

The East Bay Historia

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The East Bay Historia



THE EAST BAY HISTORIA

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The annual publication of the
Student Historical Society
and the Department of History
California State University, East Bay

"If you have the feeling that something is wrong, don't be afraid to speak up."

-Fred Korematsu

This issue of *The East Bay Historia*
is dedicated to

Fred T. Korematsu

And the hundreds of thousands of others of Japanese ancestry, many of whom lived on the West Coast and in the San Francisco Bay Area, who were torn from their homes and families due to the signing of Executive Order #9066 in 1942. 2017 marks the 75th anniversary of this tragedy. May we never forget.

The East Bay Historia

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The East Bay Historia is an annual publication of the California State University, East Bay (CSUEB) Student Historical Society, and is sponsored by the History Department, Student Life and Leadership, and Associated Students, Inc. It aims to provide CSUEB students with an opportunity to publish historical works and to give students the experience of being on an editorial board and creating and designing an academic journal. Issues are published at the end of each academic year. All opinions or statements of fact are the sole responsibility of their authors, and may not reflect the views of the editorial staff, the Student Historical Society, the History Department, or California State University, East Bay (CSUEB). The authors retain rights to their individual essays.

California State University, East Bay's Student Historical Society's mission is to promote the study of history at CSUEB, give history majors and non-history majors alike opportunities to express their passion for the subject, and to empower students, faculty, and staff who are studying or are interested in history. Student Historical Society is currently in the process of trying to become a chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, the National History Honor Society.

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Introduction & Acknowledgements

It brings us great pleasure to introduce our new journal, *The East Bay Historia*, which showcases the innovative and important work being done in history classes at California State University, East Bay. This inaugural issue features essays by some of the Department of History's best and brightest students, who will undoubtedly go on to do great things after graduation.

With new and unknown enterprises, such as a student journal, it is often hard to drum up support, or in this case entice students to spend their free time revising old papers to submit for publication. We were overjoyed when the call for papers went out and we received so many high quality submissions. The editorial board, consisting of Michael Agostinelli, David Duncan, and Sarah Ledford, were assigned the difficult, yet stimulating task of vetting these submissions. We are convinced that they did a skillful job of selecting top-rate essays to publish in our first issue. The fact that we received so many submissions demonstrates that our students have been yearning for a venue to share their work with the public.

We owe a debt of gratitude to our editorial board for selecting submissions, and to Robyn Perry for copy editing the essays and designing the layout of the journal. A special thanks goes to the Student Historical Society for its support in the creation of the journal. Another special thank you goes to one of our sister campuses, California State University, Chico whose *The Chico Historian* inspired us heavily. The development of this journal would not have been possible without Cal State Chico's Department of History and the wonderful and helpful people who work on their journal. This first issue of *The East Bay Historia* would not have been possible without their support and guidance. We hope you enjoy reading this first issue of *The East Bay Historia*!

Professors Anna Alexander and Kevin Kaatz

Editor & Author Biographies

Sarah Ledford graduated with honors from California State University, East Bay earning a B.A. in history with an emphasis in European history. Sarah was also a founding member and president of the school's Student Historical Society. Currently, Sarah is working on finishing her teaching credential and will be teaching World History during the upcoming school year. She will be returning to East Bay this summer to begin her Master's in Curriculum and Instruction.

Nicole Andrews will be graduating from CSU East Bay in Spring 2017 with a BA in History. She plans to attend CSU East Bay's Teaching Program to get a Single Subject Certificate to teach high school and middle school students about the importance of history and critical thinking. While this article is Andrews' first published history paper, she plans to write more history papers that focus on women from history. Her capstone project discussed the lives of San Francisco prostitutes during the California Gold Rush. In the little free time Andrews has, she spends time practicing painting with watercolors. She lives in Pleasanton, California in her childhood home filled with family and pets.

Nicholas Glasco is a history major at CSUEB, where he is currently working through his senior-level coursework prior to graduating in Winter 2018. He is an enthusiast of all types of history, an avid reader of historical narratives, and a general history nut. In recent years, he has narrowed down several areas in which he is particularly interested, namely Middle Eastern history, medieval history (Eastern and European), and a curveball, the history of the American West. He hopes one day to translate his passion for history into a career in education and he is very pleased to be able to publish a paper with *The East Bay Historia*.

Bryan Doherty is a student in the graduate program at Cal State East Bay, where he will be writing a thesis about Ancient and Medieval history. Bryan has a particular interest in the peoples and cultures in the Ancient and Medieval world that are often outside the academic spotlight, many of these are "barbarian" cultures, or those without a written tradition or are only part of the narrative of history in their relation to or interaction with the three major western powers of the Ancient World Greece, Rome, and Egypt. It is Bryan's goal to teach

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history with a focus on the contributions and importance of these lesser known cultures of the Ancient and Medieval world.

Ivana Kurak completed her undergraduate degree here at Cal State East Bay. She is now a first-year graduate student who hopes to earn a Master's degree in public history. In the past, she has written predominately on women's history and the history of marginalized groups. She hopes to translate this work into a book about transcultural feminism and eventually a career that incorporates her passion for history and public education. She is currently working on a project about the everyday lives of women participating in the counterculture movement during the 1960s in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Tyler Smith is a graduate student in the M.A. History program with an emphasis on teaching history. He specializes in the American Frontier, and his other areas of study focus on European History and American Music History; he utilizes these skills as an Advanced Placement high school history teacher in the Bay Area.

Taylor Wittman is a proud alum of CSUEB. In May of 2016, she graduated with my B.A. in history, with an emphasis in U.S. History. Her favorite area of study is the Civil War Era and she has had the privilege of researching topics such as the relationship of brothers and the music of that time period. Currently she is in the teaching credential program at CSUEB, where she is bringing her love of history to the classroom as a student teacher. After the credential program, she hopes to find a permanent position as a middle school or high school social science teacher.

David Duncan is a senior at CSUEB and is captivated by the early twentieth century and the events that occurred during the Progressive Movement. This turbulent period of conflicting ideologies has many untold stories and fascinating events that he hopes to continue to research throughout his graduate studies.

Robyn Perry is a second-year American history major here at CSUEB where she pursues her passion for studying rock & roll and American popular culture. She is proud to be able to say that she has work in the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame's Library and Archives. After graduating from CSUEB, Robyn plans to pursue a Master's in either Popular Culture or History and to eventually obtain a Ph.D. She ultimately hopes to teach courses related to these subjects at the university level or

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work at a pop culture hub like Graceland or the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame while continuing to research and publish on rock & roll and American popular culture.

Michael Agostinelli, Jr. is working towards a bachelor's degree in European history. His primary areas of interest are political and military history with a focus on applying the lessons of prior armed conflicts to today.

FINDING SPARTA: EXAMINING THE LIFE OF SPARTAN WOMEN, c. 300–100 BCE

By Nicole Andrews

Besides Athens, the city-state of Sparta is one of the most famous aspects of Ancient Greece because of its unique government and culture. Sparta's government and culture revolved around creating the perfect warriors to protect, fight, and conquer. However, with a society focused entirely on fighting, Sparta did not develop much of a written culture, especially when compared with Athens. The lack of primary sources from Sparta requires historians look to documents written by outsiders, who might have exaggerated aspects of Spartan culture, and to archeological finds. Francois Ollier's 1933 book, *The Spartan Mirage (Le Mirage Spartiate)*, coined the term "Spartan mirage" that historians use to describe the limitations of studying ancient Spartan history. Outsiders and Athenian citizens Plutarch and Xenophon, two of the earliest historians, often serve as primary sources for Spartan government and military achievements. Modern historian Sarah B. Pomeroy is an expert on Ancient Greek and Roman women, who wrote the first book that focuses solely on Spartan women, relentlessly toiled to compile a complete picture of Spartan women. Pomeroy made it a point to look beyond the work of Plutarch and Xenophon to understand better Spartan women. With a combination of primary and secondary sources, the Spartan mirage dissipates to reveal information about Spartan women. Spartan women lead complex lives, due in part to the fact most men lived in the barracks away from home, and had autonomy to control their lives and homes. While other city-states used education, marriage, childbirth, religion, and property to control women, Spartan women used their social and civil duties to forge their independence.

Unlike most women and girls in ancient Greece, Spartan women received an education, sponsored by the government, parallel to their male counterparts. In Sparta, "girls were raised to become the sort of mothers Sparta needed, just as boys were trained to become the kind of soldiers the state required."¹ Although the physical training was not as difficult as the Spartan boys' training, Sparta saw the health of women just as important their male counterparts. All ancient cultures view women with the limited scope of childbearing, but Spartan women were valued beyond the bearer and seen as an important aspect for the future. Both boys and girls were physically active in many activities,

¹ Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4.

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due to a combination of Spartan beliefs that a physically fit female who produced healthy children. There were “many of the athletic activities were part of religious festivals that were held in honor of female divinities.”² The Spartans understood the connection that healthy women produced healthy children. Plutarch lists women participating “in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin, in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity.”³ While the Spartan women were cast as mothers of the next generation, the women kept pace with their male counterparts and earned their respect. The education provided by the city-state of Sparta played an important part in their lives, since Spartan women often ran their households alone, while the men were working in the military barracks or at war.

Unlike women of other city-states in Greece, Spartan women had almost absolute control over their household, including their children. All men lived in military barracks until they were thirty years old, then they could choose where they would live, but most stayed in the barracks.⁴ In the absence of fathers during children’s formative years, women, including mothers, older sisters, and nurses, were the principal, if not the sole, influence in the creation of Spartan citizens.”⁵ Without their husbands and fathers around, women played an important role in the development in the lives of young children. With male children, who stayed home until they were around seven years old, the female companionship and control over the household would be the foundation of their early lives. Female children would spend their whole lives home until they married and created their own home. While Spartan women raised their children, if the male children failed in their military training, were cowards, or did not meet societal obligations, Spartan mothers would kill their sons. Plutarch’s *Sayings of Spartan Women* recorded that “[one] Spartan women killed her son, who had deserted his post because he was unworthy of Sparta. She declared: ‘He was not my offspring... for I did not bear one unworthy of Sparta.’”⁶ Spartan women viewed it as an obligation to kill their sons who failed and

² Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 12.

³ Plutarch, “The Parallel Lives: The Life of Lycurgus,” in *Plutarch’s Lives* ed. by Bernadotte Perrin, (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1923), 246-247.

⁴ Knottnerus, J. David, and Phyllis E. Berry. “Spartan Society: Structural Ritualization in An Ancient Social System,” *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 27, no. 1 (2002): 20.

⁵ Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

would not meet the standards in Spartan society. Spartan women were not quiet and meek women, locked inside, but important and valued members of society that knew they played an important role. Spartan women were allowed to express their thoughts and opinions, even in public. Not only did Spartan women raise their children almost completely independently, they looked after the helots and acres of land.

Unlike most Greek and Roman city-states, Spartan women owned private property. Like so many outsiders from other city-states, "Aristotle criticized the Spartan system of land tenure, which permitted women to own land, manage their own property, and exercise authority in the family."⁷ Aristotle's criticisms perfectly summarizes up women's role in Spartan society. Owning land allowed women to be self-reliant and provide for their families. In fact, many women were wealthy enough to use their money to invest in the sport of horseracing. "[With] the increase in private wealth, much of it in the hands of women, and with their keen interest in athletics and knowledge of horses, it was natural that Spartan women would own racehorses."⁸ Owning horses and having them compete in events is an expensive luxury that the wealthy Spartan women enjoyed. While owning horses was a symbol of extravagance and wealthy among Spartan women, the female Spartan ownership of any property was revolutionary at the time. From a young age, Spartan women spent most of their lives with female companions, which resulted in an active role in their marriage as wives.

Marriage played an important role in ancient society, since it united families, through the combination of bloodlines, wealth, and power. While Spartan marriage was similar to other city-states' marriage practices, Spartan marriage differed as well, particularly in the relationships forged between the couples. Spartan men and women typically married at an older age than other Greek and Roman city-states at the time--eighteen for women and twenty-five for men. The control over the marriage of women seems to be a holdover from early Sparta, to keep power and wealth within the women's family. In addition, experts, such as Classical expert Sue Blundell, disagree with other experts and old methods of analyzing Spartan marriage practices, including the role women had in choosing their husbands. Blundell details the rituals surrounding Spartan marriage practices.

"On the eve of a marriage a bridal attendant cut the bride's hair close to her head, dressed her in a man's

⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

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cloak and sandals, and laid her on a mattress alone in the dark. The bridegroom ate as usual at the common mess hall, and then slipped secretly into the room where the bride lay loosen her girdle and carried her to the marriage bed. Having spent a short time with her, he returned composedly to the barracks and slept with the other young men.”⁹

The couple continued to meet at night, due in part to the husband sleeping in the military barracks until the age of thirty. Many outside writers, like Plutarch, commented in amazement that Spartan men often become fathers before seeing their wives in the daylight. In fact, many philosophers and historians of Greek and Roman origin have commented on Sparta marriages. “Cicero, praises the demeanor of Roman women... [since] they were under their husband's control, and he criticizes the laws of Lycurgus that allowed Spartan women to dominate their husbands.”¹⁰ Again, Cicero does not understand the role and value Spartan women created in their society, allowed the men to focus on war and military matters, and instead demands Spartan women submit to outside standards. Spartan marriage also differed from the rest of Greece city-states since some Spartans practiced plural marriages, in which a couple invited a third person into their marriage.

Another unusual aspect of Spartan marriage was that there is evidence that Spartans practiced plural marriages. Andrew Scott’s “Plural Marriage and the Spartan State” examines different examples of plural marriage practices by Spartan couples. Scott defines two types of plural marriages: when an older man and younger wife, who invite a young man into their marriage for children and a man outside the marriage requesting the production of a child from the wife.¹¹ The focus of the plural marriages was the production of children, although other Ancient Greek city-states did not practice plural marriages. This might be due to the fact that Spartan was a violent society that was usually at war, resulting in the need for high birth rates, especially of males. While Plutarch recorded plural marriage as an oddity practiced by Athens strange and alien neighbors, Sparta did not encourage the

⁹ Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 153.

¹⁰ Sarah B. Pomeroy, "Spartan Women among the Romans: Adapting Models, Forging Identities," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes* 7 (2008): 222.

¹¹ Andrews G. Scott, "Plural Marriage and the Spartan State," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 60, no. 4 (2011): 417.

rights and emotional attachments associated with paternity, instead, all Sparta men acted as fathers to Spartan boys, practicing an early form of collective parenting.¹² Many experts have noted dissociation of parental and child bonds, especially in funerals where mourning was limited to about two weeks. Spartans understood the morality of early childhood in ancient Greece, however, with its focus on preparing for war, Spartans focused on children who worked hard to survive. Due to the lack of sources, there are no methods to find the number of plural marriages practiced, compared with the total population. With a Spartan marriage meant to produce children, women faced the difficult journey of childbirth, sometimes resulting in their own death.

Despite Sparta's best effort in producing strong women, some Spartan women died during childbirth like many women did during this period. Unfortunately, it is impossible to measure the fatality rate of mothers who died in childbirth. However, some historians have found Spartan women buried with headstones inscribed with phrases, which seems to give credit to the idea that Sparta compared women dying in childbirth to men dying in battle. The inscriptions on the stones contradict Plutarch's *Lycurgus*, which states "[to] inscribe the name of the dead upon the tomb was not allowed, unless it were that of a man who had fallen in war, or that of a woman who had died in sacred office."¹³ The translation of the last phrase, sacred office, has been the source of disagreement between experts since it depends on how experts translated it. Pomeroy argues it is how the Plutarch's words are translated, from Greek to English, which tends to confirm a historian's opinion. Nevertheless, Matthew Dillon, an Ancient Greek and Roman expert, disagrees with the conclusion that the gravestones are honoring women who died in childbirth. "Spartan women underwent a form of training for eugenic purposes... but this does not equate military [honors] on gravestones if they died in childbirth."¹⁴ Dillon's interpretation of the inscriptions support Plutarch's record of Spartan burial practices, but does not take into account that Plutarch was an outsider, visiting where words could be lost in translation and to history. The cycles of birth and death create the opportunity of examining Spartan religious practices.

¹² *Ibid.*, 419.

¹³ Plutarch. "Lycurgus: 27.2." In Plutarch's *Lives* edited by Bernadotte Perrin, (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1923).

¹⁴ Matthew Dillon, "Were Spartan Women Who Died in Childbirth [Honored] with Grave Inscriptions?" *Hermes* 135, no. 2 (2007): 153-154.

Despite its militaristic government and culture, Sparta, and especially Spartan women had a deep connection with Greek gods and goddesses. “[It] can be noted here is the very genuine nature of Spartan piety. Perhaps more so than any other state, the Spartans were pious: almost to a fault... they could not go to war each month until the moon was full... To [honor] a woman who had died while serving the gods apparently struck the Spartans as a particularly appropriate thing to do.”¹⁵ The piety of Sparta is often forgotten when compared to their military exploits. While all women in Ancient Greece worshiped fertility goddesses, Spartan women had many local fertility goddesses and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was located just outside of Sparta. Archeologists have found many small, clay figures of the goddess, meant to be votive gifts.¹⁶ The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia served as an area for many religious practices. “A number of terracotta figurines of nude females represented Orthia's role as a fertility goddess ...they were in the pose of the Knidean Aphrodite and suggested that they either indicated an association with Aphrodite or with [her] functions of giving fertility.”¹⁷ As a fertility goddess, Spartan women, in order to produce healthy children to Spartan’s war based society, devoted precious time to fertility rituals. Spartan women worshiped Artemis through dances seen on pottery where, “Spartan maidens [danced] on the banks of the Eurotas or by the temple of Athena like fillies or with Leukippides and with Helen as their leader.”¹⁸ Artemis, Greek goddess of war and hunting, served both the men and women of Sparta, since Artemis as worshiped as a goddess who could ease childbirth. At the dances, performed in the company of only women, the Spartan women performed lewd dances to honor Artemis’ fertility power.¹⁹ The women-only rituals reinforced the communal bond between the women of Sparta. The very physical acts of worship reflected the durable, physical lifestyle of Sparta.

In conclusion, Spartan women had autonomy to control their lead complex lives and homes, due in part to the fact most men lived in the barracks away from home. Spartan women forged aspects of independence by performing their social and civic duties, such as

¹⁵ Ibid., 155.

¹⁶ Margaret E. Pinney, “Votive Gifts to Artemis Orthia,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 20, no. 6 (1925): 157.

¹⁷ Nicki Waugh, “Visualising Fertility at Artemis Orthia's Site,” *British School at Athens Studies*, 16 (2009): 160.

¹⁸ Soteroula Constantinidou, “Dionysiac Elements in Spartan Cult Dances,” *Phoenix* 52, no. 1/2 (1998): 21.

¹⁹ Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 108.

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education, marriage, childbirth, religion, and property ownership. Sparta recognized in order to create perfect soldiers to fight in the many wars Sparta was involved in, the women who raised the future generations needed to be independent, free to express their mind, and control aspects of their lives. This was a revolutionary idea and practice at the time, especially when compared to the city-state Athens, which despite its genius philosophers and revolutionary ideas in so many areas, controlled most aspects over women's lives. Through Plutarch's writings, archeological evidence, and experts in the field, such as Pomeroy, the "Spartan mirage" dissipates. With ancient Spartan women living and working independently, Sparta society thrived.

MONASTERIES: PILLARS OF ETHIOPIAN CHRISTIANITY

By Nicholas Glasco

The biblical tale of Philip and his baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch details one possible theory on the introduction of Christianity to Ethiopia¹, while the traditional history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church adheres to the Syrian slave narrative of St. Frumentius and his brother Aedisius, who as boys were taken into the Emperor Ella Amida's court at Aksum in the late third century AD. Frumentius would go on to become the first bishop of Ethiopia under the Patriarch of Alexandria and spent his life evangelizing throughout the kingdom with great success, at first converting the royal elite and merchant classes, who for political and economic reasons, adopted the religion.² Throughout the period of Aksumite dominance, Christianity continued to spread throughout the region, following a "top-down" pattern of conversion, with monasteries, monks and priests as the primary purveyors of Christianity to the masses outside of trade and population centers.³ Beginning in the seventh century AD, Ethiopia experienced something of a "dark age", the line of Aksumite kings was broken, written records of political and religious significance became scarce, and yet Christianity remained steadfast, carried on by monastic and parochial churches throughout the region, with parochial churches assuming a lesser role in the maintenance of the religion.⁴ Following the decline of the Aksumite kingdom, Christianity continued to flourish in Ethiopia, nurtured and spread by a powerful monastic tradition based upon practices brought by the "Nine Saints" and granted authority and continuity through royal patronage and the adoption of pre-Christian sacred sites.

Aksumite Christianity during the fourth and fifth centuries AD did not feature a monastic element, in part due to the "top-down" spread of Christianity in Ethiopia, starting with the conversion of the wealthy political and social elites. As a result, the Aksumite churches were largely centered around urban areas connected with trade and politics, with a mainly parochial function, providing the lay community with

¹ Acts of the Apostles, ch.8, verses 26-39, King James Bible.

² Harold G Marcus, "A History of Ethiopia" (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 5-7

³ Ibid., 11.

⁴ Niall Finneran, "Hermits, Saints, and Snakes: The Archaeology of the Early Ethiopian Monastery in Wider Context," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 45 no.2 (2012): 248.

religious services. Beginning in the sixth century AD with the arrival of the “Nine Saints”, Syrian monophysite monks exiled following the Council of Chalcedon, a monastic tradition was established which followed closely the Syrian and Greek traditions.⁵ While these traditions would greatly impact the development of the Ethiopian monastic tradition, the great distances between Ethiopia and its closest Christian neighbors allowed for the development of unique characteristics particular to Ethiopian Christianity.

The “Nine Saints”, Syrian monophysite monks adhering to a belief in the single unified nature of Christ, both divine and human⁶, are credited with beginning the earliest Ethiopian monasteries. These early monasteries clearly follow the Syrian tradition of height and isolation, with multiple sites situated high in Ethiopia’s rugged mountains and precariously built upon prominent outcroppings.⁷ According to Finneran, these early monasteries demonstrate a unique break from the Syrian and Greek tradition of isolating monasteries from the lay communities; due to their vertical isolation, they maintained their eremitic status and “paradoxically remained highly visible to the surrounding communities.”⁸ This unique combination of visibility and isolation would have allowed the monasteries, with their communities of monks, to remain a presence in the wider community, while also maintaining the isolation required of their ascetic lifestyle. It was during this period that the central role of monks and monasteries was cemented within the Ethiopian Church. Monks were responsible for the translation of many religious texts into the local vernacular Ge’ez, as well as spreading monophysite theology throughout the areas surrounding Aksum. Throughout the sixth century AD, Christianity continued to flourish, in large part due to the construction of numerous monasteries and the reputation gained by the monks for their strict adherence to ascetic vows; miracles were frequently attributed to the monks, a belief which carries on to this day.⁹ Beginning in the seventh century AD, Aksum began to decline in prominence due to the encroachment of Muslim traders on the lucrative Red Sea trade routes

⁵ Ibid., 255-58.

⁶ Matthias F. Wahba, “*Monophysitism: Reconsidered*,” Saint Antonius Coptic Orthodox Church, 1995.
<http://www.coptic.net/articles/monophysitismreconsidered.txt>.

⁷ Finneran, “Hermits,” 258-59.

⁸ Ibid., 259-60.

⁹ Dale H Moore, “Christianity in Ethiopia,” *Church History* 5 no.3 (1936): 276-77.

and the eventual exclusion of the Ethiopian fleet.¹⁰ The beginning of this Ethiopian “dark age” led to a resurgence in the importance of monasteries within the region once dominated by Aksum.

The Syrian exiles, the “Nine Saints,” are celebrated to this day by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and their names are each associated with holy sites and monasteries throughout the region. While their names may seem exceedingly foreign to Western ears, there is a definite reverence for them in the region and the sites which are attributed to them. Abuna, an Ethiopian word translated to “Father”, is attached to each of the Nine Saints: Alef, Yemate, Afse, Garima, Guba, Sehma, Aregawi, Liqanos, Pantaleon.¹¹ Each of these nine “Abuna” was devoted to an eremitical lifestyle, a monastic lifestyle focused on isolation and asceticism intended to bring the practitioner closer to God, similar to that practiced by St. Simeon Stylites,¹² with the obvious parallels of St. Simeon’s thirty foot tower cell and the sites of Ethiopian monasteries located high up on rugged mountaintops. Eventually, the unique positioning of the monasteries, raised high above the lowlands and yet, highly visible to those below would lead to unique combination of eremitical and semi-eremitical monasticism. The particular sites of several of these monasteries lent authority to the growing religious movement, with several being built upon pre-Christian sacred sites. Debra Damo, atop a prominent massif visible for a great distance across the Ethiopian plain, was established by Abuna Aregawi on the previous site of the home of a mythological serpent. According to legend, Abuna Aregawi first had to slay the fearsome serpent in order to begin the construction of his hermitage, which would in time become a prominent monastery within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Abuna Pantaleon also established a monastery on a prominent, highly visible, hilltop with pre-Christian significance.¹³ Establishing monasteries near significant sites such as these, as well as the “slaying” of a mythological beast in connection with the building of a hermitage, would have lent religious authority and a sense of continuity to the monasteries themselves, as well as the monks residing within them. In keeping with the legitimization of the growing monastic traditions, the strict adherence to the precepts of communalism, discipline and piety demonstrated by the Nine Saints

¹⁰ Marcus, “History,” 11.

¹¹ Finneran, “Hermits,” 259.

¹² Kevin Kaatz, “3rd Century Monasticism,” lecture, California State University, East Bay, November 12, 2016, online lecture, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HdiypUpEw41>.

¹³ Finneran, “Hermits,” 259-62.

and their early adherents served to attract young idealists who would become the next generation of monks.¹⁴ As Aksum continued to decline, the emphasis on monasteries as the cultural and economic centers of Ethiopian society intensified.

As centers of population and trade began to dissipate, the previous emphasis on parochial churches serving a lay community became superseded by the presence of monastic communities in the absence of strong political and commercial centers. Despite a lack of concrete sources from the period of the seventh century AD up until roughly the twelfth century AD, there is no evidence of a break with the Patriarch of Alexandria, indicating the continued dominance of Christianity within the Ethiopian region.¹⁵ Beginning in the twelfth century AD, a new line of rulers came to dominate the social and political life of Ethiopia. These rulers, known as the “Zagew Kings” or “usurper kings” because they were not of the “Solomonic” line of kings of Aksum, would use the locations of monasteries in close proximity to royal residences as a means of establishing their legitimacy and the continuity of the religious authority of the Aksumite kings.¹⁶ These monasteries built up in the royal sphere of influence would come to incorporate man-made marvels and natural wonders.

Lalibela, a site located some two hundred and fifty miles north of Ethiopia’s present capitol of Adis Ababa, is home to a dramatic representation of the Zagew dynasty’s patronage of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and a clear example of the use of royal patronage to establish legitimacy. Once a capitol of the Zagew kings, Lalibela features a group of eleven churches hewn directly from the bedrock of the area, with the roofs of the churches at ground level.¹⁷ The rock-hewn churches were constructed as a monument to the faith of the Zagew kings, an instrument to demonstrate their primacy and continuity with the Aksumite kingdoms through the use of Aksumite designs and motifs in the decorative elements adorning the structures.¹⁸ The massive complex of rock-hewn churches at Lalibela is not the only example of monasteries endowed by the Zagew kings in an effort to

¹⁴ Marcus, “History,” 8-9.

¹⁵ Finneran, “Hermits,” 260-64.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹⁷ J. Gordon Melton, “Lalibela,” In *Religions of the World: a Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices*, 2nd. ed., edited by J. Gordon Melton and Martin Baumann, Vol. 4, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 1678. Gale Virtual Reference Library (Nov. 11, 2016). <http://go.galegroup.com.proxylib.csueastbay.edu/ps/i.do?>

¹⁸ Marcus, “History,” 12.

demonstrate their legitimacy and religious authority. Following the tradition of establishing monasteries atop rugged mountains, and yet still near to lay communities, the church located at Yemrehane Krestos, built into an existing natural cave, is adjacent to an apparently secular royal building. Similarly, the former Zagew capital of Qoqena is situated adjacent to a cave monastery built beneath a running waterfall.¹⁹ The introduction of royal patronage did not impinge on the continuation of the monastic tradition introduced by the “Nine Saints”.

The establishment of monasteries near royal capitals and the utilization of mountaintop refuges as well semi-isolated cave systems indicates strong continuity with the eremitical monastic style introduced by the Nine Saints and simultaneously with the unique Ethiopian tradition of being physically removed and yet integral to the community. Other examples of the combination of isolation and close proximity to royal locales can be found in the cave church of Asheten Maryam, a smaller monastery located high on the Abuna Yosef massif, which derives its name from one of the Nine Saints. Another prominent mountaintop cave church is the Church of Makine Medhane Alem. Both of these monasteries are within several hours travel of important Zagew royal/political settlements.²⁰ As a testament to the continued dominance of the church within the new political structure of the Zagew Kings, King Lalibela, for whom the rock-hewn churches are named, commissioned the construction of the churches circa 1201 as a symbol of his religious devotion and upon their completion twenty four years later, abdicated the throne in 1225 and lived out the rest of his life within the complex of churches as a hermit. Although the dominance of the Zagew kings would come to an end in the late thirteenth century AD, the complex at Lalibela would remain the spiritual heart of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church down through the ages to today.²¹ The unique relationship between the Ethiopian Church and royal authorities is another direct result of the “top-down” development of Christianity within the region, as early on in the introduction to the Aksumite kingdom Christianity was adopted and absorbed into the royal power structure.²² This pattern of royal patronage of the church would continue with the Zagew kings in their efforts to legitimize their rule.

¹⁹ Finneran, “Hermits,” 267-68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 267-68.

²¹ Melton, “Lalibela.”

²² Steven Kaplan, "Dominance and Diversity: Kingship, Ethnicity, and Christianity in Orthodox Ethiopia," *Church History and Religious Culture* 89, no. 1/3 (2009): 293

<http://www.jstor.org/proxylib.csueastbay.edu/stable/23932292>.

The integration of church and secular power within Ethiopia would remain a key feature of social and political realities into the modern day.

Ethiopia maintains a unique position within the Christian historical narrative for a number of reasons. The antiquity of the Christian tradition developed and maintained since the third century AD has remained largely the same for almost sixteen hundred years. The monophysite beliefs propagated by St. Frumentius and the Nine Saints are still followed within the church. To a large degree, the monastic tradition drawing on Syrian and Greek monastic traditions is practiced in many of the same monasteries and holy sites of the Zagew kings, as well as Aksumite sites dedicated to the Nine Saints including the monastery at Debra Damo.²³ The evidence supporting the importance of monasteries, and the monks residing within them, in maintaining the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in the face of political instability points to a combination of continuity with Aksumite Christian traditions, royal patronage and physical closeness to monastery sites as key contributing factors to the longevity and unbroken traditions within the Church. The influence of the Syrian Nine Saints, bringing the monastic traditions of the Levant along with them, cannot be overlooked in the development of a specifically Ethiopian monastic tradition incorporating the Syrian eremitical tenets of isolation with sites located in highly visible areas, specifically mountaintops and outcroppings that often held pre-Christian sacred significance to local populations. The importance of monastic communities to local Christian populations during times of political uncertainty, with their functioning as centers for social and economic interaction, as well as religious instruction, serving as pillars of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church throughout the tumultuous history of the Ethiopian state. Truly, the monasteries of Ethiopia, following an unbroken tradition of Christian belief and practice for nearly two thousand years has cemented their position as pillars of Ethiopian Christianity.

²³ Finneran, "Hermits," 259-62.

CONSTRUCTING ARTHUR: MYTH BUILDING THROUGH INTERPRETIVE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By Bryan Doherty

The quest to prove a historic origin for the Legend of King Arthur through primary historical texts and archeology has a complex and rich history equal to that of the legend itself. As vigorous and studious as this undertaking has been, both the archeological and historic communities have not obtained evidence to substantiate the concept of an historical figure known to us as King Arthur. This has not deterred some from continuing their search while holding out hope to find the key piece in the mystery of a legend so heavily steeped in the murky depths of late fifth and early sixth century British history and folklore. In close examination of both the historical and archeological record available, one truth in the mystery seems to emerge: that the mythic figure of Arthur has a deep origin in British and Welsh folklore, and that historians have given credence to the notion of a historic Arthur through the interpretation of historic texts and archeological evidence.

The notion of a historical Arthur comes from the ecclesiastic writings of Gildas and Bede. Both Gildas and Bede were writers of ecclesiastic history in early Britain. Gildas was a British native scholastically trained in South Wales and moved to southern Brittany.¹ His work, *De Excidio Britonum* (The Ruin of Britain) focused on the failings of early churchmen and Kings of Britain after the Romans left Britain. Gildas was a monk from Jarrow, a town in northeastern England along the Tyne River who wrote the first recorded account of the history of Anglo Saxon England, completing it in 731 C.E. In both accounts the ecclesiastic writers speak of a Roman Ambrosius Aurelianus as the leader of the Briton forces against the Saxon invasions, a personality considered to be the grounds of a historic Arthur. The birth of the historic British Arthur, however, was provided by the Welsh chronicler Nennius, who compiled the *Historia Brittonum* in the late ninth century.²

While yielding tantalizing details of an almost mythic protector of Britain from the German invasions of the late fifth and early sixth centuries, these early historic accounts of Britain left historians with

¹ Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, trans. Michael Winterbottom (London: Phillimore & CO. LTD., 1978) 3.

² Nennius, *British History and the Welsh Annals*, trans. John Morris (London: Phillimore, 1980), 1.

even more problematic questions that could not be answered by textual analysis alone. Archeological research does provide more circumstantial evidence to support the historical text and in doing so, continued to build the case of a historical Arthur to the legend so familiar to contemporary literature and films.

Even after this conclusion it is not fair to state that the perpetuation of the Arthurian legend and the continuing effort to solve the mystery by members of both the historical and archeological community is in great error. It would in fact, be more accurate to say that this perpetuation and continual investigation of the Arthurian myth is a direct result of a bounty of conflicting evidence provided in historical texts contemporary to Arthur's time in history and circumstantial archeological evidence. Though these sources conflict in their accounts, one constant holds true through all of the texts in great clarity: the exploits of Arthur. Whether under a Roman or a Gallo-British name, Arthur, through his great military prowess and exploits led the Britons in a successful campaign against Saxon invaders in the late fifth or early sixth century. As these texts serve as the origin for the argument of a historic Arthurian figure, it is necessary to investigate not only the texts themselves, but the interpretations of said sources by the historical community in order to understand how the theory was constructed.

Two scholars present different interpretations of both the historical and archeological evidence and through their analysis construct two opposing theories of both the existence of and the construction of a historical Arthur. Leslie Alcock and Thomas Green utilize similar evidence and a vast knowledge of the historical background to approach the subject of Arthur in their works *Arthur's Britain* and *Concepts of Arthur*. In both these works three issues emerge: the origins and identity of Arthur, the reliability of the historic texts, and the sufficiency archeological evidence.

Leslie Alcock, leading archeologist and Arthurian historian, argues that the circumstantial evidence, and the details shared across the various historical texts do not disprove the existence of a historical Arthur. This is the argument presented in his book *Arthur's Britain*. Alcock asserts that a historical figure as the base of the Arthurian legend is likely in his analysis of the historical accounts of Arthur's exploits against the context of the historical backdrop. The Roman exodus of Britain in the early fifth century left the Britons open to constant northern invasions from Picts and Welsh from the west and the ensuing Germanic incursion resulted in the need for a British military hero. He also presents some interesting alternative explanations for inconclusive archeological evidence such as the controversy of Arthur's burial cross at Glastonbury or the memorial stone found at a site

believed by some scholars to be the historic Camlann of the Welsh Annals.

In contrast, Thomas Green's study of the construction of the Arthurian legend, examines the ways in which the ecclesiastic writers built a figure of British and Welsh folklore into a historical figure through the addition of the mythic Arthur to the historical record. Green gives the credit of the beginning of the British Arthur to Nennius in his chronicling of Arthur's campaign in the *Historia Brittonum*. It would be remiss of Green not to address the Roman Arthur in the accounts of Gildas and Bede to which he proposes an interesting theory. This theory also explores the origins and identity of the Arthur as a historicized mythical figure.

The only Roman surname recorded to have ever had a presence in Britain belongs to centurion Lucius Artorius Castus of the Atorii. He was stationed in Britain in the late second century and commanded the sixth legion based at York. It is very possible that Artorius served in campaigns against the Pictish invasions of northern Britain then controlled by Rome in the late second century.³ If one is to entertain the idea that the legend of Arthur had a historical origin, Artorius seems a likely candidate as he holds a similar name, which could have easily been converted into the Gallo-British name of Arthur. Artorius also had a distinguished military career against enemies of the Britons centuries before the historical Arthur first appear in the written record.⁴

However, Green finds Artorius an unlikely candidate for the historic Arthur due to the fact that Artorius did not settle in Britain but rather Dalmatia. Green asserts that what is more likely is that Artorius contributed nothing to the Arthurian legend other than name and military deeds. While Green does entertain this historical origin of a Romanized Arthur, what he holds more likely is that Arthur's origins lay in British and Welsh folklore. He comes to this opinion through the study of the origins of the name "Arthur." The root of the name comes from *arto*, a Gallo-British word, with the original meaning of "bear," and a cultural connection of a warrior hero.⁵ Green also notes the commonality of *arth* or *art* to denote a warrior or hero. Therefore Arthur would be an appropriate name element for a ferocious fighter or peerless military hero.⁶ It is also a very common element in masculine Welsh names of the time and is frequently associated with supernatural

³ Thomas Green, *Concepts of Arthur* (Tempus: Gloucestershire, 2007), 182.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 188.

beings in folklore. "The most common among them," writes Green, "is that of *Dea Artio*, 'Bear Goddess', or *Artaios*, 'Bear like', as well as *Artgenos*, 'Son of a Bear.'"⁷ Due to this Gallo-British root being so prevalent in both the naming of men and having a rich involvement in British and Welsh folklore, Green asserts that if nothing else, Arthur's origin, in name at the least has a deep root in folklore.⁸

The notion of the historic figure of Arthur being Roman in the historical texts starts with Gildas in his work *De Excidio Britanniae*. Gildas presents a Britain thrown into chaos after an unnamed British King hires Saxon mercenaries for military aid in relieving invasions from both Picts and Welsh. These would-be allies, however, as Gildas details, began to sweep through Britain in a ruthless conquest.

All the major towns were laid low by repeated battering of enemy rams; laid low, too all the inhabitants—church leaders, priests and people alike, as the swords glinted and the flames crackled. It was a sad sight.⁹

The desperate Britons would rally around Ambrosius Aurelianus, who Gildas asserts is, "perhaps alone of the Romans,"¹⁰ and, "under him our people [Britons] regained their strength and challenged the victors [Saxons] to battle."¹¹ Gildas also notes that Arthur's parents wore the purple, (a sign of Roman aristocracy), therefore making Aurelianus, a high born Roman. It was common for a son in an aristocratic Roman family to hold command positions in the military, making Aurelianus' role as a war leader likely. Gildas is the first to assert the importance of the victory at Badon, which he lists as, "the last defeat of the villains [Saxons] and certainly not the least."¹² In his account of the Saxon invasions and Aurelianus' major victory at Badon Hill, Gildas creates a historically contextualized, mythic savoir of Britain and in doing so the model tale for the "historical Arthur."¹³

This model would be followed by Bede in his own works and in Alcock's mind, presents enough evidence for a case to be made that Badon, at least, was an accurate event. Alcock asserts that it is indeed likely that Badon was a decisive battle that ensured peace for at least

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 189.

⁹ Gildas, *Ruin of Britain*, 27.

¹⁰ Ibid., 28.

¹¹ Ibid.,

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Green, *Concepts*, 205.

the forty-four-year span of Gildas' life, if his note that Badon happened the same year of his birth is held as true. As Alcock argues, it is reasonable to believe this portion of Gildas' account is true due to the fact that his reputation as a preacher would be destroyed if he claimed a long period of peace when his audience was experiencing continued warfare.¹⁴

Nennius would use this model invented by Gildas, mirrored by Bede and transform the Roman savoir of Aurelianus into the Gallo-British Arthur. Green asserts that this shift from the Roman Aurelianus to the British Arthur arises from a need to create a mythic hero that shared a cultural identity with the Britons after the Romans had left them to the mercy of foreign invasions. This is exemplified in chapter 56 of Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*, which describes Arthur's campaign against the Saxons. In the eighth battle out the twelve listed, at Guinnion fort Arthur is described to have, "carried the image of the holy Mary, the everlasting Virgin on his [shield,] and the heathen were put to flight that day."¹⁵ Green cites this as an example of the need for Arthur to be a, "Christian paragon of martial valour, with victory coming both through strength of arms...and divine assistance and guidance."¹⁶ It is also a possibility that the *Historia Brittonum* used the historical Saxon invasion of Britain as an opportunity to historicize a preexisting mythic Arthur of British and Welsh folklore. Green cites this as a common practice for early medieval Celtic historic writers.¹⁷

Green is convinced that the origins of Arthur are mythic and that this myth was perpetuated by authors of the historic documents to create a cultural and military protector of Britain. His presented the possibility of the Roman Artorius of the second century being adapted to the Gallo-British name Arthur is a plausible synthesis. However, there is no way to discern whether or not the mythic Arthur already existed in Welsh folklore to some capacity or the synthesis of Lucius Artorius into a figure of Welsh folklore served as the origin of Arthur. Green does however, present a very convincing argument that illuminates the motivations and connections between the Arthurian myth and the historical texts.

Alcock in contrast doesn't seem to be concerned with which identity or name is given to the historical figure that we know as Arthur. The focus of his argument is to prove the possibility of an

¹⁴ Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (Penguin: London, 1989), 24.

¹⁵ Nennius, *British History*, 35.

¹⁶ Green, *Concepts*, 207.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

historic Arthur, and that he was likely a native Britain that fought against the Saxons in the late fifth or early sixth century. Whether the figure was the last Roman in Britain as Gildas asserts, or a native British military hero is a moot point for Alcock.

In conclusion, the identity or origin of Arthur is impossible to deduce from evidence alone. The subject of Arthur's origin and identity, much like other aspects of Arthurian studies, is a gossamer thin thread one has to weave through a tapestry of conflicting multi-culturally and chronologically vague shreds of evidence into the semblance of theory. The thread Green has found through all the evidence is a unique one to the Arthurian subject. In studying the grey area between history and myth in which the figure of Arthur exists, one cannot avoid Green's argument of an originally mythic figure being historicized by historical texts.

It is for this reason that the reliability of the "historic sources" on Arthur must be analyzed with great scrutiny, as the evidence leads one to question the existence of a historic Arthur more than they prove the case of such a figure. One major concern shared by the historical community is the issue of chronology. Many of the historic sources are centuries removed from the projected time of the deeds of the historic Arthur that they chronicle. (See Fig. 1)

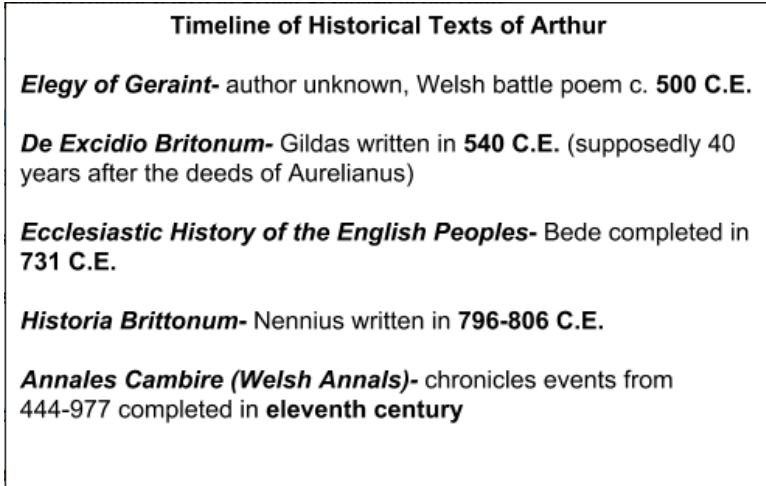


Fig. 1. Timeline of Historical texts of Arthur examined in this study.

Gildas' *De Excidio Britonum* is the ecclesiastic source that is closest to the supposed time of Arthur, which is projected to have been written in roughly 540 C.E. Though the earliest surviving manuscript of Gildas' work dates in the eleventh century, Bede's use of it and

referring to Gildas by name, historians assume a version of Gildas' work existed before Bede's work was complete.¹⁸ Bede's work is nearly two centuries removed and adds little to Gildas' account other than the name of the English king and more historical context. Nennius is even further removed from, "Arthur's time" and also contains new issues of reliability as well as issues shared by the other historic sources. Alcock however, asserts that the historical sources leave enough evidence for the possibility of a historical figure on which the Arthurian legend is based.

However, Alcock is quick to point out that the theme of Gildas' work presents a problem for the *De Excidio's* reliability as a source for a historical Arthur despite it being the base for all following historical accounts. Gildas' account is, "a homiletic and admonitory history rather than one intended to set out the course of events with factual accuracy."¹⁹ The focused theme then, in place of factual history, is the sins of rulers and churchmen towards the end of fifth century Britain and their disastrous effect on its peoples. It is indeed because of one these sinful rulers, according to Gildas, that Aurelianus has to lead the Britons against the oppressive Saxons. As mentioned above the Saxons were originally hired as mercenary support for the Britons against Pictish and Welsh incursions by an unnamed *superbus tyrannus*, (outstanding ruler), in chapter twenty-three of Gildas' account.²⁰ While the Saxon revolt detailed in this document would set the model for the other important historical texts, issues, such as incompleteness, lead Alcock to conclude that Gildas tells neither a complete nor coherent tale of the conflict between the Britons and incoming Germanic peoples.²¹

It is in the *Historia Brittonum* that both Alcock and Green vest a majority of their argument in. Alcock's analysis of the *British Miscellany*, as he terms it, particularly the *Welsh Annals*, is where he places the bulk of his argument of evidence of a historical Arthur in the textual sources. The first point of credibility Alcock gives the *Annals* is that in the first hundred years of the record includes historically genuine events and figures such as Saint Patrick, Saint Brigid, and Welsh King Maelgwn of Gwynedd. Alcock thus believes the entries about Arthur, one detailing the battle of Badon, and Camlann, the supposed battle where Arthur and Mordred are also authenticated. Evidence of these battles, unlike the other cases, does not exist outside

¹⁸ Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

the Annals, which brings the reliability of these accounts into serious question. One such contention among scholars is that the entry regarding Camlann uses Welsh term for battle, *gweith* in place of the Latin term *bellum*.²² Certain scholars interpret this to mean that the entry was likely added after the original document and was derived from a Welsh source, likely a poem or perhaps even a Welsh elegy to Arthur, as was common practice in Welsh poetry of the time. Alcock is quick to dismiss this criticism however, as the Camlann entry is hardly the only entry to utilize the Welsh term for battle and in fact, is used to describe the Battle of Chester, an authentic historical event. Alcock also points out that it is likely that a scribe in a British monastery in the sixth century would write in the local vernacular rather than Latin.

While both these explanations are plausible, Alcock's defense of the Camlann entry neglects the fact that, no evidence is provided outside the entry itself, while the other figures and events are substantiated. There is also a long tradition of Welsh "historical documents," borrowing heavily from folklore or comprising of battle poems, or elegies of great heroes blending seamlessly with historical accounts. Alcock cites one very prime example himself in referring to Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*: "In brief, the nucleus of Section 56 of the *Historia Brittonum* is a Latin summary of a Welsh poem about Arthur."²³ If the historical document is taking much of its information from poetry, how reliable can the history be? The rational answer is "doubtful at best."

Alcock does the same in his defense in the entry concerning the Battle of Badon. Alcock addresses three arguments made against the validity of the Badon entry with varying degrees of success. The first assertion is, that the battle of Badon was fought in Southern England, while Arthur's activities if historical at all, were confined to Northern England. This is easily dismissed as the only reference for the geography of Arthur's campaign being confined to the north is based on interpretations of battle locales in the *Historia Brittonum*. This is problematic on two fronts: the fact that the Welsh names of the battle locations given are interchangeable with supernatural locations of Welsh folklore, and that a great amount of evidence, both textual and archeological suggests that there was a strong military conflict between the Saxons and local Britons in the south east of Britain. One such example is a chain of sea facing forts along the south-eastern coast of Britain dated to the late third century, and a number of unrestrained

²² *Ibid.*, 49.

²³ *Ibid.*, 38.

coin hoards also near the southeastern coast would suggest that Saxon activity was focused there.²⁴ (See Figure 2). The lack of substantial evidence does nothing to support Arthur's involvement in the battle.

The other two arguments stem from interpretation of the text. The first concern Alcock addresses, is the length of the entry and that it is uncharacteristically longer than other entries in the Annals. Again, Alcock easily dismisses this concern with an example of other lengthy entries from the Annals comparable to the length of the Badon entry. It can easily be agreed that this is a thin and fairly irrelevant argument. A more appropriate area of concern is with the contents of the Badon entry, which claims that the battle lasted three days and three nights and that Arthur carried the cross for the duration of the battle. Questioning the length of the battle is valid to a point, but when one entertains the possibility that the battle of Badon involved a siege of a hill fort or a fortification of any kind, three days for the duration of the battle does not seem unreasonable. What is perhaps more likely is that the three days and nights, obviously having religious symbolism in a conflict against pagan invaders was purposely poetically rendered. The greatest argument against the validity of the Badon entry is undoubtedly the assertion that Arthur shouldered the cross for the duration of the battle. Alcock defends this with a case of mistranslation on the part of the chronicler from Welsh to Latin.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.



Figure 2. Map of Saxon shore forts built by the Britons against Saxon sea raids and landings. Fig. 2. Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, 1989, scanned from page 97 London Map 3.

"The Old Welsh word for 'shoulder' is *scruid*, but there is a very similar Old Welsh Word *scruit*, which means 'shield.'"²⁵ Alcock asserts that this error was easy to make for a British scribe attempting to translate the Welsh into Latin, which is a fair and rational assumption considering that the early scribes in provincial areas of the early Christian churches had to adjust to the vernacular and academic writings of different languages. What the passage meant to say, as Alcock offers, is that Arthur carried the image of the cross on his shield. Much more plausible granted, but still simply conjecture. Even if it were proved that Alcock's translation was correct, lack of a sure location of Badon and hence a lack of any substantial evidence does nothing to support Arthur's involvement in the battle. This is not to say that there was no Battle of Badon. In fact, it is one of the few battles listed by Nennius to have a historical base as all the textual sources cite it as an event. What role Arthur played however, is little more than conjecture without evidence outside the textual sources.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

Green also uses the *Historia Brittonum* as the main, "historical" document for his argument of Arthur's mythic origin. Green asserts that the list of twelve battles making up Arthur's campaign Nennius provides are interchangeable with locations in Welsh mythology. The names of the battle locations share the names of locations of battles Arthur fought against supernatural beings. Green cites the battle of Celyddon Forrest listed by Nennius refers to the battle of Celidon in Welsh folklore where Arthur led an army of animated trees against the Otherworld.²⁶ This adventure is dated in the eighth century and Nennius' account is dated a century later. Green points out another parallel between Nennius' Arthurian campaign and an older mythic Arthurian tale. The *Historia* describes the tenth battle of Arthur's campaign as being, "fought on the bank of the river called Tryfwyd."²⁷ Green observes that a battle at the same river exists in the early Welsh poem *Pa gur yv y porthaur*, which depicts a conflict involving Arthur, werewolves, a former sea god and another mythic hero.²⁸ According to Green, this is common of Celtic literary practice, which had a strong tradition of historicizing mythic figures. This tradition is also shared by European medieval literary practice. "Welsh literary, tradition," Green asserts, "treated even famous battles as movable formulaic elements that could be easily and readily reassigned to people who did not actually fight them."²⁹

Due to this tradition and that the account of Arthur's campaign in the *Historia* utilizes Gildas' account as its framework, Green concludes that the *Historia* is a means by which the mythic Arthur is historicized by assigning his name to the deeds and battles of other, likely historic warriors.³⁰

Green's argument is bolstered by the fact that examining the battles as historical locations is problematic. As Alcock cites, there are also complications between language and translation that result in at least two different possible geographical locations for each battle, possibly more. (See Fig. 3). Though at least two battles listed in Chapter fifty-six of the decisive battle of Badon and the ninth battle fought in the city of the legion.³¹ City of the legion meant Roman military fortifications, which supposedly, had not been in use by the Romans for at least a century. This would mean that there would be several possible forts to

²⁶ Green, *Concepts*, 207.

²⁷ Nennius, *History of Britain*, 35

²⁸ Green, *Concepts*, 207

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 205

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 204.

³¹ Nennius, *History of Britain*, 35.

which Nennius might be referring. It would also be assumed that archeological evidence at the sites of said fortifications would reveal Briton and Saxon evidence, as they would presumably be in higher layers of strata than the Roman Artifacts. Alas, but thus far, only Roman pieces have been found at such locations. Nennius does yield one geographical clue to the early stages of Arthur's campaign in the opening lines of chapter fifty-six: "...Otha came down from the north of Britain to the kingdom of the Kentishmen...then Arthur fought against them in those days..."³² This would suggest that the region of Arthur's campaign was the southeast of England and therefore in agreement with both Alcock and Green's theory for the possible locations of the battle of Badon, which still remains a mystery as no archeological evidence has been found signifying a battle between Britons and Saxons, let alone any evidence suggestive of Arthur.

As Figure 3 reveals, there are several possible locations by Alcock's and Green's estimate. There are two locations that the historical community agrees are the most likely possible sites of the historical Badon: Badbury Rings in Dorset and Liddington Castle in the county of Wiltshire, just north of Dorset. The fact that all these locations are in the southern part of England reinforces both Alcock's and Green's theory that the historical site of Badon was located in this region. Along with a geographic commonality these sites also share a rough chronological origin in that they are hill forts dating back to the late Bronze and early Iron Ages. Archeological pieces found at Badbury Rings date the first occupation of the fort between 3500 and 1500 B.C.E.³³ Other discoveries such as that of an Iron Age Temple to local deities suggests that Badbury was occupied up through the Roman conquest and votive offerings dated within the 5th century suggest that local Britons used the site, at least for religious purposes, until the supposed Arthurian age.³⁴ Further evidence, such as spearheads at the nearby hill fort at Septisbury Rings as well as Badbury suggests an Anglo Saxon presence in the area in the early sixth century.³⁵ The

³² Ibid., 35.

³³ "First excavation of ancient fort," BBC News, accessed June 6, 2015, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/dorset/3684294.stm.

³⁴ "An interesting site," Martin Papworth, Archeology National Trust Wordpress, accessed June 6, 2015, <https://archaeologynationaltrustsw.wordpress.com/category/badbury-rings/page/2/>.

³⁵ Bruce Eagles, "Britons and Saxons on the Eastern Boundary of the Civitas Durotrigum," *Britannia* 35 (2004), 238, accessed June 7, 2015, doi: 10.2307/4128631.

discovery of several Anglo Saxon burial mounds found in the county of Dorset is also telling of the prominence of Anglo Saxons in the territory. These compelling finds along with the fact that there is no presence of Anglo Saxon artifacts in Wiltshire, a territory just north of Dorset, until the early seventh century,³⁶ lead some archeologists to believe that Anglo Saxons either controlled Dorset or were contained within its borders by British opposition. It has also been suggested that the direction of the Anglo Saxon incursion into the territory of Dorset came from the West, which, if true, would reinforce Nennius' assertion in the *Historia* that the Saxons pushed out from Kent.³⁷

All the historical texts agree that Badon, the decisive battle in Arthur's campaign against the Saxons, was fought on a hill. The texts however, do not specify if Badon was a hill fort or merely a hill. Both options would be strategically sound in early warfare, making both of them plausible. The historical texts also fail to yield another vital clue: whether Arthur was defending the hill or attacking it. Archeological evidence reveals that fortifications around Badbury Rings were increased in the early period after the Roman occupation,³⁸ suggesting that it was used as a settlement if not a stronghold dating to the fifth century. This is also likely because the Roman road system in the territory utilized Badbury as its hub.³⁹ Considering the ease with which troops and supplies could be moved along said roads, Badbury Rings as a military command center in the territory is more than plausible. As compelling as the evidence is however, it does not confirm any key details pertaining to Arthur or any strong military use after the Roman occupation. While the increased fortifications imply evidence of any military conflict, such as a multitude of weapons or damaged skeletal remains, is pointedly absent.

Liddington Castle, located in Wiltshire county just north of Dorset, provides evidence even more vague than its neighbor fort to the south. Archeological research has put the construction of the ramparts of the fort in the late Bronze or early Iron Age, making it one of the earliest hill forts in Wiltshire.⁴⁰ There has been pottery discovered at the fort site dated to the fifth century, suggesting that the fort was in use until then. The lack of evidence after this date has led many archeologists to

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 236.

³⁹ Ibid., 237.

⁴⁰ "Liddington Castle Hillfort, Wiltshire," Digital Digging, last modified 2015, accessed June 7, 2015, <http://digitaldigging.net/liddington-castle-hillfort-wiltshire/>.

assert that it was likely abandoned after the Roman exodus in the early fifth century.⁴¹ Despite this, the hill fort, much like Badbury Rings, seems to be hub for other military installations, specifically other hill forts, one of which was only five hundred meters away. Though the evidence of these forts has been almost entirely removed by field plowing and only outlines from aerial views remain of them, traces of these hill forts remain.⁴² This similar location and network certainly imply a similar use, but the lack of evidence of Briton or Anglo Saxon occupation after the Roman exodus makes Liddington Castle's candidacy as a historical Badon little more than conjecture.



Figure 3. Map of possible locations for battles supposedly fought by Arthur. Fig. 3. Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, 1989, scanned from page 62, Map. 2.

⁴¹ "Liddington Castle," Pegasus Archive, accessed June 7, 2015: http://www.pegasusarchive.org/ancientbritain/liddington_castle.htm.

⁴² *Ibid.*

The location of the battles thought to be fought by Arthur, are far from the only contestable archeological evidence that has bolstered the argument for a historic Arthur. Indeed, the site of great debate both for and against the argument of a historic Arthur is Glastonbury church. It is this site that Alcock puts the most stake in the archeological portion of his argument. In his mind, there is enough evidence to make a case that Glastonbury church was indeed the burial place of the historical Arthur. As we will find however, the story of Glastonbury is as murky and doubtful as the historic texts, if not more so. To explore this evidence, we must travel back to 1191 C.E. where monks of Glastonbury claimed to have found the remains of both king Arthur and Queen Guinevere. When investigated, even the two contemporary eyewitness reports were in conflict: one chronicler proclaimed that the bones were in a very old sarcophagus, and another claimed that the bones lay in a hollowed oak.⁴³ They disagreed further on the inscription on a lead cross found in the burial. One account reads, "here lies the famous king Arthur, in the isle of Avalon buried." The other account from the chronicler who actually saw the cross, added the line, "with Guinevere his second wife."⁴⁴ This controversy of translation would sadly never be solved as the cross was last traced to be in Wells, England in the eighteenth century then unfortunately and mysteriously disappeared. The bones would also be lost as the tomb that they had been moved to was broken up during the Reformation, and the bones, much like the cross, were lost.⁴⁵

Despite the disappearance of the cross, a sketch of it from the sixth edition of *Britania*, published in 1607, presents its own controversy. At first glance using a sketched recreation of the cross as potential archeological evidence strikes us as suspect, but Alcock is convinced it is credible based on the fact that the journal changed its page size to fit the issue. Assuming that this is ground enough to consider the sketch credible, the lettering also presents a problem. Alcock explains that various letter forms, particularly the N's which look like H's and the square C's, suggests that the inscription was from much later than the first half of the sixth century.⁴⁶ Alcock also says the lettering is not from the late twelfth but late tenth or early eleventh century, therefore ruling out an attempt of forgery. (See Fig. 4)

⁴³ Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, 74.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

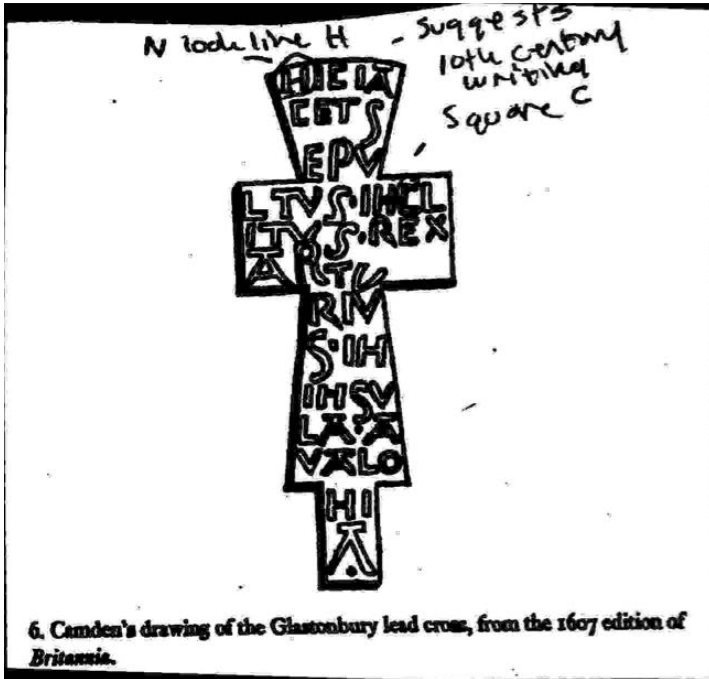


Figure 4. sketch of Arthur's Cross for the 1607 issue of *Britannia*. Note the N's that appear as H's and the square C's as suggestions that lettering on cross is from 10th century. Camden *Britannia*, 1607, sketch drawing 67/8 inches facsimile. from *Arthur's Britain*. London: 1989, page, 78.

While this still leaves room for the possibility of a forgery, Alcock presents his own theory that Arthur was indeed buried in an ancient cemetery south of the old church of St. Mary after the battle Camlann. Alcock believes this to be a possibility due the old stone slab of the sarcophagus Arthur was reportedly found in matching the style of other slab graves found in the ancient cemetery.⁴⁷

There is also evidence that in the years after 945 C.E. the abbot of Glastonbury, St. Dunstan enclosed the old cemetery with a masonry wall and raised the area. This was revealed in excavations in 1954 and 1962 that showed that the raising had been achieved by laying down a broad low bank of clay. It is new construction, Alcock believes, resulted in the moving of the burial site of Arthur and that the cross was made and inscribed to mark the important grave.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

There are two theories however, that suggest that the monks' discovery of the remains of Arthur and Guinevere are spurious claims by the monks themselves. The more believable of the two is that the monks of Glastonbury were struggling to reconstruct the church after a disastrous fire in 1184 and in order to raise funds they faked the exhumation of Arthur and Guinevere to encourage pilgrimage to the monastery. Alcock offers that Arthur is an odd choice for an object of pilgrimage unless he was already associated with Glastonbury. What Alcock fails to factor in this assertion is that monasteries prided themselves on having relics of saints and important religious figures, whether it be remains or items of the person of interest. Arthur would be a well-known and celebrated figure and his tomb would certainly be an item of interest for pilgrims. In fact, Alcock details a recorded instance where the tomb holding the supposed remains of Arthur and Guinevere was moved and prepared to be viewed by Edward I and queen Eleanor in 1287 C.E.⁴⁹ It would not be uncommon in this time for the monks of Glastonbury to claim to have remains of a great British folk hero to encourage much needed income to their monastery making the theory of the monks faking the exhumation plausible.

While the argument of a historical Arthur has always been a point of great contention, discussion and exploration, perhaps a more poignant and intriguing question is: how was the notion of a historical Arthur constructed? Asking this question, the historical texts shift from problematic records of evidence into tomes of cultural and literary analysis of a very mysterious period in European history. One can begin to see how the interpretation of moral and narrative histories build the myth of Arthur, perpetuating it through adding historicity to a folk hero and in turn, inspiring archeological research to prove it.

This has been demonstrated through analyzing the historical sources and how the account shifts from author to author. It is also worth noting how the interpretation of these documents no only perpetuates from historical author to author, but from author to scholar. Investigating how very knowledgeable scholars, such as Alcock, found circumstantial evidence from questionably reliable historic accounts and deemed it proof reveals this trend of historiographic interpretation. The historicity of the Arthurian legend has been made strong enough through such analysis that it has inspired archeological investigation for further proof of a historic Arthur as Alcock demonstrates with his argument of Glastonbury.

Green highlights this throughout his examination of the subject of Arthur who is documented to share space with Celtic and Welsh deities

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

as well as mythic characters in the native British folklore. Whether it was the Roman Artorius' name that was adopted or his deeds that inspired the British or Welsh mythic Arthur is a truth forever lost to history. What is clear, however, is through the sources and the arguments of Green and Alcock, Arthur's origins lie in mythic Britain and that myth was carried into history through moral historical writings and how they were interpreted by scholars.

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU: CRITIQUES ON WOMEN'S TREATMENT IN 18th CENTURY ENGLAND THROUGH THE LENS OF OTTOMAN CULTURE

By Ivana Kurak

“Tis certain we have but very imperfect relations of the manners of these people, their part of the World being seldom visited but by merchants who mind little but their own affairs, or Travellers who make too short a stay to be able to report any thing exactly of their own knowledge.”¹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote this observation to her friend Lady Rich in 1716 during the time her husband served as British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. Although the couple’s stay was brief, it provided Lady Montagu with ample fodder to write home to England stories and observations of Turkish culture. A selection of letters published posthumously titled the *Turkish Embassy Letters* offer criticisms of her travel and contact with this new culture. These censures attack English perceptions of the Middle East as well as criticizing the treatment of women in England, which contributed to the emerging feminist culture of the eighteenth century. Lady Montagu travels stimulated change in her ideas and perceptions about English society. Lady Montagu used her experiences in Turkey to assess the treatment of women back home in England. While both England and Turkey were patriarchal cultures, Lady Montagu saw the Turkish women as having more liberty after observing their private spaces, marriage laws, and the general treatment of women.

The past two decades have seen renewed scholarly interest in Lady Montagu. This research has highlighted Lady Montagu’s uniqueness during the eighteenth century as a travel writer. Her writings provide criticism of eighteenth century English society from a woman’s perspective while also delivering insight into the private world of Turkish women. Previously Lady Montagu’s observations have been excluded from academic writings on the Middle East. For instance, Edward W. Said in 1978 wrote a discourse on Middle Eastern culture as studied by the West titled *Orientalism*. Not once in the 375 pages of Said’s book are Lady Montagu’s travel letters mentioned. I intend to build upon the current academic research and argue that Lady

¹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, introduction by Anita Desai, edited by Malcolm Jack (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 60.

Montagu's letters are important primary sources for any historian discussing gender roles in the eighteenth century. Additionally, these letters contain crucial insights into English perceptions of the Middle East in the eighteenth century.

Joseph Lew, a notable author in the field, argues in *Lady Mary's Portable Seraglio* written in 1991, that Lady Montagu treated Orientalist discourse differently depending on for whom her letters were written.² Lady Montagu's feminist writing, her critiques of the treatment of English women, appeared strongest when she wrote to other females and her peers in social rank. These people received detailed letters about women's treatment in the Middle East in comparison to women's treatment in English society. For Lew, these letters are the most valuable for scholarly analysis.

In contrast to Lew's argument, Duke Professor Srinivas Aravamudan's article "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the Hammam: Masquerade, Womanliness, and Levantinization" (1995) criticizes Lady Montagu as being biased.³ Lady Montagu, he argues, idealizes the Middle East by portraying it as a utopia for women. Lady Montagu's positive portrayal of the Middle East was unique in the eighteenth century when Europeans had a suspicious and xenophobic attitude toward the Middle East.

This mentality is demonstrated in Felicity A. Nussbaum's *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives*.⁴ Nussbaum, an academic who specializes in postcolonial studies, explores how different post-colonial institutions attempted to control women's sexuality. In addition to this attitude that believed women must be controlled, Nussbaum highlights how the English viewed non-European cultures with constant negative criticisms. *Torrid Zones* highlights how Lady Montagu is a unique figure in the eighteenth century. Her letters present her as an early promoter of women's rights as well as an English person who embraced Middle Eastern cultural practices.

Written in 2008, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* by New York University Professor Mary Louise Pratt

² Joseph W. Lew, "Lady Mary's Portable Seraglio," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1991), 432-450.

³ Arvamdan Srinivas, "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the Hammam: Masquerade, Womanliness, and Levantinization," *ELH* 62, no.1 (Spring, 1995): 74.

⁴ Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995).

highlights the differences between male travel writers versus female travel writers in the eighteenth century.⁵ Men during the eighteenth century were traveling due to their occupations such as missionaries, merchants, or bureaucrats such as Lord Montagu. Their travel accounts were mostly related to their work in these countries with limited observations about native cultures. Pratt argues women who accompanied these men on their travels were not hindered by a job taking up their time thus these women had time to explore and observe these cultures. Women such as Lady Montagu provided a unique perspective with their accounts of “femotopias”: these “exclusively female spaces share the mystique of being autonomous retreats impenetrable to masculine authority...”⁶ As a result, during the eighteenth century women travel writers began to gain more popularity with readers back in England in comparison male travel writers.

Since the time of Said’s publication of *Orientalism*, scholars have taken a genuine interest in the writings of Lady Montagu. For Aravamudan and Nussbaum, Lady Montagu is not interpreted as sincere feminist or even as a serious travel writer. Aravamudan argues that Lady Montagu is acting in a fantasy where she is both “subject and object” where womanliness in this case “is worn as a mask,” a device she consciously uses in order to compete with male writers.⁷ Comparatively for Nussbaum Lady Montagu’s writings have an ulterior motive, she is guilty of romanticizing Middle Eastern culture. Nussbaum argues Lady Montagu played up her writings with lesbian overtones, which catered to her male readers.

Aravamudan and Nussbaum seem to agree that a true cultural metamorphosis did not take place within Lady Montagu’s mentality. By examining Lady Montagu’s letters from Turkey one finds it hard to argue with the vigor she sought to dispel false assumptions about the Middle East. In a letter, Lady Montagu criticizes false conceptions of the Middle East and states, “To read the voyages to the Levant, which are generally so far removed from truth and so full of absurdities...”⁸ I will build upon this previous work and emphasize the correlation between travel and Lady Montagu’s open mindedness to issues of Middle Eastern cultures and the treatment of women in English society. This relationship is much more important than previously thought and has been underemphasized in preceding academic work.

⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992)

⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁷ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 135.

⁸ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 104.

Lady Montagu demystifies English perceptions of the Middle East in part by criticizing accounts made by male travelers. The authors Jean Dumont, George Sandy, and John Covell are all mentioned and given corrections in their observations from Lady Montagu. Male travel writers in the eighteenth century, as previously mentioned, were predominately bureaucrats, diplomats, or merchants. The writings of these men reflected these enterprises. Pratt states, “though often enough accompanied by women, the capitalist vanguardists scripted themselves into a wholly male, heroic world.”⁹ Male authors writing in this manner, blinded by bravado failed to write about the true facts Middle Eastern cultures. Upon answering a letter to an anonymous friend, Lady Montagu states, “Your whole letter is full of mistakes from one end to the other. I see you have taken your ideas of Turkey from that worthy author Dumont, who had equal writ with equal ignorance and confidence.”¹⁰ Lady Montagu is referring to the French travel writer Jean Dumont author of *Nouveau Voyage au Levant*. Since a woman’s duties during the eighteenth century were more concerned with domestic not business matters, women were allowed to spend their time socializing or exploring the day to day life of the places that they visited. Thus women, by contrast, wrote letters that reflected an entirely different aspect of society. Women travel writers such as Lady Montagu offered their readers unique and accurate depictions of the everyday life in non-Western cultures.

Lady Montagu’s rank, “enabled her to master normally masculine preserves of knowledge,”¹¹ which allowed her access to many places traditionally off limits for the common traveler. In a letter to her friend Anne Thistlethwaite on August 30, 1716, Lady Mary states:

You will perhaps be surprised at an account so different from what you have been entertained with by the common voyage writers, who are very fond of speaking of what they don’t know. It must be under a very particular character, or on some extraordinary occasion when a Christian is admitted into the house of a man of quality and their harems are always forbidden ground.¹²

This statement demonstrates two imparted aspects of Lady Montagu’s account. First, Lady Montagu’s station as an ambassador’s wife

⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 152.

¹⁰ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 104.

¹¹ Lew, *Lady Mary’s Portable Seraglio*, 434.

¹² Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 85.

allowed her to move in highest circles of society in Turkey; and second, she was admitted into the private spaces of women. harems, or as Pratt would call them, “femotopias,” were “always forbidden ground” even for Turkish men.¹³ Lady Montagu was allowed to enter these feminotopias, engaging in the exchange of conversations with Ottoman women. This contact allowed her to understand their culture, where a male travel writer would not have been able to.

Lady Mary addresses several sexual taboos in her writings by speaking with women in their private spheres. One misconception held by the English was that the Ottomans lived in an immoral, hypersexualized culture. Eighteenth century travel writers ridiculed the Ottomans as lazy men who had given themselves over to sexual desires and allowed the empire to fall into decay. Major John Taylor writes in his travelogue, “The enervation of the Sultans, from the period that they ceased to head their armies in person, and shut themselves up in the haram; the indolence, ignorance, and selfish sensualities of the great officers of state...announce the subversion of the Ottoman throne.”¹⁴ Taylor alludes to the Ottoman practice of polygamy, which was considered an especially shocking aspect of Ottoman culture. For the English, polygamy was, “the frightful antithesis to Christian monogamy and the liberty that eighteenth-century women Britain proudly claimed for its women.”¹⁵

Lady Montagu addresses polygamy forthright and with sensibility in her letters. In relation to the practice of polygamy she states, “Tis true, their law permits them four wives but there is no instance of a man of quality that makes use of this liberty, or of a woman of rank that would suffer it.”¹⁶ She goads, “As to their morality or good conduct, I can say, like Harlequin, that ‘tis just as ‘tis with you, and the Turkish ladies don’t commit one sin the less for not being Christians. Now that I am a little acquainted with their ways I cannot forbear admiring either the exemplary discretion or extreme stupidity of all the writers that have given accounts of them.”¹⁷ This quote illustrates Lady Montagu’s chief critique of male travel writers, which was that they did not know any Turkish women yet chose “extreme stupidity” in their inaccurate criticisms of Turkish sexual morals. Male travel writers who examined Eastern culture from an outsider’s view often focus on negative aspects

¹³ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 163.

¹⁴ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁶ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 72.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

of Middle Eastern culture, Lady Montagu's writings show her to view herself within the cultural structure of Turkish society.

Lady Montagu also challenges xenophobic perceptions of Eastern society by focusing on the similarities between the two cultures instead of emphasizing the differences, as many male travel writers did at the time. Lew introduces the concept of "defamiliarizing" as essential to male Middle Eastern discourse.¹⁸ Defamiliarizing means to make objects and people seem more unfamiliar by presenting them in strange ways. Lady Montagu instead uses familiarity in the subtle language of her descriptions of Turkey in order to clarify Eastern culture for her European readers. In one instance Lady Montagu recalls renting a Turkish coach to reach an appointment. She describes the coach as different from English coaches, "these voitures are not at all like ours, but much more convenient for the country... they are made a good deal in the manner of the Dutch coaches."¹⁹ This is an example of a kind of "familiarizing" technique that Lady Montagu uses in her writings. By relating the Turkish coach to the Dutch stagecoach something that her English readers would be more familiar with Lady Montagu makes Turkish culture seem more relatable and less foreign.

Furthermore, Lady Montagu takes her familiarization one step further towards cultural acceptance. She praises many aspects of Ottoman society, while simultaneously criticizing English social habits. In the eighteenth century, it was common for Turkish people who had no heir to adopt a less privileged child to be raised as their own, then this child would inherit their fortune.

Lady Montagu saw the English laws regarding inheritance as irrational, "I own this custom pleases me much better than our absurd following our name. Methinks 'tis much more reasonable to make happy and rich an infant whom I educate after my own manner... than to give an estate to a creature without other merit or relation to me than by a few letters. Yet this is an absurdity we see frequently practiced."²⁰ Lady Montagu praises Turkish culture while hinting at how English "civilized" society could do better.

Comparatively Lady Montagu praised the civility of the Turkish women when it came to their manners. Lady Montagu visited one of Turkey's famous baths where she was the single English visitor in a bath of about 200 Turkish women. She was wearing her riding clothes and ill dressed for appearing at the baths. She writes, "I know no European court where the ladies would have behaved themselves in so

¹⁸ Lew, *Portable Seraglio*, 437.

¹⁹ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 57.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 137.

polite a manner to a stranger. ...none of those disdainful smile or satirical whispers that never fail in our assemblies when anybody appears that is not dressed exactly in fashion.”²¹ Here Lady Montagu is suggesting that Turkish women have a sense of grace that fashionable British women lack. As Lew notes, “Instead of acting the condescendingly superior Westerner, Lady Montagu implies Western women should use Turkish women as models, her first hint that Oriental women ‘have’ something Englishwomen lack.”²² By praising Ottoman society, Lady Montagu went against the Orientalist discourse and assumptions of her time, which helped, discredit notions that Eastern people are inferior to their Western counterparts.

Lady Montagu held a keen interest in the private spaces, or femotopias, where women socialize. For English society that had limited contact with the women of the Middle East, Lady Montagu used her first-hand accounts to argue against the prevailing, sexist accounts. In one letter Lady Montagu describes the women’s bathhouse. Lady Montagu notes there were “many fine women some in conversation, women working, others drinking coffee or sherbet.”²³ Lady Montagu praises this private sphere where women have the freedom to talk.

Lew notes that in popular English writings on the Middle East women are portrayed as “the creatures of a male power-fantasy whom express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all are willing.”²⁴ Lady Montagu minimizes the “exoticness” of this scene and portrays the bathhouse as a woman’s domestic sphere. Furthermore, Lady Montagu uses familiarization in her description by summarizing the experience as something like a “woman’s coffeehouse” removing erotic notions of women’s private spaces.

By no means does Lady Montagu suggest that there is no eroticism in Turkish culture, instead she draws a connection between privacy and sexual liberty by suggesting the veil gives women the freedom of movement. All women wore hijabs when out in public. Lady Montagu did not see this as a deterrent to women’s freedom, but found it central to these non-European women’s sexual and social freedom. After describing how Turkish women dress, Lady Montagu writes, “You may guess how effectually this disguises them, that there is no distinguishing the great lady from her slave,” it broke social conventions for a man to follow a woman in the streets, “this perpetual

²¹ *Ibid.*, 58.

²² Lew, *Portable Seraglio*, 439.

²³ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 59.

²⁴ Lew, *Portable Seraglio*, 440.

masquerade gives them entire liberty of following their inclinations without fear of discovery.”²⁵ By going unrecognized, the hijab was the not an oppressive cage but a vehicle to independence. In these statements, Lady Montagu reveals her feminist tendencies instead of exploiting the culture around her: Lady Montagu, “employs a quest for self-realization fantasies of social harmony.”²⁶ She presents women’s independence not as a threat to its society but as a guideline for what England could do to improve its society.

When Lady Montagu comments, “I look upon Turkish women as the only free people in the Empire,” she is referencing something greater than Turkish women’s sexual freedom, she is speaking of their legal rights in marriage.²⁷ Nussbaum notes that, “Englishwomen’s lack of autonomy and freedom in marriage, their sense of themselves as men’s property” prompted Lady Montagu’s fascination with Turkish marriage.²⁸ A unique aspect of Ottoman law during this time was that women were allowed property, which allowed them to have more freedom in a marriage. Women were not allowed to own property outside of marriage in England until the Married Women’s Property Act in 1870.²⁹ Lady Montagu notes that divorced women take all their property with them, “Those ladies that are rich having all their money in their own hands, which they take with them upon a divorce with an addition which he is obligated to give them.”³⁰ This contrasts to English women who were at the mercy of their husbands financially if they had a divorce.

Lady Montagu observes that this freedom in marriage extends a women’s control of the house. The seraglio, or Turkish women’s apartment, is a woman’s domain where no men, including the husband, are allowed unless he is given permission. These women are “queens of their slaves, which the husband has no permission so much as to look upon these women.” Here women control their own space, and have rights to their property, slaves included. Even though Ottoman society was patriarchal, the attitude toward women suggests that Ottoman husbands did not control their wives as strictly as English men controlled theirs.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu used her experiences traveling and living in Turkey as a lens to critique England’s treatment of women. In

²⁵ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 71.

²⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 165.

²⁷ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 75.

²⁸ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 135.

²⁹ Lew, *Portable Seraglio*, 446.

³⁰ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 72.

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her letters she delivers an honest treatment of Eastern cultures and champions the need for equal rights for women. Lady Montagu's transcultural experience contributed to the emerging women's rights movement in England during the eighteenth century. In less than thirty years after Lady Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* were published women were releasing pamphlets, advocating for equal treatment in England, and Mary Wollstonecraft published her call for women's rights in *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Many scholars today credit Lady Montagu as an early inspiration for the modern women's rights movement.

LEWIS AND CLARK: CLASH OF THE TETONS

By Tyler Smith

After two years of exploration, the excitement of returning to civilization must have been forefront on the minds of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. As they traveled back to St. Louis, they passed previously visited landmarks and Native American tribes—friendly and otherwise. Their diplomacy to the tribes was coming to an end, and their knowledge of the Native Americans was greatly expanded from personal experience. No longer were they looking to create new diplomatic trade unions with Indian tribes, but instead they wanted to preserve themselves in order to bring their newfound knowledge back to the United States to help prepare for the new trade route along the Missouri River.

On August 30, 1806, the expedition saw almost one hundred Native Americans appear over a hill while they rested on the bank of the Missouri River. Unsure of which tribe they belonged with, the expedition fired a friendly salute that the Native Americans returned. Clark approached the band and talked to them, he discovered they were Lakota under Chief Black Buffalo. Instantly the expedition was put on guard and Clark told them to leave, proclaiming the Lakota “to be bad people” and threatening them that “if they crossed over to our camp we would put them to death.”¹ Clark did not want to repeat the problematic experience the Corps of Discovery had the first time they met the Sioux tribe.² The expedition pushed off the bank and continued down river, all the while telling the Native Americans to go away. Towards the end of the day a familiar face, most likely Black Buffalo himself, requested that the expedition come ashore to council and his offer was rebuffed. In frustration, the Native American “returned to the hill, and struck the earth three times with his gun, a great oath among the Indians, who considered swearing by the earth as one of the most sacred forms of imprecation.”³

The tribe that the Corps of Discovery rebuffed was part of the greater Sioux Nation that was composed of three groups: the Tetons, Yanktons and Yanktonais. These groups referred to themselves as

¹ Nicholas Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*, vol. 2 (New York: Heritage Press, 1962), 538.

² The Sioux shared a similar dialect called Siouan; their name means “snake” or “enemy.”

³ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 2:538.

Oceti Sakowin, Seven Council Fires, and were composed of multiple smaller tribes.⁴ The Sioux subset that Lewis and Clark encountered was the Tetons, more popularly known as the Lakota, possibly the most dogged and stalwart Indian tribe that fought the United States during the Plains War of the late 19th century.⁵

The expedition that explored the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase was expected to create strong diplomatic ties between the Native Americans in the west and the United States. While they succeeded in creating many diplomatic ties they also created a strong enemy as well. Their expedition provided a glimpse of the brambly relationship the Native American and United States would have for the next century. The ultimate goal of the United States was colonial expansion across the entire continent of America—manifest destiny. This left little opportunity for cohabitation with the natives they met. The expedition of Lewis and Clark gave the United States a peek at how difficult the Plains Sioux would be for them to conquer, a truth that was only exacerbated by the dramatic confrontation they had along the Missouri River.

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson entered into a discussion with Napoleon Bonaparte about the American acquisition of New Orleans and was instead offered the entire French holding of Louisiana. Jefferson eagerly agreed and more than doubled the size of the fledgling United States—over 900,000 square miles—at a paltry cost of four cents an acre.⁶ This was Jefferson’s contribution to democracy in America, to give the nation more land and thus a greater ability for people to buy their own property. He believed that true democracy, or Jeffersonian Democracy, could only be supported by individuals who owned their own property; those individuals also needed access to the world markets in Europe and Asia.

The Mississippi River already had the ability to transport goods to European markets and with the Louisiana Purchase the United States had full control of the river, but a quick water outlet to Asia was still elusive. Meriwether Lewis, Jefferson’s private secretary, was commissioned by the President to explore the western half of America

⁴ Jeffery Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism From Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21.

⁵ Lewis and Clark recorded these Native American people as Teton; this article uses their linguistic name of Lakota, which means “friend” or “allies.”

⁶ Arthur King Peters, *Seven Trails West* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), 11.

and find the “westward passage” to the Pacific Ocean. With the commissioning of the Corps of Discovery, Jefferson began the US expansion through western Native American lands, all the way to the Pacific coast of America. James Ronda explained this by saying, “Lewis and Clark were part of an expansionist movement that steadily brought traders, bureaucrats, ranchers, and farmers into Mandan, Shoshoni, Nez Perce, and Chinookan homelands.”⁷

When Thomas Jefferson asked Lewis to captain the expedition he also requested that Lewis assign someone as a successor, to prevent “anarchy, dispersion, & the consequent danger to your party.”⁸ Immediately Lewis sent a letter to William Clark, his commanding officer when he was in the military. Clark was a seasoned veteran of the Northwest Indian War, an experienced frontiersman, and had a familiarity with Native Americans. Lewis wrote to Clark, asserting, “that no man lives with whome I would perfer to undertake Such a Trip as yourself.”⁹ Clark readily agreed to co-captain the expedition and he aided Lewis in securing supplies, “Indian presents,” and extra men for their journey.

In 1804, the Corps of Discovery set out to find a route to the ocean, study and record scientific plant and animal life, and establish diplomatic relations with the Native American tribes in the territory acquired from France. In particular, Jefferson strongly desired to establish friendly relationships with the Native Americans, stating, “In all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit.” The primary reason being that it was an expectation that the US would engage in “commercial intercourse with them.” The primary trade good Jefferson wanted was fur, he hoped to build a strong fur trading connection with the Native Americans. Lewis was expected to work peaceably with the Native Americans, reassuring them that the US wished to be “neighborly, friendly & useful to them.”

As one of his efforts to present the United States as friendly and desirous of a good relationship, Jefferson demanded that the expedition keep vaccines for smallpox. His hope was that they could be used to help the Native Americans they met. “Carry with you some matter of the kinpox...its efficacy as a preservative from the smallpox; &

⁷ James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 255.

⁸ Daniel B. Thorp, *Lewis & Clark: An American Journey* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 2003), 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

instruct & encourage them in the use of it.”¹⁰ The expedition was already storing over twenty bundles of goods to trade with the Native Americans, but the inclusion of medical aid against smallpox was crucial. European diseases ravaged Native American populations along the western plains and Missouri River; the issue of diseases made the hope of friendship and commerce that much more precarious. Lewis and Clark met several tribes that grouped themselves together after smallpox ravaged their population. It was Jefferson’s hope that having the vaccines would show their positive intentions.

Jefferson wanted the expedition to work peacefully with Native Americans and record extensive notes about their culture. In a letter of instruction for Lewis dated June 20, 1803, Jefferson dedicated a paragraph giving Lewis all the information he was expected to record about the Indian tribes he encountered. He tells Lewis to “make yourself acquainted” with the names and sizes of the tribes as well as to “acquire what knowledge you can of the state of morality, religion, & information among them.”¹¹ Jefferson’s hope was to create a list of reconnaissance information about the tribes in the United States’ new territory for trading purposes and possibly even military reasons.

Of all the Indian tribes that Lewis encountered, Thomas Jefferson only mentioned one by name—the Sioux. Jefferson told Lewis that he should not encounter any of their settlements along the Missouri River, but he almost certainly would encounter Sioux parties. There was higher urgency on creating a positive relationship with the Sioux. “On that nation we wish most particularly to make a friendly impression, because of their immense power, and because we learned they are very desirous of being on the most friendly terms with us.”¹² While the belief that the Sioux tribes desired to be on “friendly terms” with the US was more of a hope of Jefferson’s, his belief that a positive relationship with the Sioux was necessary for successful commerce was true. Through careful research, Jefferson knew that the Sioux were crucial in the expectation of growing a strong trading connection with the Native Americans. He viewed the Sioux nation as being, “middlemen in the regions trade.”¹³ In previous years the Sioux had

¹⁰ Donald Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 64.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

¹² *Ibid.*, 166.

¹³ Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*, 30.

“blocked most attempts of trading parties to go up the Missouri” and Jefferson did not want that to happen to the United States.¹⁴

The Sioux tribes, in particular the Lakota, were known to take control of sections of the Missouri River and demand a toll from traders who passed through. They controlled trading along the river and would take what they wanted from traders and then trade with the other tribes themselves. The Lakota were aggressive traders and did not appreciate people who encroached on their territory. They were highly combative and one of the largest and fiercest tribes in the western portion of America. They survived as a hunting and warring culture and lived by the Bedouin proverb: “Raiding is our agriculture.”¹⁵ Thomas Jefferson had little desire to rile up Sioux tribes and make commerce along the Missouri River nearly impossible. The first Sioux tribe the Corps of Discovery met, the Yanktons, were friendly and it was a positive experience. The second Sioux tribe they met were the Lakota. They proved to be extremely problematic, and were the most explosive interaction with Native Americans the expedition experienced.

On September 23rd, the Corps of Discovery had its first initial encounter with the Lakota. Towards the end of the day, three boys hailed the expedition as it was traveling down the Missouri River and swam across to meet them. Lewis and Clark welcomed the boys and listened as they informed them that two villages of Lakota were encamped just up the river, both villages were around fifty dwellings each. Clark thanked them for the information and “sent them back, with a present of two carrots of tobacco to their chiefs.”¹⁶ Lewis and Clark requested to meet their chiefs the next day, asking if they could hold a conference with them. They expected to begin a successful diplomatic relationship with this critical Indian tribe, to fail in fostering a positive relationship would seriously damage the ability for the United States to transport trade goods unmolested on the Missouri River.

On the morning of September 24th, the expedition grounded on an island in the Teton River. One of the men, John Colter, went on a hunt and successfully killed several elk. When he returned to his horse he found it missing and trekked back to the boats on foot. When Colter arrived, he told Lewis that Native Americans stole his horse. Lewis

¹⁴ Earnest Staples Osgood, *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark 1803-1805* (London: Yale University Press, 1964), 146.

¹⁵ Elliot West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 68.

¹⁶ Nicholas Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1 (New York: Heritage Press, 1962), 50.

ordered the men to push their boats from the island in an attempt to discover who took the horse. They quickly found five Native Americans standing on the shore and inquired about the missing horse through one of the French interpreters. Clark emphasized the point that, “we were friends, & wished to Continue So but were not afraid of any Indians.”¹⁷

The French interpreter Pierre Cruzatte had a rudimentary understanding of the Native Americans’ language and attempted to ask for the return of their horse, claiming it was a gift that “their great father [President Jefferson] had sent for their great chief.”¹⁸ He hoped that the Natives would readily return the horse if they believed it to be a gift for their chief, but instead Cruzatte was met with silence. He then announced that the expedition, “would not speak to them until the horse was returned to us.”¹⁹ This was nothing more than a ruse to get their horse back, as they did not believe the men on the shore to suddenly be honest with them about their thievery.

The Native Americans did not have a recollection of any horse, but told the expedition, “If their young men had taken the horse, they would have to give him up.”²⁰ Lewis and Clark did not record if they ever got their horse back: seemingly it remained missing. As their conversation progressed, the expedition learned that the chiefs they requested to meet the prior night would be arriving in the morning. Additionally, they learned the men were from the Lakota Sioux tribe under the leadership of Black Buffalo.

The first actual meeting between the Lakota and the Corps of Discovery was over thievery, something that would come up time and time again in the journals of the expedition’s members. One of the troubles that worried Thomas Jefferson about the Lakota was their knack for stealing; previous trappers and traders would lose valuable commodities and tools because of the Tetons oft tendency to swindle and pilfer them when they would meet. Lewis and Clark would have been well informed about this and were almost certainly wary of any

¹⁷ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, vol. 1 (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1959), 163.

¹⁸ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:51. The particular dialect these Tetons spoke was Lakota, but most likely Cruzatte spoke Omaha to them. Both languages are part of the Siouan family.

¹⁹ Thwaites, *Original Journals*, 1:163.

²⁰ Patrick Gass, “The Journals of Patrick Gass,” in *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 10 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 44.

tricks the Lakota's might try, including snatching a horse and lying about their knowledge of the matter.

The men stayed with them until the next morning when three of their chiefs and about sixty warriors came to meet the expedition. Lewis and Clark went through a ceremony of acknowledgement with the chiefs; they announced that the Spanish and French no longer own the land, but it was now owned by the father of seventeen nations (President Jefferson) who wanted peace, friendship and the hope to commence trade with the Lakota. The ceremony included giving the "grand chief a medal, a flag of the United States, a laced uniform coat, a cocked hat and feather: to the two other chiefs a medal and some small presents; and to two warriors of consideration certificates."²¹ The chiefs and warriors seemed very grateful to receive gifts from Lewis and Clark. The entire ceremony went exceedingly well.

After the semantics of the ceremony, Black Buffalo and the two chiefs who came with him, Buffalo Medicine and Partisan, and two of the warriors went aboard Lewis and Clark's boat for several hours. Guns and other random curiosities were displayed to the chiefs in an attempt to show friendship and open commerce possibilities. Whiskey drew the most attention from the chiefs as they quickly drank a quarter bottle and sucked every last drop from it. Once they tasted the whiskey and saw the amount of tobacco the expedition had on the boat the chiefs were extremely obstinate when asked to leave.

Clark convinced them to finally exit the boat and then put them into a pirogue to row them back to shore. As they reached the shore, the chiefs began to proclaim that they were extremely poor and requested that Clark leave one of their pirogues with them.²² The expedition was slightly on edge as the pirogue reached shore, one of the privates with them, Joseph Whitehouse, wrote that Clark was onboard with the chiefs because he feared "some treachery from those savages."²³ Jefferson's warnings about these people made the expedition extra sensitive to every comment made, almost as if they expected their interactions to erupt into violence.

²¹ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:52.

²² Gass, "The Journals of Patrick Gass," 45.

²³ Joseph Whitehouse, "The Journals of Joseph Whitehouse," in *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 11 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 86. In the journal of private Whitehouse the word "savages" is written over "Indians" during his recount of the first Teton meeting. A telling sign that the expedition was probably seriously upset at their experience with the Tetons.

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Almost immediately after the chiefs exited the pirogue, “three of the Indians seized the cable of the periogue, and one of the soldiers of the chief put his arms around the mast.”²⁴ Partisan suddenly began to act inebriated and demanded more presents, unsatisfied by what they had received in the ceremony. Clark recorded the chief as, “pretending drunkenness & staggering up against me.”²⁵ Clark refused to give him any more gifts; he believed the Native Americans were attempting to manipulate the expedition as they had done with other groups. He told him that they could not prevent the expedition from continuing on, proclaiming that they, “were not squaws, but warriors; we were sent by our great father, who could in a moment exterminate them.”²⁶ Clark was ready for anything and was absolutely steadfast that they needed to show their military power to the Lakota. Simply giving into their demands was not an option.

This confrontation looked to be a test of wills for the expedition; the Lakota controlled the river and would intimidate them out of all their trade goods if given the opportunity. The Lakota believed that “if the white man’s party were strong there would be trade; if it were weak, there was the possibility of plunder.” The Corps of Discovery were not a trading party and they needed to prove that they were “strong enough and resolute enough to defend itself.”²⁷ The Lakota’s wondered if Clark would back down and surrender, as previous traders did.

Partisan retorted that he had warriors as well, and would resort to violence to get his demands. To show the seriousness of the threat, the warriors had “their bows Strung and guns Cocked” according to Clark, so he quickly decided to “sent all the men except two [interpreters] to the boat.”²⁸ This was a key moment for the expedition and, in particular, William Clark. To back down would be to show weakness and put themselves in a poor negotiating position with the Lakota. To break out in violence would jeopardize the future relationship of the Native Americans and the United States. Clark then drew his sword and ordered the expedition to prepare to fight, the expedition needed to stand firm. A pirogue with twelve armed men instantly joined him and prepared for a fight.

After several tense minutes, Black Buffalo took his men away from the boat and gathered them together in order to hold a council

²⁴ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:52.

²⁵ Thwaites, *Original Journals*, 1:165.

²⁶ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:52.

²⁷ Osgood, *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark*, 154.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 145; Thwaites, *Original Journals*, 1:165.

with his warriors. Clark took it as an opportunity to reconcile and hopefully rebuild their suddenly precarious relationship; he approached Black Buffalo and offered his hand. The chief refused it and Clark walked back to the pirogue. Once Clark reached the boat “both the chiefs and two warriors waded in after him” and they were allowed on, seemingly an attempt to be friendly again. The group of Lakota men ended up spending the night on the pirogue as well.

The following day the Lakota’s wanted an opportunity to give the expedition some hospitality at their village, the expedition believed it was because the confrontation the previous day “seemed to have inspired the Indians with fear of us.”²⁹ They reached the village and were met by a flock of men, women and children who were decidedly friendly and put Lewis and Clark at ease. Still on guard, they agreed to spend the night with the Lakota, as they continually wanted to, “Show their good disposition towards us.”³⁰ A night of feasting and dancing was prepared and they went with a small group of men into the council house of Black Buffalo. Within the room almost seventy men stood in a circle around the chief, and in front of the men was an old Spanish flag next to the United States flag Lewis and Clark gave Black Buffalo the previous day.³¹

While several fat dogs cooked on a large fire, an old man beseeched Clark and asked him “to take pity on their unfortunate situation” and applauded him for how the expedition handled the previous day.³² Almost certainly they wanted to convince Lewis and Clark to trade exclusively with them, not with the other tribes upriver. Since the expedition was stronger than others that passed though, the Lakota hoped to use peaceful means to convince them to not encroach on their trading territory. They feared that the expedition, and the United States, was going to usurp their domination of the Native American trade economy.

Clark simply reassured the man that they would still have their support and protection, but their diplomatic mission must continue; Black Buffalo then offered a sacrifice to the US flag as a sign of peace. It was then that the peace pipe was removed from its perch and presented to Lewis and Clark. They smoked and ate away the following hour until women came out and danced to music. They held various weapons and poles with scalps on them and danced to music provided

²⁹ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:52.

³⁰ Thwaites, *Original Journals*, 1:166-67.

³¹ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:53.

³² Thwaites, *Original Journals*, 1:167; Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:53.

by men using animal skins and hooves as instruments. During the interludes of dancing the men would tell stories that were “voluptuous and indecent.”

The flow of entertainment was broken by one of the musicians who destroyed his drum and threw it into the fire in a fit of rage because he did not believe that he received “a due share of the tobacco” that Lewis and Clark distributed previously that evening.³³ The Lakota showed their high demands of trade materials and explosive anger over not being given what they deemed was a fair amount. The event was quickly hushed over and the festivities continued until midnight. At that point, they retired to their boat and the chiefs “offered us women, which we did not accept.”³⁴ On their return to the boat Lewis and Clark saw a group of almost fifty Maha Native Americans who had been taken as prisoners the week before; they requested that the Lakota release them and make peace with the Mahas, which they agreed to do. Some of the Maha prisoners covertly warned one of the men in the expedition that the Lakota secretly said, “we were to be stopped.”³⁵

The following morning the expedition handed out more gifts and spent most of the day relaxing. The Lakota’s gregarious and sneaky nature is reinforced in the expedition’s journals. Private Whitehouse warned that “they will Steal and plunder if they git an opportunity” and exclaimed, “they are very dirty.”³⁶ During the day, Clark recorded that “they again offered me a young woman and wished me to take her & not despise them, I wavered the Subject.”³⁷ Sexual intercourse was a custom that “combined hospitality and diplomacy.”³⁸ Clark’s rejection of the women not only bewildered the Lakota, it almost certainly offended them too. It was not a choice that would foster a friendly relationship with the Lakota. In the evening, several men in the expedition were invited to join the dancing and festivities, identical to the previous night.³⁹ The entertainment went even later the second night, with the men not returning to their pirogue until past midnight.

As the men returned to their boat to sleep, they accidently swung it around and broke the boat’s anchoring cable.⁴⁰ The commotion from the cable breaking surprised the two chiefs who were with them and

³³ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:54.

³⁴ Osgood, *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark*, 150.

³⁵ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:56.

³⁶ Whitehouse, “The Journals of Joseph Whitehouse,” 87-8.

³⁷ Osgood, *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark*, 150.

³⁸ Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*, 36.

³⁹ Gass, “The Journals of Patrick Gass,” 46.

⁴⁰ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:56.

they instantly gave alarm and beckoned sixty men over to the pirogue; the chiefs claimed it sounded like the Mahas had attacked them. It seemed more likely that the Lakota believed the expedition was secretly leaving and wanted to stop them. The warning of the Maha prisoners stuck in Lewis and Clark's minds the rest of the night as they, "kept up a strong guard this night."⁴¹ Clark realized that the previous days of entertainment were nothing more than a stall tactic; the Lakota still wanted all their trade goods and were waiting for another Lakota band to come to the village. They believed that "if the party could be delayed long enough, reinforcement might arrive."⁴² The expedition was prepared for anything and certainly believed the Lakota had more treachery planned.

The next morning, September 28th, only solidified this thought as the expedition prepared to set sail. As they began to prepare their pirogue to sail down river so they could continue their journey it was with "great difficulty that we could make the chiefs leave the boat" and once they did leave, "several of the chief's soldiers sat on the rope which held the boat to shore." This further irritated Clark and he demanded they stand down or the expedition would be forced to fire upon them. Black Buffalo said his soldiers only wanted a bit more tobacco, something that the expedition refused to give out earlier. Clark threw him a carrot of tobacco and told the chief, "You have told us that you were a great man, and have influence; now show your influence, by taking the rope from those men..."⁴³ Clark's appeal to pride succeeded, and Black Buffalo ordered the soldiers to take the tobacco and release the cable.

Seemingly finished with the Lakota the expedition sailed a few miles downriver and suddenly spotted Buffalo Medicine hailing them. Before they reached him, they quickly hoisted a white and red flag on the boat. It meant they were ready for "peace or war" and were "determined to fight our way."⁴⁴ Initially Clark rowed out in a pirogue to meet the chief, but then brought him onboard. The expedition listened as Buffalo Medicine told everyone that Partisan, the chief second to Black Buffalo, was the one who ordered them to be stopped. Clark responded by telling the chief that the Lakota must stop attempting to delay the expedition and that "if they persisted in their attempts to stop us, we were willing and able to defend ourselves."⁴⁵

⁴¹ Whitehouse, "The Journals of Joseph Whitehouse," 89.

⁴² Osgood, *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark*, 145.

⁴³ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:57.

⁴⁴ Whitehouse, "The Journals of Joseph Whitehouse," 90.

⁴⁵ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:57.

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The Corps of Discovery did not want any more contact with, as they described them, such a “banditti of Villains.”⁴⁶

Buffalo Medicine left the boat and carried the message back to the village, and once again it seemed to be the end of Lakota problems to Lewis and Clark, but once again it was not. The following morning, they saw the second chief, Partisan, with two women and three men standing on the shore. Partisan offered the two women to Lewis and Clark in an attempted to make a friendship. They turned down the offer. Quickly responding to his rejection, the chief requested that he should be taken aboard with his men and travel with the expedition to another Sioux tribe; that request was also rejected by Clark. They were already wary from the previous stall tactics and had no desire for any further issues with the Lakota.

Even with Clark’s rebuff of Partisan’s request the small group of Lakota followed them down river, after a few miles the chief directed his attention to the boat again. Partisan made his final request and asked for some more tobacco, which Clark finally agreed to, but they threw the tobacco on a sandbar and refused to go on shore again. The expedition refused to leave their pirogues until they “came to the nation of the Aricaris, commonly called Rickarees.”⁴⁷ Clark had had enough of their attempts to relieve them of the rest of their trade goods. He gave the chief and his band tobacco and then some extra, telling them it was “a present for that part of the nation which we did not see.” With that, Partisan and his group left.

The next day was windy and rainy and after a short distance a Native American ran after the boat and begged to be brought on board. Still suspicious from the previous day, his request was refused. Over a hill they suddenly discovered almost four hundred Native American warriors. The expedition shored their boat and went forward to greet the large group; they turned out to also be Lakota and were returning to the band the expedition had just left. Lewis and Clark offered the chiefs in the group tobacco. They also proceeded to complain about the past week, saying, “We had been badly treated by some of their band” and accepted the apology of the chief.⁴⁸

The expedition set sail for a few miles with the new Lakota chief on board; they encountered rough waters, which scared the chief. He wanted to leave the boat and promised that the expedition would be able to “proceed unmolested” and that, “all things were clear for us to

⁴⁶ Whitehouse, “The Journals of Joseph Whitehouse,” 90.

⁴⁷ Gass, “The Journals of Patrick Gass,” 48.

⁴⁸ Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 1:57-58.

go on, we would not see any more Tetons.”⁴⁹ Lewis and Clark gave him some more presents and spent some time smoking with him before continuing on. Thus, their first experience with the Lakota finally ended.

It was nearly two years later when they met the Lakota again on August 30, 1806, and this was when William Clark recorded Black Buffalo’s “great oath.” The bellicose result of their meeting two years prior gave the expedition no desire to converse with the Lakota, instead Clark just threatened them.⁵⁰ The failed Lakota diplomacy was not just a threat to the Corps of Discovery, but seemed to be a threat against the United States as a whole. With Lewis and Clark acting as US ambassadors, any threat against them was a threat to the nation; likewise, the Lakota were almost certainly not happy and did not agree with their treatment by the expedition.

Once the Corps of Discovery returned home, the information they gathered about the Native Americans they met along the way was organized and presented to the government. The information told the tale of the dozens of tribes Lewis and Clark interacted with as they attempted “to clear the road...and make it a road of peace” with the Native Americans.⁵¹ In Lewis’ notes, he made comments about various tribes interacting and even subjugating themselves to others; it was the Lakota he named as the dominant nation.

Lewis believed it was only the Lakota that were dangerous, manipulative and oppressive to non-Sioux tribes. They were able to dominate their neighbors, and went as far as conquering and controlling entire tribes. He wrote specifically about the Ricârâs Arikara tribes, mentioning that they were essentially slaves to “that lawless, savage, and rapacious race, the Sioux Teton.”⁵² Whenever Lewis was given an opportunity to disparage the Lakota he would eagerly jump at the chance. He wanted to be sure to malign them; to show that his floundered interactions with them were because of the Lakota’s fault and diplomacy was destined to fail.

In his 1806 letter to congress, Meriwether Lewis aggressively described the Lakota as “the vilest miscreants of the savage race...” He would go on to exclaim that, “Unless these people are reduced to order, by coercive measures, I am ready to pronounce, that the citizens of the

⁴⁹ Ibid.; Thwaites, *Original Journals*, 1:174.

⁵⁰ Gass, “The Journals of Patrick Gass,” 274; Biddle, *The Journals of the Expedition*, 2:538.

⁵¹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:203.

⁵² Thomas C. Cochran, *The New American State Papers 1789-1860*, vol. 1 (Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1972), 28.

United States can never enjoy, but partially, the advantages which the Missouri represents.”⁵³ His anger towards the Lakota showed how dramatically their efforts to establish a diplomatic relationship with them failed, the hope of including them in the United States trade network seemed impossible. Lewis believed the Lakota to be nothing more than a thorn in the side of the United States’ trade hopes.

On July 20th of the same year, William Clark also wrote about the Lakota in an unsavory light, suggesting that strong-armed tactics might be the only way to leave “peaceably” with the Sioux. He explains that, “until some effectual measures be taken to render them pacific, [they] will always prove a serious source of inconvenience...” Clark wrote to Hugh Henry about the Native Americans, suggesting that coercion might be the only way to get all of them to cooperate. While the US wanted to show their strength and power through the most peaceful means possible, the possibility of ostracizing the Lakota Sioux was certainly a probability according to Clark.⁵⁴

Lewis and Clark succeeded in creating diplomatic ties with most of the Native Americans they met on their expedition; however, they also cultivated a schism with the Sioux. Their ambition of propagating positive relationships with the Native Americans fell short because of their gaffe with the Lakota. Bernard DeVoto declared that Lewis and Clark essentially defeated the Lakota; they forced them to back down, and turned them into “women” in their neighbors’ eyes. The Lakota were just “bully boys” and became “just beggars” once they left.⁵⁵ That was hardly the result Jefferson wanted when he commissioned Lewis and Clark.

Thomas Jefferson’s staunch belief that the United States was destined to settle the entire continent left little opportunity for cohabitation with the Native Americans. The United States seemed intent to build an imperialistic empire through colonialism. The process of expanding into new territory and creating new colonies led to colonialism, which is, as Jeffery Ostler put it, “[making] explicit the fact that expansion almost always involves conquest, displacement, and rule over foreign groups.”⁵⁶ The beginning of the United States’ exploration of the American West was a rousing success in almost every way—except with Native American diplomacy. In a letter to the secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith, Jefferson admitted the Unites

⁵³ *Ibid*, 1:33.

⁵⁴ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:310-312.

⁵⁵ Bernard DeVoto, *The Course of Empire* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1952), 445-48.

⁵⁶ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 2.

States was “miserably weak,” in its newly acquired western lands.⁵⁷ Lewis and Clark entered a unique realm of Native American politics and failed to make a proper connection, which was what Jefferson feared.

Navigating the tangled web of Lakota politics and their imperial interests was a daunting task for Lewis and Clark, easily their most difficult task in regard to Native American diplomacy. The Lakota were a nation familiar with conquering and controlling others; believing themselves to be superior and stronger than any other, and Lewis and Clark did little to change that. The Lakota’s perspective of themselves was much like the United States; they were both important nations that clashed with each other. The failed diplomacy by the Corps of Discovery gave the United States an early glimpse at the future conflict between these two nations.

⁵⁷ Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*, 30.

CIVIL WAR MUSIC: THE NORTH AND SOUTH

By Taylor Wittman

A woman flies through the sky on the back of a bald eagle. One hand carries a sword, while the other holds a flag. On the ground below, a collection of cannons, cannonballs, gunpowder and the like lay scattered, with more swords and flags stacked high above them. In the middle of this scene is the phrase “Our Banner of Glory!” and “National Hymn.” This is the cover of a piece of American sheet music published in 1861. A highly patriotic number, it is one of countless songs written and published during the Civil War Era. Music was an extremely important aspect of the Civil War, and throughout the period, the Union and the Confederacy both produced numerous patriotic songs like “Our Banner of Glory.”¹

Even a brief examination of these tunes can lead to a thousand questions. One might wonder, how did Union patriotic songs compare to those written by the Confederacy? Because the North and South were two opposing sides, one might assume their songs would be extremely different. Indeed, in the sample of patriotic music discussed in this essay, the words and phrases in the songs pointed to a specific side in the conflict. There were distinct words contained in Union and Confederate songs that acknowledged each other as the enemy, and various phrases betrayed their goals in the war.

However, the similarities outweighed the differences. While the individual phrases and words were not always identical, the same ideas and concepts were shared by both the North and the South. Union and Confederate songs expressed patriotic and religious sentiments, referenced the Founding Fathers and Revolutionary War and evoked an admiration for the flag. In the end, those similarities point to one key concept. The Union and Confederacy may have fought on opposite sides in the war, but they began in one original country, like two siblings from the same parent. Even when their specific ideologies diverged, they could not get away from the fact that they essentially shared the same DNA. Thus, it was not the concepts that were different, but instead the lens through which they viewed those concepts. This is evident in the music they wrote.

¹ William Cumming Peters and G.W. Cutter, Esq. *Our Banner of Glory; National Hymn* (Cincinnati, Ohio: A.C. Peters & Bro. and St. Louis: J.L. Peters & Bro., 1861), b2070. Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.
http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_b2070/.

The music of the Civil War is not a topic that is given much attention. This argument can be seen throughout the different scholarly works that are devoted in their entirety to music of that period. One such work is *Bugle Resounding*. Edited by Bruce C. Kelley and Mark A. Snell, *Bugle Resounding* contains essays drawn from lectures delivered at the National Conference on Music in the Civil War Era. The editors make the argument that “[t]he United States in the mid-nineteenth century was musically vibrant.” Furthermore, they claim that the music written during that period still has relevance today. Because there are few works that give a focused view of the topic, the editors compiled the essays to begin filling that void, providing a concentrated study of musicians and music from the era.²

The topics covered throughout the work include women within Civil War music, Irish musicians and the significance of pianos in the South. In “They Weren’t All Like Lorena,” Lorena Cuccia discusses the way women were depicted in popular Civil War music.³ Examining mothers, wives and other kinds of women, she argues that those songs show females as patriotic.⁴ David B. Thompson’s *Confederates at the Keyboard* explores the importance of pianos and piano music in the South. Music was an integral part of Southern life, and piano music was extremely vital, played in homes and representative of the public and private views of the war.⁵ These essays draw upon primary sources such as diaries, sheet music and memoirs, as well as secondary, scholarly works. Instead of focusing on a particular topic, *Bugle Resounding* gives more of an overview of Civil War music.

Unlike *Bugle Resounding*, “Civil War Humor: Songs of the Civil War” by Larzer Ziff, concentrates specifically on songs. In his article, published in the journal *Civil War History*, Ziff examines the amusing qualities found in Civil War music. Furthermore, Ziff attempts to “learn what the songs reflect about their singers and to appreciate the feelings the songs seem to have invoked as well as the response they now receive.”⁶ He accomplishes this by grouping the songs into three

² Bruce C. Kelley and Mark A. Snell, eds., *Bugle Resounding* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), vii-viii.

³ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁴ Lenora Cuccia, “They Weren’t All Like Lorena,” in *Bugle Resounding*, 54.

⁵ David B. Thompson, “Confederates at the Keyboard,” in *Bugle Resounding*.

⁶ Larzer Ziff, “Civil War Humor: Songs of the Civil War,” *Civil War History* 2, no. 3 (1956): 8. Accessed April 12, 2016. <https://muse-jhu-edu.proxylib.csueastbay.edu/article/414987/pdf>.

categories – patriotic, sentimental and light-hearted.⁷ By viewing Civil War songs in through the lens of humor, Ziff brings to light the often-exaggerated nature of the lyrics found in these songs. One can easily see how such lyrics would arouse strong emotions in those listening.

Using secondary works and primary sources such as sheet music, Ziff delves into the three categories. Sentimental music, which encompassed topics such as love for a mother or the death of a soldier, can now be viewed as comical because of its unrealistic presentations or “high-flown words.”⁸ Patriotic music often contained “...themes of love for one's homeland and anger at the enemy's pretensions”⁹ Songs in this category are humorous because of their exaggeration, such as making everyday tasks like knitting very patriotic and significant. Finally, the light-hearted category included songs that were meant to be funny. Lyrics in light-hearted songs might be sarcastic complaints or jokes about the opposing side's dialect. Ziff uses songs such as “The Officers of Dixie” or “Song of Hooker's Picket” as examples. “Civil War Humor” fits more into the method used in this essay, analyzing lyrics and connecting them to a broader point. One specific section discusses similarities between the North and South and how they referenced past events such as the Boston Tea Party. However, that idea remains a small one compared to the article as a whole.¹⁰

Like “Civil War Humor,” the work *Music Along the Rapidan: Civil War Soldiers, Music, and Community During Winter Quarters, Virginia* by James A. Davis is a little more focused in topic. It examines music's connection with community, focusing on two armies in the area of the Rapidan River between 1863 and 1864. According to Davis, “[m]usic was an omnipresent and influential part of the soldier's world.”¹¹ The winter encampment of 1863 and 1864 kept the Northern Virginia and Potomac armies, “glaring at each other across the Rapidan River.”¹² For the community around them and the soldiers themselves, identity became very important. Thus, music through performance became an outlet and source of expression.¹³ Music, like most forms of art, is an element that transcends differences in backgrounds and

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 11

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 14-22

¹¹ James A. Davis, *Music Along the Rapidan: Civil War Soldiers, Music, and Community During Winter Quarters, Virginia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014).

¹² Ibid., 4.

¹³ Ibid., “Introduction.”

experiences. For soldiers and the surrounding communities in the Civil War, music became a powerful tool that brought comfort and connection in the midst of the pain and hardship that comes with war.

Davis uses secondary works as well as various primary sources such as letters, memoirs and diaries to make his points. For the soldiers, music provided a sense of “past community,” reminding them of home.¹⁴ To explain this idea, Davis introduces John Beatty. A soldier from Ohio, Beatty wrote in a journal that listening to music took his mind from the wet, dull camp to the happier times he had shared with his wife and children.¹⁵ In the community, music tied people together, and patriotic songs in particular taught them how to think, “demanding unity in purpose and belief.”¹⁶ Music was also used in memory of those that had passed on and helped in the grieving process. Davis uses the example of Amanda Edmonds who, having just lost a friend, began to weep when she heard a violin playing.¹⁷ Music held memories, and provided ideological harmony and emotional support.

In relation to the argument being made in this essay, Davis gives context and background information. Although focused on a particular geographical location, he sets the stage and puts songs such as the ones examined in this essay within their broader context. At one point, he does contrast music and the Northern and Southern soldier, but does not focus on the songs themselves.¹⁸ This essay focuses specifically on lyrics, while Davis is able to express the significance of music apart from any words the songs may have contained.

In the middle of “Civil War Humor” and *Bugle Resounding* lies Christian McWhirter’s *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War*. McWhirter, like editors Kelley and Snell, writes a concentrated study of music during the Civil War. He attempts to shed light on a topic that has only been “sprinkle[d]” into various historical works and studied primarily by musicologists.¹⁹ Moving “beyond the lyrical and musical analysis,” McWhirter discusses the significance of music and its impact on society during the war and

¹⁴ Ibid., 45.

¹⁵ Ibid., 47-48.

¹⁶ Ibid., 148.

¹⁷ Ibid., 148-149.

¹⁸ For Davis’ explanation of music in relation to Southern and Northern soldiers, see Chapter 5.

¹⁹ Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 1.

nineteenth-century America as a whole.²⁰ He does so by focusing on the music that generated much popularity, the songs that had the most resonance. Music helped shape the views of the time, informing, instructing and influencing society. It became less of a source of entertainment and more a crucial “social tool.”²¹ He organizes his discussion by presenting a different topic in each chapter.²²

McWhirter includes two chapters that discuss the most popular songs from the Confederacy and the Union. For the Union chapter, the author focuses much of his attention on “John Brown’s Body,” and “The Battle-Cry of Freedom.” In the North, patriotic songs were popular, as they “express[ed] loyalty and dedication.”²³ “John Brown’s Body” came from humble beginnings from soldiers and their teasing of a fellow comrade whose name was John Brown, like the well-known abolitionist.²⁴ Because of its “simplicity” and “malleability,” it became the song commonly preferred by soldiers.²⁵ It would also go through transformations, eventually inspiring “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.”²⁶

The South also had its popular songs that resonated with society, and McWhirter highlights “Dixie” and “The Bonnie Blue Flag.” Because of its aspirations to become an independent nation, the South was more drawn to anthems, which “define[ed] a people’s goals and beliefs,” bringing the people together around common ideals.²⁷ “Dixie” was actually written by a Northerner and became popular in the North.²⁸ However, after being played at Jefferson Davis’ inauguration, it began to take hold in the Confederacy, being adapted for military bands and undergoing revisions.²⁹ It became so associated with the South that the Union eventually stopped singing it.³⁰ The fact that the South would essentially adopt a Northern song on its own betrays an important factor about the division between the opposing sides in the war – although the South broke away from the Union, they shared similar foundations of ideas, which is one point explored in this essay.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 4.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 60.

²⁴ Ibid., 42.

²⁵ Ibid., 50.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 60.

²⁸ Ibid., 65.

²⁹ Ibid., 67.

³⁰ Ibid., 73.

These two chapters falls in line with McWhirter's thesis. He presents an in-depth study of a handful of the "widely popular songs," which he claims, "surely had a greater historical impact."³¹ However, in doing so he consequently is forced to dismiss the plethora of other songs written during that period. Furthermore, he focuses more on context than analysis on lyrics in these chapters. While his approach works for what he is trying to accomplish with his book, it stands as too focused and contextual for the argument presented in this essay.

This essay seeks to put the focus of Civil War music back on the lyrics. It is very important to understand the context, background and effects of the songs, and the scholarly works produced on the topic of Civil War music more than excel in that area. However, the lyrics themselves were chosen for a reason. What does the language of patriotic music say about the war, and how does that music differ among the Union and Confederacy? Ziff touches upon this in his article, but this essay seeks to expand those points. The lyrics of songs from the North and South show similarities in their words, phrases and choice of subject matter when it comes to their objectives in the war and their invoking of the flag, past history and religious sentiments. This ties them to each other while still allowing them to stay true to their individual causes.

Music was used in many ways throughout the war – at home, in camps and in the public. In camps, music and instruments would regulate the everyday activities of soldiers.³² Soldiers with musical abilities would play around campfires, and military bands would perform in shows or even glee clubs.³³ The bands would also play in battle, as well as for marches.³⁴ The public also experienced performances of music written during the era. Patriotic tunes would be played for inaugurations and in parades.³⁵ Benefit concerts would be given, and women would even go to hospitals to sing to the soldiers there.³⁶ Finally, the home was also a place affected by music. Music was one way in which individuals would be kept up-to-date on the happenings of the war, as battles and events were discussed in songs.³⁷

³¹ Ibid., 2.

³² James A. Davis, *Music Along the Rappahannock: Civil War Soldiers, Music, and During Winter Quarters, Virginia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 5.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 44.

³⁵ Ibid., 67, 43.

³⁶ Ibid., 102.

³⁷ Ibid., 84.

Thus, songs that contained lyrics would be easily disseminated among everyone in the North and South, whether or not they were directly involved in the war.

Both the Union and the Confederacy discussed their reasons for fighting within their songs. For each, there was a cry for rights and the protection of their way of living. However, the lens through which the writers wrote about rights and changes diverged depending on their loyalties. This difference in the two viewpoints demonstrates the push and pull between the two sides. While the specifics of their objectives show the distinction of different ideologies, the broader goals represent the bonds shared by states that once used to be part of the same country.

When Southern states seceded, they tore the country apart. Thus, it follows naturally that a main goal for the North would have been to bring the South back under the Union. Northern songs asserted that point in their lyrics. One song in particular, “Dixie for the Union,” expressed that desire explicitly. Published around 1860 to 1861, the lyrics for “Dixie for the Union” were written by Frances J. Crosby and put to a tune composed by Dan D. Emmett. In its chorus, the song triumphantly declares “Hurrah! Hurrah! The Stars and Stripes forever! Hurrah! Hurrah! Our Union shall not sever!” Moving to another part of the song, one reads the line, “Is Virginia, too, seceding?...Then away, then away, then away to the fight!” Watching the process of secession unfold before him, the lyricist defiantly cries out for the Union to remain established, calling for soldiers to bear arms and fight.³⁸

“Dixie for the Union” is not the only song to demand the protection of the Union. Although not as directly, two other Northern tunes declared their loyalty to their beloved country. In “Answer to the Bonnie Blue Flag,” composed by M.H. Frank in 1862, lyricist Mrs. C. Sterett wrote “We are a band of Patriots who each leave home and friend, Our noble Constitution and Banner to defend...” While not using the term Union, Sterett clearly stated the reasons those “Patriots” would leave behind their families to enter the war. The “Constitution,” the foundation upon which the Union was established, and the “Banner,” the symbol of the country, needed to be protected.³⁹

³⁸ Frances J. Crosby, Dan D. Emmett, Sigismond Lasar, *Dixie for the Union* (New York: Firth, Pond & Co., 1860-1861), a4998, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries. http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_a4998/.

³⁹ Within the sample of songs selected for this essay, a handful of songs had female lyricists, including Sterett. In every case, the female was referenced as “Mrs.” This was not the case for the male writers.

Another verse in “Answer to the Bonnie Blue Flag” even displays a bitter resentment towards the South. It reads,

“They forced the war upon us, for peaceful men are we,
They steal our money, seize our forts, and then as cowards
flee, False to their vows, and to the Flag, that once protected
them,
They sought the Union to dissolve, earth’s noblest, brightest
gem.”

In these lyrics, the Union was crying foul. This may be surprising, as one might expect the South to be playing the victim. However, according to this song, the Confederacy was tarnishing the Union’s glorious reputation, betraying their benevolent homeland and robbing the Union blind. The North was claiming innocence in the conflict, while lashing out against the states they once considered their “Southern brethren.”⁴⁰

A third song calls for the defense of the Union. “The Battle-Cry of Freedom” was written in 1862 by George Frederick Root. This song was written in reference to a speech made by President Abraham Lincoln on July 2, 1862, when Lincoln “call[ed] for 300,000 volunteers.”⁴¹ In one of its verses, “Battle-Cry of Freedom” states “We are marching to the field, boys, we’re going to the fight, Shouting the battle-cry of freedom, And we bear the glorious stars for the Union and the right...” In another verse, Root writes, “Yes, for Liberty and Union we’re springing to the fight...” “Battle-Cry of Freedom” connects going off to war to the Union and the flag, or “stars” of the flag.⁴²

Along with stanzas and phrases, references to the enemy also display the mindset of the Union. One popular term that appears repeatedly is “traitor.” all three songs discussed above contain the word

See M.H Frank and Mrs. C. Sterett, *Answer to the Bonnie Blue Flag* (Philadelphia: MARSH, 1862), a4811, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_a4811/.

⁴⁰ *Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag*.

⁴¹ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*. In his book, Christian McWhirter goes into more detail about *Battle-Cry of Freedom* and its effect on its listeners.

⁴² George Frederick Root, *The Battle-Cry of Freedom* (Chicago: Root & Cady, 1862), 225. b0988, The Flowers Collection. Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_b0988/#info.

“traitor.” “Dixie for the Union” declares, “Go meet those Southern Traitors, with iron will.”⁴³ “Answer to the Bonnie Blue Flag” states, “The ‘Bonnie Blue Flag’: be hauled down and every traitor die...”⁴⁴ Finally, “Battle-Cry of Freedom” contains the phrase, “Down with the traitor, up with the star,” in its chorus.⁴⁵ These three songs also include other references such as “rebel,” “cowards” and “those who breathe Secession.”⁴⁶ One other song, “The Banner of the Free” also uses similar terms in its lyrics. Published in 1862, the lyrics of “The Banner of the Free” were written by E.C. Benedict. Within this song, the names “traitor,” “rebel” and even “pirates” appear in the lyrics.⁴⁷ In those specific references, Union lyricists clearly showed how they viewed the Confederates. Confederates had betrayed and rebelled against the Union and thus the North was fighting to maintain and defend their beloved country and flag against the “Southern traitors.”⁴⁸

While the Union strove to protect their broken country, the Confederacy, according to many of their songs, sought to protect their way of living. The sample of Confederate music analyzed here reflects a desire to defend Southern homes, rights and traditions. In two songs, “Up with the Flag” and “Flag of the South,” the home is given importance as something for which a soldier should fight. “Up with the Flag” was written in 1863 by William B. Harrell and composed by Mrs. Harrell. In one of its verses, “Up with the Flag” reads, “Your homes are invaded, come, lads, come! Up with the flag, and away! Oh! stay not, comrades, meet the dark host- Up with the flag. Strike for your firesides – stand to your post. Up with the flag, and away!”⁴⁹ Similarly,

⁴³ *Dixie for the Union*.

⁴⁴ *Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag*.

⁴⁵ *The Battle-Cry of Freedom*.

⁴⁶ The term “rebel” is used in *Dixie for the Union* and *Battle-Cry of Freedom*. *Dixie for the Union* uses the name “those who breathe secession,” while *Answer to the Bonnie Blue Flag* includes “cowards.”

⁴⁷ E.C. Benedict, *The Banner of the Free* (New York: Wm. Hall & Son, 1862), M1640.B, Civil War Sheet Music Collection; The Library of Congress Celebrates the Songs of America; Performing Arts Encyclopedia. The Library of Congress.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200001273/>.

⁴⁸ The more specific phrase “Southern traitors” appears in *Dixie for the Union*.

⁴⁹ Dr. William B. Harrell and Mrs. Harrell, *Up With the Flag* (Richmond: Geo. Dunn Compy and Columbia, South Carolina: Julian A. Selby, 1863), conf0415, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke

“Flag of the South,” written in 1861 by Mrs. Anna K. Hearn and composed by Dr. O. Becker, calls for defense of the home. One line declares “Go ye forth with valiant arm, To save your happy home,” while another states, “Strike! for your altars and your fires and Old Jackson’s banner.”⁵⁰

Along with the home, the defense of rights and freedom was another topic displayed in Confederate songs. One song, “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” discusses plainly the reasons for secession and fighting in the war. “The Bonnie Blue Flag” was composed in 1861 by Harry Macarthy. Its opening verse is as follows:

We are a band of brothers, And native to the soil,
Fighting for the property We gain’d by honest toil;
And when our rights were threaten’d [*sic*], the cry rose near
and far,
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag, that bears a Single Star!
Hurrah! Hurrah! for Southern Rights Hurrah!
Hurrah! for the Bonnie Blue Flag, that bears a Single Star!⁵¹

This verse tells the story of secession. Simply put, the right to their “property,” or slaves, was in danger, and they were compelled to keep that right through leaving the Union. Another song, “The Star Spangled Cross,” reinforces the idea of rights. Published in 1864 and written by Subaltern, “The Star Spangled Cross” reads, “For years we have cringed to the uplifted rod, For years have demanded our right” and later on, “’Tis an emblem of freedom unfurled in the right...”⁵² In the eyes of the Confederacy, their rights as they saw them were not being

University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_conf0415/.

⁵⁰ Dr. O Becker, and Mrs. Anna K. Hearn, *The Flag of the South: A Voice From the Old Academy* (Nashville: C.D. Benson & Co., 1861), n1320, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_n1320/.

⁵¹ Harry Macarthy, *The Bonnie Blue Flag* (Augusta, Georgia: Blackmar & Bro. New Orleans: Blackmar & Co.), conf0113, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_conf0113/.

⁵² Subaltern. *The Star Spangled Cross and the Pure Field of White* (Richmond: Geo. Dunn and Compy and Columbia, South Carolina: Julian A. Selby, 1864), conf0389, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_conf0389/.

upheld or maintained, and thus their reasons for fighting against the North was to make sure those rights were kept intact.

Similar to the Union, the Confederacy labeled the North using different terms. The reference that appears the most is “foe” or “foeman.” *Flag of the South* reads, “Strike! till the last arm’d [*sic*] foe expires...”⁵³ Likewise, “Up with the Flag” states “Oh, hasten, brothers, the proud foe to meet; Up with the flag..”⁵⁴ Finally, “The Star Spangled Cross” declares, “And our forests may swarm with the foe...”⁵⁵ More references can be found among other songs, including “[t]yrant,” “enemy,” and “spoilers.”⁵⁶ Specific, those terms make the Union a more distinct enemy, a domineering one that was attempting to take something from the Confederacy. Thus, the soldiers were fighting to protect the rights, homes and “property” of the South from the oppressive North.

Clearly, the Union and Confederacy were fighting with different objectives. The Union, facing a potential permanent division of their country, struggled to keep the Union together. On the other side, the Confederacy sent volunteers into battle with the goal of keeping their rights, specifically to their “property,” or slaves. In the end, however, they were both fighting to protect something. The Union wanted to protect their bonds to the South, while the South desired to protect their economy and way of living. Thus, while the details of those reasons were different, their goals were rooted in some similar desires.

When the war first broke out, a wave of patriotism hit the North and South. That patriotism led to a substantial number of volunteers and would surface multiple times throughout the conflict. For those volunteers, the Founding Fathers, symbols such as the flag and ideas like the Constitution would play a big role in why they enlisted. This reverence and devotion to the past and to the flag can be seen clearly in each side’s music. Unlike the reasons for fighting, the similarities between the Union and Confederacy were not really in the details, but in the way each side viewed the past and the flag.⁵⁷

⁵³ *The Flag of the South: A Voice From the Old Academy.*

⁵⁴ *Up With the Flag.*

⁵⁵ *The Star Spangled Cross and the Pure Field of White.*

⁵⁶ “Tyrant” is found in *The Flag of the South*, “enemy” is found in *We Conquer or Die*, and “spoilers” is found in *The War Song of Dixie.*

⁵⁷ James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrade: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.16-21. In his book, McPherson examines at length the reasons men joined in the war. His discussion on patriotism goes into much more detail.

The songs for both the Union and Confederacy included broader references to the flag, as well as phrases that showed a devotion to and respect for the flag. For the Union, the common names given, other than “flag,” were “stars and stripes” and “banner.” Those names can be found in the songs “Banner of the Free,” “Dixie for the Union,” “The Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag” and “The Popular Refrain of Glory, Hallelujah.”⁵⁸ For example, “Dixie for the Union” reads, “Unfold our country’s banner [i]n triumph there, And let the rebels desecrate [t]hat banner if they dare.”⁵⁹ The Confederate tunes also used the term “banner,” which could be found in the songs “Up with the Flag,” “Flag of the South,” “The Star Spangled Cross” and “We Conquer or Die.”⁶⁰

Those words were then used in phrases to express an admiration for the flag. In the North, the flag was acclaimed in a tender, honoring manner. “The Battle-Cry of Freedom” references the “...glorious stars.”⁶¹ “Banner of the Free” declares, “God bless the Banner of the free...”⁶² Finally, “The Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag” reads, “Hurrah for our forefather’s good old Flag, that glitters with many a star.”⁶³ From these rich and colorful lyrics, one can firmly grasp the Union’s emotions towards the symbol of their country. Firstly, there is a fondness – the flag is dear to them, and it evokes a sacredness, as shown in the line “God bless the Banner of the free.”⁶⁴ Secondly, the flag embodies a greatness that is representative of the country itself which, as discussed previously, was viewed as a magnificent institution. One can almost imagine a Northerner’s heart swelling with pride at the sound of those words. The flag was a symbol to be praised and adored.

The line above from “Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag” reveals another common aspect of Union music – an honoring of the past. “Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag” reads, “Hurrah for our forefather’s good old Flag, that glitters with many a star.”⁶⁵ Another song, “Dixie

⁵⁸ E.C. Benedict, *The Banner of the Free; Dixie for the Union; Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag; The Popular Refrain of Glory, Hallelujah (As Sung by the Federal Soldiers Throughout the Union)*.

⁵⁹ *Dixie for the Union*.

⁶⁰ *Up With the Flag; The Flag of the South: A Voice From the Old Academy; Subaltern. The Star Spangled Cross and the Pure Field of White; James Pierpont, We Conquer or Die*.

⁶¹ *The Battle-Cry of Freedom*.

⁶² *The Banner of the Free*.

⁶³ *Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag*.

⁶⁴ *The Banner of the Free*.

⁶⁵ *Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag*.

for the Union,” declares “Remember Bunker Hill.”⁶⁶ Taken together, the songs appeal to two very important topics in America’s history, the Revolutionary War and the Founding Fathers. For those in the Union, the heritage left by the Founding Fathers was something that needed to be protected, and was being threatened by the secession of the South.⁶⁷ The freedom gained through the Revolutionary War was something to be remembered.

Confederate songs also demonstrated a love for and commitment to the flag. The tone carries a little less tenderness, but no less devotion. “Hurrah! for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a Single Star,” declares “The Bonnie Blue Flag.”⁶⁸ The flag is also shown to be representative of a cause for which one was willing to die, and this can be seen in two particular songs. “The War Song of Dixie,” written by J.C. Vierick and published in 1861, reads “Advance the Flag of Dixie! Hurrah! Hurrah! For Dixie’s land we’ll take our stand, And live and die for Dixie!”⁶⁹ Similarly, “Flag of the South” states, “Raise your banner! Shout your cry, ‘God save our Sunny South, for her we live, for her we’ll die, Even at the cannon’s mouth!’”⁷⁰ For the Confederates, the flag was used as a battle-cry, a physical symbol of their fight.

Just like the North, the South called upon their past as fuel for advancing their cause. The Founding Fathers and Revolutionary War again surfaced in their lyrics. For example, “The Flag of the South” states,

“Ne’er shall Northern colors o’er us wave
That deny us ‘Equal Rights’
In the land our father’s [*sic*] died to save
From England’s belted knights”⁷¹

One can detect in these lyrics a sense of entitlement to the land, rights and freedom gained from the 1776 conflict. Thus, in the same revolutionary spirit of their fathers before them, the South was fighting for freedom from the North, who was abridging their rights. Another

⁶⁶ *Dixie for the Union.*

⁶⁷ *For Cause and Comrade: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.*

⁶⁸ *The Bonnie Blue Flag.*

⁶⁹ Albert Pike and J.C. Vierick, *The War Song of Dixie; Southrons, Hear Your Country Call You, Op. 562* (New Orleans: P.P. Werlein & Halsey, 1861), 595. conf0427, The Flowers Collection. Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.
http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_conf0427/.

⁷⁰ *The Flag of the South: A Voice From the Old Academy.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

song, “We Conquer or Die,” echoes that sentiment. Published in 1861 and composed by James Pierpont, “We Conquer or Die” reads, “Go forth in the pathway our forefathers trod; We too fight for freedom; our Captain is God...”⁷² Once again, the Confederacy was promoting the spirit of revolution and the aims of the Founding Fathers.

At first glance, the shared sentiments and references to the flag and the past may not appear to be that significant. But the fact that parallel and even identical words and phrases were used by both makes the lines between the two much more grey. They each utilized similar vocabulary to reference the flag. They each carried devotion and commitment to their “banner.” They each appealed to the Revolutionary War and Founding Fathers. This represents the same DNA shared by the two. However, because the South diverged in their principles and seceded, the flag and the past history took on different meanings. They were physical and ideological demonstrations of their differing reasons for fighting. The lens had switched, and the subsequent music revealed that change.

Another theme that can be found throughout Civil War music is spirituality. Indeed, sprinkled in the songs are spiritual sentiments, giving their views a more sacred tone. For each side, the use of religious terms and phrases, like the Revolutionary War references, helped bolster their claims and their cause. Through religious words, the moral side of the war was emphasized, and once again the North and South shared the same principles, but with completely opposing viewpoints.

For the Union, the use of “Heaven” and “God” can be found in within certain songs. The first is “John Brown’s Body.” “John Brown’s Body,” although originally meant as a jest, was adopted as an anti-slavery song, becoming associated with the famous abolitionist.⁷³ Thus, the morality of the words had been placed on the song through different listeners. The verses consist of repeated phrases.⁷⁴ One such phrase is, “He’s gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord.”⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ The

⁷² *We Conquer or Die* (Macon: John C. Schreiner & Son, 1861), conf0430, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries. http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_conf0430/.

⁷³ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 44. This song went through different revisions, including the famous *Battle Hymn of the Republic*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 42.

⁷⁵ These lyrics were taken from the following version of the song: William Steffe and Julia Ward Howe, *The Popular Refrain of Glory, Hallelujah (As Sung by the Federal Soldiers Throughout the Union)* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1861), Historic American Sheet Music, Duke

chorus reads, “Glory! Glory Hallelujah! Glory! Glory! Glory Hallelujah! Glory! Glory Hallelujah! His soul is marching on.”⁷⁷ With the idea of abolition placed upon those lyrics, the abolitionist becomes almost a religious figure, fighting for what is right in the eyes of the Lord. Another song, “Banner of the Free” declares, “God bless our Flag and save us.”⁷⁸ Here, a request is offered up for a blessing on the Union’s cause. Both sentiments make a keen connection between slavery and God.

The Confederacy also makes requests for victory and support of their side. In fact, all but one of the songs selected for this study make a religious claim. Instead of asking for a blessing, though, lyricists look to God to intervene and help. “The Star Spangled Cross” words it the best – “Our trust is in God, who can help us in the fight.”⁷⁹ Another tune, “Up with the Flag,” assures soldiers the Lord will help, stating, “God, your defender, surely, will be – Up with the flag”⁸⁰ “Flag of the South” asks for deliverance, crying out “God save our Sunny South.”⁸¹ “We Conquer or Die” puts God in more militaristic terms, declaring “our Captain is God.”⁸²

Finally, the cause itself is given a spiritual nature. In “The War Song of Dixie,” the lyricists write:

“Swear upon your country’s altar, Never to submit or falter;
To arms! to arms! to arms! in Dixie!
Till’ the spoilers are defeated, Till’ the Lord’s work is
completed.
To arms! to arms! to arms! in Dixie”⁸³

University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_b1023/.

⁷⁶ The lyrics “He’s gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord” were part of the original version of the song. See Christian McWhirter. *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War*, 42.

⁷⁷ These lyrics were found in the following version of the song *The Popular Refrain of Glory, Hallelujah (As Sung by the Federal Soldiers Throughout the Union)*. They too were part of the original version. See McWhirter. *Battle Hymns*, 42.

⁷⁸ *The Banner of the Free*.

⁷⁹ Subaltern. *The Star Spangled Cross and the Pure Field of White*.

⁸⁰ *Up With the Flag*.

⁸¹ *The Flag of the South: A Voice From the Old Academy*.

⁸² *We Conquer or Die*.

⁸³ *The War Song of Dixie; Southrons, Hear Your Country Call You*, Op. 562.

In this song, the efforts of the Confederacy are given a moral stamp of approval. They link their fight against the Union to a religious service. One might even sense a tinge of a holy war mentality in those lyrics. The Southerners were breaking away from the North to continue their way of living and believed God was on their side.⁸⁴

With the use of religious phrases, the Union and the Confederacy justified their actions in the war. They both claimed that their cause was spiritually blessed, and that God approved and helped them in their fight. Specifically, in Confederate music, the lyrics show a faith and trust that the Lord would save them from the conquests of the Union. However, as with the flag and Founding Fathers references, the lens through which both sides viewed God in this conflict was extremely different. One glaring difference in ideologies was the issue of slavery. For the Union, as shown in “John Brown’s Body,” an abolitionist died and went into service in the “army of the Lord.”⁸⁵ Thus, one can say that abolition was supported by the Lord. The Confederacy, on the other hand, believed that God would defend their cause. The sentiments were the same, but the ramifications of the sentiments were not.

Until now, the songs analyzed have been highly patriotic in nature. However, that was not the only genre that existed. Sentimental songs had their place in society, and one topic that was often written about was the soldier’s relationship with females.⁸⁶ One such relationship was the one between mother and son. Those songs could be written from the viewpoint of the mother or the son, and were often the “most religious in nature.”⁸⁷ The settings of those songs could include a mental conversation between the son and mother as he lay dying, a soldier thinking about his mother subsequent to entering a battle, or a mother missing her son.⁸⁸ In most of those songs, the mother was a generic woman, but one with an abundance of love and sweetness.⁸⁹

One topic that could be found within the mother category was a mother praying for her son. Worrying about him, she asks for God to

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ *The Popular Refrain of Glory, Hallelujah (As Sung by the Federal Soldiers Throughout the Union)*.

⁸⁶ This essay takes the categorization model of Civil War songs as written in Ziff Larzer’s article “Civil War Humor: Songs of the Civil War.”

⁸⁷ Lenora Cuccia, “They Weren’t All Like Lorena,” in *Bugle Resounding*, 58.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 55-57.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 58.

save him and keep him safe. One such song is appropriately called “A Mother’s Prayer.” Published in 1862 and composed by Otto Sutro, “A Mother’s Prayer” reads,

“Father! in the battle fray,
Shelter his dear head, I pray!
Nerve his young arm with might
Of Justice, Liberty and Right.
Where the red hail deadliest falls,
Where stern duty loudly calls
Where the strife is fierce and wild
Father! guard, oh! guard my child.
Father! guard, oh! guard my child.”⁹⁰

Interestingly, concern and petition are laced with nationalism in this song. Although caring chiefly about her son’s safety, the mother is also voicing the ideologies found in the patriotic songs. This mix was not uncommon, and shows how prominent the politics of the day were in the war.⁹¹

Other songs written from the mother’s perspective also included prayers for their sons. The mother in “Where is my Boy To-night?” prays, “God! is my boy with the slain? Who would only yield to death?”⁹² Once again, the mother worries that her son has died in battle, yet maintains trust in her son’s loyalty to his cause. In “A Patriot Mother’s Prayer,” the refrain sung after every verse is “Bless my boy, oh! bless my boy! Protect him, Father! bless my boy!”⁹³ Even the title of this song shows a mother’s commitment to patriotism while staying concerned about her son.

⁹⁰ Otto Sutro, *A Mother’s Prayer* (Baltimore: Henry McCaffrey and Washington D.C.: John F. Ellis, 1862), a4074, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_a4074/.

⁹¹ Lenora Cuccia, “They Weren’t All Like Lorena,” 54.

⁹² J. Henry Whittemore and Ladies Repository, *Where is My Boy To-night?* (Detroit: J. Henry Whittemore, 1863), b2091, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_b2091/.

⁹³ Joseph Philbrick Webster, *Patriot Mother’s Prayer: “Protect My Boy”* (New York: J.L. Peters; H.M. Higgins (copyright), 1863), b2064, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_b2064/.

While mothers were at home praying for their sons, the soldiers were out on the battlefield thinking about their mothers. In some of the songs written by the soldier's perspective, the mother became the softness in the harsh reality of war. This can be seen in songs like "Dear Mother, I'll Come Home Again," "Mother Would Comfort Me" and "Mother Kissed Me in My Dream." In "Dear Mother, I'll Come Home Again," the son is having a conversation in his mind with his mother in which he thinks about his childhood. He cries out, "Oh! Mother dear, those early scenes, the flow'ry fields and meadows."⁹⁴ There is a quiet gentleness in his words, linking childhood and his mother with a tenderness not common in battle.

The songs "Mother Kissed Me in My Dream" and "Mother Would Comfort Me" also evoke a softness. In "Mother Kissed Me in My Dream," the soldier, on his deathbed, has a vision of his mother, who comes "[i]n the sunlight's mellow gleam."⁹⁵ "Mother Would Comfort Me" also follows a soldier who is dying, and he says of his mother, "Her gentle voice would soon calm me again."⁹⁶ From all three songs, it becomes clear that the mother was symbol of tenderness and softness in the midst of a cruel battle. The "mellow gleam" and "gentle voice" were sharp contrasts to bullets, blood and death. Underneath a soldier who could fight and kill his enemy was a tender little boy craving an escape, and the mother was that escape.

In war, it is easy to draw lines between the opposing sides. What happens, though, when two rivals have come from the same country, when both have derived their mentalities and basic ideologies from the same past experiences? That is the situation in which the Union and Confederacy found themselves. They both endured the Revolutionary War, achieving in victory the same freedom and rights. They both

⁹⁴ Fred Wilson, *Dear Mother, I'll Come Home Again* (Macon and Savannah: John C. Schreiner & Sons, 1860-1869), rcwm001a, South Carolina and the Civil War, Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of South Carolina. <http://digital.tcl.sc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/civilwar/id/4081/rec/9>.

⁹⁵ John Rogers Thomas and George Cooper, Madame Alice Bishop., *Mother Kissed Me in My Dream* (New York: Wm. A. Pond & Co., 1864), b2006, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries. http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_b2006/.

⁹⁶ Charles Carroll Sawyer, *Mother Would Comfort Me* (Brooklyn: Sawyer & Thompson, 1863), n0874, Historic American Sheet Music, Duke University Libraries. http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/hasm_n0874/.

recognized the flag as a symbol of those liberties. They both understood the significance of religion and God. When the South seceded, having believed their rights and way of living were being threatened, they carried all of those ideas with them. However, the lens through which they viewed those concepts had changed. The patriotic songs written by Union and Confederate composers captured the essence of those diverging perspectives.

Interestingly, there is great significance in that divergence. This can be best seen through the discussion of the Founding Fathers and religious sentiments. Although both sides appealed to God and the Revolutionary War, the way they viewed those topics were starkly different. Essentially, morality and rights did not mean the same for the North and South, though both ideas were prized. One can thus argue that the Civil War itself was fought, in part, on ethical grounds, simply because the Confederacy and Union could not agree on the definitions of morality and rights. However, due to the enormity of the subject, an in-depth discussion on the link between causality and music would be best explored through a wider selection of songs, and must be saved for another time.

Other topics can also be explored. Further research could expand the argument given here by looking the other genres of music written throughout the period. Can the same comparisons in patriotic songs be made about sentimental and light-hearted tunes? On the other hand, more questions can be made simply by studying these same songs even more intently. There are many little nuggets of gold tucked away within the lyrics. For example, “Dixie for the Union” reads, “Is Virginia too seceding? Washington’s remains unheeding?”⁹⁷ It appears the lyricist is writing about the physical remains of the beloved first president, George Washington. Why? What significance does this line have? One can ask such questions about many other lines and stanzas in the songs chosen for this essay.

Music can be found all around us. It is used by artists to discuss how culture is and what they think culture should be. Songs are not merely catchy tunes sung in the car or shower. They are representations of the values and ideas of a society. In the end, music is indeed a powerful tool, and a meaningful source to research. For those studying the Civil War, it provides a window into the thoughts, ideas and emotions stirring in the hearts and minds of the people living during those times. Through only a handful of songs, one can see the purpose and goals of the opposing sides in the conflict, as well as the shared

⁹⁷ *Dixie for the Union.*

faith and thoughts of home that guided society in both the North and the South.

Although they are not the only sources that show those elements, songs contain intense emotions and present them in a nuanced and artistic way that invites the listener to share in the emotions of the listener in the war. One today can listen to “Mother Kissed Me in My Dream” and find themselves at the side of a dying soldiers. Another can read the lyrics of “The Battle-Cry of Freedom” and experience the overwhelming swell of patriotism moving in Northern soldiers. Through music, one is tied to the heart and mind of another. For a historian studying the past, first-hand knowledge is impossible, but music can bring that experience a little more in reach.

HUNGER AND WAR

By David Duncan

The United States was facing its greatest crisis since the Civil War. The economy was in shambles, with instability spreading on a global scale. President Roosevelt was elected on a platform of hope and change. He was determined to reform the country in ways that had never been attempted before. A growing contingent of business leaders became concerned with what they saw as a consolidation of power by the federal government and an encroachment into the free market capitalism that was the norm. The attempts to pack the supreme court started the call to resist the President who they felt had seen risen to an unprecedented level of power. Sweeping legislation with a focus on social issues, the economy, and the executive office, had shifted from a tone of optimism to one of concern. The dire situation of the country had led thousands to desire, unlike President Roosevelt's predecessor, a stronger leader with an ability for action. The unwavering faith of the President by the majority of working class people terrified those who did not know the toils of a factory floor or the struggle to survive on the home-front. A few concerned men banded together to form an organization that they saw as a white-collar union, or what might be known as a lobby or activist group today. The organization was deemed the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, formed in February of 1937 as a growing number of people became concerned with Roosevelt's consideration of expanding the number of seats on the Supreme Court. The founding members of the organization came from the upper echelons of media and law institutions in New York. Frank E Gannett was a newspaper owner and publisher for the Rochester *Times Union*. Edward Rumley was appointed to manage the daily duties of the group, while Amos Pinchot, a lawyer and past liberal, helped dictate the course of the committee.¹ The creation of the Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, later known as just The Committee for Constitutional Government or the CCG, marked the starting point

¹Richard Polenber, "The National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government," *The Journal of American History* 52, no. 3 (1965): 582-598.

for organized New Deal resistance, and a catalyst for American modern conservatism as it is understood today.

The founders of the CCG created their organization unlike any other peripheral political movement before it. The name of the organization served two purposes--the first being that the average newspaper-reading American would think the CCG sounded like any other social organizations forming at the time. This disguised what the CCG was promoting: a highly unpopular campaign against President Roosevelt's legislation. Secondly, the inclusion of the word *constitution* would invoke the words synonymous with laws, structure, government, and freedoms. The founders of the CCG had powerful friends. They hoped that consolidating their power, much like the unions had done with their laborers, would enhance their initiative to win over Americans hearts and minds.

The New Deal created changes to our government and society that are still visible today. Government programs like Social Security and Medicare are cemented into the American view of democracy. While these two programs are still hotly debated and controversial, it is difficult to foresee a time in which the two would be repealed. Another important and controversial facet of the New Deal was the regulation of Wall Street. It intended to help prevent another catastrophic Great Depression. These regulations also sought to reset the balance of power so that the individual worker now had more governmental protection. This encroachment of the government into the private sector served as an impetus for corporate power brokers to organize and preserve the freedoms they felt they were losing. Caught off guard by the popularity and unwavering staunchness of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, corporations saw a swift end to the Gilded Age. A shift had occurred in America after 1929 placing unrestrained private enterprise at the center of public criticism. The idea of businesses as a benefit for society had almost entirely disappeared. Pictures of stark and disturbing living and working conditions, along with the shortened lives of lower class workers earning poverty level wages, had changed the way many Americans viewed capitalism. Corporate leaders saw that the pleas by citizens to their government were being heard, laying the groundwork to alter the relationship between public and private sectors.

In response to these new threats, white collar leaders began to organize ways that were ironically similar to those of their employees

with whom they had clashed so many times in the past. Aware of the public's general mistrust, private sector leaders formed their own lobby groups and think tanks. Behind their patriotic non-explanatory names, these corporate unions sought to reverse the New Deal on a legislative and "hearts and minds" strategy. Arising in the 30s and 40s, these organizations marked a new beginning for conservatism. The movement that still exists rooted in many of the same foundational beliefs today. There is much to be learned from exploring this area of our political history, and more specifically asking the question, how did the actions taken against the New Deal shape modern conservatism?

Conventional understanding held that Roosevelt's sweeping liberal initiatives under his New Deal policies were unanimously accepted. This belief leaves out a large portion of Americans who did not accept the initiatives and created a movement that struggled to find its political footing until Ronald Reagan was elected. This gap in historical knowledge leads many Americans to believe that conservative ideology as we know it today formed relatively recently, starting with Reagan, rather than culminating with him. By re-examining this era, we can learn from the stark polarity of the country, which is strikingly similar to what we face today. The study of conservative actions during the inception and implementation of the New Deal has not been explored deeply enough. The parallels between issues then and today are undeniable. However, the era is gaining more attention as comparisons between the Great Depression and the Great Recession of 2008 are being brought to the forefront by historians and economists.

The birth of modern conservatism within the New Deal can be approached in numerous ways. One of the most influential aspects of the movement in opposition to the New Deal lies within organizations seeking to create a grass roots movement against liberal ideas. The intentions of these white-collar lobby groups were not always transparent and require examining, from their hidden corporate sponsors, to their driven focus spread their influence to those who felt concerned over President Roosevelt's agendas. Dissemination of information was a key factor in these groups gaining support, whether it be in the form of pamphlets or published books. Organizations like The Committee for Constitutional Government, were in reality a fraternity of individuals who were passionate about economic freedom with little or no regulation. The fundamental ideas of this group would

become key tenants for republicans in the future. These initial actions taken by these groups laid the framework for modern political party operation.

In 1933, newspapers like the *New York Times* began to report about a new conglomerate of legislation that President Roosevelt called the New Deal. The renowned journalist Louis Rich, was one of the first to write about FDR's plan, focusing on the economic facets of the legislation and comparing it to how European countries handled their economies. "In those countries, the New Deal has been known under the more prosaic name of 'Rationalization.' It embraces deliberate schemes to prevent the waste of competition and further new methods for more economical production...allocating markets and economic planning by 'economic councils' providing a centralized effort toward a more orderly economic life has had influence in shaping the national economic policies of France, Germany, Italy and other European countries for years."² Although comparing the New Deal to countries who unbeknownst to Rich would eventually experiment with fascism, he related a positive and progressive definition of what Roosevelt was trying to accomplish. Articles like Rich's would have immediately stood out to people who shared the same sentiments as the CCG. Corporate leaders likely would be concerned with a President who wanted to steer the country away from the unregulated capitalism that had fueled the roaring twenties but also brought about the Great Depression. However, soon after articles like Rich's were printed, detractors from the New Deal arose, testing the public waters for their opinion's reception.

President Roosevelt personally announced his intentions to revolutionize America through comprehensive new legislation as soon as he won the presidency in 1932. Upon his first 100 days in office, with the economy deteriorating dramatically in March of 1933, the President began to present his plan to the American people. Through radio addresses created a new unprecedented relationship with the American people. Roosevelt used his first "fire side chat" in May to explain his actions and intentions involving the New Deal in a plain-spoken style of talk that the American people embraced his first radio

²An Introduction to the New Deal," *New York Times* (New York), 1923, accessed February 12, 2017.

address to the American people the President alluded to what would be the New Deal for the first time. "It was clear that mere appeals from Washington for confidence and the mere lending of more money to shaky institutions could not stop this downward course. A prompt program applied as quickly as possible seemed to me not only justified but imperative to our national security. The Congress, and when I say Congress I mean the members of both political parties, fully understood this and gave me generous and intelligent support."³ Roosevelt explained to the United States that more needed to be done to help America. He also tried to reassure those who might be wary of his plan, by explaining that both parties of Congress wanted him to take action. While millions of Americans welcomed this aggressive and unprecedented amount of change, dissenters began to organize against what the President was trying to achieve.

Five years after Roosevelt's announcement of what would become the New Deal and one year after the Committee for Constitutional Government was founded, strong opposition to Roosevelt's plan was becoming more common place. In 1938, an Associated Press article was published in the New York Times detailing accusations by Dr. Glenn Frank, Chairman of the National Republican Program Committee, a political body tied to the House of Representatives. The title of the article was inflammatory, like much of its content, "Dr. Frank Declares New Deal Fascist: He Calls on Republicans to Fight Program Threatening to 'Hitlerize' Nation: Offers Creed for Party."⁴ The article makes strong accusations about the President's actions, comparing his administration to those of Nazi Germany. Frank draws the comparisons when denouncing the part of the New Deal known as the Executive Reorganization Bill, stating, "We believed and still believe that the Executive Reorganization Bill would convert the United States into a totalitarian state after the pattern of Germany and Italy."⁵ The Executive Reorganization Bill allowed for the President to create the formal and separate entity of the Executive office which still

³May 7, 1933," FDR Chat 2, section goes here, accessed February 10, 2017, <http://www.mhric.org/fdr/chat2.html>.

⁴Glenn Frank, "Dr. Frank Declares New Deal Fascist," *New York Times* (New York), January 30, 1938, accessed February 14, 2017.

⁵ Ibid.

exists today, but at the time also allowed him to hire members to the new office clandestinely. Conservatives often pointed to the characteristics in this bill that made America's government similar to socialist countries, drumming up support for their cause, seeing parallels between Roosevelt's liberalism, and the expansion of the federal government in a way that they felt was comparable to the socialists. Citizens who expressed apprehension over these issues, or did not fully understand the New Deal, were more aligned with Dr. Frank, and wondered what ideologues of conservatism were doing in order to counteract the sweeping changes of the New Deal.

People at the time were more likely to understand Dr. Frank's inflammatory language as aligned with issues like the racism in Hitler's Germany which dominated many of the headlines involving Europe. A seemingly mundane interview of Henry Gill, a knife company manager from 1938 in Connecticut, exemplifies what an average American may have understood from the radio broadcasts and articles about the New Deal. "Near's I can make out, it's some new plan for the revision of the capitalist system. They've got it figured out that its lack of buying power that's responsible for the depression, and they're goin' to give every family 'ead an income of at least twenty-eight dollars a week while e's out of work and a minimum of fifty when 'e goes back to work, no matter what 'e does. They're also goin' to repeal taxes. Don't ask me how they're goin' to got the money. When I read that far I got dizzy."⁶ Despite the phonetical transcription of Mr. Gill's words, the context of his statement shows that he still has lingering questions on how the New Deal would be accomplished. Even though the President made an effort to use the plainest and clearest style of speech, many American's found themselves like Mr. Gill, confused by what he was trying to accomplish. The idea of changing the capitalism that pre-Industrial era America had grown around was confusing and frightening to many. Perhaps they had come from a family, not a generation ago, who had left the fields for the more industrious city; embracing the revolution that had taken ahold in America. Now, they saw a President consolidating power, giving out money, and eliminating taxes. These people would find their political

⁶Henry Gill, "[Mr.Gill No. 3]," The Library of Congress, accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.loc.gov/item/wpalh000337>.

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homestead among groups like the CCG who, to them, felt like an organization that was trying to stem the tide of change.

The Committee for Constitutional Government and its constituents knew that they could present a strong opposition to President Roosevelt's Democratic dominance. "Even at its zenith, liberalism was far less secure than it appeared to be. And one of the main challenges it faced began with those few prominent business leaders who were outraged by the New Deal, which they saw as a fundamental challenge to their power and their place in American society."⁷ The corporate leaders of the CCG were only as strong as their members. They simultaneously hoped to attract thousands of conservatives who found themselves in a highly unpopular minority, while also enticing wealthy business leaders to support their cause. "A conscious effort was made to secure broad backing for the Committee. The list of sponsors included a nearly balanced group of businessmen, educators, religious leaders, representatives of farm and agrarian groups, public figures, and historic personalities."⁸ One member later explained, "We preferred to have the Committee made up of liberals and Democrats, so that we would not be charged with having partisan motives."⁹ In an effort to get the movement started in its early years, the CCG sought donations; receiving a total of 21,000 individual contributions, 19,500 of them being less than \$25.¹⁰ Although the number of citizens who cared enough to donate is far short of a revolution, for 1938, with means of mass communication limited to just print and radio, the number signifies the desirability of the CCG for those who felt alienated in the New Deal Era.

One of the more aggressive strategies by the CCG to garner support for their cause was to publish a book specifically catered to expanding their member base. In 1946, a year after President Roosevelt had died and the war was over, conservatives increased their efforts to

⁷Kim Phillips-Fein, introduction, in *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), xi.

⁸Richard Polenberg, "The National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government," *The Journal of American History* 52, no. 3 (1965): 598-605.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

dismantle the New Deal. Post war and post-Depression America had more opportunities for change now that the two major crises had ended and the New Deal's creator was gone. A promotional document for the CCG's new book reveals what they saw as a shift in public opinion that may very well have been happening. The Cold War was just beginning, but the immediate issues of economic collapse and lack of jobs had subsided. The main focus of the pamphlet is what they called "Labor Monopolies," essentially large unions that they saw as an illegal and highly detrimental aspect of the American economy. In promoting their new published work, the CCG claimed, "that the pendulum of national public opinion is no longer riveted to the side of the above the law labor monopolies with their special privileges and immunities; that the pendulum is poised, ready for a great historic swing back to American principles of freedom under constitutional government..."¹¹ This prospective book is described by the CCG as the catalyst for the popular upheaval of the New Deal that members of the conservative organization had been waiting for. Readers who came across this pamphlet were enticed by the way in which it was written. In keeping practice with the usage of patriotic language, the CCG hoped that most Americans would identify with the freedoms they claimed to be fighting for and the constitutionality that they stood for.

Before asking the reader to contribute money to the CCG and get a copy of the book *Labor Monopolies or Freedom*, the promotional pamphlet revealed a strong undercurrent of conservatism in American society that was beginning to gain ground. "Men and women in all walks realize that something has gone wrong--and that they are the victims. Recurring strikes, government seizures, rioting pickers, union leader arrogance have sunk deep into the public mind. Strike-bound business and strike idle workers are thinking. At least there is a receptive attitudes toward such hard truth as you see in the enclosed reprint..." "After your read this one paragraph, ' labor unions are wrecking the country. What can we do about it? Force Congress to change the laws. Make them fair. Protect the public. Let's be done with privileged above-the-law labor union nobility."¹²" The members of the

¹¹"Statement by Sumner Gerard on Scoville Order Form," *Fee.org*, accessed February 9, 2017.

¹² *Ibid.*

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Committee for Constitutional Government formed in response to the New Deal, choosing a series of legislation as its primary threat to their view of how America should be. However, the CCG still maintained its real motivations when communicating with the public. Even after World War II and The Great Depression, the CCG felt it is necessary to speak indirectly with the general population. Unions were identified as their main issue in this particular piece, using the term "labor monopoly" to form a familiarity with the universal ideologies against corporate conglomerates. This essentially flipped the focus off the private sector and onto the laborers who formed unions that FDR and the New Deal supported and solidified.

Where many Progressives saw success in their movement through the early 20th century, others saw unnecessary conflict in order to try to change American lives. "The Progressives' agenda required an impressive host of reforms... This effort was fundamental to progressivism. Traditionally, the struggle to control big business organizations has been seen as the quintessential progressive crusade."¹³ This struggle to control businesses required federal backing and thus, a larger central government. The main piece of legislation that expanded the role of the government was the New Deal, but, the CCG attempted to win the hearts and minds of Americans by attacking President Roosevelt's legislation in a less direct fashion. One of their most ambitious strategies was to fund and publish a book that would outline their fears and goals in a post New Deal world.

Written by John W. Scoville *Labor Monopolies or Freedom* set out to be the turning point for the CCG and conservatives. The book held monumental potential for the movement, representing a real chance to legitimize the ideology of the group into a printed and published form that could be distributed around the country. The book started with a preface by the CCG Chairman, Wilford I. King, who expounded on Scoville's bravery to cover an issue like labor and unions in a way that the public was afraid to do. In Scoville's introduction, he opens with an explanation, the basis from which his arguments will come. "I believe that most of the thinking about labor unions is based on emotionalism

¹³Michael E. McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 137.

rather than reason. Many arguments have been advanced by those who have an ax to grind- by Labor organizers who live on the dues collected, by politicians who seek the votes of 'labor' and by employers who are harassed by labor union activities."¹⁴ Much of his book follows the same style of writing, surprisingly personal and unique, discarding the more traditional persuasive approach of writing found in published works of the time. This casual and straightforward approach emulated Franklin Roosevelt's style of his "fire side chats" -- personal and intimate. Many of the chapters are only a few pages, encouraging quick reading of the ideology that the CCG hoped would become the foundation of conservatism. The tone and particular words used by Scoville are reminiscent of the same rhetoric that is used today by conservatives.

One of the key tenets of *Labor Monopolies or Freedom* is the critique of the Wagner Act, a facet of the New Deal that ensured employers would not interfere with union activities. As with other CCG beliefs, Scoville argued that the key issue between the conflict of unions and employers is that the Wagner Act made the two entities unequal. "The thing that is wrong with the Wagner Act is that it prohibits the employer from dealing with his employees as individuals on a man-to-man basis. The Wagner Act assumes that the right of the employees to bargain collectively is superior to the right of the employer to bargain individually."¹⁵ Scoville applies the tenants of freedom and equality to argue against the protective aspects of the Wagner Act. The Committee for Constitutional Government revised the argument that the employees are often the victims when it comes to labor negotiations, arguing on the basis of equality. This idea is conservative in its nature, creating total equality in theory for both parties and removing the government intervention in protecting unions.

Towards the book's end, Scoville begins to make predictions about what will happen to unions if they continue to evolve with the support of the federal government, stirring the reader's emotions towards fear and distrust of the union system. A skeptical examiner might criticize the author for making such inflammatory predictions, for example,

¹⁴John W. Scoville, introduction, in *Labor Monopolies or Freedom* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), xiv.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 70.

"The fourth stage in the growth of labor monopolies would be the combination of all workers into one big union, which would take over the government and confiscate all property. Property owners who resisted would be shot or put into concentration camps. Political power would be seized by a dictator, and then the labor unions and their officials would be liquidated. Political action by labor is really a plan for self-destruction."¹⁶ For those who believed what the CCG and Scoville were saying, the parallel between fascism and the rising communist threat in the aftermath of the Second World War was cause for great alarm. It would legitimize the socialist rumors against New Deal Democrats, and the idea that what FDR had started was forever changing the makeup of the United States for the worst. The stereotypical fear of socialism and liberal ideals being synonymous, had been perpetrated by the CCG repeatedly as a threat to the United States.

The Foundation for Economic Education or FEE was formed in 1946, with assistance from the founder of BF Goodrich, set out with similar objectives to the CCG. It valued the educational influence of writers who shared their same beliefs. The organization retained documents and publications in their archives so that they could be used as a resource later on. Similar controversial comments Scoville's can be found within their archives from a preface of an originally German article with no author listed. Simply titled *Preface to Second German Edition, 1932*, the work lays out a path for combating socialism, and what might happen if the resistance was unsuccessful. "But new generations grow up with clear eyes and open minds. They will approach things from a disinterested, unprejudiced standpoint, they will weigh and examine, will think and act with forethought. It is for them that this book is written."¹⁷ The unknown author of this piece understood the value of propaganda, especially when the reader may not have decided their ideologies yet. The selection goes on to predict the immediacy of the threat of socialism. "We stand on the brink of a precipice which threatens to engulf our civilization. Whether civilized humanity will perish forever or whether the catastrophe will be averted at the eleventh hour and the only possible way of salvation retraced- by

¹⁶ Ibid, 147.

¹⁷ "Preface to Socialism," *Fee.org*, accessed March 1, 2017.

which we mean the rebuilding of a society based on the unreserved recognition of private property in the means of production- is a question which concerns the generation destined to act in the coming decades, for it is the ideals behind their actions that will decide it.¹⁸ The idea that private property as they key to combating socialism would become a fundamental argument of the CCG. Individual rights of property was another important facet of the CCG's formation of new conservatism.

In an unpublished essay titled *Individual Liberty vs Federal Taxation*, the author from the FEE, Bradford B. Smith, argued the merits of individual rights in relation to the federal government. "Individual liberty is definable only as the absence of coercion between men. It means not only that no man must initiate physical injury or confinement of another, or take his property or good name, without his consent; but also especially it means that not even government must do these things except to punish those who do them to others...Individual liberty is thus obtainable only when they government's superior power to coerce is employed only to cancel out fraud, predation, coercion and monopoly abuse between men."¹⁹ Bradford's thesis to his paper is somewhat extreme, proposing that the government has an extremely limited window of power and regulation. Smith likely felt himself more aligned with Libertarian ideas, yet these opinions were still deeply rooted in the CCG's message. With contributors like Smith and Scoville gaining attention nationwide and within the CCG, the idea of conservatism as it is understood today began to form and take hold.

The New Deal is often taught in a very specific way in our public education system. It is seen as a universally accepted campaign that saved America and created the federal government as we know it today. Leaving out the criticisms of people who believed in the CCG, wrongly ignores an extremely important demographic during one of the most dynamic times in American history. Despite the benefits of recounting a history that included people of different beliefs, the dissenters of the New Deal evolved into the modern conservative. The fascinating book *Invisible Hands* by Kim Phillips-Fein, broadly

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹Bradford B. Smith, "Individual Liberty Versus Federal Taxation," *Fee.org*, accessed March 1, 2017.

examines the entirety of conservatism, also using the New Deal as it's starting point and concluding with the ascension of Reagan; the culmination of what she thought conservatives in the New Deal would've seen as the ultimate candidate. The work focuses on the economic, corporate, and religious influences that formed the modern Republican party through the middle of the twentieth century. Thankfully, authors like Phillips-Fein are beginning to publish more information in regard to this topic. With more contributions like *Invisible Hands*, hopefully the larger story surrounding the New Deal gets added into our collective history. As the body of history begins to widen its lens, incorporating the multifaceted perspectives of key historical events, historians have begun to look to this era in search of answers to our current political climate. This is an important step in gaining a stronger understanding of one of the most important decades in American history during the twentieth century. Work like Phillip-Fein's book are being published more frequently. The fact that only one perspective of the implementation of the New Deal has helped increase the level of intrigue in this topic. The other reason that more attention is being turned toward this era is the remarkable similarities between America under Roosevelt, and the United States heading towards its second decade in the twenty-first century.

Understanding the formation of conservatism is at the center for those who wish to understand modern America on a political level. Two major ideologies behind the red and blue parties have evolved immensely throughout history; sometimes in a response to new technologies and ways of life, often in order to better respond to a new political and economic idea. The New Deal and the Great Depression irrevocably changed liberals and conservative viewpoints as they sought to alter America at a time when both knew that changes had to be made. A comparable political realignment can be drawn from the reconstruction after the Civil War, however, this redefinition of conservatism was much deeper and intellectual. The Committee for Constitutional Government can be seen as a pioneering for conservatives, but this would be inaccurate, as they acted in a more reactionary manner to try to combat the New Deal rather than independently create their own alternative to the crisis during that period. This facet of the relationship between the CCG and the New Deal foreshadows the fundamental ideals of Republicans and

Democrats. One party focused on creating new legislation with the intention of creating change, while the other was focused on reverting back to past practices. Although the descriptions of those two parties are generalizations, many of the conflicts between the two entities stems from these differences.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt lead America through one of the most difficult periods in our history. The strongest tool that he crafted in order to reverse the hardships in the United States was the New Deal. He wielded his creation as a foundation for a new America; the beginning of a radical change in the relationship between government, citizen, and business. All radical ideas bring about opposition, however, Roosevelt probably did not foresee that this reaction to the New Deal would eventually come to define an entire political party. The Committee for Constitutional Government leaves a legacy that has lasted throughout the twentieth century, even though it has been largely left out of mainstream history. Americans might find that there is much to be learned about themselves no matter what their political affiliation. Just like the Progressives can be seen as the ancestors to modern Democrats, the people that made up the CCG formed the ideology that cements Republicans today.

The Great Depression and the 2008 Recession had traumatic effects on the United States. The unexpectedness, coupled with an extended period of time determining what exactly caused of both disasters, lead to confusion and angst. Americans in both crises wondered if a return to normalcy was achievable, while realistic solutions to a quick recovery were explored. In 2008, the federal government followed the precedent set by Roosevelt in the 1930s, implementing more regulation and focusing on infrastructure rebuilding. The obvious distinction between the two events was that a mass wartime mobilization occurred in the 30s but not in 2008. However, perhaps because of history, America urged and expected their government to act. It is important to also realize that some Americans did not want more regulation or government involvement in the economy and that the government should let the market run its course. The data about the economy today clearly expresses that things have improved since 2008, but the people who stood in the way of government regulation should not be forgotten. With a conservative

president in office today, there will likely be a reexamination of ideas that are rooted in the ideology formed by conservatives from the 1930s.

The people who found disagreement with President Roosevelt's New Deal were undeniably brave for their unpopular beliefs. Resisting an agenda that originated from the Executive Office of the United States Government might have seemed pointless at the time. Even though the majority of the leadership for the committee for constitutional government were business focused and wanted to protect their capitalistic interests, the ideology that they cultivated was without a doubt, American. They formed a grassroots movement for the average citizen who still clung to a desire for an America with a weak central government. The founding fathers raged over this very topic, fearing a monarchy but wanting a governmental body that could act efficiently. Perhaps the roots of the reaction to the New Deal could trace their steps back to Philadelphia and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The story of America has weaved in and out between these two ideologies that conflicted all the way up to the present day. No matter where someone might find themselves politically, the value in revealing the origins of an idea or movement can enrich our understanding in ways that might not be apparent. These histories can reveal what inspired a movement, and molded it into how it is today.

Historians and researchers have a difficult task moving forward. More information is accessible than at any other point in history. With more primary sources accessible online, we will be able to form a more accurate understanding of our past. However, the vast amount of data is overwhelming, sometimes hiding vital information in the depths of databases. The new historical facts that can be found are often disruptive to the common understanding of the past. Discovering the roots of conservative within the Committee for Constitutional Government could be jarring for some who viewed President Reagan as their ideology's founder. The radical predictions from *Labor Monopolies or Freedom*, might alter the perception of conservatism as a whole. The ambiguity of history lies within the infinite perspectives a topic can be viewed, but these perspectives must be grounded in tangible evidence gleaned directly from the period.

The Scoville book is the most tangible evidence of conservative thinking that the CCG left to history. A manifesto of their fears and ambitions, published with the hope of creating new public support, can

now serve as a source towards what the committee was really like. The work did not reach the level of exposure and influence that Scoville and the CCG surely wanted to achieve; lost in obscurity the book was last being republished in the 70s. With historians' deeper examination of the era, we can only imagine how the intricacies and subtleties of one of the most tumultuous time in American history will began to change in our collective consciousness. Much like today, it was not just liberals and conservatives vying for their chance to change the United States in one of its most tumultuous eras. Their stories are equally important and would certainly add an even deeper understanding of influencers of the period. Sometimes the groups on the periphery of history have a nuanced yet integral role in what occurred. In time, these stories might prove highly valuable to our own lives in the present. A deeper appreciation for a more inclusive history will be embodied within the new stories that are discovered, as historians uncover more about the New Deal, and those who dedicated themselves to resisting it.

SAYONARA ELVIS, SAYONARA BEATLES: AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE POPULAR MUSIC, 1956-1971

By Robyn Perry

The American occupation of Japan lasted seven years, from 1945 to 1952, directly following the end of World War II. Just four years later in February of 1956, Elvis Presley released “Heartbreak Hotel,” his first #1 single. Within that same year, Japanese singers were already recording and releasing their own English and Japanese-language versions of Presley’s newest hit. These early Japanese rock and roll recordings, which mixed the already-popular Japanese music genre of *enka* with American rock and roll, managed to hold on to some remnants of Japanese culture, particularly the Japanese language. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers General Douglas MacArthur’s usage of Japanese radio and public media to perpetuate the image of the “superior, white American” in an attempt to Americanize Japan during the occupation would shape Japanese popular music indefinitely, which led to the “American patterns” that Japanese popular music would follow for decades, and ultimately to the creation of Japanese rock and roll.

Setting the Stage: The American Occupation

The United States began its occupation of Japan on August 14, 1945, after Emperor Hirohito accepted the terms of the Allies’ Potsdam Declaration in July in which “President Harry Truman, Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill agreed that Japan would lose its empire, pay reparations, disarm completely and permanently, and ‘stern justice’ would be served to [the] war criminals.”¹ Less than a month later, on August 30th, General Douglas MacArthur arrived in Tokyo and set several very strict laws that limited interaction between American GIs and Japanese civilians: “No GI was to fraternize with a Japanese woman. No GI was to strike a Japanese man. [And] no American personnel were to eat Japanese food.”² General MacArthur, who held the title of Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, or “SCAP” for

¹ Alexandra Day Coyle, “Jazz in Japan: Changing Culture Through Music,” *eScholarship@BC*: 26, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://dlib.bc.edu/islandora/object/bc-ir:104170>.

² “Shōwa period: the American Occupation of Japan: The Surrender of Japan,” *Wa-pedia*, accessed February 15, 2017, http://www.wa-pedia.com/history/american_occupation_japan.shtml.

short, did not just “wish to perpetuate American ideals of liberty as well as democracy” and only have a military occupation in Japan, “but also [wanted an occupation] that would affect numerous aspects of Japanese life and society.” MacArthur wished for Japan to become “rendered a peaceful, democratic, law abiding nation” which would be done by “eradicating the very roots of militarism that had led it so recently to war” and thus Japan was to become completely influenced by American values and culture.³ As one of the losers of World War II, Japan would not only lose its imperial identity on the world stage but would also lose its cultural identity as America “was to create a homogenous, American-like nation out of the occupation”⁴ that would promote the “monoculture” of the United States.⁵

During the occupation of Japan, “SCAP knew the power that came with public media and thus used it as a medium through which they could disseminate the ideals they deemed the Japanese needed to embrace.”⁶ This power would come through the radio. SCAP knew from a Japanese report that had come out in 1947 that western music had already outweighed Japanese music in popularity before the war and SCAP “began to utilize the radio as well as other forms of media to push forth their agenda and the Americanization of Japan.”⁷ The Japanese were exposed to American jazz but “not the black aesthetic that jazz originated out of in New Orleans... but rather the jazz Paul Whiteman played; a bleached, ‘ladylike’ jazz... It was white jazz that had been seen as purely American. This jazz would be both a force for the Americanization of Japan and to remind the Japanese of the whiteness and superiority of America.”⁸ By the time the American occupation of Japan ended on April 28, 1952, with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the Japanese were already accustomed to not only having American music imposed upon them, but also to the forced perception that American music and culture were superior to their own.

³ Coyle, “Jazz in Japan,” 26, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://dlib.bc.edu/islandora/object/bc-ir:104170>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Mark Crispin Miller, “What’s Wrong With This Picture?,” *The Nation*, last modified December 20, 2001, <https://www.thenation.com/article/whats-wrong-picture-0/>.

⁶ Coyle, “Jazz in Japan,” 30, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://dlib.bc.edu/islandora/object/bc-ir:104170>.

⁷ Ibid., 31.

⁸ Ibid.

Enka, Elvis, and the Road to Rokabirī

General MacArthur and SCAP's indoctrination of the Japanese through popular music and the radio would prove to last far longer than the seven years of the American occupation. As soon as American rock and roll matured to more than a fad, "the rockabilly music of Elvis Presley traveled around the world at nearly the speed of sound in the 1950s"⁹ and Japan would be no exception. By the turn of the decade, *enka* was a very popular music genre in Japan:

Though the word *enka* has been used since the nineteenth century... the version [that is] now recognize[d] emerged as a coherent genre only in the 1960s as the music industry underwent a dramatic reorganization in the face of new practices characterizing the rising teen market for such genres as rock and folk.¹⁰

Since "*Enka* songs are similar to American country music..."¹¹ and "came to be identified with nostalgia for lost Japanese tradition..."¹² *enka* made an easy transition into Elvis Presley's sound, whom originally started as a country-western singer on programs like the *Grand Ole Opry* and was called the "King of Western Bop" long before anyone ever imagined he would become anything more than a truck driver, let alone the King of Rock and Roll. "Rockabilly in Japan began in the field of country & western" much like it did in the United States and "a number of these [Japanese country & western] bands converted themselves to rockabilly bands, replacing cowboy costumes with a fancy jacket and a pair of slacks after the fashion of Elvis Presley and Gene Vincent..."¹³ when rockabilly, or *rokaibirī*, became the newest sound.

That new sound came in 1956 when Kazuya Kosaka, the vocalist of Japanese "hillbilly" country-western band The Wagon Masters, released his English cover of Elvis Presley's "Heartbreak Hotel" which

⁹ Michael K. Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Prehistory of J-Pop* (New York: Columbia Press, 2012), 71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Mark Anderson, "Enka," *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Japanese Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹³ Terumasa Shimizu, "From Covers to Originals: "Rockabilly" in 1956 - 1963," *Made in Japan: Studies in Popular Music*, ed. Tōru Mitsui (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 108.

became “the first successful rockabilly recording in Japan.”¹⁴ While “American rockabilly was not only racially exclusive, but also almost exclusively male,”¹⁵ and is still remembered as such, “Kosaka’s single sounded effeminate, in contrast with Elvis’s powerful delivery, with his voice being weak and high-pitched while being given an echo effect.” Also, in comparison to Elvis, Kosaka “was not corporally oriented, as his awkwardness in dancing exemplified and his public image was anything but a delinquent...”¹⁶ The feminization and emphasis on the awkwardness and exoticism of male Japanese *rokabirī* singers continued, particularly since Cold War Orientalism was prominent in the United States during the same time that rockabilly was extremely popular in both America and Japan. “For instance, in the same year when Elvis Presley’s ‘G.I. Blues’ was released by Victor in Japan (1961), four Japanese versions of the hit were released.”¹⁷ Kyu Sakamoto, best known for his song “*Ue o Muite Arukō*,” commonly referred to in English-speaking countries as “Sukiyaki,” which reached #1 on the Billboard Hot 100 Charts in June 1963 and gave him “the distinction of being the only Japanese recording artist ever to have a number one song in the USA,”¹⁸ was one of the four Japanese artists who released his own Japanese version of “G.I. Blues.” “Japanese rock-and-roll musicians including...Sakamoto - found their most stable source of income in performances at clubs on U.S. military bases - where, no doubt, ‘G.I. Blues’ went over very well with audiences.”¹⁹ However, no matter how popular these translated covers may had been at American military bases,

A Japanese singing American pop “straight” was certainly acceptable in Japan, but in the United States, it could only be viewed as an exotic joke.... In the United States, Sakamoto the Japanese rockabilly singer of “G.I. Blues” could only produce laughter - laughter in the Bergsonian sense of a technique for the violent disciplining of anything that might jam up the smooth functioning of the social machinery.²⁰

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon*, 101.

¹⁶ Shimizu, “From Covers to Originals,” 108.

¹⁷ Ibid., 110.

¹⁸ Mark Anderson, “Sakamoto Kyu,” *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Japanese Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁹ Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon*, 100.

²⁰ Ibid.

Yet in Japan, “Sakamoto was closely identified with Elvis [and] he was one of more than twenty singers who attempted to lay claim to the title of being ‘the Japanese Elvis.’”²¹ “Within the Japanese market, Sakamoto was able to perform the masculine role of an American soldier, but to achieve success in the West... he had to take on a more feminized, nonthreatening ‘cute’ role, more like a JAL [Japanese Airlines] stewardess than an American GI.”²² But if that was the case, then why was there no resistance to Elvis Presley singing German folk songs and old African American blues numbers? Elvis was “singing from the supposedly universal position of an American white man” while “... Sakamoto singing Japanese rockabilly in America would [have] result[ed] in cognitive dissonance, a discomfiting confusion of hierarchies between universal and particular...”²³ Essentially, Sakamoto had to “accept the notion embedded in ‘G.I. Blues’ that Elvis occupie[d] the dominant center of the world, in terms of both popular music and geopolitics.”²⁴ Besides, an overly-masculine Japanese man dressed up in military uniform in the fashion Elvis exemplified his “U.S. Male” style during the “G.I. Blues” era would not have sat very well with an America that had just seen the bombing of Pearl Harbor less than twenty years earlier.

These feminized, “cute imitation” Japanese *rokabirī* singers who belted out heavily accent-laden English copies and Japanese-language covers of originals by the likes of white American male rockabilly idols such as Elvis Presley, Gene Vincent, and Jerry Lee Lewis were widely welcomed by Japanese teens and at American military bases but at home in the United States, they were nothing more than exotic jokes. These singers were “both a force for the Americanization of Japan and to remind the Japanese of the whiteness and superiority of America”.²⁵ Yet, when Sakamoto “[took] up the role of a white male in his recording of [“G.I. Blues”], [he] could assert Japanese masculinity in the face of an American orientalism that insisted on feminizing Japan.”²⁶ However, even without the invisible hand of General MacArthur controlling Japanese public media, American cultural and

²¹ Ibid., 99.

²² Ibid., 101.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 108.

²⁵ Coyle, “Jazz in Japan,” 30, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://dlib.bc.edu/islandora/object/bc-ir:104170>.

²⁶ Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon*, 108.

musical tastes continued their cultural domination of Japan from the other side of the Pacific Ocean with nothing but radio waves and vinyl.

The Typhoon: *Eleki* and the Rise of Japanese Surf

Japanese popular music was now indefinitely slaved to the ebb and flow of American popular music trends and, as in the United States, the short lived *rokabirī* genre would soon give way to the new and exciting, sunshiny sound of surf music. The *eleki buumu* (“electric boom”) sparked when The Ventures visited Japan in 1962. By the time they returned in 1965 with another instrumental surf rock group, the Astronauts, they “attracted turn-away crowds wherever they went”²⁷ and had become a household name in Japan.²⁸ The new *eleki* genre consisted of *rokabirī* bands who kept up with the times by exchanging their acoustic instruments for the electric guitar. Since this new genre was largely instrumental, “unhindered by the language barriers inherent in performing American or British vocal music, hundreds of *Eleki*... combos sprung up all over [Japan].” The overwhelming popularity of these new *eleki* combos was proven by the fact that “in 1965 guitar production [in Japan] surged to 760,000 units, a number never since equaled.”²⁹ Even though *eleki* gained enormous popularity in such a short amount of time in Japan, only two *eleki* pioneers are still remembered, yet they are “generally regarded to be the gods of Japanese ‘eleki’.”³⁰ These two gods are Yuzo Kayama and Takeshi Terauchi, whom are usually lumped together when remembering *eleki*. The former conformed to more “western” ideas of popular music and culture while the latter, of course, played *eleki* music, but also hardened back to Japanese culture more so than his other *eleki* counterparts.

Yuzo Kayama was the dashing handsome actor who first became a star in 1961 when he played the title role of *Wakadaisho* (“Young General”), the first in a series of extremely successful Japanese teen movies which are often compared to Elvis movies (and are often

²⁷ Mark Schilling, “Rockabilly, Group Sounds, & The Birth of Japanese Rock,” *The Encyclopedia of Japanese Pop Culture*, 1st ed. (New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1997).

²⁸ “Japanese Eleki and the Ventures Influence,” *The Video Beat!: 1950s & 1960s Rock ‘n’ Roll Movies*, accessed February 17, 2017, <http://www.thevideobeat.com/eleki-yuzo-kayama.htm>.

²⁹ Schilling, “Rockabilly, Group Sounds, & The Birth of Japanese Rock.”

³⁰ bill, “History Lesson - Eleki,” *Nippop*, last modified June 18, 2005, http://nippop.com/features/History_Lesson_Eleki/.

referred to as the “Young Guy” series in English).³¹ Kayama formed his *eleki* group, the Launchers, “as a pick-up band... [with] several actor friends” and “the group began playing Ventures covers in 1962.”³² *Eleki* would not stay only a hobby for Kayama. In 1965 for his second film *Eleki no Wakadaisho* (“The Young General’s Electric Guitar”), he would co-star with Takeshi Terauchi, “his arch *eleki* rival”.³³ They would both act in the film as members of the Young Beats, “a surf-beat combo in the tradition of the Ventures, Dick Dale, the Astronauts, etc.” in a battle of the bands competition.³⁴ While other *eleki* bands continued to remain predominantly instrumental, the Launchers were unique “for it was a well-known fact that [Kayama] was also in possession of the kind of sweet baritone that would drive the teenagers wild.” Kayama seemed to be somewhat of a western stereotype as he played the role of the hunky pop idol whose “cringe-worthy love ballads... had all the ladies biting their sodden hankies in grief and frustration.”³⁵ Yet, he was very much a unique persona in Japanese *eleki*, even attracting the attention of The Ventures themselves who presented Kayama with one of their signature Mosrite guitars and would cover two of his original compositions, “Black Sand Beach” and “*Yozora No Hoshi*.” In 2009, The Ventures released an entire CD dedicated to him entitled *The Ventures Play Kayama Yuzo*. Kayama continues to play today and has performed on stage with The Ventures within the past decade.

Takeshi Terauchi, famously known for his band The Blue Jeans (probably the longest running *eleki* band in Japan), went much harder against the western grain than did the charming actor-musician Kayama. In June 1964, Takeshi Terauchi and the Blue Jeans, a former *rokabirī* band, released *Korezo Surfing* (“This Is Surfing”), “Japan’s first surf-music album” - none of the musicians who had played on the album “had [never even] been near a surf board.”³⁶ Terauchi and his

³¹ Julian Cope, *Japrocksampler: How the Post-War Japanese Blew Their Minds on Rock 'n' Roll* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 81.

³² Schilling, “Rockabilly, Group Sounds, & The Birth of Japanese Rock.”

³³ Cope, *Japrocksampler*, 82.

³⁴ “ELEKI NO WAKADAISHO (The Young General's Electric Guitar) 1965,” *The Video Beat!: 1950s & 1960s Rock 'n' Roll Movies*, accessed February 18, 2017, <http://www.thevideobeat.com/rock-roll-movies/eleki-no-wakadaisho-1965.html>.

³⁵ Cope, *Japrocksampler*, 82.

³⁶ Schilling, “Rockabilly, Group Sounds, & The Birth of Japanese Rock.”

Blue Jeans (or “Terry and Blue Jeans” as they were often referred to) may have been a tad more unique than Kayama, doing songs like “Dark Eyes,” a *shamisen*-infused, *eleki* cover of the old Russian gypsy romance song “Black Eyes,” and even dedicating an entire album, *Let’s Go Eleki-Bushi*, to playing traditional Japanese melodies in the *eleki* style, complete with the album cover picturing the entire band dressed in traditional Japanese attire while holding electric guitars. However, Terauchi, like the other greats of Japanese rock, was not immune to the changing tides of American popular music patterns which influenced Japan’s. Terauchi jumped ship in 1966 to create a new band, The Bunnys, that would appeal to a younger audience as the coming of the new Group Sounds genre, influenced by the legendary British Invasion, would soon drown Japan in an even larger typhoon than the *eleki buumu* did.³⁷

Operation Z: Group Sounds as Japan’s Answer to the British Invasion

The *eleki buumu* may have looked like the pinnacle of Japanese rock and roll, but that was only because “the Beatles had not yet been factored into the equation.”³⁸ Many *eleki* and *rokokirī* bands that had not yet metamorphosed would once again hang up their previous instruments and related costumery to accommodate the newest invasion from the west. The term “Group Sounds” (commonly abbreviated as G.S. or GS) was coined by *eleki* star Yuzo Kayama himself while live on his own television show with Jackey Yoshikawa, leader and drummer of The Blue Comets, as they were speaking about how difficult it was for the Japanese to pronounce “rock and roll”. By the end of the month, both the Japanese media and rock fans alike would be all over the newly coined term, just as quickly as the new sound itself would explode.³⁹

In June 1966, The Beatles played Budokan Hall in Tokyo and caused a teen sensation. While in Japan, The Beatles were treated like absolute royalty - they stayed in the penthouse of Tokyo’s Capitol Tokyu Hotel and were protected by an entire platoon of Japanese military guards at nearly all times. The youth of Japan certainly wanted a piece of that action. As in the west, many Group Sounds bands were

³⁷ Julian Cope, “Takeshi Terauchi & The Bunnys.” *Julian Cope Presents japrock sampler.com*, accessed February 21, 2017, http://www.japrock sampler.com/artists/groupsounds/terauchi_and_the_bunnys_takeshi/.

³⁸ Cope, *Japrock sampler*, 88.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

already-formed music groups who had been in the scene for a while but remodeled themselves to be comparable to The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Monkees, and similar, other infinitely-popular American and British pop groups. Japanese groups would be no different as “most adopted the longhaired Mod look... heavy gold chains, long velvet jackets, frilly shirt fronts, and knee-high lace-up boots.” This “male peacockery” was accentuated by bands like The Spiders, The Tigers, The Golden Cups, The Mops, The Tempters, The Beavers, The Flowers, and The Carnabeats whom, clearly, even named their ensembles quite closely after their famous western counterparts.⁴⁰ These bands would even change their entire anatomies, such as how The Spiders, originally a club band focused on Japanese *kissas* (clubs) and American military bases, picked up singer Jun Inoue in 1964 and were happy to do so due to his striking resemblance to Paul McCartney. Inoue would complete The Spiders’ Group Sounds era line-up.⁴¹

Yet, these Group Sounds bands are not to be discounted entirely as cheap imitations of the western greats. Group Sounds was already a developing genre and in full swing before the British Invasion even hit the shores of Japan, as evidenced by The Spiders’ first album, appropriately titled *Album No. 1*. Released a full two months before The Beatles’ arrival in the Land of the Rising Sun, *Album No. 1* was released in April of 1966 and contained all original compositions and was the first beat band album in Japan (featuring the “Liverpool/Merseybeat” style of music) with some songs in English, some in Japanese, and some in a combination of both.⁴² The Beatles’ omnipotence in Japan was made obvious by the direction The Spiders took with their second album, *Album No. 2*, released only a month after The Beatles’ performance in Tokyo in June. With the first side of the album containing nothing but Beatles covers, and the second side being Animals; Chuck Berry; Peter, Paul, and Mary; and Dave Clark Five covers - all of which were in English - and the album cover picturing the band in matching gray suits that mimic The Beatles’ infamous Pierre Cardin collarless ones, it was obvious that Japanese popular music and culture had molded to the imprint the four pairs of Beatle boots had made on the island nation earlier that summer.

⁴⁰ Schilling, “Rockabilly, Group Sounds, & The Birth of Japanese Rock.”

⁴¹ Hitomi I, “Spiders,” *Trans-World ‘60s Punk: Cutie Morning Moon*, accessed February 21, 2017, <http://60spunk.m78.com/spiders.htm>.

⁴²Ibid.

The Beatles were, like they were nearly everywhere else around the globe at the same time, the biggest inspiration for the blossoming genre of Group Sounds. Yet, these Group Sounds bands not only did their best to look and sound the part, they also acted (literally) like their American and English brethren. For these groups of four to seven electric instrument-playing, bowl cut-bedecked, matching outfit-wearing Japanese youths, the look and sound were simply not enough. They looked for inspiration in the western band that is often called an imitation itself (most notably given the nickname “the Pre-Fab Four”) - The Monkees. The Beatles and other bands released films that went down as cult classics, but The Monkees are now remembered just as much for their TV show, *The Monkees*, as they are for their music. Group Sounds bands would follow in the Monkees’ footsteps, particularly The Spiders, The Tigers, and The Jaguars, who would release their own series of films.⁴³ The Spiders would be “the first Japanese band to star in their own movie” when they starred in the 1967 film *Wild Scheme A Go Go*. Yet, “... the [fact that the] plot and camera techniques plagiarised every Beatles’n’Monkees movie thus far invented was of no matter to the Spiders, who were seasoned enough to make any rip-off entirely their own.” It may have seemed risky for these seemingly insignificant Japanese Group Sounds bands to so blatantly copy Beatles and Monkees films, but it would pay off as by 1967, “each of the seven members [of The Spiders] had his own personal fan club and occupied a special place in the hearts of both teenage girls and boys...”⁴⁴ One member of The Spiders, Masaaki Sakai, would go on to star in the cult classic TV series *Saiyūki*, often referred to as *Monkey* in English-speaking countries. The idolization of these Group Sounds bands and their individual members (and the sheer amount of culture, music, clothing styles, films, etc., surrounding these Group Sounds bands, with roots in American popular culture traditions since the era of Elvis) would allow for rock and roll to become a permanent fixture in Japanese popular culture.

The Group Sounds genre is often discounted as nothing more than a cheap imitation of the British Invasion, which it definitely was in some respects. Looking back, “[the] Golden Cups, Beavers (featuring Hideki Ishima), Happenings Four (featuring Kuni Kawachi), Flowers (the predecessor of Flower Travellin’ Band), and others regarded

⁴³ “1960s Japanese Group Sounds Movies on DVD,” *The Video Beat!: 1950s & 1960s Rock ‘n’ Roll Movies*, accessed February 23, 2017, <http://www.thevideobeat.com/group-sounds-gs-60s-japanese-garage-rock.htm>.

⁴⁴ Cope, *Japrocksampler*, 99.

Group Sounds as a bad mistake from which to learn...”⁴⁵ Yet, it was also, most importantly, the point where Japanese rock truly became not only authentic, but also political and a part of Japanese mass culture:

Rock performances were valued because they provided intense experiences of collective, communal emotion. Rock achieved authenticity by being political... by rebelling against the establishment and bourgeois morality, including societal expectations for sexuality, success, and community. It became common sense among its partisans that rock music, when done right, was somehow intrinsically subversive and liberatory.⁴⁶

Group Sounds was truly only the beginning for modern Japanese popular music. When it died out around 1971 (the year The Spiders broke up), other subgenres, most notably Fokū (folk) and New Music, would evolve into modern-day J-pop and continue to follow the “American patterns” of western popular music and culture.

Conclusion

During the days of warbling through the war years, white American jazz crooners were sent through the airwaves by General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, during the American occupation to push forth the agenda for the Americanization of Japan. The Japanese were exposed to American popular music and culture in this way and created their own unique variations to contribute to the vast array of musical styles and popular culture storming in from the west. Within a few years of the end of the occupation, Japan would be firmly entrenched in the patterns of American popular music and culture that was intertwined with the newest craze from the west - rock and roll. As in the United States, rock and roll became a permanent fixture in Japanese culture and followed the same subgenres that American rock and roll would: Elvis-inspired rockabilly would give way to surf, which would soon be blasted away once the British Invasion hit their respective Western and Eastern shores. From the construction of Japanese “hillbilly” bands, to the 760,000 electric guitars that were produced in Japan in 1965 alone, to the prominence of Group Sounds as a pillar of 1960s Japanese counterculture, it is obvious the influence American rock and roll and its related culture has

⁴⁵ Katsuya Minamida, “The Development of Japanese Rock: A Bourdieuan Analysis,” *Made in Japan: Studies in Popular Music*, ed. Tōru Mitsui (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 123.

⁴⁶ Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon*, 117.

Sayonara Elvis, Sayonara Beatles

had on the Japanese. For more than half a century after the end of the American occupation of Japan, General Douglas MacArthur's hope to Americanize Japan would last through the trends and patterns Japanese popular music would follow to keep up with the ever-changing world of America's #1 export: rock and roll.

(R)Evolution in Military Affairs: How Technology Has Distorted the Study of Military History

By Michael Agostinelli, Jr.

War, in all its sizes and shapes, is as ubiquitous as anything else found throughout the ages. Its presence is as prevalent now as it was millennia ago. Donald Kagan wrote, “In 1968 Will and Ariel Durant calculated that there had been only 268 years free of war in the previous 3,421. From the Stone Age, at least as far back as ten thousand years ago, organized armies in formation fought one another and built fortifications to protect themselves and their people from attacks by other armies.”¹ Its influence can be seen outside of history. War has been featured heavily in every form of art we as humans have created to express ourselves: paintings and sculptures, plays and poems, songs and movies. The blending of combat and popular culture is nowhere more glaring than in our youngest and most modern of art forms: video games. But even with so much attention given to the subject of armed conflict there has been a fundamental misunderstanding of the progress of military history, one that has caused untold death, destruction and countless military failures. This misunderstanding is due to compulsion by historians and military elites to define “modern war” as a revolutionary process instead of an evolutionary one. Characterizing any number of wars as the first “modern war” is not inherently wrong, but presenting these same wars as revolutionary, instead of evolutionary, and to disassociate them wholly from those that came before is wrong, and, when the lessons of past conflicts are not properly considered, is dangerous.

Considering that human history covers such an immense scope and scale, it is second nature for historians to break it down into smaller and smaller chunks based on things like technology (bronze age vs iron age), politics (monarchies vs republics/democracies) and even divided down geographical or cultural lines (East vs West). Numerous historians and experts have attempted to divide military history into different, wholly independent eras. Friedrich Engels stated that gunpowder “caused a complete revolution in military affairs and ushered in a new era in the development of the military art and in the organization of the armed forces.”² In the late 1980s a “Four

¹ Donald Kagan, *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 4.

² *Ibid.*, 448.

Generation War” (4GW) theory was introduced that put the history of war into four categories: “1) the use of massed manpower, 2) firepower, 3) maneuver, and now 4) an evolved form of insurgency.”³ Both of these concepts are flawed with the main problem being that they divorce warfare from around the eighteenth century from that which preceded it and are too preoccupied with technology. “Modern war,” at least in terms of the types of wars fought from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and onwards, is nothing but a continuation of the evolution of the wars, weapons, and strategies that had preceded them.

At first glance, being asked to define what constitutes a “modern war” would almost feel insulting. Many of us have grown up seeing images of tanks, jet planes and aircraft carriers plastered all over our televisions and computer screens. We have seen the historical footage of World War II and the dropping of the atomic bomb. Millions of us play increasingly realistic video games featuring the latest and greatest in modern military technology. It might just be that our fascination with technology prevents us from seeing the forest for the trees. We have become so inundated with images of the tools of war that we rarely look beyond them. It is this obsession with technology and how vastly different ours is from that of our ancestors that gives the illusions that what we consider modern war has little in common with what came before. For example, some historians classify the American Civil War as the first modern armed conflict.⁴ Technology is not only pointed to as *the* defining factor but many times as the only one.⁵ But does that really make sense? Many of the innovations of the Civil War were, in fact, not entirely new to the battlefield.⁶ The most widely used firearm of the Civil War, the Springfield Model 1861, was most definitely a step forward in design, but was it such a massive leap over what came before it?⁷ The cannons used during the Civil War were more powerful,

³ William S. Lind et al., “The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation,” *Marine Corps Gazette* (1989): 23; Antulio J. Echevarria II, *Fourth-Generation War and Other Myths*, Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute (Carlisle Barracks, PA, 2005): v.

⁴ A.D. Harvey, “Was the American Civil War the First Modern War?,” *History* 97, no. 326 (2012): 272.

⁵ Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 15.

⁶ Harvey, “American Civil War,” 273-278.

⁷ Justin Stangne, “The Rifle-Musket vs. The Smoothbore Musket, a Comparison of the Effectiveness of the Two Types of Weapons

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deadly and accurate than those that came before them but did they truly revolutionize war? Continuing with the technology argument, the Civil War, as well as the Crimean War, is shown to be modern due to its use of the telegraph, railroads and ironclad ships. All these things were indeed modern technology at the time and they did influence those wars and the ones that followed, in fact, all three inventions mentioned would go on to change the world beyond the field of combat, but did these very same inventions truly change the face of war into something previously unknown; were they truly revolutionary or merely evolutionary? If the proper delineation of modernity is not exclusively the technology we use, and it should not be, then there must be something more. Technology has its place in shaping the world, but there has to be a contributing factor that goes along with it. The reality is that there was much more about the Civil War that echoed those wars that preceded it than were different.⁸ Among the similarities are the who, how, and why wars were fought with the main difference being what the soldiers fought with.

Why They Fight

If we were to look towards the causes of military conflict, or more specifically the goals certain groups hope to attain by going to war, we see that much has not changed since antiquity. One might imagine that the reasons for armed struggle would be much different today than they were for our ancestors, but although the specific aims may be different, the overarching intentions are not. The seemingly numerous causes for war essentially come down to one thing: the imposing of the will of one group on another or the removal/prevention of that imposition of will. Carl von Clausewitz defined war as “an act of violence intended to compel our opponents to fulfil our will.”⁹ Donald Kagan refers to this imposition of will simply as “power” and defines it as “the capacity to bring about desired ends, and these may be good or bad. It is also the capacity to resist the demands and compulsions of others.”¹⁰ Look to any war, no matter the size of the encounter or the combatants involved, and you will see this to be true. The Punic Wars saw Carthage and Rome attempting to force the other side to concede to

Primarily at Short Ranges," *IU South Bend Undergraduate Research Journal* 3 (2000): 84.

⁸ Griffith, *Battle Tactics*, 191

⁹ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (London: Penguin Books, 1968), 101.

¹⁰ Kagan, *Origins of War*, 6

their respective power in the Mediterranean.¹¹ The American independence movement and the war that solidified it were about the removal of the control of the British nation (“disposition of power”) over its American colonies.¹²

The conflicts stated, and all those that occurred between them, fall within the category already put forward. It is true that most wars have been fought for different *specific* aims, the intent of the aggressor may be political, economic, or territorial, but their underlying goals are the same. Even a military campaign predicated on the idea of retaliation or one meant to be seen as a preemptive strike is no more than one side forcing the other to abide the aggressor’s wishes. The American invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent invasion of Iraq are prime examples of this. Each war was seen as having different yet overlapping reasons for being necessary. Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the hunt for those responsible, the global militant Sunni Islamist organization Al-Qaeda, led to Afghanistan and to the Taliban, who were harboring them.¹³ In 2003, two years after the beginning of the war in Afghanistan, the United States broadened their “War on Terror” with the invasion of Iraq. The rationale given for this second war, started while the war in Afghanistan was still being waged, was predicated heavily on the belief that Saddam Hussein’s regime possessed weapons of mass destruction and posed an immediate threat to American safety. It was also claimed that Hussein had ties to Al-Qaeda and that the invasion was also in direct response to the 9/11 attacks.¹⁴ Two wars with the same aggressor, the United States (*I am using the term “aggressor” not as a derogatory or accusatory term but as one that points to who started the large-scale armed struggle*), against different nation-states, with mostly different objectives. The war in Afghanistan was retaliatory. The invasion of Iraq was preemptive. Both boil down to the same underlying logic: the imposing of one’s will, America’s, over another. The subsequent insurgencies

¹¹ B. Dexter Hoyos, *Unplanned Wars: The Origins of the First and Second Punic Wars*, Vol. 50 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 2

¹² Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 55.

¹³ Nick Ritchie and Paul Rodgers, *The Political Road to War with Iraq: Bush, 9/11 and the Drive to Overthrow Saddam* (London: Routledge, 2007), 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

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seen in Iraq can be seen as the same idea in reverse.¹⁵ Militant Iraqi groups took it upon themselves to impose their will on their neighbors and to remove the American occupation forces from a position of power.

Who Does the Fighting

When looking at the entirety of human history, war can be summarized as one united group against another united group, usually defined as armies or militaries. Although the factions that go to war can be sliced into ever smaller components until we arrive at the single unit (i.e. the individual soldier), war takes place between parties larger than the self. War is an instance where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts in that although the fighting may be on a personal level (i.e. hand to hand, man vs man) it is more than just a collection of one-on-one brawls. Even in cultures where individual achievement might be heralded, for example the concept of “counting coup” practiced by the North American Plains Indians or the ancient Roman tradition of granting a victorious general a triumph, war has never been about anything less than one group imposing their collective will on another.¹⁶ Past examples like the Greek Phalanx and the group tactics of the Roman legions are testaments to this on a large scale while the small unit tactics used by the modern United States Army are evidence of this concept on a much smaller scale. Even today where we see the types of asymmetrical wars that pit massive nation-states, in terms of personnel and materiel, against separatist militant groups or terrorist organizations, the focus is still on the group dynamic.¹⁷

When taking into account these insurgent and terrorist groups, the more traditional understanding of war as the work of armies and militaries associated with modern nations or ancient kingdoms may feel outdated, but some define war simply as armed conflict involving one political/cultural group against another with no mention of nations.¹⁸

¹⁵ Anthony H. Cordesman and Emma R. Davies, *Iraq's Insurgency and the Road to Civil Conflict* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 25.

¹⁶ Frank Bird Linderman, *Plenty-coups, Chief of the Crows* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 31; H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry Into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1970), 1-2.

¹⁷ Amichai Cohen, *Proportionality in Modern Asymmetrical Wars*, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (Jerusalem, Israel: 2010).

¹⁸ Keith F. Otterbein, *The Evolution of War* (New Haven, CT: HRAF Press, 1970), 3.

Given this way of looking at war even the insurgency in Iraq can be seen to fit the definition of war.¹⁹

What They Fight With

This brings us to the topic of technology. Without question, technology has not only changed throughout history but has changed our lives with it. Sometimes technical evolution has been a long and arduous journey, while at other times, progress has occurred at an increased rate. But regardless of the time taken to reach new technological heights, the issue at hand isn't about the inventions themselves but about how our world has changed because of them and whether that change is due to the mere presence of a new innovation or due to the fact that we choose to change along with it. The technology of the Civil War has already been discussed and will be examined further in the next section, the purpose here is to give an example outside of history that shows how technology alone doesn't change the world.

If we look specifically at the rise and prevalence of "text messaging" each other we can see how the evolution of technology is not a single event, but instead a combination of two. The first event is the arrival of this new permutation of human to human communication. It is not the first time that such a feat has been accomplished. Mailing letters is essentially the same concept, but done in a much longer period of time and with the transmission of a physical medium. The telegraph, much like the modern text message, removed the physical medium from the equation and made the entire process almost instantaneous. The next evolutionary step was the email. Messages, no longer limited by any outside constrictions like price-per-letter or having to leave the house to transmit it, could be sent from home or the workplace by any person with access to a computer and the internet. Finally, the advent of text messaging put the power of the telegraph and email into the hands of individual consumers wherever they might be in the world, eliminating even more of the previous constraints, specifically access.

So, we have these new technological innovations, now what? There needs to be something more to delineate one era from another than just the mere presence of improved technology, otherwise every miniscule technological evolution would herald the coming of a new age. Or maybe that is exactly what happens. Perhaps the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s are their own individual epochs and should be treated as such. Or maybe what we need to take into account, and what is arguably as important as the invention itself, is how we choose to use these new contraptions and how we allow them, knowingly or not, to

¹⁹ Cordesman and Davies, *Iraq's Insurgency*, 25-26.

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change our lives, sometimes for the better and sometimes not so much. It is this change in our lives that is the second half of technological progress.

Continuing with the text messaging analogy, we see that the progression from the physical letter to the text message was not in itself enough to change the world. Where the text message's importance comes from is how we have chosen to use it. Text messaging has arguably changed personal communication more than any other advancement in the transmission of written information since the invention of the written word itself. Letters took time. The telegraph took effort. The email required access. Phone calls required both parties to be available for a proper conversation. But text messages, with the ubiquitous nature of cell phones, allow effortless communication between multiple parties at any time, regardless of whether one party is available or not. We must look past the mere possibilities that this new technology gave us. The ability to text has changed how we communicate on an almost fundamental level but only because we have chosen to embrace it.

How They Fight

It is here, in discussing how battlefield tactics slowly evolved over time that we see the idea of a military revolution break down. As already stated, when it comes to the fundamentals of war (i.e. battlefield tactics and strategy) little has changed over thousands of years of recorded history, at least not enough that any specific change could be categorized as revolutionary. Although the technology available to armies of the nineteenth century had evolved, the ways in which they were used remained pretty much the same as in the eighteenth century and before. This is not to imply that tactics on the battlefield remained entirely stagnant for centuries. There were small variations from generation to generation and from nation to nation.²⁰ But, like armies had for thousands of years, the militaries of this apparent modern era of war still met on the battlefield, lined up across from each other, and gave battle. The Greeks marched in their phalanx formations to meet the enemy, usually also in phalanx formation.²¹ The Roman legions fought "as a solid mass, in concentration."²² During the Civil War, it

²⁰ Charles Townshend, ed. *The Oxford History of Modern War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press., 2000), 25-28.

²¹ Kagan, *Origins of War*, 62

²² Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 41.

was not uncommon to see regiments from both sides of the conflict march “as straight as on parade, walking around obstacles and immediately reforming” even under heavy fire.²³ A similar “parade culture”-style of marching into combat could be seen with the Russians during the Crimean War.²⁴ During the First World War, the French went into battle “with the unique doctrine of unconditional offensive” and the British, initially subscribing to the same doctrine, charged headlong into German machine gun fire in waves.²⁵ Here we see multiple military powers spanning over 2,000 years of history sharing in the age-old practice of moving forward as one combined unit across a broad front to attack the enemy and remove the opposition from the field of battle.

Let’s focus on the idea of the American Civil War as the first modern war based on the widespread use of what was, at the time, cutting edge technology. Due to the prevalence of the Minie Ball and mass produced rifled guns (as opposed to the smooth bore muskets used extensively prior to the Civil War), killing on the battlefield was made easier than ever. In theory, expansive railroad systems allowed for an almost constant movement of men and materiel to the front lines allowing for battles to occur in rapid succession and for those same battles to be prolonged indefinitely, as long as the flow of soldiers and supplies didn’t dry up. These types of protracted battles would go on to define much of the fighting of both World Wars. With the introduction of all this new technology, the strategies used to fight wars should’ve changed, but they rarely, if ever, did.

All the most modern innovations of the Civil War did not change why the war was fought, who fought it, and, most importantly, how it was fought. The South seceded to prevent what it believed to be an overbearing imposition of will by the Northern states on their rights, specifically the right of the Southern states to regulate slavery as they saw fit within their own borders.²⁶ Both sides amassed their armies that met on battlefields across the American states and territories of the time

²³ Griffith, *Battle Tactics*, 108

²⁴ Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War: A History* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2010), 117-118.

²⁵ Azar Gat, *The Development of Military Thought: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 114; Martin Middlebrook, *The First Day on the Somme* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2006), 123.

²⁶ David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory & the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 28.

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to fight in coordinated group-based combat. Lastly, and possibly most importantly, although the technology of the battlefield changed, the tactics used to apply that technology in combat did not.²⁷

The two formed their front lines across from each other and focused on removing the opposing army from the field. The chief aim being to turn the opponent's flank and to destroy as much of their enemy's men and materiel as possible. This explanation is admittedly overly simplified, but even in its simplicity it is rather accurate. If we were to remove the technology from the equation - guns, cannon and the like - this summary of events could apply just as well to the strategies of Hannibal or Napoleon. The act of war didn't change on a fundamental level as one might imagine. In fact, it was business as usual when compared with the wars that came before it. Paddy Griffith has a chapter in his book *Battle Tactics of the Civil War* titled "The Last Napoleonic War" showing that there are historians who connect the fighting of the Civil War with those wars that preceded it.²⁸ But then why are we inundated with the concept that this was a "modern" war? It is because there was one defining characteristic that did indeed change, one that is conflated with the transition into modern combat: the size and scope of the conflict and the carnage.

If we were to judge the modernity of war based purely on the number of wounded and dead, then naming the Civil War as the first modern war would seem to fit. There is a noticeable increase in the amount of combat fatalities over shorter and shorter periods of time following 1865, the year the Civil War concluded. The Punic Wars (264 B.C – 146 B.C.) between Rome and Carthage are believed to have killed over 1.17 million people, a sum that trumps the over 600,000 lost during the Civil War. While the Civil War lasted a little over four years, the Punic Wars spanned 118. The Mongol conquests of Europe and Asia (1206 – 1368) are estimated to have killed around 40 million people but lasted 163 years, whereas World War I (1914 – 1918) saw over 15 million lives lost in a little over four years and World War II (1939 – 1945) ended with a death toll over 66 million while lasting six years [*all casualty numbers are estimates and are taken from the same source for consistency*].²⁹

Are these higher casualty numbers due to a shift in military thinking? Were more people dying because combat strategy changed to

²⁷ Harvey, "American Civil War," 275

²⁸ Griffith, *Battle Tactics*, 189

²⁹ Matthew White, *The Great Big Book of Horrible Things: The Definitive Chronicle of History's 100 Worst Atrocities* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

create something altogether new and terrifying in the mid-nineteenth century or is it that the larger body counts can be attributed to the escalation in the sizes of the conflicts and the willingness to include civilian population centers into what could be considered legitimate military targets and that the underlying tactics employed by the militaries of the time changed very little? It was the latter. Again, war did not change on a fundamental level during the Crimean War, the American Civil War or either of the two World Wars. There were indeed changes to the conflicts that occurred before and following the Crimean War, but these were more along the lines of progressive evolutionary steps than they were a tearing down of the foundation of military philosophy. As for the willingness to attack civilians, this is nothing more than another example of the size of the battlefields growing to include larger and larger geographic areas. For comparison, the Romans could form 10,000 men into a box “1350 metres by 11 metres” or less than a mile in width meaning that approximately 87,000 Romans, similar to the amount of men present at the Battle of Cannae, could, in theory present a front just over seven miles long.³⁰ The Western Front of the First World War spanned 400 miles.³¹ Also, the idea of noncombatants being viable targets is nothing new with historical precedents going back to the beginning of military conflict.

To find a perfect example of this new level of bloodshed we need to look no further than the Battle of Gettysburg and the infamous Pickett’s Charge. Approximately 12,500 Confederate men advanced over open field, across a distance of roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, in a frontal assault on the center of the Union’s line. The attack was preceded by a large artillery strike that was meant to weaken what was to be the focus of the charge.³² This strategy, softening a defensive target just before a massive infantry charge, would see wide scale use during World War I. In Pickett’s Charge, as well as during the majority of World War I infantry assaults, the softening blow didn’t achieve its desired goals. The gun that saw the most widespread use of the war was the Springfield Model 1861 rifle, capable of firing two to four rounds per

³⁰ Spencer T. Tucker, "Battle of Cannae," in *Battles That Changed History: An Encyclopedia of World Conflict* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 49.

³¹ Jonathan Krause, “Western Front,” in *1914-1918 Online, International Encyclopedia of the First World War* (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2015), accessed May 1, 2017, http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/western_front.

³² Earl J. Hess, *Pickett's Charge: The Last Attack at Gettysburg* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 125

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minute with an effective range of up to 400 yards.³³ Let's assume that all the Union defenders, we'll put their number at 6,000 men giving the Confederates a 2-to-1 advantage, were all using Springfields and were able to fire at least two rounds per minute. Let us also assume that the last quarter mile that the Southerners traversed, which was almost entirely within the Springfield's effective range, took at least a minute and a half to cover, that assumes a total mile time of six minutes. That means that before Pickett's men hit the Union front line they had been fired upon at approximately 18,000 times. This only takes into account the last third of the charge and not the initial two-thirds which may have been out of effective range of the Union rifles but still within range of what we can imagine was near constant artillery fire coming from behind the Union frontline. The fact that the Confederates' casualties numbered around fifty percent of the men involved in Pickett's Charge should be seen as astonishing, not because the number is so high but that it was relatively low considering what those men were walking into.³⁴

The violence of the Civil War should have been seen as anything but unexpected. Firearms had continued to get better since their inception, but as their capability for destruction grew, the understanding of how they should be used on the battlefield did not. This applied to World War I as well where machine guns were universally adopted by all sides of the conflict. The Vickers machine gun, an evolution of the Maxim gun, could fire 450 to 500 rounds per minute at an effective range of 1,000 yards (eventually up to 3,000) and could be manned by just two men.³⁵ Essentially two men could fire off upwards of 100 times more rounds at four to five times the effective range of one soldier wielding a Springfield rifle. The presence of entrenched machine gun crews should have made mass frontal assaults even more outdated than they already were during the Battle of Gettysburg. They were tantamount to suicide, and yet they happened time and time again.

Conclusion: A New Kind of War or More of the Same?

If we lived during or immediately after either the Crimean War or the American Civil War, it would be easy to think that armed conflict had undergone some type of revolution. These wars were as much the

³³ Jerold E. Brown, ed., *Historical Dictionary of the U.S. Army* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), 401.

³⁴ Hess, *Pickett's Charge*, 335

³⁵ "Vickers Mk. I Machine Gun," accessed May 1, 2017, <https://royalarmouries.org/what-we-do/research/nfc/single-object/172>.

culmination of the Industrial Revolution as were the factories and mills now seen as the economic staples of a modern Europe and America. They mechanized mass violence in a way never before seen. It was the prevalence of battlefield technology that blinded not only the people of the time but many historians and experts ever since to the reality that those wars were nothing more than small, incremental steps forward in the evolution of war. The Crimean War, American Civil War, and both World Wars were fought for the same reasons (to impose one's will on another), by the same conventional groups (unified armies or militaries), and with the same overall battlefield tactics and strategies. A more accurate event to categorize as a "revolution in military affairs," the term used by Engels to describe the introduction of gunpowder into warfare, was the invention of the atomic bomb, a weapon that has had more impact on the fighting, or the lack thereof, than any other military innovation found in history. In fact, Soviet military writers used Engel's term to describe "placing primacy on nuclear weapons delivered by rocket-launched missiles" as opposed to focusing on conventional means of waging war.³⁶ Since the proliferation of nuclear weapons following World War II, no nuclear power has waged all-out war against another, a fact made more interesting when we realize that many of these same nations were more or less in a constant state of war for centuries before their creation. In comparison to the changes that have followed the production of atomic weapons, all those technological changes that supposedly ushered in the age of modern war are rightfully shown to be incremental, evolutionary changes and not nearly as revolutionary as we have been led to believe.

³⁶ Kagan, *Origins of War*, 448.

