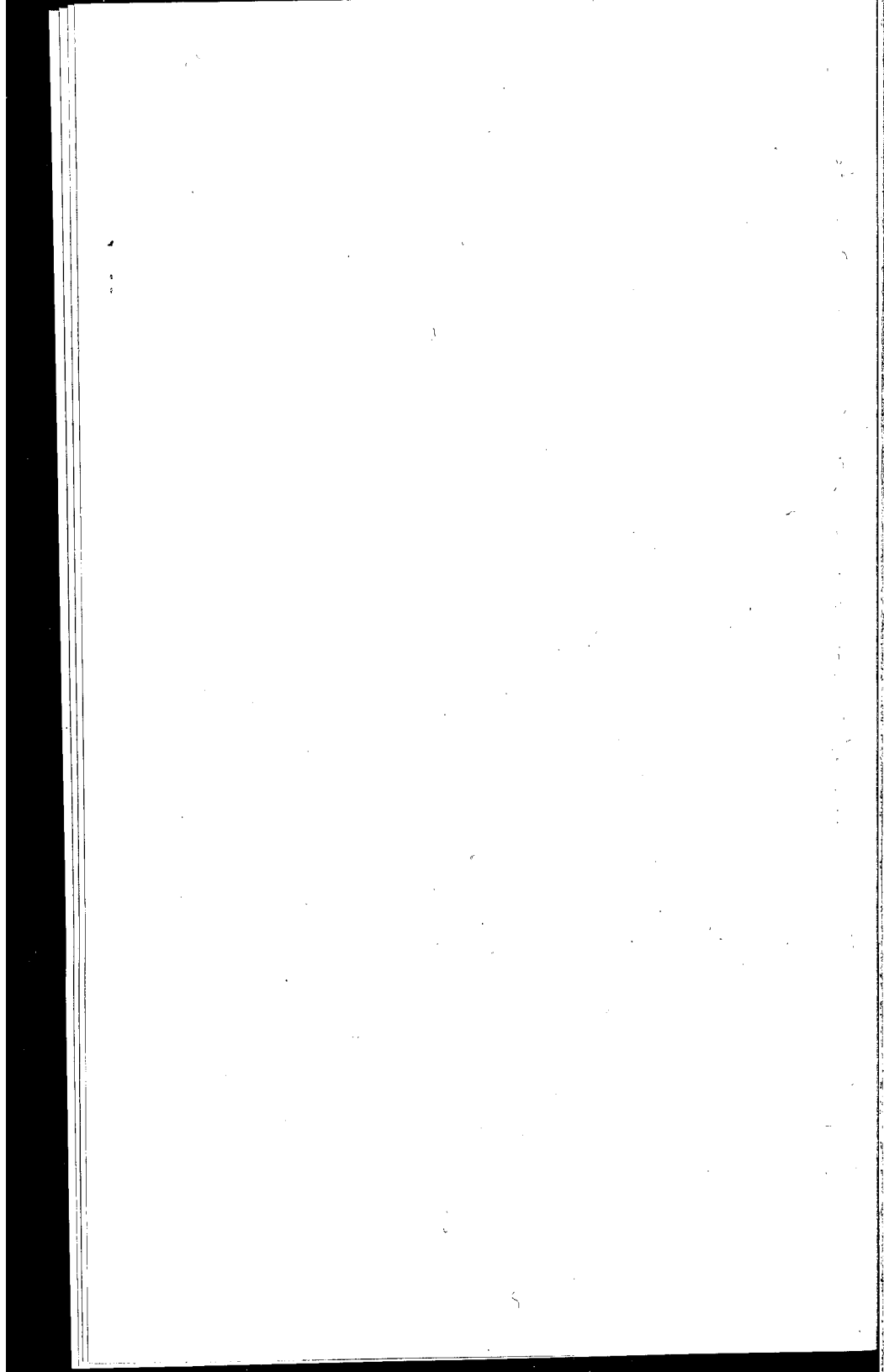
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors of *Crescat Scientia* would like to take a moment to thank all those who came together to make this journal possible. This being the 10 year Anniversary of the *Crescat Scientia*, we have striven to ensure that this issue continues the long line of excellence that has come before us.

First and foremost, our heartfelt thanks goes to our faculty advisor Dr. Keith Snedegar. Without his guidance and input the journal would never have succeeded. We would also like to thank Paula Wankier whose years of experience have helped move this journal forward.

Publishing is not something that is done by one single person. We would like to say thank you to the UVU English Department and especially Dr. Scott Hatch. Dr. Hatch strived to ensure that we were supported and cared for while we moved forward in the publishing process. He is a constant advocate for us and this journal would not be here today without his support.

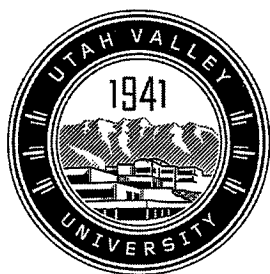
Finally, we would like to express thanks, not only to all those who submitted their work, but also to those who put in countless volunteer hours reading submissions, editing, source checking, and helping put this journal together. Without all of you it would not have been possible to turn out the 2013 edition of *Crescat Scientia*. Thank You!



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EDITOR'S NOTE

"History does not repeat itself. The historians repeat one another."

~ Max Beerbohm

The goal of any journal or historian is to present the past in a way that is engaging to the present. This is a challenge that many have attempted and few succeed in. For the 10th anniversary issue of the *Crescat Scientia*, I have striven to ensure that the papers within this journal bring a new light or fresh perspective to their subject and hopefully engages you in a positive way.

The students at Utah Valley University are a treasure trove of talent and they stepped up to the challenge to provide their hard work and research. They have been taught and prepared by the amazing faculty in the History Department. This journal is a sampling of the amazing work they do.

It is my hope the articles within, will inspire you to move past what has been done before and forge new paths in whatever excites you. Create, discover and innovate; no matter the challenge. This way we can each create our own histories that one day can be presented in a setting much like this one. Remember to Live today, for tomorrow it will all be history.

*Never throughout history has a man who lived a life
of ease left a name worth remembering.* ~ Theodore Roosevelt

Justin Andersen

Justin Andersen
Editor-in-Chief

REVIEW OF MARTIN LUTHER'S DEDICATORY LETTER TO POPE LEO X

ADRIENNE SHELLEY

THOUSANDS OF CHURCHES AROUND THE WORLD CAN THANK MARTIN Luther. He went against the social and societal norms because of his strong belief in the reformation of the Catholic Church and by doing so allowed the evolution of new churches. Martin Luther had different views than the Catholic Church. He believed that the selling of indulgences was immoral and that the corruption and perversion of the church and its leaders must be modified as well as the doctrines being taught.

Martin Luther sent a letter to Pope Leo X explaining his own views on religion, which he believed to be the “truth,” and invited him to join him in the true word. In the beginning of the letter Luther defends and creates a sense of loyalty to the pope. He explains how he has never said anything that was not honorable about Leo and goes on to say what a good person he is. He is blunt when he refers to the cardinals and describes them as his enemies because of their corruption and their efforts in overthrowing peace. He brings up similarities between the cardinals and anti-christs to show the perversion of Leo's court and explains that this corruption isn't really Christian. He goes on to write about the purpose of these positions saying, “Christ was sent for no other office than that of the word, and the order of apostles, that of bishops, and that of the whole body of the clergy, have been called and instituted for no object other but the ministry of God.”¹ He implies that if their whole calling is to the ministry of God, then those in these

¹ Luther, Martin, Henry Wace, and C. A. Buchheim. *First principles of the Reformation, or, The ninety-five theses and the three primary works of Luther translated into English*. London: J. Murray, 1883.

offices need replaced or to have a change in their behavior and actions.

Luther describes a Christian man as being “the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone.”² He goes on to explain that the soul and the body are separate and one is not complete by itself. The soul can’t do anything without the word of God; therefore, without the word of God, we are nothing. The word of God is what makes our lives prosperous. Those who don’t believe on the word will be unfruitful. He states, “To preach Christ is to feed the soul, to justify it, set it free, and to save it if it believes the preaching.”³

According to Luther there is no such thing as justification there’s only faith. Through faith and through believing the word of God, we are saved. People cannot be perfect, even if they try, and by trying they become discouraged and can never attain perfection. Faith creates ways in which we can conquer both death and sin, because if we have faith, we are not sinners. For those who do not believe on the word, all things for him are evil. He uses good things to gain his advantage rather than giving the glory to God. For those who do have faith, all things work for their good, and they become lords of all, and are not imprisoned. Luther goes on to explain how faith is maintained: “this faith is produced and is maintained by preaching why Christ came, what he has brought us and given to us, and to what profit and advantage he is to be received.”⁴

This idea of faith is the fulfilling law. By believing we are free from sin, we are justified, and we gain many riches. According to Luther, when people are truly humbled, they can see that there truly is only faith and no justification. All a person needs to do is believe and have faith, and they are saved. It is the one and only thing in this world that can redeem mankind. In referring to the Christian life Luther states, “It can do all things, has all things, and is in the want of nothing; is lord over sin, death, and hell, and at tile same time is the obedient

and useful servant of all.”⁵ In this statement he touches on his earlier declaration of what a Christian man is and relates it to his idea of faith.

Luther also suggests that people lay aside works and focus on their faith instead. For there are many good works in faith, but there is not always faith in good works. Good works according to Luther means nothing. If people have faith then they are saved, their works will get them no justification or salvation -- they can only receive those through faith. A person who is faithful will do good works, but good works do not mean they are faithful people. One of his related examples is of a tree. The tree’s fruit cannot come before the tree, but if there is a tree it can bring forth fruit. Likewise, a people cannot be called good because of their works, but they are good because of their faith, which then produces good works. Good works have no comparison to faith. Obedience to God is shown by faith and not through the good works of man.

Luther writes about how good works are unnecessary for salvation, but he goes on to explain why good works are done. Good works are done to please God and for that reason only. He explains that Adam and Eve were made perfect without needs to be justified or saved. God gave them work to do on the earth, and they did it. “These would have indeed been works of perfect freedom, being done for not object but that of pleasing God, and not in order to obtain justification.”⁶ This example shows that there is no reason to do works for justification, the only need is to have faith, and through faith good works will spring up in acts of pleasing God.

Faithful people will do good works to please God, but they will also live for the Lord by trying to be Christ-like. A man may do this by being a “Christ” to his neighbor. Part of Luther’s definition of a Christian man (“a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone”) is referred to in this section. He writes about how faithful people who really believe and do good works to please God will be serving their neighbor as they live in a Christ-like manner. “For Man does not live for himself alone in this mortal body, in order

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

to work on it's account, but also for all men on earth."⁷ In other sections of his writing Luther writes about those that are unfaithful who just live for their own gain. These unfaithful people will never attain salvation because they do not believe on the word of God and are not Christian. Luther makes a bold statement later on in the letter saying, "a Christian man does nothing but live in himself, but in Christ and in his neighbor, or else is no Christian."⁸ Shown here, he obviously believes strongly in serving neighbors, serving God, and trying to be Christ-like.

Being Christ-like requires the knowledge of and faith in Christ. Without that knowledge it would be impossible. Luther writes a bit about his knowledge of Christ and how he was sent to this earth only to institute the word of God. Through his service and kind actions we can learn to be Christ-like. Christ lived like us for us, "laboring, working, suffering, and dying, as to be like the rest of men, and no otherwise than a man in fashion and in conduct, as if he were in want of all things, and had nothing of the form of God; and yet all this he did for our sakes, that he might serve us, and that all the works he should do under that form of a servant, might become ours."⁹ Through Christ's merits we are saved if we believe.

Our faith unites us with Christ similarly to marriage. Faith is our wedding ring that binds us to Christ and because we are married, what's his is ours and what is ours is his. This means that no matter what we do, we cannot sin because Christ can't sin so therefore as long as we keep that "wedding ring" we are saved. Luther states, "Christ is full of grace, life, and salvation; the soul is full of sin, death, and condemnation. Let faith step in, and then sin, death, and hell will belong to Christ, and grace, life, and salvation to the soul."¹⁰ Through this marriage there is nothing that can make a person unredeemable. Christ is the firstborn and through this he is entitled to everything, and by being married to him so are we.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

Martin Luther's big push in this letter is to bring to the attention of the pope the corruption of his Catholic court by informing him of Luther's ideology of religion and how men are saved and what truly is a "Catholic man." "For when the soul has been cleansed by faith and made to love God, it would have all things to be cleansed in like manner; and especially in its own body, so that all things might unite with it in the love and praise of God."¹¹ This belief that there is no justification, the soul is cleansed through faith and therefore redeemed and saved by faith alone is the main theme throughout the letter. In this, he touches on is the corruption of the clergy, and the goodness of Pope Leo X. Luther genuinely believed that if Pope Leo X will join Luther's belief, he may be saved by his faith.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

J. Brook Anderson, RSPGT is a senior at Utah Valley University pursuing a degree in history.

FOR FURTHER READING

"Effects of the New Deal on American Politics" by Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 73–80.

"The Bill of Rights: A Popular Victory for Liberalism in the American Founding." Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 2 (2004): 55–69.

"Lincoln and the Suspension of Habeas Corpus during the Civil War," by Ted Memmott, *Crescat Scientia* 3 (2005): 41–55.

"Bundling: Colonial Courtship's Path of Least Resistance" by Georgia Buchert, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 25–31.

11 Ibid.

THE ALAMO AND POPULAR MEMORY

AUSTIN NOBLE HATCH

THERE ARE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT MAY ALLOW FICTION TO BECOME fact when describing historical events. The military engagement at the Alamo and the conditions regarding the deaths of its volunteer defenders, are certainly a case in point of these historical events that are difficult to define as fiction or fact because of the small number of survivors and their perspectives. Of the handful that did survive, there are a few who wrote their stories from either the Alamo volunteer's aspect or the Mexican soldiers and officers. Those who wrote their story often contradicted each other, creating a blur of words and thoughts. These primary documents will further be compared to both artistic representation and cinematic representation in order to clarify in some cases the gap or relationship involved with fiction and historical evidence. The artistic and cinematic depictions can be viewed as popular memory because they often times follow a common view, rather than first hand documentation. A public's view or popular memory may in fact be defined by these artistic and cinematic illustrations because it offers viewers an entertaining view of historical events. Depending on the group, both the illustrations and popular memory may be the same. The case study of the battle of the Alamo in 1836 reveals that historical depictions, represented by both art and cinema, are often formed by a group's popular memory, rather than historical evidence produced by the battle's survivors.

When describing national memory, Dr. Neil Longley York states, "Films, novels, and histories play a part in this formation for almost all of us."¹ This leaves the question, why is there a difference between

1 Neil Longley York, *Fiction as Fact: The Horse Soldiers and Popular Memory* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001), xiii.

primary source documentation and popular memory? In this circumstance primary source documentation can be viewed as historical evidence, while popular memory can be viewed as an individual's perspective and possibly fiction. This statement is difficult to claim because even the primary documents will contradict each other, leaving history's creation in the eye of the historian. Two films will be analyzed to show popular memory of the events that took place at the battle of the Alamo. Both films are titled *The Alamo*. One is directed by John Lee Hancock, and the other is directed by John Wayne. The deaths of three famous volunteers; William B. Travis, David (Davey) Crockett, and Jim Bowie, offer insight into the difference between popular memory and between the written accounts. It is important to focus on the deaths of the volunteers who fought at the Alamo because of the heroic titles given to its defenders due to the nature of their deaths. Their deaths are often viewed as heroic because they died fighting against terrible odds. Historian Janey Levy writes that the real men who had defended the Alamo were turned

Into larger-than-life heroes whose deeds exceeded anything that mortals could accomplish. The defenders...became symbols of an eternal struggle for liberty shared by all humanity. In one sense, the legend has given the Alamo defenders a kind of immortality. The defenders and the battle itself became symbols of an eternal struggle for liberty.²

The Alamo's defenders, especially Travis, Crockett, and Bowie die differently given evidence from the artistic, cinematic, and primary source representations. These deaths demonstrate a variation in popular memory over time, and especially a disparity with the primary sources.³

2 Janey Levy, *The Alamo: A Primary Source History of the Legendary Texas Mission* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2003), 48..

3 The amount of research with respect to primary and secondary sources referencing the Alamo is overwhelming. The sources, particularly the secondary sources, used have been selected based on their support of the thesis statement.

Brief History

In 1823 the Mexican President, Antonio López de Santa Anna, began to reconstruct the former federalist government. Santa Anna desired more centralized power and slowly began to impose a dictatorship. Those who were far from the reach of the central government, located in Mexico City, were more able to refuse this change in power, as they could not immediately be reached by Santa Anna's military forces. Due to the uprisings of Mexican citizens living in the region currently known as Texas, though it still belonged to Mexico, General Santa Anna led a large group of soldiers including; infantry, cavalry, and artillery to suppress the civil and political unrest.⁴ The location of the Alamo is in the center of San Antonio on the San Antonio River, which lies in South Central Texas today. Its location was a critical defensive position to prevent Mexican forces from pressing further into Texas territory.⁵ If the Alamo could be defended, General Houston who was roughly four hundred miles north of San Antonio would have the necessary time to gather and train enough volunteers to be able to try and stop the advancing Mexican troops.

The defenders of the Alamo numbered roughly one hundred and eighty five men.⁶ The majority of the volunteers was from Texas, and had some tie to land ownership in the region. This land ownership came from the U.S. government offering huge parcels of land, up to eight hundred acres, in an area that they did not own.⁷ There were also

4 "Santa Anna and the Texas Revolution," Andrews University, <http://www.andrews.edu/...rwright/Oldwww/Alamo/revolution.html>. (accessed September 15, 2012).

5 Stephen L. Hardin, "Battle of the Alamo," *Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qea02>, (accessed September 20, 2012).

6 Amelia Williams, "A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of Its Defenders: Iv. Historical Problems Relating to the Alamo," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (January 1934): 160, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30235477> (accessed September 10, 2012).

7 Janey Levy, *The Alamo: A Primary Source History of the Legendary Texas Mission* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2003), 38.

a number of volunteers that came from the Southern states, particularly Tennessee, who believed the Alamo to be a just cause in fighting an oppressive Mexican government. Few of the volunteers had seen combat except having been involved in conflicts with the Native Americans. Colonel William B. Travis and Colonel Jim Bowie were both tasked with leading the volunteers in defense of the Alamo. David Crockett led a group of approximately twenty men who were known as the Tennessee Boys. The volunteers were ambitious in their desire to defend the fort, but all knew of the necessity for more volunteers in the Alamo's defense. Numerous riders were sent out requesting more volunteers from General Sam Houston, James W. Fannin, Andrew Ponton, and to the President of the Convention in Bexar. From these letters General Sam Houston desperately recognized the Alamo defenders' dire situation at the poorly manned fort. In his letter to General Sam Houston, Col. Travis states,

The enemy is receiving reinforcements daily & will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. If this can be neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible & die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor & that of his country—Victory or Death.⁸

Travis' courage is evident through this letter, and the courage of the commander certainly spread throughout the fort, as the defenders decided to remain, though they were offered asylum by both Travis and Santa Anna prior to the battle's commencement.

The Story through Art

This first version of "Dawn at the Alamo" (facing page) completed by Henry Arthur McArdle in 1874, which was roughly forty years after the battle of the Alamo, shows the apparent good versus evil theme also found in Robert Jenkins Onderdonk's painting, which will later be viewed. The Alamo's volunteers are immediately painted with white around them, while the rest of the picture is polluted by dark and



evil appearing Mexican soldiers. The other defenders of the Alamo are shown swinging their weapons in a last effort to defend themselves. The supplies of the volunteers had run short after the long, twelve-day siege, leaving them undersupplied and in dire need of reinforcements.

The final fall of the last volunteer could be the famed Davy Crockett as is popular belief, but from the painting this character is impossible to define. The artist painted him to be falling heroically with intended God-given white light surrounding his valiant fight to the death. This white light could be related to the common belief of Manifest Destiny, or the God-given right to United States' colonist and their westward expansion. Many colonists who believed in Manifest Destiny believed that the continental United States was given to them by God and that they must colonize it because of that belief. Historian Don Graham refers to Manifest Destiny by saying, "For the Priesthood foresaw that the triumph of the American element meant the triumph of freedom of conscience, and the abolition of their own despotism."⁹ This quote demonstrates that amongst religious leaders,

8 William Barret Travis, "The Travis Letter of February 24, 1836," Freedom Documents, <http://www.freedomdocuments.com/Travis/text.html> (accessed March 24, 2012).

9 Don Graham, "Remembering the Alamo: The Story of the Texas Revolution in Popular Culture," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (July, 1985): 37, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30236993> (accessed April 06, 2012).

even the priesthood, Manifest Destiny was certainly an idea to fight for and McArdle's illustration depicts a God approved heroic fight against the Mexican forces. If the defenders truly believed that they were fighting for both religious and patriotic reasons, as the image depicts, it may have been easier for them to sacrifice their lives for a possible God-given reward in the afterlife. The number of the Alamo's volunteers who died, all one hundred and eighty five, versus the number of Mexican soldiers who perished, roughly six hundred, demonstrates the strong motives behind the Alamo's volunteers fighting.¹⁰ This image like the first by McArdle demonstrates his popular memory of the battle and the influences, such as Manifest Destiny, surrounding the painting's completion. This piece of art was loaned to the state of Texas



by McArdle and was on exhibit in the Capitol when it was destroyed by the 1881 fire, this 1875 image now exists only in the form of a photographic reproduction.¹¹

¹⁰ John Chambers, *The Oxford Companion to American Military History* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000), "Battle of the Alamo," <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/> (accessed September 12, 2012).

¹¹ Sam DeShong Ratcliffe, *Painting Texas History to 1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 37.

"Death of Bowie" (below)¹² was created by Louis Eyth in about the year 1878. Eyth was trained as a daguerreotypist in Galveston, but little is known about the artist.¹³ The image is of the death of Jim Bowie and is appropriately titled *Death of Bowie*. It shows the Mexican soldiers in a different light than the first painting by McArdle, and is more similar to the fourth image of the Mexican soldiers with Davy Crockett. The depiction of the Mexican soldiers in this painting is not barbaric and dark, like the first three paintings. Bowie is dressed in white, which most likely represents his undergarments because he was ill during the battle, but the light from the painting is not solely coming in on Bowie, it rather fills the room. The manner of dress of the Mexican soldiers is professional and the officer leading the raid of Bowie's room appears gallant. It is important to recognize that Bowie is only holding a pistol, and is not armed with a Bowie Knife, which will later be explored. The painter Louis Eyth was born in 1838, just after the Battle of the Alamo, and lived in Texas since the age of fourteen.¹⁴ The other painters, McArdle and Onderdonk, both lived in Texas during the early twentieth century, but depicted the Mexican soldiers much differently than Eyth. This gives further evidence to one's group forming a popular memory, but demonstrates the variation between groups even of the same state. Thomason also lived in Texas, but was born decades after the other painters, pointing towards the availability of primary sources during the creation of his painting.

This painting titled "*The Fall of the Alamo*" (following page)¹⁵ by Robert Onderdonk in 1903 clearly shows an Alamo volunteer in buck-

¹² Louis Eyth, *Death of Bowie: A Command from the Mexicans that He Be Killed* (1878), DRT Library at the Alamo.

¹³ Sam DeShong Ratcliffe, *Painting Texas History to 1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), xv.

¹⁴ Pauline A. Pinckney, "EYTH, LOUIS," *Handbook of Texas Online*. Published by the Texas State Historical Association, (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fey01>) (accessed October 15, 2012).

¹⁵ Robert Jenkins Onderdonk, *The Fall of the Alamo* (1903), Friends of the Governor's Mansion Austin, Texas.



skin clothing with an animal skin cap and other volunteers fighting to the death. The man dressed in the buckskin clothing, who perhaps represents Davy Crockett, is shown swinging his rifle to fend off the Mexican soldiers after he had possibly run out of ammunition that was critically low even before the fighting began or did not have enough time to reload. In the film, *The Alamo* by John Lee Hancock, Crockett states that the only reason he even began to wear a coonskin cap was because of an actor who would travel around imitating him as the country's wildest outdoorsman.¹⁶ Wearing this coonskin cap would have added to the mystical character of Crockett, portrayed as a wild and ferocious outdoorsman, though he had been a U.S. Congressman.

No Alamo volunteers wail in pain or remove themselves from the fight like the Mexican soldier on the bottom right. The Alamo volunteer, clearly wounded and sitting on the ground firing his pistol, represents the view that the volunteers continued to fight heroically and proudly even as they were wounded.

The countenances and clothing painted by Onderdonk appear brighter on the left side of the painting, representing the Alamo's volunteers. The soldiers on the right, Mexico's side, are darker in complexion and uniform in an almost good versus evil style of color. The color of the sky in the background correlates with an early dawn morning,

¹⁶ John Lee Hancock, *The Alamo*, DVD (Burbank: Touchstone Pictures, 2004).

which has been described in other sources solidifying its validity.

There have been strong emotions such as rage and admiration shown when visitors have seen this painting by Onderdonk. James T. Deshields, a Texas historian, reported that a number of Mexican visitors who had seen the painting "expressed anger, sometimes with clenched fists and vehement gestures, at certain figures in the picture. When the painting was cased, awaiting transportation, and at an unguarded moment, some miscreant Mexican with a knife, slit places in the canvas."¹⁷ This statement regarding Onderdonk's painting makes it evident that not all viewers, particularly the Mexican spectator, assess the Alamo's defenders as heroic. Deshields does clarify which figures on the painting the Mexican visitors were scowling at, but it could have been either the Alamo's volunteers or the Mexican soldiers depending on the visitors views. Ratcliffe writes that Onderdonk,

Might be considered a mild version of a carpetbagger. At the invitation of Maryland friends residing in Texas, he moved to San Antonio in the 1870s in hopes of earning money from painting portraits of wealthy ranchers in order to finance art study in Europe. But drought financially wiped out most of the area's cattle raisers, and Onderdonk, broke and stranded, remained in Texas, becoming the patriarch of the state's premier family of painters.¹⁸

The second version of "Dawn at the Alamo," (following page)¹⁹ by Henry McArdle in 1905 represents a common view, when compared with other Battle of the Alamo artworks, of the glorified deaths of the Alamo's volunteers during the early morning of March 1836. McArdle places the last volunteers on the high ground in all of their posts around the small fort. The Mexican soldiers appear to be infesting the battle ground without honor, but with copious numbers of

¹⁷ James E. Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution*, 1ST ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171.

¹⁸ Sam DeShong Ratcliffe, *Painting Texas History to 1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), xv.

¹⁹ Henry Arthur McArdle, *Dawn at the Alamo* (1905), State Preservation Board Austin, Texas.



combatants. The last remaining Alamo volunteers appear to fight the Mexicans heroically, obviously to the death, in a gentlemanly way with a solid posture, while maintaining their heads high above the evil, dark obscurity of the Mexican soldiers. The volunteer at the top right is clearly silhouetted and could possibly be a rendition of the high profile leader Colonel William B. Travis. Just below this Alamo defender is another who is wearing a coonskin cap, and is swinging his rifle in a last ditch effort to expel the attacking forces. It is obvious that this figure represents Davy Crockett, who was described as one who wore and fought with a coonskin cap.²⁰

The painting gives insight to the popular memory of the Texas people and particularly Henry McArdle, the artist, during the early twentieth century. McArdle worked as a topographical artist on the staff of General Robert E. Lee, and had become intrigued with Texas history after taking a position on the art faculty of Baylor Female College in Independence, Texas, in 1867.²¹ By the painting's placement within the Texas State's Preservation Board, it is evident that its place in Texas history is significant. McArdle paints an image in the viewer's

20 Michael Wallis, *David Crockett: the Lion of the West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 237.

21 Michael Wallis, *David Crockett: the Lion of the West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 237.

mind that the Alamo's defenders died heroically, which is to the death against immense odds. Surrender could never be an option by viewing this painting, and to the artist, certainly was never an alternative to death.

The following painting²² by John W. Thomason Jr. is not one commonly seen amongst renditions of the Alamo defenders' last moments in life. Thomason painted this piece in approximately 1934 and this image was published in *The Adventures of Davy Crockett*, by Charles



Scribner's and Sons. Thomason was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Marine Corps and painted for pleasure.

This painting shows a man who has been captured by Mexican soldiers after the Battle of the Alamo has finished its assault phases. The captive appears to be large in stature with a serious, battle toughened face. He appears injured in his face and shoulders. His attire is difficult to define because his shirt has been pulled down to his waist. The

22 John W. Thomason, Jr, *Crocket Led Before Santa Anna* (1934), *The Center For American History*, University of Texas at Austin.

Mexican soldiers holding him appear to be toughened soldiers who are bringing a prized enemy capture to their leader. This particular painting closely follows the Mexican Lieutenant Colonel Antonio de la Pena's account, which describes the capture of Crockett and will be described later.

The Texas Historian James E. Crisp points out that in the later edition of *The Adventures of Davy Crockett*, written by Davy Crockett himself and published by Charles Scribner's and Sons in 1955, the image of Crockett being led before Santa Anna had been removed. Crisp says that,

A cultural critic might argue that in the midst of the Cold War, the example of a Crockett who had allowed himself to be captured alive by the forces of tyranny conflicted with the dominant American doctrine that even nuclear war was preferable to conquest by the enemy: better dead than Red.²³

This quote by Crisp explains that during the Cold War the popular memory of the past was one of American national strength, which would not surrender to a possibly stronger enemy. Because the image of Crockett being led before Santa Anna could imply that he had surrendered rather than being killed heroically fighting the enemy till his last breath, this image was removed from *The Adventures of Davy Crockett*. This demonstrates that popular memory, which was one of Crockett being a courageous hero who died while fighting against extraordinary odds, replaced the possible fact shown in this painting that Crockett had surrendered and was taken prisoner by the Mexican soldiers. It is important to note that this was one of the first images painted that represented Crockett possibly being captured after surrender. The painting was completed around 1934, indicating an availability to the primary sources, particularly the Mexican soldier's perspective of the Battle, for in none of the Alamo supportive sources does it retell that Crockett was captured alive.

²³ James E. Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution*, 1ST ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 2005), 68.

The Story as Hollywood Film

Hollywood film has played a large role in shaping the American public's view of the past. The modern day cinema gives viewers an even more entertaining view of historical events than does art work, because the film entices more than just the sight sense and imagination. The film industry has the advantage of producing moving images and sound, which can increase the entertainment of the viewer if prepared well. There are two films that stand out, which specifically focus on the battle of the Alamo and the deaths of William B. Travis, Davey Crockett, and Jim Bowie. These films are appropriately titled *The Alamo*. John Wayne's film opened to the public in October 1960. John Lee Hancock's film starring Dennis Quaid and Billy Bob Thornton premiered in April of 2004. The two films' differences and similarities are critical because they illustrate the forthcoming and availability of firsthand accounts, which influence the popular memory of the past.

The Alamo, a Hollywood film directed by and starring John Wayne in 1960, represents his view of events that took place during the military engagement at the Alamo in 1836. His view of the Alamo may have been influenced by the Cold War that the United States was in against Russia, given the time of its release. The cover of *The Alamo* boldly states, "The Alamo is a visually stunning and historically accurate celebration of courage and honor."²⁴ The film parallels the commonly seen theme of good versus evil from the victor's point of view. The men fighting for Texas represent the heroes fighting for a just cause in their minds, while the Mexican soldiers and officers represent an evil foe. This is apparent with the music choice when differing sides are shown in the picture. When the Mexican Army and soldiers are shown there is an evil tone to the music that is playing in the background. The opposite is true when the Texas volunteers are presented. This same good versus evil theme is seen in the dress of the actors that represent both the Alamo's and the Mexican soldiers. The majority of the Alamo's defenders were well dressed and clean cut. Colonel William B. Travis in this film is the epitome of a well-dressed and gentlemanly heroic leader. The Mexican soldiers are presented in unified ranks and uniforms

²⁴ John Wayne, *The Alamo*, DVD (Burbank: Batjac Productions, 1960).

while their leaders ride upon horseback. They appear to be fighting for a large, powerful nation, rather than something they truly believe in. This may be symbolic of the United States versus the Soviet Union because of its symbolism of a large powerful nation fighting against oppression and communism. The Alamo's volunteers are shown to be a group of men from different walks of life who united to fight against a much larger malevolent force.

The film depicts Colonel William B. Travis and Colonel Jim Bowie as disputing each other's views early in the film. Davy Crockett and Bowie are portrayed as comrades, unlike the hostile relationship between Travis and Bowie. Crockett and Bowie appear to respect each other. This could be related to their high profile pasts. In the film Crockett was well known throughout the United States as a bear fighter, while Bowie was well known for his knife fighting skills and his creation of a large knife named by him as the Bowie Knife. The two characters begin to work together and come up with a plan to deal with a short food supply. They sneak out of the Alamo at night, without the approval of the defenses leader, Col. Travis, and steal a large number of cattle from the Mexican Army.

In the film the attack on the Alamo was commenced by General Santa Anna and the Mexican Army during the afternoon, though from primary sources it is clear that the attack was commenced during the predawn hours.²⁵ The initial charge is dispelled by the Texas volunteers with immediate heavy losses on the Mexican side. The Texas artillery is shown to be extremely effective and each cannon ball shot kills numbers of enemy soldiers. There is a large amount of hand to hand fighting that is shown during the attack. The volunteers are all shown dying heroic deaths while fighting to their last breath. The women and children who survive the battle are given safe passage by the Mexican soldiers. Heavenly music is played while they depart and the mother of the children is perfectly dressed in a bright white blouse and long dress. The Mexican women, who are attached with the Mexican army, cross

25 Felix Nuñez and Stephen Hardin, "The Felix Nuñez Account and the Siege of the Alamo: A Critical Appraisal," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 94, no. 1 (July 1990): 77, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30237056> (accessed March 11, 2012).

themselves as the surviving women and children pass them by and General Santa Anna removes his hat to show them respect. The closing lyrics for the music credits say "Once they fought to give us freedom. That is all we need to know. Thirteen days of glory."²⁶ It is important to focus on the statement, "That is all we need to know." The song writer and film producer are telling the audience that their production of this historical event should be portrayed as historical fact. They neglected the Mexican perspective on the battle, which could be viewed as symbolic to communism, and many of the survivor accounts, but to them they are unimportant, for what the viewer saw in the film is all they "need to know." This statement forms U.S. patriotism and popular memory of the Alamo and hints that there is more known about the Alamo's battle, but warns, "That is all we need to know."

The physical recreation of the Alamo's structure by director John Wayne was well done. He personally paid \$1.5 million for an exact replica of the Alamo to be built just north of Brackettville, Texas and consulted the original blueprints for the project.²⁷ This replication aided in the historical accuracy of the architecture and possible placement of soldiers and artillery.

The second film, *The Alamo*, directed by John Lee Hancock represents another similar view to *The Alamo* by John Wayne, but offers differences that are important to note especially with the fissure in time for which the two films were released. The films were released forty four years apart. This difference in time may be credited, but not encompassed by more modern view of the historical battle due to the availability of primary sources, particularly those from the Mexican perspective. Hancock's portrayal also may relate to the United States' current War on Terror and the War in Iraq. The influence of these wars could have inspired Hancock to create heroic, tough, and resilient figures of the Alamo's defenders who were fighting against tyranny, their freedoms, and their lives. The cover of the DVD says regarding the

26 John Wayne, *The Alamo*, DVD (Burbank: Batjac Productions, 1960).

27 John Hayes, "The Making of the Alamo," *Widescreen Movies Magazine*, <http://www.widescreenmovies.org/WSM02/alamo.htm> (accessed September 05, 2012).

Alamo volunteers, “Ordinary Men. Extraordinary Heroes.”²⁸ It is clear that the outcome of the film is to create heroes of the Alamo’s defenders simply by looking at the film cover. The cover also alludes to a lack of viewing the Mexican perspective during the battle. It conveys this by using a large American flag for its background while displaying a small Mexican flag amongst a mass of small Mexican soldiers. While the Mexican soldiers are in mass and are very small in size, the two actors Dennis Quaid and Billy Bob Thornton, who play Sam Houston and David Crockett are much larger and given prominence above the Mexican soldiers. There is also an image of the Alamo structure with four defenders on its rooftop. The sun is shining brightly upon them, while the Mexican soldiers below are surrounded by smoke and darkness. This description gives evidence to the bias of John Lee Hancock, demonstrating that he views the defenders as larger than life and glorified in their last stance against evil Mexican attackers. It is important to note that Hancock was placating his audience who wished to see larger than life men that represented their heroic heritage.

During the twelve day siege upon the Alamo by the Mexican army, the Texas artillery within the Alamo is shown to be extremely effective in the film. There are a reported eighteen cannons within the Alamo’s walls. Col. Neil, the Alamo’s previous leader, claimed that the Alamo has “the most cannon of any fort west of the Mississippi.”²⁹ General Santa Anna, however said that the Alamo’s artillery would have little or no effect against his forces.³⁰ Davy Crockett in this film is already well known to the Mexican soldiers and their leader General Santa Anna. During one of the Mexican Army Officer’s briefs, General Santa Anna asks about Sam Houston, Jim Bowie, and Davy Crockett. When he learns that Crockett and Bowie are present at the Alamo, he says describing Crockett, “Ah the great bear killer.” One of General Santa Anna’s officers describes the legend of Davy Crockett to him by saying, “he can leap rivers and shoot a fly at 180 meters.” Shortly af-

28 John Lee Hancock, *The Alamo*, DVD (Burbank: Touchstone Pictures, 2004).

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

ter the Mexican General challenges this statement with his hubris and walks within 200 meters of the Alamo’s walls. Crockett fires his rifle, which hits General Santa Anna’s shoulder satchel and rips it clean off of his uniform. General Santa Anna later says that for the volunteers fighting against Mexico, “It is your opportunity to be a great American hero.” He is referring to the opportunity to make an impact and be seen as a last stance defender of America against undeniable odds. He knows that the Alamo’s defenders will not be victorious because of their small numbers.

It is important to note that the film was really a box office failure with a gross income of approximately \$22 million.³¹ The film critic Ben Burgraff reviews,

If you like your heroes and history ‘bigger than life’, the 2004 ALAMO will disappoint, and you should stick to John Wayne’s version. If, however, you want a new perspective, and are willing to dispense with the preconceptions of the past, this film has a LOT to offer!³²

The box office failure of this movie and the critical review could be caused by the preconceptions held by the viewers of this film, who were mostly American because the film was released in the United States. As Burgraff noted, those viewers may not have been willing to dispense their preconceptions of the past to view a new perspective regarding the Alamo.

How the Deaths are represented in Film

In John Wayne’s film Colonel William B. Travis is shot in the abdomen and stabbed frontally. He throws his sword at the enemy fighting heroically till his energy is exhausted and he falls lifeless from his sustained wounds.

Davy Crockett is stabbed in the chest by a spear. Crockett, played by John Wayne, then runs into the armory, which is full of explosive gun powder carrying a torch with a last heroic effort to kill as many

31 Ben Burgraff, “The Alamo,” International Movie Database, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0318974/> (accessed November 14, 2012).

32 Ibid., Ben Burgraff.

enemy soldiers as possible while taking his own life honorably. This endeavor was actually attempted by Major Evans, an Ireland-born soldier, who was “shot down before he fulfilled his mission.”³³

Jim Bowie is taken to the infirmary after he is injured in battle. He is on a hospital bed when the Mexican soldiers break through the doors. His slave Joe jumps in front of his master Jim Bowie to shield him from the Mexican’s bayonets, while Bowie continues to fight with his pistol and Bowie knife. He shortly after is killed by an onslaught of bayonets.

In John Lee Hancock’s film the death of Col. Travis comes quick from an inexperienced soldier. The young Mexican soldier appears to be about fourteen years old and is very out of place amongst the somewhat mature looking Mexican men. He appears fearful of the fight, but does raise his weapon and fires one shot, striking Col. Travis in the head and killing him instantly.

The death of Davy Crockett is interesting in this film because he is found alive after the battle kneeling in front of the Mexican Army. Santa Anna appears ready to give the order to execute Crockett, when General Cos steps in front of the soldiers in defiance. General Santa Anna continues with the order and Crockett states “I’ve got to warn you, I’m a screamer” as his last words. He then begins yelling, not as if he is fearful of the soon to come death, but a yell in defiance of the Mexican General and his actions. The soldiers then charge him with bayonets extended and he is promptly executed to the apparent disgust of Santa Anna’s closest men.

Jim Bowie dies while in his hospital sickbed. The Tejana woman, a Mexican citizen living in the current borders known as Texas, who tends to him says that he “is already dead, but this is the place he has been sent.”³⁴ He is already dead in spirit because he receives news of the death of his wife, whom he dearly loved. He never appears to recover from this loss and is described as “dead” in his countenance. When the

33 Phillip Tucker, *Exodus from the Alamo: The Anatomy of the Last Stand Myth* (Havertown: Casemate, 2011), 296.

34 John Lee Hancock, *The Alamo*, DVD (Burbank: Touchstone Pictures, 2004).

Mexican soldiers burst through his hospital door he fires his pistol into their group and then is quickly killed by their bayonets.

The differences in the two films are not great, but the alterations from John Wayne’s 1960 film to John Lee Hancock’s film in 2004 give insight to the accessibility of primary sources. Today it is simple to access the sources that come from the Mexican perspectives of the Alamo. They are made readily available through the internet, which was non-existent during John Wayne’s filming years. This could contribute to the lack of the Mexican perspective in his film *The Alamo*. It is obvious that John Lee Hancock used some of these sources, particularly the José Enrique de la Peña account, which was not published until 1975 by the Texas A&M University Press, which will be explored later. Another issue that contributes to the differences between the films is the time period in which they were created. John Wayne’s film was produced in the 1960’s during the Cold War, while John Lee Hancock’s film was produced in 2004 during the United States’ war in both Iraq and Afghanistan. John Wayne’s film tends to show a general idea and popular belief of what occurred during the last moments of Travis, Crockett, and Bowie’s lives; that is that they died fighting till their last breath defending the Alamo. When the writings from the Mexican soldiers and officers are more fully studied this turns out to not be the case.

The Story through Primary Sources

The primary sources that will be looked at further come from both the Alamo defenders’ perspective and the Mexican soldiers’ perspective. The Alamo defenders’ view will come from Col. Travis’ slave Joe and Susanna Dickinson Hanning, who was the wife of Joseph Hanning, one of the Alamo defenders. The Mexican soldiers’ writings come from the Mexican soldier Felix Nuñez, Lieutenant Colonel Jose Enrique de la Peña, and General Martín Perfecto de Cos. Regarding the death of William B. Travis; Col. Travis’ slave Joe reported,

Col. Travis sprang from his blanket with his sword and gun, mounted the rampart and seeing the enemy under the mouths of the cannon with scaling ladders, discharged his double barreled gun down upon them; he was immediately shot, his gun falling upon the enemy and himself within the fort. The Mexican general

leading the charge mounted the wall by means of a ladder, and seeing the bleeding Travis, attempted to behead him; the dying Colonel raised his sword and killed him.³⁵

This report from Joe is important because it clearly shows that the Alamo's volunteers were surprised. Col. Travis would not have been in his blanket, most likely lying in bed, had this not been a surprise, early morning attack. The fact that the Mexican soldiers were already underneath the artillery before the counter attack had begun, leads one to believe that the Alamo's artillery was certainly not effective on the morning of the attack. Travis most likely was not shot directly in the head like he was in John Lee Hancock's film because a head shot will almost always result in immediate death. He may have been shot in the chest or torso because he died quickly, but was still able to kill the Mexican General who was attempting to be-head him. John Wayne's film comes closer to the description by Col. Travis' slave Joe, because he is shot in the abdomen, then stabbed, and then dies fighting with his remaining energy. Rather than using his sword to kill the General who attempted to be-head him, Wayne depicts Travis as throwing his sword at the enemy in a vain attempt to fight till the end. Joe's account is validated by the author/historian John Myers who tends to use equally the American and Mexican perspectives. Myers writes that a Mexican officer upon seeing Col. Travis down, "sprang for him, but Travis' dying impulse was quicker. He drove his sword through the Mexican, then fell with him."³⁶

Susanna Dickinson Hanning described the death of William B. Travis by reporting, "Col. Travis and Bonham were killed while working the cannon, the body of the former lay on the top of the church."³⁷

35 Stephen Harrigan, "Davy Crockett and the Alamo: Thoughts On Truth, Fiction, and Smelling a Rat," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 50, no. 3 (Autumn, 2000): 61, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uvu.edu/stable/4520254> (accessed April 03, 2012).

36 John Myers, *The Alamo* (Lincoln: Bison Book, 1973), 220.

37 Susanna Dickinson Hanning, "Susanna Dickinson Hanning," *The Alamo*, <http://www.thealamo.org/battle/letter-Dickinson-Hanning.php> (accessed April 03, 2012).

It is problematic to know the actual manner of death of Col. Travis because the two sources that describe it vary greatly.

Felix Nuñez said that Col. Travis was just outside of the west door of the church when the Mexican soldiers:

Fired from the bed of the river near where the opera house now stands. The first fire from the cannon of the Alamo passed over our heads and did no harm; but as the troops were advancing the second one opened a lane in our lines at least fifty feet broad. Our troops rallied and returned a terrible fire of cannon and small arms. After this the cannonading from the Alamo was heard no more. It is evident that this discharge killed Travis, for then the front door was closed and no more Americans were seen outside.³⁸

Nuñez's account has many similarities with the other sources in that he was firing down upon the Mexican soldiers with the cannon. Joe's description says that he was firing a double barreled gun down from the wall, but this could represent a small, double barreled cannon. However, Nuñez mentions nothing of a Mexican Officer attempting to be-head Col. Travis.

Nuñez said, "The Americans fought with the bravery and desperation of tigers, although seeing that they were contending against the fearful odds of at least two hundred to one, not a single one of them tried to escape or asked for quarter."³⁹

Death of Davy Crockett

Susanna Dickinson Hanning described the battle's aftermath by saying, "As we passed through the enclosed ground in front of the church, I saw heaps of dead and dying. The Texans on an average killed between eight and nine Mexicans each. I recognized Col. Crockett lying dead and mutilated between the church and the two story barrack building, and even remember seeing his peculiar cap lying by his

38 Felix Nuñez and Stephen Hardin, "The Felix Nuñez Account and the Siege of the Alamo: A Critical Appraisal," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 94, no. 1 (July 1990): 78, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30237056> (accessed March 11, 2012).

39 Ibid., Felix Nuñez and Stephen Hardin, 80.

side.”⁴⁰ The mutilation of Crockett’s body does coincide with the John Lee Hancock film where Crockett was found alive amongst the volunteers and was executed by the Mexican soldiers. Mutilation of a soldier’s body does not however define execution, as explosions from cannon fire, rifle shots, and bayonets could give the impression that a human body was in fact mutilated by another. Another important number was the number of dead volunteers reported by Hanning. She said that 182 volunteers were dead. Felix Nuñez says though that “when the Americans were all dragged out and counted there were 180 including officers and men.”⁴¹ It is left to question the difference between the two numbers. Could two of the Tejano volunteers be mistaken for Mexican soldiers because of a possible similarity in appearance?⁴² Historians today however have agreed that the number of volunteers was closest to 185. Felix Nuñez described one of the Alamo’s last survivors:

He was a tall American of rather dark complexion and had on a long cuera (buck skin coat) and a round cap without any bill, and made of fox skin, with the long tail hanging down his back. This man apparently had a charmed life. Of the many soldiers who took deliberate aim at him and fired, not one ever hit him. On the contrary he never missed a shot. He killed at least eight of our men, besides wounding several others. This fact being observed by a lieutenant who had come in over the wall he sprung at him and dealt him a deadly blow with his sword, just above the right eye, which felled him to the ground and in an instant he was pierced by not less than twenty bayonets. This lieutenant said that if all Americans had have killed as many of our men as this one had, our army would have been annihilated before the Alamo could

40 James M. Morphis, *The History of Texas from Its First Discovery and Settlement* (New York: United States Publishing Company, 1875), 174-77.

41 *Ibid.*, Felix Nuñez and Stephen Hardin, 80.

42 Tejano volunteers were Mexican citizens who were living in the Northern Territory of Mexico or the modern day boundaries of Texas. They were often defiant of Mexico City’s demands, as they felt departed and independent from their native country.

have been taken. He was about the last man that was killed.⁴³

Many believe that the man described was Davy Crockett, but this is difficult to prove. The quote however gives honor to those men who did indeed make a last stand within the Alamo’s walls. The violence of action used by this described volunteer is unmatched during this battle. Lieutenant Colonel Jose Enrique de la Peña reports,

Some seven men had survived the general carnage...under the protection of General Castrillon, they were brought before Santa Anna. Among them was one of great stature, well proportioned, with regular features, in whose face there was the imprint of adversity, but in whom one also noticed a degree of resignation and nobility that did him honor. He was the naturalist David Crockett, well known in North America for his unusual adventures, who had undertaken to explore the country and who, finding himself in Bejar at the very moment of surprise, had taken refuge in the Alamo, fearing that his status as a foreigner might not be respected. Santa Anna answered Castrillon’s intervention in Crockett’s behalf with a gesture of indignation and, addressing himself to the sappers, the troops closest to him, ordered his execution. The commanders and officers were outraged at this action and did not support the order...but several officers who were around the president...thrust themselves forward, in order to flatter their commander, and with swords in hand, fell upon these unfortunate, defenseless men just as a tiger leaps upon his prey. Though tortured before they were killed, these unfortunates died without complaining and without humiliating themselves before their torturers.⁴⁴

General Cos retells,

When we thought that all the defenders were slain, I was searching the barracks, and found, alive and unhurt, a fine-looking and well-dressed man, locked up, alone, in one of the rooms, and asked him who he was. He replied: “I am David Crocket, a citizen of the

43 *Ibid.*, Felix Nuñez and Stephen Hardin, 81.

44 James E. Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett’s Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution*, 1ST ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 103-104.

state of Tennessee and representative of a district of that State in the United States Congress...and here I am yet, a noncombatant and foreigner, having taken no part in the fighting...I proposed to introduce him to the President...in about these words: 'Mr. President I beg permission to present to your excellency the Honorable David Crockett...Santa Anna heard me through, but impatiently. Then he replied sharply, 'You know your orders'; turned his back upon us and walked away. But, as he turned, Crockett drew from his bosom a dagger, with which he smote at him with a thrust, which, if not arrested, would surely have killed him; but was met by a bayonet-thrust by the hand of a soldier through the heart; he fell and soon expired.⁴⁵

It is clear to see that the sources have many contradictions as to the death of Davey Crockett. The Mexican sources must be seen as reliable because they represent the surviving, victorious force, but the Mexican soldiers most likely did not know what Davey Crockett looked like because of the lack of media in the mid-19th century. The Mexican soldiers' stories vary greatly, making it difficult to distinguish what really occurred. Susanna Dickinson Hanning also only mentions seeing the body of Crockett after the battle had ended, but she does not mention seeing how he fell. It is unlikely that Crockett would have been found as a noncombatant hiding in a room of the fort. This is doubtful because Col. Travis wrote to General Sam Houston, "The Hon. David Crockett was seen at all points, animating the men to do their duty."⁴⁶ Col. Travis' letter can be viewed as a reliable source when describing Davey Crockett because he knew Davey Crockett on a personal level, was fighting on the same side as Crockett, and was his military leader. It is probable to believe that Crockett was indeed fighting alongside the Alamo's defenders during the battle because of this letter to General Houston. Author and historian Thom Hatch says, "until more defini-

tive proof than simply the de la Peña diary can be presented, it should be assumed that David Crockett lived up to his legend and was killed fighting to the end beside his comrades somewhere near the south palisade."⁴⁷ From Hatch's quote it is obvious that he had not explored the recollection of General Cos in his description of finding Crockett alive and unscathed as an apparent noncombatant.

Death of Jim Bowie

Hanning's description of the death of Jim Bowie does correlate with both Hollywood films. She says that "Col. Bowie was sick in bed and not expected to live, but as the victorious Mexicans entered his room, he killed two of them with his pistols before they pierced him through with their sabers."⁴⁸ She makes no mention of the presence of Bowie's slave, who was shown to leap in front of Bowie before his death in John Wayne's film, giving his own life in vain to save the life of Bowie. In this description Hanning also appears objective in her statements and does not form a view that the deaths of the Alamo's volunteers were heroic, but simply that they passed away in combat.

Walter Worthington Bowie, while composing his family's history writes that Bowie died sick in his cot "about three o'clock in the morning," which was just hours before the predawn attack.⁴⁹ This statement is obviously controversial from the artistic, cinematic, and primary source documentations. W. W. Bowie is the only to retell that Jim Bowie had actually passed away before the assault on the Alamo. This certainly could be what in reality occurred, but was most likely written to give Bowie a more self-incurred death through sickness. W. W. Bowie possibly did not write that Bowie was killed by Mexican soldiers

45 James Frank Dobie, *In the Shadow of History*. Dallas, Texas. UNT Digital Library. <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc38858/> (accessed April 02, 2012).

46 William Barret Travis, "The Travis Letter of February 24, 1836." Freedom Documents. <http://www.freedomdocuments.com/Travis/text.html> (accessed March 24, 2012).

47 Thom Hatch, *Encyclopedia of the Alamo and the Texas Revolution* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 1999). "Crockett, David."

48 Susanna Dickinson Hanning, "Susanna Dickinson Hanning," *The Alamo*, <http://www.thealamo.org/battle/letter-Dickinson-Hanning.php> (accessed April 03, 2012).

49 James Frank Dobie, "Fabulous Frontiersman: Jim Bowie," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 9, no. 2 (Spring, 1959):

52 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45162920> (accessed April 02, 2012).

to allow his ancestor the honor of not being slain by an enemy force. W. W. Bowie's view may have been one that did not think death at the hands of the enemy while fighting till one's last breath was heroic. The Bowie family's view at the time that W. W. Bowie wrote about his ancestor may have been such, demonstrating that his group formed part of his popular memory creating history. The vast contradictions between the artistic, cinematic, and primary sources can also demonstrate the difficulty in declaring historical events and the actions that procured.

Conclusions

It is clear to see that there are great differences between the sources and their descriptions of the deaths of the Alamo's three most famous defenders. This difference is not only between the American and the Mexican survivors, but is apparent amongst the same nationalities. These variances create a fracture in describing the Alamo's defender's final moments with accuracy. What can be defined is that a number of about 180 to 185 men at the Alamo were killed by a much larger force of Mexican soldiers in 1836. Their defensive measures and eventual loss of life can be viewed and is viewed as heroic to some and simply as a loss of life in combat to others. The fracture and differences may be attributed to the oftentimes inaccurate human memory; however this is difficult to claim because it will be accurate to that particular individual as they saw the event take place. This is where fiction or individual perspective may become fact for an individual or a group. The modifications can also be understood by the desire to paint the past in a heroic manner for those who have lost their lives fighting for something that is important to them. This was evident from the image found in *The Adventures of Davy Crockett*. The arguments will continually be made for and against these sources and their validity, and will inevitably leave question marks for the historian.

Historian Sam Deshong Ratcliffe, when speaking about the artistic images of the Battle of the Alamo, claims that the time lag apparent between the battle and the paintings "meant that these works expressed the culmination of public reaction to accounts of the battle and served as ideological and emotional filters for subsequent depictions in

other visual media."⁵⁰ The artistic and cinematic representations also may not be intended to paint or give life to historical events exactly as they occurred. It may have been the artist's or the producer's intent to create historical depictions for monetary or entertainment purposes, therefore creating popular memory through artistic and later cinematic depictions. This leaves the popular memory of a historical event based on a common thought, which may be enjoyable to the viewer, rather than historical accuracy, but remembering that historical accuracy is extremely difficult to define due to primary source contradictions.

What is evident from this research is that historical events are often fashioned by a group's or individual's popular memory rather than historical evidence. This occurs because of individuality, nationality or exterior motives. These claims are proven through the comparison of artistic and cinematic representations of the Alamo, as compared to the personal accounts of the survivors.

50 Sam DeShong Ratcliffe, *Painting Texas History to 1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 20.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF OREM CITY

RUSSEL DUNCAN

THE HISTORY OF OREM CITY IS A VERY UNIQUE ONE IN RELATION TO the rest of Utah history and patterns of settlement. The city has grown rapidly from berry farms and fruit orchards on the “Provo Bench” to be one of the largest single suburban cities in Utah. Unlike many Utah towns, however, it did not grow up around a town center or “downtown”. Yet, despite its “gentile” arrangement, it has become proudly known as Family City, USA.

In 1961, Orem City celebrated its centennial anniversary; one hundred years since the first farmers ascended the Provo Bench to settle on it. At that time, the bench was relatively unfavorable, for it had no streams or rivers; settlers continued on south to settle in Provo (Buckley 9). The only way to get water on the bench was to divert it from the Provo River, or to dig a well. Eventually, farmers worked together to dig a series of ditches to irrigate the sagebrush-covered land that formed a triangular shape between the base of Mt. Timpanogos, the Provo River bench, and the Utah Lake bench. Soon, the land had been transformed into the “garden city” of Utah. The area flourished with berries and fruit orchards; many farmers became very successful, most notably James Stratton, Newell Knight, and the Cordner’s. Martin Walker became famous with his “This is the Place” fruit stand on State Street.¹ Soon, all major streets on the Bench, such as State Street, were lined with fruit stands, selling peaches, pears, apples and strawberries. Today, Stratton’s fruit stand still operates, having been a family business for over one hundred years.

However, the city of Orem did not officially exist until 1919, when residents banded together to incorporate the city. Before that, it was considered a sort of suburb to Provo City, simply known as the

1 Buckley, Jay H., Chase Arnold, Orem Public Library. Images of America: Orem. San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2010. 33.

“Provo Bench”. Later, the name Sharon was considered for the town, named after the birthplace of Joseph Smith – Sharon, Vermont. For some parts of the city and its residents, the name Sharon was already well-established. The name Orem came in 1914 when the Salt Lake and Utah Electric Inter-Urban Railroad built its Orem line into Utah County to Payson. The railroad was owned by Walter C. Orem, a Salt Lake City resident. Local farmers wanted “a name printed on their basket labels which would bring distinction to the area which actually produced the fruit” (Weeks 9). In response, Mr. Orem purchased a 40-acre plot on State Street and 800 North, expecting the city to grow up around that area.

Industry first came to Orem in 1919 with the Pleasant Grove Canning Company, located at 700 North and 325 West (today, Orem Boulevard). The fruit was transported via railroad to markets in the Salt Lake Valley and Ogden, as well as local markets (Weeks 51). As canneries expanded, farmers began growing a variety of crops. Tomatoes and sugar beets became more common, along with cherries, prunes and apricots.²

In 1904 the Telluride Power Company, owned by the Nunn brothers, built a power plant at the mouth of Provo Canyon called Olmstead. The plant was nearly a miniature town in itself, housing employees on site. The plant was also home to the Telluride Institute, a leading institute in electrical engineering, research, and development. At this time in history, only the Telluride Institute and Ohio State University offered any training in this field (Buckley 46). Here, students received on-site training and conducted research. The company was purchased by Electric Bond and Share Corporation. Its subsidiary, Utah Power and Light took over production at the plant.

State Street, which diagonally bisects Orem today, was first designed by Brigham Young and envisioned to be the major thoroughfare across the West. This dream came true when the Mormon-built highway was integrated into the US highway system, being designated as US Highway 91, and later US Highway 89. It was originally built as wide as it is today, “as part of a great corridor highway over which emigrants and merchandise from all over the country could travel” (Weeks 11). While a few protested the unreasonably wide highway, it was never

narrowed, and today averages 3 lanes each direction. The street became Orem’s major business district, lined with fruit stands and various other small businesses such as café’s, flower shops, mechanic’s shops, blacksmiths, and markets. In 1949, when the road was paved and had gutters installed from 900 South to 900 North, the city commemorated it with its “Velvet strip” celebration. After WWII, Orem boomed with business. The SCERA Theater was joined with two drive-in theaters, local and state banks, clothing stores, a dairy, drug stores, and many other such businesses. Thus, “Orem’s commercial activity has been transformed from the operation of a few grocery stores and fruit stands to a thriving assortment of business establishments geared to dispense goods and services in the competitive market” of the late 20th century (Weeks 13).

Education in Orem was minimal to begin with. Most students beyond 8th grade had to go to Pleasant Grove or Provo for school. The Spencer School was constructed in 1883, named after English philosopher, Herbert Spencer. All eight grades were taught in a single-room log building. In 1912, a new building with eight rooms was erected on 800 South and State Street. Orem’s second school, the Sharon School, was built in 1894 at 300 North State Street, and the two schools served the Bench until the construction of Lincoln High School in 1921 across the street from Spencer. The new school offered grade levels above 8th grade for the first time in Orem. In 1954 the Sharon School was replaced by Sharon Elementary on 400 East 500 North. In 1956, Orem High School was completed, and the old Lincoln High became Lincoln Junior High. In 1975, the Lincoln building was vacated and demolished.³ Today, Orem city has three high schools, three junior high schools and over a dozen elementary schools. In 2008, Orem High School was gradually demolished and replaced by a new building as well.

Another school gradually grew in Orem starting in 1941. First known as Central Utah Vocational School, it began its curriculum in trade, industry and business, training out of a rented house in Provo. After Wilson W. Sorensen became president of the school in 1945, the name changed to Utah Trade Technical Institute and then Utah Tech-

2 Buckley, 35.

3 Tour of Historic Sites in the City of Orem. Orem: City of Orem Historical Preservation Advisory Commission, 1999. 27.

nical College. Sorenson moved the campus to north Provo, and then added another campus in Orem after he bought 185 acres of farmland at 1200 South and 800 West. For a time, the college operated on both campuses before moving entirely to the Orem location. In 1987, it became Utah Valley Community College with more than 5000 enrolled students. By 1993, it had become Utah Valley State College and began offering bachelor degrees. After a new library was constructed, and an additional 26 degrees were offered, it became Utah Valley University in 2008. In only 67 years, the institution has come a long way from a rented house in Provo, becoming one of the largest universities in the state and a permanent feature of Orem (Buckley 88). Today, it is one of Orem's largest employers.

Orem took part in the war effort during WWII in a number of ways. First, a small plot of farmland in north Orem was acquired from James G. Stratton by the federal government to build an internment camp.⁴ It was initially used to house Japanese-Americans uprooted from the west coast before they were relocated to Topaz, Utah. The camp was then used to hold Italian and German prisoners-of-war. Truckloads of prisoners were used by local farmers to help in the fields, as most of Orem's youth were involved in the war effort. Today, the property on which the camp stood is occupied by Canyon View Junior High and Orchard Elementary schools (Buckley 36).

Another of Orem's contributions to the war effort was the Geneva Works of the US Steel Corporation. Built from 1941 through 1944 to address the growing need of steel mills located away from the coast, and to prepare for war with Japan, the construction of the mill marked a major turn in Orem's transition from agriculture to industry. It proved to be an ideal location – it was close to raw materials such as iron ore, coal, and limestone. It was far enough inland to make any enemy attack impossible and it was near a major water source, a railroad, and thousands of educated and reliable men and women ready to leave the fruit fields for the work force. The Geneva Works was Utah's largest employer and in the first five years after its opening, Orem's population more than doubled. After the war, commercial demand was not enough to keep the plant running at profitable capacity. In 2002, Geneva steel declared bankruptcy, and was demolished over the

next few years.

The performing arts and recreation came to Orem much earlier than steel manufacturing. In 1933, during the depths of the Great Depression, members of the LDS Sharon Stake came together to organize Sharon's Cultural, Educational, and Recreational Association, or SCERA. Its focus was to "build the body, enrich the mind, touch the soul, and unify the family". Founded by Arthur V. Watkins, the LDS Sharon Stake President, and others, its first goal was to build a swimming pool. Also, to raise money for a theater, movies were played in the Lincoln High School auditorium. The theater, which still operates today, was built in 1940-41. Over the years, the theater was added to, a new swimming pool was built to the north, and an outdoor amphitheater, the SCERA Shell, was also built. The newsletter for the LDS Sharon Stake, "The Voice of Sharon" became an organ of the SCERA. Arthur Watkins acquired the publishing company and changed the title to "Orem-Geneva Times," which has become the outstanding newspaper for the city (Weeks 18). Arthur Watkins was later elected to represent Utah in the United States Senate.

Today, Orem boasts many small (and big) claims to fame. Orem's title of "Family City, USA" has not been unduly earned. It is considered one of the most family-friendly places to live in the United States. The current governor of Utah - Gary Herbert, an Orem resident - personifies the values of family life in Orem. Former BYU football coach Lavell Edwards played on the Lincoln High School's championship team in 1947. Actor and director Robert Redford bought Timp Haven, a small ski run not far from Orem, and turned it into a world-renowned ski resort known as Sundance. Celebrity Marie Osmond and her family opened the Osmond Studios in north Orem, where other celebrities like Jane Fonda, Bob Hope and Frank Sinatra have visited.⁵

Orem City's history is rich with pioneering, farming, industry, culture, and family values. Even in today's modern world, Orem still retains much of its small-town feel where the American Dream is strong, despite its increasing commercial and urban development.

4 Historic Sites, 5.

5 Buckley, 124.

NORTHERN IRELAND; THE LAND THAT PEACE FORGOT

PAMELA GARDNER

THE BRITISH THROUGHOUT ENGLAND'S LONG HISTORY HAVE ALWAYS had an interest in Northern Ireland. Because of Ireland's perfect strategic placement that could allow for an Island invasion from the West. British interest in this strategic scenario demanded protection in multiple forms to keep Ireland's back door potential of invasion blocked.

The British saw nothing in the Irish territories, other than the people already inhabiting the area, and the British viewed them as non-citizens and potential enemies.¹ Because of these attitudes and fears the English found a need to implant more people and cause fighting between the two groups, the native Catholics and implanted Protestants, when their conflict finally came to its last head in the latter half of the 20th century, the problems had morphed into secular, economic, social, and militaristic interest. Because of these unrecognized changes by the English when the British stepped in they seemed to add more problems than solutions to the area. The British militaries hope that their presence, in Northern Ireland, would help settle the rising tensions in mixed areas, failed to materialize. When the military was first put in, it was their belief that they would only be there for a maximum of 18 months and the problems would go away, that the IRA and other groups would lose momentum and die out.²

Unforeseen by the British Military it was actually their presence that helped give the IRA a revival. Up to that time the IRA had been

1 Schaffer , M. Patricia . "Irish Penal Laws." 2000.<http://library.law.umn.edu/irishlaw/> (accessed August 3, 2011)

2 "The World: Ulster: Bloody Dodge City." *Time*, Nov. 22, 1971.

on a down swing. Because of the heightened military activities at this time, the English helped to bring about a resurgence with not only attacks by both sides of the conflict, but also in IRA's recruitment numbers, only escalating the problems. This paper hopes to address, reasons for a spike in violence in Northern Ireland in the mid 1900s to the end of the twentieth century, and ways in which the peace talks of the Troubles has worked to end fighting, although the reasons are multiple and incomplete to the extent one may ask has there been success if at all.

The Troubles, the name for the violence from 1969–1998, within the Irish state, one could claim stem from the involvement and ongoing interest of the British that specifically relate to Northern Ireland.

Britain's interests in Ireland have varied greatly since 1169 when its feudal barons first started to occupy the country. Its rulers today have five reasons for interference: firstly the historic Northern Irish connection through which they are influenced by the leading families of the six counties Protestant communities; secondly, the military aspect; Northern Ireland is a useful bridgehead on an island that commands Britain's western approaches; thirdly the fact that social imperialist struggle, as was happening in 1921 and, less effectively in 1972; fourthly the classic imperialistic reason, economic investment; this however, has only recently become more important than the fifth reason for British intervention—Irish investment in Britain, its colonies and dominions.³

This quote captures some of what will be discussed in this paper. Along with what is mentioned above by way of the British political, militaristic, and economic interests within Ireland, this paper also hopes to cover the social reason as to why fighting started in Northern Ireland and the ways that have come to have a hopeful lasting peace. This includes the disarmament of the IRA and other radical parties, the beginning of policy reforms in education and employment, and the political sphere as well. These things and others were addressed in the peace talks throughout the 1970s and '80s but saw a culmination of

peaceful aspirations in 1998 and the programs that were set up to help the people into some sort of modern normalcy with their lives along with ways to keep the peace from breaking down and having Northern Ireland fragment in violence once again.

Britain's large-scale involvement of Northern Ireland starts in the early 1600s with the plantation system. The plantation system, simply put, is just what the name implies, large-scale farms, set up by the British Protestants and worked by those that they moved in, the Scots, and non-landed British Gentry. The British in a move to make larger profits for English and to, repopulate, with the desire to replace the indigenous Irish, the area saw a tremendous influx of those unwanted British citizens, Scots men that were newly displaced from their lands, for economic progress to the beginnings of the British empire. The point of the plantation system, like those that they set up later in other areas around the world, was to bring forth a profit from the Irish, Ulster area. A region that made it perfect for the manufacturing of ships, because of its deepwater ports and resources, the Ulster counties were also the perfect climate for growing flax and producing linen, which in turn replaced its traditional production of sheep and wool products. With the partition of Ireland in 1921 and 1922 into the Republic of Ireland (Southern Ireland) and Northern Ireland, has been nothing but trouble for the two parts of the island, socially, economically, and militarily. Economically, especially in the early days, 1920s–1930s, the split of the island caused a downturn and disparity in the economy that continued until the latter half of the twentieth century. The Ulster area kept with its industrial production of locally produced linens, imported cotton, for making finished cloth, fishing and the manufacturing of ships, along with the many manufactured goods that come with the construction of ships; things that were now conducive to the betterment of industrial United Kingdom. Whereas, the newly reformed Republic of Ireland had control agriculture production, which is known to naturally grow slower economically than that of industrialized nations. The split of the country caused economic disparity between the two areas, with the North growing at a rate of which was favorable to the British economy; while the Republic of Ireland (Southern Ireland's) growth was more substantial to that of an agrarian market with little

3 McGarry, John, and O'Leary Brendan. "Explaining Northern Ireland." In *Explaining Northern Ireland*, by John McGarry and O'Leary Brendan (Purdie 1972) (Dorgan 2006) (Kriesberg 2003) (Garton Ash and Adam 2009) and, 71. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995.



Fig. 1 East Belfast, Ireland. Gated and walled Catholic community. Original brick wall circa 1969 the upper corrugated and screen walls put in after 1990s. Authors personnel collection, photographed 20 June 2011.

to no industrialization within the boundaries of the Republic.⁴ This slow growth caused a desire for a United Ireland. This desire to unite would not only bind together those who traditionally were Irishmen, but also as establish a way that would smooth the economic disparity between the two factions. At this time, both Northern and Southern Ireland was where having to ship and import what the other was producing, making prices higher. "Trade barriers such as high tariffs and a policy of import substitution sought to make this reliance on economic nationalism successful. Inevitably, it failed."⁵ Especially for those in the republic since they were not being subsidized by the United Kingdom, where otherwise it would have been free trade across the board. Of course there is the argument that they are the same people, so therefore they should be together in one country, but really the poor economic situation compounded by subsidizes for one portion of the island and not the other inhibited Ireland's overall economic growth, and broadened disparity between the two Irelands.

One of the major issues that forced the conflict of Northern Ireland, other than that of economic disparity, is that both sides, the Protestants and the Catholics, believe they are the minority to the other. In Northern Ireland the Catholics are the minority to the Protestants and in the Republic of Ireland it is the flipside to this situation, where the Protestants are the minority to the Catholics. In Northern Ireland this mindset of being the minority breeds a Catholic fear of the control of the Protestant majority which than feeds into the problems and issues that have faced the people of Northern Ireland; especially the mentality that the real minority needs to exhibit power overall because they are the ones that are disadvantaged, even if they are in truth they majority and exploiting the minority.⁶

4 Purdie, Bob. "Ireland Unfree." In *Ireland Unfree*, by Bob Purdie, 19. London: IMG Publications, 1972.

5 Dorgan, Sean. "How Ireland Became the Celtic Tiger." *Backgrounder* no. 1945, June 23, 2006: 2.

6 Kriesberg, Louis. "Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution." In *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*, by Louis Kriesberg, 16. Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, INC., 2003.

These issues can be traced again to 1921 when the Republic of Ireland won its independence from the United Kingdom, thus the British government purposefully created a Catholic minority and Protestant majority in the remaining six counties of Ulster that make up Northern Ireland. This inconsistency was accomplished through gerrymandering of voting districts. When this happened Britain created an environment that made for injustices towards the Catholics. For the Catholics these discriminations gave them reasons to move towards a violent disposition.⁷ The thought and somewhat reality that there could not be “peace” that there could not be a “resolution of grievances” without the use of violence, helped by the arrangement of voting districts.

These voting districts were arranged such that there could not be a catholic majority, thereby forcibly silencing the catholic voice. Because of these gerrymandered districts the Protestants were always a disproportional majority, giving them an even greater advantage of coverage in parliament. Thus helping to add and create a place for the idea of the fear and the double minority belief, also compounding the tensions and issues of the area. To many it became clear that the only way in which to have their voice heard was to somehow create an environment to cause change by words and actions of non-force or nonviolence; and to try and get as many people as possible. The real key into getting the word out and heard was the number of people that they could get to attend meetings and rallies. These mass events were to try and gain as many supporters as possible so that the British government had to listen to what they wanted and take it seriously. Purdie writes,

The answer was plain; we would have to establish our objectives; to explain these to our own movement; to persuade our movement to accept them; to bring them to the people and explain them—and then to show the people, by our initial political and agitationary activities that we are sincere. We would have to declare what kind of government, what kind of state we wanted in Ireland. We would then have to show

7 Garton Ash, Timothy, and Roberts Adam. “Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Ghandi to the Present.” In *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Ghandi to the Present*, by Timothy Garton Ash and Roberts Adam, 88. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

the people by propaganda, education and action, why this type of state would be beneficial to them—that it would mean more bread and butter, better wages, better housing conditions, more education and a better life for everyone.⁸

The republican movement in Northern Ireland was a precursor to that of a civil rights movement being used before partition and up through the 1960s. During time the republican movement is one that used violence to try and gain political and economic answers. Whereas in 1967 the civil rights movement took the nonviolent approach taking their nonviolent lead from that of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. The point was to try and make an environment that is conducive to that of political and social change. Part of the changes desired was the ability to create a place where there is great disproportionate representation to become more even for the minorities in Northern Ireland.

With the birth of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), a collection of smaller organizations in 1967, came together to gain these objectives: definitions of basic rights for citizens, to protect the rights of the individual, highlight all the abuses of power, demand guarantees of freedom speech, the right of assembly and associations, and to inform the public of their lawful rights. These goals and ideals lasted until 1972. The initial intention was to bring awareness of grievances in nonviolent manner much like that of the United States Civil Rights movement. There was never the thought that it would turn into a civil war of sorts.⁹

Although this is not the start of violence, just resurgence; one greater in magnitude than any other previously in Northern Ireland. It acted as a springboard, spreading forth the later violence that lasted into the late 1990s. NICRA was fighting for the equality in voting, the redrawing of electoral boundaries, a point system to ensure fair distribution in public housing, a repeal of the Special Powers act, disbanding of the Protestant police reserve and the Ulster Special Constabulary. With the ensuing marchers, especially the march from the Bogside of

8 Purdie, 31.

9 Ibid.

Derry (also known as Londonderry) to the city's center on the 5th of October 1968, as a rallying point for Derry Housing Action Committee supported by NICRA there were some 400 marchers in attendance and 200 or so bystanders on the side waiting for a march, which never took place. The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) came along and broke it up by batoning those in the crowd leaving many injured. This march had collected media attention, as three Members of Parliament (MPs) were present and injured at the rally by the RUC. As a result of the Royal Ulster Constabulary attacking the crowd brought rioting to the streets of Derry for the next three days, riots aimed at police and military action, riots aimed at the British presence and puppet like hand over the area, causing for many to state this event as the one that sparked the modern troubles¹⁰. The October march was the first of many when the Catholics in Northern Ireland rioted and raised violent action against, Protestant neighbors and leaders alike, those that were perceived as the oppressor where determined to be the enemy and needed to be dealt with in ways that they seemed fit through acts of violence.¹¹ It started as peaceful demonstrations, but somebody can only be hit so many times before they strike back. The many failures the state towards the Catholics left them feeling that they either could not or would not help protect them from violence during marches. This hardened many Catholics and caused some to eventually leave the idea that justice could be achieved by civil disobedience on the wayside. Turning away from peaceful demonstration the disaffected began to look in the areas that were more prone to violent means and organizations like that of the IRA that were willing to use violence to gain their objectives. One of the great failures of the civil rights movement was the fact that many did use it as a platform to try and move ideas from peaceably assembly to that of violence; this left many feeling the Irish were predisposed to violence and were never sincere in their peaceful demonstrations. The Cameron Commission of 1969 confirms that

10 Melaugh, Martin . "The Derry March - Chronology of Events Surrounding the March." 1996.<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/derry/chron.htm> (accessed July 26, 2011).

11 Ash, 82-83.

many people's reasons for the use of violence was the sense of injustice felt between the Catholic communities and the state.¹² To promote ways of more violent actions many used the platform of civil rights and equal treatment, ideals that had been traditionally peaceably. Those predisposed towards violence now used civil rights and equality under the law to push forth the idea that the only way to obtain substantial change would be for the Catholic side to rise up against their oppressor and forcible take what they wanted!

By 1972 the nonviolent voice of civil rights and NICRA and had been effectively snuffed out completely. Even though many of their grievances had been dealt with in some manner, the opposition of forcible violence with the backing of such groups as the provisional IRA had taken over and a new era of modern violence that has lasted into this new century with a cooling and escalation period ending at the peace talks in 1998.¹³ It also didn't help that the British and police forces negative actions towards peaceful protesters such as, the deployment of the British military into areas to help "keep the peace" the batoning, use of tear gas, rubber bullets water cannons, and other forceful means to "keep in line" protestors, only added to the fuel and desire for some to become violent and use violence as a tool to gain freedom from the British state.¹⁴ It is the opinion of some that it is because of abuses of police officers, specifically the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the B specials, latter to become the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR) and the infusion of British armed forces whom were there to enforce the rule of law on those who have become uppity in the Ulster counties.¹⁵

It is worthy to note that many of those in the early years of the movement wanted the eventual freedom of Northern Ireland from the British state and unification with the Republic of Ireland. Many aban-

12 Fitzduff, Mari. "Beyond Violence: Conflict Resolution Process in Northern Ireland." In *Beyond Violence: Conflict Resolution Process in Northern Ireland*, by Mari Fitzduff, 25. New York: United nations University Press, 2002.

13 Ash, 84.

14 Ibid., 85.

15 Purdie, 19.

doned that idea knowing that it was a dream and not a point on which all could agree. They eventually settled with the hope of just treatment with in the British system. It is the later more radical movements that pick up like that of the IRA and provisional IRA to use violence as the way and the means to gain freedom from Britain's oppressive system.¹⁶ This will later on contribute to a great disparity in the work forces in Northern Ireland towards those of a Catholic background; leaving many men there stuck in lower level entry factory jobs. Along with these difficulties simply social interaction would come under its own sadistic and weird twist and turns.

The movement to move to more violent actions to some seemed like the right thing to do. Eamonn McCann in his book *War and an Irish Town* relates the story of a Miss Doherty who was tarred and feather because she was a Catholic that was engaged to a British soldier. The press got a hold of this story and it was everywhere, making a huge hoopla out of this poor girl's ordeal. Many thought in the city of Londonderry felt it over played, because where was the news to report when a British soldier shot a Ms. Groves with his riot gun in the face and the rubber bullet caused her to go blind, or even an event concerning Mrs. Thompson who for reasons unknown, was shot in her yard by another British soldier, killing her. It was the lack of action on accounts like this that made it hard for people to not justify the movement into a more violent arena against the British and their presence in Northern Ireland.¹⁷ When compared to when the British Army first showed up in areas like Belfast and Londonderry there was great relief among the Catholic community. It was seen by many that there was now some force to keep the radicals in-line, like the IRA, that were causing troubles in those areas. In a matter of months it turned from a hope of change to one of contempt and hate, in the direction of the military mingled with nationalistic patriotism. In the ninth interview of Rober White's book on the micromobilization of the IRA, he says that,

...the six counties is part of Ireland, and it is being occupied by a foreign

¹⁶ Ash, 88.

¹⁷ McCann, Eamonn. "War and an Irish Town." In *War and an Irish Town*, by Eamonn McCann, 153-154. Chicago: Pluto Press, 1993.

force, that is, the British Army and the British government which has sent them there...If we went over tomorrow and took over the Home counties of England, the English are not gonna bow down and say it's all yours, right? "It's Irish now, you can keep it." So why should we be any different to them? Why should we be any the less patriotic?¹⁸

These morphing attitudes where being rapidly fueled by the by the British Armed Forces whose everyday actions and campaigning effected and hurt everyday citizens rather than those that the British government said they were going to be going after.¹⁹ Instead the provisional groups, like the RUC, UDR, and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) became the people whom the British state wanted to talk and negotiate with. These were the groups that had already participated in violence towards there Catholic neighbors with whom the British felt they could control the republican "uprising" that the British in turn believed was controlling the communities, and creating an atmosphere of fear.²⁰

In 1998 NICRA began to see the fruits of their peaceably goals, bringing forth equality in housing, voting, employment, and education reform. The outcomes NICRA had desired earlier throughout the 70s and 80s were instead subverted by simples acts such as housing reform along with other factors that had unwittingly sparked one of the most violent second world nation controversies of the 20th century. Housing reform came in 1971 when the Northern Ireland Housing Executive was created. This organizations sole purpose was to fix the problems with the housing system. In 1968 a young single Protestant was able to allocate a public house, one of which she was by no means qualified to have and this action jumped her in head of many catholic families with loads of children who had been waiting on the list for years in

¹⁸ White, Robert W. "From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army." *American Journal of Sociology* 94.6 (1989): 1277-302. Print. 1294.

¹⁹ Ulster.

²⁰ Bean, Kevin. "The New Politics of Sinn Fein." In *The New Politics of Sinn Fein*, by Kevin Bean, 16. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007.

some cases. The only thing that she had going for her was that she was secretary of a Unionist parliamentary. This incident only proved too many that the system was indeed corrupt and Catholics were indeed disfavored. The Northern Ireland Housing Authority however was faced with the task of not only reorganizing the way in which housing was handled they also were placed with the task of cleaning up many properties that were unfit to live in.²¹

Along with the violence, from such poorly executed programs the seeds of peace had been sown, some 20 or 30 years before in the 1970s. Leaving room for issues to be negotiated and resolved at the turn of the 20th century goals that only a short while before seemed untenable. Just like any negotiation process the final peace talks, have their own problems and concerns. The ability for the Catholics to share their voice through voting is an area that continues to see positive transformation.

With voting in the early years it was believed that one should stick ones party and not vary from it, no matter who the candidate might be. For those of Catholic background one usually stuck with the Nationalist Party with their own candidates being backed by those in the Catholic Church. It is here that the two entities, that being the politics and religion, start to walk hand in hand with seemingly no separation and real feeling that one could spate from the two entities.²² This feeling of hopelessness within the voting system that still seems to last with the voting system that is in place now, that is even more confusing and dysfunctional than before. Voting reforms were started in 1969, house ownership as a prerequisite for voting was done away with. Business had to give up the ability to vote multiple times, boundaries were redrawn if only to get nationalist to be stratified with voting gains, still disproportionate and very much so gerrymandered the new lines allowed for little gains to council seats.²³

The Cameron report also helped bring to light the many discriminations that were happening to Catholics in the work place. In 1971 the Cameron report estimated that some 17.3 per cent of Catholics

21 Fitzduff, 21.

22 McCann, 69

23 Ibid., 21-22.

males where unemployed compared to a 6.6 per cent of Protestants males during the same time.²⁴ These numbers also point to the issue that those males that were not only unemployed but long termed unemployed had higher chances of joining militant groups and participating in violence, this goes for both sides of the field. Also areas in Northern Ireland that had large Catholic and Protestant ghettos, like Londonderry and Belfast, tended to have some of the highest levels of violence and paramilitarism.²⁵ 1976 brought about the Fair Employment Act that was put in place to help equality in the work place making it illegal to discriminate on the biases of religion or political background. The Fair Employment Act also set up the Fair Employment Agency to receive complaints about discriminations and take the appropriate actions.²⁶

The mid-eighties showed that disparity in the work place still existed and was higher than before. In an attempt to try and make the unemployment gap smaller the Fair Employment Commission was established to try and fix what the Fair Employment Agency could not. It was hoped that it would help the issue, but by 1993 unemployment had risen 2.2 percent with most unemployment being in Catholic areas. The reasons for this disparity still falls to that of discrimination and redress is far more complex than just putting into place legislation.²⁷ Levels now are only starting to even out but that is only because the Protestant unemployment rate is rising to meet that of what the Catholics has traditionally been.

Many Catholics, who wouldn't have been able to otherwise, were able to seek higher education through the Free Education Acts of 1947 and gain places in the middle class.²⁸ Many gaining the education need-

24 Fitzduff, 23-24.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Holland, Jack. "Hope Against History: The course of Conflict in Northern Ireland." In *Hope Against History: The Course of Conflict in Northern Ireland*, by Jack Holland, 9. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 1999.



Fig. 2 East Belfast, Ireland. Gated and walled Integrated Primary School. Authors personnel collection, photographed 20 June 2011.

ed to be teachers, lawyers and some doctors, if not only for their communities. In most cases it was these youth who benefited from this act that where pulling together in ways like that of NICRA and calling for change. In primary and Secondary schools it was no surprise that Catholics tended to be less funded and perform worse in schools than Protestant students.²⁹ Seeing as they are educated in separate schools away from one another it is no surprise one of the goals is to see a set standardization of subject matter presented in both Catholic and Protestant schools. Some are even calling for integration of schools to try and not only educate the youth more well-rounded but to also bring the two communities together to try and stop violence completely.

Although there at times seem to be the push for violence, and as awful as it may seem but things like the peace wall that separates the Shankill and the falls roads in Belfast and the countless walls that go around many neighborhoods serve a practical purpose at times. The walls have been a successful means of keeping massive damage from being done when riots in interface areas happen. A real problem that perpetuates violence is that walls also keep communities from being together and easily integrating into one society (see figures 1 and 2). Physical walls just like the religious, economic, social, and emotional, barrier force people who live within them and prevent them from complete integration, the state of Northern Ireland, may never see a true peaceful dwelling of her inhabitants within the state because of the physical walls throughout Belfast and other parts of the Ulster area.

Just as Ireland has walls within her country there are external walls that surround her regarding international relations and trade. Because of a western worlds desire to help tear down these external walls The United States, European Union, Canada, Australia and New Zealand all commit annually some £628m / €753m being given to organizations all around Northern Ireland, organizations that promise some sort of relief, help, aid, to help those that have been effected by the Troubles. These organizations are there to try and make the Ulster

²⁹ Fitzduff, 25.

counties a peaceful place.³⁰ A place that would be livable as a first world nation instead of a second world nation with first world ideals, but the goal of first world economic achievement and sustainability can only be accomplished by complete and open internal trade, trade that tears down the economic barriers of religious and social intolerance.

The Northern Irish economy is one that is shaped by that of the world and not necessarily by those within the state. Meaning that since so much money is pumped in by other countries, and Northern Ireland's history of violence there is a more vested interest in how businesses will survive in the economy. There has been a massive drop in the areas traditional fields of economic growth in Northern Ireland. Jobs that were traditionally a large money maker like that of the manufacturing and trade, instead there has been great growth in the public sector, retailing, and other service based employment.³¹

One issue still remaining is that of poverty there has been a steady increase of unemployment in Northern Ireland since 1985, 21 % claiming benefits, today being around of those claiming benefits is around 28.4% as of March 2011.³² With the disparity of jobless equalizing the gaps between the two groups, catholic, who have traditionally had the higher numbers of unemployment, and those of the unemployed Protestants. This is causing for an environment that with this peace could go either way. The equality of the jobless could cause for the two groups to join together to try and figure out something economically to help them both. Or it could have the adverse effect. With the heightened number of jobless there could be a higher resurgence of violence and joining of paramilitary groups like that of the UVF, the Protestants, and the IRA, Catholics, causing for a downward spiral of violence that would rival that of the violence in the 1970s an 1980s. Hopefully the people of Northern Ireland have learned and had enough of violence

30 "International-Fund-for-Ireland:Background.2009.<http://www.internationalfundforireland.com/about-the-fund>(accessedAugust3, 2011).

31 Bean, 16.

32 Another rise in Northern Ireland unemployment rate." BBC News, March 16, 2011.

that they would not let the violence re-erupt in Ulster.

Although Britain has had a long interest in Northern Ireland wither it is for economic, political, or even militaristic reason, and their hand in the raise of violence in Northern Ireland. Will now hopefully with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement and the pulling out of over 27,000 British soldiers that were stationed in Northern Ireland during the height of the troubles and over 763 killed during their involvement in the troubles.³³ Hopefully there can be seen a upturn in the communities involvement with one another and the peace will hold

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

FOR FURTHER READING

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33 "Army ending its operation in NI." BBC News, July 31,2007.

THE VILIFICATION OF RICHARD III

VANESSA HATTON

KING RICHARD III WAS ONLY KING OF ENGLAND FOR TWO YEARS (FROM 1483 to 1485), and yet he has stimulated spirited controversy among bystanders and trained historians alike for nearly six generations. This controversy stems mainly from disagreements about Richard's character and whether he was capable of or responsible for the disappearance of his two nephews, the sons of his brother King Edward IV. Historical figures such as Sir Thomas More and William Shakespeare have forever solidified him as a crooked and deformed villain, an ambitious and cruel murderer and usurper. Also thanks to Shakespeare, the first association that pops into a non-historian's mind when Richard III is mentioned is "A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!"¹

This villainous, fictional image is the true tragedy. How and when did this transformation from loyal brother and brilliant warrior to crook-back and wicked uncle occur?² Or more simply put, who vilified Richard III and when? Was Richard responsible for his own bad reputation, or does the blame rest on those who came after him, such as the miserly King Henry VII, who as a distant claimant had strong reason to blacken his opponent's name? In order to assess and fully understand this transformation, primary and secondary sources must be reviewed and analyzed carefully, and only after this can those questions be fully answered.

Before reviewing those sources, it is important to know Richard's brief history. For those unfamiliar with this section of British history,

1 William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Richard III* (New York: Pocket Books, 1996),

2 Dominic Mancini, a source discussed later on mentions Richard's "good reputation" and his "renown in warfare" in his *Usurpation of Richard III*, pages 64-65.

Richard III was one of three brothers of the royal House of York, whose family battled the royal House of Lancaster's King Henry VI for the throne in the Wars of the Roses. Henry VI was eventually overthrown by the Yorks, and Richard's brother became Edward IV in 1461. In 1483, Edward IV died very suddenly, leaving behind a twelve-year-old Edward V to rule under Richard's guidance as Lord Protector of England. Within a little over a month, Richard secured the throne as the King of England from his child nephew and by fall of 1483 the bastardized Edward V and his little brother had disappeared from the royal residence the Tower of London.

By 1485, a weak claimant from the House of Lancaster, Henry Tudor, landed in England with an army and met Richard III on the field of Bosworth, where Richard was cut down violently during an attempt to slay Henry Tudor himself. The usurper Tudor became King Henry VII, founder of the House of Tudor and a century-long dynasty. A score of years passed, and by the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 and the writing of Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Richard III*, Richard's reputation as an unnatural and evil villain had already been solidified for more than fifty years, as the publication of the most damaging literary works (emphasis on literary), had been written in the early 16th century far before Shakespeare's play, a description of which will follow.

There are very few, if any, primary sources that display Richard III in a positive light; in contrast, a long list exists of those that played a particularly important part in the process of vilification and further contributed to the image of Richard III as a heartless Machiavellian king. Some of the most important to consider: a copy of a painting of Richard altered from one initially painted during his reign (most likely in 1485); a text by Dominic Mancini on Richard's "usurpation" (1483); the *Croyland Chronicles* by an anonymous writer or series of writers (1453-1486); a history of England by Robert Fabyan with a section on Richard III (1516); *The History of Richard the Third* by Sir Thomas More (1513); Polydore Virgil's *Anglica Historia* (1512/1534); a history written by Raphael Holinshed (1587); and finally Shakespeare's very famous *The Tragedy of Richard III*. These primary sources are the closest clues as to how this blackening of Richard's name occurred.

The portrait of Richard III analyzed here is a copy made of an original most likely done during Richard's short two-year reign in

1485; however, starting not long after it was initially painted, changes were made to it over time. This portrait and the alterations which have been made to it are indicative of the maligning that took place after Richard's death. According to some scholars (such as Clements R. Markham), the Tudors constructed an unflattering image of Richard deliberately and this particular painting was changed to reflect their portrayal of him.

To start with observations, from the clothing Richard III wears, the viewer would assume that Richard was very wealthy (and as befitting the Duke of Gloucester and later King of England). That much is obvious by looking at the collar of pure gold, pearl ornamentation, cloth of gold filigreed clothing, and ruby hat-brooch set in a rose (a possible nod to the white rose of York, the House of York's insignia). The ruby hat-brooch is important because during this time period rubies were indicative of purity, virtue, and loyalty—an association found in the *Holy Bible's* Proverbs 31:10. The rose was the flower of the Virgin Mary, and is most likely indicative of his loyalty to his family and religion revealed also in his motto: "Loyaulte me lie" or "Loyalty binds me."³

The painting itself, observed without any kind of knowledge of the changes made, shows a grim, determined man.⁴ Richard's copy is in the midst of putting on or taking off a ring—some would assume he is fidgeting, a sign of a nervous and guilty nature. The hard line of the jaw and determined purse of the lips suggest a hardened, ambitious man. The eyes are narrowed in a permanent calculating expression, and his right shoulder is slightly higher than the left, seemingly confirming More's description of a man with a hunched shoulder. The nose is slightly large and a little bulbous, and when combined with thin lips, narrow eyes, and other strong features, makes Richard look a little less than handsome. This portrait shows exactly what a monarch with an unstable claim (like Henry VII) would have wanted it to show: Richard III was a calculating, cold man with great ambition—someone capable

3 Frederick Hepburn, "The Portraiture of Richard III," The Richard III Society, American Branch. http://www.richardiii.net/r3_man_portraits.htm (accessed October 17, 2012), 11-12. *Paragraph numbers listed instead of page numbers.

4 Observe Image 1 of this particular portrait in the Bibliography.



Fig. 1: Copy of contemporary portrait of King Richard III. Image obtained from http://www.richardiii.net/r3_man_portraits.html

of murdering two child-princes and usurping a throne. The changes to the portrait were made deliberately and with forethought. And, judging from dating methods, they were accomplished in the time of the Tudors.⁵

However, analyzing the changes made even further reveals the agenda of the portrait changer: the right shoulder was painted over to be made to look higher than the other by the raising of the gown and collar (as determined by an x-ray analysis of the painting).⁶ Richard's right eye was narrowed dramatically, the nose was slightly enlarged, and the middle line of the mouth was raised—all most likely to give his face a tight and determined quality.⁷ In an analysis of Richard's actions in the portrait, the putting on of the ring, far from making him appear to be fidgeting or nervous, more likely was intended to signify a coronation or wedding ring, therefore symbolizing the act of marriage to his country—the act of being made king of England.⁸ The action itself was not changed, only later interpretations of it. Although the changes made to the painting were slight, they effectively subverted what was most likely the painter's simple original intention: to portray Richard III as a legitimate king.

One of the earliest and most contemporary primary sources is a text by Dominic Mancini, called in English "The Usurpation of Richard the Third," written around the time of Richard's ascendance to the throne of England. It is important to note that Mancini could not speak a word of English. He was an Italian working for Archbishop Angelo Cato, who was no friend to England; therefore Mancini's account must be taken with a grain of salt. For example, a word used to describe Richard's actions are described as "machinations," which he used to attain the "high degree of kingship."⁹ The word *machinations* implies forethought and unsavory scheming. Mancini states "high de-

5 Hepburn, "Portraiture," 4.

6 Ibid. 5.

7 Ibid. 5.

8 Ibid. 14.

9 Dominic Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard the Third: Dominicus Mancinus ad Angelum Catonem de occupatione Regni Anglie per Ricardum Tercium libellus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 9.

gree of kingship” almost as if to hint that it was a degree too high for Richard III, and therefore he had reached above himself.¹⁰ Mancini also accuses Richard of “ambition” and “lust for power.”¹¹ He is fair enough to mention that Richard felt pressured by the “ignoble family of the queen” and their “affronts.”¹² However, Mancini’s positive comments or the positive comments of other sources are not the focus here, but their blackening ones.

In the same vein of this blackening process, by only the very last sentence of Mancini’s introduction, he states that after being named protector of this Edward IV’s children and realm, Richard “destroyed Edward’s children and, then claimed for himself the throne” and reports later that “already there was a suspicion that he had been done away with.”¹³ These statements are possibly damning coming from a contemporary source, but because Mancini *never* states his evidence, they cannot be taken for fact. To his credit, Mancini does admit that “Whether, however, he has been done away with, and by what manner of death, so far I have not at all discovered.”¹⁴ He never did, and the disappearance of those two princes is still a mystery, although some (like historian Alison Weir), lay the blame at Richard III’s door, and this contributes to his continuing bad reputation.

The Croyland Chronicles is a slightly more reliable source, although the author of these contemporary chronicles are unknown. A high-standing courtier at Richard’s court with a good understanding of its inner workings is suspected to have written it, or perhaps monks. *The Croyland Chronicles* is an impressive chronological history in its de-

tailed knowledge, but as always the side-comments are revealing in their bias. One charge laid upon Richard’s door was the execution of “[t]he three strongest supporters” of the young king: Lord Hastings, John, Bishop of Ely, and Thomas Archbishop of York, whom he had “removed without judgment or justice.”¹⁵ In this the chronicler must be relied upon, as other sources have documented the swift beheading of Hastings, but the truth of the situation can not be known without further evidence (which is lacking). This charge made by the chronicler and any negative charge made by a source is important because it does not show Richard in a flattering light but rather contributes to the less-than-savoury image that plagues Richard III today.

Neither does the chronicler’s description of Richard’s path of ascension to the throne of England as “seditious and disgraceful” and the bloodshed he lays at his door¹⁶. The chronicler adds the deaths of a few others at Richard’s feet as the shedding of “innocent blood.”¹⁷ The particular word choice in saying that Richard was “styled” King Richard III after his “[c]onquest” makes the chronicler’s negative opinion of Richard quite clear.¹⁸ According to the chronicler, Richard threw large feasts with the sole purpose of “gaining the affections of the people” and also confiscated all his brother Edward IV’s treasures.¹⁹ These allegations make Richard sound scheming and despicable. However, it was a common practice of the time to throw a banquet after a royal coronation and, unless entailed, the royal possessions belonged to the successor by right. In fact, Henry Tudor also threw banquets and took possession of the royal coffers—the only distinction is that he did so after brutally *killing* the former king. An interesting side note is that the chronicler is one of the first to say that Buckingham, as a justification for plotting a treasonous rebellion, was a participant in spreading

10 The translation itself refers repeatedly to his having “usurped the kingdom,” which would indicate that Mancini and those he was writing for deemed Richard not a lawful king, but rather a usurper (Mancini, 59). However, upon looking at the Latin translation, the word used throughout is *occupavit* or *occupatione* which translates directly to occupation, not usurpation, as translated in the title; occupation has a more objective, literal meaning.

11 Mancini, *Usurpation*, 61.

12 Ibid. 61.

13 Ibid. 93.

14 Ibid. 93.

15 Anonymous, *The Croyland Chronicle Parts VII-VIII*, The Richard III Society, American Branch. <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/croyland/croy7.html> (accessed December 9th, 2012) Part VII: 19. *Paragraph numbers listed instead of page numbers.

16 Ibid. 21.

17 Ibid. 22.

18 Anonymous, *Chronicles*, Part VIII, 1.

19 Ibid. 2.

a rumor at this time that the Princes in the Tower “had died a violent death, but it was uncertain how.”²⁰ This statement combined with a similar one by Mancini suggests that the seeds used to decimate Richard’s reputation may have possibly been planted *before* his death, and at the hands of a former ambitious ally.

Robert Fabyan’s *The Concourdance of Hystories* was published in 1516 during the reign of King Henry VIII. Fabyan subtly damns—almost each and every sentence hints at Richard’s dark intentions. All of his good actions are disregarded (as they were in Mancini’s history *and* the chronicler’s) and Richard’s evil intentions are emphasized. The words are colored with intimations of what Fabyan wants the reader to assume will be Richard’s later actions—murdering the princes and taking the throne.

The first hint of this foreshadowing is Fabyan’s description of Richard III’s men, who were quite dramatically “al clad in blacke.”²¹ Everything Richard does is in the “furthering of his purpose and end intent.”²² Hastings, according to Fabyan, was executed because he “would not assent unto [Richard’s] wicked intent.” As for what happened to the princes, Fabyan’s insinuation is more than clear with these words: “the prince or of right kinge Edwarde the .v. with his brother the duke of York were put under sure keeping within the towre, in suche wyse that thei neuer came abrode after.”²³ In other words, the princes went into the Tower, never to come out. That *is* true. He goes further, however, in asserting that Richard’s murder of the princes was common knowledge (“the common fame went that kyng Richard had within the Towre put unto secrete death the twoo soonnes of his brother Edwarde the .iiii.”) and that it was this that caused the Duke of Buckingham to rise up against him later (also suggested in *The Croyland Chronicles*).²⁴ It was this “common fame” that blackened Richard’s name irreversibly.

20 Ibid. 4.

21 Raphael Fabyan, *The Concordeance of Hystories, The Richard III Society*, American Branch. <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/fabyan/Fabyan.html> (accessed October 8th, 2012): 513.

22 Ibid. 514.

23 Ibid. 515.

24 Ibid. 516.

Thomas More’s *History of Richard the Third* is the most vehement account of Richard’s guilt and likely played the largest role in his vilification. It is also the most melodramatic and unbelievable. More goes to immense effort to portray King Richard III as the worst of men, even starting with his birth, about which More writes that Richard was born “feete forward,” being an abomination to nature, for “nature chaunged her course in hys beginninge”—a pattern that was later continued in his unnatural doings.²⁵ Thomas More spends paragraphs listing unflattering adjectives to paint a picture of Richard III, whom he did not know personally but describes most vividly as “close and secrete, a deepe dissimuler, lowlye, of counteynaunce, arrogant of heart, outwardly coumpinable where he inwardely hated, not letting to kisse whome hee thoughte to kyll: dispitious and cruell.”²⁶ The list goes on indeterminably. It is More who builds the Richard that Shakespeare caricatures in the *Tragedy of King Richard III* as it is More’s physical description that shows up in Shakespearean and later works such as the Royal Collection painting: “little of stature, ill fetured of limmes, croke backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, hard fauoured of visage, and suche as is in states called warlye.”²⁷

As for the supposed murders of the Princes, he depicts Richard as a merciless, ambitious, cruel killer with not one single virtue to his name and takes particular care in his description—describing a compelling murder scene with surprising detail. The supposed murderers (appointed by Richard) killed the children by “force the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto their mouthes” until they suffocated.²⁸ More is unbelievable on every count, especially because he never states his sources. However, being a martyr, More’s testimony was widely accepted and most likely served as a basis for a number of other writings over the next centuries.

Two additional histories by Polydore Virgil and Raphael Holinshed followed in the same vein as More’s same outrageous tale, and

25 Thomas More, *History of King Richard III* (London: University Press, 1883), Google Web edition: 6.

26 Ibid. 6.

27 Ibid. 5.

28 Ibid. 84.

most likely used those such as More as sources. Virgil's so-called "history" is laughable, as Virgil casts Richard early on as the aggressor—the Queen Elizabeth in his tale flees to take sanctuary, dramatically fearing for herself and her children.²⁹ Not to mention the supposed excerpts from Richard himself, which read more like purely fabricated soliloquies in a stage drama. According to Virgil, Richard addressed the nobility with slimy but eloquent skill: "for I am determynyd to do nothing without your authorityes..."³⁰ Virgil's ambitious and terrifyingly charismatic orator masks a cold-blooded child-murderer. However, none of what he says can be taken as truth when the phony dialogue is taken into account (similar to More's). Also important to consider is that Polydore Virgil's patron was King Henry VII himself. Despite these factors, Virgil's chilling portrayal of Richard became his common image.

Raphael Holinshed's history is not much better. This is unsurprising, because Holinshed himself followed the Tudor habit by taking inspiration from Virgil and More's accounts of Richard III, and Shakespeare—according to later-discussed historian David Hipshon—only copied Raphael Holinshed, in one long vicious cycle.³¹ It seems as if after More, no one made any attempt to discover the truth about the Princes' disappearance, and instead relied upon the sainted Thomas More's unquestioned word that Richard had had the brothers killed. This is apparent, because quite early on Holinshed claims that Edward V was "shamfullie by his vnclle slaine."³² The actual description of the murders is unimportant, because Holinshed recounts More's rendition nearly verbatim, down to the "they gaue vnto God their innocente foules into the ioyes of Heauen" addition, an obvious ploy to gain the

29 Polydore Virgil, *Anglica Historia*, Books 23-25. The Richard III Society, American Branch. <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/polydore.html> (accessed December 9th, 2012), 175

30 Ibid. 176.

31 David Hipshon, *Richard III* (London: Routledge, 2011), 212.

32 Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. The Holinshed Project. <http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/texts> (accessed December 10th, 2012),

readers' sympathy.³³ However, Holinshed even goes as far as to mock Richard. According to Holinshed, when Richard gave orders for the bodies of the two boys to be moved to a better place, Holinshed quips "Loe the honorable courage of a King."³⁴ That sentence in itself is effectively damaging, because it emphasizes the irony of murdering one's own nephews and then caring about where they were buried.

With the prevalence of such a mocking and iniquitous portrayal of Richard III in circulation, it isn't truly any surprise that Shakespeare wrote the play he did. The surprise is that the popular cultural image of King Richard III that the play generated is still the dominating concept people have of Richard III. After all, when "Richard III" is put into a library search engine, the first results that pop up are Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Richard III* and books about the same. Some of the play's most famous lines are among the most damaging ones, perhaps because—written mostly in iambic pentameter—the lines stay in people's minds (refer back to "My kingdom for a horse").

Shakespeare's physical depiction of Richard as "deformed" and "lame" has been a little too memorable.³⁵ No one seems to consider the fact that if Richard had borne the physical deformities that Shakespeare described, he would never have been able to lift a sword from the period, much less been able to achieve his purported prowess in battle. Perhaps what makes Shakespeare's Richard III so memorable is that Shakespeare's villain has a conscience. For example, Richard's nightmares of his purported victims: "O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me! What do I fear? Myself?"³⁶ Or his humanizing self hate, "Alas, I rather hate myself."³⁷ However, probably the only accurate thing Shakespeare wrote was "every tale condemns me for a villain," with the irony being that it is Shakespeare's tale to this day that condemns Richard III most of all.³⁸

More important than the sometimes unoriginal histories of Rich-

33 Ibid. 1385.

34 Ibid. 1385.

35 Shakespeare, *Richard III*, 9.

36 Ibid. 287.

37 Ibid. 287.

38 Ibid. 287.

ard III, or even Shakespeare's piece of literature, is this question: would any historian after the time of Richard have been able to find the truth even if he tried? Especially if only records such as More's existed, and if they were living under the reign of the conquering family of Tudors? This dynamic is something a few historians have addressed, such as Alice Hanham and more recently David Hipshon. In fact, many historians in the last century (with a few exceptions)³⁹ would agree that Richard's image has been morphed and twisted; to what degree and by whom is a subject of debate. The following historians write over a period of more than a hundred years from 1891 (Clement Markham) to 2011 (David Hipshon), with varying theories concerning the development and vilification of Richard III's reputation and image.

Clements Markham, one of the earliest historians under review, wrote "Richard III: A Doubtful Verdict Reviewed" in 1891. Markham uses a process of introduction and elimination to make his points, examining some of the first historians (or chroniclers) of Richard III and evaluating each in turn, usually quite harshly. Markham's sympathy for Richard III is apparent in his statement that the usurping Tudor Henry VII, who essentially killed Richard III on the field of Bosworth in 1485, had no legitimate claim to the throne.⁴⁰ It was a necessity of Henry VII's position that he should lay serious charges at Richard III's feet.⁴¹ Before Markham begins on his anti-Tudor tirade, he makes it apparent that he believes Henry VII is responsible for Richard's bad reputation. But through what means did Henry VII bring charges against Richard?

Markham believes that Henry VII used other people, mainly historians working for Tudors, to besmirch Richard III's name. The authors Henry VII employed were prone to pandering (as was often the case with those employed by royalty).⁴² Andre, Morton, and Virgil were

39 Example: Alison Weir, Desmond Seward, and A.J. Pollard are all modern-day scholars who conform to the traditionalist view that Richard III was exactly as Thomas More depicted him.

40 Clements R. Markham, "Richard III: A Doubtful Verdict Reviewed," *The English Historical Review* 6, no. 22 (1891): 250.

41 Markham, "A Doubtful Verdict," 250.

42 Ibid. 250.

just a few paid or directly influenced by Henry VII: Tudor writings are far from unbiased. Even the *Croyland Chronicles* writer, whose name is not known, carries a bias despite his or her nonpartisan position and the fact that he or she did not write the *Chronicles* with the intent of publishing them.⁴³ On the other hand, John Rous and Bernard André (appointed poet laureate and historiographer to Henry VII) were blatantly malicious. Markham has nothing good to say about Virgil either, accusing him of being spiteful and misrepresenting facts to please his patrons.⁴⁴

Markham's most vicious criticism is reserved for one Archbishop Morton, who deeply despised Richard III—most likely because of his lack of advancement in Richard's court. It is Archbishop Morton, Markham insists, who most likely wrote Thomas More's "History of Richard III." More merely copied it down.⁴⁵ More lived in Morton's household for a time when he was young. This is a serious assertion because, as Markham wisely states, the *History of Richard III* was only taken for truth and respected because it was assumed that More was the author.⁴⁶ Belief in the alleged crimes of Richard III was partly based on the assumption that the accuser was the martyred and saintly Sir Thomas More. It does not help Richard's situation that Henry VII had no problem with paying those who were willing to write against Richard. Henry VII destroyed all documentation that would create a favorable image for Richard and had enough power to quiet all who would say otherwise.⁴⁷ And so Richard's image was changed to suit that of a murderer. Even his birth—entering the world with a full set of teeth, hair down to his shoulders, and one shoulder higher than the other—was ludicrously distorted to indicate an evil and unnatural disposition. The damage done by Henry VII was permanent.

Perhaps Markham's biggest flaw in his spirited defense of Richard is that he is exactly that—too spirited—and therefore seems to have not even attempted to remain unbiased. He makes enormous,

43 Ibid. 251.

44 Ibid. 254.

45 Ibid. 253.

46 Ibid. 253.

47 Ibid. 250.

unsupported claims against Morton, arguing that he sent Hastings and Buckingham to their deaths (they were put to death by Richard III for treason) after being complicit in treason with them and that he spurred Henry Tudor to take the throne. His assertion that most of this blackening occurred in the time of the Tudors and after Richard's death is most likely false when one considers primary source Dominic Mancini's testimony of the rumors already circulating during Richard's reign. However, Markham's general idea that King Henry VII had the means to change history by destroying documents and paying others to rewrite it is both powerful and possible.

Paul Kendall's *Richard the Third* was written half a century later in 1955, and is one of the more widely referred to Ricardian texts for its rational logic and unbiased approach. In his book, Kendall approaches Richard III without an agenda, and in his appendixes he rejects stark black or white views of the king. Richard's reputation truly began with what Kendall refers to as the "Tudor myth," largely contributed to in Henry VIII's reign but started initially in Henry VII's with John Rous, Bernard André, Robert Fabyan, and Philippe de Commynes.⁴⁸ Rous of course began the myth that Richard was born with a full set of teeth and long hair after being in his mother's stomach for two long years. Rous and André were both under the patronage of Henry VII and only contributed in deepening Richard's villainy. Kendall does not need to state how ridiculous André's rendering of Richard III as a blood-thirsty monster from birth and the saintly contrast of Henry VII; he makes his opinion clear of these early Richard-writers through context. To Kendall, Rous, André, and Fabyan don't contribute much at all, Commynes contributed a little but only through the influence his work had on other more important writers such as Edward Hall.⁴⁹

The *real* Tudor tradition began with Sir Thomas More. Similar to Markham, Kendall suggests that More's *The History of Richard III* was based largely from information Cardinal John Morton gave. Regardless of More's inaccuracies, his work has served as a basis for the enduring and popular portrayal of Richard today.⁵⁰

Anthony Cheetham in his *The Life and Times of Richard III*, written 1972, has very little to say about Richard's vilification, what he does say is quite clear. Interestingly enough to Cheetham, the Tudors can be thanked for Richard's lasting fame and controversy. Cheetham says in his writing that because the Tudors were so insecure, they were the gullible victims of pandering which they particularly enjoyed in the form of "propagandists" who vilified Richard in their favor.⁵¹ The first man in their employ was John Rous, who changed his game from intense flattery of Richard III during his reign to extreme criticism and inventive physical description (mentioned previously) in favor of his new patrons, the Tudors.

Like Kendall, Cheetham agrees that by-far the most influential of these maligners was Sir Thomas More. Cheetham's opinion diverges from Kendall's in that he thinks that More's version of Richard does not stem from a particular desire to please a patron, but rather from a deep dislike.⁵² Cheetham does not speculate on where this dislike originated from. In analysis, considering that More spent paragraphs libeling Richard with numerous offensive adjectives, More's feelings (or whoever truly wrote it), definitely went beyond dislike and into the realm of vendetta-fueled hatred, although where this vendetta came from is unclear. Besides mentioning Virgil's contribution quite shortly, Cheetham has no additional insightful observations on the matter.

Alison Hanham's *Richard III and his Early Historians 1483-1535*, written in 1975, does offer a few fresh observations. Her approach is a literary one in which she tries to evaluate Richard through his treatment by other historians. However, Hanham does have a tendency (opposite of Markham's) to favor obviously discreditable sources which she uses as creditable, as Hanham says that Ricardians or Richard admirers have not found believable sources.⁵³ In criticism, it could also be said vice versa—that haters of Richard have not yet found any believable sources either.

To give Hanham credit, she at least admits that Virgil and More

48 Paul Kendall, *Richard the Third* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1955), 498.

49 Ibid. 498.

50 Ibid. 501.

51 Anthony Cheetham, *The Life and Times of Richard III* (New York: Shooting Star Press, 1972), 198.

52 Ibid. 201.

53 Alison Hanham, *Richard III and his Early Historians 1483-1535* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 1.

cannot be followed completely because their works fall exceptionally short of what Hanham describes as modern standards of history.⁵⁴ Mancini's work and the *Croyland Chronicles* were poor works as well in that they did not take advantage of the possible advantages of the unbiased position of bystander.

What is most thought provoking is Hanham's statement that in the case of Richard III there are so few documentary sources, which causes the controversy surrounding the two-year monarch.⁵⁵ There are only two useful private letters that shed light on Richard. According to Hanham, it is due to this very often misleading clarity that the truth is often hard to make out, as it was for the Tudors, whose twisting of truth was not actually due to spiteful intentions but truly caused by lack of information.⁵⁶

Markham might respond to this by saying that the lack of information is the Tudors' fault, as they destroyed the documents. However, Markham and Hanham would agree that one of the greatest influences that blackened Richard's name was the dispersion of rumors concerning the disappearance of the princes in the Tower, both his nephews.⁵⁷ This most likely happened because the Tudors did not distinguish between rumors and bona fide sources in their historical writings; therefore, truth became an arbitrary thing controlled by the writer.⁵⁸ Tudor writers enjoyed and often acted upon their understanding and desire to be good storytellers.⁵⁹

Charles Ross, author of *Richard III*, would agree with Hanham that Tudor propaganda is not solely responsible from what is continually referred to by historians as the "Tudor Tradition."⁶⁰ However, he does point the finger first and foremost at Shakespeare for Richard's

villainous image because he popularized a full century's worth of Tudor abuse, making Richard III the iconic prototype villain.⁶¹ Although a great deal of slander was done after his death, such as by Rous, he focuses on other participants. Thomas More and Polydore Virgil he pairs together as identical builders, along with Edward Hall (who according to Ross), copied More and Virgil.⁶² However, Ross gives Virgil more credit than he perhaps deserves, writing that Virgil could not manage to be unbiased considering his position as a Tudor employee.⁶³ Virgil's work, he insists, is of much more value to modern historians because More's work is impeded by his literary ego and his history's unfinished status.⁶⁴ Overall, Tudor writers merely creatively exaggerated the facts.⁶⁵

Sharon Michalove's "The Reinvention of Richard III" shares several distinctly similar themes with Charles Ross. For example, her emphasis on the legacy of Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Richard III* on Richard's image. Richard's image has been reinvented continually, and the image still remains unclear.⁶⁶ His first reinvention was when he progressed from Lord Protector to King of England. The most powerful reinvention of him in popular culture, however, was created by Shakespeare. Shakespeare's appeal to the general populace is what has led to the repetitious recreation of Richard's image over five hundred

54 Hanham, *Early Historians*, 30.

55 Ibid. 30.

56 Ibid. 30-31, 192.

57 Ibid. 192.

58 Ibid. 193.

59 Ibid. 194.

60 Charles Ross, *Richard III* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), xxi.

61 Ibid. xix.

62 Ibid. xxii.

63 Ibid. xxiii.

64 Ibid. xxvii.

65 Ibid. xxxiv.

66 Michalove's is an article that was published in the December 1995 issue of the *Ricardian Journal*. However, the physical copy is almost impossible to lie hands on, and the only other available copy is online the Richard III society site and is without numbers. Instead, I have listed paragraph numbers as reference.

67 Sharon D. Michalove, "Richard III Society: Michalove, Reinvention," Richard III Society, American Branch. <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/mlove1.html> (accessed November 19th, 2012): 1.

years—a process that is still in motion.⁶⁸ Michalove says Shakespeare's portrayal of Richard III is unrelentingly evil and most certainly not accurate, and yet it is this portrait that has endured.⁶⁹ This was all a part of Tudor propaganda. Henry Tudor wanted to destroy his opposition's reputation, and yet, according to Michalove, it backfired because although the truth of Richard's character will never be known, his goodness or depravity is still debated while Henry Tudor's less-than-flattering persona as a greedy miser is not in question.⁷⁰

Similarly to Markham, Michalove claims that Richard III's real reinvention occurred after his death on Bosworth field on the 22nd of August, 1485.⁷¹ All three would agree on Thomas More's unsavory character. In her paper, Michalove also agrees that the only reason More was given credibility was due to his educated past, status as a martyr, and first-hand account since he was supposedly living at the same time as Richard III (which, as he was only seven years old when Richard was killed in 1485, is an exaggeration—his story is very much derived from Richard III's enemies).⁷² Also an interesting assertion not truly considered by either Hanham or Markham is the thought of *what-if*. Michalove considers what would have happened had Stanley not betrayed Richard III on the battlefield: Richard III would have won, and the image that exists today would be very different.⁷³ Michalove correctly observes that when it comes to propaganda, the winner has the upper hand.⁷⁴

John Ashdown-Hill, in the same line of thought as Markham's, bluntly states in *The Last Days of Richard III* that Henry VII cannot be trusted with his track record of dishonesty, and that he also blatantly

altered history in order to nullify Richard's claim to the throne.⁷⁵ Henry VII's reign was a combination of oxymorons in that he acknowledged Edward IV as a rightful ruler and predecessor and vilified Richard as a wicked usurper, but at the same time had to acknowledge Richard's rule in order to make the crown he had taken a real one.⁷⁶ When Henry VII was feeling especially unsure of his throne after threats from the pretender Perkin Warbeck, he secured James Tyrell's (a supposed murderer of the Princes) alleged confession concerning the deaths of the two little Princes and Richard's hand in it, thereby securing his throne with their documented deaths and irreversibly damning Richard in one stroke.⁷⁷ Ashdown-Hill's most interesting opinion is that because the truth hasn't been made clear through conflicting arguments by historians, a new avenue must be tried (for example, more recently, by utilizing the DNA of the members of the House of York).⁷⁸ Among this set of historians and possibly all others on this subject, this evaluation from Ashdown-Hill is one of a kind.

David Hipshon, the most recent of the discussed of the historians, would most likely agree with Michalove's statement concerning winners having the upper hand. *Richard III* examines different aspects of Richard's life and world to assess the role each may have played in forming him. Hipshon is plain: the real truth cannot be known, because documents are so few.⁷⁹ Perhaps central to his entire view is his statement that it is the humongous abysses in evidence, pertinent lack of speech considering the specifics, as well as lack of creditable support that hold modern day historians back concerning Richard III. Not to mention the fact that the small amount of evidence that exists is corrupted and can only be used with caution.⁸⁰ This has led to the controversy with the myriad disagreeing interpretations and the lack of evidence for motives that is crucial to understanding Richard's usur-

68 Michalove, "Reinvention," 4.

69 Ibid. 4.

70 Ibid. 5.

71 Ibid. 12.

72 Ibid. 13.

73 Ibid. 12.

74 Ibid. 19.

75 John Ashdown-Hill, *The Last Days of Richard III* (Great Britain: The History Press, 2010), 110.

76 Ibid. 110-111.

77 Ibid. 111.

78 Ibid. 112.

79 David Hipshon, *Richard III* (London: Routledge, 2011), 17.

80 Hipshon, *Richard III*, 17.

pation.⁸¹ This perspective is very similar to Hanham's view, although Hipshon does not believe that the Tudor writers were innocent or did not intend malice.

Hipshon mourns that Shakespeare's account is the most popular analysis, which is tragic because Shakespeare's depiction is false literary fiction.⁸² Renaissance authors were more concerned with what made a good story and the literary aspects and the morals thereof than tangible facts (something that Hanham suggested).⁸³ The majority of the other writers Hipshon dismisses, because they are guilty of sycophantic pandering. Most were writing for their own advancement and material gain.⁸⁴

Where Hipshon takes a more memorable stand is where he takes a look at the what-if—like Michalove, but in more detail. Hipshon writes something quite powerful in this line of thought in the realm of Richard not only being killed physically at Bosworth, but also his spirit and his reputation. He died as a man betrayed by his enemies although surrounded even in death by loyal friends.⁸⁵ After his death, Hipshon writes, Richard's Tudor successors then proceeded to preside over Richard's disgraceful assassination of character. Nothing was left by previous chroniclers about him that was good, which would have made it difficult for more forgiving Tudors to liberate him. However, he was not liberated; his death ensured his controversy and obliterated any vindication he may have later won.⁸⁶

Even Hanham—perhaps the most Tudor-leaning of the writers—acknowledged along with Markham, Michalove, and Hipshon that Richard III's current reputation is unfair and undeserved. Shakespeare, Thomas More, and Virgil are thoroughly discredited by all four. What can be agreed upon is that *there are no reliable sources*. In their small differences of opinion, and other larger differences of opinion throughout this subject, Ashdown-Hill, Hanham, and Hipshon are right in that

there is no clear evidence, and therefore no clear conclusion. The lack of sources and abundance of prejudice makes constructing a real image of Richard III in his life exceptionally hard, maybe even impossible. By the time Holinshed wrote his record in the late 1500s, there was no semblance of true history left, and what historians are left with now from this one hundred year period (such as Virgil and Holinshed) are more like imaginative historical dramas. There are not enough creditable documents to determine an accurate image of Richard III, and all positive or useful documents undoubtedly were destroyed. The fact that within twenty years of the Battle of Bosworth, exaggerated and spiteful histories were already popping up with no cited sources suggests that there *were no sources*. The truth could not have been written by Tudor writers most likely because of this, and because they were victims of their time period.

From analyzing the primary documents and reading the secondary interpretations it can be concluded that there is no way to ever state for sure whether Richard was one way or another, but to be sure, he cannot have been both the chilling villain and the good king, as both portrayals are such contradictory opposites of one another that two such clearly different men could not have been the same person. Richard was definitely not a saint either; however, a certain amount of brutality among kings was needful to keep order. An example of this is when Edward IV put Henry VI to death, but this action didn't mar his image as a jovial womanizer. The one thing that is certain about Richard III, judging from the primary sources and lack thereof, is that his true personality and reign has been so far twisted—even during his lifetime—that a clear truth cannot be discerned.

For this reason, Richard III will continue to allure historians. Historians will never escape their own biases, according to Michalove, although they will try. Was Richard the betrayer or the betrayed?⁸⁷ Hipshon and Hanham would say it will never be known, although people will continue to try. Ashdown-Hill says perspective might be gained by taking the new and untried road of science. None of this can detract from the fact that although there was damaging speculation about the Princes while Richard was alive, it was the Tudors who so drastically distorted Richard's image through various means so that, five hundred

81 Ibid. 17.

82 Ibid. 208.

83 Ibid. 213.

84 Ibid. 215.

85 Ibid. 209.

86 Ibid. 210.

87 Michalove, "Reinvention," 6.

years later, the first thought of many concerning Richard III is Shakespeare's enduring villain, forever immortalized as an eternal metaphor for evil in his opening lines: "I am determined to prove a villain."⁸⁸

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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FOR FURTHER READING

"Effects of the New Deal on American Politics" by Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 73–80.

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"Bundling: Colonial Courtship's Path of Least Resistance" by Georgia Buchert, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 25–31.

⁸⁸ Shakespeare, *Richard III* Tragedy, 11.

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN VIOLENCE: FROM RACIAL TO GENDER-BASED ATTACKS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

KORI GROSE

THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA IS RIDDLED WITH VIOLENCE FROM ITS very beginnings; from violence between ideologies (religious and political), races, and cultures to violence against gender. No matter the time, type of violence, or outcome, the reason is always the same: to domineer over another; to retain or regain power and control.

Not all violence is necessarily physical in nature. According to Johan Degenaar there are many violatives, or modes of violence. These include physical, psychological, structural, economic, social, political, sexual etc.¹ Different violatives are used throughout the history of South Africa, but all are used in one way or another. This paper will discuss how violence in South Africa has moved from a political and racial nature to a sexist nature and how different violatives have been used to oppress others and gain and retain power within a certain social group.

Violence can be connoted by using various verbs; each of which differentiates the kind and degree of the violence. These verbs can include: harm, fear, maltreat, murder, punish, thwart, wound, rape, fight, and impede². Violence does not merely mean to attack, harm or kill, as when the Zulu Nation attacked, harmed and killed the voortrekkers. Much of the initial violence in South Africa included much subtler verbs such as thwart, ignore, threaten and insult. It is when ten-

1 Degenaar, Johan. *The Concept of Violence*. "Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa by N. Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit. 1990, St. Martin's Press, pg. 74.

2 Ibid..

sions rise, power is desired, and subservience is denied that the violence extends into a higher degree of: punish, wound, murder and mutilate. This type of violence is displayed throughout the 20th century when Whites were trying to keep the African race in a degraded, lower class than they. Retaliation violence occurred often, with many people on both sides killing and dying. One of the most well-known acts of violence is towards the end of apartheid: The shooting at Uitenhage in 1985. This shooting involves all verb representations of violence in one action-packed day.

The township of Soweto (South Western Townships) has a history that most closely illustrates the history of violence across all of South Africa. In Marks Chabedi's journal article "State Power, Violence, Crime and Everyday Life:" he discusses how from Soweto's beginnings in the 1900's, starting after the initiation of the Native (Urban Areas) Act, violence has been part of everyday life in one form or another; first by white oppression, then by retaliation, and now by continuing gangster, sexual, and poverty oppression and violence³. Soweto is one of South Africa's largest cities with between one and two million Africans. Chabedi states:

Soweto emerged largely through forced removals, squatting, and state violence carried out by white men in the name of the state. It became a place where severe oppression and poverty were experienced on a racial and class basis. It also became a township where the flames of resistance were ignited during the struggles of 1976 and beyond, where homes and jobs were scarce and lawlessness prevailed, and where, today, new local authorities are struggling to achieve legitimacy and to exact rent, electricity, and service payments from an unwilling populace. It became a symbol with great resonance in the global arena of anti-apartheid struggles⁴.

Soweto's struggles have been in the spotlight for many years, but it

is only recently that people are connecting the violence and destruction to the troubled history. Violence is not an isolated event but a response to other forms of violence and issues. Soweto, formed by oppression, had its future somewhat laid out before it even began. Retaliation to the separation and oppression led to squatting. Within these squatter groups which at their height had 70,000 to 90,000 participants, bred a very political environment. These groups created a sort of black African state within a white-powered state in which authority was overtaken and run by the black citizens. In fact, many whites refused to enter these states because of the perceived "lawlessness" which in all reality was only lack of white control and authority.

The reaction of the white populace was vicious. In 1948 the apartheid, Nationalist government took over and immediately set out to destroy these black communities because of their danger to society and the well-being of all (most specifically the Afrikaner population).

The push for complete separation and dominion over the black community was desired, but deemed unrealistic. Instead acts were passed that limited where black individuals could work as well as acts which outlawed interracial relationships. These acts, passed within 5 years after apartheid was accepted, set the tone and pace for racial discrimination and subjugation which was to define South Africa for nearly fifty years.

With another forced removal into even more sordid settlements, Africans became even more displeased and united in their anger against 'the whites'. As civic goods were increasingly more scarce and expensive, citizens became more distraught and upset with the white leaders running the show. "The very sense of insecurity promoted by apartheid, coupled with the racist restrictions upon physical and social mobility imposed during the decades of oppression, helped bring into being close-knit local communities of people..." (Chabedi 2003). This bonding experience led people to be more accepting of their fellow citizen's actions against the white government, as shown in the 1976 uprisings of the schoolchildren when school was to be taught in Afrikaans, so students would have to learn yet another language to have any kind of education. They saw it as another tool of suppression and retaliated, with many paying the ultimate price. These uprisings not only fore-

3 Chabedi, Marks. "State Power, Violence, Crime and Everyday Life: a Case Study of Soweto in Post-Apartheid South Africa". *Social Identities* (Carfax Publishing) 9, no 3 (2003): 357-371 (357).

4 Ibid..

shadowed the coming retaliations of the black African nation, but also led to a prideful sense of moral righteousness among the youth. These youths became what we would think of today as “straight-edge”. They took their seen obligation to the moral right to the extreme, which often ended in violent encounters. The youth became so obsessed with politics that they started abusing their own if they suspected them of hindering their cause by informing “the enemy”. Their motto seemed to have become ‘the ends justify the means’ according to their actions. People were afraid to speak against the political youth for fear of being ‘necklaced’ or becoming an enemy of the people⁵. The act of ‘necklacing’ is one of the most well-known acts of violence known across the world and especially to those in Soweto. It was a horrifying branding with fire that was threatening enough to keep most African’s quiet. Now the citizens were oppressed by not only the apartheid government forces, but also by their own politically-charged youth: a generation bred by their own environment. Mpho Mathebula, a former activist explained that violence was a necessity, both morally and strategically that without which the struggle would regrettably not advance.⁶ This skewed view of progress demonstrates the ideologies of much of the world today and also explains that state that the black populations are experiencing today in many townships of South Africa.

When F.R. Buckley visited South Africa in 1979 he reported that Soweto was not lacking materialistically, though most of the citizens lived in hovels, there were hundreds of schools and other civic goods/services. What Soweto was suffering from was Afrikaner racism⁷.

Luckily, the youth activists did not go as far to discriminate against all white people. They recognized that some people of every race and culture supported their cause. Unfortunately, like the Red Scare, suspicion of the motives of others was so rampant that it became dangerous to be associated with immigrants from certain places, to wear political colors, or to be seen in certain parts of town. It was a guilty until

5 Ibid. (359)

6 Ibid. (361)

7 Buckley, F.R. “Another Country: Soweto Visited”. *National Review*, April; 13, 1997; pg 482.

proven innocent environment. Chabedi argues:

...township revolts of the 1980s in Soweto were not just a simple response to oppression and exploitation. It is simply inadequate to say repression led to revolt or to simply say deprivation led to resistance. These rebellions were born of the changing modes of governance and non-governance, of cultural and political configurations, of ideological and social meanings in the townships over the last century.

This point of view is verified by Robert Thornton in his writing; *The Shooting at Uitenhage*, 1985. He agrees that only repression and/or deprivation lead to revolt, but the changes in cultural and ideological contexts also play a part⁸. As the culture changes, so does the significance and view of violence. In this period of time, violence was seen as a mode to gain certain powers that, in their point of view, belonged to them anyway.

Now, against a backdrop of a democratic government, things are not getting much better. Violence is still a part of everyday life and even more rampant than ever. Though citizens had bonded together in the 1980's, that bond was completely broken as criminals destroy all sort of trust in these kinds of communities. Soweto, as well as many communities in South Africa, have citizens resort to crime and violence in order to provide for their families. There is little honest employment in these areas and the criminal life pays the bills and puts food on the table⁹. The crime is only intensified by the increasing accounts of rape and extreme sexual assault in these types of areas. In a 1993 survey, 3 out of every 10 women reported being sexually abused. These numbers are staggering and also provide a valid reason for the rise of HIV/AIDS in these communities.

Because of the past, the current culture in these South African communities is one of male dominance. Men were consistently belittled by other races, and now they have something to prove. They now prove their dominance by controlling the female population. According to a sociological study carried out in 2003, women are more at

risk to contract HIV/AIDS due to their subservience due to financial oppression and frequent counts of sexual assault¹⁰. According to the study, women are frequently oppressed and abused because of the culture of male dominance. Men usually involve themselves with younger women (at least five years their junior) which puts them in a better financial situation and in an 'elder' in relation. Elders are to be respected most dutifully in South Africa, so women feel as though they cannot upset their partner because it would be disrespectful, they would lose their financial backing and their worth is determined on their ability to find and keep a man. Most single women, for this reason, are reluctant or even terrified to suggest the use of a condom when having sexual encounters. Instead, they avoid confrontation and possible abuse all together and knowingly endanger themselves in order to 'keep their man happy.' Women who are married tend to require a condom more often because they feel more stable, even though they know that many men have girlfriends with whom they are sexually active with. These numbers are still depressingly low though despite frequent attempts by nations everywhere, especially the United States, to increase awareness of these vicious diseases. South African's either ignore the facts saying that AIDS really stands for American Intervention to Discourage Sex¹¹, or refuse to comply suspecting that the passing out of free condoms is the government's conspiracy to lower the black birth rate and maintain dominance and control.

HIV/AIDS and other diseases are not the only negative effect of the rampant unprotected sex and sexual violence. That nation's children are also being harmed. Female children are often victims of rape and sexual assault which, according to the study, increase the likelihood of them submitting more willingly to the financial and sexual oppression later on in life. Children and youth across South Africa, especially in black urban communities, are living with no parental financial support and are often raised by grandparents as either their father has left and

8 Thornton, Robert. "The Shooting at Uitenhage, 1985". *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa*, by N. Chabani Manganyi and Andre du Toit, pg 143. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

9 Chabedi, 367.

10 Jewkes, Rachel K., Levin, Jonathan B., Penn-Kekana, Loveday. Gender inequalities, intimate partner violence and HIV preventive practices: findings of a South African cross-sectional Study. "Social Science and Medicine" 56, (2003) pg 125.

11 Chabedi, 368.

has little to no contact, or their mother was a victim of the oppression described earlier or rape. These weakened familial ties combined with an untrusting, negative environment are impacting the development of these children and adolescents, thus taking away most chances for improvement¹².

The past experiences of these people are keeping them from accomplishing a productive future, with many living in poverty and fear. This is extremely detrimental to the communities as a whole because this breeds a culture of not only distrust and fear, but even more violence and each community will eventually implode under the unwillingness and probably the seeming impossibility to change. South Africa is among those developing nations who are not projected to meet poverty goals by 2015. The lack of goal reaching is bound to continue unless major changes are made which is essentially impossible without changing the entire culture of not only the black urban South African community, but the white community as well. Unfortunately, the majority of people in poverty are still black which implies that they still are unable to find proper employment to provide for a family or even themselves. This is most likely because of the lack of education and skills. This lack is in part due to their poverty growing up and the lack of familial ties. It is a vicious cycle which needs to be broken in order to create a flourishing effect and nation for all to live long and prosper in.

12 Richter, Linda M., Panday, Saadhna, Swart, Tanya M., Norris, Shane A. Adolescents in the City: Material and Social Living Conditions in Johannesburg- Soweto, South Africa. "Springer Science + Business Media B.V. Urban Forum" 20 (2009) pg 319.

EINSATZGRUPPEN

KEVIN GARDNER

JUST AS EACH INDIVIDUAL LIFE IS UNIQUE, DIVERGENT, AND COMPLEX TO the whole of society, so too are the individual groups and organization in fighting wars. One such group with its own blend of distinctiveness was the German Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (special-operation units of the Security Police and SD) of World War II. These highly skilled and motivated teams were made-up from Germanys law-enforcement and legal minded individuals who often, used criminals to help them in their murderous activities. The Einsatzgruppen in a very short time became one of the worlds most feared and unlawful groups in history. The purposes of the Einsatzgruppen was to follow the German Army into the Eastern Front during the invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, acting as civil engineers mapping terrain, understanding soil condition, locating tank traps and either securing areas for forward movement or demolition activities, such as bridges and railroad lines to help prevent areas of the enemies potential advance. While the more mundane task is seen as crucial to any army's successful advance in foreign terrain; the Einsatzgruppen left in their wake unheard of and almost incomprehensible trails of murder and mayhem. These bloodied paths were because the Einsatzgruppen's primary task was not combat engineering but rather to kill Jews, Gypsies (Roma Seniti), and Soviet political commissars, along with partisans and institutionalized disabled people in Eastern Europe. To accomplish their barbaric goals the Einsatzgruppen often used the aid of local populations and the direct support of the Wehrmacht.

On 22 June 1941 the invasion of the Soviet Union began, bringing with it not only the horrors of war but a ferocity and magnitude of death never seen before or since because of competing ideologies. Fol-

lowing immediately behind the lines of the whole of the western front of the Soviet Union were four Einsatzgruppen: A Baltic, B Belorussia and central Russia, C Ukraine, D Romania and the Crimea numbering only 3,000–3,200 men and working unspeakable acts of violence and murder. To accomplish their goals they gathered around them local militia that, by the wars end, numbered tens of thousands of co-human butchers. These men were further reinforced by fresh contingents of German personnel – Waffen SS and numerous battalions of armed German police. The speed that the various Einsatzgruppen were able to execute depended on the rapidity that the Army Group, to which they belonged, advanced along with the density of Jewish population that they confronted. From extensive reports and accounts it is known the Einsatzgruppen and their supporters murdered at close range using rifles, pistols, and machine guns with the local helpers often resorting to clubs and pickaxes. To placate these perpetrators alcohol and plunder were often plied with great quantity to help them forget the horrors they were committing.¹

Beginnings of the Einsatzgruppen

The Einsatzgruppen origination was founded in 1939. Heinrich Himmler, who was obsessed with racial purity in Germany was allowed by Adolf Hitler to pursue racial goals with the elimination of Jews and Untermenschen (under men or sub humans). Immediately following the invasion of Poland in 1939 Himmler received total control of the annexed parts of that country. Poland acted as a training ground for these special-operation units of the Security Police; as such Poland was a prelude to greater atrocities that the Einsatzgruppen would commit after Unternehmen Barbarossa (Operation Barbarossa) and the invasion of the Soviet Union. Heinrich Himmler straightaway took steps to strengthen German ethnicity in the occupied territories and to create lebensraum, or living space, for all Germans. Within a year of Nazi occupation of Poland more than one million Poles and 300,000 Jews had been forced out the annexed parts of the country to be replaced

with German settlers.² Himmler created special task forces to deal with the Untermenschen using the SS (Schutzstaffel or Protective Echelon), these were the Einsatzgruppen, and placed them under the command of Reinhard Heydrich, one of the main architects of the holocaust. Heydrich, the Nazi ‘God of Death’ was SS-Obergruppenführer (General) and chief of the Reich Main Security Office including the Gestapo, and Kripo. Heydrich, personified the cruelest aspects of Nazi Germany, yet in August 1940 he was appointed and served as President of Interpol (the international law enforcement agency).³ Heydrich chaired the January 1942 Wannsee Conference, which laid out plans for the final solution to the Jewish Question, known as Aktion Reinhard or Einsatz Reinhard (Operation Reinhard) with the introduction of extermination camps and the deportation and extermination of all Jews, Roma/Sinti and other undesirables in German-occupied territory.⁴

Part of the task of the special units was established in the measures they would need to take to remove these Untermensch. As early as 21 September 1939, three weeks into the invasion of Poland, Reinhard instructed the Einsatzgruppen to observe a distinction between the “final aim” that would take some time, and “the steps necessary for reaching

1 Tooze, Adam. *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. New York, NY: Viking, 2006. p.480–482.

2 BBC Historic Figures *Heinrich Himmler (1900 – 1945)* Available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/himmler_heinrich.shtml Internet; accessed 29 November 2012.

3 Sybil Milton, “Registering Civilians and Aliens in the Second World War,” *Jewish History*, 11, no. 2 (1997): 79-87 see also: Bönisch, Georg, “Reinhard Heydrich Biography: The First In-depth Look at a Nazi ‘God of Death’,” *Spiegel Online International*, September 19, 2011. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/reinhard-heydrich-biography-the-first-in-depth-look-at-a-nazi-god-of-death-a-787747.html> (accessed December 23, 2012).

4 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. “The Holocaust.” Holocaust Encyclopedia., “Operation Reinhard (Einsatz Reinhard).” Last modified 11May2012. Accessed December 23, 2012. <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005195>.

it which can be applied more or less at once.”⁵ These steps simply meant mass murder. However, while some historians may find it irrelevant as to when and who gave the order, it does change the legal decisions handed out at the Nuremberg trials. Rather than finding members of the Einsatzgruppen accomplices to murder for the killing of Jews, it changes them to perpetrators.⁶ Several Einsatzgruppen leaders deceitfully asserted to have received orders before Operation Barbarossa commanding them to murder all Soviet Jews. These false claims were used in an effort to lessen their accountability. According to Alfred Streim, a federal prosecutor and crusading Nazi-hunter, Otto Ohlendorf contended that the “Führer Order” was given in mid-June, at the beginning of Operation Barbarossa. According to Ohlendorf this order was given at a meeting concerning the missions of the Einsatzgruppen by Bruno Heinrich Streckenbach SS-Brigadeführer (Major General). This allegation was made during the Nuremberg Trials, by Ohlendorf. However, the “legalized” murder of these Untermenschen did not exist in writing from before Hitler’s reaction to Stalin’s partisan-warfare instructions in July of 1941.⁷ This defense of an earlier “Führer Order” was given with the understanding that Streckenbach was dead. However, Streckenbach was returned to Germany, having been a prisoner in the Soviet Union until 1955. Streckenbach, denied that he had delivered the order for the Jew’s destruction, “but did not announce this publicly, because colleagues convicted in the Einsatzgruppen trial... begged him not to”⁸ fearing this would return them to prison.

5 Middle Tennessee State University.edu, *The Einsatzgruppen – Mobile Killing Units* Available from <http://frank.mtsu.edu/~baustin/einsatz.html> Internet; accessed 10 October 2012.

6 Streim, Alfred. “The Tasks of the SS Einsatzgruppen, pages 436-454”. Marrus, Michael. *The Nazi Holocaust, Part 3, The “Final Solution”* 1989. p.439.

7 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p. 106.

8 Streim, Alfred. “The Tasks of the SS Einsatzgruppen, pages 436-454”. Marrus, Michael. *The Nazi Holocaust, Part 3, The “Final Solution”* 1989. p.440.

In 1941 Pretzsch, Germany, a town some fifty miles southwest of Berlin, men constituting a portion of the elite guard of the Third Reich took part in secret meetings. Members included the Schutzstaffel (SS criminal division), lower and middle ranking Sicherheitsdienst (SD intelligence service or security police), and members of the Gestapo (the official secret police of Nazi Germany and criminal police). Some of the men from the SS and SD were thought to be too wild by their local commanders for their own rank and file and were passed on to the Pretzsch conference. Along with these men were posted members of the Waffen-SS (Weapons SS or armed SS). Others included high-ranking bureaucrats within the shadowy Reich Main Security Office or Reich Security Main Office, the RSHA, the Reichssicherheitshauptamt these were select-choice men of Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich.⁹ The purpose during May and June meetings of 1941 was to discuss the “work” these men would be involved in. These were no ordinary Wehrmacht soldiers, rather these were men already committed to National Socialist ideology. The members of the Einsatzgruppen readily believed that the Jews and Bolsheviks were one and the same. These Jew-Bolsheviks were the “moral enemy” of the German people and more importantly, the German state. Einsatzgruppen reports often testified to the internalization of Nazi doctrine with such statements as, “The fight against vermin—that is mainly the Jews and Communists,” or “the population of the Baltic countries had suffered very heavily under the government of Bolshevism and Jewry.”¹⁰ The proof of the Einsatzgruppen already established ideology was the murder and bloodshed committed in Poland from 1939 to 1941, but greatly enhanced with Operation Barbarossa and the invasion of the USSR in the summer of 1941.

The job of the German Einsatzgruppen of World War II was to follow the Wehrmacht into Poland and later the Eastern Front with the invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. In Poland

9 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.3.

10 Dawidowicz, Lucy S. *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945*. New York: Bantam Books, 1975. p.125.

“five Einsatzgruppen that Heydrich had organized followed behind the five invading Wehrmacht armies, each group subdivided into four Einsatzkommandos of 100 to 150 men. Sonderkommandos (were ad hoc “special units” formed from various SS offices) and Teilkommandos (sub-unit). These advance cadres were augmented with Order Police battalions. Each of these units wore the insignia of the Totenkopf (skull and bones of a dead man, like the image on a pirates flag).¹¹ The Totenkopf was used fairly pervasively throughout the various German combat forces. The Panzer forces of the German Heer (Army) Panzer units of the Luftwaffe, the Luftwaffe’s 54th, Bomber Wing Kampfgeschwader 54 along with U-boat crewmembers who also wore the deaths head.¹² Along with these men were concentration-camp guard regiments and Waffen-SS, producing a combined SS force approaching twenty thousand men.¹³

These specialized units left a path of death and destruction as they advanced into Eastern Europe and Russian territory. The Einsatzgruppen’s primary task was to kill intelligentsia, priests, educators, and anyone else capable of leading resistance against the German onslaught. The Jews, Gypsies (Roma Sinti), and other groups considered Untermenschen were singled out and eliminated. The Nazis used local populations and direct support of the Landsern, or German common soldier, in order to commit their acts of murder for twisted Aryan ideology and land. The murders in Poland were only a prelude to what was to happen in the east and the Soviet Union.

Before occupying a town, Vorkommando (forward commandos) of the Einsatzgruppen who were in charge of logistics and forward area upkeep, sought out specific knowledge of an area’s transportation means, nearby railroads, roads, paths, and landscape. Observing

the landscape they noted whether the area was hilly or forested. They investigated if the forest was near or far from the villages or towns that contained the undesirables who were soon to be murdered. These Vorkommando checked as to the kind of soil there was, and inquired about the region’s ditches, ravines, anti-tank traps, and other areas that allowed for quick burials of murder victims. All of these investigations and their answers played into whether or not a site would be an effective place for mass killing and cover-up.¹⁴

Later that summer when Hitler met with Göring and other high Reich officials at Wolfschanze (Wolf’s Lair) in East Prussia on 16 July 1941, they discussed Eastern Policy, or more specifically, the Jewish question and lebensraum. Hitler spoke excitedly about partisan-warfare instructions that said in German occupied territories “partisan units must be formed. . .” These partisans should carry the war everywhere blowing up bridges, roads, and communication lines, they must make the “occupied areas intolerable”.¹⁵ In the notes of the meeting kept by

11 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.6.

12 Williamson, Gordon. *Panzer Crewman 1939-45*. Oxford: United Kingdom, 2002. p.29-31.

13 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.3.

14 Desbois, Father Patrick. *The Holocaust By Bullets: A priest’s Journey to Uncover the Truth Behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. p.106. See also Fritz, Stephen G. *Ostkrieg: Hitler’s War of Extermination in the East* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2011. p.258 “In Zamość an initial “test trial” expulsion of Poles was performed in November 1941. In 1942 the official expulsions of Generalplan Ost ended in anti-partisan pacification operations, “Put under the direction of the thuggish and odious Odilo Globocnik, this trial run to sort out the problems involved in the implementation of population policy proved disastrous, as Globocnik’s violent and harsh methods proved exactly the sort of backlash that Frank had feared. In order to make room for German colonists, in November 1942 Globocnik’s men began uprooting over 100,000 people from some three hundred villages in the Zamość region who were to be Germanized and “won back to the German nation”; the remaining children and elderly were sent to “retirement villages,” where they would starve to death; other adults were to replace Jewish forced laborers, who would then be killed; the rest would be sent to the gas chambers at Auschwitz.”

15 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.105.

Party Minister Martin Bormann, Hitler endorsed the vision he shared with Himmler, “Stalin’s partisan order, he pointed out, gave the game away: It enables us to eradicate everyone who opposes us...Naturally, the vast area must be pacified as quickly as possible; the way to do that is to shoot dead anyone who even looks sideways.”¹⁶

The Einsatzgruppen, following the Wehrmacht into the Eastern Front, fulfilled these requirements in their wake of murder and assassination. In their killing fields, the Einsatzgruppen exploited the local populations often using them in helping to dig ditches, bury the dead, or locate Jews to be exterminated. According to Franz Walter Stahlecker head of Einsatzgruppe A, not only was he able to work closely with General Höppner of Tank Group four in pogroms, but Stahlecker was also able to use local groups who acted out on simple instructions. The community often accomplished the destruction of the Jews for the Germans. In Kovno, June 1941, without any German orders, Klimatis, a leader of Lithuanian partisans, started a pogrom where more than 1,500 Jews were murdered and several synagogues were burned to the ground. Wehrmacht units had been briefed and showed complete cooperation in these aktions against the Jews accusing them of supporting the Soviet occupation.¹⁷ Along with the Wehrmacht, Lithuanian nationalists killed hundreds of Jews in Poland and elsewhere. Wehrmacht, Propaganda Companies, PKs operating in the East were ordered to cooperate with the Einsatzgruppen. Cooperation was not restricted to propaganda. “The PKs had various technical means at their disposal that could assist the Einsatzgruppen in carrying out their mission of mass murder. This was part of the Wehrmacht’s logistical assistance for implementing the mass slaughter in the East.”¹⁸

The aktions in September 1942 included members of the Weh-

rmacht, Panzer Group four, Army Group North. A signal company from this Army Group murdered thirty to forty Jews near the tiny Soviet town of Peregruznoe. The murder of the entire Jewish population of Peregruznoe was conducted by “a small group of signal soldiers whose usual military mission was laying and maintaining communication wires between the headquarters of advancing units.”¹⁹ Erwin Garner, a soldier from this unit, summarized the callous attitude towards these murders in his statement made in 1963, “I cannot say today which members of the company rode out when the Jews were shot. I did not investigate this afterwards. I wasn’t interested in this matter. As long as they left me alone.”²⁰ Another member from this group, Herbert Bärmann, testified that, “These people [the shooters] belonged to the circle...that was always on the spot for special tasks.”²¹ This demonstrates a willingness on the common soldiers part to kill undesirables, whoever they might be.

Einsatzgruppe A

While there were five Einsatzgruppen listed alphabetically; A, B, C, D, and E there was also a sixth group called Einsatzkommando Tunis, being located in Tunis, along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea in Northern Africa. Other than Tunis each Einsatzgruppe had sub groups reporting up the chain of command.

Einsatzgruppe A, operated in the Baltic States and through northwestern Russia up to Leningrad from 1941 to 1943. Originally led by Dr. Franz Walter Stahlecker, a double doctorate who died in 1942, Einsatzgruppe A was later commanded by Dr. Heinz Jost from March to September 1942. Jost was a SS-Brigadier General and Major General of Police. He studied law and economics at the Universities of Giessen and Munich. Dr. Humbert Achamer-Piffrader took over Einsatzgruppe A in the northern Soviet Union and the Baltics in 1942–43.

¹⁶ Ibid. p.106.

¹⁷ Klee, Ernst, Willi Dressen, Volker Riess. *The Good Old Days*. New York: The Free Press, 1988. p.27.

¹⁸ Uziel, Daniel. “Wehrmacht Propaganda Troops and the Jews.” *SHOAH Resource Center yadvashem.org*. Available from http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/microsoft%20word%20-%202021.pdf. Internet; accessed 2 December 2012. p.19.

¹⁹ Beorn, Waitman. “Negotiating Murder: A Panzer Signal Company and the Destruction of the Jews of Peregruznoe, 1942.” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 23 no. 2 (2009): 185-213.

²⁰ Ibid. p.198.

²¹ Ibid.

Einsatzgruppe A followed Army Group North and operated in the Baltic States and through northwestern Russia up to Leningrad. Within only about a year, July 1941 to July 1942, this mobile killing unit committed most of its mass murders.²² In the winter of 1941, Stahlecker reported to Berlin that Einsatzgruppe A had murdered some 249,420 Jews. These numbers were meticulously maintained in a report written by SS-Standartenfuehrer (Colonel) Karl Jaeger, known as the “Jaeger Report”, that detailed the murders committed by Einsatzkommandos 8 and 3, attached to Einsatzgruppe A. From July 4, through November 25, 1941, this report described the murder of over 130,000 people in the Vilna-Kaunas area of Lithuania. The report callously proclaimed, “Today I can confirm that our objective, to solve the Jewish problem for Lithuania, has been achieved by EK 3. In Lithuania there are no more Jews, apart from Jewish workers and their families.”²³

However, as late as fall of 1943, the Einsatzgruppen were still participating in the annihilation of the Untermenschen, Jews, Soviet political commissars, and partisans. The Germans labeled partisans and Jews “gangs” so they could justify and cover up their murders all at one time.²⁴ By the spring of 1943, the Einsatzgruppen and Order Police battalions had killed over a million Soviet Jews, tens of thousands of Soviet political commissars, along with thousands of others consisting

of partisans, Roma, and institutionalized disabled persons.²⁵

The Jaeger Report established the fact that “it is clear that the Nazis were not “fighting partisans”, as various Nazi-apologists claim. Jaeger flatly describes how the victims were rounded up, taken into secluded areas, and shot - men, women, and children”.²⁶ Jaeger was not a lawyer and did not need to justify his actions by pretending they were punishments meted out against criminal elements.²⁷ His reports gave dates, places, and victim types such as Jews, Jewesses, Jewish children, Lithuanian or Russian Communist, etc.²⁸ Jaeger also chronicled on the 22 August 1941, under German supervision, that Latvian auxiliaries were charged with emptying a psychiatric hospital killing 544 men, women, and children.²⁹ His statement on 25 November 1941, indicated that the solution to solving the Jewish problem was the wholesale slaughter of human beings, as Jaeger stated earlier that the Jews had been eliminated from Lithuania.³⁰

The Nazis’ ideological war in killing Untermenschen developed

22 Earl, Hilary. *The Nuremberg SS- Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1945-1958: Atrocity, Law, and History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009 p.5.

23 Arad, Yitzhak. *Extract From a Report by Karl Jaeger, Commander Of Einsatzkommando 3, on the Extermination Of Lithuanian Jews, 1941*. SHOAH Resource Center yadvashem.org. Available from http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%202007.pdf. Internet; accessed 20 December 2012.

24 Arad, Yitzhak. *The Einstazgruppen reports*. New York: Holocaust Library, 1989. p.370–371.

25 United States Holocaust Memorial Mesume.Org, Einsatzgruppen (Mobile Killing Units). United States Holocaust Memorial Mesume.Org. Available from <http://www.ushmm.org/museum>. Internet. accessed 18 November 2012.

26 Keren, Daniel; Yale Edeiken; Albrecht Kolthoff; Gord McFee, *The Jaeger Report: A Chronicle of Nazi Mass Murder: One Unit, One Area, Five Months - and 137,000 Victims*. *The Holocaust History Project*. Available from <http://www.holocaust-history.org/works/jaeger-report/htm/intro000.htm>. Internet; accessed 5 November 2012.

27 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.126.

28 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.127.

29 Ibid.

30 Keren, Daniel; Yale Edeiken; Albrecht Kolthoff; Gord McFee, *The Jaeger Report: A Chronicle of Nazi Mass Murder: One Unit, One Area, Five Months - and 137,000 Victims*. *The Holocaust History Project*. Available from <http://www.holocaust-history.org/works/jaeger-report/htm/intro000.htm>. Internet; accessed 3 November 2012.

into a need to assassinate children. Heinrich Himmler, Reichsführer-SS, stated that the killing of children was to prevent “avengers, in the form of their children, to grow up in the midst of our sons and grandsons.” At the same time that Himmler stated this needed to be done, he also acknowledged that murdering children was the most difficult order he had received to that time.³¹ Himmler’s logic was that by killing the children of their victims, the Reich would achieve permanent security. According to this ideology there was a need to murder these possible “avengers”. It needed to be remembered that these children by virtue of their blood were no smaller threat than their parents. This way of thinking alone necessitated their immediate murder. This type of reasoning was communicated to the Einsatzgruppen officers directly responsible for mass killings, as well as to their counterparts in the Order Police.³²

The Need to Follow Orders

According to many accounts there was never a rigid requirement to obey orders to murder Jews and civilians. In a statement by teleprinter engineer Kiebach of Einstzgruppe C, during the massacre at Rovno on 6 November 1941, he said that after shooting five people he became ill and could not shoot anymore people so a private, or lance-corporal from the Wehrmacht, took his carbine and took his place continuing to murder Jews. According to Kiebach he was never reprimanded, but was laughed at instead.³³ According to an anonymous SS-Hauptscharführer and Kriminalangestellter (head SS-squad leader),

When the executions of the Jewish population started in an organized way, people in our branch were saying that no one was obliged to take part in a shooting if he could not reconcile it with his conscience. Allegedly there was an order by Reichsfürer SS Himmler to the effect that no one could be forced to participate in a shooting... I was cer-

tainly aware of such an order issued by the Reichsfürer SS although I never saw anything in writing about it.³⁴

Another squad leader SS-Scharführere and Kriminal Assistant from the Grenzpolizeikommissariat (General Government) testified that he carried out orders, not because he was afraid of execution or even punishment, but rather he did not want to be seen in a “bad light” and his chances at receiving future promotions being ruined.³⁵ Still another member of Einsatzgruppe A stated,

I clearly remember seeing the first Einsatz orders in these secret Reich papers...One of the first Einsatz orders also gave instructions to treat any Jews that were encountered as enemies of the state, to concentrate them into ghettos and camps, to resettle them periodically and to subject them to a Sonderbehandlung [Special treatment]. The orders for the third and fourth Einsatz were particularly important because they gave instructions for members of the local population to be used to carry out the actual dirty work, to which end special units should be set up. The purpose of this measure was to preserve the psychological equilibrium of our own people...”³⁶

These few statements clearly indicate that there was never a rigid requirement to obey orders to murder Jews and civilians, but rather soldiers who willingly killed those deemed less than human.

Help in Killing

Because of the magnitude of the killing involved in Operation Barbarossa, in the early summer of 1941, it should be self-evident that the Einsatzgruppen could not have executed their work on their own. To many, “It may sound good, but it is simply not true (and indicates an ignorance of the Holocaust’s outlines in general) to say that the Nazis were met with eager local collaboration nowhere but in Hungary. Government organizations in Slovakia, the Netherlands, and France were active participants in the deportations, not to men-

31 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.113.

32 Ibid.

33 Klee, Ernst, Willi Dressen, Volker Riess. *The Good Old Days*. New York: The Free Press, 1988. p.62.

34 Ibid. p.80.

35 Ibid. p.78.

36 Ibid. p.81.

tion the Rumanians' own massacre that resulted in 250,000 dead or the frequent volunteering for SS units killing Jews seen in Ukraine and the Baltics."³⁷ Often with instigation and encouragement the Germans were able to carry out pogroms that killed thousands. In Lithuania there had been nearly 500 pogroms before Nazis began their more systematic massacres of Jews.³⁸ Similar behavior happened in the Ukraine. In Dobromil, the synagogue was burned down. At Krmenets, 130 Jews were clubbed to death by their fellow citizens. As these pogroms mounted, Einsatzgruppe A reported that, "in the self-cleansing actions in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia over 20,000 communist and Jews were liquidated".³⁹ It was not only military, auxiliary military, and police units that perpetrated the murders; they were also conducted by local populations.

The greed, sadism, and hatred of neighbors contributed to these brutal acts recorded by survivor Sara Gleykh who wrote in her diary, "the neighbors waited like vultures for us to leave the apartment." It wasn't just for clothing, furniture and the shelter, but they wanted the Jews dead.⁴⁰ This type of activity is perhaps best portrayed in *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* by Jan T. Gross. According to one witness Julia Sokoloska, a Polish cook, did not see any Germans beating the Jews where over one and a half thousand Jews were murdered. Sokoloska claimed that the Germans had brought three Jewish women into where she worked and had them locked up for their protection and was ordered to feed them.⁴¹ "In the daily summery reports of the Einsatzgruppen's activities from the Eastern Front, where such information would have been included,

37 Kadar, Gabor & Zoltan Vagi . *Self-financing genocide The Gold Train, the Becher Case and the Wealth of Hungarian Jews*. New York: Central European University Press, 2004. p.369.

38 Rubenstein, Joshua & Ilya Altman. *The Unknown Black Book*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008. p.12.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid p.13.

41 Gross, Jan T. *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001. p.80.

Jedwabne is not mentioned."⁴²

Along with the actions of the local populations in the murders of Jews and other Untermenschen, these measures enlisted the help of the German army. In the field, the Einsatzgruppen were authorized to ask for personnel assistance from the Wehrmacht, which, upon request, invariably supplied the needed men.⁴³ In testimony given during the Nuremberg Trials, SS-Gruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf stated that the army was to give support to the mass murder of civilians (Jews):

Col. Amen: So that you can testify that the chiefs of the army groups and the armies had been similarly informed of these orders for the liquidation of the Jews and Soviet functionaries?

Ohlendorf: I don't think it is quite correct to put it in that form. They had no orders for liquidation; the order for the liquidation was given to Himmler to carry out, but since this liquidation took place in the operational area of the army group or the armies, they had to be ordered to provide support. Moreover, without such instructions to the army, the activities of the Einsatzgruppen would not have been possible.

Col. Amen: Did you have any other conversation with Himmler concerning this order?

Ohlendorf: Yes, in late summer of 1941 Himmler was in Nikolaev. He assembled the leaders and men of the Einsatzkommandos, repeated to them the liquidation order, and pointed out that the leaders and men who were taking part in the liquidation bore no personal responsibility for the execution of this order. The responsibility was his,

42 Ibid. p.23.

43 Musmanno, Michael A. Captain, U.S.N.R., Presiding Judge, *Military Tribunal II - Case 9 . Famous World Trials Nuremberg Trials 1945 - 1949*. Available from <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/nuremberg/einsatzdec.html>. Internet; accessed 12 November 2012.

alone, and the Führer's."⁴⁴

According to Heinz Jost during the time the territory under his jurisdiction was subject to Army control, Jost as Chief of Einsatzgruppe A co-operated with the army command.⁴⁵ Another example of cooperation between the Wehrmacht and Einsatzgruppen was between 27 July and 11 August 1941, when two regiments of the SS Cavalry Brigade carried out orders to "comb" the Pripet marshes, killing every Jew they could find who the Einsatzgruppen had bypassed.⁴⁶

According to SS-Sturmbannführers Bruno Magill, one of the officers in charge of these Cavalry regiments they did not have to carry out these revolting orders alone.

The Ukrainian clergy were very cooperative and made themselves available for every Aktion. It was also conspicuous that, in general, the population was on good terms with the Jewish sector of the population. Nevertheless they helped energetically in rounding up the Jews. The locally recruited guards, who consisted in part of Polish police and former Polish soldiers, made a good impression. They operated energetically and took part in the fight against looters.⁴⁷

In testimonies in the Unknown Black Book indicate Romanians joined by Ukrainian militiamen murdered some 70,000 Jews in Bog-

danovka.⁴⁸ The complicity of the Wehrmacht was charged with coordinating the work of these special units. At Babi Yar it was the army that blew up the face of the ravine to cover the bodies.⁴⁹ These callous views were also expressed in the beliefs of Field Marshal von Manstein,

Since [the invasion of the USSR] the German people has been involved in a life-and-death struggle against the Bolshevik system... This struggle is not being conducted...according to European rules of war...Jewry forms the middleman between the enemy in the rear and the part of the Red Army still fighting and the Red leadership. More strongly than in Europe {Jewry} holds all the key points of political leadership and administration, occupied commerce and trade, and further it forms the cell for all unrest and potential uprisings. The Jewish-Bolshevik system must be annihilated once and for all...The soldier must comprehend the necessity for harsh atonement by Jewry, the spiritual bearer of the Bolshevik terror.⁵⁰

Stahlecker, the head of Einsatzgruppe A in the Baltic States stated that he was particularly pleased with the understanding attitude adopted by the Wehrmacht.⁵¹ Within the Wehrmacht, as in the case of Panzer Group four, Army Group North,

"there was a core group of individuals motivated to participate actively by common ideological beliefs. These individuals took the initiative and were to a great extent self-selected. Many of these individuals were in leadership positions only enhanced the violent potential of the group... within the presence of a much larger group of soldiers willing

⁴⁴ Otto Ohlendorf. *Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team*. Available from <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/einsatz/ohlendorf.html> Internet; accessed 14 November 2009. Also available from Yale Law School The Avalon Project Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy Nuremberg Trial Proceedings Volume 4 <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/01-03-46.asp>. Internet; accessed 28 November 2012.

⁴⁵ Musmanno, Michael A. Captain, U.S.N.R., Presiding Judge, *Military Tribunal II - Case 9 . Famous World Trials Nuremberg Trials 1945 - 1949*. Available from <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/nuremberg/einsatzdec.html>. Internet; accessed 12 November 2012.

⁴⁶ Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.114.

⁴⁷ Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.116.

⁴⁸ Rubenstein, Joshua & Ilya Altman. *The Unknown Black Book*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008. p.14

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.37.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.38.

⁵¹ *Einsatzgruppen A Mass Murder in Lithuania*. Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team. Available from <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/einsatz/lithuaniamurders.html>. Internet; accessed 20 November 2012.

to follow orders.”⁵²

The Einsatzgruppen worked outside the constraints of German Law and reported directly to Hitler. According to Heinrich Himmler in September of 1941, “Even the child in the cradle must be trampled down like a poisonous toad... We are living in an epoch of iron, during which it is necessary”⁵³

Epilogue

Leaving a trail of mass murder behind them, the Einsatzgruppen were effective in achieving their primary goals of killing Jews, Gypsies (Roma Sinti), and all other Untermenschen. Obtaining this objective often required the aid of local populations and direct support of the Wehrmacht. At the conclusion of World War II, many people seeing the horrors of the Nazi regime felt some sort of justice was needed against these ideologues. However, for some observers it seemed as though nobody wanted to be a part of the war, including the ordinary German soldier. All those who had willingly participated in the execution of their neighbors now denied any involvement. It was as if overnight uniforms were gone, and everyone claimed they had been “forced” to participate in these aktions. As one observer said, it was a “joke”.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, Nazi perpetrators and organizers of crimes against humanity went to great lengths to not be brought to justice. These “past” Nazis used multiple networks and connections from disparate regions across the globe. Help could be found in places such as Turkey, South America, Canada and even the US.⁵⁵ The US and her allies in-

stituted a complex and not perfect battle for the restitution of a de-nazified Germany and Eastern Europe. Part of the process of de-nazifying Germany took place in a series of trials for crimes against humanity. The US and her allies established an international court to try these murderous perpetrators at Nüremberg.

These trials convened in the site of former Nazi rallies on November 1945. The Nüremberg trials, against 24 German leaders, lasted until October 1946, with only 10 of the 11 accused being hung for war crimes. Later the Einsatzgruppen commanders and officers were tried at Nüremberg and elsewhere. Seven were executed, including Blobel, Ohlendorf, Naumann and Schöngarth, while over 50 Einsatzgruppen officers were brought to trial, the sentences they received were frequently lenient in comparison to the severity of their crimes.⁵⁶ It also seems questionable that even if the truth of Streckenbach’s “Ohlendorf farewell Letter” with the “Führer Order” was made public, showing that no such letter or order was given before Barbarossa that the sentences handed down would have been much more severe.

52 Beorn, Waitman. “Negotiating Murder: A Panzer Signal Company and the Destruction of the Jews of Peregruznoe, 1942.” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 23 no. 2 (2009): p.198.

53 Rhodes, Richard. *Masters of Death The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2002. p.145.

54 Gay, Ruth. *Safe among the Germans: liberated Jews after World War II*. Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002 p.45.

55 Bergen, Doris L. *War & Genocide A Concise History of the Holocaust*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009, p.225.

56 The Einsatzgruppen. Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team Available from <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/einsatz/>.Internet; accessed 12 November 2012.

EXPANSIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS CONCERNING HOPE AND HOPELESSNESS: WARSAW AND LODZ GHETTOES

ALLISON HATCH

THE BASIS OF THIS PAPER IS ALEXANDER GEORGE'S METHOD OF STRUCTURED, focused comparison.¹ To explore the psychological connection between the oppressed and the oppressor, this paper will discuss and compare various perceptions and reactions of the Lodz Ghetto residents, who did not violently revolt against their oppressor, with those of the Warsaw Ghetto, who violently revolted. This paper will prove that optimism is not always the main factor which produces violent revolt. One of the most prominent theories of why the Jews at Warsaw revolted is that the individuals there were extraordinarily brave and optimistic in their efforts to succeed and survive the war. What is not so commonly acknowledged is that this theory implies that bravery hope must not have existed elsewhere, and hope is a necessary ingredient in revolt.

It is intriguing to examine what characteristics and mechanisms contribute to lead a group of people from hope and optimism to utter despair and hopelessness. The theory popularly attributed to historical events resulting in revolt is that there must be some presence of optimism in the group that chooses to revolt. Through structured analysis, various characteristics and mechanisms will be discussed and examined against this common assumption. Regarding this discussion it is im-

1 This method of comparison can be broken down and understood in two parts: it is systematic, or "structured," in the way it analyzes each finding of a case study. And it is "focused" in that it centers on certain aspects of the case. These aspects and questions may later be joined by additional sets of questions about the same case.

portant to acknowledge that the basis of these points is anchored in the ghetto residents' perception of their reality and possibility of survival during 1940-1944, rather than what is known today about what their fate was.

Past Explanations

First, this paper will identify two common explanations that have been used to extrapolate the Jews' perception of their future and discuss the various flaws associated with each one.

Jewish Chairmen

Many historians point to the Jewish chairmen of Lodz and Warsaw, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski and Adam Czerniakow, respectively, as the chief dictators of optimism or hopelessness. For example, Rumkowski is identified as a deceitful powermonger who lived to carry out the Nazis' bidding and repressed the truth of the Jews' future. Czerniakow is labeled as a good, honest man who would rather precede his people to their death than be the means of sending them to their doom. However, both men helped organize the deportations out of Lodz and Warsaw. For Czerniakow, it was one of his final acts before committing suicide. What is not usually acknowledged is that Rumkowski was also burdened by the difficult choices he was forced to make. It is assumed that neither chairman knew what they were arranging. From his speech to the residents of the Lodz Ghetto, Rumkowski implored his people to see reason in the matter: "Bear in mind that at the center of all my projects is the aspiration that honest people may sleep in peace...Nothing bad will happen to people of good will."²

Rumkowski firmly believed that if his ghetto could maintain high production, then his people could survive the war; it was a matter of being useful long enough. He expected all residents of the Lodz Ghetto to follow his lead. He led the residents of the Lodz ghetto with an iron fist by eradicating crime and anything else that could potentially interfere with "his work." In January 1942, Chairman Rumkowski appealed to his people and condemned crime in his new calendar year address:

I swear to you that at the present moment I am not on the thresh-

² Dobroszycki, 113.

old of any new danger...They respect us because we constitute a center of productivity. I remember my reply when repressive measures were applied to the Community workers who had buried objects that were subject to compulsory sale in the bank. Persons of that sort will be ousted from work on the spot. I will bring the same methods to bear on a shoemaker or a physician; they will lose the right to work here. . . . A plan on the threshold of the new year! The plan is work, work, and more work!³

On the other hand, Czerniakow, chairman of the Warsaw Ghetto was reputed as a man who "perpetuated his name by his death more than by his life," says Chaim Kaplan, victim of the Warsaw Ghetto. Kaplan continues that, "His end proves conclusively that he worked and strove for the good of his people, that he wanted its welfare and continuity even though not everything done in his name was praiseworthy."⁴ Thus, based through what they understood from their Jewish chairman, it is possible that the residents of the Lodz Ghetto perceived their future with greater optimism than those in Warsaw.

Perceptions of the Future

A second and popular explanation for why there was supposedly more hope among the Jews in Warsaw was because they knew more of what was transpiring outside the walls of the ghetto, whereas the Jews of the Lodz Ghetto were more isolated and news of the outside did not penetrate their community. Warsaw was easily penetrated and inundated with news and information about what was happening in the world around them, however none of it gave Jews hope to survive the war. Most information received through the underground press told of the eventual elimination of the Jews in camps where they were sent to and were never seen again.

The information received through the cracks in the Warsaw ghetto gave the Jews little optimism for their future. The underground press was first seen in Warsaw in the first months of 1940. After that, the

³ Ibid. 114-115.

⁴ Kaplan, Chaim A. *Scroll of Agony: the Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan*, translated and edited by Abraham I. Katsh, (New York: Collier, 1973), 384.

information covered in the underground newspapers gained increased intensity until July 1942 during the fatal deportations. The fate of Jews being executed in the east first appeared in the Warsaw Ghetto underground press in the fall of 1941.⁵ The Jews in the ghetto at Warsaw had more access and were more exposed to the Aryan world, but the information that they gathered and received told of the ultimate slaughter of their people and gave them no hope to live out the war.

In his Warsaw Ghetto diary Chaim A. Kaplan wrote of the dreadful details which reached him in the Ghetto through the underground press:

It has been decreed and decided in Nazi ruling circles to bring systematic physical destruction upon the Jews of the General Government...The Nazis have established a gigantic exile center for three hundred thousand people, a concentration camp located between Chelm and Wlodawa, near the village of Sobowa...The young and healthy ones, those who are strong and under sixty, are taken for work...The fate of the other segment is even most tragic—they are condemned to die at once...In general the Jew has no right to live, but it is possible for him to postpone his death for a while as long as there is need for his work. Upon the conclusion of the work, he too goes to death.⁶

It was impossible for the Jew of Warsaw to have any assurance of a future different from what was popularly known in the ghetto: imminent death. Kaplan also quoted his friend and fellow member of the Oneg Shabbat secret archive, Hirsch Wasser, as saying to the masses of still hopeful Jews in Warsaw: “Your hope is vain; your trust a broken reed. All of you are already condemned to die, only the date of execution has yet to be set. We are doomed to pass from the world without seeing the Nazi downfall because the physical annihilation of European Jewry is one of Nazism’s cardinal principles.”⁷ The eminence of the Jewish plot and future expressed by Kaplan and Wasser demonstrates

5 Gutman, Yisrael. *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt*, translated by Ina Friedman, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 146-153.

6 Kaplan, 309-311.

7 Ibid. 287-288.

that death became a welcomed friend by 1942 and that it only served to diminish the Jew’s fear of death during the last days of the ghetto.

Therefore, the state of so much eviction and death in the Warsaw Ghetto merely prepared the underground resistance groups in Warsaw for battle against the Nazis. In essence, the absence of any hope for the war’s end and Nazis’ defeat spared the Jews of Warsaw any qualms they may have felt at risking a revolt, which is what happened.

The Jews of Lodz perceived their future with the optimism to ride out the crisis of war by working hard for the Germans. However, the Jews in the Lodz Ghetto were not completely immune to outside influence as is commonly thought. In Dawid Sierakowiak’s Lodz ghetto diary, he recorded that those who were sent out of the ghetto were sent to camps, at which point Sierakowiak commented, “I shudder at the very thought of it.”⁸ Dawid scrawled these words in his journal in May 1942, more than two years away from its final liquidation on August 30, 1944.⁹

Although Lodz was the foremost hermetically sealed ghetto perhaps in Nazi Europe, information about the fate of European Jewry penetrated its walls somehow. And this despite various primary sources that attest to the impenetrable nature of the Lodz ghetto. For example, Jewish refugees in Shanghai worked through the Far Eastern Jewish Information Bureau and the International Red Cross Committee in order to reunite with their relatives in Eastern Europe. Most replies to inquiries were the same: that the relative in question was no longer living at the given address and their destination was unknown. As to Lodz or the then present Litzmannstadt, the inquiries were sent back with the reply that there is no mail connection with the ghetto.¹⁰ All these things indicate that although there are many evidences to support the utter ignorance of the Lodz ghetto residents, they are offset by the testimonials that illustrate the Jewish knowledge of their fate.

8 Sierakowiak, Dawid. *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak*, translated by Kamil Turowski, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 156.

9 Sterling, Eric J. *Life in the Ghettos During the Holocaust*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), xxxv.

10 Ibid., 75-76.

Jewish Resistance Leaders

Another commonly adhered to argument for why the Jews in Warsaw felt more optimism, and thereby revolted, is that the nature of the resistance leadership that planned and fought were united and brave. It is questionable that such unity existed in Warsaw, and therefore, not in Lodz. A perceivable flaw in this notion is that it implies that bravery and unity, therefore did not exist in the Lodz Ghetto. Primary accounts establish that dissonance ebbed on; rubbing in between the different political and underground organizations in the Warsaw Ghetto.

Disunion did in fact exist in Warsaw, and it manifested itself in key moments of decision and counsel, for example, the question of how to prepare for the defense of the ghetto. Notes taken from the lines of the diary of Hersch Berlinski describe that the main schism was whether there should be a twofold leadership in the ghetto defense.¹¹ Berlinski came to the central debate in his notes:

When we reached the issue of appointing the leadership, a touchy discussion developed. Should there be one authority or two: military, or military and political? The members of Ha-Shomer and He-Halutz strongly oppose twofold authority. Twofold authority will lead to arguments that will hamper the work. . . . the members of Ha-Shomer and He-Halutz speak with derision and scorn of the political parties. . . . They will only get in the way. One single military leadership must be established, so we can start on the job.¹²

The Jewish resistance leadership in Warsaw did not revolt because they were united on every point, because that was not true. The lack or presence of unity in the resistance was not a main contributing factor to Warsaw's revolt. Therefore, it cannot be considered a factor to gauge

the reasons why Jewish residents in Lodz Ghetto did not revolt.

Environmental Precursors; Population and Industry

Before the first bricks were laid to form either ghetto, the decades of European migration and consequential industrial growth primed the years of 1940-1944. It seems that Lodz Ghetto residents were psychologically prepared to interpret the events around them optimistically. Some environmental precursors are helpful in examining some reasons why. Lodz had burst rapidly as an industrial boomtown of the nineteenth century. The textile industry had spurred its growth to over 478,000 inhabitants, an astronomical number compared to its village status less than a century earlier. By 1931, the city of Lodz's population had grown to almost 604,000. Categorized according to language, 59 percent were Poles, 32 percent were Jews, and just fewer than 9 percent were German.¹³ Lodz was Poland's second largest city and it was a major industrial center. It was second only to the capitol, Warsaw. Lodz merited the name of the "Polish Manchester" due to its rapid growth since the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Initially, it was the occupier's intent that the Jewish population of Lodz be resettled somewhere in the General Government, likely near the then Russian-German border. However, that project was dropped and a new plan to exploit the vast Jewish labor force was drawn instead. Lodz's large and skilled labor force was a factor which steered occupiers' choices regarding its fate from the earliest days of its occupation. It was taken into account several times throughout the ghetto's history. Despite plans for its temporary role, the Lodz Ghetto survived into the summer of 1944. Some historians argue that it was because of its high productivity it survived so long.¹⁴

The industrially intensive decades of the previous century served

11 Essentially, there was a feeling of dissidence between the more secondary Zionist groups and the other traditional Jewish political organizations, such as the socialist Bundist party or the Agudath Israel party which largely represented Polish Jewish Orthodoxy with its different views, (Miles Lerman Center, "Jewish Youth Movements in Wartime Poland: Minority to Leadership" <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007224>).

12 "From Notes by Hersch berlinski on the Aims of the Jewish Fighting Organization.

13 Horwitz, Gordon J. *Ghettostadt: Lodz and the Making of a Nazi City*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 2-3; Zubrzycki, J. "Emigration from Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries *Population Studies*". 6. 3 (1968), 79, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/259852> (accessed March 21, 2012).

14 Dobroszycki, Lucjan. (Ed.) *The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto, 1941-1944*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), xxxvi-xxxvii; Horwitz, 113-114.

to psychologically prepare the minds of the future residents of the Lodz Ghetto to view themselves as an essential entity to the military and economic production of the Third Reich, and surely the economy of the city of Lodz which was undergoing a dramatic transformation of its own. The Jewish population in Lodz thought they could interpret their future with more optimism because of how they perceived themselves fitting into the plans and needs of the Nazis.

Location Relative to the West

The Jews residing in the ghetto of Warsaw received frequent reminders of the despair that awaited them. News of the fate of other Jewish groups trickled in from outside the ghetto. Jews from the outlying areas of Poland were often resettled or they escaped into the Warsaw ghetto during the years 1940-1943. They brought with them the stories of their previous village or ghetto being liquidated by the Nazis. Warsaw's geographic location within Poland was east of the Lodz Ghetto which was much nearer the western border. Resettled Jews and fugitive Jews who came to Warsaw came from the east which had seen Nazi massacres of the Jewish population in the territories newly occupied after the attack on the former Soviet ally. News of attacks on these Jews appeared in the underground press at the end of September 1941.¹⁵ The situation of the city of Warsaw, approximately 150 kilometers further east than Lodz, influenced how the Jews there perceived their chance for survival and, thus, it influenced the strength of their optimism.

In the case of those resettled in Lodz, it usually received Western European Jews who had not been so exposed to Nazi violence as yet. Tiedens claims that these Jews were in much better physical shape than those in Poland and came from regions which had up until then been protected by the Nazis' fear that the democracies of the West would

disapprove.¹⁶ The Western European Jews entering Lodz had no tales of murder like those shared with the Jews of Warsaw. Therefore, the Jews in Lodz were instead isolated and they kept their hopes high.

Location Relative to the City

The Nazis occupied Poland in 1939, and plans for the ghettoization of Warsaw's Jews were made almost immediately. Yet the ghetto in Warsaw was not functioning as intended until 1941. There was a great amount of confusion regarding its construction. Jewish chairman Adam Czerniakow was constantly plagued by confusion in the process of the ghetto in Warsaw. "It seems," wrote Czerniakow at the time, "they are trying to balance the removal of 104,000 Poles from inside with the transfer of 110,000 Jews from outside the walls."¹⁷ Czerniakow implied a significant difference between the Warsaw Ghetto and the Lodz Ghetto. The Warsaw Ghetto was sealed within the city and its construction was longer in process than that of the ghetto in Lodz and the Lodz Ghetto was constructed and enclosed on the outskirts of the city, practically outside the city entirely.

Though surrounded by a wall on all sides, the bustle of the rest of the city of Warsaw continued on the other side. Its close connection to the city and the clandestine atmosphere brought on by war gave birth to a breed of underground couriers and secret correspondents. The structural surroundings of the Warsaw Ghetto made these efforts, though still very dangerous, a successful and major source of information of the outside world.

In contrast, developers, civil engineers employed by the Third Reich, arrived in Lodz in utter disgust for the state in which they found the city. Though Jews were universally acknowledged by the Nazis as a nuisance and disease-ridden group, there was special mention of it

15 Sakowska, Ruta. "The Warsaw Ghetto: the 45th Anniversary of the Uprising", (Interpress Publishers, 1987), 14.

16 Tiedens, Larissa Z. "Optimism and Revolt of the Oppressed: A Comparison of Two Polish Ghettos of World War II Political Psychology". 18. 1 (1997), 45-69, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791983> (accessed March 2, 2012), 62.

17 Czerniakow, Adam. *The Warsaw diary of Adam Czerniakow: prelude to doom*, translated and edited by Raul Hilberg; Stanislaw Staron; Joseph Kermish, (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 206.

regarding the Jews of Lodz. From the German newspaper in Lodz it is known that the city was extraordinarily crowded, being measured at 11,500 persons per square kilometer. Lodz was the sixth largest city in the Reich. Thus, it needed extensive modernization and social renewal to meet the standards of the regime's thinking.¹⁸ Two things were determined absolutely essential: 1) an absolute reversal of the present deteriorating state of the city's infrastructure, and 2) restrict the Polish population to the workforce for the present time, and corral the Jews for quarantine and eventual removal.

The Nazi officials stationed in Lodz were in constant worry of the risk posed by the Jewish population in the midst of their future jewel, the Reich city of Lodsche. An effective quarantine of all Jews in Lodz was seen as critical to the safety of the remaining German residents and other ethnic Germans who would resettle to Lodz. Officials decided that a ghetto would be an essential solution to their problems, and furthermore, a surrounding perimeter of space to ensure that no infection could penetrate the general population outside its walls. This way the transmission of any parasites such as lice would be impossible.¹⁹

With the addition of a "no-man's-land" barrier, frequent passage in and out of the Lodz Ghetto was impossible which precluded nearly all smuggling of food and information. The Polish Underground Press, for example, did not reach the Lodz Ghetto residents. Dobroszycki described Lodz ghetto as being hermetically sealed. Smuggling between "Aryan" and Jewish residents, which was so common in other cities, was rare in Lodz. Information did not easily penetrate the Jews of Lodz ghetto as it did in Warsaw through the Polish press. The press in Lodz was disorganized and poorly read.²⁰ In contrast, what was not known in Lodz was, so-called, "old news" in Warsaw. By February 1942, the clandestine press in the Warsaw ghetto was writing about Chelmno. The Litzmannstadter Zeitung, the official newspaper of Litzmannstadt, the Third Reich name for Lodz, was denied sale to the Jewish population in the ghetto. These environmental factors influenced the flow

of information from the outside world. The Jews in the Lodz ghetto were left to perceive the outcome of their ghetto and their future life unaided, and many chose to interpret their future optimistically. Contrariwise, Warsaw ghetto residents received frequent indications of their fate.

Comparison: Optimism and Hopelessness

It is popularly believed that in order for revolt against an oppressor, the oppressed group must feel a sense of optimism in the result of their revolt. In examining and comparing the Warsaw and Lodz ghettos, the residents of the Lodz ghetto were the more optimistic group—which did not revolt. The group of Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, who were experiencing the same living conditions, knew more specifically about the fate that lay ahead of them. Optimism was not a luxury they lived with, but they had no hope that they would survive the war. Yet Warsaw's ghetto Jews revolted and those in Lodz did not. The factors presented in this paper give a more detailed analysis of how hopelessness and optimism could be fostered in the two mentioned areas. To reiterate, it is important to acknowledge that the basis of these points is anchored in the ghetto residents' perception of their reality and possibility of survival during 1940-1944, rather than what is known or perceived by historians and political psychologists today. More optimism existed in Lodz than in Warsaw. This leads one to conclude that optimism is not always the essential element needed in revolt against oppression, and often hopelessness is the better catalyst for action.

¹⁸ Horwitz, 34-35.

¹⁹ Ibid. 36-37.

²⁰ Dobroszycki, xxii-xxiii.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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FOR FURTHER READING

“Effects of the New Deal on American Politics” by Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 73–80.

“The Bill of Rights: A Popular Victory for Liberalism in the American Founding.” Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 2 (2004): 55–69.

“Lincoln and the Suspension of Habeas Corpus during the Civil War,” by Ted Memmott, *Crescat Scientia* 3 (2005): 41–55.

“Bundling: Colonial Courtship’s Path of Least Resistance” by Georgia Buchert, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 25–31.

VIETNAM WAR RESISTERS AND THE EXODUS TO CANADA

ANGELA EWING

IN 1971, SPEAKING TO LEADERS FROM VARIOUS CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS in Canada, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated, “Those who make the conscientious judgment that they must not participate in this war... have my complete sympathy, and indeed our political approach has been to give them access to Canada. Canada should be a refuge from militarism.”¹ During the Vietnam War Canada became a refuge for thousands of men and women who wanted to remove themselves from the military and political environment in the United States. Many of these war resisters who left for Canada not only fled the draft, they chose to leave the United States and its politics and policies forever. While a few returned in the years following amnesty, including many of those who had deserted the U.S. military, most made the decision to immigrate to Canada. This was not a fleeting decision, but a permanent one. These men and women actively assimilated to life in Canada, becoming productive, responsible citizens.

The men who refused to serve in Vietnam were known by many titles: avoider, evader, dodger, deserter, and activist. All became known as war resisters. The women who made the decision to leave, either with a male partner or on their own, were less known to the public. Yet they made the same sacrifices, without the pressure of the draft hanging over their heads. These women, once on their own in Canada, made the decision to remain, even though they faced no legal punishment at home (although perhaps difficult social consequences).

1 Quoted on the page that is included before the contents page. John Hagan, *Northern Passage: American Vietnam War Resisters in Canada* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

The first group to cross the border were the dodgers. These were the men who left before joining the military, and who felt that they could not morally participate in the War. These were also the resisters who had the education and skills necessary to be allowed legal entry into Canada, as well as the ability to assimilate into the country. The military deserters arrived next, but to more difficult environment than their predecessors. They had joined the military when many dodgers were attending school, and so were a less educated group. They left the military for both personal and moral reasons, and those who came to Canada found it a lot more difficult to assimilate.

In choosing Canada these men and women faced some prejudice, from both sides of the border, especially as the Canadian government went through growth pains over immigration, but the choice to move north was made easier by similar culture, language, and the fact that they were considered immigrants and not criminals. Just like other immigrants they were affected by political and economic factors, and some found it more desirable to return to the United States. Yet there was no massive exodus back to the United States. The U.S. media, who waited expectantly at the border, were greatly disappointed to find that few were anxious to return. Canada was home now and these men and women had built lives there, lives they felt were denied them back in the United States. For these particular war resisters, the decision to leave and then to remain highlight the fact that leaving for Canada was not about cowardice or fear, but about making a brave decision for their personal future. The choice to immigrate was about providing a better future for themselves and their families, despite the difficulties they had to face, and the sacrifices they had to make.

Many of the sources that I encountered for this paper were written by men and women who had either been a part of the exodus themselves, or had participated in some way in the antiwar movement. This means that there is a definite bias against the Vietnam War. In terms of the works I used to look at the history of the draft and the antiwar movement, many focused on the events occurring in the United States, and not so much on those men and women who left for Canada. Yet these sources help to set the background for why these men and women made the decision to leave.

In order to gain a background of the draft, I read from a few works that discuss the history of military conscription in the United States. In 1975 John Whiteclay Chambers wrote his overview of the draft *Draftees or Volunteers: A Documentary History of the Debate Over Military Conscription in the United States, 1787-1976*. He discusses the constitutional background for the draft, as well as opposition to it during previous wars, specifically the Civil War. He uses government documents and firsthand accounts from each war to get a general idea for how men felt about being conscripted into military service. The work shows a great contrast between the Vietnam War and every other previous war, in both the number of protests and the issues faced by the government in using and reforming conscription. Chambers also includes a copy of the War Resisters League pamphlet about the draft which describes “going to Canada to escape the draft [as] a perfectly honorable thing to do.”²

Another author who provided good background into the draft and the Selective Service of the Vietnam Era was George Q. Flynn and his two books *The Draft, 1940 – 1973* and *Lewis B. Hershey, Mr. Selective Service*. In *The Draft* Flynn discusses extensively the process by which men were inducted into the U.S. Army. He discusses how men were able to evade the draft, which he attributes to the breakdown of community peer-pressure due to a lack of positive universal consensus on the war.³ He also notes that “Critics denounces [the draft] as promoting injustice by taking certain men and deferring others.”⁴ Flynn’s biography of the man who was the face of the draft during the War, Louis B. Hershey, discusses the inside workings of a government trying to win a very unpopular war while combating draft resistance. Flynn portrays Hershey as a tough, unforgiving man who looked at Vietnam with eyes that still saw the Second World War. Understanding Hershey

2 John Whiteclay Chambers, *Draftees or Volunteers: A Documentary History of the Debate Over Military Conscription in the United States, 1787-1976* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1975), 462.

3 George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940 – 1973* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 212.

4 *Ibid.*, 7.

and the Selective Service is key to understanding the antiwar movement and draft resistance.

The sources I chose to use to look at the lives and decisions of these war resisters did not vary much, and they often quote liberally from one another. Most of the written works on draft resistance were completed during or shortly after the war. The issue was still current, and most in the United States, and many people in Canada, were affected by the war resistance movement. After the mid 1980s broad studies were no longer being written, but many personal accounts were compiled or written in autobiographies.

One of the first studies to be conducted on the war resistance and the draft evaders was by Lawrence Baskir and William Strauss in their book *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War and the Vietnam Generation*, published in 1978. In the foreword Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh of the University of Notre Dame, notes that this work is the “first comprehensive study of the Vietnam generation,” meaning those men who were of draft age following the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution to the end of the war in March 1973.⁵ Baskir and Strauss were members of President Ford’s Clemency Board, and so had intimate knowledge of the draft bureaucracy. This also helps them to present a balanced opinion; after serving on the other side they are ready to write on the side of the war resisters. Their research presents the circumstances in the United States, both politically and demographically, that compelled many of the war resisters to leave for Canada.

Baskir and Strauss also attempt to present balanced information by using statistics and various flow charts to document who these men were, where they came from, and what decisions they made during the war. In their book they argue against the inequality of the draft and draft laws. In a positive review of the book by Frank A. Burdick published in *The American Historical Review*, Burdick states that Baskir and Strauss are also aiming to correct common public assumptions

5 Lawrence M. Baskir and William A. Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War, and the Vietnam Generation* (New York: Knopf, 1978), xi.

about the men subject to the draft.⁶ They include many firsthand accounts to corroborate their findings, and “interviewed hundred of counselors, lawyers, government officials, draft resisters, and deserters throughout the United States; and [they] visited Canada and Sweden to speak with exiles.”⁷ Their only drawback is that neither of them had to make a decision about the draft themselves, and so they did not have personal experience with either the draft or combat. Baskir was a lawyer who joined the Army Reserves and never really faced the idea of going to Vietnam. Strauss was of draft age, and feared receiving the call, but it never came and he was never called for the lottery.

During the war a woman named Alice Lynd collected accounts of “men who wrote about what they had to grapple with and what they did as they confronted the dilemmas of conscience which military participation poses.”⁸ Lynd was the wife of Staughton Lynd, a historian, professor and conscientious objector during the war. Her book is called *We Won’t Go* and is based on the ‘we won’t go’ pledges from university students in the United States. Instead of directly interviewing the men she included in her book, Lynd instead gave the men seven questions to guide them as they wrote their own personal accounts. She acknowledges that the collection is not a full representation of the draft resistance, but that the book was created to help other men make the choice to oppose the war and the draft, by serving “as [a] background for young men to sift out their own thoughts and make choices on the basis of their own convictions.”⁹ Several of the books from this period served the same purpose, although the choice to immigrate to Canada

6 Some of the assumptions about the men who resisted the draft are best described by Michael Foley in *Confronting the War Machine*. He states: “Cartoonish images of long haired hippies burning draft cards and of cowards fleeing to Canada persist to this day.” (Michael S. Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 113.

7 *Ibid.*, xviii.

8 Alice Lynd, *We Won’t Go: Personal Accounts of War Objectors* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), xi.

9 *Ibid.*, xiv.

was not easy, and many options had to be considered before the decision was made.

In 1971 while the War continued and the issue of amnesty began to develop, Roger Neville Williams wrote his book *The New Exiles*. *Exiles* is written almost as a plea for amnesty for those who wish to return to the United States. The author himself is a draft dodger who went to the Montreal exile community. He uses the voices of other people, other draft dodgers and war resisters to plead the case for amnesty. Williams wrote that he did not want to produce another book in the antiwar category, but rather one showed the choice men made when coming to Canada. He states that "It is not so much about running away from war and killing and death as it is about running toward peace and freedom and life."¹⁰ He discusses the exiles both in Canada and those hiding underground in the United States. In the conclusion to his book he argues that these men have not committed a crime by opposing the war, and so "they have the inalienable right to return."¹¹ He represents the war resisters who never intended to make the move to Canada permanent.

Exiles was accompanied by another book looking at the issue of amnesty during 1971. *They Can't Go Home Again* discusses the difference between the "exiles", those who wish to return to the United States, but cannot, and the "exodus", made up of men with no intention of returning. The book includes over twenty interviews of men and women who left for Canada, and questions whether or not they want to return. The authors note that "Perhaps hardest for parents and friends to understand is that their children in Canada have made the decision to leave permanently. Except for the fact that they will be unable to visit family and friends back home, few express regret over being unable to return to the United States."¹² The introduction to the

10 Roger Neville Williams, *The New Exiles: American War Resisters in Canada* (New York: Liveright Publishers, 1971), 7.

11 *Ibid.*, 401.

12 Richard L. Killmer, Robert S. Lecky, and Debrah S. Wiley, *They Can't Go Home Again: The Story of America's Political Refugees* (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1971), 101.

book is also written by the Honorable Edward Koch, who helped pioneer the amnesty movement within the United States Congress.

In 1976 one of the first accounts of draft resistance from a Canadian perspective was written by Renée Goldsmith-Kasinsky, an immigrant to Canada. *Refugees from Militarism* was written with a very militant feel, and Kasinsky sees the men and women who went to Canada as political refugees. Her "methodology consisted of observing the total process whereby these Americans first became political refugees, to their eventual assimilation in varying degrees into Canadian life."¹³ She did this by volunteering with various Aid groups for war resisters and by opening her home to the resisters. She writes about how they struggled and succeeded in assimilating to life in Canada, and includes many personal narratives as well as sociological research. Goldsmith-Kasinsky is a professor of sociology at the University of Calgary, and her book is very similar to *Chance and Circumstance*, but with a Canadian emphasis. A review in *Social Forces* by David R. Segal points out issues with the general methodology and conclusions of the book, but finds the overall work thought provoking.

A source from another perspective comes from David S. Surrey, and his work *Choice of Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada* published in 1982. Surrey is quoted extensively by many other sources, and he uses a large number of secondary sources in his research. Surrey was personally involved in the antiwar movement as a draft counsellor. He also worked on the Vietnam Era Research Project (VERP), and chose to focus his book on the Canadian side of the research. He conducted interviews based on anonymity with draft resisters in Canada.¹⁴ I have also included in my sources the PhD dis-

13 Renée Goldsmith-Kasinsky, *Refugees from Militarism: Draft-Age Americans in Canada* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1976), 9.

14 Surrey refers to both draft dodgers and deserters as "resisters", as do many of the other authors. The terms which are used to describe the various war resisters in Canada vary from book to book. In my work "resister" refers to both the dodgers and the deserters, as well as those who immigrated without any military pressure. (David S. Surrey, *Choice and Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada* [New York: Praeger, 1982], 4).

sertation that Surrey wrote in 1980 titled *The Assimilation of Vietnam Era Draft Dodgers and Deserters into Canada: A Matter of Class*. The dissertation deals mostly with the experience that the dodgers and deserters had while immigrating and assimilating in Canada. He argues that: "Charges by deserters, and their sympathizers, that the Canadian government activity concentrated on keeping them out, while encouraging the immigration of dodgers, are founded firmly in fact."¹⁵

Two decades later another author decided to compile interviews with war resisters in Canada. In his book, *Hell No We Won't Go*, published in 1996, Alan Haig-Brown was able to talk openly with the resisters, only one of whom did not use her real name. This is most likely due to the long time spent in Canada, and the distance from the war. Haig-Brown is a Canadian author from British Columbia who observed many evaders and resisters arriving in BC during the war. He befriended several of them, and slowly began to collect their stories. He was able to speak with evaders, deserters, and antiwar activists. The interviewees describe their lives before the war, and the events that led them to Canada, as well as the decision to remain there after the war. One man, a deserter named James Leslie, "felt compelled to start developing a Canadian identity: 'I began to feel the need to start focusing on Canadian issues rather than on American ones. I wanted to become aware of Canadian history and Canadian politics.'"¹⁶ Leslie is just one example of the men and women who made the decision to become Canadian, rather than simply to live in Canada.

Christian Appy has written two accounts of the Vietnam War. In 1993 his first book, *Working Class War: American Soldiers and Vietnam*, was published. Appy is an American historian, with a PhD in History. He also teaches history at the University of Massachusetts. The book focuses on those who bore the brunt of combat whom Appy

15 David S. Surrey, *The Assimilation of Vietnam Era Draft Dodgers and Deserters into Canada: A Matter of Class* (Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms, 1980), 161.

16 Alan Haig-Brown, *Hell No We Won't Go: Vietnam Draft Resisters in Canada* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 1996), 162.

describes as the American working class. While the book includes an introduction to the draft and the war, as well as various statistics to illustrate his thesis, the main substance of the book is interviews that Appy conducted with men who used pseudonyms. Many of these men still live in the United States, but Appy's book helps bring together the demographics of the war and the war resistance. Appy is highly critical of American policies dealing with Vietnam, and notes that 80 percent of those who saw combat were working class. In his review of the book in the *Journal of American History*, David Levy notes that the author does not give any context within American military history, therefore not looking at how war has been fought in the past and how Vietnam was different.¹⁷

In Appy's second book about the Vietnam War, *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*, he attempts to address many of the modern misconceptions of the War. The book was published in 2003 and included over 350 interviews, but does not focus on the Canadian draft resistance. In one interview, Nathan Houser, a draft dodger who made his way to Canada, recalled the many reasons people left the United States:

Some people were afraid to serve, just as there were probably a lot of people who were afraid not to serve because of social sanctions. Maybe some people were swept up in antiwar feeling and rhetoric not so different from the people who went into the service swept up with war rhetoric. And there were people who did it simple because they didn't want to have their life trajectory disrupted. But a lot of people – and I put myself in this class – had serious philosophical or moral reasons. (Appy 2003, 338)

James Dickerson writes about his and others' experiences in Canada after returning to the U.S. in *North to Canada: Men and Women Against the Vietnam War* published in 1999. Dickerson focuses on statistics from government organizations and uses many primary source news articles in his work. Dickerson worked as a journalist, and moved

17 David Levy, "review of *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam*, by Christian Appy," *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (December 1994): 1383.

to Canada in 1968 with his young wife. He was one resister who made the decision to return to the United States in 1975 through President Ford's clemency program and served two years of alternative service. Although he states that he uses government documentation and immigration statistics, his numbers are very different from many of the other sources I studied. In his introduction he estimates that over 500,000 men and women fled to Canada, whereas most other sources place this figure at closer to 60,000. This affects his statistical credibility, but not the first hand accounts he collected. He notes the importance of women in the resistance movement, and quotes the wife of a resister in a letter she wrote to him where she states: "It was a journey for my husband and me, through conflict, turmoil, shattered relationships, soul searching, and sacrifice in order to live according to our conscience."¹⁸

In 2001 two books were published that focused on the men and women who chose to remain in Canada. Frank Kusch in *All American Boys: Draft Dodgers in Canada from the Vietnam War* looks into the childhoods and adolescent years of the men who dodged the draft. He bases his conclusions on examination of secondary sources and personal interviews. His main question when interviewing the men was: why were they so willing to leave? In *Northern Passage: American Vietnam War Resisters in Canada*, John Hagan focuses on the resisters who went to Toronto. Hagan was a draft dodger who was accepted into graduate school in Canada. He also uses both primary and secondary sources, and argues that the decision to leave was a choice, and was not about cowardice. Many of those interviewed discussed how choosing Canada allowed them to be in a place where they were in the political mainstream, which opened up new work possibilities. One interviewee, Sandra Foster, found different possibilities in Canada, and stated, "I think the opportunities for me with my interest in the public sector, the public and non-profit sectors, and public service in its broadest context, not necessarily limited to bureaucracy, the opportunities for me were here and they were closed in the States."¹⁹ A review

¹⁸ James Dickerson, *North to Canada: Men and Women Against the Vietnam War* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), xv.

¹⁹ Hagan, 213.

of *Northern Passage* in the *Journal of American History* finds Hagan's respondent-driving sampling method to be troubling, but states that is "contributes significantly to an understanding of the politics of anti-Vietnam War resistance."²⁰

Another book published in 2001 was *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam War* by Michael S. Foley. Foley focuses a large portion of his book on the misconceptions about the draft resisters. He notes that "In post-Vietnam War memory, the image of draft resisters has been shaped most successfully by their detractors."²¹ He discusses the negative image of draft card burners, draft evaders and antiwar protestors that was created mostly by the American media. His conclusions are that the men and women who chose not to submit to the draft were far different from their media-made caricatures. Most of his book is made up of interviews and the examination of media and government documents to determine who exactly these men were. This work is important because many detractors still consider war resisters who went to Canada cowards, while Foley's conclusions show otherwise.

In *Chance and Circumstance*, the different types of draft resisters are looked at closely by Baskir and Strauss, only a few years after the end of the war. The channelling policy of the Selective Service System allowed the majority of Vietnam draft resisters to escape combat through legal means. Baskir and Strauss give these men the term 'avoiders'.²² These were men "who got the right advice at the right time, or who were clever enough to wage an independent fight against the system."²³ Louis Hershey wanted to compel men and women onto paths that were in the national interest, and this was often manipulated

²⁰ Patrick Hagopian, "review of *Northern Passage: American War Resisters in Canada*, by John Hagan," *The Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (September 2002): 26.

²¹ Foley, 113.

²² This is a term used by Baskir and Strauss to define those men who took "fate into their own hands by rearranging their personal circumstance" to "avoid" the draft. (Baskir and Strauss, 29).

²³ *Ibid.*, 17.

by those with an opportunity to do so. It also made it difficult for race and class not to be a factor in the draft process. In 1940 the draft law was adjusted to allow for student deferments, so as not to drain the country's workforce during periods of war. Hershey managed to make the paths for deferments narrower, especially as the manpower need increased in Vietnam. In 1950, in order to narrow the field of deferments, only the top half of a college class, or those who scored well on a special aptitude test were granted the deferments.

There were also occupational deferments available, as various special interest groups required a sustainable workforce. These included agricultural and educational institutions, but even these deferments became harder to receive as the war escalated. Many of these 'avoiders' were just plain lucky. Throughout most of the war the draft boards were comprised mostly of white, middle-class men with little to no training, other than a few with a military background themselves. These draft boards were allowed to grant conscientious objections, or COs, to those who qualified under very vague rules. As the application of these rules was under the discretion of these boards, the rules were often bent in favour of the educated and wealthy. But the draft rules, especially because they were so unclear, were also vulnerable to legal attack.

Many avoiders managed to work the system, and channeling policies, to their benefit by entering schools, avoiding travel or joining a religious ministry. Early in the war, while it was still a viable option, many changed their career path to that of engineering and teaching, which were valuable occupations during the war. Another option was to alter one's personal circumstances. This meant that the young men married, had children, or became the means of support for an invalid or dependant. Many young men chose to leave the country before they turned eighteen, often to attend foreign universities, which gave them thousands of miles of space from the draft boards.²⁴ Most of the avoiders were simply fortunate in when it came to the draft. Of the just over fifteen million draft "avoiders", Baskir and Strauss note that four million escaped the draft through either a high lottery number or a lot-

²⁴ Ibid., 35.

tery loophole. By contrast only 371,000 escaped the draft via student deferments, 483,000 through occupational deferments, and 171,700 as conscientious objectors.²⁵

A more drastic approach was to fake or create medical problems in order to fail the physical. Many men aggravated existing conditions such as asthma or allergies prior to the physical. Others would try to give themselves permanent injuries by shooting themselves in the foot or having a friend break their nose. Others faked drug abuse problems, and many attempted to gain or lose weight in order to be outside the weight requirement.²⁶ Adam Fisher, presently a business consultant, stated that on his evaluation at the induction center: "I checked off every drug; I checked off headaches, runny nose, red eyes, etc. For occupation, I wrote in "wizard."... Then they sent me to the psychiatrist."²⁷ He was successful in receiving 1-Y status and avoiding the draft.

The main factor that the majority of these draft avoiders had in common was the help and support from their families and communities. Many of the college students who would have otherwise been drafted were protected by the inflated grades awarded to them by anti-war professors. Some family doctors and dentists would help their patients find or create medical exemptions. The greatest advantage available to these men was the various experts, legal and professional, who would help them find the loopholes in the draft rules. Many avoided service by seeking out expert advice in time. A "competent lawyer [meant] avoiding the draft was virtually assured."²⁸

Another way to avoid being put on the front lines in Vietnam was to volunteer for service. The National Guard, Navy and Coast Guard were considered very viable alternatives, because those who enlisted there were almost guaranteed to be kept away from combat. Professional sports teams were called to the National Guard, which was almost entirely composed of white, college educated men. Naturally,

²⁵ Ibid., 30.

²⁶ Ibid., 34.

²⁷ Sherry Gershon Gottlieb, *Hell No, We Won't Go!: Resisting the Draft During the Vietnam War* (New York, N.Y.: Viking, 1991), 56.

²⁸ Ibid., 39.

those who were college educated were given the military office work, as this was where they could be the most productive. A final option was to voluntarily enlist in the army, where volunteers were given preferential treatment over those who were drafted.²⁹ Many felt compelled to choose this option upon hearing the army's slogan: "Make your choice now – join, or we'll make the choice for you."³⁰

The men who avoided the draft did not necessarily oppose the war; often they simply had no interest in, or else a fear of, fighting in the war. Men, who Baskir and Strauss term draft 'evaders', not only disagreed with the war, they were willing to use the court systems to fight the draft and their inductions into the army. These men were also called draft 'refusers', as those who were drafted refused to accept their military inductions. Many of these men had a public opposition to the war. One of the most famous was the boxer Muhammad Ali. Ali opposed the war on religious grounds, but the draft boards felt his opposition did not merit a CO status as he did not oppose all war. He was tried and convicted of draft offenses, such as not stepping forward for his army induction, but as public opposition to the war increased he was eventually acquitted. By the mid sixties there was an increase in the prosecution of antiwar activists and draft card burners. With the increase in legal cases against draft resisters, many more men were denied CO status. They were often poor, black and uneducated, and many of them did not know the avenues of legal recourse available to them. Many young men countered this opposition by simply not registering when they turned eighteen. This was a more common occurrence among poor, black men as they could more easily go unnoticed by draft boards.

Although the avoiders faced legal opposition, by the time President Carter came into office only two percent had been convicted or faced criminal charges for their draft offenses, although some went to

29 Ibid, 55. Baskir and Strauss note that "at the peak of the war, Army draftees were getting killed at almost twice the rate of volunteers." This implies that the choice being made for the men was whether or not they would be sent to the front lines.

30 Ibid.

jail as a form of protest against the war. These draft offenders were often the victims of an uneven, overzealous system, where the law discriminated against those who were convicted. They were most often civil rights workers and black Muslims, denied CO status by unsympathetic draft boards. Many of the men who went to prison in opposition to the draft had severe difficulties readjusting to life following their release.

Although many deserters made their way into Canada to either protest the war or escape prison time for leaving the army, the exodus began when many other men left prior to their induction into the military. These men are most commonly known as the draft dodgers. Not since the American Revolution and the mass exodus of Loyalists to Canada has the United States seen such a large emigration from its borders. Those who fled to Canada, either in protest of the war, fleeing the draft, or as army deserters, represent a cross-section of the American population. The majority of the draft dodgers left before they encountered legal issues in the U.S. due to their draft resistance.

In his book *All American Boys: Draft Dodgers in Canada from the Vietnam War*, Frank Kusch explains his belief that these men left the United States for reasons larger than the war. Through his interviews with various dodgers and deserters who remained in Canada after the war, he tries to paint a picture of the social backgrounds that led to their decision to leave the United States. These young men were from the generation of baby boomers. They were products of the 1960s, where civil rights and student protests were a part of the national stage. These civil rights protests would lead the way for the antiwar protests to come. Many of those interviewed were transplanted liberal Northerners who moved to the South due to financial or family problems. Those who had grown up in the South were often members of more liberal families. One thing they all had in common was the belief that they did not feel as though they belonged to the community.

Kusch notes that many of those he interviewed describe a disrupted or troubled home life. Many of their mothers were women who had worked during the Second World War, and who had received a college education, but found themselves without any stimulating work. Many of these women would turn to activism as an outlet for their energy, and most wanted to create a better life for their children. As teenag-

ers these exiles were often influenced strongly by the media through television and music. Many of them looked to college as an escape, not only from the war, but also from the drudgery of their hometown lives. These men wanted an education, and the ability to continue improving their lives and careers. Kusch concludes with the thought that these were people who did not want to conform to the American ideal, or what the American government required of them:

As young Americans versed in the early history of their country, they felt that they could not reconcile the idea that they could be drafted against their will in a republic that was founded on refusing the demands of government. Evoking the words of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, several of these future draft dodgers found validation for their early adult views on refusing duty to the government in the American past. (Kusch 2001, 60)

When the time came to make the decision to leave, many left not out of necessity, but out of conviction. About one third of the men who resisted the draft first turned down deferments and exemptions for which they already qualified.³¹ One resister, Richard Paternek, realized that he could do little while in a U.S. jail. In an essay written for Alice Lynd's collection of personal accounts of war objectors, *We Won't Go*, Paternek states:

I became resigned to the fact that I was going to have some jail time to look forward to. I slowly came to the conclusion that this would accomplish nothing, and possibly, I could maintain my integrity and my radical self-respect some other way. Canada was my solution. I had always felt more a citizen of the world than an American. Also, my belief was that a radical could find a constituency wherever there were people. With these beliefs, my wife and I packed up and resettled in Canada. I have been active in the anti-draft movement here ever since. (Lynd 1968, 112)

There were many differences between the draft dodgers and deserters who left for Canada during the war. The draft dodgers left mainly between 1965 and 1970, and were generally white, from the

middle class and educated. The deserters entered Canada mainly between 1968 and 1972, and were younger, from lower classes, and less educated.³² Politically the dodgers were more liberal, while the deserters came from more conservative homes.³³ On matters of principle both groups faced ethical dilemmas about having a part in the war. Many of these exiles felt that they had left the United States on moral principle. Larry Allison, now a Professor of Philosophy in Canada said,

I never intended to weasel out of the draft. Going to Canada was the only moral option available to me. I was not willing to go to jail, because the country was wrong; I wasn't. I thought civil disobedience would be futile and harmful to my life. I saw bumper stickers saying 'America, love it or leave it,' and well, I just chose the second option.³⁴

The draft resisters who probably faced the most difficult challenge were those who deserted from the U.S. Army. Second only to espionage, desertion is considered a crime against the country. For desertion these men faced court martial and potentially lengthy prison time. To activists in the war resistance, desertion simply was the "military counterpart" of the resistance, but it was never this simple.³⁵ Although some men deserted while still in Vietnam, the majority deserted at home. Some made their way to Sweden, others to Canada and many went AWOL while on leave. Over the course of the war over twelve thousand soldiers deserted, but many of them would return to the United States.

Reasons for desertion often had to do with the financial and personal situations the men had left at home. Their backgrounds included broken homes, a lack of education, and financial difficulties that would have excluded them from military service in the pre-Vietnam era. Many poor and uneducated young black men joined the army in hopes of bringing upward mobility to their careers and social standing.

³² Ibid., 181.

³³ Surrey, *Choice and Conscience*, 485.

³⁴ Baskir and Strauss, 183.

³⁵ Ibid., 109.

³¹ Ibid., 87.

Many of the men were from the South, and according to army officials, “undisciplined.”³⁶ Once they joined the army many were unable to cope with military life and went AWOL. Others left families behind that were unable to survive on the small pay from the military, and so husbands returned home to keep their families off welfare. Others who had struggled with addictions prior to the war found that the fighting exacerbated these issues.

Although many of the young black men had hoped to climb a social and career ladder by joining the military, they instead found that they still faced racial issues. In *Chance and Circumstance*, Baskir and Strauss state that “these soldiers were the product of a turbulent, disorienting, conflict ridden period. Whether or not they themselves were socially or politically conscious, they were deeply affected by the unrest in the society from which they came. It was a society of trauma – racial conflicts, riots, drugs, crime... and above all, a growing public disenchantment with the war.”³⁷

Several men went AWOL to seek treatment for trauma and injuries that were not being effectively treated by the military doctors. Baskir and Strauss give the example of John Rainwater, a decorated veteran of the war who went AWOL to see his family doctor when the military refused him permission to see a military psychiatrist. He was ultimately given an undesirable discharge.³⁸ Many of the men simply went back home to their lives and faded somewhat into obscurity.

Some of the deserters who had seen combat in Vietnam had begun to have their own doubts about the war. An unidentified green beret, in an interview with CBC Radio remarked that he had served in Vietnam for 312 days, saw action for about 265 of them, and killed 165 Vietcong. In the interview he discussed his change of heart about the war and said:

I got wounded over there, and they wanted to send me to Walter Reed Army hospital... and through the process they told me to go home... I came to Canada. While we were over there we were

all filled up with this gung ho bit, like go get ‘em, go get ‘em you know, you’ve got to kill these people or you’re not going to survive, and stuff like this. So I decided that after I saw so much action and did so much killing, I decided that this was it, I was going to cut out. (Fetherling 1969)

Many were unaware of their legal alternatives, and as previously stated this route was not always clear. Many were unable to find the counseling or attorneys they needed to make a good legal decision.

So why did these men choose Canada as their destination? At the time of the war many of the men had limited options. Not all foreign countries were friendly to the men, and officials in Japan and Germany were actively pursuing anyone who resisted the draft. Mexico seemed like a viable option at first, but issues with the language and finding work forced many to look elsewhere. Canada was an attractive alternative, with its long border, open land and people who were generally friendly to foreigners. As there was no draft in Canada, dodging the draft in the United States was not considered a criminal offense by the Canadian government. Canadians usually did not approve of conscription and so the general population felt friendly towards those who wished to avoid a draft. Importantly, there were also no treaties between Canada and the U.S. that required the return of those who were dodging the draft in the United States.

Canada has a long history as an immigrant nation. A large and open country, it has never been crowded and the people have long had the desire to grow their population in size and quality to compete with the United States economically and culturally. In the pre-1965 era the country suffered from a brain drain where many intelligent and qualified people immigrated south to the United States in order to find higher paying work. This meant there was a need for educated and skilled immigrants. The early group of Vietnam War exiles from the US were educated and skilled draft dodgers and they were often welcomed

³⁶ Ibid., 129.

³⁷ Ibid., 132.

³⁸ Ibid., 146.

with open arms.³⁹

The experience of the immigration of draft dodgers and deserters during the Vietnam era was not as simple as an open border. Since 1965, many draft dodgers and war resisters had crossed the border, with little or no fanfare. In March of 1967, Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson announced that Canada would not prevent the entry of war resisters, speaking specifically about those who had dodged the draft. At this point the United States wanted to negotiate a treaty that would help extradite the draft offenders back to the United States. In response Paul Martin, the Canadian External Affairs Minister said, “No country in the world has in its domestic law any requirement that imposes on it any obligation to enforce the military service laws of another country.”⁴⁰ By the end of 1967 several thousand dodgers had crossed the border into Canada. The national police force in Canada, the RCMP, remained relatively neutral to the dodgers, as did the border guards. There were occasional issues with border guards inquiring about draft status and rejecting the incoming applicant, but the majority were granted entry. Under Canadian law these men were nothing more than immigrants.

Many of these men (and women) came through the border as landed immigrants. Landed Immigrant status is the equivalent of permanent residency, which allowed resisters the right to stay and work in Canada, and was the first step in obtaining Canadian citizenship. This was sometimes a stressful ordeal because there was the possibility of rejection or refusal of entry. In order to get around this, many entered the country as visitors, then met with various war resister aid groups who

39 This was certainly not the case for all Canadians. In his radio commentary broadcasted on November 3, 1967, commentator Herb Gott states that draft dodgers can hardly be called conscientious objectors, and that “if draft dodgers are truly committed to fighting the war, they should stay and fight for change like [Muhammad] Ali; even if that means jail and martyrdom.” He makes his case based on shaky statistics regarding the fate of conscientious objectors in the United States. (Herb Gott, “Draft Dodgers: Back to America” CBC News Digital Archives audio recording, November 3, 1967).

40 Williams, 51.

would give them counsel on the immigration process. They would then exit the country, another terrifying process, and then immediately return to Canada to apply for landed immigrant status. Ron Stone experienced this process in the Vancouver airport, and described a harrowing ordeal that involved FBI agents inspecting the plane he boarded in Seattle. He was questioned for three hours by Canadian officials, but as he explained, was eventually given landed immigrant status: “The support of my employer, my arguments, and the fact that it was Sunday and an awkward situation to begin with, they ended up letting me in the country. I really didn’t think they were going to – right up to the end, I thought they were going to send me back. On the same flight I’d arrived on, fifteen draft dodgers were sent back to Seattle.”⁴¹

Also in 1967, a point based immigration system was implemented in Canada to help ensure the process was not subjective. In order to qualify as an immigrant you had to earn fifty points, determined by age, education, work experience, skill set, any job offers, languages spoken, and funds being brought into Canada. As many of the dodgers came from middle class families, and had higher education, they were very rarely turned away. This would not be the case for all of the war resisters.

In 1968 Canadian border officials began to see an increase in the number of U.S. Army deserters seeking refuge in Canada. Canada has a long history of harboring deserters from other countries, including Americans from the Korean and World Wars. In 1967, this would change for a period. The Director of Immigration, J.C. Morrison stated in a personal letter to regional directors that “the Department’s view is, as firmly as ever, that we do not want deserters as immigrants. But a recent review revealed that we may have no legal basis on which to order the deportation of an applicant in Canada for the sole reason that he is a deserter.”⁴² Perhaps under pressure from the Americans, in July 1968 Allen MacEachen, the newly appointed Minister of Immigration Affairs sent out a memo leaving the admission of deserters to the discretion of the immigration officials at the border. Most of the of-

41 Gottlieb, 12.

42 Hagan, 42.

ficials took this memo to mean that they could and should deny entry to all declared U.S. Army deserters. Many Canadian border officials were war veterans themselves, and did not look kindly on those who deserted. Canada became a dangerous place for the deserters, as they could be turned over to U.S. custody at the border. They could still enter the country as visitors, but would then have to live illegally. Only 2 percent would receive landed immigrant status during this period.⁴³

It was only through the news media that Canadians realized the dire situation of the deserters. Initially most of the news was negative, with many major newspapers asking why the men were even trying to gain entry. In the spring of 1969 various war resister aid groups began to push for a policy change. The deserters had finally won the sympathy of the Canadian people. The media even began to change its tune, with a headline from the *Toronto Star* reading, "Remove The Barrier To U.S. Refugees."⁴⁴ Many Canadians began to feel that bowing to American pressure would hurt Canadian sovereignty. The United Church of Canada, the largest Protestant church in Canada, also gave its public support to the deserters and the amendment of the policy.⁴⁵ In a CBC Radio broadcast from February 1970, William Spira, a transplanted American who fled the McCarthy administration in 1953, gave advice to both draft dodgers and deserters about loopholes in the Canadian immigration laws, as how to assimilate into the mainstream of Canada. Spira stated that:

In the early days... the vast majority were university students. Today it is an absolute cross-section of the American young people. You have southern kids, you have Midwest kids, you have working-class kids, you have farm kids, you have young people who have never had any connection with... the organized antiwar movement. Their first contact with opposition to the war is after they join the armed forces. (Spira 1970)

⁴³ Williams, 108.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴⁵ Donald W. Maxwell, "Religion and Politics at the Border: Canadian Church Support for American Vietnam War Resisters," *Journal of Church and State* 48, no.4 (2006): 808.

After mounting pressure from the Canadian public, and with no legal grounds on which to continue the current policy, on May 22 1969, MacEachen announced that, "if a serviceman from another country meets our immigration criteria, he will not be turned down because he is still in the active service of his country."⁴⁶ This not only meant that deserters could freely enter the country, but now they could earn immigration points for their military service.

Life in Canada was not always easy, but there were various avenues of support for the new immigrants. In 1966, a group of professors and their wives from the University of British Columbia came together to form the Vancouver Committee to Aid American War Objectors. The group provided fact sheets about Canadian Immigration laws and policies to universities in both Canada and the United States in order to help those who were looking to dodge the draft. The wives in the group also worked to organize housing for those who had recently immigrated, and access to counselling, job information, and attorneys when necessary. They often hired war resisters who had made the transition to Canada successfully to work in their aid centre. Soon other aid offices began to open up in large cities like Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa. In an interview with CBC Radio, one of the organizers of the aid groups stated: "We're providing... not a hostel... we're trying to [make it] more of a halfway house, for young Canadians and Americans who come up here, and the financial burdens of room and board are going to be off their shoulders for a while, so they can look for a job, and get their feet on the ground, and we hope become good Canadian citizens."⁴⁷

In 1966, the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), a group with ties to the American SDS, decided to provide aid to the American war resisters. In 1967 a draft resister named Mark Satin arrived in Toronto, and began to work immediately with SUPA. He was heavily involved in expanding SUPA into the Toronto Anti-Draft Programme (TADP). TADP soon had many supporters in the community, including lawyers and other volunteer workers. The group still had many

⁴⁶ Williams, 112.

⁴⁷ Fetherling.

detractors, and some Canadians were resentful of Americans coming into their country and creating a disturbance. Roger Neville Williams notes that the thought of the period was “draft dodgers, and later even deserters, were fine; Canada was glad to have them, but they must forget whence they came. They must not be political exiles.”⁴⁸ Yet this group made one of the most important contributions to the war resistance in Canada, the production of the TADP Manual for Draft-Age Immigrants to Canada. In 1968 the manual was sent out to universities in the United States. This caused an increase in the numbers of men and women immigrating to Canada in the next few years and by 1970 there were possibly over 50,000 resisters who had immigrated.

The experience that the dodgers had in receiving help from aid groups was not shared by the early deserters. The aid organizations were afraid that they might lose support and funding if they had contact with the deserters, which would prevent them from helping the draft dodgers. Part of the issue was that draft dodgers were primarily middle class and college educated – they had something to offer the country and the aid groups. The deserters were seen as a disgrace to the “noble cause” of the resisters because they could have dodged the draft as well and joined the resistance. Some Canadians saw the deserters as just another part of the war problem.

Many of the deserters were more radical and outspoken than their dodger counterparts. They saw their act as far more drastic and brave in comparison to the actions of the draft dodgers. They were from the working class where they had fewer options than the educated middle class, and they felt suppressed by the antiwar resistance in Canada. In 1968 several deserters in Quebec formed the Montreal American Deserters’ Committee, which was a radical group aiming to publicize the options, and hardships, for deserters in Canada. They published the magazine *The Rebel: Published in Exile*, which was widely circulated in the United States.⁴⁹ Due to the more liberal tendencies of those in Quebec, Montreal was the only place where such a group could develop. There were no groups for deserters on the West Coast, or in Toronto,

⁴⁸ Ibid., 65.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 106.

and so many of the deserters made their way to Montreal.

The deserters were a distinct group, and they were often included in one of four categories.⁵⁰ There were the men who had military experiences that helped them organise and politicize their groups. There were the non-activists, who while they objected to the war, did not want to become political in their new home. They were content to become Canadians, and assimilate into the culture. This was the largest of the groups. There were also the very young deserters. They were often still teenagers, and lived in fear of being deported and sent back to war. They had the most difficult time adjusting to their new circumstances. There was also a small group of what Williams deems “dull young men”, who were not highly intelligent and fell into the army almost by default. Once in Canada they were dependent on aid groups to help them, as they did not have the skills or experience to survive on their own. They were the most likely to end up in jail for various offenses.⁵¹ They were stigmatized because most Canadians saw deserters as an addition to the criminal element, especially as many of them lived in Canada illegally.

A deserter who adjusted well to life in Canada was a young man named Jack Todd. Born in Nebraska to an older, college educated couple who were generally against war, Todd decided at eighteen that he wanted to become a Marine. As a young man he was patriotic and often imagined leading a group of men into battle. During training however, he grew more opposed to the war and the idea of fighting, and was fortunate to wash out of the program due to bad knees. He attended the University of Nebraska, where he focused a lot of his time on the antiwar effort, but dropped out in his senior year to focus on a career as a journalist. As a result he lost his student deferment, and

⁵⁰ Williams, 114.

⁵¹ In 2009 a draft dodger, not a deserter, who had been the prime suspect in the 1972 murders of a couple in Tofino, British Columbia was shot and killed in New Mexico. The news article from 2009 is careful to note mental health issues and religious zealotry, but the fact that the author also identified him as a draft dodger is interesting. (Amy O’Brien, “Suspected Killer of Two Young Tofino Campers Shot Dead in U.S.” *The Vancouver Sun*, July 20, 2009).

despite his bad knees, was drafted by the U.S. Army in 1968.

Todd was sent for training at Fort Lewis in Washington State, and he thought that if he stayed in the army he could serve his time, and then return to journalism and his girlfriend. Before Christmas of 1968 his girlfriend broke things off, and Todd felt like he had no direction or reason to remain in the army any longer. He made the decision to go to Canada. He said, "I realize that I've probably known what I had to do from the day we arrived at Fort Lewis. You don't spend two years fighting to stop a war and then meekly allow yourself to become a cog in the war machine. The war is wrong. To be here is wrong. I have to go. There is no other way. I am going to desert from the United States Army."⁵²

Jack Todd realized that he wanted the opportunity to live his life away from the war. He wanted the opportunity to write and be a journalist. Although he briefly considered Mexico, he realized that Canada was his best option. He notes that the most difficult thing he had to do was leave his parents behind. They were older, and he believed he might never see them again, but he felt that deserting was what he needed to do. He entered Canada in January 1969 as a visitor. He soon found a job with the Vancouver Sun and headed back to the border to apply for landed immigrant status. He stated that "the Canadian government is willing to open its doors to us, but it is not granting political asylum. We are treated like any other immigrant nothing more, nothing less."⁵³

Todd makes note in his memoir, *The Taste of Metal: A Deserter's Story*, that he is grateful to Canada for making him feel welcome. He moved from Vancouver to Montreal, and by the end of 1969 he renounced his American citizenship in protest of the war and the version of America that he left. He has since become a successful writer and journalist in Canada, although he notes that he "feel[s] American and Canadian in roughly equal parts, knowing there's good and bad in both countries."⁵⁴

52 Jack Todd, *The Taste of Metal: A Deserter's Story* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo Canada, 2001), 92.

53 Ibid., 146.

54 Ibid., 250.

Another group that had difficulty adjusting were those in the African American and other black communities. Although most estimates show that there are less than one thousand black resisters who went to Canada, most who went were deserters.⁵⁵ Often from the lower classes and uneducated, they joined the army as a way to advance themselves. Twice the number of blacks who joined the army had done so for advancement, in comparison to white soldiers.⁵⁶ These were men who were much less likely to desert because they faced a worse fate at home compared to the white deserters. Many of the black resisters came from families that had fought to establish themselves socially and financially in the United States, and it was devastating for them to give that up and start over.

Those who made it to Canada found that they too needed a support system, and because of their race they felt more comfortable around one another. Although they were supported by TADP, the black resisters felt that they were not given the same treatment as their white counterparts. In response, the Black Refugee Organization (BRO) was established by a number of black war resisters in 1970. They sought to help those who had already crossed the border, but did not want to encourage others to follow. A member of the BRO, Jim Russell, said of Canada: "[It] is a reasonably sane country, not altogether, but saner than some I could mention. But it's not that easy for blacks in Canada so I would say to brothers on the other side of the border to stay there if it is at all possible – do what you can to resist there."⁵⁷ Most of the black deserters expressed a desire to return to the United States.⁵⁸

Not all experiences were negative for black resisters. Sam, a twenty-year-old black deserter, was interviewed for the book *They Can't Go Home Again*. Sam grew up in the middle class in Virginia, and decided to join the war effort by signing up with the Seabees. He spent most of his time working in clinics in Vietnam, and so when he decided to

55 Williams, 339.

56 Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 49.

57 Williams, 340.

58 Ibid., 341.

immigrate to Canada he had a marketable skill. He found work at a clinic in Canada and was happy with his life.⁵⁹

Mostly, the resisters adjusted well to their new lives in Canada. They felt that they had done the right thing, and hoped that their efforts would help bring about the end of the war. Although the tough economic period from 1970 to 1973 meant that a lot of men could not find work, most became contributing members of Canadian society. One well known example in Canada is that of radio personality Andy Barrie. Barrie was a combat medic about to be shipped to Saigon when he deserted and entered Canada on December 23rd, 1969. He became one of the most well known radio personalities with a show on CBC Radio's Metro Morning that ran throughout Canada for nearly three decades. He is considered a Canadian icon and has said of Canada: "It's beyond my powers to measure my gratitude that all these years ago there was room at the inn called Canada, and how my thoughts today are with the young men who want to study war no more. Blessed are the peacemakers, we're told. I hope they might enjoy the blessings of a life in my home, if not my native, land."⁶⁰

Most resisters saw Canada "as a more mellow, less involved" version of the United States.⁶¹ They saw Canadians as friendlier and less aggressive than Americans, but sometimes they were also considered boring. In a study done by the Vietnam Era Research Project that interviewed war resisters in Canada, the researchers found that the immigrants looked at Canadians with an American perspective. In summary of their findings the researchers noted that "Lack of world aggression is confused, by some, as a lack of purpose. Lack of cultural competitiveness is mistaken for lack of direction. Decentralized government is mislabelled weak government. It is often forgotten that Canada is a confederation, rather than a nation, by constitutional choice. What is totally incorrect is to assume that Canada is merely our little brother

59 Killmer, Lecky, and Wiley, 81.

60 Andy Barrie, "Andy Barrie – Broadcaster" War Resisters Support Campaign, January 8, 2012.

61 Surrey, *Choice of Conscience*, 131.

in the North."⁶²

One piece of information that is most often unknown about the war resister exodus to Canada is that over half of those who left were women. Surrey notes that VERP did not study the impact of women during the Vietnam Era in Canada, mostly due to lack of funding.⁶³ It is interesting because these women were not forced to come, but had their own personal motivations for immigrating. There were women who served in Vietnam, but only about 100 of them ever deserted.⁶⁴ The draft did not apply to them, but it did to the men in their lives, and they were not immune to the emotional costs of the war. About half of the dodgers and deserters who went to Canada brought a spouse or partner with them. There were four different types of women who made the journey. There were the women who were already married to resisters, and who had been for a while before the decision was made to leave. There were the women who had only recently met their husbands or partners, but still made the decision to leave with them. Some of the women arrived well after their husbands or partners had established a life in Canada. And some women came for their own personal conviction, such as Judith Merrill, who moved in opposition to the U.S. foreign policy. These women often made the decision to leave jointly with their husbands, but sometimes they were the ones who made the final decision.⁶⁵

One of the women who made the journey with her husband was Mary Cleemput. Mary's husband was a physician and a draft dodger who felt out of place in the U.S.. Mary herself was a nurse from a conservative, midwest family. They moved to Canada when her husband accepted a job offer with McGill University in Montreal in 1969. At first Mary was unhappy; she had left her career and family in the United States and their marriage was in some trouble. After a period of years where her family back home was harassed by the FBI and her

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid., 1.

64 Baskir and Strauss, 120. The authors include this figure in their chapter on deserters, but do not give a source for the number.

65 Hagan, 29.

husband was facing various charges in the States, her opinion changed. In writing about her experience she notes:

I took out my Canadian citizenship as soon as I could. I was very bitter and anti-American at the time. All we had gone through seemed not to have mattered. Americans thought they could just clear it with amnesty and welcome us all back. They didn't realize that very few of us wanted to go back. We had somehow survived our hurts and loneliness and made ourselves a new home in a more civilized land. (Haig-Brown 1996, 133)

Diane Francis was one among some of the earlier waves of immigrants when she moved to Canada in 1966. She had married an Englishman who was in the U.S. on a green card, and he had been required to register for the draft. They both had negative feelings about the war, but felt there was little they could do about it at home. In James Dickerson's book *North to Canada*, Diane said the following:

The strategy among the boys I went to high school with was that if you were smart enough to go to university, then you did that to get the deferment. If you couldn't go to university, you did a Dan Quayle or a Bill Clinton. You got someone to pull strings for you. That's what most people were thinking about. Frank was no one from nowhere – a working poor immigrant... I hated the damn war, and it wasn't even Frank's country. But everyone had their own reasons. (Dickerson 1999, 9)

Once she and Frank settled in Canada, Diane worked as a reporter and then as editor of the *Financial Post*. She was named "Woman of the Year" by the Canadian *Chatelaine Magazine* in 1992. She considers herself a draft dodger, because she feels that evading the draft and its effects were her reasons for immigrating to Canada.

Suzie Scott was also a young wife when she arrived in Canada with her husband Nathan in 1968. They had been married less than a year before, and her husband was highly opposed to the war. Suzie agreed to move to Canada because she did not want to see her new husband in jail or hiding from the FBI. Prior to moving to Canada she did not have any strong political views, but that changed as she assimilated into Canadian life. She came to love Canada and remained there as a

labor lawyer even after her divorce from Nathan.⁶⁶

Although many of the war resisters had comfortably settled into life in Canada, there was still a demographic that wanted the ability to return to the United States. These were men who had either been unable to immigrate to Canada legally (often military deserters), and so were unable to find meaningful employment. Others simply wanted the ability to return to visit family and friends without fear of prosecution. In the beginning of the 1970s a positive step was beginning in the eyes of those who still considered themselves exiles in Canada. Proposals had been made by Senators and Representatives like Edward Koch to initiate amnesty hearings for war resisters⁶⁷.

By 1973 President Nixon, who was losing the war he had been so desperate to win, ended the draft. Yet there was no attempt at reconciling the thousands of men who had either gone underground in the United States or had fled to other countries in exile. The issue of amnesty was divisive, with exile groups such as AMEX wanting full blanket amnesty for both dodgers and deserters. Military groups such as the Association of the U.S. Army wanted to issue pardons, but not blanket amnesty. This would ensure an individual pardon, rather than a collective pardon, would have to be individually accepted by the draft offenders, and would indicate that they acknowledged their guilt in committing the offenses. War resisters found this to be highly offensive and disregarded the idea entirely. President Nixon felt that blanket amnesty was unacceptable, stating: "I can think of no greater insult to the memories of those who fought and died... those who served, and all to our POWs, to say to them that we are now going to provide amnesty for those who deserted the country."⁶⁸ In the United States, the nega-

66 Christian G. Appy, *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from all Sides* (New York: Viking, 2003), 340.

67 At the end of 1969 Ed Koch made a visit to Canada to determine the fates of the many men and women who had arrived there in the previous years. In his introduction to *They Can't Go Home Again* he compares the road to Canada to a new Underground Railroad for many Americans. (Killmer, Lecky, and Wiley, 6).

68 Baskir and Strauss, 208.

tive image of those who had dodged or deserted continued throughout most of the 1970s.

When President Ford came into office in August of 1974 the issue of amnesty was still pressing. Ford wanted to help improve the tarnished image of the White House following the departure of President Nixon, and thought that the amnesty issue might be a way to unite Americans. It was never his desire to provide amnesty however, and instead he embarked on a program of clemency. In September of 1974 he had just pardoned Nixon for the Watergate scandal, and he now looked toward the draft offenders. His decision to pardon Nixon and then offer clemency to draft offenders angered all sides of the debate. Although Ford sought for a middle ground in his clemency program, both sides saw the program as too excessive.

Ford's clemency program allowed draft offenders to return home, but only upon completion or acceptance of certain conditions. One of the main conditions was the completion of two years of alternative service for both draft dodgers and deserters. The men could complete this service or serve jail time, although jail time rarely occurred, after which they would be granted a full pardon. In addition deserters would receive an undesirable discharge from the Army. This program did not apply to those men who had received Canadian citizenship while abroad. They were considered undesirable aliens and could not receive entry even for the purpose of visiting their families.

Amnesty groups in both Canada and the United States immediately called for a boycott of the program. They felt that the men did not deserve to be punished for making a moral decision, and without amnesty there was still a chance that they may not be pardoned on completion of their alternative service. The alternative service was also to be supervised by the Selective Service which had forced many to dodge or desert in the first place. There was also a deadline placed for joining the program, and anyone who failed to join faced prosecution. Perhaps the most egregious condition of the clemency program for the amnesty groups was the required "acts of contrition", which required the men to cooperate with the Selective Service and swear an oath of

allegiance to the United States.⁶⁹

The clemency program was an overall failure for the Ford administration. Only six percent of those eligible applied for the program, and ultimately only 1800 of those were given clemency, giving credence to the fear of amnesty groups that the pardons would not appear following alternative service.⁷⁰ If the men could not get rid of their criminal records from war resistance their employment opportunities would be negatively affected. On the other hand, the program helped to temper the amnesty issue for a time, but it did not help President Ford win the 1976 election against Jimmy Carter.

When he came into office President Carter had a strong desire to put the Vietnam War behind him and the rest of the United States. The issue that still remained was amnesty for the draft offenders inside and outside the United States. By the time of the 1976 elections the mood in the United States had shifted. Carter had run his campaign on the promise of issuing some form of amnesty during his first one hundred days in office. The fact that he was elected while running on this promise shows the turning of the tide with regards to the negative image of the draft resisters. On his first day in office he granted blanket pardons to draft dodgers, which helped to considerably pacify the amnesty groups protests. In the U.S. this did not affect many of the draft offenders, as most who were in prison had already completed their sentences.

President Carter felt that resisters and dodgers merited pardons over deserters, who were still largely considered criminals and outcasts. In an interview with NBC's Brian Williams for a "Vietnam and the Presidency" conference held in 2006, former President Carter stated:

[When] I left the inaugural stage and platform and went inside the Capitol Building, before I even went to the White House, I signed a directive that gave a pardon to all those who had defected from the military in order to avoid service in Vietnam. I didn't pardon deserters from the military, but those who did defect and went to Canada; I gave a blanket pardon to them. It was very

⁶⁹ Baskir and Strauss, 215.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

difficult political issue. And I know that within that same brief period of time, I spoke to the American Legion, I believe it was, and my action in giving the pardon was not the most popular thing in that big forum. But it was the right thing to do, and I was just following up, basically, on the heroic action that President Gerald Ford had taken in trying to heal our nation, and to give us a chance to move beyond the Vietnam War and obsession with Vietnam into another era of life. (Carter 2006)

President Carter did eventually begin a deserter program that was a mutual agreement between the White House, the Department of Defense and the Justice Department. Due to administration and bureaucratic issues, there were many inequalities in the program and most of the men received lopsided treatment. Despite this, a large majority of the deserters decided to either return to the U.S. or turn themselves over to the system. This was the group that had pushed the hardest for amnesty while in Canada. With limited skills, lack of employment and difficulty assimilating in Canada, they had the greatest desire to return home. Overall the amnesty program was only marginally successful in its first six months, when only 85 exiles returned to the United States.

There was also the issue of not dishonoring the returning veterans who had remained in the military. The war resistance groups pushed hard against this line of thought. In the 1972 amnesty hearings held by Senator Edward Kennedy, the groups expressed their belief that the deserters should be treated equally with the dodgers: the deserters were simply men who had joined the resistance while in the military, and they were morally equivalent to the dodgers. There was also support for amnesty coming from the returning Vietnam veterans, such as Ron Kovic, author of *Born of the Fourth of July*. Hagan notes in *Northern Passage* that his research indicates “much more cooperation than conflict between resisters and veterans who opposed the war.”⁷¹

Many Vietnam veterans became involved in the antiwar movement, and in doing so cooperated with many of the resisters who had never seen Vietnam. In *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, Gerald Nicosia looks at the veterans who returned

home to participate in the antiwar movement. He also looks at public faces of the veterans' movement such as Ron Kovic and Jan Barry, the veteran who founded Vietnam Veterans against the War. In *The New Winter Soldiers: GI and Veteran Dissent During the Vietnam Era*, Richard Moser discusses the antiwar movement carried out by soldiers both at home and in Vietnam. *The Vietnam Veteran Redefined: Fact and Fiction* also discusses the soldiers who went to war and how they were changed physically and psychologically. These changes prompted many to push for new resolutions to end the war, as well as to receive fair treatment for those who returned home.

Amnesty would also mean a level of acknowledgement of the mistakes of the war. Older generations were the ones who reacted with the most negativity towards the issue of amnesty, because they had previously served their country in more popular wars, such as the First and Second World Wars. Amnesty did mean that those men who had obtained Canadian citizenship would finally be allowed to re-enter the U.S. for the purpose of visiting family and friends, and any business purposes. The last question for these war resisters who had fled to Canada was: are they going to return?

As the matter of amnesty developed, many Canadians watched to see what the decisions would be from their new arrivals. Would these men and women that they had welcomed now leave because they were given the amnesty they desired? This turned out to be almost a non-issue as the mass exodus from Canada never occurred. Most of those who left for Canada saw themselves as immigrants, not exiles, and a survey in 1970 showed that 78 percent of them intended to stay.⁷² In fact most of those who left for Canada never had the intention of returning to the United States. This was in part due to the belief that amnesty for the war resisters may never come in the United States, but it was also due to a shift in their allegiance. Many of the war resisters saw Canada as their saviour, a refuge from the U.S. militarism. Most had established lives in their new communities, found employment, started businesses, raised families, and many had obtained Canadian citizenship. One war resister, Alfred Clemens, felt that the amnesty

⁷¹ Hagan, 155.

⁷² Baskir and Strauss, 185.

was a smoke screen, and he did not want to return to the United States as a “second-class citizen.”⁷³ Another resister, Michael Hendricks, felt that even though the war was over, the issues that surrounded the antiwar movement in the United States continued: “After the war was over, even though I was “pardoned” by President Carter, I decided to stay. Frankly I was disappointed that the end of the Vietnam War brought no change in America. For me the problem was structural and it would happen again. The American war machine was only stalled, not broken.”⁷⁴

In *Northern Passage*, John Hagan points to the fact that there were slightly more female than male resisters who chose to remain in Canada following amnesty. He sees this as an indication of their commitment to their new lives. Most of the women who had arrived with husbands or partners had separated from them after a few years in Canada, but still chose to remain in their new country. These women were choosing to stand by their decision to leave a country for much more than a current war.

The issue of social standing was important for many of the resisters who chose to remain in Canada. Patrick Grady, a dodger who would have faced two years of alternative service in the United States, had established a life and had become involved in the Canadian political structure. He wrote several books on the Quebec separatist movement, and was employed in the Canadian government. If he returned he would be starting all over, and he found this unappealing.⁷⁵ Others cautiously watched the experiences of those who did return, and they saw the negative reception. Albert Gargiulo, a draft resister and engineer who moved to Florida soon found himself fired from his job and ostracized in his community for his decision to resist the draft.⁷⁶ This was not an uncommon occurrence, and helped deter many from returning to the U.S.

⁷³ Dickerson, 144.

⁷⁴ Michael Hendricks, “Vietnam War Resisters: Then and Now,” *letthemstay.ca*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 157.

By living for several years in Canadian communities, many of these war resisters found themselves slowly absorbing Canadian culture, and they did not want to start all over in assimilating back in the U.S.. Most of those who remained in Canada have expressed that they are a combination of American and Canadian – never completely losing their roots. Many who would have identified themselves as liberals in the United States now found themselves among the political mainstream in Canada.⁷⁷ A resister named Richard Deaton stated, “after living in Canada for so many years, I realized I would never fit in there again, even if I wanted to. I wouldn’t fit in either culturally or politically.”⁷⁸ An unnamed resister interviewed by James Tollefson said the following about his new life in Canada:

By staying in Canada, I had the power to recreate myself. Like many draft dodgers, I became a Canadian nationalist. In my politics, I’m usually anti American...I’m like other American draft dodgers too in that I’m a little pushy, a little brasher than Canadians. If you drop your average Americans draft dodger into a Canadian context, you’ll find that he talks too much at parties. (Tollefson 1993, 169)

The men who largely chose to return to the United States were the deserters, as this group found themselves the most disadvantaged in Canada. They often lacked the education and skills needed to find meaningful employment, and were more likely to be discriminated against in their new communities. Many of these men had chosen Canada as an escape, and were now able to return to the United States without fear of prosecution. Those who did return, such as John David Herndon, still struggled to fit into their previous lives. Herndon, who

⁷⁷ An example of this is from the 2005 Vancouver mayoral elections, where a well known politician and draft dodger named Jim Green lost to a quadriplegic named Sam Sullivan. Green is notably more liberal than Sullivan and the *Vancouver Sun* noted that in addition to being a draft dodger he “has the style and temperament of a dock worker”. It is interesting also to note that this man in the public eye was still being identified as a draft dodger (but then that’s just politics). (“Quadriplegic, Draft Dodger Vie for Mayor” *National Post*, November 19, 2005).

⁷⁸ Dickerson, 82.

had deserted to France and returned before total amnesty was granted, was interviewed for a radio program in Raleigh, North Carolina where he was raked over the coals for his decision to desert. Many of the callers to the program thought he was a coward who wanted to be rewarded for his actions. Yet one deserter in Canada noted, "We do not want to be welcomed back as moral heroes, just as ordinary citizens."⁷⁹

These were ordinary citizens. Many of these men and women made the decision to leave the United States for Canada in order to continue their lives without the weight of the war on their shoulders. Most did not want to be a part of the war or part of the antiwar movement in the United States. Their decision to remain in Canada shows more about their decision to leave the United States; that it was not a semi-permanent move, but a decision to begin a new life. By the end of the war many of these men and women had established families, lives and careers, and the idea of returning to the United States and starting over was no longer appealing. They were not unpatriotic or cowardly, but were men and women who wanted their opportunity for the American Dream, even if that meant living it out in Canada. They wanted to live their lives without the war in Vietnam holding them back. This time the decision to leave was much more difficult than the decision to stay.

Today, the men and women who remained in Canada are a diverse group. Those we have information about are often the ones who are more vocal about their decision, and are also often those who are fighting for the current generation of Iraq War resisters in Canada and the United States. Letthemstay.ca, a war resisters support campaign website designed to generate support for Iraq War resisters to be allowed refuge in Canada, has several different articles and interviews with Vietnam era resisters, which include how they have spent their time in Canada. They range from careers in public service and business, to the film industry and broadcasting. Tobey Anderson, an artist who immigrated to Canada in 1969, and became a citizen in 1975, has since received several awards in Canada for his work, and is a leader

79 James Reston Jr. *The Amnesty of John David Herndon*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 145.

in the artistic community. Michael Klein, a practicing physician, attributes his decision to remain in Canada to the Canadian health care system. He states that "caring for each other is best exemplified by the Canadian Medicare system. And caring for the world and independent thinking was exemplified by how we were treated by Canadians as draft deserters/resisters."⁸⁰ A deserter who chose to remain in Canada, John Swalby, discussed how his life is now three decades later in an interview for the Vietnam Archive Oral History Project. He feels now that the United States is a foreign country, and that he is a lot more comfortable travelling in Europe. When asked by the interviewer if he ever has any doubts about his decision to desert, Swalby stated: "No, not at all. Everything that's happened to me in my life has pretty much reinforced the correctness of that decision. It wasn't necessarily going to be that way. I didn't know that at the time."⁸¹

It is clear that race, class, gender, and education were important factors in the various stages of the exodus to Canada. The dodgers who chose to leave knew they had a fairly decent chance of adapting to life in Canada, whereas the deserters found themselves still struggling to compete socially and in the job market. Those who had an education, skills, or the ability to start anew in a new country were able to establish careers, families, and adapt to a new culture. Men and women made sacrifices, ended relationships, and faced an uncertain future, all with the purpose of giving themselves a life with the ability to choose not to participate in actions they felt were morally wrong. The women who remained in Canada chose to do so without pressure from the United States government to participate in the Vietnam War. They chose to remain because they no longer identified with, or agreed to, the actions that had led the United States to Vietnam in the first place.

The resisters who made the decision to return to the United States were those who found Canada appealing as an escape, but not as a permanent change. These were men and women who were less able

80 Michael Klein, "Vietnam War Resisters: Then and Now," letthemstay.ca.

81 John Swalby, "The Vietnam Archive Oral History Project: Interview with John Swalby," by Stephen Maxner. March 19, 2001, Vietnam Archive at Texas Tech University. virtual.vietnam.ttu.edu.

to sever the tie with their native land, and who had not experienced as warm of a welcome in Canada. African American men struggled to adapt as they left behind their communities and cultures for a very different kind in the north. Canada often provided an uneven welcome, which affected those who made the decision to return.

There was, however, more to surviving in Canada than background and experience. Those who thrived made the decision to become involved Canadians, and to find their place in their new country. Many had felt out of place in the United States, but now they found they were part of the political and economic mainstream. Canada also benefitted from the new arrivals. The majority became upstanding, contributing citizens. They were more than war resisters, they were Canadians.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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FOR FURTHER READING

“Effects of the New Deal on American Politics” by Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 73–80.

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SIENNA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

KYLER WILLIAMSEN

THE TUSCAN CITY OF SIENA WAS A REMARKABLE MIXTURE OF POLITICAL rivalry and familial machinations during the Middle Ages, with powerful merchant families emerging in Siena after the collapse of centralized government in Italy during the fifth and sixth centuries. As banking, in the form of large personal loans, evolved into a common practice, these merchant families often reinvested their wealth in banking rather than trade. With an increase of wealth among these banking families, largely generated by the interest on these banking loans, came an increase in political power in the city. In Siena, these great merchant and banking families formed a city council, the Council of the Bell, which operated under extreme partisan influence. This research will demonstrate how the solutions Siena found to the factional politics of the great families of Siena were largely ineffective at curbing the power of the great Siennese families, creating an even more cunning and manipulative rule over the city by the great families.

As was common in medieval Italy, Siena was driven and divided by the political factions aligned along familial lines, with great families acquiring money and wealth in any way possible, including the direct and indirect manipulation of political officials. Various civic records spanning from approximately 1260 to 1308, which were mainly for the purposes of taxation, give us a short list of fifteen powerful and wealthy families in Siena. Of these fifteen families, the most powerful were “the greatest landowning bankers, [the] Salimbeni, Tolomei, Piccolomini, Bonsignori, Gallerani, [and the] Malavolti. The political predominance of this very small group of wealthy families is indeed

the special feature of Siennese oligarchy.”¹ Some of these great banking families carved out specialized niches in the Siennese political power structure, such as the Malavolti, who monopolized Siennese church positions,² or the Tolomei who in addition to banking, also had far reaching and profitable trade, stretching from France to the Levant.³

To counteract the increasing political power held by the factious families, the Siennese people at first began the process of electing a podestà, or city magistrate, to govern their city, a practice not uncommon in Tuscany during the latter medieval period. Second, during the period of Imperial and Papal rivalry which began with the famous Henry IV and continued to Frederick Barbarossa and beyond, the Guelf and Ghibelline parties emerged in Italy, supporting the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor respectively. This rivalry eventually led to a civil war in Italy. Thirdly, the Republic of Florence eventually conquered her neighbors, which led to the installation of the Nine Governors of Siena, superimposed over the podestà. Despite these many evolutions in civic government, the great banking families of Siena maintained a great amount of political power in the city, and often operated outside the laws established by the podestà or the Nine.

As these families fought for ever increasing control over the city, a great need arose for an impartial mediator – the podestà. To find impartiality however, the Siennese would have to look far beyond their sphere of influence, to northern Italy. To understand why Siena, or any other Italian city, would seek a foreigner to decide political matters, we must examine the circumstances preceding the installment of the podestà as a permanent fixture of Siennese government. The Council of the Bell, consisting of members of these prominent Siennese banking and merchant families, had the duty of selecting citizens to serve as consuls to the city. These consuls were to act as city administrators,

reporting back to the Council at the end of their yearly term of office. At the end of this yearly term, an audit of their governance would occur, and “in the case of malfeasance they might be severely punished.”⁴ Eventually this audit, called sindacato in Italian, would extend to every government official in Siena. When familial politics created suspicion in the quality of the investigation of the Council of the Bell, “The council came to consider itself unequal to the task of sindacamentum, or at least became impressed with the convenience of having the audit carried out by an appointee who had its confidence.”⁵ Because of internal political conflicts and “the intrigues of ambitious politicians,”⁶ the Council of the Bell began the occasional practice of hiring a temporary officer, the podestà, to arbitrate between feuding families and potentially dubious consular activities.

As the presence of an impartial observer proved beneficial, the Council of the Bell agreed that the office of podestà should become permanent. The consensus among the members of the Council is superbly described in the following words:

“Since there were here, as everywhere and always, people who had an ax to grind, the choice of this person, charged to act as supreme arbiter, must soon have become a matter of the highest importance; and it is only natural that the council should have been prompted to look beyond the agitated sphere of city politics to some disinterested foreigner to fill the post. And it is no less natural that on finding such a foreigner, one who filled all the requirements, especially the one of non-partisanship, the council should have been inclined, not only to have him audit the administration of the consuls, but also to let him continue in office in their stead.”⁷

The first of these podestà to receive a permanent appointment

1 Daniel Waley, *Siena and the Siennese in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 79.

2 William M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena Under the Nine, 1287-1355* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1981), 18.

3 Waley, 32.

4 Ferdinand Schwill, “The Podestà of Siena,” *The American Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (Jan. 1904): 251.

5 *Ibid.*, 251.

6 Schwill, 261.

7 *Ibid.*, 251-252.

was Orlandino Malapresa, a man from the coastal town of Lucca⁸ in Tuscany. Primarily these men selected to be the Sienese podestà were drawn from a cache of “experienced... men trained in the law, mostly from Lombardy and Emilia.”⁹ The fact that the Sienese sought men for the position of podestà outside of Tuscany clearly shows their desire to reach beyond the influence of the rival Florence and internal factions.

The podestà, however, would not remain immune to the deep rifts in Sienese politics indefinitely. Eventually, the character and behavior of the podestà would come into question in the middle decades of the thirteenth century. Regular parades were held in Siena in which the podestà and his attendant judges, notaries and clerks were required to attend. This was done to ensure that “the city’s foreign officials and police were actually present”¹⁰ in the city which they governed and not living in the bribed luxury of a country villa estate. The plausibility of ‘appreciative’ gifts of land within the Sienese contado¹¹ given to local authorities is not beyond the realm of possibility. The great banking families of Siena frequently reinvested their earnings into the purchase of land, both in and out of the city itself.

Disputes with the Catholic Church, which was quite powerful in Siena and often embroiled in familial politics, also brought the impartiality of the podestà into question. In 1291, Tommaso de Anzola was removed from the office of podestà after a particularly grievous dispute with the Church. Tommaso had condemned a priest for murder, which was “an infraction of ecclesiastical privilege.”¹² The Malavolti family, as previously stated, had great control over the offices of the Church in Siena. In fact, “the very office of bishop of Siena seemed almost their

8 Giuliano Catoni, *Breve Storia di Siena* (Pisa: Pacini Editore S.p.A., 1999), 13.

9 Waley, 42.

10 *Ibid.*, 44.

11 The term *contado* is used here as defined by William Bowsky, meaning “those lands [meaning lands and smaller towns] directly subject to Sienese jurisdiction.” (Bowsky, 7) Much of southern Tuscany was under the Sienese *contado* during the thirteenth century.

12 *Ibid.*, 44.

private preserve, for every Sieneſe biſhop from 1282 to 1371, with the exception of a ſingle decade, belonged to this family.”¹³ The condemnation of this prieſt, who was no doubt of Malavolti allegiance, reſulted in the expulſion of Tommaſo when the biſhop of Siena intervened.

This great familial power over the various local church offices had entangled the ſuppoſedly indifferent poſteſtà in the politics of the city’s great families. Nor was this a lone inſtance of eccleſiaſtical interpolation with familial politics in Siena. In 1331, 40 years after the incident with Tommaſo de Anzola, men from the Salimbeni family “with the connivance of the prieſt of the pariſh...concealed ſome armed men in a cellar... [and] on the following morning, [as ſome Tolomei men went for a walk]...the ſoldiers came out of their hiding place and attacked them, cutting [one] to pieces, [and] wounding [two others].”¹⁴ This anecdote from Sieneſe hiſtory is clear proof that the church in Siena, as elſewhere in Europe, was a tool to advance the agenda of the powerful families. The great families’ control over the ſuppoſedly impartial church could cauſe the poſteſtà to inadvertently incriminate himſelf, reſulting in his expulſion from the city and his office.

Prior or developed political orientation could alſo reſult in poſteſtal investigation. A mere five years after the removal of Tommaſo de Anzola from office, the appointment of a poſteſtà from Rieti was revoked due to his affiliation with the Ghibelline Party, which was extremely unpopular in Siena at this time.¹⁵

However, the greateſt evidence of the interference of factional politics in the neutral office of poſteſtà is the fact that during the laſt decade of the thirteenth century, the poſteſtà was required to undergo the very ſame ſindicato which he was originally hired to conduct for the other local civic offices. Waley, an expert on late mediæval Siena gives us an excellent ſummary of this new audit.

¹³ Bowsky, 18.

¹⁴ “Vendetta in Fourteenth-Century Siena,” in *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation*, ed. Katherine L. Jansen, Joanna Drell, Frances Andrews, trans. Trevor Dean, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 133.

¹⁵ Waley, 45.

After completing his term of office the Poſteſtà remained at Siena for at leaſt a week (the period had been prolonged to ten days by the early fourteenth century) while a full investigation (*ſindicatio*) of his regime was undertaken, with particular reference to the financial aſpects of his tenure. Five men were named for the inquiry and the Poſteſtà had to depoſit 500 l. as a ſurety until cleared by this board.¹⁶

The manipulation and interference from familial factional politics in Siena clearly affected the office of the poſteſtà. The fact that the poſteſtà was required to be ſyndicated by the commune ſhowed a lack of faith in the office, which was originally created to ſolve this very problem in the local government. The ſuſpicion of the poſteſtà diſplayed here demonſtrates the general belief that the poſteſtà was not only ſuſceptible to the political machinations of the great Sieneſe banking families, but that it was even probable that the poſteſtà had participated in clandestine dealings with one or more of the powerful families.

It was during this decline in poſteſtal power and clear lack of unbiased governance that a ſecond great evolution in Sieneſe government occurred, with the riſe of the Guelf and Ghibelline parties in Italy. In the greater European world, tenſe rivalry between the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor had been ſteadily building for almoſt a century, and due to its location, northern Italy was unavoidably caught in the middle of the conflict. As often as not, the deciſion to ſide with one party or the other was based on a projected and expected gain after the outcome of future conflicts had been determined. Siena was no different. Beginning with the diſagreements between the German Emperor Henry IV and the powerful and influential Pope Gregory VII in Rome, ſeemed civil war would be inevitable.

He [Gregory VII] inſiſted on the celibacy of the clergy, the firſt condition neceſſary for the devoted and obedient hierarchy, and at the council of the Lateran held in 1075, forbade all prieſts to receive inſtitution at the hands of laymen. This branded with illegality a feudal cuſtom which had been regarded as uſual in the confirmation of a prelate, and began a diſpute which laſted throughout the middle ages...

¹⁶ Waley, 44.

he tightened the band of intellectual submission to the authority of Rome... the seal was set to the efforts of a long career, when the Emperor Henry IV, clad in the shirt of penitence, stood with bare feet throughout three winter days in the courtyard of the castle of Canossa, and sued in vain for pardon. The rivalry between pope and emperor eventually took the form of civil war between Guelfs and Ghibellines¹⁷.

These unpopular decisions by the Papacy increased tensions, and the initial response not to readmit the excommunicated Henry to the Catholic faith did not help. Henry would eventually be readmitted, but the damage had already been done.

To better understand the developments which would come to define Siena in the late thirteenth century, we turn to the work of Oscar Browning, a noted European historian of the late nineteenth century.

The death of Henry V in 1125 gave prominence to two factions whose names are intimately associated with the internal wars of Italy. The Salian or Franconian Emperors, the descendents of Conrad, were also known by the name of Waiblingen from a castle which the occupied in the diocese of Augsburg. The house of Bavaria having had many princes of the name Wölf, came to be generally known by this appellation. The two words were Italianized into Ghibellino and Guelfo... Speaking generally, the Ghibellines were the party of the emperor and the Guelfs the party of the Pope; the Ghibellines were on the side of authority, or sometimes of oppression, the Guelfs were on the side of liberty and self-government.¹⁸

Initially, Siena stood with the Ghibelline faction, primarily to give opposition to their rival, Guelf Florence, than for any adherence to ideals. During this time of warfare and great international stress, the great families of Siena sought for increased power and control. For example, in 1260 the Salimbeni family was reported to have granted an immediate loan of nearly 120,000 florins to the city of Siena to pay for German mercenaries immediately prior to the Battle of Montaperti.¹⁹

¹⁷ Browning, 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., 6, 13.

¹⁹ Waley, 33.

The Salimbeni continued to loan the city money to pay fines imposed by the ultimate victors of this civil war, "indicat[ing] the Salimbeni's considerable financial hold over the commune."²⁰ Such loans undoubtedly placed civic leaders under the influence, if not total control, of the Salimbeni family. This example, and many others like it, distinctly demonstrates the cunning avarice of the great Siennese families. The civil war would conclude with Florence and the Guelf party victorious, despite a heroic Siennese victory at the Battle of Montaperti in 1260. What followed after, however, would completely change the governmental structure of Siena.

The third mutation in Siennese government came when Florence had achieved what it thought was victory and dominance over its longtime rival, Siena. Guelf Florence had previously conquered Ghibelline Pisa, another longtime rival, and the domination of that city was relatively uneventful. With the subdual of Pisa complete, Siena became the only remaining obstacle to the dominance of Florence in all of Tuscany. With the international tensions between the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy reduced, Florence was able to also subdue Siena. Fearful of the power wielded by the great Siennese bankers, the ruling merchant families of Florence sought to shatter the control of the very similar great families of Siena by installing the Nine Governors, who were to assume control of the government, superseding even the podestà in authority.

In February of 1287, the Nine assumed superficial control of Siena.²¹ The Nine were drawn from a group of merchants called the *Noveschi* who were approved by Florentine families. In theory, the Nine were to govern the city in the stead of the podestà and the older Council of the Bell. Well aware of the political climate and rival families of Siena, the Nine were to be the solution to Siena's constant rivalries.

With the Nine also came many other Florentine officials,

The greatest actual power resided in the signory... It was comprised of the Nine and of ... the four *Provveditori* [the leading financial magistracy]...the four Consuls of the *Mercanzia* or merchant guild, and

²⁰ Ibid...

²¹ Waley, 93.

the three Consuls of the Knights or “Captains of the [Guelf] Party.”²²

However, the installation of these new officers did little to change the actual source of power in thirteenth and early fourteenth century Siena, and “if the Nine’s first leaders saw themselves as superseding the ‘old’ families they were to encounter disillusionment.”²³ The power held by the great families in Siena would not easily be relinquished or usurped.

The Nine initially sought to remain aloof from partisan politics which were ever-present in Siena, much as the podestà which preceded them did.²⁴ One step which was taken by the Nine to eliminate any potential for family rivalries entering their ranks was to exclude the great magnate families of Siena from eligibility of election to the Nine. The Noveschi, the pool from which the Nine were elected, was composed of “the so-called excluded magnates... of both Guelf and Ghibelline origin.”²⁵ This again gave the banking families power in the government, because the Noveschi were Siennese merchants, and though they were properly vetted by the Florentines, they were nevertheless wholly susceptible to the political scheming of the Siennese bankers. Furthermore, “the Council of the Bell functioned much as it had earlier,” but with the Nine convening the council rather than the podestà; and while the podestà “ordinarily chaired council sessions... this function fell to the captain of the people.”²⁶

Additionally, the Siennese families managed to edge out the four Consuls of the Mercanzia, the leaders of the guilds established by the Florentine victory over Siena. “In many medieval cities guilds achieved a powerful constitutional position when the ‘popular’ element gained a share in the regime... In Siena the craft guilds won no such authority... though on some occasions their officials played a consultative

22 Bowsky, 22.

23 Waley, 94.

24 Judith Hook, “The Rule of the Nine in Siena: Between 1285 and 155 the turbulent Siennese enjoyed a period of unaccustomed peace,” *History Today* 28, no. 1 (January 1978): 23–24.

25 Bowsky, 87.

26 *Ibid.*

role.”²⁷ The initial manipulation that Siennese magnate families played allowed them to have a continued hand in the government.

As the middle of the fourteenth century approached, the great Siennese families had achieved an “appearance ... in key positions and in all major offices, with a few even serving on the Nine despite [the] legislative prohibition.”²⁸ This shows that the Siennese banking families found their new circumstances as a client state to Florence acceptable, primarily because they were able to participate in the government of the city much as they had before, though under the Nine, the subtlety needed to achieve these positions was definitely greater.²⁹ These Siennese families had the benefit of centuries of political manipulation to aid them in the infiltration of the desired government offices.

Under both the rule of the podestà and the Nine, the Siennese banking families operated largely as they pleased, with little fear of reprisals, which were generally weak and easily afforded by the wealthy banking clans. An example of this is given in the bloody feud between the Salimbeni and the Tolomei families. In late December, 1321, a young man of the Sinibaldi family, a subset of the greater and more powerful Salimbeni, was attacked and killed by a young Tolomei and his accomplices. In April of 1322, the Salimbeni exacted their revenge. Surrounding and sealing the Piazza Tolomei with armed men, the Salimbeni vigilantes climbed ladders they had brought, entered the Palazzo Tolomei and killed approximately half a dozen Tolomei men. That September, the rivalry became so fierce that the Tolomei and the Salimbeni had both assembled a small army of men, so much so in fact, that “the city was all in arms.”³⁰ The podestà and the captain of the popolo intervened before the conflict was able to initiate, doubtlessly saving the lives of scores of Siennese men. Though the leaders of this particular city-wide riot were arrested, the power which the great families held over the governing officials is shown in their light punishments. “The podestà condemned Messer Francesco [of the Tolomei] and his sons

27 Waley, 19.

28 Bowsky, 83.

29 *Ibid.*, 80.

30 Vendetta, 132.

and nephews to pay 1000 florins each and the others 500 lire.”³¹

This rivalry continued for several more years, until the Salimbeni felt confident enough to engage the Tolomei in a “great battle,”³² which again resulted in

The Government of the Nine [telling] its Captain of War and the podestà to go there with troops to separate the combatants, and this they did. Once the disturbance was settled, the Nine, learning that the Salimbeni had started it, convicted fifteen of that family to pay 6000 lire within certain deadlines. They also ordered one member of the Tolomei to pay 3000 lire, and forty-five others 100 florins each (15,000 lire in total) within a certain time, in order to avoid being declared rebels.³³

Again, this time with the Salimbeni, the greatest punishment is a fine. These fines were of little concern to these two families, who as great banking families, could easily afford to pay them. The vast fortunes of the Salimbeni, Tolomei and other families allowed them to operate outside the law, rendering the power of the podestà and the Nine ineffective. This rivalry between the Salimbeni and the Tolomei would continue in its bloody, murderous path until at least 1346, spanning over twenty-five years.³⁴

The medieval commune of Siena was totally absorbed in the politics of the great banking families which fought for control of the city and the contado. The Sienese had sought to dampen the fires of familial infighting by hiring foreign lawyers, the podestà, to officiate with indifference. The magnate banking families quickly evolved and manipulated the podestà just as easily as they had the Council of the Bell before it. As international tensions broke into war, great families like the Salimbeni took the opportunity to profit from the war by indebting the city to them through massive cash loans. When the government of the city changed according to Florentine dictates, and the

Nine Governors assumed control of the civic government, the Sienese banking families continued their practice of political manipulation and subtle intrigue. Despite any of the laws or officials Siena acquired, the great families would continue to feud and attempt to achieve supremacy over their rivals. Families killed members of rival families, with these feuds sometimes involving large numbers of the city’s population. The punishments which these families received for the intentional murders incurred during these clan feuds were comparatively small to the vast fortunes these banking families held, rendering the authority of government officials futile. It is evident that the majority of political power in Siena was always held between and contested among the great banking families, and that city officials like the podestà or the Nine were merely superficial figureheads with little or no real power.

31 Ibid. The approximate modern value of 1000 Florins is a staggering \$200,000 USD.

32 Ibid., 133.

33 Ibid..

34 Ibid., 131-134.

AFRIKANER IDENTITY: THE QUESTION OF RACE.

BEN MUHLESTEIN

ALMOST FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO A SMALL DUTCH COLONY WAS erected in South Africa. In order to establish a way point on the route past the cape in 1652 the Dutch East India Company ordered the construction of a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope. The Company allowed a few of its employees to begin farming the new territory for better stability in the way station. The small point there was eventually joined by various immigrant groups, French Huguenots, German mercenaries, and other came to also live in this small South African colony.

The small colony was ruled mostly by those living there and Company law for more than a century. By 1795 the small refreshment station had grown, colonists had spread all over what is now South Africa. There had been many conflicts, but the settlers were strong and kept growing. By then the colony boasted approximately 20,000 colonists and about twenty five thousand slaves with more freed slaves and other occupants living there as well. It was at this time as well that the British had taken control of the Colony. At that time the area had seen 140 years of European involvement. What came out of those years could have been suspected, but still surprised some. These Eurocentric colonists had formed into a new ethnic group, and by 1822 were calling themselves Africaaners.¹

These people were already speaking a mixed version of Dutch now called Afrikaans. They were made up of the primary European colonist groups Dutch, French and German. Most were Christian. They were farmers, ranchers or Burghers as they were otherwise known. These are

1 Giliomee, Hermann. Mbenga Bernard. New history of South Africa. Cape Town: NB publishers, 2007. 71.

just some of the aspects that can be viewed as part of the identity of the Afrikaner people.

There are many aspects to being an Afrikaner, but one aspect remains controversial. Are these people racist? It was an Afrikaner government that set up the Apartheid. Apartheid itself is an Afrikaner word, but can this reasonably be accepted as a trait given to all who are Afrikaner? In this article we will discuss the Afrikaner identity, what drives it and whether Apartheid itself is a part of this complex identity of the Afrikaner.

The Ideal Afrikaner

As mentioned before there are many parts to Afrikaner identity. Most identities, both personal and group, are nothing but complex. Many people spend their lives trying to find out who they are, groups such as the Afrikaners have spent centuries building an identity for themselves. In order to better understand the concept each major part of their identity will be discussed. Starting with language and continuing on through race each topic will be seen and how it gives identity to the Afrikaners.

Afrikaans

The history of Afrikaans is the same as that of its speakers. It is a dialect or daughter language of Dutch. In older times it was referred to as Cape Dutch, or more derogatively, Kitchen Dutch. As any other language will do in time and proper place Afrikaans developed under a conjuncture of languages and peoples. The Dutch system at the cape had little influence to guard against a corruption of the official Dutch. According to the New history of South Africa the "Schools offered a rudimentary education and were poorly attended."²

Over time and without a watch over it Dutch was mixed with several other languages, most notably "Malay, Portuguese, Khoi, German,

French, Arabic, indigenous black languages and English."³ With similar results that are seen today with other mixed languages, Afrikaans didn't stay too long as a dialect, but became its own language with a more simplified grammar. As early as 1822 it was noted in particular that the Dutch spoken in South Africa was not normal. "Another observer wrote: '[They] all speak a very bad sort of Dutch.'"⁴ There were many people who helped further the language and its structure. J.D. Du Toit for example was a poet and also a translator that helped translate the bible into Afrikaans. Besides the Bible, hymns, music, poems and all forms of literature have been published in Afrikaans, also sealing its legitimacy as a language.

The language itself took much longer to be recognized, it finally was officially recognized in 1925 and made an official language of South Africa. In the 1961 constitution Dutch was taken out as an official language, Afrikaans having taken its place in the country.

Simply having a language is not all that makes it part of identity, though it does define a people as it did and does for the Afrikaners. Though more than half of the language group that speaks Afrikaans is of "coloured" origin Afrikaner typically refers only to "a part of the Afrikaans language community that formed the ruling class in the dispensation of apartheid."⁵ Thus the language itself could be neglected in the discussion of a true Afrikaner. Though it is certainly necessary in the discourse, according to the Apartheid era race also has to be present for the definition to fit.

Religion

Religion is another area of Afrikaner identity that often has been criticized. Since the beginning the majority of the population has been Christian. French Huguenots and other interpretations have raised the

2 Ibid.

3 Wasserman, Herman. "Intercultural Dialogue in Recent Afrikaans Literary Texts: A Discourse of Identity." *Pretexts: Literary & Cultural Studies* 10, no. 1 (July 2001): 37-50. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed December 1, 2012).

4 New history of South Africa. 71.

5 Intercultural Dialogue in Recent Afrikaans Literary Texts

idea that they were all Calvinist. This will be further discussed later, but the idea that they were Calvinist has caused several problems. Besides causing problems with record keeping⁶ this has also brought on a discussion if religion has caused the Afrikaners to be racist as well. André Du Toit sums up well the situation and assumptions given.

“The origins of AFRIKANER NATIONALISM and its associated racial ideologies and, thus, of the apartheid order imposed by the National party governments on South African society in recent times have often been ascribed to an obdurate strain of ‘Calvinism.’ According to this view, the Afrikaner founding fathers brought with them to the Cape the basic tenets of seventeenth-century Calvinist thought, in the isolated frontier conditions of trekboer society this mode of thought became fixated and survived for generations as a kind of ‘primitive Calvinism,’ and, Rip van Winkle-like, it then emerged to renewed historical prominence in the early nineteenth century and provided much of the rationale for that central event of Afrikaner history, the Great Trek. Thus, the Voortrekkers and the Republican Afrikaners conceived of themselves as a chosen and covenanted people, like the Israelites of the Old Testament, and early Afrikaners presumed a divine mandate to smite heathen peoples and reduce them to their pre-ordained position as perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water. This cluster of constructs, which has been used to explain and justify racial inequality and repression in latter-day Afrikaner-dominated societies, constitutes a historical myth that I call the ‘Calvinist paradigm’ of Afrikaner history.”⁷

As his tone well represents there is significant doubt as to the validity of this point. But nonetheless it is still used; the Afrikaners themselves often fall into the trap. Such was and is the case for the ATKV or the Afrikaner Language and Culture Association. From its start until

the end of the apartheid era it was both ethnically and religiously restricted. Only white Christian Afrikaners could join this exclusive association. In 1994 they began to accept all ethnicity on basis that they are Afrikaner, but religion is still strictly biased. Both in 2000 and 2004 they were criticized for rejecting applications on basis of religion. In the latter case they rejected two Muslims from receiving a spa membership. The reasons given adhere that the association is an entity founded on protecting the Culture and Language of the Afrikaner, to admit any that are not Christian would be to go against their own code.⁸

From this it can be summarized that Christianity is for certain an established part of the Afrikaner identity. The ATKV itself is set to keep it so. But to use Calvinism itself as an excuse for racial discrimination demands detailed explanation. As du Toit points out, for the Calvinist theory to work, the first settlers from the colony not only had to be Christian, but strictly Calvinist. This theory also assumes that these Calvinists lived by the simple Calvinist theory that had little extra influence from the enlightenment period that soon came after. This mixed with expectation that those beliefs changed into a peculiar form of Calvinism in the wide expanses of South Africa stretches the possibilities for assumptions and leaps into the area of historical invention with little foundation. Du Toit himself sums up the situation well enough.

“The myth of the Calvinist origin of Afrikaner racial ideology has its own history, but not one based on reports of travelers and other contemporary observers. The Calvinist paradigm—including its central tenets—is conspicuously absent from these accounts of the views and attitudes of early Afrikaners until at least the middle of the nineteenth century. And the standard modern accounts propounding the Calvinist paradigm of early Afrikaner racial ideologies...do not, in fact, make use of any evidence from the many contemporary descriptions of early Afrikaner views to document the central Calvinist these of a popular belief among Afrikaners that they were a Chosen People justified in

6 Ross, Robert. *Beyond the Pale*. London: Wesleyand University Press, 1993. 125.

7 du Toit, Andre. “No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology.” *American Historical Review* 88, no. 4 (October 1983): 920. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed December 1, 2012).

8 Johannes, Tamlynn. “Muslim family can’t join Christian ATKV.” *Iol network*. 2004. <http://www.iol.co.za/news>.

conquering and subordinating blacks.”⁹

Events

Events as well as language form a basis for identity. In the Afrikaner case there have been many examples of culture building events that changed them as a people. Of the many three stand out amongst the rest: The Great Trek, the Boer Wars and the uniting of South Africa. In particular these events had a uniting effect on the Afrikaners as a people.

Until the time of British colonization there was little in the way of uniting events that really stand out in the history of the European colonists. Some borderland conflicts arose the need for defense, thus the commandos were formed. For the most part the only thing really keeping them together was their similarities. For the most part they were Christians, from Europe, spoke Dutch or something similar and especially out in the frontier they were the only white there. In a single group society, the group as a whole doesn't tend to stand out. Thus Afrikaner idealism didn't stand out till there was something else there to compare it to.

This happened of course with the British taking over control of the colony and the contrast was unfavorable for many of the Burghers. There was here a split in the cultural identity of these people, there were those who stayed, the Cape Dutch and those who left, Voortrekkers who became Boers. For a little more than 80 years these groups would be considered somewhat different. Though they had similar backgrounds there were now those who accepted the British and those who didn't. The Boers became the independence movement among them. The important part to note here is not that these groups split, but that they came back together years later after the uniting of South Africa.

The Great Trek and the Boers wars are connected to each other. In a way one built up to the next. Because the Voortrekkers left they were able to join into republics. They had experiences that gave them pride as a people, such as the Battle of Bloody river incident. These

Voortrekkers would become—thanks to future writers as we have seen--the progenitors and builders of the Afrikaner tradition and culture. These groups formed new republics where the culture matured. Next that tradition was solidified by the wars. When one defends nation he defends his culture as well, the Boer wars were no different. They didn't just fight off British rule, but fought to protect their way of life. But probably the biggest event for Afrikaner culture was the unification of South Africa.

With unification there came a new problem. Until that point in time the Afrikaner had no real set identity; which is to say they had no official identity of being Afrikaner. There were those for years who had been calling themselves Afrikaner, but with unification there came a need for making that official. In that new nation Afrikaners began to feel a separate people instead of just part of the colony. Afrikaner groups sprouted and flourished. ATKV and the national party are both examples of Afrikaner groups that came out of unification. These events created a need and the culture and identity of the Afrikaner was defined for its own protection. In that new definition was something earlier generations maybe didn't intend and that is where the racism comes to play.

Ethnicity

According to most definitions that are easily found Afrikaners are of a mix of mostly Dutch, German and French background. The truth may stray a bit from that definition. Intonations from Robert Ross in his book *Beyond the Pale* for example show that a pure blood Afrikaner is unlikely to exist. To understand it becomes necessary to look at the beginnings of the colony. As in many colonies of this sort the majority of the population is male. This leaves the small minority of women as a high prize for the males. However that leaves many men without a proper wife. In Ross' words “Now, in a society in which there was a large number of Khoisan, slave, and ‘bastard’ (half-caste) women, all of whom were doubtless subservient to the whites, it is unlikely that such a high proportion of men would have remained celibate.”¹⁰ Thus we

⁹ du Toit, 921.

¹⁰ Ross, 137.

can see that perhaps the Afrikaners are not as race specific as they think.

In fact it is reasonable to infer that in such a mixed society as South Africa that the Afrikaner race has mixed with every race possible there. While the dominant strain may still lie with the Dutch, the race reasonably cannot be as pure as some may infer. This process logically runs into that in colonial South Africa is not only seen the mixing, but “also suggests a continual process of recasting and redefining the lines of social stratification within the greater society.”¹¹

Racists?

With that it is inferable that Afrikaner is a mixed race. As mentioned before the language is not dominated only by the Dutch descendants, but over half the language community is defined as colored or black. It may be hard to see why then this mixed race would become such an exclusionist entity, but the history is definite in this, whether historically this people was always “racist” is arguable, but during apartheid it was defined for them that they were that way. Whether by party rules or religionist views that dominated their culture what can be seen is that the identity of Afrikaner was made to fit the apartheid era. The violence and the era itself cannot be disputed; as well as those who put themselves in charge of the policies that drove apartheid.

Of course not all Afrikaners felt that way, but as a group it was represented as their identity. The question many authors are asking now is if that part of their identity will die with the death of apartheid. Some consider that maybe it will come back in other forms. Either way with the new government many have left the country completely.

In final analysis of the original questions it should be mentioned that Apartheid is part of Afrikaner culture and identity; the means that put it there are not so important as to the fact that identity can also change. In this new democracy in South Africa it will be interesting to see if this part of the Afrikaner Identity remains or if it will be gradually erased through time. With the change having happened so soon it is hard to tell, in the end only time can show reality.

11 Ibid.

ROMAN TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

DALLIN RASMUSSEN

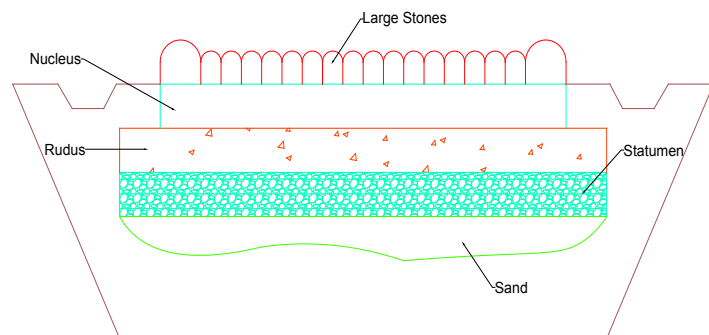
ROMAN INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY ALLOWED THEM TO DOMINATE western civilization for centuries. The Roman Empire had some of the most advanced technologies of its time, some of which was lost during the turbulent eras of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. It was their ability to create, adopt, and innovate on technologies that made them a force to be reckoned with. Technologies like their improved road system; ready supplies of potable water, innovative engineering, and a constantly adapting military were a boon to their society.

The first of the major Roman innovations that allowed them to be so dominant in the region was how they built their roads. In the ancient world being able to move an army quickly was imperative and the Roman roads allowed for rapid troop deployment throughout the region. While there were also economic benefits to the complex system of roads built by the Romans their purpose was primarily for rapid troop deployment during times of war much like our modern freeways today. The roads were so important to the movement of troops that often wagon traffic was banned from them in order to try and extend their life and usefulness. At its largest extent the total length of paved roads in the Roman road network was about 53,000 mi.¹ The Romans made way stations for the purpose of providing refreshments to travelers that were maintained by the government at regular intervals along the roads.

There were basically three types of roman roads, or *viae*. The *viae terrena* was a plain road made of leveled earth. Then there was the

1 Gabriel, Richard A. The Great Armies of Antiquity. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002. Page 9.

viae glareata which was minor improvement on the *terrena* because it had a graveled surface. Below is a cross-section of a Roman road. The nicest of the roads was the *viae munita* which was a regular road that was paved with rectangular blocks of local stone or lava. The *munita*



were made in a multi-layer process. The first layer of earth was leveled and compacted. On top of that, *statumen*, stones about palm size were layered. The third layer was made of rubble or a concrete of broken stones and lime known as the *rudus*. On top of the *rudus* the Romans laid a layer of cement that was made from potshards and lime called the *nucleus*. The very top layer was made of polygonal blocks of basaltic lava or rectangular blocks of local stone. This top layer was designed to cast of water and the lower layers allowed for drainage of any water that happened to seep through. It was this design that allowed the roads to be usable long after the fall of the Roman Empire.²

Their mastery over the movement of fresh water was another key in the expansion of the Roman civilization. According to Vitruvius there were three methods of conducting water. They could move it in

channels through masonry conduits, lead pipes, or clay pipes.³ Along the aqueducts they had reservoirs every twenty four thousand feet more or less so that in case of a break all water flow was not lost. The Romans had moving water down to a science. For example, they figured out that the optimal incline for the movement of water was a gradient of no less than a quarter of an inch every hundred feet.⁴ When the water finally reached the city they would store it in distribution tanks that were divided into three compartments. These different compartments then had pipes leading out from them for separate uses. One would fill the public baths, while another fed the basins and the fountains. The third would be routed to private residences. Having fresh water available in multiple locales throughout their cities afforded the Romans a measure of luxury and sanitation that wasn't readily available in the world at the time. It was exactly this level of sanitation that allowed for population densities to rise in Roman cities without the myriad of health problems that are encountered without the luxury of running water to carry the filth away.

While running water and roads were innovations that were integral to Roman society it was some of the simpler of roman machines that allowed these to be built. They used pulley systems and machines that would be the equivalent of a modern day crane in order to engineer their empire. The *trispastos* is a machine that is built out of an A frame and a simple weight reducing pulley system. The A frame is crossed with a spindle that allows for the winding of the load bearing rope. At the end of the rope *rechamus*⁵ is attached. The *rechamus* is attached to a wooden block, of appropriate load bearing qualities, which

3 Pollio Vitruvius, "De Architectura," *Books VI-X*, Vol. 2, ed. Frank Granger (Harvard University Press, 1970).

4 Ibid

5 Rechamus is constructed of two pulleys stacked on top of each other that revolve on axles. The leading rope then goes over the top pulley, is let down and drawn around a pulley on a block below then it is drawn over the second pulley on the top and then again to the lower block where it is secured to the eye.

6 Ibid

2 Camp, L. Sprague de, *The Ancient Engineers*, Random House. pp. 182–186.

is then secured to iron handspikes which are in turn used to lift the load. To keep the structure from falling over two ropes are extended out behind and to the sides of the contraption. The *trispastos* allowed one man to lift much heavier weights to greater heights than he would be able to on his own. This made Roman building projects more efficient than using solely brute muscle to move building materials.

Another great weight moving technology the romans used was to build a wheel or system of wheels around a heavy object that they needed to move. This allowed the object in question, be it a pillar or a stone block, to be moved great distances with less effort.

While the Romans civil technologies helped to build and maintain the empire it was their military that forged it. The Roman military machine was a force to be reckoned with. It was a mixture of both complex and simple technologies and made them very powerful. The average Roman soldier was outfitted better than his foreign contemporaries. Roman soldiers each carried a tower shield that protected them from neck to knee. This was far superior to the commonly held round shields of the time. The *pilum* that the soldiers carried was thrown at an enemy. When it would impact an enemy's shield it would penetrate it and then bend making it impossible to remove. This would cause the enemy to have to discard their shields giving the armored Roman soldier the advantage. The *gladius* that each soldier carried was designed to cleave flesh and inflict maximum damage at close range. The *gladius's* design was what made it so effective. Unlike most swords of the time that had a flatter blade structure the *gladius* was thicker in the middle forming a diamond shape with the blade. The diamond shaped wounds that it would inflict were much harder to close up than the thinner wounds of standard swords. As a result a person stabbed by a *gladius* was more likely to bleed to death.

Besides the standard equipment kits that the soldiers had armies could often be equipped with catapults, scorpions, and ballistae. Siege equipment such as this was capable of dealing massive amounts of damage to infantry units and buildings. Ballistae and scorpions shot large bolts much like that of a crossbow. However instead of operating like a crossbow they operated on a crank that twisted fibers to pull their bolt back. When the crank was released the built up tension would

release a bolt that could impale multiple men.⁷ The army with the best technology is most often the army that will conquer on the battlefield and the Romans' repeated victories attest to this.

The Romans created an empire that spanned the Mediterranean and most of Europe. Without their innovative technologies none of this would have been possible. Their military might have been the muscle that allowed them to dominate those around them but it was aided by civilian technologies that supported their cities. The roads allowed the Romans to rapidly deploy troops and supplies throughout their territories. They fostered trade and brought in money from all corners of their empire. Their movement of fresh water not only allowed cities to support larger populations but also made those cities cleaner, healthier places to live. Had the Romans not been so innovative they most likely wouldn't have lasted as long as they did.

⁷ Pollio Vitruvius, "De Architectura," *Books VI-X*, Vol. 2, ed. Frank Granger (Harvard University Press, 1970).

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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FOR FURTHER READING

“Effects of the New Deal on American Politics” by Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 73–80.

“The Bill of Rights: A Popular Victory for Liberalism in the American Founding.” Ryan J. Vogel, *Crescat Scientia* 2 (2004): 55–69.

“Lincoln and the Suspension of Habeas Corpus during the Civil War,” by Ted Memmott, *Crescat Scientia* 3 (2005): 41–55.

“Bundling: Colonial Courtship’s Path of Least Resistance” by Georgia Buchert, *Crescat Scientia* 1 (2003): 25–31

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM ON U.S. FOUNDING FATHERS

KATHRYN ROBBINS

THE WRITINGS, WORDS, AND ACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES FOUND-
ing Fathers substantiate that they are infused with the inspirations from Roman educational concepts. It is evident that the educational curriculum of the Romans influenced and inspired the principle founders of America. Roman concepts can be found throughout speeches and documents of superior men such as Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. The importance of the study of languages and rhetoric were the foundation of a classical education to these men, as it was for the Romans, and shaped their minds so that they were able to contribute extraordinary ideas which structured American political foundations.

Overview of Roman Education

Early education in the Roman Republic, ca third century, took form in the home and within the central family unit. Both fathers and mothers each played a significant role to teach their children the important lessons and skills they would need throughout their life. A father would be the educator for the male children while the mother would assume her responsibilities with the female children. In the Roman society both females and males had specific roles which were not interchangeable. A father would teach his sons on the importance of moral and civic responsibilities, along with training regarding farming and any other trade skills he possessed.¹

1 Pillai, Maya. "Ancient Roman Education." Buzzle Web Portal: Intelligent Life on the Web. Web. 15 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.buzzle.com/articles/ancient-roman-education.html>>.

“The Father instructed his sons in Roman law, history, customs, and physical training to prepare for war. Reverence for the Gods, respect for law, obedience to authority, and truthfulness were the most important lessons to be taught.”²

The mother would guide the female children skills pertaining to all domestic duties. These tasks included cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, and being a good wife.³ Due to the insignificant roles females played in Roman society and considering that the progression of Roman education, which only included males, there will be no discussion regarding the further education of females.⁴

The Roman educational system was inspired by Greek practices and influences. It started to progress at the end of the first century nearing the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Roman Empire. Education went from parents teaching children to a structured educational system. With structured learning facilities, and the vast area that the Roman Republic covered, the Romans were able to spread their methodology and curriculum. The early schooling of children under 12 started with tutors. Greek slaves were brought in to teach Roman children the basic foundations of education which included reading, writing, and mathematics. Children also read the literary works of Cicero. Public speaking and rhetoric were also important skills and heavily studied. Children studied hard and long hours from dawn until dusk.⁵ Languages spoken were also important. The Greek slaves would teach in Greek therefore the student would first learn the Greek language, after the studies of Greek came Latin. The students would become proficient in both the reading and writing of the languages in which they studied. Further educational opportunities for wealthy teenage students would require relocation. Studying in Athens or Rhodes. Most certainly if one were to study the art of philosophy

2 “Ancient Roman Education - Crystalinks.” Crystalinks Home Page. Web. 15 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.crystalinks.com/romeducation.html>>.

3 “Education in the Roman Empire.” Spartacus Educational. Web. 15 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/ROMeducation.htm>>.

4 Pillai.

5 Ibid.

they would have to study in Greece.⁶

Literacy was becoming an everyday part of Roman life for those in the upper class. As education was specifically for the well off citizens because of the requirement of money. The study of rhetoric, which is the ability of persuasive speaking was of major focus after the foundations of reading, writing, basic mathematics were established.⁷

“Teachers of Greek rhetoric appeared at Rome in the second century BC and were regarded with suspicion; some were expelled from Rome in 161 BC. The study of Latin rhetoric began early in the first century BC with the foundation of a Latin rhetorical school and like their Greek predecessors some teachers were expelled from the city, in 92 BC. The Latin equivalents of Greek rhetorical handbooks are known in the first century BC.”⁸

There were arguments that the public speeches of the students were unrealistic and not pertinent to any life matter, however, these speeches taught the students critical thinking skills, innovative thinking, and provided an outlet for practice.⁹

The Romans stabilized the concept of classic education. Current educators of Realism, Idealism, and Neo-Thomism take their methods of teaching from those of the Romans who in turn had adopted it from the Greeks. The classic approach to learning is a way to bring back the strive for excellence in education. There are two main sources of classical Roman learning, which were the basis of education for the Roman time period, first was Cicero’s *De Oratore* and second was Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*.¹⁰

6 The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature. Edited by M. C. Howatson. Oxford University Press Inc. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press. Utah Valley University. 16 November 2011. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t9.e1114>.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Pascal, Nanette R. “The Legacy of Roman Education.” *The Classical Journal* 79.4 (1984). Print.

Cicero's *De Oratore* discusses educational reform. He believed rhetoric was the foundation of Roman learning. In the Roman era it was of the utmost importance to learn public speaking and command an audience. Cicero wanted to make a structure for education with pupils concentrating on academic triumph and also to insure that the concept of *humanitas* was achieved.¹¹ He states that, "To Ciceronian *humanitas*, education as a way to train not just through systematic instruction, but also by means of achieving an understanding of human dignity and worthiness. The moral perspective and the stress on values was, according to Cicero, the mark of the educated man. The term "human" embodied Cicero's theory of education. It has since then become synonymous with the, "Hellenized Roman educational ideal."¹²

Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* was a psychological idea of what an experienced classroom teacher should be. It focused on the concepts of continuous learning through one's life, reading (in and out of school), linguistics, oral skills, and moral responsibility (civic duty).¹³ It's said in the *Oratoria* that,

"Classical humanism trained the mind in a unique way to think critically, to solve problems, to speak and write with clarity and precision; abilities that are all in great demand in today's technical world. The Romans exemplified, more than any other civilization, the ability to learn rapidly from others, to adjust in a practical manner to issues and events. Through different periods of her history, Rome displayed this gift for change and survival. Greek philosophy and educational ideas transformed Roman culture, but the Roman identity survived while the Romans, always avid learners, assimilated the new Hellenistic theories. A sense of moral values, the development of communication skills, and the capacity to adapt to change constitute important and enduring aspects of the Roman legacy in education."¹⁴

11 Pascal, 351-153

12 Ibid

13 Ibid

14 Ibid

Influence of Roman Educational Curriculum on United States Founding Fathers

The Founding Fathers of the United States such as Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Quincy Adams all had unique attributes which made them great men and gave them the abilities to achieve political and social triumphs. One aspect they very much had in common was educational foundations similar to those of the Romans. Their education training, focus, and words all point to this specific type of learning structure.

Civic duty was of the utmost importance to a Roman, among the responsibilities of civic duty was the need to protect the country by serving in the army. In my first example of one of the founding fathers displaying a thinking pattern of that regarding a Roman educational foundation I will refer to this quote he wrote in a letter to James Monroe in 1813;

"The necessity of obligating every citizen to be a soldier; this was the case with the Greeks and Romans, and must be that of every free State...We must train and classify the whole for male citizens and make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We cannot be safe till this is done."¹⁵

It is clear from this information that Jefferson had studied an understood the social and political formation of the Romans. This quote also shows not just a Roman way of thinking but a comprehension that the Roman concept of civic duty and education was what the newly forming United States needed at that time.

As discussed previously the study of languages was of great importance to the Romans and Greeks. This concept was recognized by Benjamin Franklin, who felt strongly that, "All intended for Divinity should be taught Latin and Greek..."¹⁶ Franklin continued to separate the needs of which occupation should study which specific languages.

15 Wilber, Charles G. "The Founding Fathers and Conscription: A Reply." *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 33.3 (1944): 535-37. Print.

16 Allaire, Joseph L. "Foreign Languages and the Founding Fathers." *South Atlantic Bulletin* 42.1 (1977): 3-10. Print.

He stated that those going into medicine should study Latin, Greek, and French and those studying law should learn Latin and French. Franklin himself mastered among Latin and Greek, could read and write in French and spoke Italian. These languages served him greatly during his time in France where he felt at ease there speaking the language. Both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson studied French. Thomas Jefferson mastered the languages of Greek, Latin, French, being able to read and write in those languages. Jefferson could also read German.¹⁷

Thomas Jefferson was a philosopher and statesmen who was concerned with the natural rights of man, as one can plainly see in from his backing, input, and participation writing the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson studied John Locke's teachings regarding the "pursuit of happiness" and the "fulfillment of the human person," in turn it was the teachings of John Locke that were inspired by the Greek and Roman concepts of happiness.¹⁸ Also through the content and intentions of Declaration of Independence one can see Roman influence containing the Ciceronian teachings of Humanitas. Major themes of the Declaration of Independence include proclamation of human dignity, worthiness, moral perspective, and a stress on values.

John Quincy Adams also studied and expounded upon the teachings of Cicero. When addressing Harvard on July 11, 1806 he used the Ciceronian style of rhetoric to communicate with both the students and professors. At that time the studies of rhetoric and oratory were changing from the classical foundations of the Romans to Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. Blair had felt that there was not much to be gained from the classical studies of Cicero's rhetoric however, Adams had a different perspective. Adam's was well accustomed to the classical teachings.¹⁹

¹⁷ Allaire, 4-5.

¹⁸ Koch, Adrienne. "Power and Morals and the Founding Fathers: Jefferson." *The Review of Politics* 15.4 (1953): 470-90. Print.

¹⁹ Rathbun, Lyon. "The Ciceronian Rhetoric of John Quincy Adams." *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 18.2 (2000): 175-215. Print.

"Adams simply could not imagine making his lectures anything other than a resurrection of classical doctrine. "My plan", Adams confessed in his fourth lecture, "has necessarily been different from that of the modern writers upon rhetoric and belles-lettres."²⁰ In his first lecture, Adams had declared that Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian had written the definitive works on rhetoric. "To obtain a perfect familiarity with their instructions", Adams declared, "is to arrive at the mastery of the art."²¹

John Quincy Adams could not imagine lecturing on anything but the ancients because his consciousness had been molded by the Ciceronian ideal that had inspired his father, John Adams, and so many others of the founding generation."²²

Conclusion

Through the words and actions of the Founding Fathers of the United States there is evidence that their educational background was heavily influenced by the Roman educational curriculum. The educational theory of the Romans was based upon the study and command of languages such as Greek and Latin. The founding fathers of the United States also had a solid foundation in linguistics, finding it of great importance to study such languages as Greek, Latin, French, German, and Italian. The oratorical practice, command of words, and rhetoric was mastered as well among the founding fathers. John Adams and John Quincy Adams show their passion and experience with the studies of Ciceronian rhetoric. Major themes from Cicero's Humanitas concepts such as moral perspective and human dignity can also be found in Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. The foundation of Roman concepts can be found throughout the writings, words, and actions of earlier leaders of America.

²⁰ Rathbun, 141.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 177.

²² *Ibid.*

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY; A COMPARISON OF HERODOTUS AND PLUTARCH

SCOTT GOERTZEN

THE FOLLOWING ESSAY WILL BE FOCUSED ON PLUTARCH'S WORDS IN his "Malice of Herodotus." In his *Malice* Plutarch thoroughly criticizes Herodotus' writings and outlook on the ancient Greeks, especially in terms of Herodotus's views of the Greek conduct during the conflicts with the Persian Empire. The following essay I will attempt to describe the debate between Plutarch's "Malice" and Herodotus' "Histories." I will not say who I agree with more because my opinion is irrelevant to explaining the disagreements between the two ancient writing biases. After reading all of Plutarch's *Malice* and parts of Herodotus's *Histories* I will tell you that I appreciate both perspectives and enjoy reading from both of the authors, they both provide our current generation and many generations to come with a valuable resource to understanding this remarkable Greek civilization, and the foundations of western civilization itself. I will attempt to use primary sources, scholarly journals, and secondary sources to help us understand Plutarch's *Malice*, and the details that he covered.

Plutarch was passionately disgusted that Herodotus would point out the mistakes the ancient Greeks made during the Greco-Persian wars. Plutarch believes that Herodotus should have only brought to light the positive and honorable deeds achieved by the Greeks and not the negative elements.

In the introduction of "The Malice of Herodotus" by Plutarch the translator of "The Loeb Classical Library" edition Lionel Pearson says this, "In this essay Herodotus is accused not only of malice, duplicity, and a preference for putting the worst interpretation on other people's acts, but also of insincerity and deliberate falsification of the

facts.”¹ Needless to say Plutarch is upset with how Herodotus makes the Greeks look to the world.

There are currently debates as to whether or not Plutarch even authored the words in the *Malice*. Pearson explains that the use of the vocabulary, idioms, and other forms, are clearly the work of Plutarch, comparing this book to the other works Plutarch has produced.

It is important to understand Plutarch's roots and heritage in order to fully understand the passion behind his *Malice*. Plutarch was born sometime before 50 AD, and he was born in Chaeronea in the north of the Boeotia area of Greece. Besides his academic adventures to Egypt, Italy, and Rome he spent most of his life in his home town of Chaeronea. His devotion and defense of Boeotia was important to him, he loved his home town, and he cherished its honor and reputation.

Plutarch feels that Herodotus does dishonor to the Boeotians by saying Heracles's ancestry is actually Egyptian. Plutarch explains that Herodotus traces the genealogy of Heracles to Perseus and then from Perseus, according to the Persian account, to Assyria and then from there to Egypt. It is interesting that Herodotus would have even used information from the Persians to help him write his *Histories* of the Greeks. Herodotus has attempted to make Heracles, not a Greek, but a foreigner. Plutarch passionately defends Heracles's Boeotian and Argive heritage. Not only does Plutarch passionately come to the aid and defense of his fellow Boeotians, but he comes to the aid of the Spartans, the city state of Corinth, he even comes to the defense of Athens against Herodotus, even though Herodotus favors the Athenians in his writings.

During the Ionian revolt against the Persian empire of 499 – 494 BCE, Greek forces burned the western Persian capital of Sardis in 498 BCE, this action made the Persian leaders furious and sought retribution. Darius the first achieved that retribution by destroying the Greek naval fleet at Lade and captured the Greek city state of Miletus in 494 BCE. Darius further wanted more retribution by punishing those western Greeks that sent aid or support to the Ionians during their revolt. Darius first sent emissaries to the mainland Greeks to request

submission. Needless to say many Greeks stood up to the Persian King. As a result the Persians began to mobilize for war and invasion.

Because of the geographic and the convenience of the terrain the Persian commanders chose to land at Marathon. The Persian military landed upwards of twenty to thirty thousand soldiers at Marathon, the Greeks fielded an army of about eleven thousand hoplites. This was made up of about ten thousand Athenians and a thousand infantry from the Greek city state of Plataea. Reading in Plutarch he did not address these numbers; however he does disagree with the numbers of dead Persians on the field of Marathon.²

It will be appropriate to mention now the problem Plutarch has with Herodotus's numbers. Herodotus claims that after the battle of Marathon the Persian dead was counted in the thousands, about 6,400 “barbarians” lost their lives at Marathon. The term barbarian is used in replacement of the name Persians, and is used by both Plutarch and Herodotus, one of the few things that they both agree.

Plutarch disagrees with the number that Herodotus gives of the number of Persian dead. Plutarch felt that the numbers of Persians dead would have been much larger. It is more likely that Plutarch would have sided with Justin's number when he said that the Greeks killed two hundred thousand.³

Richard A. Billows, Professor at Columbia University takes the side of Herodotus. Billows explained that the number that Herodotus gives is the number that makes the most sense. His reasoning is that fielding an army of a 100,000 men would take a miracle to feed and supply during that period of time. He said that an army that large would simply starve. He said that the likely number the Persians had would not have exceeded much to 25,000 men. Those numbers would have been much more manageable, and the Persian commanders would have been able to feed them. According to Billows, Plutarch's assess-

1 Goold, G. P. *Plutarch Moralia*, Vol XI, *On the Malice of Herodotus*. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997), 2.

2 Hanson, Victor Davis. *The Wars of the Ancient Greeks* (London: Cassell & Co 1999), 87. These pages cover the numbers in this certain paragraph.

3 Goold, G. P. *Plutarch Moralia*, Vol XI, *On the Malice of Herodotus*. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997). Is where the two numbers of 6,400, and 200,000 come from.

ment of the numbers of Persians dead would have been inconceivable. Billows also addressed the numbers of triremes used. Herodotus used the large number of six hundred ships for the Persians. Billows suggested that these numbers are not practical. Athens itself, before their great ship building project conducted by Themistocles, only had about fifty ships during the Battle of Marathon. Billows concluded that the Persians having a fleet of six hundred ships are not reasonable.⁴

According to Victor Davis Hanson the Greeks totaled a loss of only a hundred ninety two men, both Athens and Plataea lost men. Hanson said the reason behind the thirty to one ratio is because of the Greeks superiority in armor, tactics, and discipline.⁵

After the Greeks defeated the Persians on the shores of Marathon, the surviving Persians swiftly boarded their ships and sailed to Athens in the hopes to be able to take the city while its army is not there. This idea is not supported by everyone. Herodotus says that the Alcmaeonids raised a shield signal to the Persian fleet sailing to Athens. The shield signal sent the message to say that Athens is free for the taking. This is why the Persians decided to sail around Attica so they could take Athens. Of this Plutarch says this idea of Herodotus makes absolutely no sense, that the Alcmaeonids would betray their own city state. He also contends that the Persians did not actually intentionally sail down to take Athens. The Persians initially went to sail back home, but, according to Plutarch they sailed to Athens because the wind brought them there. Further Plutarch accuses Herodotus for downplaying the importance of the events of the Battle of Marathon for bringing up the idea that the Alcmaeonids raised their shield of betrayal.

Plutarch is dissatisfied with the fact that Herodotus speaks of glory for the Greeks, and on the flip side throws them under the bus as it

were, by telling the world through his writing that they also do a lot of things that are wrong. In the case of Marathon, Herodotus gives glory to the Greeks for defeating the Persians and then throws them under the bus by bringing up the Alcmaeonid shield betrayal. This pessimism is a major problem for Plutarch.

There is another aspect to the debate between Plutarch and Herodotus in terms of ancient Greek historiography. Plutarch accuses Herodotus for always defending Athens, but always attacking anyone else, and Sparta was a particular favorite target for Herodotus. Plutarch says that Herodotus “does not speak like this in order to praise the Athenians, but rather he praises the Athenians in order to find fault with all the others.”⁶

Before the Greeks encountered the Persian military on the field of battle at Marathon, the Athenians were hoping to recruit the Spartans themselves to help them in defending the mainland of Greece against the “barbarian.”

On page fifty five of “The Loeb Classical Library” Pearson says that Plutarch calls the legendary Greek runner Pheidippides by the name Philippides. The Athenians send this runner in an attempt to recruit the Spartans and their lethal hoplite soldiers to the defense of Attica.

Ancient Historians know the story of Pheidippides’s heroic run for help to the Greek city state of Sparta to request for their aid and military support against the Persian army headed to Athens. We know that after this ancient Athenian runner asked the Spartans for help, they said no. Herodotus tells us that the Spartans said no out of religious observances. Through Herodotus we find that the Spartans told Pheidippides no, because of the full moon. The Spartans are waiting for the full moon before marching to battle. Again needless to say Plutarch is upset by this little bit that Herodotus touches on. Plutarch explains that Herodotus again, is “maligning” the Spartans just so he could make the Athenians look better.

Plutarch accuses Herodotus of turning the calendar and proper dating system upside down to justify accusing the Spartans of neglect

4 Billows, Richard A. *Marathon How One Battle Changed Western Civilization*. (New York: Overlook Duckworth 2010), 198 – 200. These are the pages where Richard Billows discusses the numbers debate concerning the Battle of Marathon.

5 Hanson, Victor Davis. *The Wars of the Ancient Greeks* (London: Cassell & Co 1999), 85-94. These pages cover the information regarding the Battle of Marathon.

6 Goold, 67 – 69.

in defending their fellow Greeks from Persian aggression. He said that Herodotus did this by removing the full moon from the middle of the month, where Plutarch believed it should be, to the beginning of the month. Plutarch said that the Spartans marched to Marathon on the 6th day of the month Boedromion, they got to Marathon earlier enough to see that there were soldiers dead and unburied. Plutarch's interpretation shows the Spartans getting to Marathon literally right after their fellow Greeks beat back the Persian forces. Herodotus said that the Spartans marched to Marathon not on the 6th as Plutarch says, but the 9th.

Plutarch prefers the version given by Isocrates, according to Pearson, "according to which the Spartans set out in haste but were still not in time for the battle."⁷ The historians that contributed to Cambridge's fourth volume of their *Ancient History* series seem to side along with Herodotus when he said that the Spartans did not make it to Marathon until after they observed their religious custom of the moon. After Philippides (Pheidippides), made it back to Athens and told them the news that Sparta would not be able to send the Athenians and Plataeans help against the Persians, "Sparta would send her army but that it would not reach Marathon until late on the 18th."⁸ Interpreting this information, these Cambridge authors disagreed with Plutarch, Plutarch agreeing with Isocrates that the Spartans arrived at Marathon right of the battle, but "The Cambridge Ancient History" says that the Spartans did not arrive to Marathon until the 18th of the Boedromion month.

It is interesting to hear about the participation of women in ancient history, simply because one may not hear a lot about them, primarily because ancient Greek women did not have rights, their husbands had the power of life and death over them. Before leaving to fight off the second period of Persian aggression in Greece, King

Leonidas was asked by a Spartan woman, if the King had any kind of message to give the Spartans in general. In reading the material in Plutarch's "Malice" it seemed that both Plutarch and Herodotus both agreed with this event. Furthermore, both historians seem to agree that it was indeed Leonidas's Queen that asked that question. Leonidas responded to his wife's question by saying, "Marry good husbands and bear good children."⁹ There was another remarkable group of women in Greece besides the brave women of Sparta, and those were the women of Corinth. Fortunately Plutarch was kind enough to have recorded what these women did.

The women in Corinth were the only women throughout all of Greece who offered prayers to their gods and goddesses so that they may protect and guide their men on the field of battle. According to his "Histories" Herodotus was unaware of the dedication and loyalty that the Corinthian women had toward their husbands, fathers, and sons especially before they left their city state to defend themselves against foreign aggression.

There are historians and writers that defend Herodotus against the malicious attacks by Plutarch. In his journal article "How Credulous Was Herodotus?" Barry Baldwin, classicist and Ph.D. from the University of Nottingham, comes to the defense of Herodotus. Baldwin explains that Herodotus actually invites the reader to disagree with his attitude toward what he said. In that respect Plutarch is welcome to his Malice. Herodotus is also an incredible researcher. Baldwin believes that there is no reason to challenge the work of Herodotus. Herodotus is also very knowledgeable when it comes to foreign nations. Baldwin takes his loyalty of Herodotus a step further by saying that Thucydides himself was inferior to Herodotus in terms of scientific methods to history, and considers Herodotus as a more trustworthy source in terms of ancient Greek history. Baldwin believes that in his attacks upon Herodotus, Plutarch is being crass and malicious, and his attacks are not necessary.¹⁰

⁷ Goold, 53.

⁸ Boardman, John, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol IV., Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean. 2. Ed. (Berkeley: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 507 – 508.

⁹ Goold, 81.

¹⁰ Barry Baldwin, "How Credulous Was Herodotus?" *Greece & Rome* Second Series 11 (1964): Pgs 167 – 177, accessed 11/12/2011.

In 1753 French Historian Abbe Geinoz comes to the defense of Herodotus as well in his “*Defense d’Herodote contre les accusations de Plutarque.*”

Plutarch explains that when writing it is not necessary to be completely harsh with the subject or person that you are writing about. With this information it should be asked, then why is he so harsh with Herodotus? Plutarch’s statements seem almost hypocritical of sorts. One of the primary reasons for Plutarch being harsh with Herodotus is for Herodotus being so harsh against Boeotia and the “real” roots of Heracles.

At the end of his “*Malice,*” Plutarch defends his work and gives us his last words about what he thinks about Herodotus,

“We must admit that Herodotus is an artist, that his history makes good reading, that there is charm and skill and grace in his narrative, and that he has told his story ‘as a bard tells a tale,’ I mean not ‘with knowledge and wisdom,’ but ‘with musical clear flowing words.’ To be sure, these writings charm and attract everyone, but we must be on our guard against his slanders and ugly lies which, like the rose-beetle, lurk beneath a smooth and soft exterior; we must not be tricked into accepting unworthy and false notions about the greatest and best cities and men of Greece.”¹¹

I believe that Plutarch’s advice for how to interpret Herodotus’s words can be applied to anyone reading any historical work. When reading the writings of history looking upon those writings, who wrote them, and why with a critical eye, I would argue is vital to understand what they are trying to communicate to their audience.

Even though Plutarch’s “*On the Malice of Herodotus,*” was not a long book, it was filled with disagreements he had with Herodotus. I tried to talk about some of the main points and some of the issues he had with Herodotus that I was most interested in and most fascinated by. I apologize if my paper seemed to jump around and may have not seemed to run smoothly, alas, that was how Plutarch wrote. He addressed one point and in the very next paragraph started to talk about a completely different point.

I am very glad that I decided to challenge myself with this debate between these two ancient history giants; they both provide a valuable element to both ancient Greek history and ancient Greek historiography. In my opinion both of these historians represented and did well arguing their individual and distinct points, it is fortunate that the ancient Greeks have these two authors and historians telling their story throughout history even to the present time.

¹¹ Goold, 129.

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