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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Welcome to the nineteenth edition of *Historia*, the Journal of the History Department of Eastern Illinois University and the Epsilon Mu Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. We were impressed with the amount of excellent papers that we received for this edition and believe that we have found the most impressive articles from this year's submitted scholarship. These papers range from local Illinois farm boys to the Bengal Famine and French Peasant Revolts and show authorship of undergraduate students, graduate students and alumni. Some of these papers have found audiences at conferences and others have been awarded within the University, but all have been written by students while at Eastern Illinois University. Once accepted for publication through a blind and rigorous process, the following articles have been edited and published by students, making *Historia* a completely student administered journal. However, we are eternally indebted to our faculty advisor, Dr. Shirley, for his ceaseless help and support. We are also grateful to the entire faculty of the History Department for their excellent instruction which inspires these great works, to Donna Nichols, the department secretary, for her daily help, and to the department chair, Dr. Anita Shelton, who allows us to produce such a great sampling of the talent of the students at Eastern Illinois University. Most importantly, we must show our gratitude for the students who submitted papers – both accepted and published herein and those not accepted for publication in this edition of *Historia*– for as Mark Schmeltzer states in the founding letter, "what becomes of *Historia* in the future is really up to you, the students; there is no limit." We believe that the articles in this edition of *Historia* truly show the limitless capacity of the students and alumni of Eastern Illinois University.

Tristan Sodegren-baar and Staci Rogers
Editors

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The Pineapple as Ornamental Motif in American Decorative Arts

Loren Berg

Loren Berg is a graduate student in Historical Administration. He wrote this paper for Dr. Debra Reid's HIS 5330 course, Material Life in America, in fall 2009.

"The romance of pineapples blossomed from a passion for a fruit with character…"
-Gary Okihiro

What is a symbol? Does an object's symbolic meaning change over time or is it a set message that remains static through time regardless of changes in society? Over time, the pineapple has been used as a symbol with distinct meanings to not only people from differing financial status, but also differing countries. This fruit, which was once a status symbol available only to royalty or the very wealthy, is now available to nearly everyone around the world. Has this changed what the pineapple means? By using a symbolist approach for analyzing material culture, a scholar can examine what the pineapple has meant over time, what it means today, and how that meaning has changed over time. In this way, the use of the pineapple in the decorative arts is an example of how changes in society can alter the meaning of symbols used on material culture within that society.

This paper will discuss how the pineapple came to be a decorative motif and how the meaning behind the symbol changed over time. The use of the pineapple as a symbol changed from one of wealth to one of welcome, particularly in the United States. How people viewed the pineapple since its discovery sheds light on how the pineapple is currently recognized as a symbol. This paper will also address the historical nature of symbols and whether or not the definition of a symbol can be dynamic, therefore retaining meaning within a society.

Limited research has been done on the subject of the pineapple, particularly as a decorative motif. Two distinct groups divide current scholarship over the research of the pineapple as a crop or decorative plant and research on the pineapple as a symbol. Publications relating to pineapples as a produce crop or decorative plant are useful for discussing the pineapple as symbol due to the research done on the pineapple's past. The discussion of the pineapple's distribution around the world can help to pinpoint when the pineapple came to be known and popular in a particular society. By first examining the horticultural history of the pineapple, researchers can trace its social history and use as a symbol as well.

The scholarship available regarding the pineapple as a decorative motif exists mostly in few printed materials and information on the

internet. The bulk of information available on the Internet is usually referencing a single source, an article written by Hoag Levins. Most books dealing with the pineapple as motif are décor and home style books. In these publications, pineapples are given a fairly brief mention. Usually these are anecdotes on the history of the pineapple and its symbolic meaning, which relates to why it is depicted on the object. These books are based on the collective remembrance of what the pineapple means concerning material culture. These are often idealized and romanticized notions that change over time and distance, but they beg the same question asked in the opening lines of this paper: Are those meanings wrong just for being romanticized?[1]

Currently very few books examine the pineapple from a more scholarly approach. One is *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical* and Temperate Zones by Gary Y. Okihiro. This book uses the pineapple as an avenue on which to explore the history of tropical regions, in particular Hawaii. Using Hawaii as a case study of the tropics, Okihiro explores the way the pineapple is used as a symbol in which to promote the tropics. In regards to the pineapple's use as a symbol of hospitality, he concludes that it is because of the fruit's use in decorative arts that it became a symbol of hospitality, even though it may not have originated as such. A second book studying the pineapple from a scholarly approach is by Fran Beauman entitled, *The Pineapple: The King of Fruits*, which draws a similar conclusion. She argues that the pineapple originally conveyed status and that many current representations of the pineapple are actually pinecones, an influence from the Romans.[2]

To discuss the use of the pineapple as an American symbol, the fruit's past must be explored in order for the modern interpreter to be able to see the pineapple as people did in the past. In this way one can see how the pineapple gained the widespread prestige required to become a widely recognized symbol that has remained so recognizable and popular over time.

Christopher Columbus discovered the pineapple on his second voyage to the Americas. Columbus landed on the island of Santa Maria de Guadeloupe de Extremadura, which is today's Guadeloupe, on November 4, 1493 and was given a pineapple by the Arawak people. This was the first mention of the fruit and subsequent voyages continued to praise the wonderful fruit of the Americas. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes on his voyages to America in 1513 called the pineapple "one of the most

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[1] Levins, Hoag. "Symbolism of the Pineapple: Being the Brief and Colorful History of a Truly American Fruit." http://www.levins.com/pineapple.html (accessed Sept. 15, 2009).

[2] Gary Y. Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 172.

Fran Beauman, *The Pineapple: The King of Fruits* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2005), 1.

beautiful fruits I have seen wherever I have been in the whole world…(having a) beauty of appearance, delicate fragrance, (and) excellent flavour." Along with this description, Oviedo also sent to King Ferdinand the first drawing of a pineapple, immediately catching the interest of botanists. Many botanists during this period were nobility or from a wealthy background. They actively sought out new plant species and the distinctiveness of the pineapple impressed them. This led to not only rapid importation of the fruit, but also prestige associated with owning the pineapple among the upper class.[3]

The pineapple quickly spread to other tropical regions where the fruit could be grown. Sailors noticed that the consumption of the pineapple was a way to avoid scurvy. The plant was also slow to rot, taking several weeks to ripen and staying edible for an extended period. This discovery helped to spread the pineapple to ports around the world. In 1548 the pineapple was well established in Madagascar, and by 1590 the pineapple was being commercially grown in India. The quick spread of the pineapple around the world shows that the plant was not only easy to grow and export, but that it was also a popular and welcome addition to a region's agricultural potential. Okihiro states that, "The pineapple, as a food and object of social and economic value, circulated the globe on the currents of European commerce and globalization." The European commerce in Okihiro's statement refers largely to the efforts of the English in spreading the fruit to the many corners of its large empire, which were the first tropical areas to grow the pineapple.[4]

The cultivation of the pineapple centered in Western Europe. In these places, the pineapple grew in hothouses at enormous expense. Many members of the nobility in England and France kept thousands of the plants in constant production. The Duc de Bouillon in France kept 6,000 plants. Not to be outdone, the Duke of Portland in England had a hothouse large enough to contain 10,000 plants in 1779. Keeping this number of plants at a constant warm temperature year-round in England was no little expense. This contributed to the pineapple quickly becoming a symbol of wealth as these growers made their success in raising such a rare and difficult produce quite public. Most commoners, with the exception of sailors, would have never seen a pineapple, perhaps only in illustrations. It would not be until improvements in ship technology, which allowed for faster transportation of produce, would pineapples be physically available to the middle class.[5]

[3] Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 81.

Claudia Hyles, *And The Answer Is a Pineapple: The King of Fruit in Folklore, Fabric, and Food* (New Delhi: Swankit, 2001), 22.

[4] Ibid.; Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 82, 90.

[5] George W. Johnson, *The Gardener's Monthly Volume, The Pine Apple; Its Culture, Uses, and History* (London: R. Baldwin, 1847), 10.

Hyles, *And The Answer Is a Pineapple*, 24.

In the early 1800s, pineapples began to appear in London's street fruit stands due to the advances in steamship technology. Even though pineapples were now available to the general public, they were by no means cheap. In 1820, a pineapple sold for ½ to one crown each. Adjusted to 2009 United States currency that is the equivalent of $35 for a single pineapple. For a very special occasion, a hostess could acquire a pineapple, but they were not the usual middle class table fare. To the wealthy, however, the pineapple began to lose some of its prestige. The hothouse production of pineapples by the wealthy plummeted, as pineapples were now commonly available. This changed the pineapple's position in society, as they became available both physically and symbolically to the middle class. With the wider availability of the fruit, the pineapple motif became much more common in commercially available household goods, but less so in the decorative tastes of the wealthy.[6]

The early days of the pineapple in America are not well documented. Presumably, pineapples were much more common in the United States than they were in Europe due to the close proximity of the United States to where pineapples were grown. Even so, the pineapple retained the symbolic status it had gained and lost earlier in Europe. Wealthy Americans used the pineapple in the same manner as the wealthy previously had in England, namely for a symbol of what they wanted to convey about themselves. They wanted to be associated with the graciousness of the nobility. Okihiro makes the statement in his book *Pineapple Culture* that the pineapple "conveyed ostentation, wealth, power, and the worldliness of its proprietor with ties not only to mother England but to her daughter colonies like the West Indies."[7]

How England and colonists from England perceived the pineapple carried over from the Atlantic to America. Due to the popularity of the pineapple in England, many imports from the motherland featured the pineapple motif, especially after the motif's popularity declined. In fact, the pineapple was one of the most prevalent decorative motifs in the mid 1700s. In colonial America various household wares, especially food consumption related objects that featured pineapple decorations, were widely available. Period advertising listed such objects as a specialty of the shop advertised. In June 1766, a shop in New Jersey advertised its various pineapple wares, which included; teapots, dishes, bowls, and other place settings as pieces in a distinct decorative motif. Many other luxury goods from England featured the pineapple, including textiles, furniture, silver, and cutlery. These goods brought across the ocean from England "carried with (them) a subtle implication of an elite social standing, because (the pineapple) had long been the exclusive prerogative of wealthy and educated people. The pineapple as a symbol of ostentation migrated from Europe to the United

[6] Johnson, *The Gardener's Monthly Volume*, 10; Hyles, *And The Answer Is a Pineapple*, 32; Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 87.

[7] Ibid., 165.

States as decoration on silver and ceramic dinnerware, appearing on American tables by the eighteenth century."[8]

The sauceboat in Figure 1 is an example of an early use of the pineapple motif on exported goods to the American colonies. This ceramic table piece (ca.1765) has a pineapple fruit appearing in the center of green foliage, possibly representing the pineapple plant itself. The plates featured in Figure 2 also depict examples of the pineapple motif used in ceramic dinnerware. Here the pineapple is placed along the edges of the plate in a very prominent position and size. These two examples of formal dinner pieces, one an accessory and the other a fine formal plate, show that as a symbol the pineapple was often portrayed prominently and clearly on items in dinner services used when entertaining.

Pineapple themed ceramics were popular for a short time in England during the 1760s. The popularity of the pineapple motif however, quickly faded. By 1770 Josiah Wedgwood expressed his relief that all of the remaining ceramics featuring the pineapple had been sent to the American colonies as a way of liquidating them as they were no longer selling in England. Like many decorative elements in America, it seems that the colonies were not only a few years behind what was popular in English decoration, but also dependant on Europe for what would be in current fashion. This may be the case with the pineapple motif, but in America, the symbolic meaning of the pineapple continued to change and maintained popularity in the home.[9]

In colonial America the homes of wealthy and influential people became the centers of social happenings. One dramatic way to make an impression was with a pineapple. Not only was the pineapple a recognized symbol of prosperity, it was also a visually striking fruit with unique color, large size, and a crown of foliage. When served, the presentation of such a notable fruit honored and flattered guests. This could be the basis of the pineapple as a symbol of hospitality as it was served as a sign of respect to the visitor. Because of the appearance and meaning behind the fruit, banquet table centerpieces featured pineapples as the focal point for large and impressive displays. This is even true today in fine settings such as upscale restaurants, weddings, and even cruise ships. (Figure 3) Many authors have noted that in the American colonial period it was common for the pineapple to be rented out by fruit sellers for an evening centerpiece setting. A single fruit could be rented several times over until being sold to the end user who then made the fruit part of the actual feast, greatly impressing the guests.[10]

Early American's experiences and associations with the fruit formed the pineapple as a symbol of hospitality. As we have seen, the pineapple was widely used as a decorative centerpiece and dessert finale. The pineapple was also used as a unique and fun motif on nearly everything as a

[8] Beauman, *The Pineapple*, 128; Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 89, 164.
[9] Colonial Williamsburg website, www.history.org.
[10] Levins, "Symbolism of the Pineapple"; Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 89.

decorative feature. This was true in nearly every aspect of the home, but especially the kitchen and dining room. From the pineapple motif's introduction in the mid 1700s, it has been featured in many whimsical uses such as butter molds (Figure 4), glassware, and plates, such as in Figure 5. Decorative ceramics were also created in the shape or color of a pineapple, such as jugs and pitchers as seen in Figure 6.

For an object or motif to be universally recognized as a status symbol by members of society it begins to appear in the upper levels of society. This is true even today when one considers that brand name clothing and higher end luxury items must first create a foothold within the upper class. The name recognition and what it symbolizes trickles down through lower economic groups losing the original meaning, such as representing the clothing or luxury items themselves. The meaning changes from identifying a product into identifying a concept; in this case, the pineapple becomes a symbol of wealth and prosperity. For this to occur, there needs to be not only acceptance and belief in what the symbol represents, but also the desire to associate with that created identity to improve one's own societal standing.[11]

The upper crust of society as well as all other levels appropriated the pineapple motif. Fine china, silver, and glassware survive today, but there were many other interpretations of the pineapple used in everyday life's more ordinary forms. The door screens seen in Figure 7 show the use of the pineapple motif. These are panels inserted into the frame of a door, possibly for a kitchen cabinet for the storage of dishes or food. The woodworker could have used any manner of venting the cabinet; holes or slits were popular. Here he chose to arrange the openings in a design that resembles the pineapple; two fruit on each panel in a mirror image separated by the central diamond shaped vent. The body of the fruit is stylized and not immediately recognizable as a pineapple. The leaves that protrude from the top of the fruit however, are depicted here as radiating out and up. This is an interesting example, as usually the pattern of the pineapple's distinctive body is the dominant motif. Here it is the leaves that indicate representation of a pineapple. This particular example is also interesting as it shows the use of the pineapple in a rural built, country craftsman piece, not in a high style or formal use more commonly seen.

Another use of the motif was for personal accessorizing. Usually the pineapple existed in the home as a presentational decorative element to visitors. The perfume flask in Figure 8 is a more personal object than the public objects in the home. Here the pineapple is seen in a literal form, it is clearly a pineapple. Many other representations of the pineapple employ a certain amount of ambiguity in how the pineapple is portrayed. Sometimes the stylistic impression is what was desired, but then sometimes people simply wanted to see the pineapple as itself. This could be because it either

[11] Twitchell, James B., *Branded Nation: The Marketing of Megachurch, College, Inc., and Museumworld* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 257.

pleased them due to what it meant to the owner, provided a whimsical decoration, or was simply a pleasing image, with or without a symbolic meaning. Sometimes a pineapple is simply a pineapple.

There are many examples of the pineapple as a decorative element in home goods. The root of the symbol lies in the history and the usage of the pineapple. From the pineapple's discovery, it was associated with wealth, power, and ostentation in England. The meaning did not seem to change much over time in England; it stayed a symbol for wealth and enjoyed a relatively short popularity span. In America however, the symbol changed from its original meaning to one of hospitality and style. In early American history, the pineapple was used as a symbol to associate the owner to the graciousness, distinction, and affluence of the European nobility. These meanings changed due to the medium on which the image was portrayed. In Okihiro's book he quotes a writer from 1945 as saying, "Because the fruit played such an important part in the social life of the time and appeared as a decorative motif on so many objects which had to do with the welcoming, sheltering, entertainment, and refreshment of guests the idea of hospitality became attached to it and is now fairly widespread."[12]

This statement leads to a fascinating new way to view the pineapple in decorative arts. Items of material culture used for certain purposes can lead to new meanings for the symbols used upon them based on the emotions felt when the items are in use. For example, any of the entertaining objects found in the Figures section of this paper were used to welcome and entertain guests. The emotions of hospitality generated during the event encouraged people to remember the event as a wonderful time. Any items used at the time could be associated with these fond memories; sometimes a single object can bring back powerful emotions. The decorative element included on an object would make the object more noticeable, memorable, and therefore more likely to have an emotion attached to it. In the case of the pineapple, guests noticed the pineapple on an object and from that point forward associated that symbol as a symbol of hospitality.

Would this be an example of fictionalizing and romanticizing the experience of colonial America? Okihiro argues in his book, *Pineapple Culture*, that the association with hospitality is a manufactured meaning used by historic houses and museums in the early 1900s as a way to explain the use of the pineapple and to diminish viewing the pineapple as a symbol of empire and conquest. Beauman also states her belief that twentieth century Americans have confused not only the image, but also the meaning of the pineapple with that of the pinecone, used even earlier than the pineapple. So does that mean that the viewer or presenter of the pineapple as symbol is only perpetuating mistaken history? Perhaps, but not necessarily. The use of the pineapple as a symbol of hospitality is alive and well today, probably even more so in the Southeastern United States. Here

[12] Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 172.

the pineapple has come to mean, "Welcome to our city/ establishment/home. Please feel at home." The symbol is everywhere, shops, homes, and even public art, such as the water fountain in Figure 9. So does it matter that the meaning behind the symbol has changed? Not at all! The meaning of a symbol is the meaning the viewer associates with it regardless of past associations. The question posed at the beginning of this paper was, "What is a symbol?" Using the pineapple, this paper demonstrates that a symbol can be anything used to convey a meaning, and as this paper has also shown, a symbol's meaning can be dynamic over time, distance, and culture.

Illustrations

Figure 1: Cockpit Hill (Derbyshire) molded creamware sauce boat, ca. 1765. Note pineapple depicted in center.
Photo Credit: Cowan's Auctions Inc.

Figure 2: Crackleware plates, raised pineapple design, date unknown.
Photo Credit: Rago Arts and Auction Center

Figure 3: John F. Kennedy wedding, 1953. Note the pineapple used as a distinctive feature in the fruit course.
Photo Credit: Lisa Larsen

Figure 4: Wooden butter mold with central pineapple decoration, date unknown.
Photo Credit: GoAntiques.com

Figure 5: Pineapple themed plate. Note that the plate is not flat in the bottom, the center is raised making this plate an entertaining piece, not a place setting. Date unknown.
Photo Credit: GoAntiques.com

Figure 6: Majolica pitcher with body shaped and textured like a pineapple, ca.1880s.
Photo Credit: deeceevoice

Figure 7: Pineapple motif vents on cabinet door panels, ca. 1840. Note the representation of the leaves protruding from the top of a pineapple. Photo Credit: Worthpoint.com

Figure 8: Small silver perfume flask with high relief pineapple decoration, date unknown.
Photo Credit: Worthpoint.com

Figure 9: Pineapple motif water fountain, 2008, Waterfront Park, Charleston, South Carolina. The pineapple today means "Southern Hospitality", and is actively marketed as such.
Photo Credit: Loran Berg

Class Rivalries in Frontier Kentucky and the Applicability of Jeffersonian Agrarianism

John Goldworthy

John Goldsworthy earned his BA in History with a minor in Pre-Law Studies from Eastern Illinois University in 2010. In fall 2010 he began work on a Master's Degree in History at Eastern, with occasional breaks to study for the LSAT.

The former British colonists of North America looked toward the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains and east of the Mississippi River as a place with boundless resources and opportunity. The land that composed modern Kentucky emerged famous for its rich soil and promises of wealth. Daniel Boone and his sponsored expeditions by the Transylvania Company, coupled with the immense propaganda distributed by wealthy land speculators, spurred fevered interest in the new territory. Letters from immigrants, travelers' accounts, and newspapers only added to the hunger for Kentucky land. Farmers rapidly populated the Kentucky territory in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and sought to live in the "promised land" to fulfill their agrarian dreams of a successful farm. Land policy struck a controversial chord in the Bluegrass frontier, however, as squatters caused tension among speculators, and confusion about land claims only exacerbated the problem. Further claims added to the confusion when Virginia promised soldiers of the French and Indian War, along with the Revolutionary War, western territory. Because of Virginia's lack of efficiency and complexity in its Kentucky land policy in the late 1770's, disputed claims resulted--furthering class tensions. Inefficient land policies enacted in Kentucky by the Virginia General Assembly guaranteed the success of the Virginian landed elite at the expense of the yeoman and poorer planter, thus revealing class struggles that jeopardized the practicality of Thomas Jefferson's agrarian ideology.

Kentucky historiography necessarily involves parallel developments in Colonial Virginia, along with demographic expansion in the Appalachian frontier. Thomas Abernethy's research into colonial land policies in *Western Lands and The American Revolution* demonstrated the process behind land acquisition in the latter 18th century, while his *Three Virginia Frontiers* shed light on class antagonisms in Kentucky preceding its independence from Virginia. Comparatively, Allen Kulikoff's *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* took a more sociological approach--establishing how the growth of capitalism had demonstrable affects on land acquisition and class relations in the western frontier during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This study will attempt to incorporate political and sociological

perspectives to show how applicability of Jefferson's agrarian dream in frontier Kentucky had its limitations.

The yeoman farmer that headed west into Kentucky envisioned a future based on agriculture and opportunity on the land. They sought a tract of land unto which they could raise a crop, while simultaneously stay convinced that when they could not farm anymore, their children would till the land. A predominate class amongst Colonial America, the yeomen owned the means of production, and if needed to, participated in commodity markets to sustain familial strength.[1] Yeomen growth relied heavily upon land accessibility, for self-sufficiency rested on its availability. As the American economy grew, the yeomen had to evolve their behavior to compete with large-scale planters and wage-laborers.[2] Capitalist expansion thus changed the degree of economic independence the yeomanry retained, for continued American growth meant a maturing capitalist system. The hard-working, independent yeoman farmer became the model from which Jefferson believed the "seeds of democracy" would shape the American frontier.[3]

In Jefferson's only book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, he explained the ideological strength of the yeomen; "Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue."[4] Thomas Jefferson espoused the hard work and morality associated with those who tilled American land and fed its citizens. Although published in 1781, Thomas Jefferson's support of the yeoman farmer had also been seen in his draft constitution of Virginia in 1776, where he advocated the appropriation of fifty acres to "every person of full age neither owning nor having owned"[5] such property. Not only had Jefferson supported the cause of the yeomen, but he had also shown his progressiveness when he proposed universal male suffrage and religious freedom in the 1776 Virginia Constitution.[6] Jeffersonian Republicans believed in an agrarian democracy that placed the farmer's needs ahead of wealthy capitalists, whom the Federalists had been associated with. The independent, self-sufficient farmer--with his family and tract of land--became the goal for thousands of pioneers who chased the agrarian dream in Kentucky.

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[1] Allan Kulikoff, *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 34.

[2] Ibid, 35.

[3] Thomas D. Clark, *Agrarian Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1977), 7.

[4] Everett E. Edwards, *Jefferson and Agriculture* (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1943), 23.

[5] Craig T. Friend, *The Buzzel About Kentuck: Settling the Promise Land* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 77.

[6] Frank Shuffelton, *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge: University of Rochester, 2009), 36.

The farmer's contact with nature also played a significant role as to why Jefferson viewed them as "God's chosen people." Because agrarians made their living off the land, they were believed to be "purer, more moral, and more respectful of God than their urban counterparts."[7]Consequently, Jefferson believed that the yeoman farmers--upon which America had been founded upon--were key to future expansion. The agrarianism thought that flowed into the young republic had not been new; the attributes associated with the farmer in the agrarian model traced back to the Enlightenment Movement in Europe. Jeffersonian Republicans viewed farmers with the utmost respect, for the land's physical demands earned farmers moral superiority in the early United States. As the ideas of independence took hold, colonists who experienced lost fertility in their older settlements looked to Kentucky land for opportunity.

Kentucky's geographical features determined the nature of society and economy that existed within the territory. The limestone-based Bluegrass Region sustained successful agricultural enterprises, comparable to rural England.[8] The Bluegrass area in Kentucky marked the most fertile land, and had been sought out by those who had either political connections in Virginia, or political ambitions in Kentucky--those who had enough capital to pay for the highly desirable Bluegrass soil. Kentucky's second distinctive region, or the Appalachian highlands, brought immigrants "into river valleys, pinched coves, and even onto hilltop plateaus."[9] The population settling in the highlands became bound to a subsidence type of agriculture, with an "arrested mode of social life."[10] Similarly to the eastern and northern regions, the soil of southwestern Kentucky ranged from rocky and clay to very rich.[11]

Subsequently, the early settlers divided Kentucky lands into three classifications, judged primarily on its fertility. First-rate lands defined the central region, while second-rate lands—soils that were thinner and less productive--defined most of Kentucky. Third-rate land composed the mountainous plateaus of Kentucky. Publications soon surfaced highlighting limitless opportunity attached to all three types of land.

Ever since Daniel Boones' and John Finleys' explorations in 1769, many colonists had received a romanticized view of the Kentucky frontier.[12] The 1788 poem "The Banks of Kentucke" illustrated the heightened enthusiasm;

[7] David B. Danbom, *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America* (Baltimore: Hopkins University Press, 2006), 67.

[8] Clark, *Agrarian Kentucky*, 2.

[9] Ibid, 3.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and The American Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), 82.

Delighting in nature, with fond apprehensions,
I eagerly came to the banks of Kentucke.
O, never did art so much beauty discover,
To reward the long search of its most raptur'd lover,
As nature's luxuriant fancy spreads over
The gay fertile soil, on the banks of Kentucke.[13]

Adding to the image, John Filson described the first discoverers of Kentucky and how he viewed "their discovery of the best tract of land in North America, and probably in the world."[14]

Land salesman, pioneer, and Kentucky historian, Filson's *The Discovery, Settlement, And present State of Kentucke* dramatically added to the increased demand for Kentucky land—excerpts even made their way into the *The New-Jersey Magazine and Monthly Advertiser*.[15] Before the book had been published in 1784 Filson retained approximately 13,000 acres of western lands,[16] and extensive interest in Kentucky land certainly increased its value. Translated in French, and also distributed in Britain, Filson's book brought the story of Daniel Boon--famed Kentucky pioneer--to thousands. The book naturally served as an advertisement for his Kentucky claims--bringing the promise of wealth in Kentucky land to unprecedented numbers. Although questionably exaggerated in some instances, as a whole, Filson's work was able to capture the minds of a nation.

Virginia's governor, Lord Dunmore, sent the first wave of speculators to the trans-Appalachian area in 1773.[17] A land speculator, to a frontiersmen, meant an eastern capitalist who bought large sums of territory--with the anticipation of land hungry settlers to come.[18] As a result of the intense speculation and demand for westward land, the Virginia Land Law of 1776 had been established to have some sort of policy governing the acquisition of Kentucky lands.

Passed by the Virginia General Assembly, the 1776 law stated, "That no family shall be entitled to the allowance granted to settlers by this act, Unless they have made a crop of corn in that county, or resided there at

[13] *Kentucky Gazette* "The Banks of Kentucke. Tune, banks of the Dec." (March 1788) American Periodical Series Online.

[14] John Filson, *The Discovery and Settlement of Kentucke* (United States of America, 1784), 7.

[15] *The New-Jersey Magazine and Monthly Advertiser* "The Discovery, Settlement, And present State of Kentucke" (Feb 1787) American Periodical Series Online.

[16] Clark, *Agrarian Kentucky*, 5.

[17] Thomas Abernethy, *Three Virginia Frontiers*, (Massachusetts: Peter Smith Pub Inc., 1940), 63.

[18] Paul W. Gates, *The Jeffersonian Dream: Studies in the History of American Land Policy and Development*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 7.

least one year since the time of their settlement."[19] The law granted preemption rights for squatters, enabling settlers to establish a sizable force along the Kentucky countryside. Although the 1776 land law had been one of the first that established some sort of policy, its enactment caused crucial consequences that led to further land policy reform later in the decade. Firstly, squatters posed problems for speculators that had not yet found settlers to buy their land. Secondly, the settlers who started to establish farms, and fulfilled the preemption rights accorded from the 1776 law, had come in sufficient numbers to "protect their interests."[20] Because Virginia, like other states after the Revolution, faced bankruptcy, it proceeded to dispose lands to recoup finances and establish a taxable resource.[21] Lastly, the 1776 law, with its acceptance of squatters, had unleashed tensions throughout Kentucky between squatters and politician-speculators.

By 1776, with Virginia in possession of the Kentucky territory, three types of land claims existed. Military claims resulted from land promised to Virginia soldiers through service--tracing back to the practices of the French and Indian War and into the Revolution.[22] Virginia Governor Patrick Henry, for instance, gave young men a reason to enlist by promising western lands, but there had also been claims taken out "without any warrant or title whatsoever."[23] Lastly, the claims taken out by proprietary companies--like the Transylvania Company--encompassed the third type of claim.[24]

Previous to the 1776 land law, the Transylvania Company, headed by Richard Henderson, filed large amounts of claims in Kentucky. Through manipulative treaties with the Shawnee and Cherokee, Henderson and his partners claimed nearly all of Kentucky.[25] Henderson sought to establish his own government and laws through purchasing the land.[26] The young nation, as well as Virginia, subsequently did not recognize his claim. Additionally, the early Kentucky pioneers--disheartened with Indian attacks--felt that the company had not fulfilled their responsibilities to protect them from Indian or British encroachment.[27] The Transylvania Company's attempt to buy Kentucky countered Jeffersonian expectations that valued a democracy composed of yeomen farmers, and subsequently,

[19] Clark, *Agrarian Kentucky*, 7.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Aaron M. Sakolski, *Land Tenure and Land Taxation in America*, (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1957), 69.
[22] Robert Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky* (Cincinnati: Johnson and Hardin, 1917), 231.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Craig Friend, *The Buzzel About Kentuck*, 81.
[26] Thomas Abernethy, *Western Lands and The American Revolution*, 124.
[27] Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky*, 230.

Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry declared the purchase illegal.[28] As a result, early Kentucky settlers went to the doorstep of Virginia's governor, Patrick Henry, for protection against Indians and British, in exchange for land reform.

Following the 1776 land law, the Virginia General Assembly in October 1777 passed a resolution that allowed any settler who had inhabited Kentucky land before June 24, 1776, have title to 400 acres. In 1779, the legislators of the General Assembly established a law that allowed any individual who had settled in Kentucky the year before, or "had raised a crop of corn, 400 acres as a settlement right and a preemption of 1,000 acres."[29] To secure the preemption right guaranteed by the new law, a cabin had to be built within the first year.

Accorded to the provisions established by the land law of 1779, titles procured after that date could only be secured through treasury warrants. The act that established the land office in 1779 provided the possibility for individuals to purchase as much land as they wanted, but could afford.[30] Consequently, because large speculators did not have to improve upon or cultivate the land in a given time, poorer or less politically connected individuals were disadvantaged. The office also allowed investors to purchase Kentucky land on credit. Thereafter, land cost 40 pounds per 100 acres, and the way in which an individual gained it was complex to the yeoman or small planter not astute in legality.

To file a claim an individual had to "deposit at Richmond the necessary money and receive a land warrant."[31] The warrant only designated the "quantity of land and authorized its survey."[32] An official surveyor was present in every Kentucky County to mark the boundaries designated by the warrant; however, "trees, rocks, water courses, etc.," marked boundaries for surveyors.[33] Because this made it almost impossible to locate land unless one was in Kentucky, speculators often times worked in pairs, and one remained in Virginia to maximize efficiency. Records of the survey returned to Richmond, where between six to nine months a deed was issued. Subsequently, thousands of acres of Kentucky lands were claimed numerous times--causing countless litigations. Further defects of the land policy enacted by the Virginia General Assembly grew apparent to Kentucky settlers in the following years.

Negative consequences following the 1779 Land Law grew apparent immediately following its enactment. The great migration into Kentucky in the winter of 1778/1779 compounded confusion over the land

[28] Aaron Sakolski, *Land Tenure and Land Taxation in America* (New York: Robert Schalenbach Foundation, 1957), 52.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid, 232.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

policy.[34] The emigration came chiefly from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina; emigrants ranged from criminal and political outlaws, to surveyors, merchants, and lawyers. The low income pioneers with no political connections to Virginia, or elsewhere, and had settled in Kentucky, were "ignorant of the legal complexities"[35] associated with the Land Law of 1779. According to the law, claims by those who had settled in Kentucky after 1777 were not secure. To those who did not have treasury warrants and settled after 1777, "she would give nothing at all."[36] Many settlers established homesteads on lands that had already been claimed. Since the inferior metes and bounds surveying method had been used, and other natural barriers marked boundaries, overlapping claims often occurred.

Shrewd speculators took advantage of the policies put into law by the Virginia legislature by a practice called "blanket" surveys.[37] Through this common technique, the holder of the warrant ran his lines along huge tracts of land inhabited by squatters or other settlers who thought they held claim to the land. One speculator made his entries on land that had already been entered, but never surveyed.[38] Nearly all the large-scale speculators had some friend either in the Virginia legislature, or Congress. These speculators found out that the flow of migration into Kentucky throughout the last quarter of the eighteenth century worked against them as migrants had been prone to construct a cabin and settle on any piece of land that seemed unoccupied. The complexity to acquire a title deterred many individuals from actually gaining one, and the confusion over claims added to class antagonisms.

One of the only ways in which disputed claims could have been legitimatized was through "a public survey of all Kentucky prior to settlement."[39] A survey conducted like this, however, would have been nearly impossible. For one, many settlers advanced into the Kentucky territory in the early confusion of the Revolutionary War years, before Virginia had established any sort of formal land policy for the territory.[40] Secondly, the geographical conditions of Kentucky made a large-scale public survey at this time extremely difficult. Since large portions of Kentucky lay claimed before 1785, the federal land policies of the Northwest Ordinance were not applicable to Kentucky, and subsequently, Virginia started selling Kentucky.

[34] Patricia Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779-1792* (New York: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 31.

[35] Ibid, 27.

[36] Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky*, 232.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit*, 20.

[39] Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky*, 233.

[40] Ibid.

The land office in Virginia opened to the public on October 15, 1779.[41] A resident of Spotsylvania County in central Virginia noticed in 1779, "People are running mad for Kentucky Hereabouts."[42] During the first weeks immediately after its opening, the land office dispensed massive quantities of Kentucky land. One individual gained the title to a million and a half acres, while another gained a million acres. It became a rare sight to see a statesman of Virginia or a "statesman-to-be of Kentucky who did not own a few thousand acres at least."[43] When the land office in Kentucky finally opened its doors on May 1, 1780, it became clear that Virginia had given out too much land. One speculator angrily wrote that states "ought to be just, before they are generous."[44] Not only had Virginia not been able to adequately protect the early settlers of Kentucky from Indian attacks, but the yeomen that supposedly planted the "seeds of democracy" had their claims squandered due to the legal complexities associated in obtaining one.

It became commonplace for settlers who tilled the land to see nearby cabins with no inhabitants; absentee speculators did this to fulfill the requisites of the 1779 Land Law. Wealthy speculators provoked animosity from poorer settlers living in the knob plateaus or less fertile regions—settlers unable to purchase the better quality land. Lawsuits only compounded the situation by making every acre of land subject to litigation. Therefore, because of the complexities of land policy and acquisition in the late 1770's, Kentucky frontier life had been anything but communalistic and egalitarian. The maturation of Kentucky society surfaced class rivalries--jeopardizing the practicality of agrarianism. As settlement grew, and a more stratified society emerged, the Bluegrass Region's wealth contrasted to the poverty of the "South Country." Since Virginia's constitution restricted suffrage to male property holders, and did not apportion representatives according to population, Kentucky eventually achieved separation from Virginia through a series of constitutional conventions held between 1784 and 1792.[45] In Lord Sheffield's commentary about the issue of Kentucky admission into the Union, he demonstrated that the nation's wealth was necessary in developing the territory into a mature society. Debates over internal issues within Kentucky showed the dichotomy between the yeomen and speculator-politicians. The conventions brought together the aristocratic elements from the Bluegrass region with the poorer echelons of the central and southern areas. With separation from Virginia achieved in 1792, Kentucky entered the Union as the fifteenth state. When statehood became a reality for Kentucky, the need for a

[41] Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit*, 18.

[42] Ellen Eslinger, *Running Mad for Kentucky: Frontier Travel Accounts* (Lexington, 2004), 57.

[43] Watlington, *Partisan Spirit*, 18.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Abernethy, *Three Virginia Frontiers*, 69.

constitution established two schools of thought that presided over politics in the 1790's.

The slaveholding planters supported the institutions of the "Old Dominion" in Virginia: "property qualification for voters, a legislature made up of two chambers, and a bill of rights."[46] The yeoman and small-scale farmer, however, advocated universal manhood suffrage. They also supported the division of counties into precincts where ballots were casted instead of "at the county seat by the old viva-voce method."[47] Thus constitutional questions pitted the interests of two classes against one another; the yeoman and small-scale pioneer planters had little confidence in their speculator turned politician leaders, since many felt little security over their land claims. The landless and poor farmers wanted the "aristocrats" out of office, and wished instead to "put honest farmers in their places"—nevertheless, the "more privileged elements" had not hesitated to say that farmers were too ignorant to hold office.[48] Although agriculture had not created class antagonisms in the colonial period, insecure land claims and extensive land speculation did.[49] Manufacturing and trade towns emerged within the thick settlement of central Kentucky, only increasing the number of low income laborers in the state. Nonetheless, this majority had a hallow victory in the 1792 constitution.

The constitution provided for universal male suffrage and cast ballot voting, but the Governor and Senate "were to be chosen by an electoral college."[50] The Governor, under the drafted constitution, appointed judges, justices, and most other officials. As a result, the privileged and upper classes in Kentucky were ingrained in all areas of government. The majority thought that the conservative minority had made large concessions, but in reality the yeomen's' lack of information safeguarded the position of the politician-speculator class. Since citizens of Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and as far as Great Britain had settled Kentucky, the politics there differed from the rest of the Union.

Kentucky became one of the first frontier democracies to have suffered from class tensions caused by insecure land titles and an entrenched squirearchy. Nearly every owner of the famed Bluegrass territory had political connections either in Virginia or in Congress. Indeed the yeoman and small planter classes achieved their goal, but the speculator turned politicians retained overwhelming power in an agrarian society that mostly benefited the aristocracy.

By romanticizing the Kentucky frontier as a place of limitless opportunity and abundant fertile soil, speculators like John Filson made

[46] Ibid, 70.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid, 72.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid, 77.

fortunes. The speculators who entered Kentucky oftentimes had political connections in Virginia, which enabled them to lay claim to the best lands in Kentucky. The settlers who later came in the 1780's and 90's and chased Jefferson's agrarian dream, found the only reasonably priced land to be on the second and third rated soils. Those who had been too poor to purchase productive Kentucky land usually worked as laborers in the growing central manufacturing towns. The General Assembly of Virginia, along with the rest of the young republic, failed to establish an efficient land policy that cared for the needs of the small-scale farmer. Since the release of Kentucky lands to the public in the 1770's, tensions between squatters, yeoman, and the slaveholding planters were embroiled in disputes over land claims. The wide array of litigation caused neighbors to question each other's claims, and in an environment such as that, antagonisms were certain to rise. The way in which Kentucky land had been claimed jeopardized the practicality of an egalitarian, democratic environment based around the yeoman farmer.

America's Roadside Lodging: The Rise and Fall of the Motel

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The impact of the automobile on the American landscape cannot be overstated. The modern landscape, particularly our roads and the built-up environment along these roadways, has developed in direct response to the ubiquitous automobile. As Americans began their love affair with the 'horseless carriage' in the early-twentieth century, they discovered the freedom of the open road and the adventure of motor touring. Exploring the land by auto fit perfectly with the American character raised on the ideals of the pioneer spirit, rugged individualism, and freedom. Americans embraced the opportunity to seek adventure, witness the natural beauty of their country, strengthen family bonds, and commune with fellow travelers on the road. The automobile arrived and offered Americans an escape from the rapid industrialization and urbanization that many believed to be responsible for stripping America of her national character, a character defined by wide open spaces, natural beauty and frontiers to be explored.

The automobile allowed Americans to rebel against rail travel. Travelers were held hostage by the strict schedules of the train. Historian Warren Belasco wrote that "in a sense the car freed the motorist not only from the centrally set railroad schedule but from his own internal, work-disciplined schedule."[1] Traveling by train did not allow for scenic touring as the train roared through the landscape with no regard for natural beauty epitomizing the industrial side of American life. A contributor to *Outlook* magazine in 1914, Henry Griffin, complained that railroads were "fast treading all the romance out of travel." He believed the automobile to be a "veritable Aladdin's carpet, an open sesame to wide countryside, strange roadways, and the wonderland of all outdoors." His nostalgia for the pastoral prompted him to declare the car "a democratizing agent" that would permit Americans to go back to "the intimate acquaintance of the old stage coach days" while predicting that the car would "counteract the evil effects of the cities."[2] He marveled that the ability of the "same science that robbed us of the stage coach" by inventing rail travel could now "restore to

[1]Warren Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1979), 22.

[2] Henry Farrand Griffin, "The Motor Vagabond, His Wanderings at Home and Abroad," *Outlook*, 23 May 1914, 161.

our wanderlust all of the glamour" of independent travel.[3] Griffin believed that cars would offer new freedom, allow travelers to be their own master, and return life to a time when schedules followed more natural rhythms. He hoped the car would right the wrongs of technology and alleviate the problems wrought by industrialization and urbanization.

If the train robbed the traveler of adventure and intimacy with the open road, the downtown hotel deprived the traveler of privacy and anonymity. Downtown hotels required formal dress and the rituals of registration, dinner and check-out were all designed for exposure and public exhibition. The rituals associated with downtown hotels were incompatible with the spirit of motor touring. Touring by car also meant travelers arrived covered with road dust, making their appearance was unacceptable by hotel standards. Motor touring also appealed to families with children and the downtown hotels intimidated children and their parents. Hotels built for rail customers proved to be incompatible for motor tourists. Traditional overnight lodging may have created a dilemma for motor tourists, but in the true pioneer spirit, these tourists improvised and set up camp along the roadways.

This paper attempts to explore the evolution of roadside lodging as it developed in response to the automobile traveler beginning in the early-twentieth century. As Americans took to the open road in their automobiles they initially embodied the spirit of adventure and camped in open fields. Camping formalized into free, and later paid, auto-camps, to cabin camps, motor courts, and eventually the motel; beginning with local 'mom-and-pop' establishments and moving to the modern corporate chain. With the official, if not cultural, closing of the frontier, Americans extended the pioneer spirit by touring in the automobile. The modern roadside motel emerged to meet the needs of these auto-touring Americans seeking adventure and evolved to provide security in the perceived chaos of a strange place.

As early as 1910, an *Outlook* magazine article declared there to be "about 350,000 autos now in use in this country." This same article advocated traveling to the country in your auto to "not only show the country to the people, but show the people to the country" with a desirable result of increasing "neighborliness and diversion."[4] By 1912, Outlook writers declared the "automobile has changed interior traveling from a physical racking bore to a distinct frontier outing and a pleasure trip" and proclaimed "the automobile has verily brought a new mental poise to some portions and parts of the unbroken and almost untrodden interior."[5] By

[3] Ibid.

[4] Edward S. Martin, "The Motor Craze," *Outlook*, 19 November 19 1910, 628-629.

[5] Randall Howard, "From Stage Coach to Motor Car," *Outlook* 27 January 1912, 240.

1913, *Outlook* published an article declaring that by the end of that year over one million autos would be in use in America.[6] Americans embraced the automobile, hit the open road and forever changed the face of the landscape.

The initial changes produced by these motor tourists were not always welcomed by rural landowners. Campers often carried food packaged in tin cans and left trails of empty cans behind them, prompting the nickname 'tin can tourists.' Farmers complained of the litter, of destroyed orchards and crops, and damage to their land all wrought by campers. But by the 1920s, autocamping had become an immensely popular recreational activity for thousands of families with no signs of abating. Belasco claims that the experience offered travelers what they perceived as a taste of what America's early pioneers endured. He also notes that in American society "growing specialization seemed to threaten individual autonomy and autocamping offered training in traditional values, self-help and all around dexterity."[7] Magazines such as Forest and Stream instructed campers on how to pack their cars, purchase or make specialized tents that incorporated the car itself in the form, and build seats that folded to beds.[8] Travel writer, F.E. Brimmer declared that the "motor tourist achieves both independence and comfort as he takes his hotel with him."[9] Municipalities and national parks responded to the camping craze and the farmer's complaints and opened what were initially free auto camps.

The American Automobile Association announced in 1923 that there were 1,800 public auto camps in the U.S.[10] and by 1924 they announced there were over 2,000 of these free camps.[11] In a 1924 report by the United States Public Health Service, the National Park Service reported over 100,000 auto campers to Canyon Automobile Camp in Yellowstone National Park in that same year. (Figure 1) Concerns about public health in these camps prompted a review by the U.S. Public Health Service. The Service laid out a design and plan for several auto camps to be placed throughout the park to alleviate crowding too many people in a small area. This particular camp required a registration fee of $7.50, but campers gained the security of patrolling by park rangers, toilets, showers, drinking water, firewood, and picnic tables.[12] These amenities proved important to

[6] Henry Griffin, "The Motor Conquest," *Outlook*, 22 March 1913, 619.

[7] Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 31.

[8] F.E. Brimmer, "Double Service Kits," *Forest and Stream*, August 1922, 356.

[9] F.E. Brimmer, "Auto Camping Deluxe," *Outlook*, April 1922, 170.

[10] "Tourist Camps Draw Thousands to Open Road," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 24 June 1923, p. A10.

[11] "More Free Camps Open New Chapter in W.S. Motoring," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 July 1924, p. 10.

[12] Isador Mendelsohn, "Canyon Automobile Camp, Yellowstone Park," *Public Health Reports*, 24 June 1925, vol. 40, no., p.1248-1258.

traveling families, and municipalities as well as the federal government were implementing funding for them.

A 1925 *New York Times* article described a new "well appointed" motor camp in New York City equipped to accommodate 1,000 cars. The camp was within a half-hour drive of Times Square, it boasted a restaurant, telephone and telegraph, police protection, and plans for a "moving picture display." The charge for this camp was $1.00 a day or $5.00 per week. The camp planners defended their fee by noting that many other municipal camps throughout the country were implementing fees after research showed that the campers did not venture into the towns and spend money at local businesses. The article also reported on a new regulatory agency, "the International Association of Tourist's Camps was formed to direct in an advisory capacity the general management and equipment of motor camps in the United States and Canada. One of its prime objectives is to abolish the free municipal camping system, substituting better equipped camps at which a nominal fee will be charged."[13] Regulatory and governmental oversight encroached to ensure safe and healthy conditions for campers and to ensure that municipalities could collect funding to finance those services. Despite the moves to regulate the motor touring experience, Americans continued to engage in this leisure activity and embrace it as a means to bond families and instill democratic values.

Before the automobile, vacationing among wealthy and middle-class families often meant mother and children escaped the city to a country or seaside resort while father remained in the city to work and visited the resort on the weekend. Resort life progressed at a truly leisurely pace, a remnant of Victorian ideals. The strenuous life endorsed by Teddy Roosevelt and the progressive era at the turn of the century did not uphold the resort lifestyle, but autocamping as a family met these progressive ideas perfectly. Belasco writes, "progressive thought favored farm or wilderness, where children could relive the strenuous life of a more robust era." He maintains that popular thought about separate spheres for men and women (and children) changed in this period and that this was the "beginning of the companionate, recreation-based family."[14]

Elon Jessup wrote of this trend in family vacationing in an article for Outlook when he wrote,

> this living outdoors twenty-four hours a day and seeing with your own eyes all the wonderful things the geography books tell about certainly is the life. So much better than being cooped up in a boarding house all summer long on the edge of a silly old lake. Besides, it's great to have daddy along. He's

[13] "New York has Motor Camp North of Pelham Bay Park," *New York Times*, 22 March 1925, p. 155.

[14] Belasco, 64.

> great fun when you get to know him. Yes, indeed this is the first time the family's been all together on a vacation.[15]

Jessup, an obviously enthusiastic supporter of auto camping, also endorsed the activity as "the only democratic sport" and that this "new sport of motor camping" is where you will find a "true spirit of real democracy."[16] He encouraged his readers to "hit the motor campers' trail" and it assured them it would "lead to better citizenship, good cheer, health and happiness."[17] Promoters like Jessup believed that the camaraderie within the motor camps meant renewed national unity and confirmation of treasured American ideals. (Figure 2)

Belasco also notes the nationalistic tone of the autocamping supporters. He writes, "such fraternal feelings confirmed popular belief that outdoor sports promoted healthy nationalism. At a time of heightened Americanization efforts, outdoor recreation would consolidate a dangerously segmented society."[18] Patriotism did not wane as a component of motor touring, and in 1940 the manager of the American Automobile Association claimed that "utilization of this mobility has brought an interchange among people in all sections of the country, leading to a better understanding and to firmer loyalty. More than ever before we are truly a nation of united States."[19] Participants in motor touring and autocamping acted out the American dream and in the process reconfirmed perceived national unity and egalitarian values.

The 1920s witnessed the advent and height of the autocamping craze transforming the landscape as motor camps sprouted to lodge these adventure-seeking motor tourists. A *Chicago Tribune* article in 1929 predicted that over 5,000,000 Americans would camp that year with their automobiles. They reported that the "enjoyment of America's outdoors has increased tenfold in recent years, through the sport of camping and we are becoming a nation of tent dwellers thanks to the increased use of the automobile and the ingenuity of the manufacturers of camping equipment."[20] On the eve of the Great Depression this article had no aim of prophecy with its "tent dweller" comment, and while motor touring remained a popular American pursuit throughout the Depression, the free auto camps did experience a surge of homeless families frequenting their grounds.

[15] Elon Jessup, "The Flight of the Tin Can Tourists," *Outlook*, 25 May 1921, p. 166.

[16] Ibid., 167.

[17] Ibid., 170.

[18] Belasco, 92.

[19] Russell Singer, "Touring this Year May Beat Record," *New York Times*, 13 October 1940, p. 146.

[20] "Motor Campers Nowadays Live the Life O'Riley" *Chicago Tribune*, June 1929, p. G3.

Despite the publicity regarding the egalitarian, democratic and classless nature of the auto camps, there was a difference between the "desirable" tourist and the "undesirable" vagabond. (Figures 3 and 4) Private operators of auto camps discovered that desirable tourists were willing to pay for accommodations that freed them from packing all the camping equipment, yet still offered privacy and a pastoral setting. Farmers and rural entrepreneurs began building small cabins with sparse interiors and others built more elaborate bungalows with amenities such as a bed with mattress. Operators charged modest fees and succeeded in attracting those desirable tourists and banning the less desirable. (Figure 5) The cabins proved quite popular with travelers; Belasco's research provides statistics that show tent sales "peaked in 1924 and by 1929 tent sales were at pre-1916 levels."[21] These new "cabin camps" still provided the camaraderie of the early auto camps as travelers shared bathrooms and campfires. Cabins "resolved the autocamper's dilemma of how to go 'light but right', to move freely yet to live comfortably. By patronizing the commercial cabin camp, the motor tourist now sacrificed romantic autarchy for the sake of easy mobility."[22] (Figure 6)

A 1927 *New York Times* article declared "touring motorists can now sleep in bungalows if they do not want to pitch tents—large roadside industry developed." Precursors to the motel, these cabin camps were only the beginning of a large roadside industry. The article reported that the growth of the bungalow camp "has been sensational" particularly in the west and that "these camps are nearly all privately owned and they are in direct competition to the municipal camp." This article also foretold the future of competition among roadside cabin camps and their descendents, the motel, describing the different amenities provided by different proprietors. Some operators brought guests flowers and others provided hot water. The article also described the use of regional architectural styles to appeal to the tourist, another method employed by the privately owned motel. Perhaps most importantly, the bungalow camps are proclaimed as safe from crime and the elements. "One great advantage of the bungalow camp is that the tourist's belongings can be placed under lock and key, it is true, but the tourist hardly feels at ease when he drives away for a little sightseeing leaving valuables under canvas."[23] (Figure 7) An interview with Harry Burhans, secretary of the Denver Tourist Bureau, accurately predicted the development of the motel when he stated, "these camps will be standardized, as to price and accommodation. The tourist will know that at the end of the day's run he can check in at a bungalow camp and get shelter, his car under roof…valet service…laundry and restaurants. (Figure

[21] Belasco, 131.

[22] Ibid., 133.

[23] "Overnight Camps Dot the Country" *New York Times*, 28 August 1927, p. x7.

8 and 9) There is no doubt in my mind that much of the future of automobile camping is to be found in the development of the bungalow colony."[24] Tourists simultaneously sought adventure and security when they traveled; the new cabin camps offered more security than tents, but with quaint nostalgic architecture and bucolic settings, the tourist need not sacrifice the pursuit of outdoor recreation.

Operators of these cabin camps advertised that they could offer the traveler the best of both worlds: security and outdoor adventure. The City View Camp, built in the 1930s in Harrison, Arkansas, advertised if tourists chose their establishment they could expect to

> rest and relax where it is cool, with the comfort of knowing you and your personal effects are in absolute safety. City water from a gushing Ozark spring. Mountain top location and overlooking North Arkansas' leading city. Going South, it's through the City on top of the mountain, and going North, it's on top of the mountain just before entering the City. Cooking facilities for those desiring to cook. All modern rustic log cabins. Rates reasonable."[25] (Figure 10)

Private operators were not the only ones getting into the cabin camp business; national parks also converted their auto camps.

The Grand Canyon National Park built cabins in the 1930s, one camp was known as Moqui Camp. Research by the National Park Lodge Architecture Society indicates that Moqui Camp was built as a "motorist camp" with a Union 76 gas station.[26] Always building for the tourist and his automobile these cabin/motorist camps began offering security and protection for the tourist's vehicle as well. The new form of lodging required a new name, and the term motor court soon came into common use. This new form also brought the cabins closer to the motel form and many cabin camps were redesigned to fit the new trend in lodging. The Moqui Camp became the privately owned motor court, Moqui Lodge, in 1966 with a restaurant, swimming pool, tennis courts, beauty salon, and gift shop. (Figure 11)

Motor courts promised to fulfill the needs of a reinvigorated American public ready to hit the road again after the war. A 1946 Times article reported that an "eagerness to take to the open road has swept in a wave over the nation." Concerns about this travel included the state of the

[24] Ibid.

[25] Marilyn Breece, *Rustic Cabins Welcomed Visitors to City View Camp*, September 2006, *http*://www.bchrs.org/collections/historyqa/rustic_cabins_welcomed_visitors_to_city_view_camp.html (23 March 2009), Historical and Railroad Society, Inc.

[26] National Park Lodge Architecture Society, 2008, <http://nplas.org/moqui.html >, (23 March 2009).

nation's cars after sitting through years of gas rationing and material shortages, the condition of the neglected roads, and availability of lodging. The report stated, "tourist courts have made extensive plans for increasing and improving accommodations for visitors."[27] By 1948 the motor court was meeting the demands of the tourists and giving resorts and hotels a run for their money.

William Barker, reporting for the *Chicago Tribune* in 1948, declared that "this year, as never before, the resort hotels across the country are going to realize their little brothers, the motor courts, …are about to steal the tourist's affections." (Figure 12) Acknowledging the recent struggles that motor courts had endured, he reported that during the "last years of prohibition… some cottage camps developed a distinctly shady reputation."[28] The period of bad publicity that this reporter alludes to could partially be attributed to J. Edgar Hoover's report in 1940 entitled "Camps of Crime." The motor court offering more anonymity and privacy than any previous form of lodging became fodder for moral crusaders. The FBI director "warned of an implicit immorality and tendency to criminality fostered by the motel."[29] Barker complained that the "unsavory camp was emphasized and dramatized in books, by the press and radio at the expense of the ethical majority of motor court management." However, Barker argued that the "unfavorable publicity served a good purpose in the end." He informed his readers that the motor court operators had joined forces to self regulate and police their peers, establishing the United Motor Courts, Inc., as well as the American Motor Hotel Association and Quality Motor Courts, all nonprofit agencies. Barker appealed to the tourist's desire for security and also threw in a bit of patriotism for good measure when he wrote, "the underlying appeal of the modern motor court today is that it is essentially American[30]- an American idea." He added that this was unlike the hotel, which harbored European roots and customs.[31] The battle between the hotel and the motel was on and the motel was winning. A conspiracy theorist may have hypothesized that hotel operators were in cahoots with the FBI and were feeding the press negative publicity.

Motels endured the negative publicity in the '30s and '40s and ventured into a period of great expansion in the '50s and '60s. Established

[27] Bert Pierce, "By Car- 'Fill er Up and Then Watch our Dust," *New York Times*, 9 June 1946, p. 148.

[28] William Barker, "Motor Courts to Steal U.S. Tourists," *Chicago Tribune*, 6 June 1948, p. c6.

[29] John Jakle, Keith Sculle, and Jefferson Rogers, *The Motel in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996) 16.

[30] Not only was the motel design and form an American creation, the term itself was coined and copyrighted in America. Architect Arthur Heineman designed the Milestone Mo-Tel in California in 1926, creating the new word *motel* out of *motor* and *hotel*.

[31] Barker, "Motor Courts," June 1948.

highways continued to bring tourists into small towns and mom-and-pop motels sprouted up along the byways. Motels began to offer more and more services and amenities, prompting complaints that motels were beginning to look a lot like the hotel. Frances Brown wrote with an acute sense of nostalgia for the tourist cabins of the 1920s in her 1954 *New York Times* article. She complained of the $7.00 charge for her motel accommodations and reminisced about the 75 cents she paid in the '20s. She noted that the "desire of motor travelers to have their cars close at hand was one of the primary reasons why tourist cabins came into being in the first place" and complained she had difficulty even finding a place to park her car in the motel where she stayed.[32] Despite the growing pains experienced by tourists like Brown, motels continued to be built in great numbers.

A July 1960 *New York Times* headline read, "150 New Motels Planned in 6 Months" in the United States. [33] By October 1960, the *Times* declared that "209 Motels Started" in the United States; clearly bypassing the plans for 150 earlier that year. The motel form was so popular that in 1961 the city of Philadelphia developed plans to demolish the North Broad Street Station, a 1929 Greek Revival depot, in order to build a motel in its place.[34] Motels, a form born on the rural roadside, were no longer being restricted to obscure towns and bucolic settings; urban tourists could now find them in the cities. This was just the beginning of the major changes about to impact roadside lodging in the United States.

No other phenomenon had a greater impact on American lodging than Kemmons Wilson in 1952. A successful entrepreneur from Memphis, Wilson experienced an epiphany while vacationing with his wife and five children in 1951. Upset that establishments charged extra for children and dismayed at a lack of standardization among the various motels they visited; Wilson built and opened the first Holiday Inn in Memphis in 1952. Calling his establishment "hotel courts" and using the term "inn" he incorporated the ideas of the old amenities and services of the hotel with the motel form that included a tourist's car. Wilson proceeded to sell his Holiday Inn concept and name as a franchise and his success and influence on the lodging industry is unparalleled in the history of American business. The mottoes of "America's Innkeeper" and "The Best Surprise is No Surprise" firmly implanted the qualities of security and patriotism that pseudo-adventure seekers craved in their lodging. By 1966 there were already 568 Holiday Inn franchises in the United States and 202 in the

[32] Frances Brown, "Motel Evolution," *New York Times*, 17 January 1954, p. xx3.

[33] "150 New Motels Planned in 6 Mos.," *New York Times*, 13 July 1960, p. 57.

[34] "Motel to Replace Philadelphia Depot," *New York Times*, 27 June 1961, p. 38.

planning stages.[35] Wilson had discovered the magic formula and permanently changed the face of the motel industry. (Figure 13)

During the success years of the 1960s, motels evolved closer and closer to the old hotel form, even the term motel began to fall out of favor and more and more chains began using 'hotel' again. Starting along the roadside, private motels were often built with features easily seen from the highway and this included swimming pools and signage. Soon the pool became a staple feature and eventually a luxury offering advertised to draw in families for more than just overnight lodging. In 1966, the *Times* reported that "Motels Aren't Just for Sleeping Anymore." Frank Litsky reported that "once, in the not-to-distant past, motels were places to stay en route to a destination. Today, with a shift of emphasis from bedroom to resort, motels are more and more becoming the destination." Interviewing Jack Ladd, Holiday Inn's senior vice president of marketing, Litsky reported that Holiday Inn was "emphasizing recreational facilities." Litsky described the York Valley Inn in Pennsylvania as a motel that started with 25 units in 1958 but after three expansions now boasted a health club, indoor swimming pool with fireplace, outdoor pool, ice skating rink, and cocktail lounge.[36] Now leisure pursuits could mean safe adventure in secure indoor settings and not being restricted to vacations in rural settings, city dwellers could take advantage of these recreational offerings too.

Americans accepted that corporate America could offer the security and standardization needed while traveling to unknown places. Historians Jakle, Sculle and Rogers note that in 1962 only 2% of motels were franchises and by 1987 franchises accounted for 64% of the industry.[37] With the building of the limited access interstate system in the 1950s many towns were bypassed. That combined with the powerful marketing schemes and appeal of the franchise spelled the demise of many of the mom-and-pop establishments along the highway. The abandonment of these buildings by credible owners and the introduction of the budget chain motel meant a new era of negative publicity for the motel in the 1980s and 1990s and the eventual downfall of the motel's original respectable form. (Figure 14)

At the same time that the industry was becoming more luxurious and offering more services, builders William Becker and Paul Greene were developing a budget motel to counteract the trend started by Holiday Inn. They introduced the Motel 6 chain in the late '60s with pared down services and amenities for the budget-conscious traveler. This business practice of scaled down service produced a formula for disaster and a new era of negative publicity for the industry. A guest of Motel 6 was brutally raped and robbed in 1988 by two ex-convicts in Fort Worth, Texas. The

[35] "Holiday Inns of America," *New York Times*, 16 April 1966.

[36] Frank Litsky, "Motels Aren't Just for Sleeping Anymore," *New York Times* 18 July 1966, p. 38.

[37] Jakle, Sculle, Rogers, *Motel in America*, 150.

victim sued Motel 6 for negligence in her safety as a guest at their establishment. Motel 6 settled with the victim for $10 million; an amount that implied the motel had been lax in providing security for a woman traveling alone. The case highlighted the differences in higher-end chains with budget motels that were cutting corners to save money and resulted in terrible publicity for Motel 6.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported in 1991 that "cut-rate inns scrimping on security" were allowing "criminals to move in." They reported some damaging statistics on the Motel 6 chain, including the fact that three more women were raped at the same Fort Worth motel since the 1988 attack. Interviewing police in Tampa, Florida, reporter Kevin Helliker wrote "police have recorded about 200 visits to one Motel 6 in the past 12 months." A Buena Park, California, police department claimed 300 visits to a Motel 6 for "reasons ranging from drunkenness to homicide." A former Motel 6 executive in charge of security "estimated that the 600-plus unit chain…averaged a rape a month in his three-year tenure." The police chief of Collinsville, Illinois, stated that "crime at budget motels is so widespread that he was applying for a special state grant to combat it." Helliker's report also told of budget motels scrimping on "locks, lights, key-control systems, security guards and trustworthy help." Since these budget motels required no identification, they appealed to drug dealers and police frequently made drug arrests at budget motels. Police also told of a 'motel society' being formed at budget motels, where the motels became living quarters for people unable to secure legitimate housing.[38] These security violations played on the fears of travelers and further damaged the reputation of the motel.

The hotel industry responded quickly to the negative press generated by the security problem highlighted at the budget motels. In 1992, the *Times* reported that motels were converting to plastic magnetic cards to replace metal keys that could be taken and copied. At the time of this report, in 1992, Motel 6 had no plans to convert to the keyless entry system, but they had removed room numbers from the keys. They also reassessed the lighting of parking lots and implemented a policy of requiring identification for guests and no guests under the age of 18. These security measures were not enough to stem the tide of negative publicity for the motel.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, accounts of housing the homeless in motels started making news and neighborhoods protested the practice. A report of a motel in an Astoria Heights neighborhood stated that the city started housing homeless families in the Westway Motel in October of 1990. Neighbors complained of harassment by drunken motel residents and

[38] Kevin Helliker, "With Cut-Rate Inns Scrimping on Security, Criminals Move In," *Wall Street Journal*, 18 July 1991, p. a1.

an increase in home invasions.[39] In 1995 police discovered a brothel being operated out of a Bronx motel and seized control of the building in order to shut it down.[40] A 1989 *Times* report declared that a Connecticut town had passed a zoning law prohibiting homeless people from being sheltered at motels. The National Coalition for the Homeless in New York claimed that motels had become a "popular form of shelter in the mid-1980s."[41] A 1988 article reported that a judge found that 75 homeless persons in Putnam County New York had been housed in a motel for more than a year, a violation of a state sanitary code.[42] In 2005 a motel in Irvington, New Jersey caught fire and three people died. The *Times* reported that the "Irvington Motor Lodge was a scary place." "People smoked crack in the hallways. Prostitutes plied their trade. And gang members dressed in blue often hung out outside, according to a neighbor."[43] As recent as March 2009, the Times told the story of a number of Orange County, California families left homeless by the failing economy and being housed in local motels.[44] The motel in its original form no longer embodied the American ideal of family adventure and leisure in a secure setting.

Popular culture capitalized on the fear and negative publicity surrounding the early-style motels. Bypassed by the interstate system, many motels ended up in remote areas of the country, away from urban centers and perceived security. Starting with Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*, movies often portrayed the motel as the backdrop for horror and places of danger and nightmares. A cursory search on the Internet Movie Database, imdb.com, produced a result of 65 movies with the term motel in the title. The list includes titles such as, Motel Hell, Mountain Top Motel Massacre, and Desire and Hell at Sunset Motel. The motel's place in current popular culture indicates a place to be feared, certainly not a secure 'home away-from-home' that early auto tourists sought.

The automobile introduced Americans to the possibility of adventure and the ability to experience the pioneer spirit still so prevalent in American culture in the early-twentieth century. Rapid urbanization and industrialization caused anxiety over and nostalgia for a bygone era of self-sufficiency, rugged individualism and pastoral settings. Those anxieties

[39] Norimitsu Onishi, "Homeless in Motel Ignite Local Fears," *New York Times*, 9 October 1994, p. 10.

[40] Adam Nossiter, "Police Shut Motel in Bronx, Saying it is Used as a Brothel," *New York Times*, 7 September 1995, p. 8.

[41] Nick Ravo, "Town Bans the Homeless at Motels, *New York Times*, 22 March 1989, p. 2.

[42] James Feron, "Homeless Kept at Motel Too Long, Judge Rules," *New York Times*, 9 December 1988, p. 3.

[43] Tina Kelley, "Motel where 3 Died was Cited for Chaining Doors," *New York Times*, 9 October 2005, p. 37.

[44] Erik Eckholm, "As Jobs Vanish, Motel Rooms Become Home," *New York Times*, 11 March 2009, p. 1.

provoked the desire for adventure but traveling families also sought security. Jakle, Rogers and Sculle claim that the "search for security simultaneous with adventure is a basic trait of modern consciousness. And the automobile-borne traveler seeking 'home-on-the-road' at a motel perhaps more commonly experiences this aspect of modern culture than anyone else."[45] The earliest auto camps provided security by allowing tourists to experience self-sufficiency and building communities of comrades with fellow autocampers. They experienced true adventure by exploring the still untamed natural settings and national parks of the west, sleeping under the stars and communing with nature. Landowners discovered the potential for additional income by building cabins to shelter the motor tourists and the commercial cabin/cottage/bungalow camp was born. Building the cabins with shelter for cars as well meant a new term of cabin and/or motor court and the form for the modern motel developed. Motel building boomed in the '50s and '60s and establishments began to offer families the adventure they were seeking right at the site. Tourists could engage in recreation at the motel site, keep their cars outside the door, lock their belongings in the room, and employ a chain lock to keep out intruders; adventure and security offered in one package. The enormously popular Holiday Inn formula moved the trend in lodging more toward the old hotel form and started eroding the original motel form. Motels bypassed by the interstate system left once thriving businesses choked off from vital sources of travelers. Failed businesses fell to drugs, homelessness and vice further damaging the motel's reputation as a secure family destination.

Preservation of this uniquely American form of architecture may be a difficult sell considering the motel's unsavory reputation in popular culture. But there was a time when these businesses successfully catered to vacationing families by employing unique architectural designs, neon signs, swimming pools, and color TV. Many times the motel was responsible for introducing these innovative technologies to middle-class American. When Holiday Inn retired and demolished the "Great Sign" in the early '80s an iconic American symbol disappeared from the landscape. (Figure 15) Communications professor Andrew Wood writes that in his quest for an original "Great Sign" in its original habitat, he found only one and it was in Mount Airy, North Carolina, masquerading for a private mom-and-pop motel.[46] Many of these cabins and early motels remain along our American highways appearing like archeological sites ready for exploring by modern man. After my own travel through the evolution of this uniquely American phenomenon, my hope is that some of these buildings will be preserved for future historical journeys.

[45] Jakle, Sculle, and Rogers, 327.

[46] Andrew Wood, "Architecture, Imagery, and Omnitopia among American Mom-and-Pop Motels," *Space and Culture* 8, no. 4 (November 2005): 399-415.

Illustrations

Figure 1: Autocamping off Monterey Hwy, California, 1920s.
Library of Congress on-line digital archive

Figure 2: Autocamping near the Washington Monument, 1920s.
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Figure 4: The 'undesirables' in an autocamp in California, 1930s. Photo by Dorothea Lange,
Library of Congress on-line digital archive

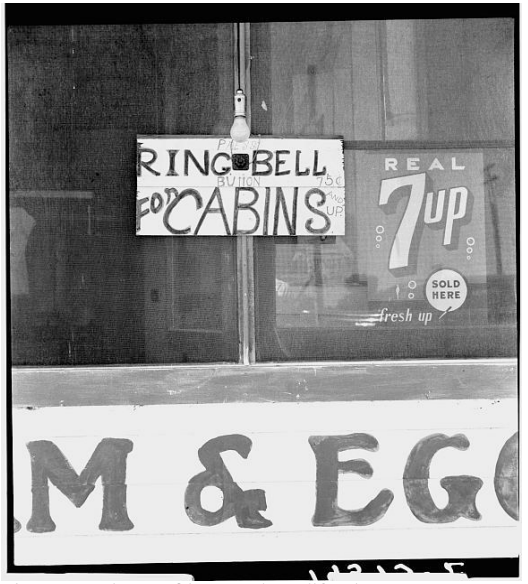

Figure 5: Private cabin camp in California, 1930s.
Photo by Dorothea Lange, Library of Congress on-line digital archive

Figure 6: Cabin court in California, 1930s. Cars are pulled up right beside the cabin.
Photo by Dorothea Lange, Library of Congress on-line digital archive

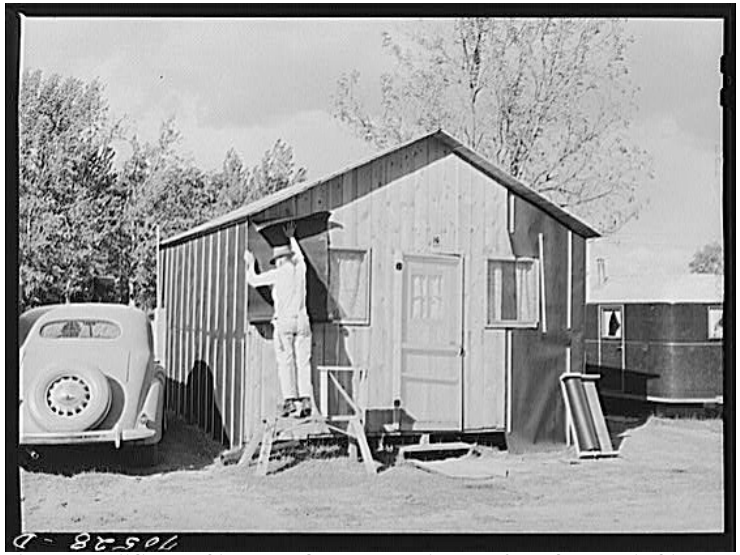

Figure 7: Building a cabin camp where your car is never far and your valuables are secure. Oregon, 1930s
Library of Congress on-line digital archive

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Figure 9: Cabin court in California, 1940s. Predecessor to the modern hotel.
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Figure 10: City View Camp in Harrison, Arkansas, 1930s.
http://www.bchrs.org

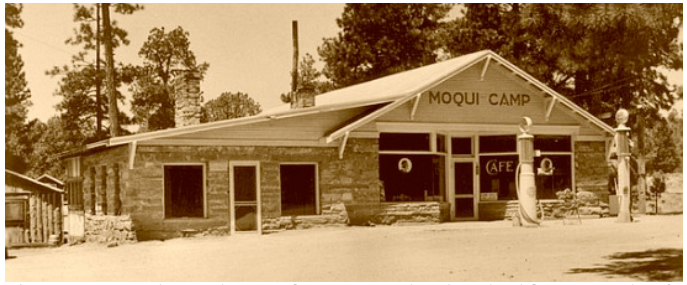

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Figure 12: Motor court in Pennsylvania. Neat and tidy, striving for respectability.
Library of Congress on-line digital archive

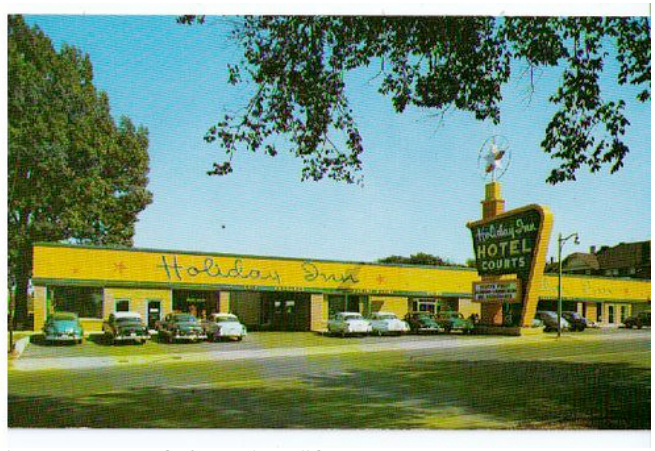

Figure 13: Postcard of an early Holiday Inn, 1950s.
www.flickr.com

Figure 14: An abandoned Holiday Inn in Springfield, Missouri, late 90s.
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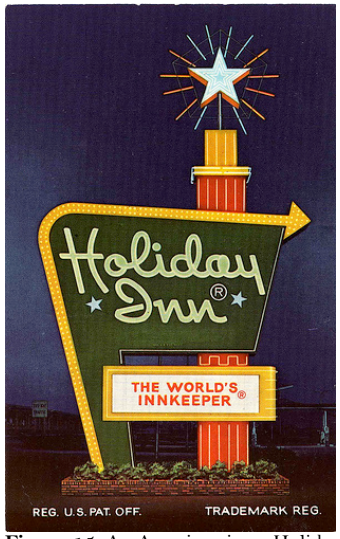

Figure 15: An American icon, Holiday Inn's Great Sign was retired in the early 80s. www.flickr.com

What Doesn't Kill You Only Makes You Stronger: How the Temperance Movement Helped Make Coca-Cola

Staci Rogers

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Coca-Cola was not a national wonder when it first hit the soda fountains. In fact, Coca-Cola comes from very humble beginnings and almost wasn't, due to the temperance movement. Coca-Cola's market dominance is the result of its battle with, and subsequent victory over, the temperance movement, whose attempts to eradicate Coca-Cola only made it stronger.

"Patent Medicines," "Nostrums," and Coca-Cola

To understand the Coca-Cola Company's problems with the temperance movement we must start with a general history of the Coca-Cola Company. And, to understand the Coca-Cola Company we must understand the history of "patent medicines," for it is under this classification that Coca-Cola was born.

The term "patent medicine" is a general term for medicines whose names were patented, but the ingredients were kept "secret."[1] Another, more animated, term for these drugs was "nostrums," and the doctors that produced, or at least prescribed them to their patients, were known as "quacks." Arguably the idea of quack medicine can first be seen in the medicine man of primitive times.[2] And, still today, there is no lack in quick fix solutions, especially in the arena of weight loss and beauty products.

But what made a nostrum different from a "real" medicine? The medication received from the quack doctor and the local apothecary shop could have been identical. The apothecary, however, owned a permanent shop and was subject to inspection of the tonics and pills he was selling. The quack doctor was more transient and his formulas could have been more inventive and unsafe. Nevertheless, there was no guarantee that the local apothecary's medicines would have been any more reliable than the quack's; it was merely a perception of stability that made the difference.[3]

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[1] Mark Pendergrast, *God Country and Coca-Cola* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993), 11.

[2] Eric Jameson, *The Natural History of Quackery*, (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1961), 14-17.

[3] Ibid., 36-38.

These nostrums came in all shape and sizes and contained ingredients from the weird to the downright toxic. In 1921, the American Medical Association printed a book entitled Miscellaneous Nostrums to inform and warn the public of ingredients in many popular nostrums including such as turpentine and formaldehyd(e).[4] Nostrums were commonly sold to an unsuspecting public through fraudulent advertising.

Although today we look at these nostrums and scoff, we still use a handful of them faithfully. Vicks's Vap-O-Rub was found to be a safe balm, with the exception of the oil of turpentine.[5] Bromo-seltzer, and Midol are also products, though not necessarily in their current formulas, of the "patent medicine" era.[6] It is among these nostrums and "patent medicines" that Coca-Cola began, but under the name 'Dr. Pemberton's French Wine Coca.'

Although John Pemberton put his French Wine Coca on the market in 1884, his was not the original cola beverage. Vin Mariani was invented in 1863 in Corsica. This was a simple, and highly copied, potion of "Bordeaux wine with a healthy infusion of coca leaf."[7] The Vin Mariani was intensely popular, in part due to its endorsements. Thomas Edison, William McKinley, Queen Victoria, Buffalo Bill Cody, and three Popes, including Leo XIII, testified to Vin Mariani's potency and ability to lengthen life. It was also used to soothe Ulysses S. Grant as he lay dying of throat cancer.[8]

Because of the popularity of Vin Mariani, impersonators sprang up from every angle. The recipes ranged from cheap to expensive, weak to potent, delicious to sickening. The central ingredients of Vin Mariani, as well as the imitators, were alcohol and cocaine. Vin Mariani's directions called for a person to have three full claret glasses per day [9]– one after each meal and half of that for children. According to similar recipes of the time, the average amount of cocaine intake per day would be, as directed, 2.16 grams.[10] How good would this have made people feel? Today the lethal dose is measured at 1.2 grams.[11] Drinking one full day's worth in one

[4] American Medical Association, *Miscellaneous Nostrums*, (Chicago, American Medical Association, 1921), 18 & 210.

[5] Ibid., 210.

[6] For brands see American Medical Association, *Miscellaneous Nostrums*, 1921, James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), and Adam Cramp, *Nostrums and Quackery* (Chicago: Press of the American Medical Association, 1921).

[7] Pendergrast, 24.

[8] Ibid., 25.

[9] Approximately 5 ounces. See http://www.cocktaildb.com/barwr_detail?id=4

[10] Ibid., 25.

[11] RxList.com, "Cocaine (Cocaine Hydrochloride Topical Solution) Drug Information: Uses, Side Effects, Drug Interatcions and Warnings at RxList." http://www.rxlist.com/cocaine-drug.htm (accessed December 1, 2009).

sitting, depending on the potency of that batch, could have been fatal. It is no wonder that there were so many testimonials of the recipes perceived healing powers. By the early 1880s, doctors and pharmacists were reporting on the use of coca and its principal alkaloid, cocaine, as a possible cure for the serious problem of opium and morphine addiction.[12]

Pemberton's concoction had two ingredients that the others didn't. He added to the original mixture of wine and cocaine the kola nut and damiana. The kola gave the elixir more caffeine than coffee or tea and damiana was added as an aphrodisiac.[13] Pemberton's amalgamation now contained alcohol, cocaine, caffeine, and an aphrodisiac.

To understand the popularity of French Wine Coca, we should know that John Pemberton was one of the more respected doctors in Atlanta. He had been running his own drug store for years and had actually graduated from medical school. Pemberton was also a veteran of the American Civil War, wounded in action and saved only by the moneybag that he strapped to his chest.[14] Because of his experiences in the war and his own medical knowledge, Pemberton knew the medical field as a doctor and a patient. There were many reasons people turned to patent medicines rather than hospitals and doctors at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century's. A bottle of medicine that advertised itself as a "cure-all" could be purchased for a dollar or less at the corner drug store or from the traveling salesman who came to your home. Hospitals and doctors were sometimes hard to find, expensive, and could be more dangerous than even the shady nostrums. The depressive conditions in the south and the influx in poor immigrants in the north strengthened the need for quick and cheap fixes. Many of the patent medicines of the time were said to be cures for stomach maladies. These were especially popular because of the poor quality of packaged foods coming from the factories.[15]

Pemberton was not the first to add carbonated or soda water to his tonic. In fact, carbonated water has been used as an antidote for diverse ailments since Roman times. In the United States, however, the medicinal benefit of the soda fountain was first introduced by Joesph Priestly in 1767 with his "fixed air," and Eugene Roussel added flavors to soda water in 1839 in his Philadelphia perfume shop. Charles Hires, a Quaker from Philadelphia, began advertising his Hires Root Beer in 1876, making it America's first soft drink. In 1885, the same year as Coca-Cola's debut, Charles Alderton, in Texas, created a cherry fountain drink which he called Dr.Pepper.[16]

[12] Pendergrast, 23.

[13]Pendergrast, 26 and Drugs.com, "Damiana Medical Facts from Drugs.com," Drugs.com, http://www.drugs.com/mtm/damiana.html (accessed December 1, 2009).

[14] Pendergrast, 21.

[15] Ibid., 12.

[16] Ibid., 16.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union

Soon after French Wine Coca started to gain popularity, especially in Atlanta, it suffered its first major setback. Beginning on July 1, 1886 and running until May 1, 1887, Atlanta became the first major U.S. city to place a ban on alcoholic beverages. For Pemberton this was a potentially ruinous problem. Not only was the basis of his tonic alcohol, but the cocaine that he was peddling began getting scathing criticisms in the newspapers, magazines, and church services as an evil, just like alcohol, that was destroying the moral fiber of America.[17]

The temperance movement, and especially the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), was a thorn in the side of the fledgling Coca-Cola Company. Even though the "WCTU without question, in most respects, proved to be one of the greatest moral forces in social reform that the world has ever seen,"[18] it was one aspect of a broader movement. The temperance movement can trace its American roots back as early as 1607 to relations with the Native Americans.[19]

The WCTU, which was organized in 1873, was the first time that women were allowed or, at least, acknowledged as leaders in the main stream temperance movement.[20] It was in large part the WCTU that pressured some Georgia counties, including Fulton county, the home of Atlanta, to adopt a prohibition experiment during its second wave of state-wide prohibition drives. The first had taken place in the 1850s and had been run by male-dominated unions. This second drive ended with only three states staying dry until national prohibition in 1920.[21]

The WCTU's aims were lofty, but their ability was proven when national prohibition, their grandest ambition, became a reality in 1920. However, this was a long road for the temperance unions. From praying that saloons would be closed to fiery sermons by evangelists to protest marches to governmental lobbying, the WCTU used various strategies to accomplish its goals. Its driving ambition was to make a society that was free from the evils of liquor and addictive narcotics, like the cocaine in Pemberton's drink.[22]

Opposition from the WCTU was not Pemberton's first warning that there would be troubles with his recipe. Although Pemberton was aware of the WCTU's ambitions earlier, in June 1885 a clear-cut article appeared in

[17] Ibid., 28.

[18] Cherrington, Ernest H., *The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America* (Westerville: The American Issue Press, 1921), 176.

[19] Ibid., 9.

[20] Ibid., 176.

[21] Ibid., 176.

[22] National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Report of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union Thirty-Sixth Annual Convention* (Evanston, Illinois: Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1909), 130.

the *Atlanta Constitution* about the evils of cocaine: "the injudicious use of cocaine will make a man more brutal and depraved than either liquor or morphine. Herein lies a new danger. Before long a remedy will be demanded for the cocaine habit."[23]

Pemberton himself was a morphine addict[24] and saw no problem with the new cocaine because it was more psychologically than physically addicting.[25] In an advertisement run in the *Atlanta Constitution* in June of 1885 Pemberton wrote:

> Americans are the most nervous people in the world…. All who are suffering from nervous complaints we commend to use that wonderful and delightful remedy, French Wine Coca, infallible in curing all who are afflicted with any nerve troubles, dyspepsia, mental and physical exhaustion, all chronic and wasting diseases, gastric irritability, constipation, sick headache, neuralgia, etc. is quickly cured by the Coca Wine. If has proven the greatest blessing to the human family, Nature's (God's) best gift in medicine. To clergymen, lawyers, literary men, merchants, bankers, ladies, and all whose sedentary employment cause nervous prostration, irregularities of the stomach, bowels and kidneys, who require a nerve tonic and a pure, delightful diffusible stimulant, will find Wine Coca invaluable, a sure restorer to health and happiness. Coca is a most wonderful invigorator of the sexual organs and will cure seminal weakness, impotency, etc., when all other remedies fail. To the unfortunate who are addicted to the morphine or opium habit, or the excessive use of alcoholic stimulants, the French Wine Coca has proven a great blessing, and thousands proclaim it the most remarkable invigorator that ever sustained a wasting and sinking system.[26]

The attacks that Dr. Pemberton was fighting off were not only against the medicinal aspect of French Wine Coca, but it was around this same time that Pemberton and his newly acquired business partners were formulating a French Wine Coca, now under the familiar title Coca-Cola,

[23] Pendergrast, 28.

[24] Ibid., 8.

[25] Webmd.com, "Cocaine Use and Its Effects," Webmd.com, http://www.webmd.com/mental-health/cocaine-use-and-its-effects?page=2 (accessed December 9, 2009).

[26] Advertisement, *Atlanta Constitution*, June 14 and 18, 1885.

that was sold in the popular soda fountains.[27] This formula change was the absence of alcohol and addition of sugar among other small changes.[28]

During the noble experiment of Atlanta prohibition, French Wine Coca was still widely produced and sold, but with increasing animosity towards the added cocaine and caffeine. These same issues proved fatal for many of Pemberton's competitors and contemporaries, leading to a genuine concern for the future of French Wine Coca. However, by this time it and the newly adapted formula, Coca-Cola, were gaining national attention and sales were rising. By 1887, French Wine Coca was selling 720 bottles a day while, by some estimates, the new Coca-Cola sold around 600 gallons (76,800 drinks) in the weeks before May 1st of the same year.[29]

With the new formula void of alcohol, the WCTU's onslaught died down temporarily and gave the company a chance to regroup. In 1889 Asa Candler, an Atlanta druggist, took control of the company as the sole proprietor.[30] Candler's first addition to Coca-Cola was formula 7X which he instigated as the one and only secret recipe for Coca-Cola. Each batch was taste-tested before it left the factory and even the bottles that contained the ingredients to 7X were left unlabeled. Only Candler and his sons knew how much of each unmarked ingredient was to be used. Candler himself was the only one who knew the contents of the bottles.[31]

Although this romantic story makes for a great tale, its practice was short lived. In 1901 and 1902 the Coca-Cola Company was involved in two lawsuits against the Internal Revenue Service that served to aid the grand aims of the WCTU. In the first case against H.A. Rucker, the IRS Tax Collector, the Coca-Cola Company sued for reparations of $10,858.76 in revenue stamps it had been forced to put on its products during the Spanish-American War.[32] The second trial, a year later, was under a similar premise. This time, however, Coca-Cola was asking for $39,500 that it had paid in taxes when Rucker determined that Coca-Cola was a proprietary medicine and should thus pay the proprietary medicine war revenue tax.[33] Both cases ended in mistrials.[34]

During the case, Rucker explained his reasons for giving Coca-Cola the classification of proprietary medicine. He claimed that the Coca-Cola formula manufactured in 1902 was different from the formula of 1899, when

[27] Pendergrast, 32.
[28] Ibid., 29.
[29] Ibid., 34.
[30] Ibid., 55.
[31] Ibid., 60-61.
[32] "Trial of Coca-Cola Case.," *Atlanta Constitution*, June 11, 1901.
[33] "Coca-Cola Case Is Postponed.," *Atlanta* Constitution, January 27, 1903.
[34] The 1901 case went to jury where one jurist stood for the government. The second trial was declared a mistrial by Judge Newman stating that the matter should have been taken to Washington instead of aimed at Rucker. See *Atlanta Constitution* "Coca-Cola Case Is Postponed" January 27, 1903.

Coca-Cola was paying the tax.[35] As a result, lab tests were completed on Coca-Cola to check the amounts of cocaine and especially caffeine in the beverage. During his testimony in the first trial, Asa Candler admitted that there was indeed a "very small proportion" of cocaine in Coca-Cola. At some point during this first trial the accumulation of negative testimony, adverse press coverage, and the spread of Coca-Cola among black consumers, who were rumored to become violent and riotous after consuming it, forced Candler to remove the cocaine from the recipe.[36] It was Rucker's argument in the second trial that the caffeine still found in the formula was medicinal in the raw form being used in Coca-Cola.[37] Although the information presented in the court showed that Coca-Cola had only changed its advertising to avoid the war tax, the southern court was hung against the northern freed slave, Rucker, with only one vote holding out for Rucker.[38] Coca-Cola would recover the $12,900 it had paid in this tax.[39] In December of 1902, the Georgia legislature made the sale of cocaine in any form illegal. By luck, grace, or good judgment, Coca-Cola once more narrowly escaped disaster, though the controversy over the drink was not finished.[40]

The last fiery dart the WCTU aimed at Coca-Cola came in 1929 when Mrs. Martha M. Allen, the chair of the Medical Temperance Department of the Women's Christian Temperance Union working in connection with Dr. Harvey Wiley, the first commissioner of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, summoned up testimony from the 1901 IRS mistrial of the Coca-Cola Company. Using this information Allen and Wiley petitioned the Surgeon General to ban Coca-Cola from use by America's fighting men. The information given by the Surgeon General stated, inaccurately, that Coca-Cola contained 2% alcohol and a small amount of cocaine. In June of 1907, Coca-Cola was banned from the Army.[41] This ban did not last long, however, as the army rescinded it in November of the same year when an analysis of the beverage turned up no trace of cocaine of other injurious drug.[42] Even though this was a public relations nightmare for Coca-Cola, American sales did not waver.[43] After this defeat, the WCTU would bow out of the history of Coca-Cola.

[35] Ibid.
[36] Pendergrast, 90.
[37] "Coca-Cola Case Postponed"
[38] Roger M. Grace, "U.S. Draws Suit Over Taxation of Coca-Cola as Medicine" *Metropolitan News-Enterprise*, January 26, 2009.
[39] "Uncle Sam Loses in Lengthy Suit" *Atlanta Constitution*, October 22, 1902.
[40] Pendergrast, 91.
[41] Ibid., 114.
[42] "To Allow Sale of Coca-Cola.," *Atlanta Constitution*, November 1, 1907.
[43] Pendergrast, 114.

Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley

Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley was the company's next temperance-related public relations opponent, and at the turn of the century he was a very powerful force. Wiley was born in 1844 in Indiana and rose from humble beginnings to become "one of the most engaging figures in American public life in his day."[44] Schooled at Hanover College and Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School, battled against the South in the Civil War, and born with a religious vigor, Wiley worked his way through the government to become the Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry under the Department of Agriculture and the father of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, universally known as "Dr. Wiley's Law."[45]

Dr. Wiley had spent his career crusading against additives in foods. His monthly articles in *Good Housekeeping* magazine ranged from bleaching of flour, alum in baking powder, and swindling in diet pills and tonics.[46] *Good Housekeeping* also ran a page entitled "Dr. Wiley's Question-Box" in which Dr. Wiley answered readers' questions on any and all subjects. Their questions ranged from checks on ingredients in foods to why cream wouldn't whip properly.[47] These were all answered professionally and intelligently by Wiley. When it came to Coca-Cola it was, ironically, not the trace amounts of cocaine in Coca-Cola that so fired up Wiley, but the caffeine.[48]

His concerns over the caffeine in Coca-Cola were two-fold. First, he believed that any and all additives were harmful to the body. This is shown time after time in his *Good Housekeeping* articles. He is constantly telling his readers to do as much of their cooking and preparing at home as possible. Wiley does give his approval to a few over-the-counter medications and prepared food items, but very infrequently. The editors of *Good Housekeeping* magazine must have shared his views or recognized that his presence in the magazine was far too great to compromise as their advertising selection shows. Advertisements for cleaning products, grain based cereals such as Kellogg's Bran, and very basic personal care products fill the pages and show a noticeable lack of the shady nostrums on the market of the day.

Wiley's second concern came directly from the Coca-Cola advertisements that are also conspicuously missing from *Good Housekeeping*, but are rampant in other magazines, including *Collier's*. It was these

[44] "Dr. Harvey W. Wiley," *New York Times*, July 2, 1930.

[45] Pendergrast, 111 and Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., *The Health of a Nation: Harvey W. Wiley and the Fight for Pure Food* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 1-15 and 67.

[46] *Good Housekeeping*, 1906-1921.

[47] *Good Housekeeping*, 1906-1921.

[48] Benjamin, Ludy T., Anne M. Rogers,and Angela Rosenbaum, "Coca-Cola Caffeine, and Mental Deficiency: Harry Hollingworth and the Chattanooga Trial of 1911," *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences* 27 (January 1991): 42-55.

advertisements that concerned and angered Wiley because he believed that statements such as "Delicious and Refreshing" and "Revives and Sustains"[49] were fraudulent and did not mention that the added caffeine was harmful. Then again, there were not, at the time of this charge, accurate studies on the effects of caffeine.[50] Almost more maddening to Wiley, however, was Coca-Cola's use of advertising that depicted children consuming the beverage[51] and the tickets given out to people of all ages for free drinks at local soda fountains.[52]

Wiley's first attempt, in conjunction with the WCTU, to stamp out Coca-Cola proved to no avail when the army rescinded the ban he had fought to have placed on the beverage. Things had barely calmed down for Coca-Cola from the fight with the army ban when Wiley received permission from his directors at the Department of Agriculture in Washington D.C. to pursue Coca-Cola under the act popularly attributed to Wiley. The Food and Drug Administration seized forty barrels and twenty kegs of Coca-Cola as it crossed state lines from Georgia to Tennessee and charged that it contained a deleterious ingredient, namely, caffeine.[53]

The Pure Food and Drug Act was signed into law in on June 29, 1906. This act is legislation for "preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes."[54] The act enabled the Department of Agriculture, along with other agencies, to make uniform rules and regulations regarding additives, branding and food safety and to collect and examine the products being sold in any state other than that to which it was manufactured. Once collected, the act called for the Bureau of chemistry in the Department of Agriculture to test the product for harmful substances and mislabeling.[55] This placed the Pure Food and Drug Act squarely in the purview of its founder, Wiley as Chief Chemist for the Bureau of Chemistry.

Wiley hoped to catch Coca-Cola in violation of the act due to its addition of caffeine and coloring which adulterated the product as well as misbranding because it contained no coca and little, if any, cola[56] which was

[49] Beverage World, *Coke's First 100 Years...And A Look Into The Future* (Shepherdsville, KY: Keller International Publishing Coroportation, 1986).

[50] Benjamin, 42.

[51] Young, James Harvey, "Three Atlanta Pharmacists," *Pharmacy in History* 31, no. 1 (January 1989): 20.

[52] Pendergrast, 180.

[53] Benjamin, 42.

[54] *Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906*, US Statutes at Large, 59th Congress, Session I, Chapter 3915. p 768-772.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Coca in the title implied the Coca plant, or the cocaine present in the formula and kola was in reference to the kola nut from which the caffeine was

the basis for the title Coca-Cola and the pictures on the label.[57] Coca-Cola quickly claimed liability for the forty barrels and twenty kegs and stated that the name Coca-Cola was a trademark under which people were familiar with the product they were receiving. They did, however, admit that caffeine was added to the beverage.[58]

The trial, held in Tennessee in 1911, resulted in a victory for Coca-Cola in two regards. First, Judge Edward Sanford stated that because people traditionally thought that caffeine was in Coca-Cola it was not an additive. In his ruling he wrote:

> So an article of food which is not sold under a distinctive trade name but under a well recognized name that has acquired a distinct meaning in general popular usage, as for example, sausage, cannot be deemed adulterated within the meaning of the Act, however deleterious to health some of its normal ingredients may be, provided that as manufactured and sold it does not contain any other poisonous or deleterious ingredients, added to its normal and customary constituents.[59]

Judge Sanford's ruling interpreted the Pure Food and Drug Act's section of harmful foreign additives as anything uncharacteristic to the food as commonly understood by the general public. Therefore, because the consumer understood that Coca-Cola contained caffeine it was not an additive even though it could be injurious to one's health.

Coca-Cola's second victory in the trial came through its own preparation. Coca-Cola lawyers realized that there was not sufficient scientific evidence on the effects of caffeine, so they hired their own psychologist to commence studies. Harry Hollingworth's study was the first truly scientific caffeine study, and included control groups, placebos, and blind and double-blind techniques. When Hollingworth took the stand to report his findings, Coca-Cola was delighted to hear that the only negative effects of caffeine he found were perhaps poor sleep quality after large quantities were consumed. Coca-Cola was probably even more delighted when Hollingworth testified that caffeine was scientifically proven to increase motor performance rapidly and cognitive performance slowly but more persistently. [60]

drawn. The caffeine present in Coca-Cola was, by this time, taken from tea leaves and not from the kola nut.

[57] United States v. Forty Barrels and Twenty Kegs of Coca-Cola, 191 F.431 (E.D. Tenn. 1911).

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Benjamin, 48.

With this loss in Tennessee, the United States appealed to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals but the ruling of the lower court was upheld.[61] The appeal reached the Supreme Court of the United States in 1916. In the opinion, written by Justice Charles Evans Hughes, caffeine was an additive to Coca-Cola; however, its harmfulness would need to be the basis of another legal challenge.[62] He overturned the verdict of the lower court in the second charge; misbranding. He stated that in handing down the verdict in the original trial, Judge Sanford interpreted the Pure Food and Drug Act incorrectly. The second count, the misbranding of Coca-Cola, was found by the lower court to be a "well recognized name that has acquired a distinct meaning in general popular usage."[63] However, Justice Hughes stated

> In the present case we are of opinion that it could not be said as matter of law that the name was not primarily descriptive of a compound with coca and cola ingredients, as charged. Nor is there basis for the conclusion that the designation had attained a secondary meaning as the name of a compound from which either coca or cola ingredients were known to be absent; the claimant has always insisted, and now insists, that its product contains both. But if the name was found to be descriptive, as charged, there was clearly a conflict of evidence with respect to the presence of any coca ingredient.[64]

Although Coca-Cola was clear of any adulterated additives, it was not, as Judge Sanford had written, its own distinct compound. Coca-Cola was, therefore, not its own food category and its product was not well known enough for the public to understand its complete compound. The insalubrious nature of caffeine was still to be determined.

In a subsequent case Coca-Cola entered a plea of nolo contendere.[65] This "no contest" plea was based on its recent formula change in which the caffeine was cut in half from the 1909 recipe when the forty barrels and twenty kegs were seized. Coca-Cola was also ordered to pay $85,000 in court costs.[66]

[61] United States v. Forty Barrels and Twenty Kegs of Coca-Cola, 215 F.535 (6th Cir. 1914).

[62] United States v. Forty Barrels and Twenty Kegs of Coca-Cola, 241 U.S. 265, 36 S.Ct. 573 (1916).

[63] United States v. Forty Barrels and Twenty Kegs of Coca-Cola 191 F.431 (E.D. Tenn. 1911).

[64] United States v. Forty Barrels and Twenty Kegs of Coca-Cola, 241. U.S. 265, 36 S Ct. 573 (1916).

[65] Benjamin, 51.

[66] Ibid., 51

When Dr. Wiley had exhausted his legal resources and had been shot down by the high court, he, like the WCTU, bowed out and moved on to another battle; alcohol. As his response from "Dr. Wiley's Question-Box" shows, although he had to keep his hands off Coca-Cola, he was not giving it his approval.

> COLLIER'S AND COCA-COLA
> I see *Collier's* has a full page advertisement of Coca-Cola in its last issue. They carried a similar advertisement some ten months ago. It is a pity something can't be done to stop the wholesale use of Coca-Cola since the Supreme Court has overruled the lower courts' decisions in its favor.
> J.B.C., Missouri
> It pains me to see so good a journal as *Collier's* carry an advertisement of Coca-Cola, a product deemed a misbranded article by the Supreme Court, which overruled all of the contentions made by the lower court, and court of appeals. *Collier's* is doing splendid work against the alcohol evil. In giving Coca-Cola publicity it is helping to promote the introduction of an evil which, though not so great, is still one much to be feared.[67]

Wiley had one last Coca-Cola entry in *Good Housekeeping* entitled "The End of the Coca Cola Case," in which he wrote, after revealing Coca-Cola's "secret formula":

> The evidence given at the trial in Chattanooga disclosed that serious injury is produced in many cases by its use…It was stipulated that this decree of condemnation should not apply to subsequent products of the Coca-Cola Company and that the formula for the manufacture of Coca-Cola has been changed. I have lately seen an advertisement in which it was claimed that the quantity of sugar in the Coca-Cola sirup has been diminished about one-half as a patriotic measure."[68]

From these comments Dr. Wiley's tone is fairly clear. Although Coca-Cola was out of the legal doghouse, he was unconvinced of Coca-Cola's wholesomeness. Some of Wiley's opponents believed that his pursuit of the Coca-Cola Company was revenge against the South from whence had come the largest congressional opposition to the passage of the Pure Food and

[67] Dr. Harvey Wiley, Dr. Wiley's Question-Box, *Good Housekeeping*, November 1916, 94.

[68] Dr. Harvey Wiley, Dr Wiley's Question-Box, *Good Housekeeping*, July 1918, 94.

Drug Act.[69] However, Wiley's reputation on the need to eliminate harmful additives in food was clearly documented through his published writings and Coca-Cola became one of his many targets. In an article in 1912 for Good Housekeeping, Wiley wrote

> …stimulation means increased exertion…. All increased energy implies increased consumption of tissue and fuel. Fatigue is nature's danger signal, to show that muscles, brain, nerves, et cetera, need rest and recreation. Any drug that strikes down the danger signal without removing the danger must of necessity be a threat. The thing to do when one is tired is to rest, to sleep, and to take real food. The thing not to do is to take a drug that makes one forget he is tired.[70]

It is understandable that he would have been infuriated by the Coca-Cola Company for advertising its product as "Invigorating" and "The Ideal Brain Tonic."[71]

Coca-Cola in Court

Through legal challenges and bad press, in thirty years Coca-Cola had gone from a "patent medicine," to a soda fountain drink laced with cocaine and caffeine, to a mild stimulant void of alcohol, cocaine, or excessive amounts of caffeine. The Coca-Cola of 1916 looked very much like the Coca-Cola of today and owes its life-saving formula changes to its early debate with the WCTU over alcohol and cocaine and Dr. Wiley over the addition of caffeine and sugar.

Even with all of the formula changes and legal dealings, there was still one last issue inspired by the temperance movement's crusade for a drug free America and the Pure Food and Drug Act which would involuntarily propel Coca-Cola into the indestructible corporation of today: formal and informal trademark.

The Pure Food and Drug Act states that "articles of food, under their own distinctive names, and not an imitation of or offered for sale under the distinctive name of another article, if the name be accompanied on the same label or brand with a statement of the place where said article has been manufactured or produced" are not misbranded.[72] It was this distinctive name that Coca-Cola was interested in keeping clean because imitators using the de facto trademarks could again throw Coca-Cola, inadvertently, into contention with the Wiley's Bureau of Chemistry and Department of Agriculture. Throughout its early years under Asa Candler,

[69] Benjamin, 44.

[70] Ibid., 45.

[71] Young., 19.

[72] *Pure Food and Drug Act, 1906.*

Coca-Cola had fought intensely for its product to only be sold under the genuine title Coca-Cola. The company had gone so far as to hire the famous Pinkerton Detectives to order Coca-Cola, by name, at local soda fountains and bring the drink back to the laboratory for chemical property tests to prove it was actually Coca-Cola.[73]

In 1914 Harold Hirsch, Coca-Cola's passionate and successful young lawyer, brought a suit against J.C. Mayfield, an old partner of Pemberton's, for trademark infringement. This was, however, a change in the traditional trademark policy of Coca-Cola. This case was over the popular terms and names for Coca-Cola and its ability to informally claim a trademark. Soda fountain attendants were called to testify that "Koke" and "Dope," the names of Mayfield's beverages, among other titles, were universally recognized as being Coca-Cola.[74]

> [O]n February 24, (1919) the Court of Appeals ruled in favor of J.C. Mayfield, citing the doctrine of "unclean hands." The decision held that Coca-Cola had no rights whatsoever, since it had once contained "the deadly drug cocaine." In addition, most of the caffeine in the drink had always come from tea leaves, not the kola nuts. Thus, the court found that Coca-Cola had engaged in "such deceptive, fast, fraudulent, and unconscionable conduct as precludes a court of equity from affording it any relief…Coca-Cola Co. is utterly helpless from imitators….[75]

Because of Coca-Cola's checkered past, mostly involving the contests with the WCTU and Dr. Wiley, Coca-Cola held no legal claim to any popular or street names associated with its product. Coca-Cola appealed the decision and was heard by the Supreme Court in 1920. This time Coca-Cola would benefit from the ruling. In an opinion written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., he proclaimed that "Koke" (and variations) were as much a part of the trademark of Coca-Cola as the name itself.

> The name now characterizes a beverage to be had at almost any soda fountain. It means a single thing coming from a single source, and well known to the community. It hardly would be too much to say that the drink characterizes the name as much as the name the drink. In other words 'Coca-Cola' probably means to most persons the plaintiff's familiar product to be had everywhere rather than a compound of particular substances….it has acquired a secondary meaning

[73] Pendergrast, 105.
[74] Ibid., 125.
[75] Ibid., 131.

> in which perhaps the product is more emphasized than the producer but to which the producer is entitled.[76]

All imitators using variations of "Coke" would be in violation of Coca-Cola's trademark. This was a huge win for the Coca-Cola Company and its lawyer, Hirsch, who during the 1920's "virtually created modern trademark law, filing an average of one case per week."[77]

This decision also secured that Coca-Cola would be cleared of any issues in misbranding, injurious additives, or unhealthy formulas under the Pure Food and Drug Act from competitors trying to imitate Coca-Cola.

Conclusion

Before Coca-Cola could claim a complete victory over its connections with alcohol, cocaine, excessive caffeine, and misbranding and trademarking issues coming from competitors there would be one more mudslinging episode, this time from the floor of the Senate. The Democratic senator from Georgia, Tom Watson, exclaimed,

> An addict who consumes from fourteen to twenty bottles of the stuff every day is no uncommon case. I have had the best doctors in the State of Georgia tell me that Coca-Cola destroys…the brain power and the digestive power and the moral fabric and that a woman who becomes an addict to it loses her divine right to bring children into the world.[78]

No one paid him any attention. As he spoke, Coca-Cola was finishing up its victory in the debates with the temperance movement and Dr. Wiley and securing its name and trademark. Throughout the next ten years Coca-Cola sales would increase despite the prediction that the end of prohibition would be the end of the soft drink industry. Coca-Cola, surprisingly, would continue to grow throughout the Great Depression as a testament to its advertising campaigns.[79]

Throughout the next two decades Coca-Cola would funnel all of its energies into legally eliminating competitors and advertising to the American people that it was the perfect beverage for everyone, anytime of the year, and for any activity. Coca-Cola's most recognized advertisement came in 1931 when Haddon Sundblom drew Santa Clause, in bright Coca-Cola red, enjoying a cold Coke.[80]

[76] Coca-Cola Co. v Koke Co. of America et al, 254 U.S. 143, 41 S.Ct. 113 (1920).
[77] Pendergast, 105.
[78] Ibid., 162.
[79] Ibid., 176.
[80] Ibid., 181.

When the *New York Times* declared that Coca-Cola was no longer to be publically persecuted, it lacked the foresight to know that it was already over its largest obstructions. The WCTU, Dr. Wiley, the IRS, and imitators had fought with and lost to Coca-Cola. Because of these battles, Coca-Cola, armed with a new, tested formula, legal precedence, and an experienced public relations team was stable, experienced, and prepared for the future. Had it never had these confrontations it would have gone down amongst nostrums like Lezajskie Lecznicze Wine Elixir and XXX Tonic Pills[81]

On December 7, 1941, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Coca-Cola was engrained as a part of American society. During WWII, Dwight Eisenhower told a congressional committee that more soldiers surveyed wanted Coca-Cola than beer. It was Coca-Cola that helped to remind the G.I.'s what they were fighting for.[82] The next market for Coca-Cola would be the international one to which they had already secured a foothold by 1941, but more importantly, Coca-Cola was ready for whatever lay ahead.

[81]American Medical Association, 171 and 217.

[82] Brands, H.W., "Coca-Cola Goes To War," *American History* (August 1999), 31.

Caped Culture: A Brief Historiography of Comic Books in America

Wade Derek-Thomas Ellett

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In 1989 Joseph Witek released *Comic Books as History*, a review of the comic books of Jack Johnson, Art Spiegelman, and Harvey Pekar. These comic book creators crafted works that were, "written as literature aimed at general readership of adults and concerned, not with the traditionally escapist themes of comics, but with issues such as the clash of cultures in American history, the burdens of guilt and suffering passed on within families, and the trials and small triumphs of the daily workaday world."[1] These comics, differing from perhaps the majority; they are serious discussions of the world.[2] Then again, are these comic books that different from their predecessors? Since the emergence of underground comics in the 1960s and of alternative comics in the 1970s, more and more writers and artists have chosen to express themselves in comic books, while the medium itself has reached for wider cultural acceptance.[3] That being the case, who is to say that comic books, since their creation, have not been making statements, in some form or another, about the United States? Comic books only became recognized as a respected literary form in the 1980s, but that does not mean that they have not been worthy of respect for a lot longer[4]

This paper examines the various views of comic books, and the arguments that circle around them. There are many different viewpoints, but none that seem to think that comic books are not worthy of study. They have, after all, been circulated for the better part of a century, and have represented a number of genres from horror to science-fiction, humor to romance, crime to the beloved superhero. The various historians and writers disagree on many points, but they all agree that comic books say

[1] Joseph Witek, *Comic Books as History: The Narrative Art of Jack Jackson, Art Spiegelman, and Harvey Pekar*
(Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989), 3.

[2] Ibid., 4.

[3] Ibid., 5.

[4] Ibid., 11.

something about America and its culture, and thusly are worthwhile to study.

Comic Books as Cultural History

M. Thomas Inge, in his *Concise Histories of American Popular Culture*, describes comic books as "part of the reading habits of more than one hundred million people at all educational and social levels in the United States."[5] Additionally he notes that comic books have heavily influenced popular culture and the art world, are derivative of "popular patterns, themes, and concepts of world culture," and at the same time they, "also serve as revealing reflectors of popular attitudes, tastes, and mores, and they speak directly to human desires, needs, and emotions."[6]

In his book, *Comics as Culture*, Inge expands these ideas. Although the text focuses largely on comic strips, there is still a great deal of information on comic books. One idea that he puts forth is the notion that as a medium, comics are so largely consumed and play so large of an informing role that they clearly deserve study, for that reason alone.[7] This view makes sense; this medium clearly plays, though informally, an educational role for youth and adolescents, and because of this they serve as a method for understanding the thoughts and beliefs of the young.

Inge argues that comic books are reflections of larger social and cultural trends.[8] This leads to his continued discussion of superheroes as emerging from the heroes of folklore and mythology, which he views as a persistent and perhaps necessary part of American culture.[9] Superheroes exist as part of a greater cultural heritage and "tend to fit most of the classic patterns of heroism in Western culture."[10] Superman takes the role of the optimistic outsider, Batman takes on the role of the vigilante seeking justice, and Spider-Man acts as the trickster-hero.[11] As these popular heroes, Inge believes, in some form or another, fit into larger cultural patterns, it is evident that comic books maintain and further develop these patterns and inform readers of a larger cultural heritage.[12]

Bradford W. Wright in *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America*, argues that comic books, since their inception in the late 1930s, have been an important part of youth culture. Wright

[5] M. Thomas Inge, "Comic Art" in *Concise Histories of American Popular Culture*, ed. M. Thomas Inge, (Westport, CT:
Greenwood Press, 1982), 73.

[6] Ibid., 73.

[7] M. Thomas Inge, *Comics as Culture* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), xi.

[8] Ibid., xxi.

[9] Ibid., 141.

[10] Ibid., 142.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

focuses mainly on the superhero, crime, and sci-fi genres and ignores more childish comics such as Walt Disney and Archie type comic books, because they "possess a certain timeless and unchanging appeal for young children that makes them relatively unhelpful for the purpose of cultural history."[13]

Wright's study of comics has no interest in the aesthetics of comic books, and does not focus on the subject as an art-form but rather as a "cultural representation."[14] He pays particular attention to stories that succeeded commercially and were often imitated. Wright's view was that comic books provided youth with an image, even if oft distorted, of American life. War, politics, the economy, and well known institutions were all portrayed on the pages of comic books. In this way, the youth of America were presented with stories that commented on their society.[15]

Wright also believed that there are intellectual pitfalls in analyzing a medium such as comic books. It would be quite easy to read more into them than was actually there, so for his study, Wright looks only at meanings that he felt were easily observed by readers, clearly intended by the creators, or suggestive of historical developments and cultural assumptions.[16]

Wright is not alone in his views, and in fact owes much of his argument and interpretation to William W. Savage Jr. In his work *Comic Books and America, 1945-1954*, he argues that comic books were, "an artifact of popular culture in the first decade after World War II."[17] Postwar America was a country that had many confusing elements; adjustments to life after the war, fear of communism, the possibilities and problems of living in the atomic age, and all manner of issues ranging from the rising divorce rate, homosexuality, and juvenile delinquency that people feared would destroy the American family institution.[18] People searched for ways to explain the world around them. Savage views comic books as one of many potential vehicles of explanation.[19] All elements of popular culture had this potential, but comic books were of particular importance to the young. Comics had the benefit, for a time, of being a medium that was less confined; radio could offer sound but no imagery, and while films could offer both they were limited by the technology available.[20] Comic books, however, were limited only by the artist's ability, and, for a time, they

[13] Bradford W. Wright, *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins
University Press, 2001), xvii.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., xv-xvi.

[16] Ibid., xvii.

[17] William W. Savage, Jr., *Comic Books and America, 1945-1954* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), ix.

[18] Ibid., ix-x.

[19] Ibid., ix.

[20] Ibid., 7.

"escaped consideration according to aesthetic criteria established by adults for the evaluation of media offerings intended for the grown-up world. They were for children, and they enjoyed a certain freedom."[21] The sky was the limit in comic books, and it is easy to see why children and teens would spend what little money they had on these books.

Savage believes that comic books provide a mirror in which the "concerns, preoccupations, and beliefs of American society during the post-World War II decade," were reflected back upon the reader.[22] He acknowledges that at times the mirror might warp or distort the image, and this is certainly true, but he asserts that, "the distortion was never so great as to obscure the proper identification of the object at hand."[23]

The main thrust of Savage's argument is that an analysis of comic books as a form of popular culture provides another window through which the historian can look to see the past from a different perspective. In his analysis it becomes clear that the views portrayed in comic books and those of the medium's readers existed in sort of an unusual conversation; the views of the artists and writers were rendered in the comic narrative, but were informed by the views of the readers. Examples that Savage points out include the reinforcement of the American vision of the atomic bomb in the late 40s, the encouragement of American ideals through depicting the flaws and faults of communist states, cells, and individuals, and the shared pessimism regarding the Korean War, "reflecting the difficulty that Americans had in working up enthusiasm for the sort of limited conflict that the Bomb had supposedly rendered obsolete."[24]

All of these examples circle around Savage's main point; that comic books from 1945 to 1954 mirrored America's attempt to evolve in response to the changes that were occurring in the world.[25] They reflected society's benefits, but also its ills, and in doing this, most authors agree, they illustrated the world around them. Unlike Savage and Wright, Mila Bongco, in *Reading Comics: Language, Culture, and the Concept of the Superhero in Comic Books*, argues that it is not necessarily the comic books doing the reflection. Instead, she argues that the changes in America's reaction to comics reflect the changing ideas and thoughts about culture and the 'popular.'[26] Savage had said that comic book readers influenced comic book writers and that the opposite was also true, but Bongco takes the argument of interaction further. Bongco believed that one function of comic books was to present socially dominant views. She argues:

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., 112.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., 23, 37, 113.
[25] Ibid., 113.
[26] Mila Bongco, *Reading Comics: Language, Culture, and the Concept of the Superhero in Comic Books* (New York: Garland Publications, 2000), 20.

> The unquestioning patriotism of superheroes unashamedly fighting for Uncle Sam while remaining assured of recurring and unfailing victory against the enemies of the country and society provides any example of a social text worthy of examination. The representation of enemies and villains in these comicbooks is highly dependent on the social and cultural relations of the United States at any one time, as well as the prevailing ideas of unity and conformity.[27]

Bongco argues, however, that this is not the only function. Comic books, while constitutive of American ideas and mores, serve to rebel against the same.[28] "At any one time readers are cognizant of a hegemonic or dominant mentality and accordingly, comics are perceived as either rebelling against or catering to this mentality."[29] Comic books do not exist in a vacuum, but rather in a world where there is perpetual feedback. Bongco states, "We must not forget that whatever the effects of comicbooks are, it cannot be assumed that the environment is otherwise stable in that it only receives without re-acting…The truth is that the audience affects books just as books affect the audience, because consumers affect the product just as products affect consumers."[30] The relationship between the comic books and their readers is a circular one, both interacting with the other.

Frederic Wertham and Criticism of Comic Books

No serious discussion of comic books would be complete without a discussion of Frederic Wertham and his book *Seduction of the Innocent*. Wertham was a psychiatrist who served as a consultant for the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency as it conducted an investigation of the comic book industry in 1954.[31] While working at the Larfargue Clinic, he began studying the effects that comics had on children, "using detailed case histories to draw general conclusions."[32] Unlike most psychiatrists, who "focused on individual rather than social causes," in their work with juvenile delinquency, Wertham believed that there were wider causes and that Americans needed to focus psychiatry towards society.[33] He was actively critical of comic books prior to the publication of *Seduction of the Innocent*, publishing articles and testifying in court cases as an expert

[27] Ibid., 21.
[28] Ibid., 26.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., 31.
[31] Amy Kiste Nyberg, *Seal of Approval: The History of the Comics Code* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), 54.
[32] Ibid., 90.
[33] Ibid., 91.

witness, but it was really the publication of his book that had the most impact.[34]

Seduction of the Innocent, "while it drew on his research, was not intended to be a scholarly presentation of his ideas.[35] Instead, it was a non-objective vehicle intended to mobilize public support for his proposed ban on the selling of comic books to children.[36] Wertham disapproved mostly of horror and crime comics, which as a genre were particularly bloody and violent; however, he defined crime comic books as those that depict any kind of crime in any setting, and thusly almost every comic book came under his purview.[37] Wertham cited examples from his work as a psychiatrist and from these he argued, "that this chronic stimulation, temptation and seduction by comic books, both their content and their alluring advertisements of knives and guns, are contributing factors to many children's maladjustment."[38]

Additionally, according to Wertham, comic books contributed greatly to illiteracy because "children were not apt to read the text of comics but rely on the imagery, thusly preventing detection of reading disorders and fostering poor reading habits.[39] Even those children who could read were damaged by reading comics, since they kept their readers from learning to appreciate what he felt was "good" reading material."[40]

The advertisements found in comic books were also unhealthy for children and adolescents, according to Wertham, who stated:

> Comic-book stories teach violence, the advertisements provide the weapons. The stories instill a wish to be a superman, the advertisements promise to supply the means for becoming one. Comic-book heroines have super-figures; the comic-book advertisements promise to develop them. The stories display the wounds; the advertisements supply the knives. The stories feature scantily clad girls; the advertisements outfit peeping Toms.[41]

In Wertham's eyes the imagery, stories, and advertisements worked together to transform a healthy, law-abiding, respectful child into a delinquent.

[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Frederic Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1954), vi.
[38] Ibid., 10.
[39] Ibid., 141.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., 217.

In general, response to Wertham and *Seduction of the Innocent* has been negative. Savage refers to Seduction of the Innocent as, "pompous, polemical, biased, and poorly documented."[42] He also believes that Wertham ignored anything positive that could be found in comic books, and that he "tarred all comic books with the same broad brush."[43] In the end, however, he asserts that Wertham failed; he may have wrought change in the content of comic books for many years, and greatly reduced the number of comic books available, but he could not gain enough support for the government regulation that he had proposed, nor was he capable of suppressing the medium.[44]

Wright's view is also critical, although less harshly so. According to him, Wertham, "offered parents a highly visible scapegoat to explain what adults regarded as disturbing changes in youth behavior."[45] While it is easy to see that Wertham made a powerful argument, Wright also argues that, "his evidence was highly contentious. The flaws in his arguments were obvious."[46] It would make sense that many of the troubled children and teens that Wertham interviewed would have read comic books, considering approximately ninety percent of children and adolescents did, but he failed to account for the great number of youth who did read comic books yet did not fall into delinquency.[47]

Inge is brief in his description of Wertham, but incredibly critical. He refers to him as, "the 'Joe McCarthy' of the comic book purge," and refers to Seduction of the Innocent as, "single-minded and scientifically unsound."[48] To the contrary of Wertham's argument, Inge believes that many comics of the time were, "devoted to the serious treatment of social problems and the human condition… They provided food for thought… They made a contribution to understanding seldom matched by the other mass media of the 1950s."[49] He goes on to say, "despite Dr. Wertham's concerns that they would make us social deviants, they actually helped make us better human beings."[50]

Bongco's view of criticism of comic books is mixed. She spends little time criticizing Wertham himself, and spends more time discussing the implementation of the comics code. She does refer to Wertham's book as "unsound reasoning," and points out that there were significant, "gaps between his premises and conclusions."[51] Still, she sees Wertham's charges

[42] Savage, 96.
[43] Ibid., 96-97.
[44] Ibid., 102.
[45] Wright, 96.
[46] Ibid., 96.
[47] Ibid., 96.
[48] Inge, *Comics as Culture*, 117-118.
[49] Ibid., 128.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Bongco, 32.

as being part and parcel of a time of uncertainty, and his claims about comic books, because of their link to children were validated partly because of the potential threat that they could provide to the ideal American family structure.[52] However, Bongco is more interested in the comics code, than in Wertham, and she has a somewhat contrary view of the code. On one hand, she believes that the introduction of the comics code was "a setback for the art… which was forced into essentially infantile patterns when its potential for maturity had only begun to be explored."[53] She believes that the code led to comics with, "oversimplified conflicts that led to thematic and generic stagnation."[54] Yet, unlike others, Bongco blames, not Wertham or other critics, but the industry itself; pointing out that the comics code was self-imposed by the industry itself, not by the government.[55]

Of course, Wertham was not the only critic of comic books in America. David Hajdu, in *The Ten-Cent Plague*, reviews comic books as a controversial chapter in American history. This controversy over comics, he argues, was really a battle over deeper issues like class and money, traditions and politics, and generational changes.[56] Hajdu argues that comic books were really a forum for people that felt like outsiders, be they the ones making the comics or the ones reading them. This medium interacted with young people without speaking down to them, instead they, "spoke cogently to young people as they struggled to come to terms with adult society."[57] It was a media that existed for youth, and that instilled an intrinsic value to comic books. They were of great value to children, because they were of no value to adults, making it something that children and adolescents could claim as their own.[58] Ultimately, Hajdu argues that:

> Comic books were a peril from within…. The line dividing the comics' advocates and opponents was generational, rather than geographic. While many of the actions to curtail comics were attempts to protect the young, they were also efforts to protect the culture at large from the young. Encoded in much of the ranting about comic books and juvenile delinquency were fears not only of what comic readers might become, but of what they already were – that is, a generation of people developing their own interests and tastes, along with the determination to indulge them.[59]

[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 34.
[54] Ibid., 4.
[55] Ibid.
[56] David Hajdu, *The Ten-Cent Plague: The Great Comic-Book Scare and How it Changed America* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008), 7.
[57] Ibid., 36.
[58] Ibid., 37.

This view carries significant weight. Comic books were representations of a new generation that might not share the views of their parents. The funny books were not just a threat to children; the children were a threat to the worldview of older generations.

The comic makers were not innocent, however. Those that came under the greatest scrutiny, producers of horror, romance, and crime comics were, as Hajdu refers to them, "propagandists of a sort," and, "cultural insurgents."[60] They expressed and inspired in young readers, "a disregard for the niceties of proper society, a passion for wild ideas and fast action, a cynicism toward authority of all sorts, and a tolerance, if not appetite for images of prurience and violence."[61] Where once all forms of entertainment had served a role of boosting war efforts, and comics especially in their zealous attack of fascism, comics had come to inform, if not create, a dominant postwar popular culture that did not always conform to traditional mores.[62]

Amy Kiste Nyberg takes a different approach in *Seal of Approval: The History of the Comics Code*. Nyberg is infinitely more sympathetic to the critics and criticisms of comic books than most other sources. This view challenges the arguments of other works, and is one of few dissenting viewpoints. Nyberg argues that, "Wertham's role in the crusade against comics has been largely misinterpreted by fans and scholars alike, who dismiss his findings as naïve social science, failing to understand how his work on comic books fits into the larger context of his beliefs about violence, psychiatry, and social reform."[63]

Additionally, she argues that despite the view that other writers, like Inge, hold that the comics code nearly destroyed the comic book industry and that the implementation of the code was only one of many problems faced by the industry that led to its near downfall, such as the loss of distributors and competition from television that marginalized the comics industry.[64] Some comic book publishers did go out of business, but it was from this cocktail of factors, not simply the creation of the comics code, and Nyberg asserts that, "there was never any real danger that comic books would cease to exist."[65] Ultimately, Nyberg feels that the implementation of the code was beneficial to the comic book industry. She argues that it silenced all but the staunchest critics of comic books, forced the industry to

[59] Ibid,. 112.
[60] Ibid., 330.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., 55, 330.
[63] Nyberg, xiii.
[64] Ibid., x-xi.
[65] Ibid., 157.

reorganize, and did not impose blanket censorship on the medium.[66] This is debatable, however. Hajdu argues that the comics code, "was far more rigid and puritanical than the earlier ACMP comics code, FCC guidelines, or the Hays Office standards for motion pictures."[67] He continues to say that the artists and writers working on comic books at this time thought that the comics code was just fine, so long as they did not have to actually follow it. If they were expected to produce comic books to the specifications provided by the code, they felt that the industry was essentially finished.[68]

Nyberg has something of a revisionist view of Wertham. She acknowledges that his critics are accurate when they note his lack of evidence and poor scientific methodology, but she argues that his goal was not to create a scientific text, but rather that he aimed to understand the ways which comics might influence children.[69] Her position on Wertham, is more fleshed out than that of other writers. Her statement that when Wertham's views were not backed by medical colleagues that he "took his campaign… to the public, capitalizing on the comic book controversy as a way of furthering his agenda for addressing issues of violence in society," is a sensible one.[70] This is especially true in light of her continuing, "despite his efforts to frame the debate over comic books as a mental health issue, the legislation he pushed for was clearly censorship… he used comic books as a way to advance his social agenda, recognizing that a medium perceived by the public as catering to children… would make an easy target."[71] While others have portrayed Wertham as a villain, and the code as censorship, Nyberg portrays him as a man with an agenda, be it good or bad, and the code as a logical and even beneficial change for the industry.[72]

Comic Books in Popular History

There is a tremendous amount of work done in other genres regarding comic books. There have been some rich literary studies, and a number of popular histories on the subject. These popular histories range in the quality of their treatment of comic books. Some are well written and well researched, while a great many are just fan devotion. Most, however, are simply chronicles and encyclopedias of comic book characters and writers. Many of these popular histories are chronological surveys of developments, changes, and major events of the comic book industry. That is not to say that they are not well researched or well written. Mike Benton's *The Comic Book in America* and Ron Goulart's *Great History of Comic Books* are excellent examples of such texts. Both are well written and give a detailed account of

[66] Ibid., 156.
[67] Hajdu, 291.
[68] Ibid., 292.
[69] Nyberg., 85-86.
[70] Ibid., 156.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

the comic book industry, but neither of these authors makes any arguments regarding the subject matter. They simply retell how the industry evolved. They are all fact, with no interpretation.

Some of these simple surveys, however, have worthwhile ideas and arguments tucked in their pages. One example of this is Fuch and Reitberger's *Comics: Anatomy of a Mass Media.* These two authors, having grown up with comics, track the industry from infancy to the 1970s, with little interpretation, yet the few moments of such are insightful. For instance, they say:

> Comics, together with the other mass media, are a substitute for genuine folklore and culture and have developed into a self-perpetuating institution, an integral part of the American Way of Life. Of all the mass media, comics mirror the American Collective Subconscious most faithfully, and we know…that comics in turn manipulate and exploit the subconscious.[73]

This reference to comic books as a substitute for folklore is an interesting view, similar to that of Inge. Fuch and Reitberger also reference superheroes corresponding to mythical figures. They equate the Flash with Mercury, the Green Arrow with Robin Hood, and Superman with Samson and Hercules.[74]

They say that such heroes "express in today's idiom the ancient longing of mankind for a mighty protector, a helper, guide, or guardian angel who offers miraculous deliverance to mortals."[75] This idea of comic book superheroes as modern folklore is of interest considering the roles that such characters have played. Comic books have served to reinforce war efforts and cultural mores in America through the guise of entertainment.[76] Entertainment was always an important function of folklore, but not the only function.[77] It also served other purposes such as validating culture, reminding the target audience of reason and order.[78] Another primary function is education as each folktale story imparts some kind of moral or lesson.[79] Lastly, folklore can also serve to exercise societal control to press

[73] Wolfgang Fuchs and Reinhold Reitberger, *Comics: Anatomy of a Mass Medium* trans. Nadia Fowler (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1972), 7.
[74] Ibid., 100.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Wright, 34-36.
[77] William R. Bascom, "The Four Functions of Folklore," in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1965), 290.
[78] Ibid., 292.
[79] Ibid., 293.

for conformity.[80] These are all functions that comic books have fulfilled during their tenure as an entertainment medium.

Fuchs and Reitberger argue that comic books are useful research material for historical, as well as sociological and literary research.[81] Extrapolating from this, there is a clear view of why comic books are worth researching for historians studying culture, as they hint at depictions of the reader, the nation, and the world at large. Considering that hundreds of millions of comic books are sold yearly, and the intimate relationships that exist between readers and their favorite characters, it becomes difficult to argue that this media is not worth research.[82]

Les Daniels, in *Comix: A History of Comic Books in America*, echoes this idea when he says, "it would be futile to deny the idea that they have helped to shape the American scene."[83] He also seems to agree that comic books, despite an apparent "surface irrelevance" address significant ideas and issues; that the incredible characters and stories are reflections of desires and ideas that are at work in the minds of comic book readers.[84] "Whether their effect has been positive or negative is open to debate… There can be little doubt, however that the comic book is a positive success as an art… And fluctuations in the style and content of these periodicals serve to mirror changes in the attitudes of both artists and audience."[85] Despite such statements, Comix, like other similar popular histories, only retells the story; it is not within the authors' scope to interpret much of the tale. This is not the case, however, of other works in popular history that address comic books.

One popular history that goes beyond simply chronicling the evolution of comic books as a medium is Black Superheroes, Milestone Comics, and Their Fans, written by Jeffrey A. Brown.[86] To the author, comic books present much of popular culture's imagery of heroism, but it is also, "one of the most obvious examples of unequal representation."[87] Brown traces the history of racial bias, "blaxploitation," and attempts at the

[80] Ibid., 294.

[81] Fuchs and Reitberger, 8.

[82] Ibid., 155.

[83] Les Daniels, *Comix: A History of Comic Books in America* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1973), ix.

[84] *Ibid.*, 180.

[85] *Ibid.*, ix.

[86] To a certain extent, referring to this work as a popular history is not entirely accurate. Milestone Comics had ceased circulation only four years prior to its publication, and at the 2008 Comic-Con, DC Comics announced that the characters from Milestone would be re-launched within the continuity of the DC comic books. However, it has been included due to the author's broad discussion of minority superheroes in the history of comic book publishing.

[87] Jeffrey A. Brown, *Black Superheroes, Milestone Comics, and Their Fans* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), 2.

creation of legitimate black characters within the comic book industry. His ultimate goal is the discussion of Milestone Media. Formed in 1993, Milestone was a comic book publishing company that was owned, controlled, and operated by African-Americans whose goal was to provide African-American characters that were fully enriched, not simply black.[88] Milestone was actually quite overdue. Since the superhero comic had emerged as a genre, it had really always been white superheroes saving the day. It was not until the 1970s that racial issues really began to be expressed in the pages of superhero comics.[89] On the pages of *Green Lantern* #76, Hal Jordan is questioned by an elderly black man as to why, despite his intervening on foreign planets for the rights of alien species, he had never done anything to aid African-American struggles on earth. Hal swears to explore social injustice on his own planet, and later on in his career he turns over the mantle of Green Lantern to John Stewart, an African- American.[90] Brown sees such discussions within the pages of comic books as a positive change, but that much of the social impetus of the 1970s in comic books was centered on a blaxploitation genre, much as in film.[91] Brown argues that Milestone, despite being decades later than such activities, was the first real attempt to sever the association of black characters with this earlier usage.[92] Ultimately, the experiment would fail, at least partly due to the perspective of Milestone as 'the black comic book company.'[93] The idea that the company might be political swayed a lot of readers from becoming fans, and gave many the impression that these were not new heroes, but simply the same heroes rendered black.[94]

In the end, Brown's assessment is narrow, but valuable. He is accurate in his argument that African-Americans had been under-represented, or at best poorly represented, in comic books since their inception. Milestone's characters were "black characters clearly aligned with the established conventions of the genre."[95] Beyond the discussion of race in comic books, however, Brown addresses the larger context of the medium. "The world of comics is a particularly unique medium… no other mass entertainment industry has ties which are as closely knit between the producers and the consumers as the comic book industry does."[96]

Another popular history that goes beyond simply charting the changes that have taken place in the comic book industry, though much different than Brown's work, is Will Brooker's *Batman Unmasked: Analyzing*

[88] Ibid., 4.

[89] Ibid., 18.

[90] Ibid., 18-19.

[91] Ibid., 19.

[92] Ibid., 27.

[93] Ibid., 193.

[94] Ibid., 194.

[95] Ibid., 195.

[96] Ibid., 201.

a Cultural Icon. This work is a stunning example of research, interpretation, and analysis of not only one of the world's most popular heroes, but also how that character has influenced and interacted with the world at large. This text is an excellent example of a blending of scholarship and appreciation. Brooker is a self-admitted fan, but successfully separates his love for the character from his research and analysis. His work, obviously, centers on Batman, but he ties this character to a long tradition of certain cultural icons, like Robin Hood or Dracula, who are recognizable even to those who do not partake of the medium in which such characters are usually presented.[97] These figures offer interesting windows which to look through, as their associations have not remained static, instead changing over time. These changes have often been the result of changing mediums or as responses to new social contexts, "adapting with the historical moment as certain aspects of their iconic personae are foregrounded and others pushed back."[98]

Brooker takes a chronological approach, from Batman's emergence in 1939, to changes in the 1940s, all the way to modern readership.[99] He addresses the criticisms of Wertham, which when it came to Batman and Robin, centered on the threat of homosexuality. Wertham was not the only, or first, critic to see homosexual themes in Batman comics, however he is the most well known. Wertham's Seduction of the Innocent says of the dynamic duo:

> At home they lead an idyllic life... They live in sumptuous quarters, with beautiful flowers in large vases, and have a butler, Alfred. Bruce is sometimes shown in a dressing gown. As they sit by the fireplace, the young boy sometimes worries about his partner... it is like a wish dream of two homosexuals living together.[100]

Brooker, somewhat surprisingly, does not attack Wertham. He does include a number of pages regarding others who have, but Brooker himself takes the view that Wertham should not be judged upon the standards of modern culture.[101] Essentially, he feels that Wertham, at least in his worries of homosexual readings of Batman comics, were made in a "tone of reasonable concern," for young readers, "in a climate where homosexuality is a great taboo."[102] Brooker's treatment of Wertham might even be kinder than Nyberg's, as he notes that Wertham, "detested racism," attacked

[97] Will Brooker, *Batman Unmasked: Analyzing a Cultural Icon* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 9.

[98] Ibid., 9-10.

[99] Ibid., 34, 99.

[100] Wertham, 190.

[101] Brooker, 110.

[102] Ibid., 111.

advertisements that injured children's self esteem, and even defended a nudist magazine in the 1940s, and thusly should not be accused of blanket censorship.[103]

Conclusion: Comic Books and New Views

Comic books being a product of, as well as major contributor to, popular culture have oft suffered an inequity of not being taken seriously by the academic community at large. This has occurred for a number of reasons. The first is lack of availability. It can be difficult for a researcher to gain access to a large number of comic books to study, as many of the older issues are now under lock and key, held hostage by collectors.[104] Additionally, comic books are still considered by many to be products for children.[105] This might be true for the early comic books, but it is worth questioning; if comics were thusly consumed and were a cultural and political window for children and teens, as these individuals aged and stepped into adulthood, were the influences of their comic book reading days still with them? That question cannot be fully answered, but it is possible to say that given popular research like that of Brooker, that comic books have informed and influenced the actions of adult men and women. As more studies of mass media are conducted and more scholarship done on popular culture, works regarding American comic books will surely seem more important and worthwhile. Further, as digital archiving becomes more readily available and there continues to be a preponderance of comics being reproduced in bound form, the problems of reviewing multiple issues of early comic books will be relieved.

Already, educational institutions are embracing collections of comic books. "A leader in this development has been Randall W. Scott who singlehandedly built the invaluable Russel B. Nye Popular Culture Collection at Michigan State University and assembled over 40,000 comic books with another 2,000 on microfilm."[106] Now comic book publishers automatically deposit their titles there.[107] Other schools also have significant collections, including: The Bowling Green State University Library, with more than 20,000 comic books; the San Francisco Academy of Comic Art, with 10,000 issues; and the libraries at Northwestern University and the University of Pittsburgh with over 8,500 issues each. Collections of between 1,000 and 2,000 comic books are found in the libraries of California State University at Fullerton, the Comics Magazine Association of

[103] Ibid., 114.

[104] Savage, 143-144.

[105] Mike Benton, *The Comic Book in America: An Illustrated History* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1989), 11.

[106] Inge, *Comics as Culture*, 156.

[107] Ibid., 157.

America, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, University of Maryland in Baltimore County, and University of Minnesota.[108]

Unfortunately, the Library of Congress has lost a great many comic books from its collection either through poor maintenance or theft, but, "they claim to own 45,000 titles and now have a program for their preservation."[109]

As comic books continue to be published and seen less and less as just for children, books such as *The Ten-Cent Plague and Comic Book Nation* will continue to be written, arguing how comic books have influenced and been influenced by the world we live in. Comic books are a rich part of that world, and the debate about what role they play will continue. Hopefully this will lead to even more scholarly research into this art form that has been part of American culture, and has arguably created a culture of its own. If that is the case, and the debate regarding comic books in relation to history continues, a greater understanding of how comics, their creators, and their readers interacted with the world will be attained.

[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

Boys to Men: The Coming of Age of Illinois Farm Boys in the Civil War

Patrick Doggett

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During the Civil War 360,222 Union soldiers perished in the conflict and would never return home; 34,834 of them were from and fought for the State of Illinois.[1] The American Civil War came about during a time when multiple issues troubled the Prairie State. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of the US Senate race of 1858 influenced and inspired Illinois men and boys to enlist in the U.S. Army to defend and preserve their Union. The state of Illinois played a major role in the Union's victory, and it is vital that we recall not only the happenings and sacrifices of the famous Illinois generals, officers, and other high profile soldiers, but also the forgotten boy soldiers of rural Illinois. Examining these soldiers' accounts presents a perspective of the war through their eyes, and how the Civil War shaped and controlled their overall personal growth and development. The pressures of their country and friends played a heavy role in the enlistment of these boys. These youth, as young as seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen at the time, could never have been prepared for, or imagined, the sights and sounds of the war that only a number of them would live to tell about. These small-town, rural farm boys from Illinois left their homes and families envisioning excitement, a pursuit of glory, and a sense of adventure fighting for their country. Through their experiences in battles, army life, and campaigning from Illinois into the South they were forced to undergo an incredible personal transformation from youth to manhood. Their journals, letters, and diary accounts written during or after the Civil War were written by Illinois farm boys who had never before ventured outside their state or even county. These soldiers were truly still boys at the start of the war, and it is this small and specific group of soldiers that are represented herein and show the process of growing into men through their Civil War experiences. There are only seven accounts remaining of the Civil War in regards to Illinois farm boys who served in the infantry and were transformed through their experiences into men.

[1] Burke Davis, *The Civil War, Strange and Fascinating Facts*, 2nd ed. (New York: Fairfax Press, 1982), 215. Victor Hicken, *Illinois in the Civil War*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1991), xxi.

All of the boys on this journey started off by enlisting in the U.S. Army. The 18-year-old age requirement placed by the Union should have turned away these boys. They were underage and should have stayed home to help out on the farm until they were legally old enough to go and fight for Uncle Sam.

On April 15, 1861, after the attack on Fort Sumter, Abraham Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 men[2] and the governor of Illinois Richard Yates, called for an additional 6,000 more volunteers.[3] Among these volunteers who answered the call to serve their state and country were two young farm boys; seventeen-year-old Benjamin T. Smith of Kankakee, Illinois, sixty miles south of Chicago,[4] and twenty-one year-old Charles W. Wills of Canton, southwest of Peoria.[5] Later, they were joined by fellow Illinois farm boys Leander Stillwell of Jersey County, who enlisted into company D of the 61st Infantry from Jersey County,[6] at the age of eighteen, George Drake who enlisted on July 18, 1862 at the age of 16,[7] and William B. Smith, who enlisted at the age of fifteen in December of 1863 into the 14th Regiment of the Illinois Volunteers,[8] and Robert Hale Strong who was nineteen at enlistment on September 2, 1862.[9] Most of these boys filled the Union army's enlistment rolls after the first year of the war when the boys were the only ones left to volunteer; everyone else was already at war.[10]

How could these soldiers who enlisted at the ages of eighteen, nineteen, and even twenty-one be called boys? The reference of these soldiers as boys is two sided: at this time in American history males of these ages were still looked at as boys, especially those that were still on the farm and helping out their families, and also because throughout these diaries, journals, and letters, they referred to themselves as boys. The older men

[2] Leander Stillwell, *The Story of a Common Soldier of Army Life in the Civil War 1861-1865*, (Kansas City, Missouri: Franklin Hudson, Company, 1920), 9.

[3] Hicken, 1.

[4] Benjamin T. Smith, *Private Smith's Journal: Recollections of the late war*, ed. Clyde C. Walton (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1963), v, ix.

[5] Charles Wright Wills, *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier: Including a day-by-day record of Sherman's March to the Sea: Letters and Diary of Charles W. Wills*, (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), vii.

[6] Stillwell, 9.

[7] George Drake, *The Mail Goes Through: The Civil War letters of George Drake, 1846-1918; over eighty letters written from August 9, 1862 to May 29, 1865*, ed. Julia A. Drake (San Angelo, Texas: Anchor Publishing Company, 1964), 11.

[8] William B. Smith, *On Wheels and How I Came Here: A Real Story for Real Boys and Girls: Giving the Personal Experiences and Observations of a Fifteen year-old Yankee Boy as Soldier and Prisoner in the American Civil War*, ed. Rev. Joseph G. Bonnell (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1892), 19.

[9] Robert Hale Strong, *A Yankee Private's Civil War*, ed. Ashley Halsey (Chicago: H Regnery Company, 1961) , 5.

[10] Emmy E. Werner, *Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices from the Civil War*, (Bouldier, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998), 24.

also referred to each other as boy or boys, but that was meant as a term for camaraderie, not for a sign of youth and boyhood. After these experiences in this awful war they had finally completed the transformation to manhood. According to historian Bruce Tap, "Historians note that the self-made man of the nineteenth century emerged into adulthood from a distinctive "boy culture" that developed in the antebellum period."[11] This was the "boy culture" that these soldiers lived in and then made their way through to adulthood.

Many of these farm boys like Charles Wills admitted in their writings that they were still boys.[12] All of the experiences that these Illinois boys had in camps throughout the north and south, some harsher than others, all played a role in slowly changing and preparing them for their total transformation into manhood. They would soon realize that innocence is the first casualty of war.

Some of these boys who endured the Civil War were aware of their transformation towards the end of the war and communicated these feelings through their writings. George Drake wrote that if he were not a man and used to the "privations of war", then he would have had no chance to survive throughout the entire War of the Rebellion.[13] Leander Stillwell makes a claim towards the end of the war, that "there is nothing which, in my opinion, will so soon make a man out of a boy as actual service in time of war."[14] This is a clear statement of Stillwell acknowledging the fact that it was the Civil War which transformed him from a boy to a man. This is exactly what these rural Illinois farm boys went through, along with many throughout the Confederate and Union ranks. Stillwell goes on to describe the changes that he, and others, have undergone, "our faces had insensibly taken on a stern and determined look, and soldiers who a little over a year ago were mere laughing, foolish boys, were now sober, steady, self-relying men."[15]

There were many reasons why these boys and other volunteers enlisted. According to Reid Mitchell, author of Civil War Soldiers, "men had valued their autonomy so much that they went to war when they felt it was threatened."[16] Mitchell claims here that the Northern boys that went off to fight did so to uphold their rights to the kind of lives they had, and

[11] Bruce Tap, "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition: The Committee on the Conduct of the War Investigates the American Civil War," *American Nineteenth Century History* 5, no. 2 (2004): 25, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ahl&AN=A000567605.01&site=ehost-live (accessed December 5, 2009).

[12] Wills, *Army* ,60.

[13] Drake, , *120*

[14] Stillwell, 135.

[15] Ibid., 135.

[16] Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1988), 57.

wanted to keep. They felt that this war threatened their very livelihood and so were compelled to enlist to protect it. This was a common claim of many of the men and boys in the North and South. Adventure and duty to country were compelling drives among boy soldiers of either side. Historian Bruce Tap, author of "Inevitability, Masculinity, and the American Military Tradition", quotes Historian Douglas L. Wilson in his article saying, "but we miss an important point if we do not recognize that the combatants were in deadly earnest, that they were willing to risk their lives for something presumably more important: their honor."[17] Tap alludes to the general mental state of men when he explains, "Men were still expected to defend their honor, and the world of the nineteenth century".[18]

Benjamin T. Smith's reasoning to join the fight may have been to escape the boredom of farm life in Kankakee, Illinois.[19] Smith, like many other farm boys at this time, was tired of the mundane and predictable life on the farm, and saw the army as an opportunity for adventure and excitement. Enlisting would also allow them to see new lands and have experiences that they would have never had a chance to see otherwise. It was also a way to escape the teasing of girls who would call the boys that did not enlist "stay-at-home cowards."[20]

Many joined for the glory they envisioned they would win from going to war and returning home as heroes. William B. Smith remembered thinking that he was "on my way to the enticing fields of military glory."[21] According to Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, authors of American Iliad, these farm boys were encouraged to fight by pure patriotism, the idea of great personal sacrifice, and the pressure from public opinion to enlist in service for their country.[22] This ideal was best embodied by Civil War soldier Leander Stillwell, who after the war commented, "I was then only a boy, but somehow I felt that the war was going on to be a long one, and that it was the duty of every young fellow of the requisite physical ability to 'go for a soldier' and help save the nation."[23] It is plain to see that Leander knew he was still a boy and recognizes that he had undergone changes due to his service to his country. Yet, many of these boys did not understand the personal transformation that they were to experience.

Camp life was the next step that the soldiers took on their journey. Like Benjamin T. Smith, many of these farm boys from Illinois were

[17] Tap, 26.
[18] Ibid., 25.
[19] Smith, *Private Smith's Journal*, 3.
[20] Stillwell, 10.
[21] Smith, *On Wheels and How I Came Here*, 21.
[22] Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, *American Iliad: The Epic Story of the Civil War as narrated by Eyewitnesses and Contemporaries, (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947), 34.*
[23] Stillwell, 10.

stationed at Camp Douglas in Chicago. He recalled playing mental scenarios of what he would encounter in war, which was done by many of the new volunteer soldiers.[24] Leander Stillwell comments that he did the same before he was in combat. Stillwell said that he and others would think that each would "return home at the end of a victorious war, a military hero."[25] All of these childish and youthful dreams and wishes show the extent to which these boys were unprepared for the realities of war.

Eisenschiml and Newman describe the soldiers in camp to be from all types of backgrounds such as "peaceful citizens, farmers, clerks, mechanics, and professional men (who) had to be laboriously transformed into soldiers."[26] Camp was also a place for drilling, marching, and spending time with your company with which you would be with for the duration of your enlisted service. According to Robert Hale Strong, regular camp while heading south and fighting there, their duties also included cleaning camp, sweeping the streets in camp, and picket duty.[27]

Many of these youthful farm boys grew homesick and lonely while being away from home and separated from friends and family. These bouts of homesickness and loneliness helped these Illinois farm boys to start to mature and become independent and able to look out for themselves. George Drake tells of how he became very lonely, and would love to hear from his family and town through letters.[28] Seeing familiar faces from home also helped these feelings of longing for the family, farm, and friends subside. William B. Smith was one of the lucky ones who was able to find acquaintances from back home that he could relate to.[29] Meeting boys the same age definitely made the process of going off to war and adjusting to army life in the camps a little bit easier. These farm boys had to become acclimated to the harsh conditions of the Army like hard sleeping conditions, camp wide bouts of diarrhea, and rheumatism which some of the soldiers like Robert Hale Strong and William B. Smith encountered from sleeping in wet and muddy conditions.[30]

Battles were the most influential experience that the war had to offer to these young farm boys. Many of them could never have imagined the brutal and violent scenes that would become just another sight, sound, or happening throughout the war. One example of the ferocity of war comes from Private Benjamin Smith who saw one of his fellow riders "riddled" with seven buck shots.[31] This was quite a sight to see at such a young age. William B. Smith of the 14th Illinois Regiment made the point that no one

[24] Smith, *Private Smith's Journal*, 9.
[25] Stillwell, 32-33.
[26] Eisenschiml and Newman, 38.
[27] Strong, 9.
[28] Drake, 33.
23Smith, 46-47.
[30] Strong, *A Yankee Private's Civil War*, 27.
[31] Smith, Private Smith's Journal, 63.

was immune to being scared in battle, especially young farm boys like him. He commented in his book, "On Wheels and How I Came Here" that rank doesn't matter; everyone in battle is able to soil themselves because of the horrors and fear it brings.[32] Charles Wills explains that as he was running to attack the rebels, he saw a man on the ground in a pool of blood whose head looked, "as if it had been taken off with a cleaver."[33] Wills also conveys how frightening of an experience a Civil War battle was when he claimed that the cannons discharging "was enough to terrify the bravest hearted, and the intense nervous strain of the instant was enough to age one by years."[34] George Drake also tells his view of a battle to his family back home by saying, "I tell you the men were mowed down like grass but fortunately I was spared."[35] He also mentions that "the way the rebels shot men down out of their breastworks. It was awful. I never want to see the like again."[36] All of these ordeals of battle give the reader a glimpse of the violence and terror of combat, and an understanding of how these unsophisticated and sheltered boys from Illinois farms were emotionally impacted by the war.

All of these boys recalled and wrote about their first battle because of the great impact it had on them. This significant event would be followed by many more gruesome and nightmarish battles. Private Benjamin Smith of the 51st Regiment[37] recalled his first battle by explaining how bullets were flying over him in a hostile, war-like environment, and how it affected him emotionally by saying, "this being our first experience gave us a queer feeling, to state a fact."[38] Private Smith is a prime example of the confusion and the state of shock that most of these boys felt when being thrown into their first battle. Robert Hale Strong states a similar situation in his first battle. "The bullets were flying around us as thick, seemingly, as hail."[39] William B. Smith mentions how he watched a cannon ball bounce through a Wisconsin regiment and obliterating them, and also coming very close to taking out himself as well.[40] Leander Stillwell recants his first experiences in battle by explaining, "it was there where I first saw a gun fired in anger, heard the whistle of a bullet, or saw a man die a violent death, and my experiences, thoughts, expressions, and sensations on that bloody Sunday

[32] Smith, *On Wheels and How I Came Here* 94.
[33] Ibid., 91.
[34] Ibid., 89-90.
[35] Drake, *89.*
[36] Ibid., *90.*
[37] The 51st Illinois Volunteer Infantry was known as either the Chicago Legion, or the Ryan Life Guard during the war. Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois, *Illinois Military Units in the Civil* War, (Springfield, Illinois: Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois, 1962), 26.
[38] Smith, Private Smith's Journal, 26.
[39] Strong, 17.
[40] Smith, *On Wheels and How I came Here*, 98-99.

will abide with me as long as I live."[41] Stillwell wrote about his struggles in this war a while after the war, giving him the advantage of hindsight, and reflecting on everything that surrounded him at this time in his life. He captures the idea that after his first battle, he was changed forever, his innocence taken away and he would never be able to forget what he saw on that day and many others throughout the war. This idea rang true for many of the other soldiers from Illinois that went into the war as boys and were absolutely changed by what they saw, felt, heard, and did in this War of the Rebellion. The first battle for these Illinois farm boys was the first of many steps in their maturation process catalyzed by the war.

All of these farm boys fought in either the Western campaigns, or the Chattanooga and Atlanta campaigns. Some of the most famous battles that involved the boys from Illinois were Shiloh and Chickamauga. These were two of the bloodiest battles during the entire Civil War, with the two-day battle at Chickamauga being the third worst battle in the Civil War, resulting in 16,170 Union casualties with even more losses for the Confederates.[42] George Drake and Benjamin T. Smith were some of the soldiers that saw the horrors of the Chickamauga battlefield after the battle.[43] Drake talks about the battlefield being full of unburied bodies that were all decayed: "I tell you it is a horrible sight. You never would want to see any more battle fields[.] The men lay vary thick (sic)."[44] This literal picture that Drake presents shows the repulsive scene that these boys would never be able to forget.

Stillwell has the misfortune of his first battle occurring at Shiloh, where the Union suffered 13,047 casualties.[45] Charles W. Wills was a participant at the battle of Chattanooga. Illinois was represented bravely by their farm boys in the famous battle of Vicksburg, the storming of Atlanta, and the taking of Savannah. All of these battles were key parts in the maturing process of these farm boys.

As can be imagined, the views and ideas of these boys changed as the war waged on. It is evident that these boys began to take on a hardness towards war and the ability to deal with the sight of dead bodies littering the fields. Leander Stillwell, Charles Wills, Benjamin Smith, and Robert Strong all show this hardness, which is a major part of the process of becoming a good soldier, and losing the youthful innocence while becoming a man. George Drake and Benjamin Smithboth were shot and wounded in battles, but both shrugged it off in their writings, and made light of the wounds, a characteristic of a veteran soldier and a strong man. [46] [47]

[41] Stillwell, *53.*
[42] Davis, 216.
[43] Ibid., *54.*
[44] Ibid., *54.*
[45] Davis, 217.
[46] Drake, *102.*
[47] Smith, Private Smith's Journal, 171.

Robert Strong gives an example of this hardness, acquired during war, when he comments about a happening in a battle, "he (Elias Burns, one of Strong's close friends) fell across my lap—I was still sitting—and his brains and blood ran into my haversack, spoiling my rations. So I took his."[48] Strong's hardness and growth as a soldier shows when, after seeing something so horrific, he has the sense to just take the man's food. What is most striking is the way he writes this passage. He writes as though he had a calm demeanor during a heated battle as he commits this natural, yet cold act. Leander Stillwell explains the transformation he underwent in his fighting styles. He talks of the war-hungry spirit that takes over a soldier in the heat of battle. "The soldier on the fighting line is possessed by the demon of destruction" and that all he wants to do is kill for more gratification.[49] This statement by Stillwell gives a glimpse of how much these soldiers were desensitized to violence. Stillwell's portrayal of a soldier in the war shows the transformation that takes place from the young Illinois farm boy who is out for adventure and excitement to the crazed man that is possessed by a need to kill. These two different psyches show the great contrasts and changes these boys underwent because of their experiences in this war. William B. Smith also talks about this craze that came over him when he had been in a few more battles and later on in the war. He explained that he "was in a feverish state of excitement," ready to shoot the first "johnnie" he saw."[50] The excitement that he speaks of is not the same excitement that occurred at the beginning of the war when these farm boys were enlisting, but a different feeling, only produced by the situations found in the heat of battle that make men do unthinkable things to other men.

Death was also a daily occurrence for the soldiers. For some of these young boys it was hard to come to grips with death; on the other hand, some found it too easy because of the incredible amount of death and dying that they had become accustomed to. These boys saw death on a daily basis, whether it was a fellow soldier dying in camp from a disease, injury, or fever, or in battle, death surrounded their lives while in the service of the Union. Leander Stillwell exemplifies this when after seeing a father weeping over his son, whom Stillwell had fought alongside of, who had just passed away, he thought "A common soldier was dying—that was all, nothing but 'a leaf in a storm'."[51] This statement by Stillwell shows the effect that being around all of this death has had on him and that it would be impossible for him to be the farm boy that he once was. Understanding how frail life is and coming to terms with death is a step that men take, not boys.

[48] Strong, 20.
[49] Stillwell, 62.
[50] Smith, *On Wheels and How I Came Here*,190.
[51] Stillwell, *135*.

Stillwell's first encounter with death was when he came past a field that was recently fought over and was full of rotting corpses. He described it as "some doubled up face downward, others with their white faces upturned to the sky, brave boys who had been shot to death in 'holding the line'."[52] Benjamin Smith dealt with the bloody scene of the aftermath of a Civil War battle when he wrote "resting in peace up there in the blue vault, of Heave (sic), while its light reflects down upon the upturned white cold faces, of hundreds of the dead, motionless they lay all over on the field; they are at peace."[53] This description of the battlefield and Smith's eloquent prose give the idea that Smith may be jealous of the dead in some regards. He might wish that he could be at peace, although he knows that he can never be at peace while he is fighting in the war. Charles Wills is grief-stricken over the loss of his two fellow soldiers when he writes, "we buried our two boys yesterday morning…I never felt sadder in my life."[54] Through this situation, Willis is further away from the boy he used to be, and turning into the man that he will become. Many of these boys who were becoming men were afraid of an anonymous death, especially to those boys who enlisted looking for glory and bravery.[55] This was their biggest fear.

These sights of the dead and the horrific battlefields made these farm boys think of things that they had never pondered before, ask questions that they never would have before the war, and learn more than they could have in any school back home in the corn fields of Illinois. This sentiment is seconded by Leander Stillwell who boasts that the 61st Illinois Infantry was the best school he ever attended.[56] These boys, like Stillwell, realize the growth and education that they have absorbed and taken in while being involved in this war, and know that these experiences have made them grow into men from the boys that they were back in the Prairie State. These occurrences were not the only exceptions to impact the maturation process.

Promotions were also a key happening that changed some of these soldiers throughout the war. Promotions were very common in the war as lower-ranking officers led their troops onto the field of battle, putting them at high risk of becoming a casualty. In August of 1862, Charles Wills received a promotion to lead the regiment from his hometown, the 103rd Illinois Infantry.[57] On taking this new position, Wills had to force himself to become more mature for he had to take care of all the men in his newly-formed regiment. He accepts this new commission, and shows his maturing attitude and spirit when writes, "as soldiers, of my company, for whose

[52] Ibid., 48.
[53] Smith, *Private Smith's Journal*, 91-92.
[54] Wills, 75.
[55] Mitchell, 60.
[56] Stillwell, 267.
[57] Wills, 128.

actions, and in a measure, health, I am responsible."[58] This statement by Wills is an easy indication of his maturation throughout the war. He came into it as a twenty-one year-old boy that had been on the farm his whole life. After one year of service he became a leader of a regiment to which he identifies as his sole responsibility.

Confederate prisons were another experience that the most unfortunate of Union soldiers endured, most of them not surviving. The Union listed that it had a total of 24,866 soldiers who die in Confederate prisons during the War of the Rebellion.[59] If the camps and battles were not enough to turn you into a man, and you were unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the Confederates, then prison would surely test your manhood. Only a man who had learned how to adapt and survive would get out alive. One Illinois farm boy that found himself captured and sent to an assortment of Confederate prisons was William B. Smith. Smith and the remainder of his battered and beaten regiment surrendered at the battle of Moon Station, and were taken to the infamous Andersonville Prison.[60] Smith writes about the moment when he decided to put boyish ideals behind him, and be a man. About the night he was captured he wrote, "I gave way to boyish grief, and a heavy gloom deeper than that of the night, settled down upon me. I however gave way to this despair but for a moment when hope and determination came to my relief…I firmly resolved to make the best of my sad situation and not again give way to emotions of despondency and grief."[61] Smith shows the instant maturation of a boy who decided that the only way that he is going to survive this terrible ordeal was to become a man and face the music.

At Andersonville, Smith witnessed unimaginable horrors and terrible treatments of the prisoners. He mentions some of the tortures and punishments that were inflicted on prisoners in Andersonville.[62] He spent sleepless nights in the cold and wet mud, and found himself huddling in a group of soldiers who found, when they woke in the morning, that some of the soldiers on the outsides of the group had frozen to death.[63] There were certainly many days and nights in these prison camps where he had to cling to his last ounce of hope to stay alive and make it through. No one would discredit Private Smith as not being a man after going through that kind of an experience.

Surviving a Civil War hospital was another test of a man, not only because of the poor and sometimes barbaric practices surgeons and doctors used, but also because of the sheer dehumanizing displays around these hospitals. Robert Hale Strong was one of the Illinois farm boys who had to

[58] Ibid., 156.
[59] Davis, 220.
[60] Smith, *On Wheels and How I Came Here*, 196 and 223.
[61] Ibid., 197.
[62] Ibid., Ch. 24.
[63] Ibid., 272-274.

spend time in a hospital. An account that he gives shows the dreadful situations the patients found themselves in and the sights that they saw. Strong reveals, "I had seen men killed by the hundred and cut to pieces by shells. But I had never seen a doctor cut a man up. I surely did while I was there."[64] Having to see these doctors operate first hand had to be a traumatizing experience. Strong asserts that this was almost as bad as being on the battlefield. Being constantly around death bothered Leander Stillwell when he was wounded and forced to stay in the hospital.[65] No one wanted to be in these hospitals, but being there was another way that these boys were forced to come to terms with themselves and death while maturing into men.

Illinois boys like Robert Hale Strong and Benjamin T. Smith had to see the dehumanization of men as piles of arms, hands, feet, legs, and other human body parts amputated in the hospitals were thrown outside into the open because there was no time to bury the limbs. How the pile of appendages grew throughout the night, and how the surgeons and assistants took limbs off of "courageous" soldiers who have given up their sound body for the honorable cause of the preservation of the Union.[66]

Benjamin T. Smith had his first meeting with the death of a comrade when his friend Charley Miller died of a camp sickness.[67] The death of someone so close to Smith, even before his first battle, gave him an early dosage of what was to come. It also gave him an opportunity to see death early, helping him to mature and grow emotionally before the death and destruction he would witness. Leander Stillwell saw into the future on a trip down to the south where he came across a Confederate prisoner who told him and his fellow soldiers, "You-all will sing a different tune by next summah (sic)." A year or two after, Leander wrote that, "later we found out that the young Confederate soldier was a true prophet," as their views did surely change..[68]

Not all of the farm boys from Illinois shared the same experiences. Chesley A. Mosman from Marine Prairie, just East of St. Louis[69] enlisted at the age of eighteen with the 9th Missouri Infantry Regiment, which in 1861 became the 59th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment on July 27, 1861.[70] In Mosman's account of the war, which he kept from 1861-1865, the first two entries of his Civil War experiences are unfortunately missing; which has a

[64] Strong, 74.
[65] Stillwell, 151.
[66] Smith, *Private Smith's Journal*, 192-193.
[67] Ibid., 17.
[68] Stillwell, 33-34.
[69] Chesley A. Mosman, *The Rough Side of War: The Civil War Journal of Chesley A. Mosman 1st Lieutenant, Company D 59th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment*, ed. Arnold Gates (Garden City, New York: The Basin Publishing Company, 1987), vii.
[70] Ibid., *vii-viii.*

great impact on the analysis information that can be taken from Mosman's account. These missing entries make it difficult to track Chesley Mosman's experience and transformation to manhood throughout the war, and he strays from the pack with how he writes and describes the war. In his case, he does not conform to the idea of transformation from boyhood to manhood throughout the war like the others. In most of his writings he states what he saw in camp, some battle scenes, adding military strategy with precise detail, and mostly just everyday occurrences. Mosman doesn't seem to show much emotion or profound change throughout the Civil War according to his journal. One reason for this might be that he had struggled with, and been through, adversity before he entered the war, at least much more than the others have seem to have been through.

When Mosman was a young child his mother passed and at about ten his father, overtaken by gold fever, took off to strike it rich in California leaving Mosman to be shipped between two aunts who raised him.[71] These events can be very rough on a child and help to explain the lack of ability to identify a maturating process in Mosman's writing throughout the Civil War. Another option that could explain the differences between Mosman and the other six accounts of Illinois farm boys and their transformation throughout the Civil War could be that we cannot tell for sure because the first two missing entries of his journal accounts could hold a major event he underwent early in the war.

It is easy to notice in these letters, novels, and journals the differences in how they wrote about and portrayed battles from their first experiences, to the accounts towards the end of the war when they were embattled veterans. They talk more about the horrific scenes and sensory descriptions in the portrayals of earlier battles, while in the later years of the war the authors usually give a few brief statements of the battle focusing on strategic purposes, not spending much time as in previous battles with the terrors of war. The uncertainty in their voices at the beginning of the war, changes to the assertive tone of a distinguished and seasoned soldier and shows the completion of their growth into men. These changes were determined by the hardships that they had to endure through enlistment and training in the camps, seeing battle for the first time and then growing used to the sights and sounds of war. The experiences of these boys in four short years produced men that themselves, their family, and their country could be proud of.

[71] Ibid., ix-x.

A Tale of Two Cities: The 1918 Influenza Epidemic

Derek Shidler

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"It killed more people in twenty-four weeks than AIDS has killed in twenty-four years, more in a year than the Black Death killed in a century."[1] What could have been responsible for this wave of fatalities? A horrifying pandemic has been erased from America's memory and master narrative for almost a century. Only recently has this topic gained attention due to the swine and avian influenzas and SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome). The 1918 influenza pandemic lasted roughly from March 1918 to June 1920 and reached almost every part of the world, including the remote areas of the Pacific Islands and the Arctic. Like all cities in the United States, Mattoon and Charleston, Illinois, experienced the wrath of the influenza. Approximately ten miles apart, one would think Mattoon and Charleston's respective newspapers, the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* and the *Charleston Courier*, would parallel one another in their coverage of the pandemic. However, this is far from the truth. This paper will explore the newspapers' dissimilarities and investigate the causes of the significant differences between the two cities.

The historiography on the 1918 influenza pandemic evolved from two groundbreaking authors, Alfred Crosby and John Barry. Crosby's landmark research covered many aspects of the influenza, from epidemiology to statistics. The current edition of Epidemic and Peace, 1918, is a reissue, with a new preface describing the 1976 episode of swine influenza at Fort Dix, New Jersey. Crosby not only recreates the pandemic's destruction and hysteria, but also traces modern medicine's search for the cure. In the 1980s, there was an increased anxiety over the seemingly lesser control of medical science over diseases ranging from cancer to AIDS. Crosby suggests how earlier societies reacted to diseases that baffled science. Influenza is in some ways analogous to cancer and

[1] John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 5.

AIDS, since medical science has been unable to prevent or control it successfully.

Crosby utilizes quantitative data, medical records and journals, and archival collections to assess the United States and the rest of the world's experience with the 1918 pandemic. Despite such devastation, little was written on the pandemic during the following fifty years. By contrast, books on World War I, which claimed roughly ten million lives over four years, continue to fill libraries. Crosby argues that the war itself shadowed the pandemic into obscurity. Nevertheless, Crosby's research would be critiqued and mimicked, but eventually would evolve into new understandings of the influenza pandemic.

John Barry certainly echoed Crosby's research, but with a greater emphasis on the biological aspect of the influenza. Much like Crosby, Barry explores medical records, journals, and archives but does not bore the reader with an endless supply of statistics. After an introduction examining the onset of the pandemic, the book turns to the history of medicine going back to Hippocrates and Galen. The beginning sections on medical history effectively set the stage for the remainder of the book. The heart of the book intertwines the story of the pandemic, mostly in the United States, with insightful details of the basic biology of influenza. Moreover, the influenza virus effectively uses World War I as a backdrop. Barry illustrates how the cramped barracks at army camps and the movement of troops from camp to camp helped to spread the epidemic and, possibly, how the movement of American troops to Europe helped spread it abroad. Likewise, war rallies and Liberty Bond drives helped spread the influenza among the civilian population. Barry explains how the pandemic hit cities like a tidal wave, saying, "On a single day of October 10, the epidemic alone killed 759 people in Philadelphia. Prior to the outbreak, deaths from all causes—all illnesses, all accidents, all suicides, and all murders—averaged 485 a week."[2]

One of the major strengths of Barry's book explains the basic biology and epidemiology of the influenza. During the pandemic the cause of influenza was, and still is, uncertain. Barry explains how an incorrect hypothesis about Pfeiffer's bacillus and ineffective laboratory machines (i.e. electron microscopy) kept the influenza shrouded in mystery. Like Crosby's new preface to his book, Barry correlates the 2003 outbreak of SARS, 2004 outbreak of the avian influenza, and AIDS with the 1918 pandemic. Both authors' vital investigations paved the way for new understandings and literature regarding the 1918 influenza pandemic.

Focusing on the deadliest waves of the influenza, the second and third waves in the fall and winter, Mattoon and Charleston's newspapers were on the opposite sides of the spectrum when reporting on the pandemic. While the first wave of the influenza had been extremely

[2] Ibid., 329.

contagious, the second and third waves were both contagious and exceedingly deadly, which I will focus on in this paper. Beginning in the New England states, hospital infirmaries became overcrowded with the sick and dying, and the disease eventually reached rural areas of Illinois. By October, the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* began reporting closings of schools, churches, movie theaters, and Red Cross meetings. "'Flu' Stops Meeting" made the front-page news in the *Gazette*. Dr. C. St. Clair Drake, medical director of Illinois, and Governor Frank O. Lowden shut down all political assemblages since overcrowding helped spread the influenza.[3]

The *Mattoon Journal-Gazette's* obituary section ultimately became overwhelmed with civilian and troop deaths due to the influenza. The editorial, "With the Sick," sprang up in late October focusing on the sick, dead, and business closings. In the October 17, 1918 issue, Miss Flora Bowman, Mattoon's school and community nurse, suffered from a nervous breakdown due to overworking since the community was suffering from the influenza, while a Windsor mail carrier, Oran Perry Cox, died in his home due to the virus.[4] This same newspaper reported the deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Maud Jay, all victims of the pandemic.[5] Eight days later, a headline stated "Influenza Takes Well Known Men." Mattoon lost two significant men—Daniel B. Rinehart, court stenographer, and his brother, Walter E. Rinehart, an attorney.[6] The citizens of Mattoon were well aware of the shocking situations, and certainly portrayed it in their newspaper. Moreover, the Gazette published an article explaining the demanding and continuous problems Mattoon was facing, titled, "Two Trained Nurses on their Way to Mattoon."[7] Two Bloomington, Illinois, nurses were sent to Mattoon "to assist the local health and Red Cross workers in caring for the influenza and pneumonia sufferers."[8] The hysteria over the influenza began reaching critical conditions by late October.

With the influenza in its second wave, the *Gazette*, on October 28, 1918, printed an article hoping to pass a sanatorium law that would facilitate a medical facility for the sick.[9] Meanwhile, Washington "Urged to Stamp Out Spanish Influenza…by establishing emergency hospitals."[10] Mattoon never tried to hide or dilute the seriousness of the pandemic. As the influenza continued to seep into the *Gazette*, so did Dr. Ferguson, a practicing doctor in Mattoon. On December 14, 1918, Dr. Ferguson announced, "there are approximately twenty cases reported a day in

[3] *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, 18 October 1918.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 25 October 1918.
[7] Ibid., 23 October 1918.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 28 October 1918.
[10] Ibid., 21 October 1918.

Mattoon," and went on to say, "there will probably be successive waves."[11] The doctor had good reason for his anxiety. Influenza casualties outnumbered all other deaths, however, subsequent waves never devastated Mattoon as predicted. Nevertheless, with the holiday season quickly approaching, the *Gazette* noted, "stores will stay open later to avoid congestion on Christmas Eve shoppers."[12] The influenza pandemic clearly affected the citizens of Mattoon and reconfigured the way in which they lived, but that was only the beginning.

The most significant difference between the two newspapers, *Charleston Courier* and *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, were the remedies they publicized. Local businesses began buying up sections in the *Gazette* in order to advertise their elixirs, pills, and ointments. A special honey elixir, by Dr. Baker of Mattoon, claimed to prevent the "flu" from affecting anyone who took this concoction.[13] Dr. Frankein Duane offered his professional advice saying, "The more you fear the disease, the surer you are to get it."[14] With such reassurance, readers awaited Dr. Duane's sincere guidance. However, the doctor's long five paragraphs was only a sales pitch for his product. "Thoroughly loosen the bowels with some such mild and non-irritating physic as Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pellets," Dr. Duane wrote.[15] But what if a person was already severely weakened by the influenza? Well the doctor had another remedy, "Irontic." The ad claimed that this herbal tonic had been used by thousands, and would certainly provide a fighting edge against the pandemic, so it says. In a related article, on November 1, 1918, Dr. L. W. Bowers also advertised how Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pellets would "keep the liver and bowels regular and to carry away the poisons within."[16] A plethora of Dr. Pierce's herbal remedies are found throughout the Gazette, and this was only one of many.

"Look out for the Spanish Influenza," a patent medicine advertisement, Cascara Quinine, states.[17] This supposed influenza remedy advertisement was plastered across the pages of nearly every issue of the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*. In addition, other medicines that began springing up in the *Gazette* were Vick's VapoRub, Dr. Bell's Pine Tar Honey, Schenck's Mandrake Pills, Beecham's Pills, and, one of the more exotic products, Miller's Antiseptic Snake Oil. Page after page, day after day, the Gazette was flooded with influenza remedies. These remedy advertisements are one of the elements unique to the *Gazette*. Unlike the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, the *Charleston Courier* seldom published influenza remedy ads. Stuart's Drug Store advertisements were only one of about two remedies

[11] Ibid., 14 December 1918.
[12] Ibid., 18 December 1918.
[13] Ibid., 17 December 1918, p. 3.
[14] Ibid., 8 November 1918.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., 1 November 1918.
[17] Ibid., 28 October 1918.

found in the *Charleston Courier*. Unlike snake oil, pine tar honey, and pills, Stuart offered a nose and throat spray—interestingly traditional compared to the bizarre concoctions found in the Gazette.

The most intriguing influenza remedy was Vick's VapoRub. Claiming, "When VapoRub is applied over throat and chest the medicated vapors loosen the phlegm, open the air passages and stimulates the mucus membrane to throw off the germs," was an impressive scientific approach to curing the virus.[18] However, Vick's VapoRub did not stop there. This piece was dissected into several topics. First was the history behind the "Spanish Influenza," while the subsequent topics explored the symptoms, treatment, external applications, how to avoid the disease, and where Vick's VapoRub was founded. This advertisement was so influential that days later headlines erupted saying, "Druggists! Please Note Vick's VapoRub Oversold Due to Present Epidemic," and went on to say, "Tremendous demand last few days has wiped out excess stocks that we had estimated would last until3next January.[19] Last week's orders called for one and three quarter million jars—today's orders alone amount to 932,459 jars."[20] In this lengthy advertisement, Vick's VapoRub explains the dangers of shortage if supplies are not conserved and properly distributed, while new ways to use VapoRub were also mentioned in the advertisement. On November 8, 1918, Vick's VapoRub offered another plea, saying, "Druggists Still Asked to Conserve Stocks of VapoRub Needed in 'Flu' Districts."[21] Once again, the advertisement explains the origins of the "flu," but also provides more information on how VapoRub works.

The *Gazette's* comic strips even began poking fun at the influenza. "Doings of the Duffs" depicts Tom, the main character, waiting to step into a telephone booth. Meanwhile, a large man steps out of the booth and "KA CHOO," Tom gets sneezed on. The last frame reveals Tom standing in the booth wiping his nose, saying, "And in flew enza!"(Figure 1).[22] On October 31, 1918, "Doings of the Duffs" poked fun at the influenza once more. However, this time Tom's baby yanks on a tablecloth and releases a cloud of pepper. Tom, his wife, and baby begin sneezing uncontrollably. The last frame shows Tom on the phone saying, "Oh, Doc. Come right over—we've all got it!"(Figure 2).[23]

The *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* certainly did not hide the influenza's devastating path. Headlines like "Influenza Cause of 18,000 deaths" and "Flu Toll is 22,563 in State" were found throughout the newspaper in 1918.[24] Besides the press publicizing the influenza's wrath, the Gazette

[18] Ibid., 18 October 1918.
[19] Ibid., 21 October 1918.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 8 November 1918.
[22] Ibid., 24 October 1918.
[23] Ibid., 31 October 1918.
[24] Ibid., 9 November 1918 and 30 November 1918

advertised unique remedies. Elixirs, pills, and ointments flooded Mattoon's newspaper from late 1918 to early 1919. In addition, although light-hearted, the comic strips depicted the influenza in a comedic way. This is quite unique since the *Charleston Courier* rarely commented on the influenza and seldom advertised remedies.

Although World War I and post-war reconstruction dominated newspaper headlines, the *Gazette* and *Courier* continued to publish articles regarding the influenza. With only ten miles between the two towns, their newspapers differed significantly. Although the *Courier* published several articles pertaining to the virus, it could not come close to the level of alarm reached by the *Gazette*. Mattoon's newspaper published numerous articles focusing on local people and businesses that were affected by the pandemic. However, Charleston's newspaper covered issues concerning Chicago and the larger cities in the United States. For example, on November 27, 1918, the *Courier* stated, "Flu Never Closed New York Schools."[25] There was even an article that talked about an influenza serum for Chicagoans. On rare occasions, the *Courier* would mention the growing problem with headlines such as "22,566 Deaths from Influenza."[26] This was certainly a rarity. Most headlines read, "Influenza Situation Greatly Improved" and "No New Outbreak of Influenza."[27] The *Courier* seemed to leave the influenza by the wayside. Other articles such as, "Della Ashmore Had No Fear of Influenza" and "Oldest Influenza Victim Recovering" revealed Charleston's amount of concern—slim to none.[28]

When the *Courier* did focus on the influenza, the newspaper took a scientific approach. The superintendent of the Public Health Nursing Association stated that spitting is a "filthy, dangerous, and unnecessary habit," and went on to say, "Terre Haute is most decidedly leading in this campaign to prevent the spread of this disease."[29] Meanwhile, the *Courier* published an article focusing on Cleveland, Ohio, saying, "It is a known fault of men that they like to spit into dark corners…the General Electric Company, in promoting an anti-spitting campaign in an effort to check the influenza, has hit upon a scheme that is said to be working extremely well in checking spitting in corners."[30] On November 20, 1918, also focusing on Ohio, the *Courier* looked for scientific answers to solve the pandemic crisis by explaining that the spread of the influenza was due to the chilly conditions in homes and offices. As the differences between the newspapers continued to grow, the *Courier* published a section called "The Old Rounder" which contained jokes and poems regarding the virus. In the October 10, 1918 issue, the *Courier* joked about the pandemic, saying, "Why

[25] *Charleston Courier* 27 November 1918.
[26] Ibid., 3 November 1918.
[27] Ibid., 16 October 1918 and 22 December 4 1918.
[28] Ibid., 21 November 1918 and 30 October 1918.
[29] Ibid., 16 October 1918.
[30] Ibid., 20 November 1918.

is the city library closed? Because they found influenza in the dictionary."[31] The *Courier* seemed annoyed by all the hype the influenza produced. This can be seen in the October 21, 1918 edition, from an anonymous man portraying his feelings, saying:

> Last night as I lay trying to go to sleep the words "Spanish Flu" drifted up to my ear from the conversation of passerby. And the last I remembered was my mind was working double shifts on Spanish Flu. This morning I woke up an hour late, and my first thought was "I wonder if that's a symptom of Spanish Flu. The toothpaste didn't taste right—Spanish Flu. The bath soap burned my eyes—Spanish Flu. My beard seemed to have grown pretty fast and tough overnight—Spanish Flu. Breakfast didn't seem to have its regular taste—Spanish Flu. On the way to work I heard coughs and sneezes of other people—Spanish Flu. I felt like coughing and sneezing—Spanish Flu. All day at work I thought—Spanish Flu—and here I finish the day with type chirping about Spanish Flu![32]

Unlike the *Gazette*, the *Courier* seldom published influenza remedies. While the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* sold snake oil, Vick's VapoRub, pine tar honey, and pills, the *Charleston Courier* offered few remedies—not the bizarre concoctions found in the *Gazette*. However, both newspapers showed high number of flu-related deaths in their obituaries. Besides news pertaining to the war and post-war reconstruction, these two newspapers were considerably different from one another. While the *Gazette* focused on local influenza issues, the *Courier* focused on Chicago and other larger cities' influenza problems. When the *Gazette* published comic strips, the *Courier* took a scientific approach to solve the influenza troubles. Most people, including local historians, agree that the difference lies in class conflict—Mattoon is blue-collar while Charleston is a white-collar city. So why are these two towns, which are a mere ten miles apart, so different? Archival research significantly points to a few key issues. First was the difference between the two newspapers. Secondly, the industrial rise of Mattoon and its railroads rendered it a blue-collar city. Thirdly, and most importantly, was the founding of Eastern Illinois State Normal School.

Charleston's first newspaper was established by William Harr and William Workman in 1863. The *Courier* was later sold to Eli Chittendon who, in 1863, changed the name to Plaindealer. After years of purchasing and name changing, Charleston, in 1880, eventually had three newspapers—*Courier*, *Plaindealer*, and *Saturday Evening Herald*. In 1923,

[31] Ibid., 10 October 1918.
[32] Ibid., 21 October 1918.

James K. Rardin, an Irish pioneer and founder of the Saturday Evening Herald, merged his newspaper company with the *Plaindealer*, making *Plaindealer-Herald*. The Rardins, the new owners of the newspaper, were early Charleston settlers, who were opinionated and ambitious Democrats. After several more years of merging, purchasing, and name changing, Charleston had one Democratic newspaper, the *Charleston-Courier*.[33]

Contradictory to Charleston, Mattoon's newspapers stood on the opposite side of the political spectrum. On June 7, 1856, a pioneer citizen, R.W. Houghton, started printing *the Weekly Independent Gazette*—a four page publication.[34] Like Charleston, Mattoon saw its fair share of newspaper changes—*Weekly Independent Gazette* (1856), *Mattoon Daily Journal* (1865), *Radical Republican* (1867), *Mattoon Commercial* (1871), *Mattoon Morning Star* (1888), and *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* (1905).[35] However, Mattoon catered toward a republican readership—obviously with a newspaper called *Radical Republican*. But why were these two newspapers catering to two different crowds? First, Charleston's newspapers were mostly owned by Democrats, while Mattoon were Republicans. Secondly, there was a blue-collar versus white-collar separation between the two cities. Mattoon's industrial roots began with water in 1865. H.W. Clark founded the first privately owned water system, thus creating the first industry in Mattoon.[36] Industries seemed to flourish after 1865, and brought not only money to the community but also fame. Such was the case of the Chuse Engine and Manufacturing Company. The company's claim to fame came in 1894 when Chuse agreed to build a high-speed steam engine, using electrical generators, for the Somerville & Merks electric light plant.[37] Since 1855, Mattoon was also "a railroad town."[38] Life revolved around the rail yards. Hotels and restaurants were built closely to Mattoon's railroads, while the rail yard employed hundreds of workers. As a result, Mattoon's industrial blue-collar society favored Republican views, thus paving a way for Republican oriented newspapers.

While Mattoon began taking shape as an industrial city, Charleston transformed from a farm community to a white-collar teacher-producing city. Certainly the major rift between the two cities was the bid for a state normal school in eastern Illinois. In 1857, the first state normal school was established in Bloomington that became Illinois State Normal University. The second was established in Carbondale in 1869, which became Southern

[33] *Coles County Illinois 1876-1976: The Charleston and Mattoon Bicentennial* (Texas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1976), 254-255.

[34] *Mattoon Memories: Mattoon Centennial, 1855-1955*. Unknown author and publisher. Circa 1955. Found at Coles County Historical Society.

[35] Ibid.

[36] *Coles County Illinois 1876-1976: The Charleston and Mattoon Bicentennial* (Texas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1976), 356-357.

[37] Ibid.

[38] *Coles County Illinois 1876-1976*, 356.

Illinois Normal College. A committee report regarding the Illinois Senate in 1887 recognized the value of state normal schools and the state's obligation to support them in order to meet the demand for qualified teachers. School officials and teachers claimed that two normal schools were insufficient to meet the critical need for qualified teachers. In December 1892, the Illinois State Teachers' Association meeting in Springfield acknowledged a need for more normal schools, thus creating a normal-school committee of seven. The following year some of these members expressed the opinion, at a state meeting, that Illinois would benefit from the establishment of three to five more normal schools within the state.[39]

A few months later, a movement for establishing a state normal school in eastern Illinois began. Mattoon, Charleston, Paris, Danville, Shelbyville, Effingham, Kansas, Olney, Oakland, Palestine, Lawrenceville, and Tuscola all strived for future economic and cultural opportunities that accompany a state normal school. Mattoon had every reason to believe that it would become the seat of the normal school, instead of its nearest opponent, Charleston. Since Mattoon had a population of approximately 9,622 (compared to Charleston's 5,488), rail lines running both north and south and east and west (while Charleston's only ran east and west), and thriving industries, Mattoon was clearly the best city for a state normal school.[40] Mattoon was so confident it would receive the normal school that the Mattoon Journal-Gazette claimed, "there is every opportunity of winning."[41]

Charleston stepped up to the plate by presenting a comprehensive proposal to the board of trustees. If Charleston established the normal school within two miles of the Coles County courthouse in Charleston, the city would provide forty acres of land and roughly $40,000 to the school. The city would also run water lines to the site, provide fire hydrants, and supply the school with water for fifty years at $5.00 a year. In addition, the city would pave or gravel a street from the courthouse to the edge of campus and provide sidewalks, furnish incandescent lights for twenty-five years at the rate of ten cents per thousand watts, and provide up to $5,000 worth of freight to the school on any of the rail lines of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, & St. Louis Railroad Company.[42] This offer surpassed

[39] Smith and W.E.C. Clifford, *Senate Committee Report on the Normal Colleges State of Illinois* (Dekalb: Industrial Arts Press, Industrial Arts Department, Northern Illinois State Teachers College, 1936), 12.

[40] The population of Mattoon in 1890 was 6,833 and Charleston, 4,135 (*Twelfth Census of the United States*, Taken in the Year 1900: Population [Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1901]), 116.

[41] *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, 8 February 1895.

[42] R.S. Hodgen, Geo. R. Chambers, and Isaiah H. Johnson, "To the Board of Trustees of the Eastern Illinois State Normal School," University Archives, Booth Library.

all other bids, and on September 7, 1895, Charleston was selected to receive the normal school—Eastern Illinois State Normal School.

The citizens of Charleston received the news in a telegram from George Jeffries, who lobbied at the statehouse in Springfield, saying, "To the People of Charleston: Charleston wins on the twelfth ballot. Hard fought battle. Be home tonight."[43] Obviously the citizens of Charleston rejoiced after receiving the news. However, the reaction in Mattoon was quite different. Eight days after Charleston was chosen to be the site for the normal school, the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* proclaimed, "Charleston Gets It. The New Reform School Located at Catfishville." According to the *Charleston Courier*, Mattoon was anticipating a joyful celebration, but was quickly stunned. "[Mattoon's] newspapers had it all written up for the occasion, with spread eagles, roosters, and flags lavishingly displayed, great headlines heralding the many qualities of the coming [new] Chicago." Instead, "they had better been engaged in making a monster coffin in which to bury their wrath." According to the *Gazette*, the announcement that Charleston won the bid for the school "caused more real, genuine, heartfelt profanity" in Mattoon than any previous incident in the city's history. "Such was the ending of a once beautiful dream—a dream which had pictured our streets filled with ten thousand sunny-faced, neatly-dressed, happy-hearted sons, daughters and Charlestoners on their way to learn to be teachers!...The question of the Eastern Illinois normal originated in this city, its citizens fought the opposition to a successful termination and the law creating it was passed; in all decency it should have been ours."[44]

In the wake of Mattoon's frustration, allegations began circulating regarding bribery. The disgruntled citizens of Mattoon were certain that the trustees had received money from Charleston.[45] The *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* pressed this issue, reporting that the people of Charleston openly bragged about "the purchase of the trustees."[46] Seven days later, the newspaper stated that "every man, woman and child in Charleston has been taught to believe that the trustees were bought up body and soul and have talked openly on the streets to that effect."[47] Countering these rumors, the *Charleston Courier* believed the bribery accusation was a personal insult to Charleston, saying C.G. Peck, editor of the *Gazette*, was "a dirty cur."[48] Losing the bid to Charleston certainly irritated the citizens of Mattoon, declaring, "every brick going into that edifice will be considered marked with boodle and every drop of mortar with which they are cemented with

[43] George H. Jeffries, Telegram, "To the People of Charleston," 7 September 1895.

[44] *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, 13 September 1895.

[45] *Charleston Courier*, 12 September 1895.

[46] *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, 13 September 1895.

[47] Ibid., 20 September 1895.

[48] *Charleston Courier*, 12 September 1895.

fraud."[49] The Charleston-Mattoon rivalry began well before the bid for a normal school and would continue for other reasons, as local rivalries do. Nevertheless, the fact that Mattoon spearheaded the movement for a normal school in Coles County, only to have it taken away by Charleston, ensured that their rivalry would continue.

It should be noted that the *Mattoon Journal-Gazette* has a history of reporting on local hysteria. In 1944, the best known case of mass hysteria was the "Mad Gasser" of Mattoon. Known as the Anesthetic Prowler, Mad Anesthetist, and, eventually, Mad Gasser, several local families reported being attacked by an unidentified person. This inevitably created panic throughout the small town. Rumors began circulating, from Nazis invading Mattoon to a high school chemistry student playing a prank. However, if Nazis invading Mattoon was not absurd enough, a Mattoon fortuneteller, Edna James, began circulating claims that the Mad Gasser was actually an "ape man." Nevertheless, State Attorney William E. Kidwell, branded the hysteria as "ridiculous" and said that the police let the situation needlessly escalate out of control.[50] Meanwhile, the State Police Captain, Harry Curtis, believed most reported gassings were false alarms.[51] Within a few weeks, gassing reports stopped, but not Mattoon's newly founded fame. The *Decatur Herald* made fun of the imaginative Mattoonites, saying, "At this season of the year odors are sniffed not merely by individuals but by entire communities. Our neighbors in Mattoon sniffed their town into newspaper headlines from coast to coast."[52] Consequently, all mad gasser reports stopped, but Mattoon's image of being a backward town was ingrained in the minds of Americans everywhere. Mentioning this incident certainly helps prove the differences between Mattoon and Charleston's newspapers. Like the gasser, the influenza created a mass hysteria, and rightfully so, while Charleston was aware of but calm about the situation.[53]

Charleston and Mattoon, obviously, have a long history well before the influenza ravished the two towns. Their respective newspapers and social structures divided the towns significantly. While Charleston's newspapers were owned and catered to a liberal town, Mattoon was the complete opposite. When Mattoon created an industrial foothold in eastern Illinois, Charleston won the bid for a normal school in Coles County. As the bid for the normal school movement intensified, Charleston and Mattoon continued to drift farther apart. A few years later, the destructive wrath of the influenza swept over the two towns, like it did everywhere else in the

[49] *Mattoon Journal-Gazette*, 13 September 1895.

[50] Ballenger, C. "Assail Police for Calling Gas Scare a Hoax," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 14 September 1944.

[51] Ibid.

[52] *Daily Journal-Gazette*, 20 September 1944.

[53] Robert E. Bartholomew, *Little Green Men, Meowing Nuns and Head-Hunting Panics: A Study of Mass Psychogenic Illness and Social Delusion* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2001), 95-111.

world. The *Charleston Courier* and Mattoon *Journal-Gazette's* coverage of the pandemic differed so significantly that it cannot be ignored. While Mattoon's newspaper displayed a certain amount of hysteria, with remedies and continuous local coverage of the influenza, Charleston focused on larger cities that were affected by the pandemic. However, when the *Courier* did mention the influenza, it took an intellectual approach to solving the problem—for example the anti-spitting campaign. In order to understand the differences between the two towns, it required an investigation of their past. Now as we look back at the *Courier* and *Gazette's* coverage of the 1918 influenza, we will better understand why these two towns covered this issue so differently.

The fact that the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919, although seldom recalled in collective memories, is less well recorded by historians in no way reduces the historical significance of the disease and its influence. The impact of the influenza pandemic is almost impossible to conceive. Financially, millions, if not hundreds of millions of dollars were lost across the country as a result of factory shutdowns, store closings, and temporary layoffs. Life insurance claims numbering in the tens of thousands overwhelmed many insurance companies. Across the country, schools closed, public gatherings were banned and special restrictions were placed on restaurants. In addition, many cities reported shortages of nurses, doctors, caskets, bedding, and food for those who were victims of the influenza.[54] Vaccines were tested in cities and rural towns, as well as many new unproven methods of treatment—Mattoon is a prime example of these new methods. American journalist and political commentator, Henry Louis Mencken, explained it best, saying, "The [influenza] epidemic is seldom mentioned, and most Americans have apparently forgotten it. This is not surprising. The human mind always tries to expunge the intolerable from memory, just as it tries to conceal it while current."[55] The 1918 pandemic is an incredible example of how collective memory can sometimes become selective. The influenza has taken a backseat in the twentieth century's master narrative, since wars and protests engulfed most of this century, but this trend seems to be turning. While the swine and avian influenzas and SARS continue to make current headlines, more scholars are taking an interest in the 1918 influenza pandemic.

[54] Bryan Robinson, "All fall down," *Nursing Times* 93, no. 45 (1997): 65-66.

[55] Howard Phillips and David Killingray. *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-19: New Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 230.

Illustrations

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Prohibition in America: A Case Study of Small-Town America

Michael Weatherford

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Come, friends and brethren, all unite
In songs of hardy cheer; Our song speeds onward in its might-
Away with doubt and fear, we'll give the pledge, we'll join our hands
Resolved on victory; We are a bold, determined band,
And strike for victory.
The cup of death no more we'll take
The cup no more we'll give; It makes the head, bosom ache-
Ah! Who can drink and live? We give the pledge, we'll join our hands,
Resolved on victory; We are a bold, determined band,
And strike for victory. [1]

This song represents the changing philosophy in Illinois as prohibition became a central issue in the state and the country in the early twentieth century. The issue of prohibition was pushed particularly by the Illinois Intercollegiate Prohibition Association (ICPA) and the Anti-Saloon League. These groups helped to spread the messages of the evils of alcohol and urged that alcohol be banished from the towns of Illinois. The ICPA did their part by spreading anti-alcohol messages and circulating petitions throughout the colleges of Illinois. Participation in the ICPA grew to sixteen institutions; eleven were private liberal arts colleges including Augustana, Aurora, Creenville, Hedding, Illinois Holiness, McKendree, Millikin, Mt. Morris, Monmouth, North Central, and Wheaton, five of them were universities or theological schools; University of Illinois, University of Chicago, Northwestern University, and Garrett and McCormick theological seminaries.[2] The message being spread at these institutions could be summed up by the words of Mamie White of Wheaton College when he states in 1904: "Strike the rum demon Down! The date of his dethronement is at hand. Clearer than thunder at summer's first shower,

[1] Clarence Roberts, "The Illinois Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, 1873-1920," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 70, 2 (1977): 140-148.

[2] Clarence Thomas, 142.

in the dome of the sky, God is striking the hour of our deliverance on rum."[3]

The Anti-Saloon League did its own part to provoke anti-alcohol sentiment. The group used its political influence in order to get legislation passed to limit the sale and distribution of alcohol in the state. The league was successful at manipulating public opinion through publicity such as magazines. This type of publicity was particularly effective with the religious community. While the church federation furnished neither leadership nor control over strategy, it provided something more valuable: an organized constituency that placed money, voters, and the makings of a grassroots political machine at the disposal of the Anti-Saloon League. Ministers would preach of the importance of the ASL and would ask for donations to further the organization's cause. Nearly 2,500 pastors were on the ASL's side and this rise in support reflected an increase in support for prohibition throughout Illinois and the United States. [4]

Support for a Prohibition movement was at an all-time high when the eighteenth amendment was implemented in January 1920. As the clock struck midnight on the fifteenth of January, the state and country changed. What had been an orderly society, dependant on alcohol, had suddenly been transformed into a culture of chaos and confusion. Preceding the implementation of the eighteenth amendment was a period of time filled with violence, corruption, and the crumbling of the moral and social fabric of society. Prohibition caused the best and worst of people to come out and made life in most parts of the country unpredictable. Using this as a framework, the following question must be asked: What was life like in the small towns of Illinois during Prohibition? This paper will investigate this question in order to examine how prohibition impacted the lives of the citizens that lived within the borders of this geographic area. The primary goal of this study is to investigate how life in Illinois was affected by Prohibition. This will be done by examining three areas: Williamson County in Southern Illinois, McDonough County in Western Illinois, and Coles County in East-Central Illinois. An analysis of these three areas will provide the reader an idea of what life was like in Illinois during prohibition. Not only this, but, such as Chicago, were not the only areas affected by the implementation of Prohibition. Towns around Illinois saw criminal activity and chaos increase once prohibition had gripped its hand around the throat of Illinois' citizens.

Before discussing the three geographic areas of this survey, it is important to discuss the main arguments as to the nature of Prohibition. Since there is a very scarce body of literature dedicated to this time period, there seems to be two general arguments as to the nature of Prohibition,

[3] Clarence Thomas, 144.

[4] Thomas Pegrum, "The Dry Machine: The Formation of the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois," *Illinois Historical Journal* 83, 3 (1990): 173-186.

The first argument states that prohibition was a part of the general progressive movement taking place in America during this time. This is the prevailing argument and many historians seem to attach themselves to it. Norman H. Clark is one historian who believes in this argument and in his book, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition*, he contends that historians have stereotyped those women involved in the temperance movement as sex-starved and prudish. They were self-righteous and wanted to make sure nobody else was having fun. Clark argued that drinking was actually a big problem and was destroying families. He notes that historians characterize the eighteenth amendment as a fluke or an accident. The author argues that this is not an accurate expression of the American tradition of progress and reform. Instead, Clark states that it was a reflection of American character; similar to the anti-slavery movement. Historians do not look at abolitionists and ridicule them but look at prohibitionists as crazy and extreme.[5] According to Clark, it was important to them because Americans were trying to define the American identity and didn't want drunkards to be a part of that identity. They were forging a new, "clean" identity after the Civil War that was free of corruption and tried to emphasize the innocence of American culture.[6]

Another historian who viewed prohibition as another step in the progressive movement was J. C. Burnham. His book, *New Perspectives on the Prohibition "Experiment" of the 1920's*, states that historians look at it as an experiment because it failed. At the same time, it fits in with the time and philosophy of the progressive movement.[7] Therefore, Burnham maintains that prohibition was an experiment for the sake of maintaining the argument. He contends that if the citizens of the United States were not extremely dependent on alcohol and thus, the law being broken on numerous occasions, Prohibition would have worked and it would have been considered a success. This would have taken the title of Prohibition being an experiment away and it would have been known as a legitimate concept in American History. His central argument was that the lasting results of prohibition were the perpetuation of the stereotypes of the wet propaganda of the 1920's and the myth that the American experiment of prohibition was a failure. [8] This perspective is different from Clark's, but is similar in that he contends that the concept of prohibition was part of the progressive movement that America had taken part in during this time.

On the other side of the coin are those who did not believe prohibition was part of the progressive movement at all. Richard Hofstadter, in his book *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR*, emphasizes

[5] Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1976), 10.

[6] Ibid., 15.

[7] J.C. Burnham, "New Perspectives on the Prohibition Experiment of the 1920's," *Journal of Social History* 2, 1 (Autumn 1968): 51-68.

[8] Ibid., 68.

this point and gives an alternative notion to the nature of Prohibition. He states that Prohibition was a pseudo-reform, a pinched, parochial substitute for reform which had a wide spread appeal to a certain type of crusading mind." However, he does not believe that "this type of crusading mind" belongs to those associated with the progressive movement.[9] He justifies this by stating "To hold the Progressives responsible for Prohibition would be to do them an injustice."[10] This counters the argument of those historians, such as Clark, who think the progressive movement was involved in the Prohibition movement. Hofstedter states that it is not fair to characterize Prohibition as a progressive reform. Instead, he is blaming it mostly on rural people and those who follow William Jennings Bryant. Also, he blames the morality of society on Prohibition. He does this by stating: "For Prohibition in the twenties was the skeleton at the feast, a grim reminder of the moral frenzy that so many wished to forget, a ludicrous caricature of the reforming impulse, of the Yankee-Protestant notion that it is both possible and desirable to moralize private life through public action."[11] This idea is obviously different from that of the progressive school and allows for differing opinions on this topic and thus, such arguments to take place.

These arguments now allow for a discussion on the three counties in which this essay studies. A case study of each county provides different views of life during Prohibition and how people reacted to the enforcement of laws prohibiting the consumption and distribution of alcohol. It is important to note that this study will not discuss Chicago and how it reacted to Prohibition because it has already been heavily studied. In order to get a reasonable order in place, the case studies will go in counter-clockwise order by geography. This means that the first county that will be studied is McDonough County.

During Prohibition, McDonough County was a complex region; full of conflicting perceptions and hidden layers. These layers helped to distinguish McDonough County from the other counties in this study. The story of McDonough County, in particular the town of Colchester, is a typical caricature of the rise and fall of a coal town. Coal was discovered near Colchester in the 1850's, and the mines attracted immigrants from Pennsylvania. At first these included the descendants of Irish Protestant refugees from the Irish rebellion of 1798. Later they were joined by Irish Catholic refugees from the Irish Potato Famine.[12] This collaboration between immigrant groups combined with the establishment of other businesses made Colchester a town of great potential. In the early twentieth

[9] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 281.

[10] Ibid., 287.

[11] Ibid., 290.

[12] John E. Hallwas, *The Bootlegger: A Story of Small town America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998) 15.

century, Colchester was still surviving despite its economy taking a hit late in the nineteenth century because Colchester had several thriving businesses within its borders. In industry there was mining of coal and clay, and the manufacturing of pottery. For trade there were general stores, clothing stores, hardware stores, dealers in agricultural machinery and automobiles, and an elegant movie theater. The railroad promised prosperity in the latter nineteenth century, and paved roads promised it again in the twentieth. But both, eventually, merely passed through Colchester on their way to more important places.[13] This discontent with the rest of the region left Colchester hurting economically. Many businesses closed and those businesses that found success saw that it did not last long. "Our little town had many good qualities to it," Emma Getche, a long-time resident of the town at the time stated. "It just couldn't last all the trials the town faced during the years with the economy going bad and the struggles within the town."[14] The coal mining industry, which was the industry Colchester depended on the most, couldn't salvage the economy of the town by itself. Many lost their jobs and had to resort to other activities in order to pass the time. This led many to seek the sweet escape of alcohol. When Prohibition was enforced in 1920 and there was the elimination of alcohol, it created a lot of tension and violent acts started to take place.

In terms of the town itself during Prohibition, Colchester had two sides. One side represented that of most towns in the United States. There was the joy of popular amusement: a new movie theater in 1926, saloon camaraderie and new roadhouses, baseball, and the freedom of automobiles. There were also friends and family, each with a nickname that symbolized belonging and unity. It is easy to see that the people of Colchester loved their town. "We had a nice little town," John Calahan said. "Despite the hard times, we were a close-knit community."[15] However, there was the other side of Colchester,the underside of small town life: spousal abuse, prostitution, gambling, poverty, premarital pregnancy, and violence. This other side was emphasized during the years of prohibition. Prohibition was responsible for creating disputes among men and women as well as drastically increasing criminal activity in the area. According to the local newspaper of Colchester, the level of crime in Colchester doubled during Prohibition.[16] Adding additional chaos to a town already dealing with uncertain times. Prohibition also created a division in the community as the Ku Klux Klan marked bootleggers as its number one enemy; not Jews, Catholics, or blacks. [17] Though the Ku Klux Klan was vicious in their

[13] Ibid., 42.

[14] *The Gazette News*, January 12, 1920.

[15] T*he Gazette News*, June 24, 1921.

[16] *Gazette News*, November, 25, 1929.

[17] See Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess* (Boston, MA: Little and Born, 1962)

attacks on the bootlegger, it did not get rid of them and the bootleggers became a major cause of crime. Bootleggers during this time were a thorn in the side of the authorities and the Ku Klux Klan. At the same time, they represented a symbol of hope for those longing for the thirst for the sweet nectar of alcohol.

As with the town of Colchester itself, bootleggers in this area had two sides to them; the law-abiding proper citizen, and the bootlegging criminal. This double life of the bootlegger was exemplified in that of Henry "Kelly" Wagle. On one hand, he was courageous and caring. To the people of Colchester, Wagle was a hero. He helped the poor and paid for the local high school's first football uniforms. "He did us a great service," head football coach Bill Campbell said. "We would have been in trouble without Henry's help."[18] The bootlegger remained loyal to his hometown and his friends. In his support of those who he claimed to be his friends, he was known to have driven ten miles through mud to take supplies and money to a family in need. After his death people forgot the dark side of his life; his daring deeds grew in memory and in stories told and retold about the small-town gangster/hero. An example of such heroics took place when in 1926 Edna Bell Clark, a little girl of approximately seven years old, was dying of strangulation after her windpipe had been pierced by glass in an automobile accident. Acting fast, Wagle grasped the child in his arms and lifted her into his automobile and sped toward Macomb. He made the six-mile journey to the hospital in six minutes and an operation was quickly performed and the little girl's life was saved.[19] When reporting on her condition, the doctor that operated on her stated, "We operated on her just in time. If Mr. Wagle wouldn't have gotten her here in the timely manner that he did, she wouldn't have survived."[20] Acts such as this were not uncommon for Kelly and show why Colchester held him in such high regard.

Of course, there was the other side of Kelly. Kelly Wagle was a notorious bootlegger in the Western and Northern part of the state. He was known for having ties with Al Capone and was involved with the production of alcohol as well as the transportation of it from Chicago.[21] Under the disguise of driving a taxi, Wagle transported alcohol from Chicago to Colchester and distributed it to his customers as a trusted and very successful businessman. He was persuasive in his selling of alcohol, though he never sold to drunkards or children. Wagle was also a man of violence and brutality. He almost certainly killed his second wife, a fact unknown to his neighbors until his own violent death, allegedly at the hand

[18] *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1922.

[19] *Chicago Tribune*, August 23, 1927.

[20] *Chicago Tribune*, August 24, 1927.

[21] Hallwas, 42.

of another mobster.[22] He allegedly killed or hurt countless others in order to help his business and his friends. Added to his list of crimes was carjacking, which was reported on by other gangsters.

On September 11, 1921, members of the disgraced Chicago Black Sox baseball team played with the Colchester city team in a baseball game against nearby Macomb. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, Kelly Wagle paid to bring the players to Colchester. It was reported that Macomb was overpowering every team in the local league and that they were most certainly going to win the championship. In order to stack the odds in Colchester's favor, Kelly bought the rights to Black Sox players Joe Jackson, Charles Risberg, Buck Weaver and Eddie Cicotte.[23] They all performed well in the game and Colchester won 5-0. Kelly Wagle was managing Colchester at the time and took great pleasure in the victory. Macomb tried repealing the victory, but to no avail. "This game was not fair," one Macomb player stated after the game. "That damn Kelly Wagle cheated!" [24] This symbolized the kind of corrupt acts Wagle participated in to help him and those around him get a step up in life.

Despite these transgressions, the *Gazette News* in Carthage, Illinois reported that over one thousand people attended Wagle's funeral in 1929. [25] Those attending weren't celebrating a man of numerous crimes, but a man that contributed greatly to the community. One unnamed man at the funeral reflected on Kelly Wagle's life by stating "He was a good old boy…he didn't do anything wrong. He helped this town out in so many ways and was a valuable member of this community."[26] This type of two-sided view of Kelly symbolized how Colchester operated during Prohibition. In the eyes of the citizens of this small town, Wagle wasn't committing a serious crime when he was bootlegging. Instead, he was breaking an unjust law that should not have been in effect in the first place. According to one woman at Wagle's funeral, "He was a beacon of hope in an otherwise dreary society."[27] This type of double life for the town was common in this part of Illinois. However, the next case study examines a county that had a different approach to handling Prohibition. The next study is of Williamson County.

The story of Williamson County is one of prosperity, violence, bootlegging, and warfare between rivalry gangs, bootleggers, and the Ku Klux Klan. This study will be divided into two sections: the conflict between the bootleggers and the Ku Klux Klan and the wars between the gangs within Williamson County. However, in order to set up these conflicts, it is important to discuss the most important factor to the quality

[22] Ibid., 159.
[23] *Chicago Tribune*, September 12, 1921.
[24] Ibid.
[25] *Gazette News*, August 13, 1929.
[26] *Chicago Tribune*, August 15, 1929.
[27] *Chicago Tribune*, August 17, 1929.

of life in this county: coal. Williamson County is in the center of southern Illinois, which, according to Masatomo Ayabe, was known as the "largest high grade cheaply mined, continuous deposit of bituminous coal in the world."[28] From 1883 to 1924, the county led the entire state in coal output. In fiscal year 1920-1921, for example, there were seventy-two mines (fifty shipping mines) in operation employing over 11,000 miners and producing more than 10 million tons of coal. Williamson County was also a wholly unionized community. All miners belonged to the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). The Sub-district No.10 with headquarters in Herrin was one of the strongest in the state UMWA (District No. 12), which was reputedly the most powerful unit of organized labor in the United States. By 1920, the number of UMWA-card holders exceeded eleven thousand, about sixty percent of all the males over twenty-one years of age.[29] The miners' union was an integral part of the community and dominated local politics. Union officials entered the elite segment of the community and shared civic-political leadership with businessmen and professionals. Since many of the coal mines in Williamson County were under absentee ownership local bankers and businessmen had little power to control the economy of their community. Their survival depended solely on the well-being of the coal miners, the businessmen stood solidly behind organized labor, ready to help unemployed or striking miners.[30] This gave the coal industry great power within the context of politics and government policies. Many of these coal miners happened to be in the Ku Klux Klan, and would be a part of the struggle between the Ku Klux Klan and the bootleggers. This was similar to that of Colchester, but to a greater extent. The conflict between the Ku Klux Klan and the bootleggers presented difficulties for citizens and daily life in the area. One example of how the conflict spilled over to the neighborhoods is detailed in the following story about John H. Smith:

On the night of April 14, 1926, John H. Smith was standing in front of his auto garage with countless bullet holes. According to the Chicago Tribune, he said, "Look at my garage. It is like a sieve. I'm through. I want peace. For six years I've fought for law enforcement, but I'm through now. For the last two years I've slept up here in my garage with a sheet of steel screen around my bed. Yes, I'm tired of it all and I want peace. They can open up a saloon on both sides of my place if they want to. I won't fight no more." The next day Smith sold his business and left the town. [31]

[28] Masatomo Ayabe, "Ku Kluxers in a Coal Mining Community: A Study of the Ku Klux Klan Movement in Williamson County, Illinois, 1923-1926," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 102, 1 (Spring 2009): 45-73, 46.
[29] Ibid., 48.
[30] Ibid., 49.
[31] Paul Angle, *Bloody Williamson: A Chapter in American Lawlessness* (Chicago, IL: University of Aurora Press, 1993) 23.

In the mid-1920s, John H. Smith was a member of the Herrin chapter of the Ku Klux Klan (Herrin Buckhorn Klan). From December 1923 to April 1926, Williamson County was in a state of civil war in which Klan and anti-Klan factions engaged in fierce battles over Prohibition enforcement; on the streets as well as at the polls. Led by a freelance detective named S. Glenn Young (not a resident of the county), Klan vigilantes conducted a series of massive raids on illicit liquor joints during the winter of 1923-1924. The raids were very successful, resulting in fifty-five jail sentences and $55,025 in fines assessed at the federal court. [32] The following April, the triumphant Klan had its members elected in the city, township, and county elections. These raids were violent; Klan vigilantes kicked doors open, beat up men and women, and stole money and other valuables. The raids angered the bootlegging gangsters, including Charlie Birger and Earl Shelton (they were among the arrested), and the officials allegedly in league with them, notably Sheriff George Galligan.[33] The gunfights between the two factions left nineteen men dead and brought state troopers into the county five times in a little more than two years.[34] John H. Smith played a part in the Klan war, and two of the five major gun battles took place at his Herrin garage. "We just wanted the bootleggers out of the area," Smith said. "We wanted to bring morality back into a town that hasn't had it in a long time."[35] During the last of these battles, the "election day riot" of April 13, 1926, was when anti-Klan gangsters poured hundreds of shots into the Smith garage, making it look like a "sieve." This riot concluded the civil war in favor of the bootleggers and put the hooded organization out of existence in "Bloody Williamson" County. [36]

Before the departure of the Ku Klux Klan, the unifying force behind this group was a desire to make Williamson County a morally fit place to live in and to vindicate the community before the nation. The Lester Mine riot of June 1922 and the "miscarriage of justice" afterwards ruined the county's reputation. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* called the massacre "butchery utterly without excuse, an appalling disgrace to organized labor, a disgrace to the state of Illinois, a disgrace to the American nation."[37] When the court acquitted all the defendants, the *Chicago Tribune* wrote, "Herrin is a murderous community. The courts cannot convict its residents of murder and punish them physically, but the civilized opinion of the entire United States convicts them of wholesale murder and perversion of justice, and will punish them by contempt and ostracism from the society of decent people."

[32] Ayabe, 50.
[33] Ibid., 30.
[34] Ibid., 42.
[35] *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, May 5, 1925.
[36] Angle, 53.
[37] *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, August 18, 1922.

Williamson County became a despicable blot on the country, an extremely violent, semi-civilized place that no sane American would dare to visit.[38] The people of the county felt an intense need to remove the dishonorable label of "Bloody Williamson." The Ku Klux Klan was unable to do this and the bootleggers continued to further the lawless and corrupt stereotype of Williamson County.

Gang warfare made life in Williamson County, and Southern Illinois as a whole, difficult; particularly when it came to Charlie Birger and the Shelton Brothers. With headquarters in Williamson and Franklin counties in Southern Illinois, and close ties to East St. Louis, Charlie Birger and the Shelton brothers had a thriving business in bootleg liquor, roadhouses, and stolen cars until a feud turned into a full-scale gang war, leaving at least ten people dead. [39] "They were a menace to society," police officer John Carlson stated, "they are hard to control and almost impossible to stop. They have a lot of people under their control and its hard telling who will be the next person to give into their pressure."[40] With a history of violence dating back to the 1860s, and an acceptance of murder that resulted in a failure to convict any defendant for 100 years; Williamson County was the natural locale for the Birger-Shelton War. Twenty-one people, nineteen of them strikebreakers, had been killed in Herrin during a mine strike in 1922, and another eighteen were killed between 1924-1925 as the Ku Klux Klan battled "sinners" in the county.[41]

Birger and the Sheltons presented a united front to the Klan, but when that threat dissolved they turned on each other. Fitting out trucks like armored tanks, the two gangs cruised country roads, firing at enemies. Birger's fortress, Shady Rest, a cabin with foot-thick log walls located outside of Harrisburg, was a special target. On November 12, 1926, an airplane dropped three homemade bombs on the site. The bombs fizzled, but on January 9, 1927, Shady Rest exploded, possibly bombed by Birger himself.[42] According to the *St. Louis Dispatch*, four persons were found dead in the ruins.[43] These deaths only reaffirmed the notion of bootlegging and violence going hand-in-hand to control Williamson County during this time. The only thing that could stop such violence and law breaking would be the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. This came in 1933 and the criminal activity and illegal distribution of alcohol in Williamson County ceased to exist. As a result of this decline in illegal activity, three entities lost power: Charlier Birger, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Sheldons. Charlie Birger was eventually caught and hung and the Ku Klux Klan lost its power

[38] *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1922.
[39] Gary DeNeal, *A Knight of Another Sort: Prohibition Days and Charlie Birger* (Danville, IL: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1981) 31.
[40] Ibid., 32.
[41] Angle, 55.
[42] DeNeal, 90.
[43] *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, January 10, 1927.

after coming into conflict with Birger and the Sheltons. The Sheltons were the only group that came out of Prohibition still intact. However, they would eventually split up when two of the brothers involved in the bootlegging of the 1920's were murdered. Despite the decline of crime in the 1930's, the title "Bloody Williamson" is still given to Williamson County. Whether it was the massacres, the war between the Ku Klux Klan and the bootleggers, or the bootlegger's illegal activity itself, one can see that this title is well deserved and not over-dramatized.

Within all of this violence, something stunning shows up in Williamson County. The violence is peculiarly American-family hatreds, labor strife, religious bigotry, nativistic narrowness, a desire for money and to hell with the rules."[44] Aside from a fairly recent arrival of Europeans, Williamson County residents were largely from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. As quoted by William L. Chenery's 1924 article in the Dispatch: "Socialism, Communism and other doctrines have played no part in the violence and murder which have brought such ill fame to this 'queen of Egypt.' The issues are strictly American, and the wrongs done are the native products of the United States."[45]

This idea of American-based conflict differs from that of McDonough County because immigrants played a big role in the disputes during prohibition. McDonough County had a large population of immigrants that added tension when Prohibition was put into effect.

The issues in these two counties are similar: both were involved in the coal mining industry and depended heavily on the manufacturing capabilities of the mines; both had notorious bootleggers who boosted the legend of the bootlegger; and both counties had to deal gang warfare, and the conflict between the Ku Klux Klan and the bootleggers. These counties do not, however, present a picture of "normal life" during Prohibition since the mines were involved and the nature of the conflicts that arose. In order to get a clearer picture of what the average town in Illinois faced during Prohibition, one would have to look at Coles County. This county presents a better idea of what every other county was going through because it deals with much of the same influences other counties faced. This leads into the third and final case study: Coles County.

When the *Mattoon Journal Gazette* published the title "24 Hour Reprieve for J. Barleycorn" on January 15, 1920, it symbolized the enforcement of Prohibition and a change in Coles County. No longer could Coles County depend on alcohol as a source of escape from the world. As depicted in a cartoon illustration by the same newspaper on the same day, the decision was not well liked. The cartoon depicted in one cell people celebrating the enforcement of Prohibition and in the other cell a funeral

[44] Angle, 153.
[45] *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, July 7, 1924.

for alcohol with many mourners.[46] As stated before, this shows the negative sentiment that Prohibition and its enforcement had in Coles County. However, in the early stages of Prohibition, the citizens of Coles County did not seem to be affected by the elimination of alcohol. They went about their lives with limited change in the crime rate of the county. "I think Prohibition was probably a good thing," Edna Miller said, "people were going crazy when they were drinking and that can't be good for the children growing up in this time."[47] Despite this sentiment, there were attempts to consume and distribute alcohol despite the ban. On January 27, 1920, the first arrest in Coles County was made for illegally making and distributing alcohol. Larry Bailey, a Mattoon man, was arrested for making liquor.[48] Cases such as this were rare in Coles County at the start of Prohibition, especially because there were no notable bootleggers in Coles County during this time. Williamson County had Charlie Burger, McDonough County had Henry "Kelly" Wagle, but Coles County had nobody as notorious as these two figures. Despite this, police still had to keep a keen eye on the violators of Prohibition in order to show that the law would be followed to the fullest extent. An example of such enforcement took place on June 20, 1920, when the police arrived at the house of John Savage when they got a tip from a neighbor that illegal activity as were taking place. They went to his house only to find that he was breaking the Volstead Act by making alcohol.[49] These minor instances became more common as Prohibition went on.

As police took charge of the streets, particularly in the towns of Mattoon and Charleston, people had to find other ways of getting a 'buzz.' On July 8, 1920, "Bitters," a type of medicine, was confiscated from a pharmacy near Mattoon. The medicine allegedly contained 18% alcohol and people were buying it in bulk to feel alcohol-type effects.[50] Another alternative for drinking alcohol was Schlitz,"near beer" produced in Wisconsin. The brewery that made this beverage was turned to making "near beer" when Prohibition was implemented. On July 8, 1920, a Schlitz ad in the *Charleston Daily News* stated: "Beware of home brew, instead, go for near beer." They claimed their beverage was a non-alcohol malted barley beverage and that it was safe medically and legally to drink.[51] This represented an alternative for those with the long thirst for alcohol. Those people wanting alcohol itself, just had to look for it. On March 20, 1920 a stash of booze was discovered in an abandoned coal mine in Mattoon. The local newspaper stated that it belonged to the owners of the coal mine and that the alcohol would be confiscated. Despite this, people went in search of

[46] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, January 16, 1920.
[47] *Charleston Daily News*, January 17, 1920.
[48] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, January 27, 1920.
[49] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, June 21, 1920.
[50] *Charleston Daily News*, July 9, 1920.
[51] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, July 8, 1920.

any alcohol that was left from the mines. They bought shovels and picks from hardware stores and went out to the mines in search of the "lost booze." This was immediately broken up and the order of the town and county stabilized.[52] This would not only represent the desperate attempts by the citizens to find any kind of alcohol, but also symbolized the stronghold the police had on the town when it came to Prohibition.

As a result of the implementation of Prohibition, not only did less people drink, but more people in Coles County searched for religion to fill the gap left by alcohol. Religious revivals sprouted up around the area and the number of people "saved" increased drastically, especially in the Loxa region where numerous reports of religious revivals took place. On April 31, 1920, for example, 200 people showed up to a small Loxa church in order to "find" God.[53] Many turned to God as a way to deal with the hardships while many others turned to God to change their beliefs and lives. As the pastor of the church, John Campmore, stated that "people need a place to go and I think God presented a door to new possibilities. I think God will help those suffering from the lack of alcohol consumption to get on track and get through the hard time in their lives."[54] As time passed, however, these feelings of acceptance changed.

The years passed and the growing resentment toward Prohibition became evident. As this anti-Prohibition sentiment grew illegal activity and alcohol-related deaths increased drastically. As Prohibition went on, the illegal alcohol started coming on the rail cars in Mattoon for distribution around the area; more specifically, quickly distributed in Charleston.[55] This would especially create problems for people traveling between Mattoon and Charleston with the alcohol; causing wrecks and sometimes resulting in deaths. An example is Mrs. Roy Dawson who died after consuming bad alcohol, purchased in Charleston. It was reported in the *Mattoon Journal Gazette* that she, a family friend, and her husband were from Mattoon, but had gone to Charleston to get the alcohol. They drank the alcohol on the way back to Mattoon and she died from the consumption. The husband was highly criticized for letting her drink so much in the presence of others.[56] This symbolizes the feeling during that time that women should be proper and not engage in "manly activities," like excessive drinking. It seems that the crucial connection between alcohol and the two towns was the road that connected them. This was not the case in all situations, but Mattoon citizens prevalently got their alcohol from Charleston. The most notable stories of the time included those who were drinking on the way back to

[52] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, March 21, 1920.
[53] *Charleston Daily News*, April 1, 1920.
[54] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, April 2, 1920.
[55] Marta Cates Ladd and Eds Constance Schneider, *History of Coles County, 1876-1976* (Charleston, IL: Charleston and Mattoon Bicentennial Commission, 1976) 75.
[56] *Charleston Daily News*, January 12, 1929.

Mattoon and either got arrested or got in a wreck. Another example casualties caused by breaking the law was drunk drivers. According to the *Charleston Daily News*, two men crashed into a parked car because while driving under the influence of alcohol. One man died as a result of the crash and another was severely injured; his eyeball was cut out of its socket.[57] Such instances occurred frequently in Coles County as people were tired of the elimination of alcohol. The Coles County criminal court cases are an example of how crime affected the county. For February 6, 1929, out of a total of ten trials taking place in Charleston, six were alcohol-related; ranging from trafficking to consumption.[58] This shows a complete disregard for the law and the consequences of breaking such laws.

The citizens of this area were not the only group getting tired of Prohibition; the government of Illinois was growing weary of it as well. The *Mattoon Journal Gazette* reported that on March 28, 1929, the state legislature held a vote to repeal the state prohibition laws.[59] During the state legislature debates over Prohibition, Representative Thomas O' Grady stated his case for repealing Prohibition: "99% of the murders and homicides committed in this country in the last ten years were laid at the door of Prohibition."[60] On April 24, 1929, with a vote of 77-65 in the state legislature, the referendum to repeal state liquor laws passed and the prohibition of alcohol was done away with in Illinois.[61] However, this ruling did not take any effect because the federal eighteenth amendment had precedent over any of the state decisions. It did, however, symbolize the anti-Prohibition sentiment common in the United States during this time. Once this law was passed, the police did not seem to enforce the liquor laws to the extent they once had. An example of this was in the case of Virgil "Mack" McNary. He was a porter at the Charleston House, a hotel on the square, and late one night entering the hotel with a pint of alcohol. Unfortunately for him, the pint in his pocket was sticking out so the cop saw the neck of the bottle. Before McNary could get inside the hotel, the cop called him to his car. When McNary walked over to the car and asked the cop what he needed, the cop pulled the pint out of McNary's pocket and said "this." The cop put the pint into his car and told McNary to keep it clean. Instead of arresting McNary, the cop let him go about his business.[62] This happened more and more as Prohibition became less and less accepted among the people of Coles County and the United States.

Despite this, religious figures tried to keep the anti-prohibition sentiment strong in the area. On August 16, 1929, Billy Sunday spoke on Prohibition at a Mattoon-Chatauqua big tent revival meeting. He tried

[57] Ibid.
[58] Coles Country Criminal Court Cases, February 6, 1929.
[59] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, March 29, 1929.
[60] *Charleston Daily News*, April 1, 1929.
[61] *Mattoon Journal Gazette*, April 25, 1929.
[62] *Charleston Daily News*, April 7, 1929.

stressing the spiritual advantages of living an alcohol-free life.[63] Coles County had grown too weary of Prohibition to listen to the words of one individual. They heard the same thing for ten years, but the desire for alcohol got the best of them and they wanted it back in their lives. This sentiment was common among the towns and cities of Illinois and the United States. The citizens of the United States were weary of the eighteenth amendment and they wanted something done to change the chaotic conditions of the 1920's. The citizens of Coles County represented most towns in the United States and kept consuming alcohol despite the eighteenth amendment. Despite this fact, alcohol consumption did decrease. The eighteenth amendment halted alcohol consumption in most towns in America, including Coles County. Therefore, the eighteenth amendment did what it was set out to do; limit the alcohol consumption and the subsequent actions of such consumption in areas such as Coles County.

When the eighteenth amendment was implemented in early 1920 it marked a monumental victory for those seeking the elimination of alcohol and the violent, corrupt acts from consuming it. For members of the American Prohibition leagues it was the end of a long and hard-fought crusade. In all, more than seven thousand anti-liquor speeches had been delivered by college orators and approximately $25,000 in prize money had been donated by well-intentioned supporters.[64] The twenty-six-year mission of anti-alcohol groups such as the Illinois Intercollegiate Prohibition Association for "a nation free from the grasp of the monster drink had been noble and idealistic. Prohibition prevailed for slightly more than a decade but failed to bring the lasting improvements its youthful adherents had hoped for. In a sense, Prohibition contradicted the very thing anti-alcohol groups emphasized: a moral uplift and a reformation of society to break the overwhelming grip alcohol had on the country. Instead, the time period brought bootlegging, illegal acts, and corruption. The media put the ineffectiveness of Prohibition into perspective in an article on the ten-year anniversary of the ratification of the eighteenth amendment. According to the *Charleston Daily News*, since January 16, 1920, federal officials arrested 483,474 alleged violators of the liquor laws; 269,584 persons was sent to jail or prison for a total of 26,613 years; more than 200 citizens were slain by hair trigger dry agents, 38,087 automobiles were confiscated and a total of $44,574,832 in fines was levied in federal courts. [65] These statistics show how people disregarded the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment in order to make and drink alcohol. However, some areas were worse than others in terms of

[63] *Charleston Daily News*, August 17, 1929.
[64] Roberts, 147.
[65] *Charleston Daily News*, January 15, 1929.

violence and corruption. Varying areas acted differently to Prohibition and the events that followed; some with corrupt and illegal acts, while others tried to maintain a normal life without alcohol.

This essay looked at three counties in Illinois to see how Illinois reacted to the implementation of the eighteenth amendment and Prohibition. One can see there were major differences between the three areas and the geographic, economic, and cultural variables affected how each area responded. An overwhelming theme within these areas seemed to be the readiness to break the law for both a drink and what the citizens believed in. Alcohol did not just represent an intoxicating drink; it represented freedom. Bootleggers represented the liberators of the tyrannical rule of the eighteenth amendment. No matter how hard the authorities tried to break down the structure of the illegal consumption and distribution of alcohol, it was almost impossible to stop. The only thing that could stop this illegal activity from taking place was, ironically enough, the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. When it was repealed in 1933, the bootleggers were out of business and Americans were allowed once again to consume alcohol. Despite Prohibition and its flaws, it did teach America one thing: they were willing to break the law in order to reinforce their beliefs. This was first shown during the Boston Tea Party and continued during the corrupt period of Prohibition.

"No Occasion for Coffins": Humanitariansim and the Bengal Famine of 1770

Adam Morrisette

Adam Morrisette, a graduate student in History, wrote this paper in summer 2009 for Dr. David Smith's HIS 5400 course on Eighteenth-Century Europe.

In 1771, newspapers across London were printing a letter from an anonymous writer describing a horrific scene half a world away. The letter was from a servant of the East India Company in Calcutta. The scene he described was that of a horrible famine ravaging the Bengal province of India. Drought, greed, and mismanagement caused a famine so severe that, according to this writer:

> By the time the famine had been about a fortnight over the land, we were greatly affected at Calcutta; many thousands falling daily in the streets and fields, whose bodies, mangled by dogs, jackalls, and vultures, in that hot season . . . made us dread the consequences of a plague.[1]

By the end of 1770, the famine may have eradicated as many as one-third of the population of Bengal. David Arnold writes, "In terms of the enormous loss of life and the intensity and extent of human suffering involved, the Bengal famine of 1770 must count as one of the greatest catastrophes of the eighteenth century and, indeed, of modern times."[2]

Despite the magnitude and tragedy of the Bengal famine, relatively little was written about it in the British press. Only a few accounts of the famine appeared in the newspapers and often the same accounts were printed over and over. Early accounts of the scale and potential repercussions of the famine were varied and contradictory. Initially, the greatest concern was how the famine would affect the value of East India Company stocks. Gradually, the debate shifted to what role the East India Company may have played in the famine and whether or not the East India Company needed more oversight and regulation. Interestingly, very little discussion of the famine as a humanitarian crisis occurred initially. The famine was seen largely as a natural disaster. Furthermore, Arnold asserts,

[1] *The Annual Register, or a view of the history, politics, and literature, for the year 1771* (London, 1779), 206, www.gale.cengage.com/EighteenthCentury.

[2] David Arnold, "Hunger in the Garden of Plenty," in *Dreadful Visitations: Confronting Natural Catastrophe in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Alessa Johns, 81-111 (New York: Routledge, 1999), 86.

"The Bengal famine was perhaps the first Asian 'disaster' in modern times to have an impact on Europe, but it did so by reinforcing an identification of Asia with nature rather than by emphasizing a common humanity."[3] Enlightenment thinkers saw in the Bengal famine evidence of the progress "enlightened" society had made, as opposed to Indian society, which was still at the mercy of nature.[4]

Some people at the time, however, did see the Bengal famine as a humanitarian crisis resulting from the East India Company's greedy business practices and mismanagement of the famine. Some descriptions of the famine and critiques of the East India Company show at least some degree of compassion and empathy for Bengali suffering during the famine. Arnold's assertion that an emphasis on "common humanity" was not what caused the Bengal famine to have an impact in Europe may be true. One cannot, however, completely ignore contemporary humanitarian concerns over the Bengal famine. At the time of, and in the years after, the Bengal famine, a small, but vocal, number of individuals addressed the Bengal famine as not only an economic and natural catastrophe, but also as a humanitarian disaster.

The anonymous author of the letter in the Annual Register did not see the famine as just a natural disaster. He noted that "our gentlemen in many places purchased the rice at 120 and 140 seers for a rupee, which they afterwards sold for 15 seers for a rupee . . . so that the persons principally concerned have made great fortunes by it."[5] The East India Company, it seems, participated in creating, and greatly exacerbating, the famine by monopolizing rice in anticipation of the coming dearth. The East India Company also continued to collect taxes, which further prevented Bengalis from being able to purchase necessary provisions.[6] The authority to collect taxes was only one part of the responsibilities and duties of the Diwan, which was granted to the East India Company in 1765. To understand how the East India Company assumed such a position of power in India, one must look to East India Company's history in India prior to the famine.

The rise of the British East India Company from a trading company to a colonial power is a long and complicated one. The British East India Company came into existence at the beginning of the seventeenth century. By the 1630s, The East India Company had begun to establish its presence in India. By the middle of the century, the company had erected factories and fortifications and gained exclusive rights to operate in and trade with Bengal. Bengal grew throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and "By 1707 this enlarged Bengal was

[3] Ibid, 105-106.

[4] Ibid.

[5] *Annual Register*, 205.

[6] Archie Baron, *An Indian Affair* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2001), 78.

beginning to emerge as an autonomous political entity."[7] Bengal was a province of the Mughal empire and, like other provinces, was ruled by two governors, the Subahdar and Diwan. P.J. Marshall writes, "The Subahdar was responsible for the nizamat, the maintenance of law and order, the command of the armed forces, and the administration of criminal justice. The Diwan controlled finance and taxation and administered civil justice. By about 1717 the two offices were combined."[8]

In that same year, the East India Company was granted exemption from customs payments in exchange for an annual payment. British trading operations in Bengal continued largely unchecked until 1756. In that year, Siraj-ud-daula became the new Nawab of the Bengal province. Unlike his predecessors, whom the East India Company were able bribe into leaving them alone, Siraj did not like the growing power and customs-free status of the East India Company. He eventually successfully attacked and took over Calcutta. This would prove to be the ultimate undoing of Bengali control of the province.

Colonel Robert Clive and a military force from Madras were able to retake Calcutta from Siraj. Clive did not, however, stop with the retaking of Calcutta. The East India Company declared war on Siraj. Archie Baron writes, "The true story of the conquest of Bengal is that it was (mostly Indian) private enterprise attempting to throw off the shackles of public control. An unstable ruler was threatening their security and prosperity. Indian bankers and merchants conspired with the Company to depose one troublesome Nawab and replace him with another." [9]

The East India Company, along with the Indian merchants, managed to sway Mir Jafar, a relative of Siraj and one of his military commanders, to their side. This would be crucial in the final showdown between Siraj and the East India Company. On June 23, 1757, Colonel Clive met Siraj at the battle of Plassey. Clive's forces were greatly outnumbered. It was immediately apparent, however, that Mir Jafar had come through on his end of the bargain. As the battle continued, "it was quickly clear that the enemy troops were not counter-attacking. Thousands on the British flanks had turned spectator and were evidently loyal to Mir Jafar."[10] Robert Clive's forces were victorious. Mir Jafar became the new Nawab, and the East India Company returned to business free from interference. The authority of the Nawabs continued to decline over the next few years until, in 1765, the Emperor made the East India Company the Diwan of Bengal. Many consider this to be beginning of the British Empire in India.

[7] P.J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 6.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Baron, 50 -52.

[10] Ibid, 56.

The significance of this event cannot be overstated in the years leading up to the Bengal famine. The East India Company was no longer simply a British company trading in Bengal. The East India Company was now the governor of the Bengal province. As mentioned previously, the Diwan was responsible for enforcing laws, collecting taxes, and civil administration. When the famine of 1770 was looming on the horizon, the East India Company largely forgot all of their duties as Diwan, except those that produced profit. Furthermore, if the agents of the East India Company had, in fact, bought up all the rice in anticipation of a dearth, they had gone far beyond shirking their duties as Diwan; they had grossly abused their position with no regard for the Bengalis that were, technically, under their protection. How would the British public view such a tremendous abuse of power and disregard for life? Would the public take notice of the East India Company's role in the famine of 1770? Would the public see the famine of 1770 as a humanitarian crisis or only as a potential economic disaster brought on by natural disaster? The public response to the famine of 1770 was complex. There were many factors that played into the varied responses to the famine of 1770, including Enlightenment thought, developing ideas of empathy and human rights, and the evolving British press.

The Age of Enlightenment saw many new and radical changes in the way people looked at the rights of man, the role of government, and the world around them. The frequent invocation of reason in understanding the natural world led to new ways of understanding politics, economy, society, and religion. The Enlightenment also led to a widely held notion that humans had asserted their dominance over nature, as well as a belief that humans could have an effect even on the outcome of natural events. David Arnold argues that one of the most profound effects of the Bengal famine of 1770 was on the understanding of how reason could prevail over nature.[11]

David Arnold's *Hunger in the Garden of Plenty: The Bengal Famine of 1770* is one of the most recent works on the Bengal famine of 1770.[12] Arnold is one of the few historians to present an argument regarding the impact and legacy of the Bengal famine in eighteenth-century Britain. Strangely, despite the severity and magnitude of the famine, it seems to attract almost as little attention now as it did in the past. Arnold notes, "Despite the enormous mortality and its impact on contemporary European attitudes, the Bengal famine had to a remarkable degree lapsed from official memory by the mid-nineteenth century."[13] Arnold asserts that it wasn't until the late nineteenth century that W.W. Hunter researched the Bengal famine of 1770 and explored its impact on subsequent British colonial

[11] Arnold, 105–106.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid, 86-87.

history in India.[14] Arnold asserts that the famine of 1770 served to present India as an example of uncontrolled nature and did not emphasize "common humanity."[15] In the wake of the famine, nature seemed to rapidly reclaim uninhabited areas of Bengal. This only furthered the notion that the problem at work in Bengal was the inability of the "unenlightened" Bengalis to control nature. This, of course, was used later as an argument in defense of the British colonization of Bengal. W.W. Hunter argued, according to Arnold, that "Nature, barely checked by human agency, had ruled in 1770; by the time of the Orissa famine of 1866 . . . nature had been tamed and made subservient to 'modern civilization'."[16]

Arnold goes on to argue that accounts of the 1770 famine led to an even wider gap between England and India. Rather than creating a sense of compassion or humanitarianism, accounts of the famine made Indian culture and society even more foreign and less understandable. Some writers argued that Indians were largely responsible for their suffering "for not responding with the kind of anger and active protest that would have characterized Europe's poor and hungry in similar circumstances."[17] Arnold argues that stereotypes like these only served to depict the Indians as "unenlightened" as compared to the British.[18]

Finally, Arnold addresses the actual British reaction to the accounts of horrendous suffering and carnage during the Bengal famine of 1770. Arnold asserts that most of these reactions are "self-reflexive" and focus much more on "what Europeans think, see, and feel about the assault on their sensibilities and 'humanity' than they inform us about Indian experience and suffering."[19] Arnold suggests that British and European responses to accounts of the famine focused more on how such horrific scenes offended their sensibilities than on any concern for the suffering of the Indians.

Arnold, however, goes on to write, "Ultimately, it might be argued, that suffering did not go unheeded, for reports of the enormous mortality and needless misery in Bengal fueled criticism of the company's rapacious revenue collecting and the corruption, extortion, and monopolistic trading practices of its servants."[20] Nevertheless, Arnold argues again that the criticisms aimed at the East India Company did not come out of concern for the welfare of Indians; rather, they stemmed from a "concern that the growth of empire overseas might corrupt British morals, institutions, and 'traditional liberties' nearer home."[21]

[14] Ibid, 87.
[15] Ibid, 105–106.
[16] Ibid, 93.
[17] Ibid, 96.
[18] Ibid, 97.
[19] Ibid, 98.
[20] Ibid, 99.
[21] Ibid, 100.

Arnold makes a good argument. It is not, however, without flaws. Arnold asserts over and over that the British reaction to the famine of 1770 had, essentially, nothing do with humanitarian concerns about the suffering in Bengal. Rather, he asserts that the terrible accounts of the famine disseminated through the British press mainly succeeded in two things: depicting India as a country still ruled by nature and creating fears that the practices of the East India Company might corrupt British morals, which led to a call for investigation and regulation of the company. It seems, however, that Arnold is making a large assumption when he argues that humanitarian ideas played little to no role in the British reaction to the famine.

Other historians have addressed the idea of humanitarianism in the eighteenth century and argued that one can see a rise in humanitarianism during the century. In her book *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, Lynn Hunt contends that notions of human rights and empathy across gender, race, and international borders started appearing in the eighteenth century.[22] Hunt writes, "Learning to empathize opened the path to human rights, but it did not ensure that everyone would be able to take that path right away."[23] If, in fact, the eighteenth century did see a rise in empathy and thought about human rights, it seems a reasonable assumption that, by the later eighteenth century, those reading accounts of the terrible famine in Bengal would have been able to empathize with the suffering of the Indians. Arnold argues that most of the reactions of the British towards the famine actually stemmed from concern over how it offended the sensibilities of those who read about it.[24] One could argue that such vivid accounts of agony and death as those found in the anonymous letter to the Annual Register not only offended sensibilities, but also created empathy.

Thomas Haskell has also written about the development of humanitarianism in the eighteenth century. In a two-part article entitled "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility," Haskell argues that humanitarianism develops along with capitalism in the eighteenth century.[25] He contends that the same concepts that allow capitalism to function also lay the foundation for humanitarianism to take hold. Haskell asserts that there are "four preconditions to the emergence of humanitarianism as a historical phenomenon."[26] First, "we must adhere to ethical maxims that make helping strangers the right thing to do before we

[22] Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2007), 38-39.
[23] Ibid, 68.
[24] Arnold, 98.
[25] Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1," *The American Historical Review*, 1985: 339-361.
Thomas L. Haskell, "Captialism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2," *The American Historical Review*, 1985: 547-566.
[26] Haskell Pt. 1, 357.

can feel obliged to aid them."[27] Second, "we must perceive ourselves to be causally involved in the evil intent."[28] Third, "We cannot regard ourselves as causally involved in another's suffering unless we see a way to stop it."[29] Last, "the recipes for intervention available to us must be ones of sufficient ordinariness, familiarity, certainty of effect, and ease of operation that our failure to use them would constitute a suspension of routine, an out-of-the-ordinary event, possibly even an intentional act in itself."[30]

Haskell argues that, more specifically than capitalism, the growth of the market was responsible for creating an environment in which humanitarianism could grow. The market relied on specific human qualities to function properly: moral responsibility and causal perception.[31] At the center of a functioning market was the expectation that people could be relied upon to honor their deals and contracts; this led to a concept of moral responsibility.[32] The market also made people acutely aware of the concept of cause and effect. Through their experiences in the market, people could see that their actions did have noticeable effects; this led to a greater causal perception.[33] These same qualities, Haskell argues, allowed people to take notice of and address humanitarian issues. Once people could be convinced that they did, in fact, play a part in humanitarian issues, they could be convinced that they had a moral responsibility to address them.[34]

Hunt and Haskell both agree that the origins of humanitarianism, empathy, and attention to human rights are in the eighteenth century. If this is the case, were some of the reactions to the Bengal famine of 1770 based on empathy towards Indians and concern over the famine as a humanitarian crisis? To look for evidence of this, one must turn to sources contemporary to the famine. The most readily available sources are eighteenth-century newspapers. As the public sphere grew throughout the eighteenth century, the press became one of the main media by which ideas were disseminated and discussed. Accounts of and reactions to the Bengal famine of 1770 in eighteenth-century newspapers illustrate the diversity of contemporary opinion about the subject.

One of the most famous and often cited accounts of the Bengal famine is that of the anonymous writer to the Annual Register. Either the whole letter or excerpts from it appeared in many different newspapers. Several important points about this letter should be noted. The anonymous writer began his letter by writing, "As soon as the dryness of the season foretold the approaching dearness of rice, our gentlemen in the Company's

[27]Ibid, 358.
[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid.
[30]Ibid.
[31] Haskell Pt. 2, 563.
[32] Ibid, 553.
[33] Ibid, 563.
[34] Ibid, 565

service, particularly those at the Subordinates, whose stations gave them the best opportunities, were as early as possible in buying up all they could lay hold of."[35] The writer immediately began his account by implicating East India Company agents in contributing to the famine by buying up rice in anticipation of the coming famine. This particular passage was printed in many different articles throughout many different newspapers. It, undoubtedly, raised concerns that the greed of East India Company servants had superseded concern over the possible outcome of their actions.

The anonymous writer presented horrifying images of scores of dead bodies littering the streets being eaten by all sorts of animals. The anonymous writer continued his account:

> One could not pass along the streets without seeing multitudes in their last agonies, crying out as you passed, My God! My God! have mercy upon me, I am starving: whilst on the other sides, numbers of dead were seen with dogs, jackals, hogs, vultures, and other beasts and birds of prey feeding on their carcasses. It was remarked by the natives, that greater numbers of these animals came down at this time, than was ever known; which upon this melancholy occasion was of great service; as the vultures and other birds take the eyes and intestines, whilst the other animals gnaw the feet and hands; so that very little of the body remained for the Cutcherry people to carry to river . . . I have observed two of them with a dooly carrying twenty heads, and the remains of the carcasses that had been left by the beasts of prey, to the river at a time. At this time we could touch fish, river was so full of carcasses; and of those who did eat it, many died suddenly. Pork, ducks, and geese, also lived mostly off carnage; so that our only meat was mutton when we could get it.[36]

Passages like these must have struck a chord with readers. The terrible imagery of the famine, combined with the accusation that East India Company agents had contributed to it by hoarding rice, must have been shocking to readers at the time. Other accounts of the famine must have been equally as disturbing.

Another letter that was printed in many papers at the time was from an officer in Calcutta. The officer wrote, "The dearth has been so very great for the last six months that, in the company's districts alone (upon a moderate computation) there have died upwards of three hundred thousand

[35] *Annual Register*, 205.
[36] *Annual Register*, 206–207.

inhabitants through mere want."[37] His estimate was, most likely, very low. The officer went on to say that there were many charities, but not enough to make a difference, and that "hunger drives many of them [Indians] to such distress, that the strongest frequently in some parts of the country fall upon the weaker, and devour them."[38] Another article reported that "There was no occasion for Coffins where the Living devoured the dead."[39] Despite reflecting how desperate the famine had become, stories of cannibalism most likely did not help to create empathy for the starving Indians. The rest of the story, however, may have. The officer wrote, "Balls, concerts and all public entertainments ought to subside at this time of general scarcity; but I am sorry to say they have not; and under the doors and windows of these places of amusement, lie many dead bodies, and others again in all agonies of death."[40] Stories like this one, along with stories of buying up rice, must have significantly contributed to the feeling that the East India Company required more oversight.

Although the officer's report of the death toll was rather low, other reports of the famine reported in the paper placed the death toll in the millions. One letter writer stated, "The misery occasioned by the famine in the province of Bengal is incredible. I believe I speak within compass when I say at least two millions of souls have perished within these few months."[41] An article in the Public Register reads, "There has been a universal Famine throughout the Kingdom of Bengal. . . . Some of the letters say, that on this Account a Million and half of people have perished; according to other letters, the Number is not less than three Millions; but they all agree, that there are scarcely enough left alive to bury the dead."[42] Not all the accounts attempted to present the famine as such a horrible disaster. Some articles tried to assuage fears that the famine would have an effect on the East India Company. An article in the London Evening Post reads:

> In Bengal there has nothing materially bad happened, but the scarcity of provisions; which affects the natives, and not the European inhabitants, who are all able to obtain them, though at a dearer price. ....The consequence of this famine is not any other way injurious to the company, than by the diminution of the people, who should pay the taxes...and of

[37] *Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh Amusement*, "EAST-INDIES," April 11, 1771: 57.

[38] Ibid.

[39] *Public Advertiser*, March 30, 1771.

[40] EAST-INDIES, Apr 11: 57.

[41] *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, "Extract of Letter from Bengal, dated Sept. 16, brought by the Lapwing Packet," March 23, 1771.

[42] *Public Register or The Freeman's Journal*, "LONDON," March 26, 1771.

> the manufactures of some of the commodities which the company deal in.[43]

Articles like this were not uncommon in papers at the time. The East India Company was large, and many people owned stock in the company. Despite the humanitarian crisis, the priority for many was the value of their stock. In fact, despite the tremendous toll the famine had taken on Bengal in 1770, some writers, only a year after the famine, claimed, "Bengal is perfectly recovered from the Effects of the Famine."[44]

Thus far, we have seen accounts of the famine ranging from the terrible to the dismissive. Furthermore, some articles attempted to cast blame on the East India Company while others tried to blame the Indians. It wasn't until the end of 1771 and after that articles and letters showing more humanitarian concerns over the famine in Bengal began to appear. An article in *Bingley's Journal* from November 1771 reads, "A Mr. B----- is arrived from Bengal, who is said to have amassed above hundred thousand pounds by a monopoly of rice; and to which monopoly, it is said, was chiefly owing the late terrible and affecting famine in that country, by which nearly 100,000 unhappy people lost their lives. Who would wish the enjoyment of riches at such a price?"[45] Here, finally, we see concern for the value of human life over that of wealth. The writer of this article effectively raised the question of what is worth more: the lives of those who suffered and died in the famine of 1770 or the money that was made off of it. It is also toward the end of 1771 that people begin to be held accountable for their actions in Bengal. One article reads, "It is confidently reported, that the late famine in the East Indies was an artificial one, and caused by some people who will be called before a British Court of Justice, to answer for the same."[46] Here there is a shift from simple disapproval of those who may have contributed to the famine to a suggestion that they could be held criminally liable for having helped create the famine.

In 1772, some of the letters most critical of the East India Company started appearing in the papers. It is also with these letters that one starts to see criticism of the East India Company's practices, not just on administrative and financial grounds, but also on humanitarian grounds. A writer using the pseudonym Publicus published a letter in the Public Advertiser in 1772 addressed to George Colebrooke. [47] George Colebrooke was the current director of the East India Company and had been the director of the company during the famine of 1770. Publicus' long letter is a

[43] *London Evening Post*, "LONDON," March 30, 1771.

[44] *Public Advertiser*, "To the printer of the Public Advertiser," Aug 12, 1772.

[45] *Bingley's Journal*, "LONDON," November 23, 1771.

[46] Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty, "LONDON," August 27, 1771.

[47] *Public Advertiser*, *"For the Public Advertiser.* To Sir GEORGE COLEBROOKE.," January 24, 1772.

criticism of George Colebrooke's unscrupulous trading practices while director of the East India Company. It is, however, the last paragraph of the letter that ties his criticisms to humanitarian concerns. Publicus wrote:

> Thus have I run through all your different Excuses for being an East India Stock-jobber, or at least all that have come to my Knowledge. When you exhibit any new ones, I will endeavour to do the same Justice to them . . . I do not esteem it criminal in a Man to encrease his Riches to any Extent, nor do I esteem it criminal in a rich Man to pick Half a crown out of the Kennel; for if he alone knows it that dirty Pickle to be Half a Crown, he has an undoubted right to avail himself of his superior Knowledge. But that such Men should have the Disposal of the Kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, with the Power of inflicting War, Famine and Pestilence upon fourteen millions of their mild Inhabitants; that such Men should be able to appoint the lowest of the Dependants, to the uncheck'd Collection of four Millions of territorial Revenue, and to the Command of Armies of 60,000 Men, is, I must acknowledge, such a Solicism in Politicks, as reflects the highest Dishonour upon that supreme Government under which it is tolerated.[48]

Publicus not only pointed out the potential for humanitarian abuses inherent in the structure and administration of the East India Company, but also went as far as to say that the actions of the East India Company reflected poorly on the British government for tolerating them. Although this letter is only the opinion of one man, it shows a shift in thought from criticism of the economic and administrative actions of the East India Company to criticism of East India Company's disregard for human life.

In another letter printed in the Public Advertiser, a writer using the pseudonym Nemesis criticized the new code of laws proposed by the East India Company. Nemesis questioned not only the effectiveness of these laws, but also how they would be enforced.[49] Nemesis commented that the only proposed law that he saw as having any merit was one that would prevent East India Company servants from private trading, one of the main factors that may have led to the famine of 1770. He went on, however, to write that the problem was in enforcing the law. Nemesis wrote:

> They ay, with an equally ration Prospect of Success, add a Clause to this Law enacting, that the Tygers of Bengal shall

[48] Ibid.

[49] *Public Advertiser*, "To the Printer of the Public Advertiser," March 19, 1772.

> not from henceforth slaughter Men and Cattle, under the Penalty of forfeiting Teeth and Claws: And I can assure you, that the Act of Parliament will as effectually restrain the Tyger from gorging his Maw with slaughtered Prey, as it will prevent the despotic Deputy of a Sovereign Mercantile Company from satiating his Avarice by destructive Monopolies. For it is no less possible to enforce Penalty on the one as on the other.[50]

Nemesis was trying to suggest that this law was as unenforceable as passing a law that tigers could no longer kill people or cattle. In doing so, however, he compared the greedy agents of the East India Company to predators preying on Indian citizens. Like Publicus' criticism of the East India Company, Nemesis' criticism also brought humanitarian concerns to bear on the activities of the East India Company.

Another interesting publication that shows an emerging idea of "common humanity" is a printed speech attributed to the Bishop of St. Asaph.[51] In this speech, regarding the Massachusetts Bay colony, the Bishop spoke of the tendency of provincial governors to abuse their power, especially through taxation. The Bishop went on to say:

> Taxation in their hand, is an unlimited power of oppression..... Arbitrary taxation is plunder authorized by law: It is the support and essence of tyranny; and has done more mischief to mankind than those other three scourges from heaven, famine, pestilence and the sword. I need not carry your Lordships out of your own knowledge, or out of your own dominions, to make you conceive what misery this right of taxation is capable of producing in a provincial government. We need only recollect that our countrymen in India, have in the space of five or six years, in virtue of this right; destroyed, starved, and driven away more inhabitants from Bengal, than are to be found at present in all our American colonies....[52]

The most striking element of this speech is the use of criticisms regarding the East India Company's abuses of power in India as an example of what could happen in the American colonies if tyrannical governors were left

[50] Ibid.

[51] *London Evening Post*, "A SPEECH intended to have been spoken on the Bill for ALTERING THE CHARTER of the Colony of MASSACHUSETTS BAY," August 4, 1774.

[52] Ibid.

unchecked. This shows recognition of a "common humanity" between the inhabitants of the American and Indian colonies.

One final example is from a letter in the Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser to the "Proprietors of East-India Stock."[53] In his letter, he called himself a "sincere lover of liberty and independence" and urged caution towards the growing power of the East India Company and its potential to undermine the virtues of British government. He wrote about a person "to well known here to be named" that was a "principal engrosser of the comparatively small quantity of rice" that was available during the famine of 1770.[54] He made a fortune selling the rice. The author of the letter referred to this person as a "savage, unfeeling monster (man, I cannot call him)."[55] Here, only a few years after the famine, the men responsible for monopolizing rice during the famine of 1770 were no longer simply criticized for bad business practices; they were compared to inhuman monsters. Only a few years after the Bengal famine, a new sentiment was emerging: the famine of 1770 was no longer seen as simply a financial and administrative disaster, but as a humanitarian catastrophe.

When one considers the magnitude and savage nature of the Bengal famine of 1770, one must wonder why it seems to receive so little attention in history. The Bengal famine of 1770 and humanitarianism in the eighteenth century both deserve further research and writing. People were clearly discussing the famine at the time. Reactions to the famine were varied and changed throughout the later eighteenth century. Did the Bengal famine cause people to start raising humanitarian concerns? Some historians place the beginnings of humanitarianism and notions of human rights in the eighteenth century. Toward the end of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, abolitionist writers and philosophers started to question and criticize the practice of slavery. Although few in number, the sources presented here show humanitarian concerns developing over the Bengal famine of 1770, and at the very least they indicate the seeds of humanitarian thought. The Bengal famine of 1770, while often overlooked in history, was one of the worst humanitarian disasters of the eighteenth century; some contemporaries, it seems, also saw it this way.

[53] *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, "For the MORNING CHRONICLE. To the Proprietors of the East-India Stock.," April 12, 1775.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

Historiography of Peasants Revolts: France During the Early Modern Period

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If ever there was a nation that had a propensity for resistance to government, it was France. While many would examine the modern era for examples of resistance to government, sixteenth and seventeenth century France gives historians a window into fascinating episodes of popular resistance. Certainly for as long as there has been government in France, there has been resistance, but the early modern period of French history experienced an explosion of resistance to authority from rural peasants. Historians have attempted to understand the reasons for this growth through a variety of tools, ranging from class conflict to agrarian cycles. While common conceptions of popular resistance to government authority are usually conflated with epic struggles for freedom under an oppressive monarch, historians have recently disregarded such interpretations in light of the inconsistencies such an interpretation makes on the historical facts. The Marxist interpretation of popular resistance may appeal to these meta-narratives of struggle against oppression; however, more recent trends in historiography have focused on the cultural and economic aspects of popular resistance.

Beginning in the age of Von Ranke, the historian's analysis of history was centered on the nation-state. Nation-state history, the history of military conflict, diplomacy, and great names in the records filled books with great narratives. It is a curious phenomenon of history that the majority of various populations have been left to live and die without their story told The traditional and many of the contemporary historians of seventeenth-century France have focused on economic or institutional questions concerning the nobility, monarchy, and bourgeoisie. Ironically, these groups made up only a small percentage of the population of France. Much of the population of seventeenth-century France worked long hours farming for meager subsistence, while their surplus was expropriated for the benefit of an upper-class hierarchy. This is not to say that popular resistance was absent from the historical record, but within the traditional historical paradigm the Parlement's resistance of the Fronde saw more interest than the rural peasants in Romans who had risen to show their disdain for the traditional order, and were subsequently massacred.

While there would be signs of hope beginning in the late nineteenth century, it was not until the explosion of social history that early modern French peasants would be allowed to go from condemnation to fascination. The academic research into peasant revolts has centered around two major historiographical trends; Marxism and historical materialism on the one hand, and the French innovation, Annales. Limited scholarship of peasants in early modern France allows us to dig deep into the nuances of arguments presented by the historians of these specific schools of thought. Marxist social history was at the forefront of examining peasants, with Annales historians entering the picture later. Social historians Conze and Wright outline the social historian's mission in the first article of the first issue of the *Journal of Social History* as, "In the biography of not only greats in history, but of the small, unimportant men, social history achieves exemplary individuality and typologization of groups."[1] Similarly, Annales historians, with their attempt to make a total history, focused on long term changes which affected all sectors of life. Some of these studies, such as those by Yves-Marie Bercé and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, focused specifically on peasants. Scholars of the Annales School sought to examine popular resistance in a greater cycle of agrarian highs and lows, in addition to the *histoire des mentalités* of popular resistors to authority.

Significant research into popular resistance and peasant revolts in early modern France can be traced back to Boris Porshnev's heavily Marxist analysis of the pre-Fronde bourgeoisies and nobility. While it may be tempting to disregard Porshnev's work as hopelessly biased because of the Soviet Union's propensity to intercede in academics that do not toe the party line[2], Porshnev deserves credit for his research which provided a foundation for peasant studies. It should be noted that Soviet history was not done in a manner different than in countries such as Germany, England, or France. Where the difference lays is in the philosophical presuppositions Soviet historians take to the tale before research even begins, much less during the interpretation of sources.[3] As a Marxist social historian, the bulk of Porshnev's work focuses on an attempt to place popular resistance into a Marxist framework of dialectic materialism. Porshnev makes no secret of his intentions by stating:

> Bourgeois historiography does not accept this [the significance of peasant revolts]. It sees popular uprisings as the result of social changes, and only minimally as their

[1] Werner Conze and Charles A. Wright, "Social History," *Journal of Social History* 1 (Autumn 1967): 15-16.

[2] Roger D. Markwick, *Rewriting History in Soviet Russia: The Politics of Revisionist Historiography* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 4.

[3] Jerzy Topolski, ed., Historiography between Modernism and Postmodernism: Contributions to the Methodology of Historical Research (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 1994), 179.

> cause…It sees in these movements only transitory and temporary symptoms of disorder in the State, and in way responsible for all the political and social changes in the established order.[4]

Porshnev even makes several scathing critiques of French historians; claiming that French historians denied the significance of peasant revolts because it represented a threat to the ideal bourgeois republic, the system of government these same bourgeois historians benefited from.[5] In this extremely polemic wording at the opening of his work, Porshnev would not only dispute the importance of peasant revolts in early modern France, but also argue that class conflict, in this case popular resistance by the bourgeoisies and peasants, was being suppressed by a bourgeois conspiracy!

To begin, Porshnev contends that early modern France was a feudal society in which a bourgeoisie, nobility, and monarchy acted in concert to maintain the class structure that favored their interests. One key aspect of Porshnev's thesis is the argument that venality of office created greater amounts of feudalism. The bourgeoisie, having ennobled themselves, betrayed their class and possible conflict with the feudal state.[6] The process of ennoblement was not, however, simply the process of buying titles of nobility. Porshnev looks to the celebrated thinker Loyseau as a model of bourgeois thinking and notes that "for Loyseau the word bourgeois has the same sense of a feudal title."[7] The purchasing of offices not only removed potential liquid capital from industrializing France, slowing the development of a true bourgeois class, but also created only two orders of people: those who rule, and those ruled. In order to explain this apparent deviation from orthodox Marxist theory, Porshnev justifies the flight of the bourgeoisies into the nobility as an economic move. By ennobling themselves, even at high costs, many bourgeoisies were able to gain protection from taxation for their rest of their money, which they could then lend out in the form of credit to the crown or old nobles of the sword.[8]

When Cardinal Richelieu and later Cardinal Mazarin began the process of reforming the French state by attempting to end the venality of office, there was a sudden reaction within the robe nobility who had recently belonged to the bourgeoisies. As Porshnev describes it,

> the *officers* of seventeenth-century France carried into the exercise of their offices the ideas and sentiments of the class

[4] P.J. Coveney, ed., trans., *France in Crisis: 1620-1675* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 79-80.

[5] Ibid., 89.

[6] Ibid., 73-74.

[7] Ibid., 107.

[8] Ibid., 122-124.

among which they had grown up, namely the bourgeoisies. They maintained close links with that class.[9]

With this final piece in place, Porshnev's thesis can take shape. Despite having entered into the nobility, many of these new nobles had done so for economic reasons, and maintained their bourgeoisie identity. The revolt of the Parlement of Paris, and later the bulk of the Frondeurs was an attempt at a bourgeoisie revolution against the stifling control of the old feudal order. Despite having become, in some ways, a part of this feudal order, the bourgeoisie had done so in order to protect their money from taxation and gain power. Once the venality of office was threatened, the bourgeoisies became threatened.

Where do peasant revolts fit into this picture? For Porshnev, the Frondeurs co-opted the peasants desire to rebel against increased taxation, in the form of the taille, into their own bourgeoisie revolution. There was an overlapping area of interest among the Frondeurs and peasants to lessen the burden of the taille on the third estate. Many of the newly ennobled Frondeurs, as a result of adopting the feudal lifestyle of feudal rents instead of mercantilism and trade, had a vested interest in ensuring that a tenant peasant had enough money to pay their feudal dues or rent. An increase in taxation by the crown threatened this income. As such, many nobles agitated the peasants to resist monarchical authority by providing weapons, leadership, and legal protection for those peasant rebels who wished to join the movement.[10] In a world of diametrically opposed forces, those of the old feudal order pitched against the force of not only the bourgeoisie, but also the mass of peasants, one wonders how it is that the feudal class survived the attempt at revolution. The answer for Porshnev comes from Marx himself: "Nothing could any longer prevent the victory of the French bourgeoisie when it decided in 1789 to make common cause with the peasants."[11] The use of this statement reveals much about Porshnev's research. The ultimate failure of the bourgeoisie revolution, that is to say the Fronde, is the result of the alliance brokered by the bourgeoisie with the peasants. Such an alliance is doomed to grow out of hand, according to Porshnev. What evidence does Porshnev use to come to this conclusion? In essence, he has none. The evidence does not seem to suggest that the peasant revolts were growing too tumultuous for the bourgeoisie or nobility to handle; indeed Porshnev admits that it was only as a result of special assistance granted to the peasant that they could revolt on a large scale. In the end, Porshnev's description of the failure of the Fronde as a

[9] Ibid., 128.

[10] J. H. M. Salmon, *Renaissance and Revolt: Essays in the Intellectual and Social History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 23-25.

[11] Coveney, 133.

result of peasant involvement comes right from the aforementioned statement by Marx. By remolding the Fronde into the framework of Marxism, Porshnev is able to justify the strange events of the 1789 French Revolution that defy an orthodox Marxist bourgeoisie revolution while at the same time present another proof for the validity of historical materialism.

Today one would have difficulty defending the conclusions of Porshnev's work. At the time in which it was published in France, however, it began a controversy with one historian in particular: Roland Mousnier. Mousnier's criticisms of Porshnev are the same criticisms one hears of Marxist history; namely "as a whole they seem to force reality into a framework which distorts it; and they do not seem to give an account of whole reality."[12] Mousnier shows, with numerous examples, that despite the intermixing of nobility and bourgeoisie, peasant revolts were largely the work of various elements of the nobility and bourgeoisie leading peasants against the consolidation of royal authority.[13] The ambiguity of motivations and class distinctions further deteriorates Porshnev's position. While the defeat of Porshnev's thesis of class conflict as motivation in early modern France nearly collapses the Marxist interpretation of peasant revolts, Mousnier also takes offense to calling seventeenth-century France a feudal society. Mousnier would define feudal society as one in which large land holdings were worked by serfs who owed unlimited service to their lord. By the seventeenth-century however, serfdom had disappeared, and urban growth showed the rise of industrial capitalism.[14] Mousnier would prefer the term seigneurial regime. While it seems as though Mousnier is splitting hairs, he explains the importance of differentiating feudalism and seigniorial forms of government. Seigniorial government is a form of government in which nobles hold power, but in the seigniorial system there is a great deal of usurpation of authority by the monarchy in the way of taxation, administration of justice, and other aspects of society. Along with a seigneurial form of government, Mousnier dismissed Porshnev's society based on classes. Instead, Mousnier advocated a society based on orders. These orders were arbitrarily defined by social esteem and cut across class definitions, with those working for the common good the most esteemed.[15] Just as the circumstances of social relations complicate defining diametrically opposed groups, the economic circumstances of seventeenth-century France defy historian's attempts to define it as simply one mode of production or government over another.[16]

[12] Ibid., 144.

[13] Ibid., 151.

[14] Ibid., 160-161.

[15] William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 8.

[16] Coveney, 162.

Mousnier defeats Porshnev's thesis of peasant revolts by simply showing that the facts on the ground do not lend themselves to properly fit into a Marxist framework; the fact that rebellions and revolts did not rally around a single class is evidence of this fact. Ultimately, while Mousnier's critique offers a solid dismembering of Porshnev's arguments, it shares many similarities. Mousnier and Porshnev agree, for example, that peasant revolts were anti-taxation in nature, generally lead by members of the nobility or bourgeoisie, and both based their research on the reports of the intendants and jurists such as Loyseau and Richelieu. The different versions of seventeenth-century peasant revolts that emerged lay essentially in the presuppositions each brings to the table. Porshnev would like to have a feudal society composed of both nobles and bourgeoisie which create internal inconsistencies leading to a failed bourgeois and proletariat revolution, while Mousnier took the opposite stance, and posited a monarchy attempting to create an absolutist state in order to usurp traditional power and liberties from the nobility. The revolts of both the nobility and peasants which they had fomented into rebellion was a reaction to the usurpation[17]

Interestingly, the structure of the early modern French state is still being debated. While Porshnev's descriptions of peasant revolts have fallen out of favor, his assertion of a feudal state has seen significant research. Exemplified most notably in the case of William Beik's celebrated work *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-century France* that revives the idea of early modern France as a feudal state. By using the Marxist approach of class analysis to examine peasant revolts, Porshnev had inadvertently opened a new debate that would overshadow the question of peasant revolts. It is another piece of historical irony that even Porshnev's work, which sought to bring peasant revolts to the forefront of analysis, would engender arguments over the political structure of seventeenth-century France and have relegated peasants to passing mentions.

While the Marxist and non-Marxist debate took place, a completely different form of history attempted to account for the popular resistance in seventeenth-century France. Annales history, with its emphasis on *histoire totale* (total history), took an entirely different approach to understanding peasant revolts. Two notable works of Annales history can be combined to understand the massive research undertaken by this school of thought. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *The Peasants of Languedoc* primarily focuses on the long term cycles and influences, or the *conjuncture*, on peasants in the province of Languedoc. On the other end of the Annales spectrum, Yves-Marie Bercé's *History of Peasant Revolts* is an examination of the shorter term events of seventeenth-century France. Although this style of examination is known as the *mentalité* of a society, it is very similar to a

[17] Salmon, 198-199.

work of cultural history.[18] Annales historians, after completing the herculean task of sifting through countless sources all over France, produced dissertations sometimes in excess of one-thousand pages which as a result "[have] the ring of authenticity."[19]

The differences of the history of peasant revolts pre- and post-Annales cannot be overstated. Not only does Annales historiography approach historical research from a completely different angle by incorporating many other social scientific disciplines, but it also abandons contrivances such as periodization and politics as of principle importance. What emerges out of this manner of research are works which examine long time spans concluding with *histoire événementielle*; a summation of social and political events which had been influenced by preceding research into various environmental, climate, demographic, and economic factors.

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *The Peasants of Languedoc* is such an examination. True to the Annales style, Ladurie's book investigates the economic changes that France experienced from the late fifteenth-century through the late seventeenth-century. It is only after Ladurie had outlined the various properties of this time period (things such as population figures, taxation rates, price of foodstuffs, cost of rent payments, tithe rates, land distribution, etc.) that he can begin his examination of peasant revolts. The difference between Ladurie and those who came before him, Porshnev and Mousnier, is that Ladurie has no interest in placing peasant revolts within a debate over the nature of the early modern state of France. Instead, Ladurie understands peasant revolts as spontaneous and resulting from the economic and cultural circumstances of their time, saying that "In reality, this revolt affected a society suffering from material distress but psychologically integrated; any developed concept of a struggle between classes or orders was foreign to these people, even if their actions-their tactics-at times appear as a kind of groping towards revolution."[20] This statement speaks plainly enough: Ladurie rejects both Porshnev's and Mousnier's motivations for peasant revolts. Peasants who revolt do not do so because of order or class antagonism. Nonetheless, Ladurie does not displace agency by reducing revolts to economic circumstances. The culture of peasants in this time period also played an integral factor in fomenting sedition, and once combined with economic hardship peasant revolts erupt. The examination of the actions and rhetoric of peasants in revolt reveals their motivations and cultural influences.

The most well known incident that Ladurie has researched is that of the Carnival at Romans. During this brief and chaotic episode of French

[18] The peculiar institution of the *thèse d'état* in (thesis of the state) French academia has given rise to research into peasant revolts like none other.

[19] Sharon Kettering, "Review: [Untitled]," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22 (Winter, 1992): 497.

[20] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Peasants of Languedoc*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 269.

history, peasants and urban artisans had made an attempt to turn the city of Romans upside down by inverting the traditional order of things. This aspect of upsetting the traditional order of things is present at every step of the revolt. As with all peasant revolts of this era, increased economic hardship for the peasantry resulted from increased royal taxation and poor harvests. In its early stages, the revolt demanded the elimination of all taille, tithe, and manorial dues.[21] The implications of such demands show a desire to undermine the entire order and government of French society. In the lead up to the carnival, the seditious mob had begun making death and cannibalistic threats towards those whom they saw as "haughty and odious." Eventually the rebels had gained a level of control of the town - inverting the prices of food; making the food traditionally reserved for the rich affordable for the poor, while the vile food normally consumed by the peasants was fixed at a high price. During the carnival, as the tensions had been mounting, the nobles and bourgeoisie of Romans struck back and quashed the rebellion in a massacre.[22]

The theme of inversion is significant to Ladurie because he ties it to the rise of witchcraft in the rural, isolated areas of France that had little contact with Christianity. As Ladurie describes it, witchcraft by its nature is an inversion mythology. The celebration of the black mass was often the inverse of what a Catholic would experience with oddities such as, a black Eucharist, the witch levitating upside-down during pray, the witch facing the crowd instead of the traditional facing of the altar, and reading or reciting the Bible backwards. The predisposition of inversion on the part of folklore religion would influence the manner in which peasants rebelled against authority; such as those described during the carnival in Romans. Ladurie more simply states: "to turn the world upside-down is not the same as to revolutionize it, or even to transform it in a true sense. It is, nevertheless, in an elementary way, to contrast, to deny, to proclaim one's disaccord with the world as it is."[23]

The rebellion during the carnival in Romans is significant to Ladurie; not because it was a movement towards revolution and egalitarianism, but because the manner of the rebellion was "a long series of symbolic demonstrations, was a sort of psychological drama or tragic ballet whose actors danced and acted out their revolt instead of discoursing about it in manifestos."[24] Ladurie understands the carnival in Romans revolt as not being ideologically motivated. Instead he views the impulsive and symbolic actions of the participants as evidence of the religious and psychological machinations of those indigent peasants who needed relief from their dearth and poverty expressed in the only venue available to

[21] Ibid. , 192-193.
[22] Ibid., 192-196.
[23] Ibid. , 208.
[24] Ibid. , 196.

them. Ladurie's analysis is a watershed moment in the historiography of peasant revolts. *The Peasants of Languedoc* represents the first time peasant revolts were presented on their own terms, instead of being amalgamated into a debate over the nature of the French political structure or social order. This feat, which not even Boris Porshnev had accomplished, also represented early research into the cultural history of peasant life.

Yves-Marie Bercé's *History of Peasant Revolts* represents the pinnacle of historical research in popular violence during early modern France. Bercé's research brings him close to Ladurie, with notable differences. For instance, both Ladurie and Bercé view peasant revolts as cultural phenomenon, however each understand the revolts as stemming from different cultural aspects, thereby rejecting Porshnev and Mousnier. Where Ladurie sees religion as a primary moving force, Bercé only mentions religion in passing. It may be that Ladurie's focus solely on Languedoc has allowed him to disregard much of the source material Bercé has to work with. Bercé would, in place of religion, emphasize a collective memory or the power of rumor in rural societies. Where Bercé and Ladurie agree however, is that both would describe peasant revolts as non-revolutionary. Not only are peasant revolts not-revolutionary, according to Bercé, but they are also reactionary. Many of the sources used by Bercé point to a longing for the golden age of feudalism in which foreign tax collectors and soldiers were absent from the traditional order of society.[25]

When Bercé's four categories of revolts (those against bread prices, the tax collector, troop movements, and tax farmers) are examined, apart from human considerations such as basic survival, Bercé finds attempts to properly restructure society. A revolt over the price of bread, ostensibly driven by hunger, also reveals peasant moral outrage, whether real or imagined, towards merchants, bakers, and millers. Many rioters suggested that those who controlled the production of bread and grain were allowing starvation in their community in order to seek increased profits elsewhere. Therefore, the riot was an attempt to correct the behavior of these profiteers. When it was heard that troops would be entering the city, many peasants assisted in repelling the soldiers out of fear that troops would be quartered in their homesor would steal their property in raids. Although the fear of troops could have been exaggerated, the rumors and collective memory of previous injustices and the foreign authority that troops represented inclined many to resist. The theme of resistance to foreign power is significant to the last two categories; that of revolts against tax collectors and tax farmers. The resistance against tax collectors is both a

[25] Yves-Marie Bercé, "The Rebel Imagination. Traditions of Insurrection in South-West France," in *History of Peasant Revolts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 244-319.

function of economic circumstances, such as a high grain prices or expensive alcohol, and also of a popular mentalité.[26]

For Bercé, rumors and myths prevalent in peasant revolts reveal how peasants viewed ever-increasing rates of taxation. The most significant aspect of the popular myths was the desire to return to a golden age of feudalism. By justifying their rebellions as a defense of the king, peasants alleviated themselves from the guilt of rebellion. The common myth identified by Bercé is that of deceit of the king. In this myth, the king, by his nature a good and just ruler, had been deceived or robbed by his ravenous ministers into creating a new tax. A similar variation of this myth was the remission of taxation; a scenario in which peasants heard news that the king had eliminated the taxes of the peasants to release them from their burden, but tax collectors or tax farmers had suppressed this information for their own profit.[27] The nature of these myths is devastating to Porshnev's Marxist interpretation of peasant revolts. According to Bercé, peasant revolts, at best, were attempts to maintain the status quo, or, at worst, reactionary; the very antithesis of Marxism.

Despite both being Annales historians, Ladurie and Bercé come to different conclusions about the motivations of peasant revolts. Although both see peasant revolts as the result of the fusion of economic hardship and cultural influences, Ladurie sees peasant revolts as quasi-religious, such as the incident in Romans which sought to undermine the traditional order of society by inverting it. Bercé meanwhile would show the regressive nature of peasant revolts that only sought either to maintain the current way of life or return to a mythological golden age of feudalism. Ultimately, these differences can be reconciled; Ladurie's examination only targeted one province of France, whereas Bercé examined the whole of France. As such, Bercé had many more sources and examples to work with. Therefore, one can conclude that Bercé's examination holds more authority on the subject matter.

All the relevant literature having been reviewed, it remains to see where future historians have avenues for further research. The post-modernism movement which has been waning recently has none the less produced tools which can be used to look deeper into peasant revolts. While some historians have touched the subject, it still remains for a historian to do an examination into the discourses prevalent among the upper echelons of French society that created an ideology of peasant vis-à-vis the other estates in France. A discursive analysis may be done through an examination of the language used by provincial elites in mediums such as speeches to the public, written announcements, laws passed, and institutions created, style of dress, style of architecture, and any number of

[26] Yves-Marie Bercé, "Types of Riots in the Seventeenth Century," in *History of Peasant Revolts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 169-243.

[27] Yves-Marie Bercé, "The Rebel Imagination, " 244-319.

other forms of expression which seek to convey and maintain a system of subjection. Conversely, a specific discursive analysis of resistance is also open to research. The language that was used among the peasants to understand their station in life could offer a view into the possibilities available them, as it is know that people cannot do what they cannot conceive or speak about. Although the types of sources available are limited, discourses on peasant resistance can be gleamed if sources are properly read against the grain. This type of examination would not only give further insight into the peasant's world, but also allow historians to track the changing discourses of power up through the French Revolution of 1789.

Another similar area of study for seventeenth-century French historians is that of gender. Not only is there no specific research into women's roles in peasant revolts, but there also is lacking research into discourses of gender in peasants and their relationships with each other, as well as relations with the nobility. There are most assuredly sources which can be examined which reveal the status of women in early modern France, both in what the sources say, as well as what they do not say. In addition to these theoretical concepts of history open new avenues for research; there is also need for more focused history in the form of cultural history. Much of the historiography of peasant revolts has been through large scale models which have shown conflicting motivations. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie sensed this fact and published *Carnival in Romans*, a book which dropped the bulk of his Annales research in favor of the singular event which revealed much of the cultural history of peasants. Natalie Zemon Davis has taken up this banner and written several articles of cultural history about various vignettes in the history of France[28]; there is further work to be done. The Annales School of historical inquiry has also brought out questions of emotions and memory. These new types of history have left peasant revolts untouched.

After looking into historian's perceptions of peasant revolts, what can one ultimately take from it? The major approaches taken to understand peasant revolts began with an attempt to save them from condemnation and portray them as victims of oppression. Mousnier, a more conservative historian, rejected this outright and within his society of orders put the peasants back at the bottom of the totem pole. When the Annales historians approached the problem, the idea of placing peasants into a hierarchical structure was secondary to contextualizing the reasons for revolt. Although it may look as though Porshnev also tries to contextualize the reasons for revolt, it is only secondary to placing the peasants into a proper social category. This fundamental difference is what gives the Annales historians an edge. By disregarding classes and orders, Ladurie and Bercé are able to understand peasant revolts for what they were. Mousnier falls into the

[28] See: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

same trap he accuses Porshnev of falling into; namely imposing a social hierarchy onto a society that is not so easily defined. In doing so both Porshnev and Mousnier must, whether consciously or subconsciously, interpret their evidence to fit these imposed social structures. It is true that peasants always did die, but it is precisely for that reason that historical inquiry into their thoughts and deeds is needed, less we as historians continue to let them die.

British Strategic Bombing

Benjamin Joyner

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The British strategic bombing campaigns against Germany during the Second World War have been a topic of much discussion and debate over the years. Initially seen as a way to minimize the loss of Allied lives while putting great pressure on the Germans, some historians see the British bombing as merely vindictive retribution for the London Blitz. This change occurred over several decades. For the purposes of this paper we will examine the view during and immediately following the war as well as the present day viewpoints. From the end of WWI proponents of the newly developing "air power" insisted that, if used properly, air power could win a war without the need for ground forces. Central to the development of this new military ideology were the figures of Hugh Trenchard and Giulio Douhet. Douhet, the famed Italian general, was especially influential in the development of the strategic bombing theory. According to Douhet the goal of successful strategic bombing was the destruction of what he termed "vital centers". These vital centers comprised the governmental, military, and industrial hubs of the enemy, the destruction of which would break the enemy's will to fight, or as Douhet put it, the "peacetime industrial and commercial establishments; important buildings, private and public; and certain designated areas of civilian population as well."[1] Hugh Trenchard of the British Royal Air Force (RAF) was quick to pick up on the ideas of Douhet. It was Trenchard who was instrumental in the establishment of the RAF. In Britain, the RAF's "War Manual" stated that a nation was defeated when its people or government no longer retained the will to prosecute their war aim by concentrating on the enemy's industrial and economic infrastructure, which included such things as public utilities, food and fuel supplies, transportation networks, and communications, clearly a Douhetian concept.[2] The British tested the strategic bombing theory before the Second World War on civilians and rebels in what is now Iraq.

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[1] Meilinger, Phillip S. "A History of Effects-Based Air Operations." *The Journal of Military History* 71 (2007): 142

[2] Ibid.,142.

Ironically, Britain would soon pass through the crucible of modern strategic bombing herself.

British experience in the Blitz

The German strategic bombing campaign against the British was the first massive application of Douhet's ideas in a modern war involving western nations. The "Battle of Britain" lasted from July 10th 1940 through December 31st of the same year. The first part of this massive bombardment focused on destroying the RAF, but on September 9th the focus shifted to major cities and urban centers. The goal of the Germans was to remove the British from the war by breaking the civilian will to fight. This change in targets and objectives came to be known as the Blitz. During this time English cities such as Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Clydebank, Coventry, Greenock, Sheffield, Swansea, Liverpool, Hull, Manchester, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Nottingham and Southampton were all targeted by the Luftwaffe and suffered heavy casualties. The town of Coventry was particularly hard hit by the German use of incendiary bombs which created a firestorm killing at least 568 civilians and destroyed 65,000 buildings.[3] This event highlights the physical devastation of strategic bombing on civilian targets, but what were the psychological effects? The goal of this type of bombing is to break the civilian will to fight, yet the bombing (particularly the use of incendiaries) of the English cities backfired on the Germans. Rather than convincing the English to surrender, the attacks only further strengthened their resolve to defeat Nazi Germany. Winston Churchill sums up the sentiment of the British people in one of his famous radio addresses,

> We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire... Neither the sudden shock of battle nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools and we will finish the job[4].

As Germany began to prepare for "Operation Barbarossa," the bombings on Britain began to lessen and Britain began to plan its response. After the entry of the United States into the war in December 1941, Britain issued *Directive No. 22* which officially commanded RAF bombers that "the primary objective of your operations should be focused on the morale of the enemy civil population and in particular the industrial workers."[5] The head of the RAF Bomber Command was Sir Arthur Travers Harris, a

[3] Taylor, Frederick. *Dresden Tuesday 13 February 1945*. London: Bloomsbury, 2005.

[4] *The Churchill War Papers: 1941* (1993), ed. Gilbert, W.W. Norton, pp. 199-200

[5] Ministry, British Air. *Bomber Command*. November 14, 2008. http://raf-lincolnshire.info/bombercmd/bombercmd.htm (accessed 2008).

distinguished and long-serving British officer. Harris earned the nickname "Bomber" from the British press due to his belief in the effectiveness of strategic bombing. Ironically, his men in the RAF called him "Butcher" Harris for the same reason. Under Harris's leadership "the British…set out to do in Germany what British ground forces couldn't accomplish –destroy industrial capacity and undermine civilian morale."[6]

The destructive physical and psychological impact of the bombing of German industrial and civilian centers was assumed to have been great. However, this belief was shaken when first the Butt Report and later reports showed the inaccuracy of "precision" bombing. As Meilinger states, "The inaccuracy of early bombing efforts was detailed in the Butt Report of 1941. Essentially, researchers discovered that only 33 percent of the bombs dropped by the RAF landed within *five miles* of their intended target. On moonless nights accuracy was far less."[7] Utilizing the same tactics for which they had denounced the Luftwaffe, the RAF began carpet bombing German cities. Furthermore, there was little concern for the morality of intentionally targeting civilians. As Robert Moeller states, "Both British and American military leaders – with approval from the highest levels of the civilian political order – agreed that bombing to undermine domestic morale was legitimate. The destruction of housing – or 'dehousing' as the British called it – achieved by using incendiary bombs, was, they reasoned, potentially as disruptive to industrial production as the levelling of factories."[8] "Bomber" Harris minced no words about the true nature of the British strategic bombing, stating that,

> The aim of the Combined Bomber Offensive...should be unambiguously stated [as] the destruction of German cities, the killing of German workers, and the disruption of civilized life throughout Germany. It should be emphasized that the destruction of houses, public utilities, transport and lives, the creation of a refugee problem on an unprecedented scale, and the breakdown of morale both at home and at the battle fronts by fear of extended and intensified bombing, are accepted and intended aims of our bombing policy. They are not by-products of attempts to hit factories.[9]

[6] Moeller, Robert G. "On the History of Man-made Destruction: Loss, Death, Memory, and Germany in the Bombing War." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 61 (2006): 107.

[7] Meilinger, Phillip S. , 148.

[8] Moeller, Robert G. , 107.

[9] Ministry, British Air..

The bombing of Dresden, Germany in 1945 sparked a re-evaluation of their tactics as Churchill himself expressed in a memo to Chief of the British Air Staff,

> It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed. Otherwise we shall come into control of an utterly ruined land. The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing. I am of the opinion that military objectives must henceforward be more strictly studied in our own interests than that of the enemy. The Foreign Secretary has spoken to me on this subject, and I feel the need for more precise concentration upon military objectives such as oil and communications behind the immediate battle-zone, rather than on mere acts of terror and wanton destruction, however impressive.[10]

What can be clearly seen by these documents is that, at least inside Bomber Command, there were no misunderstandings about the nature of these attacks. These were terror attacks that were intended to demoralize the German civilians. Still the practice was popular until the end of the war, with civilian and military leaders alike preaching of the successful nature of the attacks in destroying enemy factories and the like. The firebombing of Dresden in early 1945 began a serious look at this practice.

Strategic Bombing Today

Looking back on the issue of the British strategic bombing campaign with the benefit of over fifty years of hindsight, historians today are much more critical of the British motivation as well as the military value of the campaigns. Robert Moeller comments on the indecisive nature of the Allied strategic bombing, "Extensive post-war surveys by the British and Americans yielded anything but unequivocal evidence."[11] As the Allies, Britain in particular, began to question the effectiveness of their bombing campaigns against Germany, it should come as no surprise that they also began to question the morality of such actions. It's telling that at Nuremberg there was no mention of German bomb attacks as 'crimes of war,' an indication that the Allies were uncertain about what was and was not a crime according to international rules of warfare, and of their concern that any mention of Coventry and Rotterdam would be met with mentions of Pforzheim, Hamburg, Berlin, Essen, Düsseldorf, Munich, Nuremberg,

[10] Ministry, British Air.

[11] Moeller, , 108.

Dresden, and many other German cities.[12] Both sides were guilty of strategic bombing against civilians regardless of who dropped the first bombs. Jörg Friedrich, author of *Der Brand: Deutschland im Bombenkrieg 1940-1945*, is one of the many historians that have begun telling the story of the German citizens during the British bombing campaigns. Along with this change in focus, comes the inevitable questioning of the morality of the decision to firebomb and carpet-bomb whole cities. Historians now tend to emphasis the ineffectual nature of the campaigns as well as the high cost in RAF lives and planes in executing these attacks. Although they are few in number, some even go as far as to claim that this was pure retribution visited upon the Germans for their attacks on the British cities. Another explanation for the early destruction of civilian areas lies in the inaccuracies of the bombs themselves. However, it must be remembered that later the British would authorize the systematic destruction of cities by utilizing a gridiron approach. The practice is now strictly forbidden by the Geneva Conventions, another sign that the moral issue of the bombing is of importance. Many consider the British bombing of Dresden and the American bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as war crimes, on par with the Nazi holocaust.

Not all of the new historians agree that the use of strategic bombing was unnecessary and ineffectual. Melden E. Smith, Jr. asks this question, "If, then, strategic bombing is both immoral and militarily ineffective, why did Great Britain and the United States persist in their ever-increasing bombing offensive against Germany during the second world war?"[13] Smith goes on to discuss the enormous amount of war materiel that went into the effort; something he insists is proof that the campaigns were successful. He also suggests that the continued emphasis on strategic bombing into the late 1970's reinforces its effectiveness. Speaking about strategic bombing advocates during WWII he says, "This dogma has, moreover, a subtle advantage over direct confrontation. Your own men are relatively safe. If they do die, death is clean. Most important, you never see the real results of their work until the enemy has surrendered. A reconnaissance photograph is impersonal, dehumanized; the scale is too small to show, say, a dismembered child. Warfare becomes almost an intellectual exercise."[14] This disconnect is important because it allows the job to be done with minimal emotional distress on the soldiers. Tami Biddle, another historian, adds to this justification by emphasizing the British failure to field long-range bomber escorts or develop more accurate bombing on par with that of the Americans. Because of this the British decided to carpet bomb entire cities, their bombing was so inaccurate that the only way to assure

[12] Moeller, 108.

[13] Smith, Melden E. Jr. "The Strategic Bombing Debate: The Second World War and Vietnam." *Journal of Contemporary History* 12, no. 1 (January 1977): 175.

[14] Ibid., 177.

destruction of targets was to level everything. Furthermore she points out that Churchill himself did not believe in the effectiveness of terror bombings, "Nothing that we have learned of the capacity of the German population to endure suffering justifies us in assuming that they could be cowed into submission by such methods, or, indeed that they would not be rendered more desperately resolved by them."[15]

Conclusion

The trend in examining the British Strategic Bombing campaigns has indeed changed over the years. From the unquestioning necessity and success of the war years to the careful examination after WWII and still today, both the effectiveness of the campaigns as well as their moral ambiguity are in the forefront of historical discussions. Many factors have been examined: inaccuracy of the bombs, terror effects, and questionable successes. War is a messy business and decisions are often made that to a peacetime mindset are distasteful at best. In conclusion, from Churchill, "The day may dawn when fair play, love for one's fellow men, respect for justice and freedom, will enable tormented generations to march forth triumphant from the hideous epoch in which we have to dwell. Meanwhile, never flinch, never weary, never despair[16]."

[15] Biddle, Tami Davis. "Dresden 1945: Reality, History, and Memory." *The Journal of Military History* 72 (April 2008): 445.

[16] *The Churchill Centre and Museum at the Cabinet War Rooms, London.* http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/speeches-of-winston-churchill/102-never-despair (accessed October 23, 2008).

Eye for an Eye: Israel's Swift and Devastating Response to the Munich Massacre at the 1972 Olympic Games

Benjamin Mapes

Ben Mapes, an undergraduate History major, wrote this paper for Dr. Roger Beck's HIS 2500 course, Historical Research and Writing, in spring 2009.

> "From the blood-drenched history of the Jewish nation, we learn that violence which begins with the murder of Jews ends with the spread of violence and danger to all people, in all nations. We have no choice but to strike at terrorist organizations wherever we can reach them. That is our obligation to ourselves and to peace."
>
> -Golda Meir, 1972[1]

Israeli participation in the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, Germany was a global statement of momentous proportions. The world was still in shell-shock from World War II and the Holocaust, but when the Olympic committee decided to have Germany host the Olympics in Munich, it appeared as if the world had forgiven Germany for the atrocities committed by a select group of its citizens, and Israel's participation served as the Jewish pardon. Forgiveness aside, however, all eyes were on Germany with collective lips bitten in anxiety for fear of a repeat of the events only three decades prior. Therefore, when an Islamic extremist group, calling themselves "Black September," took eleven members of the Israeli team hostage, the world's fears were realized: another horrific and public assault on the Jewish nation.

Since the state was founded in 1948, Israel has engaged in countless armed conflicts to save its own existence. Dealing with such difficulties on a day-to-day basis forces Israel to adopt an intense response policy to any kind of aggression. The 1948 and 1967 wars demonstrated how relentless an Israeli response could be. In the years following these wars, Israeli ferocity in repelling foreign and terrorist violence increased, culminating in its response to the events of September 5, 1972. Since that time, Israel's anti-terrorism policy has unarguably been "an eye for an eye."[2] The responses to the "Munich Massacre" were the best possible responses to a terrorist action Israel could have taken.

[1] Golda Meir, 1972, from Aaron J. Klein's *Striking Back: The 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre and Israel's Deadly Response*, translated by Mitch Ginsburg (Random House: New York) 2005, p. vii.

[2] Terrence Smith, "The Planes' Message: 'An Eye for an Eye'," *New York Times*, September 10, 1972.

Two Books: *Striking Back vs. Vengeance*

This paper owes a great deal to the work of two scholars of Israel's response to Munich: Aaron J. Klein's *Striking Back: the True Story of an Israeli Counter-Terrorist Team* and George Jonas's *Vengeance: the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre and Israel's Deadly Response.* Due to Israeli policy toward the release of government documents, especially those dealing with covert operations, these two books, based off interviews with Mossad agents, officers, and operatives, present the most detailed and reliable evidence and facts regarding *Operation: Wrath of God.* Neither book has been recognized by the Israeli government as an accurate account, but, at the same time, neither has been discredited by Israel or academia. A majority of both accounts coincide with each other, giving both accounts amazing credibility. There are, however, some variances between the two accounts. For instance, *Vengeance* is based almost solely on the account of Alias: Avner, a man claiming to be a Mossad operative in charge of one of the assassination teams, and he is personally responsible for many of the killings; in *Striking Back*, however, Klein's main operative is a man named Michael Harari who organized a number of teams which killed the numerous targets.

In Klein's book Harari was responsible for the death of Wael Zu'aytir, the first target to be killed, but in Jonas's book, it is Avner that pulled the trigger on Zu'aytir. This would lead many to believe that Harari is Avner, but as Klein's book progresses, Harari becomes involved in a number of activities that Avner is not involved in, including the Lillehammer incident. Further inconsistencies between Avner and Harari include their ties with Mossad after being given their mission. Avner rarely spoke with Mossad or his case officer, Ephraim, during the operation; Harari, however, was in constant contact with Mossad and, at his request, had General Zvi Zamir, chief of Mossad, on location for almost all the operations with the strange exception of the one in Lillehammer.

September 5, 1972

September 4th seemed to be a relatively normal day for the Israeli Olympic team. That night, however, none of them could have expected what would happen. At approximately 4:00 am local time September 5th, several terrorists broke into the apartment complex housing the Israeli athletes and coaches and proceeded to enter apartment number one which housed: track coach Amitzur Shapira, fencer Andrei Spitzer, rifle coach Kehat Shorr, weightlifting judge Yacov Springer, wrestling referee Yossef Gutfreund, and weightlifting coach Tuvia Sokolovsky.[3]Gutfreund had been awake at

[3] Alexander B. Callahan, "Countering Terrorism: The Israeli Response to the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre and the Development of Independent Covert Action Teams," (master's thesis, Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1995).

the time of their entry, and, upon seeing the door open and an assault rifle, likely a Soviet-made AK-47, he threw himself into the door and alerted his roommates. Sokolovsky managed to break a window and escape, but the rest of the roommates, including Gutfreund, were captured.

The terrorists proceeded to investigate the rest of the complex and captured six others on the Israeli team. One Israeli, wrestling coach Moshe Weinberger, attacked the terrorists, knocking two unconscious before a third opened fire and killed him. During the raid, Yossef Romanno and David Marc Berger attempted to escape through a window; Berger escaped successfully, but Romanno, unable to climb out the window, found a knife and attacked the terrorists. Romanno managed to kill one assailant before being shot down. By the end of the raid, the terrorists had killed two Israelis and captured nine more.

The terrorists immediately released a list of demands to the authorities that included the release of several political prisoners and safe passage to an airport with helicopters ready to evacuate them. While the terrorists were en route to the airport, German police set up a sniper task force to intercept them on the runway. When the terrorists arrived, they put the hostages into two helicopters, which were standing by as per their request. The terrorist found, however, that the German police had set up an ambush for them. German snipers opened fire and a firefight ensued. During the shooting, the terrorists executed the remaining hostages. One terrorist threw a fragmentation grenade into one of the two helicopters while another opened fire at close range with an assault rifle on the other. After the shooting ended, only three terrorists remained and were captured.

The German rescue effort was and continues to be heavily criticized. First, Mossad chief Zvi Zamir and his aide were both on the scene during the attempted rescue, but neither was consulted as to the manner in which the situation would be handled.[4] Second, the German police were completely unprepared to handle a terrorist situation. The snipers were not trained as sharpshooters. The riot police were not equipped to handle 7.62mm rounds. Armored vehicles were not ordered to the airport until ten minutes into the shooting. Most tragically, the helicopter that was grenaded was left to burn until all terrorists were neutralized. Upon investigation afterward, autopsy results show that David Berger was not killed as a result of the exploding grenade, but from smoke inhalation from the burning helicopter.[5] It was a massive embarrassment for the German people being the first public incident between the Germans and Jews since World War II and ended in a massive failure.

(There are many conflicting reports as to why he was awake, but the most popular account is that he had heard voices and woke up to ask them to be quiet).

[4] Ibid.

[5] Klein, *Striking Back*, pp. 71-76.

This event had repercussions for the rest of the Olympics and beyond. First, the games were suspended for the first time in recorded Olympic history for one day. Second, the remaining Israeli athletes were rushed out of Germany for safety reasons, and all Jewish athletes, including American swimmer Mark Spitz, were either forced back to their home countries, or put into protective isolation for the remainder of the games. Third, Israel made a strong lobby to the Olympic Committee to have all nations that support terrorist organizations to be banished from further games.[6] Fourth, the Olympic community greatly increased their security measures as was evident at the Innsbruck Winter Olympics in the winter of 1974.[7]

Black September

The Black September Organization (BSO) was a radical Palestinian organization with unclear origins and connections. A telegram from the US State Department to the capitals of NATO participants suggests that BSO was a child of Fatah, the PLO faction controlled by Yasser Arafat.[8] This document suggests two critical things: number one, it suggests that America supported Israel's retaliation because the American State Department decided to investigate for origins of the BSO; and two, it suggests that Black September was a secretive organization: it's connections and possibly even existence were to be kept secretive. The second point suggests that while Yasser Arafat disavowed a connection to the organization the US State Department found evidence linking the BSO to Fatah.[9]

The name "Black September" was taken from the event known as Black September. In September of 1970, different factions of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) attempted to seize the Jordanian throne. In response, King Hussein of Jordan declared martial law and expelled the PLO, including Yasser Arafat, from Jordan.[10] The deaths and expulsion of thousands of Palestinians became known as Black September and supports the belief that BSO was a wing of the PLO. It is believed that the actions taken by BSO at Munich were fueled by obvious anti-Semitic sentiment of a Palestinian terrorist organization sparked by King Hussein's actions.

It is clear, from the numerous accounts of the event, that it was not the terrorists' intent to kill the hostages. In fact, no hostages were killed before the terrorists were attacked in any way; the hostages killed in the

[6] John Husar, "Calls for Ban on Sports Terror," *Chicago Tribune*, 22 Feb., 1973, C1.

[7] "Innsbruck Plans Tighter Security," *Chicago Tribune*, 8 Jan., 1976, C2.

[8] US Department of State, 13 March 1973, *Telegram to all NATO Capitals*, from www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Terrorism/plobso.html

[9] Ibid.

[10] "Black September: The PLO's attempt to take over Jordan in 1970," Eretz Yisroel, http://www.eretzyisroel.org/~samuel/september.html.

apartments attacked the terrorists personally, and the final hostages were killed after the botched German police rescue. The true motives of the BSO may never be fully understood past the events in Munich, but the final outcomes will live on in infamy.

Wrath of God and Spring of Youth

On September 12, 1972, Prime Minister Golda Meir appeared before a special session of the Knesset, the Israeli parliament. She addressed the Munich incident and assured the parliament that Israel would respond. [11] And Israel did respond in one of the most well known anti-terrorist actions in history. Two operations were chosen to retaliate against the BSO and PLO. *Operation: Spring of Youth*¸ an aerial assault on suspected terrorist camps, and *Operation: Wrath of God*, a precision assassination program.

Spring of Youth was a massive air strike program targeted at all suspected terrorist camps from southern Lebanon to northern Jordan. Through a variety of means, from interviews to interrogations to aerial surveillance, Mossad found a number of camps that they targeted for destruction. Prime Minister Meir is quoted as saying, "Wherever a plot is being woven, wherever people are planning to murder Jews and Israelis – that is where we need to strike."[12] A series of bombing raids pounded southern Lebanon, western Syria, and northern Jordan. These strikes began before Meir addressed the Knesset, the first wave being dropped on September 9, just four days after the massacre. The strikes gained worldwide attention. *New York Times* reporter, Terrence Smith, claimed that the strikes were a clear signal to the Arab world that Israel's anti-terrorism policy is "an Eye for an Eye."[13] While America continued its silent support of Israel's activities, other nations voiced their disapproval of such aggressive actions. A Chinese newspaper claimed that the Chinese people were strongly against such aggressive behavior from Israel.[14] Although, China, as a communist nation with a government controlled newspaper, spoke out against the Israeli attacks, the government refused to make an official comment on the events in Munich a few days earlier.

Spring of Youth stunned the Arab world. In an almost reflexive manner, Israel essentially carpet-bombed terrorist camps from Lebanon to Jordan. The airstrikes produced extreme confusion, rage, and embarrassment in the Arab nations. First, Arabs were confused by the precision of the Israeli assaults; by all accounts, not one of the targets was a false target, every casualty was confirmed to be an Arab guerilla and every encampment had the means to produce a significant assault on Israel.

[11] Klein, *Striking Back*, pp. 100-101.

[12] Ibid, p. 106.

[13] Smith, "Eye for an Eye."

[14] "Chinese Denounce Israel for Raiding Syria, Lebanon," *New York Times*, 14 September, 1972, p. 13.

Second, it was a blatant Israeli attack on Arab soil. Third, it angered many Arabs who noticed that Palestinian terrorist groups continued their operations without regard to the retaliation. Many groups began putting pressure on the PLO to cease its activities for fear of further retaliation from Israel and Mossad. Finally, some accounts place some high-ranking PLO leaders within a mile of the targets of the airstrikes, but notes that many, including Yasser Arafat, did not attend the funeral for the men killed in the airstrikes.[15] PLO leaders were running scared; *Spring of Youth* proved that Israel could decimate any significant aggressive camp in the Arabian Peninsula. *Wrath of God* proved that the leaders of the PLO, BSO, and other aggressive organizations could be reached anywhere in the world.

The more well known action taken, thanks to Hollywood, was *Wrath of God. Operation: Wrath of God* was a tactical assassination program carried out by multiple Mossad task forces over seven years. The goal of this mission was twofold: to destroy the remnants of the BSO, and to send a message to all other terrorist groups in the form of deterrence and targeted killings. Due to the secret nature of the Israeli government, much is unknown about the actual events. What is known for sure is that, in response to the Munich Massacre, Golda Meir approved the targeted killing of a number of Palestinians believed to be the leadership of Black September. Between 1972 and 1979 many men believed to be on the list were killed, including one Ali Hassan Salameh, the man thought to be the founder of Black September, in 1979.

There have been many dramatizations of *Wrath of God*, most recently in Steven Spielberg's 2005 film, *Munich. Munich* showed the operation of one team of Mossad agents operating in Europe. At the end of the film, one of the senior agents alludes to multiple teams being used to assassinate BSO and PLO targets. The most important piece of information gathered from Spielberg's film is the method of assassination used on the targets. The Israeli team used explosives to kill a majority of the targets, in a way countering terrorism with terrorism.[16]

The film *Munich* was based on the accounts of two aforementioned works: Aaron J. Klein, author of *Striking Back: The 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre and Israel's Deadly* Response, and George Jonas, author of *Vengeance: The True Story of an Israeli Counter-Terrorist Team.* According to several sources, including Klein and Jonas, the first target killed was Wael Zu'aytir who was shot twelve to fourteen times at close range with *.22* caliber rounds.[17,18] From then on, by all accounts, it seems that the teams stuck mainly to explosives whenever possible. Explosives contain a certain

[15] Klein, *Striking Back*, 169.
[16] Eric Bana and Daniel Craig, *Munich*, DVD
[17] Klein, *Striking Back*, 117-120.
[18] George Jonas, *Vengeance: The True Story of an Israeli Counter-Terrorist Team* (Simon and Schuster) 2005, from http://books.google.com.

ambiguity and message in their nature; anyone can shoot or be shot, while dealing in explosives requires an expertise and shows a general motive to kill instead of a possible botched mugging. An explosion garners national and, at times, international attention. That is what the Israeli government wanted to do. Part of the mission was to avenge the fallen athletes, but most of it was a message to nations and terrorist organizations around the world. A corpse with a few holes in it does not accomplish this, but one in fifty or so pieces does. On April 10, 1973, Israeli commandos took out three high-profile men within the PLO and BSO in their homes in Beirut.[19] This was the largest assassination (measured in manpower) of *Wrath of God.* Rumors persist, and are mentioned in Jonas's book and Spielberg's film, that many future Israeli leaders took part in *Wrath of God*, including future Prime Minister Ehud Barak.[20,21]

Ali Hassan Salameh was the supposed mastermind of the Munich Massacre and number one on Israel's list of names to be targeted. From 1972 on, Mossad dedicated a significant portion of *Wrath of God's* intelligence team to finding Salameh. Both Jonas's and Klein's books examine multiple attempts at Salameh's life, but it is known with certainty that none of them succeeded until 1979 in Beirut.[22] Salameh was, in fact, a difficult target to get to. What had come to be the standard procedure for the Mossad agents would not work on Salameh. His paranoia sparked after *Spring of Youth* and just grew as each assassination occurred. Thus, Salameh enlisted an expansive personal security force to protect him, making the standard procedure, mentioned above for eliminating targets, very difficult. According to Klein's account, Salameh was killed while in his Chevrolet after meeting with his wife on January 22, 1979. The convoy turned down a small side road en route to his destination and passed an empty, parked Volkswagen. This Volkswagen had been rented the day before and fitted "with eleven pounds of hexagene, a plastic explosive equal to seventy pounds of dynamite."[23] When Salameh's car rolled past the seemingly peaceful German car, a Mossad operative detonated the explosive, which could be felt several blocks away. One body was identified by Mossad agents, eyewitnesses, and police as Ali Hassan Salameh.[24]

[19] "Strike Against Terror," *New York Times*, 11 April, 1973, p. 46.
[20] Jonas, *Vengeance*, pp.182-197.
[21] Bana/Craig, *Munich.*
[22] Jonas, *Vengeance*, pp. 330-332.
[23] Klein, *Striking Back*, pp. 221-222
[24] Ibid

Reactions to *Wrath of God*

Wrath of God was supposed to be a covert operation. Even though the targets were killed by a political agency, it was not supposed to be known that these were political assassinations. Naturally though, as known high-profile Palestinian terrorists started being assassinated immediately after Munich, many knew, even though there was no confirmation, that Israel was responsible. This caused major responses among the remaining members of Black September, and the Arab nations.

Members of Black September, though they had created one the most horrific hostage situations in Israeli history, was not ready to back down. Israel responded swiftly and effectively with *Operation: Spring of Youth*, which caused a retaliatory letter-bombing campaign from the BSO. Several letters equipped with plastic explosives were mailed to Israeli embassies around the world. Most of them were addressed from Amsterdam, including one that went to Agricultural Counselor Ami Shachori. Shachori was expecting a delivery of Dutch seeds and never thought twice about the narrow envelope from Amsterdam. This severe misperception cost Shachori his life and temporarily deafened his colleague, Theodor Kaddar, who had also been in the room at the time. After this incident, sixty-four similar letter bombs were discovered before they could be delivered. These were sent to embassies and government buildings all over the globe with several being found in Canada, Paris, Vienna, Brussels, New York, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem.[25]

Black September also took a role all too familiar to Americans today. On October 29, 1972, several Arabian terrorists took over Lufthansa Flight 615 from Damascus to Frankfurt. The terrorist who took command of the flight controls announced his control of the airplane and identified himself as Abu-Ali. His goal was to have the three Black September operatives captured at Munich released in what came to be known as "Operation Munich." After making his demands public, the German government, without consulting the Israelis, immediately acquiesced to Abu-Ali's demands and sent the three prisoners to Zagreb, Yugoslavia, the agreed upon exchange site. However, the hostages were not released in Zagreb as was agreed upon. Instead, Abu-Ali flew the hostages and newly freed prisoners to Tripoli, Libya where the hostages were released. Israelis were disgusted and enraged by Germany's decision to release the prisoners, and even more so at how quickly the decision was made. Golda Meir claimed that she felt physically sick from the news of their release.[26]

There are opinions either way about whether *Wrath of God* was the proper response Israel should have taken. Critics make a variety of claims

[25] "And Now, Mail-a-Death," *Time*, 2 October, 1972, from http://www.time.com.

[26] Klein, *Striking Back*, pp. 125-128.

including the credibility of the information used to choose the targets and citing the Lillehammer incident.

Klein notes, in the chapter regarding Wael Zu'aytir, the first target, that information regarding Zu'aytir's guilt and connection to Munich may have been faulty. Klein states that Zu'aytir was not directly involved in the planning or perpetrating of Munich in any way.[27] Years later, Aharon Yariv, Golda Meir's advisor on terrorism, commented to the BBC that Zu'aytir was more of a support figure. He aided in funding and transportation of terrorist activities and supplies, but never participated in any form of planning or any action that could be tied with Munich.[28] According to Jonas, Zu'aytir was chosen for assassination due to suspected involvement in the hijacking and attempted destruction by tape-recorder bomb of two El Al airplanes.[29] Even with these justifications, there still remains controversy over whether Zu'aytir's assassination was necessary or not.

Second, and most controversial, Mossad agents killed an innocent person in Lillehammer, Norway. Ali Hassan Salameh was the number one person on Mossad's list, being suspected of being the mastermind and architect of the events at the Munich Games. Salameh was a close confidant of Arafat and was notorious for being involved in high-profile terrorist activities. Mossad intelligence appeared to have located him in Lillehammer, Norway. The Mossad team located the man, followed him to a secluded enough area, and killed him. The man's wife had been holding his hand as the Israeli assassins shot him down. The plan went perfectly, save for the fact that the man they assassinated was not Ali Hassan Salameh, but a Moroccan waiter named Achmed Bouchiki.[30] This incident, which came to be known as "The Lillehammer Incident" became a political and diplomatic nightmare. Several members of the team were arrested by Norwegian police and convicted to sentences of up to five and a half years.[31] However, due to diplomatic talks, all were released back to Israel before the end of their sentences. It was over thirty years before Israel acknowledged responsibility for the botched assassination.

Was it Effective?

The biggest controversy centered on the Munich retaliation is the question of its effectiveness. Many critics claim that there was no real change in terrorism toward Israel after the completion of the two operations. Were *Wrath of God* and *Spring of Youth* effective? Did they

[27] Ibid, 123.

[28] Ibid, 122-23.

[29] Jonas, *Vengeance*, 105-06.

[30] Klein, *Striking* Back, 184-92.

[31] Ibid, 197.

accomplish anything beyond personally punishing those responsible for a variety of attacks on Israel, including Munich?

Shabtai Teveth, an Israeli journalist who wrote a controversial biography of Moshe Dayan, commented on the effectiveness of Israel's response to Munich. Teveth claims that Israel's eye for an eye policy regarding terrorism causes more severe retaliation from terrorists. Terrorist have found throughout the years, though, that attacks on Israelis within the borders of Israel is futile due to the high level of security on Israeli soil. They therefore started attacking targets outside of the Arabian Peninsula. Teveth believes that terrorists began noticing the high level of security inside Israel in contrast to the relatively low level of security of high-profile Israelis outside the country. He states that terrorism is a natural part of Israel's existence and Jews everywhere need to recognize that there will be people out there that mean to kill them.[32]

To the contrary, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Haaretz*, an Israeli magazine, "Fols" believes that Israel's counter-terrorism actions did not go far enough. "Fols'" agrees that terrorist governments and organizations are a constant threat, but disagrees with Teveth's statements that Israeli counter-terrorism is not working and terrorism is growing. "Fols" just claims that Israel had not yet proven that terrorism has its costs and should intensify its retaliations to send an even clearer message to terrorists that attacking Jews will not be tolerated.[33]

In reality, however, *Wrath of God* was the best course of action for Israel. After 1979, there were attacks on Israel, but none with the impact that Munich had. One can directly attribute this to Israel's retaliations after Munich. This was not the first time Israel went after the proprietors of violence on their soil, but they had never done it with such tenacity, nor on such a broad scale as with Munich. *Wrath of God* was such a world-renowned success, that terrorist organizations refused to make such a bold attack on Israelis again. Instead, attention switched to Israeli allies with stricter policies regarding assassinations and targeted killings such as America and Great Britain. Further, this operation made Mossad one of the most feared government agencies in the world. The speed and ferocity of their retaliation scared PLO leaders and forced them to reconsider their methods in opposing and confronting Israel. Egypt had lost the Sinai; Syria had lost the Golan Heights; and Palestinians had lost the West Bank and Gaza just five years prior to Munich. It is no doubt that these, along with the events of Black September in Jordan, were causes of the Munich Massacre. Essentially, Munich was just an extension of a war that had been ravaging Israel/Palestine since 1948.

[32] "After Munich: Israel Debates the Response," *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 2 (2-Winter, 1973), pp. 142-43.

[33] Ibid, 145.

Conclusion

Counter-terrorism has become more of a preventative measure using techniques as bomb-sniffing dogs, metal detectors, officers trained to notice questionable people, officers trained to handle terrorist situations, and regulations as to what objects can come with you into certain places. Many forget the other side of counter-terrorism, the kind that America's laws prohibit it from using. After Munich, Israel participated in one of the most successful, if not the most successful, manhunts in modern history. All targets were eventually eliminated, the final suspected target falling in 1996, and a majority of them being eliminated by 1975. In fact, in the year of late 1972 to late 1973/early 1974, more men believed to be on the list were killed than in the following twenty-three years. The climax of Israel's operation was, undoubtedly, Ali Hassan Salameh's death in 1979. Since then, terrorism has changed for Israel. It has not stopped, but it has changed significantly. Nasser, one of the three targets eliminated in Beirut, was considered third in the Palestinian network behind Yasser Arafat, leader of the PLO, and Dr. George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); and Wael Zu'aytir, the first target, was, whether it was known by Mossad or not, Yasser Arafat's cousin. Israel proved that it could strike at anyone, anywhere, anytime and that instilled significant fear in all anti-Israeli organizations. The event at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games was certainly a tragedy. But, in the wake of extremist violence, Israel proved to the world that the Jews would no longer submit meekly to terrorist violence, and has responded forcefully many times in the years since then.

The World's Columbian Exposition's Lasting Effect on Chicago

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In many ways, a world's fair is a microcosm of a city. Similar to any large city, a fair must be built to accommodate a deluge of visitors, have working sanitation systems, running water and electricity, and scores of buildings to present to the public. In addition to being efficient, a world's fair must also be aesthetically pleasing. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago was both functional and beautiful, and it encouraged visitors to rethink the aesthetics and infrastructure of American cities. The Exposition strongly influenced American architecture and city planning, and this was especially true in Chicago where Daniel H. Burnham's leadership was instrumental. The planning and success of the World's Fair inspired the City Beautiful movement, which forever changed the face of Chicago.

In the late nineteenth century, Chicago was a bustling, but gritty, city. According to architectural historian Carroll Westfall, the city was not even sixty years old when the World's Fair opened in 1893.[1] Yet Chicago had already burgeoned into a populous, industrial center that was eager to host international audiences. Chicago's growth and prosperity was inspirational and somewhat surprising, considering the Great Fire that had destroyed much of the city only 23 years prior. In 1871, "Approximately two thousand acres lay waste; about eighteen thousand people [were] left homeless."[2] By 1893, Chicagoans had rebuilt their city and they were ready to exhibit it to the world. The World's Columbian Exposition in Jackson Park gave them the opportunity to show off their city's Phoenix-like rebirth and accomplishments. At the time, the city was described as "cluttered," "raucous," and "smoke-filled," and the World's Fair needed to be the antithesis of this polluted chaos.[3] What better way to impress its visitors than with pristine, white buildings of monumental proportion? The resulting "White City" inspired Americans to incorporate

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[1]Carroll Westfall in David Stone, *Chicago's Classical Architecture: The Legacy of the White City* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 7.

[2]Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago, 1871-1893* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 5-6.

[3]David F. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 44-45.

classical architecture, green spaces, and bodies of water into their cities' plans, and much of the success of the World's Fair can be attributed to Burnham's planning.

Daniel H. Burnham was appointed Chief of Construction for the World's Columbian Exposition. Burnham and his partner John Wellborn Root had established a name for themselves as one of the most successful architectural partnerships in Chicago and throughout the United States. By 1890, "the firm had gained widespread recognition, having designed and constructed about $40 million in buildings."[4] This reputation led the pair to be nominated as consulting architects for the World's Fair. E.T. Jeffery, the chair of the Grounds and Buildings Committee, assigned Burnham the position of Chief of Construction in 1893 as a way to centralize the control of the Fair.[5] As Chief of Construction, Burnham was responsible for almost all aspects of the Fair, except the exhibits. According to James Campbell,

> The duty of the Chief of Construction...was, broadly stated, to select, organize, and control all forces needed to prepare the grounds and erect the buildings for the Exposition. These forces were those of surveys and grades, landscape works, architecture, sculpture, decoration, general superintendence, sewers, water and fire protection, steam plant and other machinery, electrical plant, transportation of persons and goods, guard and secret service, fire department, medical department construction accounts, purchasing, attorneys.[6]

An enormous honor was bestowed upon Burnham in being appointed Chief of Construction, but with this honor came tremendous responsibility. The unexpected passing of his partner, Root, in 1891 from pneumonia meant that the success of the Fair lay largely in Burnham's hands. Fortunately, Burnham had the skills and insight to plan and carry out a world's fair of expansive scale.

The grandeur of the World's Columbian Exposition impressed visitors from around the world. The buildings were of massive proportions, and the Fair, at 190 acres, was the largest ever at that time.[7] The site and buildings had to be large enough to accommodate 65,000

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[4]Kristen Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham: Visionary Architect and Planner* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication, Inc., 2003), 60.

[5]Ibid., 63.

[6]James B. Campbell, *Campbell's Illustrated History of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: N. Juul and Company, 1894), 386.

[7]Burnham, quoted in Benjamin C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair Being A Complete and Authentic Description of the Columbian Exposition From Its Inception* (New York: Arno Press, 1976, reprint of the 1893 edition), 146.

exhibitors and millions of visitors.[8] Visitors to the Fair, like journalist Marian Shaw, marveled at the sheer vastness of some of the structures. "By far the largest building on the exposition grounds, is that of the manufactures and liberal arts, its dimensions being 787 x 1687 feet, and having a floor space of 44 acres.... It is said that a thousand cottages 25 x 50 feet could be placed within its walls."[9] However, it was not only the enormity of the buildings that awed visitors at the Fair, but it was their design as well.

The elegance and uniformity of the Neoclassical and Renaissance architecture, referred to as Beaux-Arts after the École des Beaux-Arts (School of Fine Arts) in Paris, were imitated by cities across the country in the decades following the Columbian Exposition. In 1893, Chicago architects were already discussing how the Fair might influence future architecture in an article that appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune.* One architect, S.S. Beman, had this outlook:

> Your request for an opinion as to the influence that the Columbian Exposition will exert upon the architecture of this country almost tempts one to enter the realm of romance.... To my mind, however, the chief value of this great architectural object lesson lies in the fact that it will awaken the masses to a broader and higher appreciation of architecture. I believe that the effect of the architecture of the Exposition will be to hold the development of American architecture to the conservative and refined lines of the classic and renaissance types.[10]

Beman was correct in his assumption that the architecture would rouse visitors and result in an explosion of classical architecture. Nevertheless, not everyone was pleased with the homogeneous white, neoclassical buildings. Louis Sullivan, one of the architects of the Columbian Exposition and one of its harshest critics, argued against the "slavish copying" of Greco-Roman structures.[11] While it is debatable what effect Root's death had on the final plans of the Fair, his sister-in-law believed

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[8]Chaim M. Rosenberg, *America at the Fair: Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2008), 68.

[9]Marian Shaw, *A Woman Journalist Views Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition* (St. Paul: Pogo Press, 1992, Republished from *Chicago Daily News*, 1893), 36.

[10]"Lesson In Building: Effect of World's Fair Architecture on Future." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 29, 1893.

[11]Almus Pratt Evans, "Exposition Architecture: 1893 versus 1933." *Parnassus 5* (1933): 17.

the architecture at the Exposition would have been more colorful and festive had his designs been carried out.[12]

The buildings that were arranged around the Court of Honor, a major focal point of the Fair, shared the same principles. According to Burnham,

> It was not considered judicious to impose upon the designers any conditions in regard to style or proportions which might tend to hamper them in the free exercise of their artistic skill and invention; but, as harmony was an essential element of the composition of the Grand Court, it was suggested that the adoption of the classical style in that group of buildings would secure the desired result. Acting in the direction of this suggestion the Board [of Architects] agreed to fix the height of the cornice of these buildings at sixty feet from the ground.[13]

Burnham assigned each architectural firm to a building, and the Beaux-Arts structures brought a unity to the court (Fig. 1).

Classical influences pervaded the Fair, as illustrated by the buildings and the sculptures. Shaw discusses the "Corinthian style of architecture" of the Liberal Arts Building in one of her articles, and the Corinthian order could be found throughout the Fair.[14] The Columbus Arch and Peristyle, which lay between the harbor and the Court of Honor, consisted of forty-eight Corinthian columns. At the ends of the Peristyle were replicas of the Roman Forum's Temple of Vesta, and sculptures of Roman soldiers and winged goddesses decorated the structure.[15] Near the Peristyle, a statue stood in the Grand Basin and Court of Honor. The 65-foot-high statue designed by sculptor Daniel Chester French was modeled after statues from ancient Greece (Fig. 1).

Triumphal arches, Corinthian columns, pediments, and winged statues were repeated throughout the buildings and added to the harmony of the Court. An obelisk was located at one end of the Grand Basin, and though this is an ancient Egyptian form, it was frequently used in classical revival architecture. According to David Stone, "Beaux-Arts architecture is also known for its grand scale and its more decorative and eclectic interpretation of classical architecture (often inspired by the Renaissance)."[16] The buildings at the Fair fit this description because they were more ornate than classical structures and they incorporated a variety

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[12]Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 78.

[13]Daniel Hudson Burnham and Francis Davis Millet, *The Book of the Builders* (Chicago: Columbian Memorial Publication Society, 1894), 22.

[14]Shaw, *A Woman Journalist Views Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition*, 36.

[15]Ibid., 11.

[16]Ibid., 19.

of styles. The Machinery Hall is a fine example of this eclectic mix of architectural styles at the Fair. The Hall featured repeating Corinthian columns, but incorporated Spanish architecture as well (Fig. 2). According to Hubert Howe Bancroft, "the details of this design have been kept in rigid conformity with classical and scholarly traditions, relieved in parts by motives suggested by the highly ornate renaissance of Spain."[17] Though the architects had guidelines to which they had to adhere, it is apparent they had both flexibility and freedom in designing the buildings.

In addition to uniformity in their design, the buildings at the Exposition shared similar construction materials. The majority of the buildings were impermanent structures that were made from "a combination of plaster of Paris and fibers, which was called staff, superimposed upon lathe."[18] The Palace of Fine Arts (Fig. 3) was one of two permanent structures built for the World's Columbian Exposition (the other permanent structure was the World's Congress Auxiliary Building, later the Art Institute of Chicago). The Palace was constructed "with walls of bricks; with merely a coating of staff, and with roof of iron, steel, and glass."[19] The citizens of Chicago wanted a portion of the Fair to remain for public use, and visitors were relieved that the stunning Palace of Fine Arts building would be a permanent Chicago fixture:

> Among those who have beheld this edifice, of itself a work of art, their pleasure was not impaired by regret that within a few brief months it was doomed to demolition; for here was no ephemeral structure, but one...which after the close of the Fair would remain as among its monuments, to be used for museum purposes and for the safe keeping of the many valuable exhibits presented to the management.[20]

After the Fair, the Palace became the original Field Museum, and later was refurbished and reopened as the Museum of Science and Industry in 1933. This lasting remnant of the Fair has been an inspiration for similar public buildings across the country in both its proportions and design. The permanent, neoclassical building was modeled after a Greek temple, while its dome is of Roman influence. "The temple of fine arts, a gem of the purest water . . . taking as the keynote of the plan the temple of Athena Polias in the Erectheum."[21] The structure incorporates 24 caryatids and numerous Ionic columns (Fig. 4).

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[17]Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair* (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893), 307.

[18]Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 84.

[19]Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 665.

[20]Ibid., 665.

[21]Ibid.

The Beaux-Arts architecture of the Fair influenced buildings across America, but the Exposition's legacy of innovative infrastructure also made a lasting impression on cities themselves. The planners of the Fair had to accommodate millions of visitors, and this meant that proper sanitation systems had to be installed. According to one report on the Fair, "Within the Exposition grounds there were 3,116 water closets, as against 250 at the Paris Exposition of 1889."[22] The sanitation system at the Fair was elaborate, and it had to transport approximately 3,200,000 gallons of waste daily, according to a report on the sewage disposal at the World's Fair.[23] The report described the sewage disposal works as consisting of iron tanks 32 feet high and 32 feet in diameter. The sewage was forced into these tanks by 26 pairs of Shone ejectors scattered throughout the Fair.[24] The Fair operated like a small city, with state-of-the-art sewage systems and running water.

Water was a key element at the Columbian Exposition. One of the major focal points of the Fair was the Grand Basin surrounded by the Court of Honor, which connected to Lake Michigan. The basin was 350 feet wide and 1,110 feet long.[25] Canals, lagoons, and fountains ran throughout the Fair and they added to the overall European character of the Beaux-Arts exposition. Mass quantities of water were needed, from the fountains and mechanical devices to drinking water and fire safety. According to historian David Burg, the water was supplied by a well beneath the Machinery Building, where two vast Worthington pumps moved 12 million gallons of water daily.[26] There may have been more water required to run the Fair than Burg suggests. An article written at the time of the Fair claims that there were three Worthington pumps that forced 40,000,000 gallons of water into the great mains daily.[27] This elaborate water system further illustrates how the Exposition functioned as a small city, and gave Burnham the experience needed to plan entire American cities.

The use of water at the Exposition was breathtaking, but the utilization of electricity was truly phenomenal to many visitors. In some cases, electricity was incorporated into water displays to create a stunning spectacle. A young man who had recently graduated from high school visited the White City and was in awe of the illuminated fairgrounds. In

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[22]H. N. Higinbotham, *Report of the President of the Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1898), 15.

[23]Allen Hazen, "Chemical Precipitation of Sewage at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" in *25th Annual Report of the State Board of Health: Massachusetts* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Company, 1894), 600.

[24]Ibid., 600.

[25]Stone, *Chicago's Classical Architecture*, 12.

[26]Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 87.

[27]Truman, *History of the World's Fair Being A Complete and Authentic Description of the Columbian Exposition From Its Inception*, 158.

one diary entry he elaborates for several paragraphs about the electricity at the Columbian Exposition:

> In the evening we spent much time in admiring the great electrical display. There is no doubt but that it was done on a scale never before conceived.... The Electrical Fountains throw jets of water and spray of various colors and combinations of colors high up in the air.... The interior [of the Electrical Building] is brilliantly illuminated.... Electric lamps in a great variety of sizes, shapes, colors and arranged in all sorts of ways, were present on all sides.[28]

The scale of the Fair's electric display was unsurpassed at the time. Electricity was still a novel concept to many people, and only a small portion of the population had electricity in their homes in 1893. The White House had electricity installed only two years prior.[29] According to Burg, "The exposition comprised the largest electrical exhibit and the greatest employment of electrical energy in the nineteenth century."[30] The Fair employed sixteen generators driven by fifteen engines, which meant the central plant in the Machinery Hall was capable of simultaneously lighting "172,000 16-candle-power incandescent lights."[31] Rossiter Johnson claimed that the plant was "two or three times as great as that then in existence in the business district of the city of Chicago."[32] If such grand scale electric, water, and sewage works could be created for a world's fair, then the possibility for improving and modernizing American cities was probable and practical.

The success of the Fair and the experience in planning such a massive project encouraged Burnham to extend this World's Fair model to cities across America, especially Chicago. Members of the community were equally impressed with Burnham's planning skills. According to architect Peter B. Wight, a contemporary of Burnham, "The businessman of Chicago then realized more than ever before that [Burnham] was the man for big things, and nothing was so large as not to come within the possibility of his accomplishment."[33] Chicago was Burnham's hometown,

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[28]G. L. Dybwad and Joy V. Bliss, eds., *White City Recollections: The Illustrated 1893 Diary of Friend Pitts Williams' Trip to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Albuquerque: The Book Stops Here, 2003, from typescript manuscript), 25-29.

[29]White House Historical Association, "Timelines- Technology," http://www.whitehousehistory.org /05/subs/images_print/05_d.pdf.

[30]Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 98.

[31]Ibid.,

[32]Rossiter Johnson, ed., *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition* (New York: D. Appleton, 1897), 187.

[33]As quoted in Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 71-72.

and it was his strong desire to make the city as pleasing as possible, for visitors and residents alike. Burnham began his plans to beautify and renovate Chicago shortly after the World's Columbian Exposition. It took more than a decade for these plans to be implemented, however, and in the meantime Burnham was hired to help design other cities, including Washington, D.C., Cleveland, and San Francisco. These cities were more receptive to Burnham's visions, and it took Burnham longer to convince Chicagoans of the practicability of his plans.[34] Nonetheless, his designs for the other cities gave him more of the experience needed for his large-scale plans in Chicago.

Burnham's first city-planning project was in Washington, D.C., which took place from 1901-02. Burnham collaborated with three men, including two who had been involved with the Columbian Exposition, architect Charles F. McKim and sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens.[35] The fourth man was landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., the son of the landscape architect who had worked with Burnham at the Fair.[36] The commission was appointed to improve downtown Washington, D.C., as part of the City Beautiful movement. According to historian Carl Smith, the area west of the Capitol and south of the White House was "embarrassingly cluttered and shabby," and it was the goal of the commission to create an aesthetically pleasing downtown that would capture the greatness of America.[37] Burnham and his associates traveled to several European cities, including Paris, Rome, and Vienna, to evaluate city-planning methods and gain inspiration. Upon return, Burnham persuaded the Pennsylvania Railroad to shift its location, which allowed him to successfully plan the area known as the Mall. The commission was chiefly responsible for the arrangement of monuments, parks, government buildings, and cultural institutions that are found today near the Capitol. Burnham charged no fee for his work in Washington, D.C., or for future government city-planning projects. Burnham wanted to beautify cities like Washington, D.C., and Chicago as a means of public service.

Burnham was asked to revitalize Cleveland's lakefront almost immediately after he finished his work in Washington, D.C. In 1903, he was appointed by the governor of Ohio to lead a team of three men in constructing Cleveland's civic center. Burnham's layout for Cleveland was similar to the Court of Honor at the World's Fair, but this was a more difficult project for Burnham because he had to demolish hundreds of acres of urban buildings before he could begin construction.[38] In contrast,

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[34]Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 138.

[35]Ibid., 143.

[36]Ibid., 142.

[37]Carl Smith, *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 23.

[38]Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 163.

Jackson Park, the location for the World's Columbian Exposition, and downtown Washington, D.C., were relatively undeveloped areas. Nonetheless, Burnham was able to renovate the previously inhabited lakefront, and the neoclassical architecture of the civic center invoked memories of the World's Fair. Burnham's experience renovating Cleveland's waterfront and his successful negotiations with the railroad company in Washington, D.C., illustrated to many that Burnham was ready for larger city planning projects.

In 1904, Burnham was invited to plan the city of San Francisco. Burnham created an elaborate 184-page plan for the city that proposed a civic center and numerous parks. His designs for San Francisco differed from his previous work and provided Burnham the opportunity to fully exercise his skills in city planning. The World's Fair was built as a temporary exhibit, and his Washington, D.C., plan, while permanent, was heavily based on the work of Pierre Charles L'Enfant.[39] Burnham's plan for Cleveland was confined to the civic center. In San Francisco, however, it was requested that Burnham plan the whole county and much of the peninsula.[40] Unfortunately, tragedy hit San Francisco in 1906 when an earthquake and subsequent fire destroyed much of the city. Burnham was asked to implement his plan and help with the reconstruction of San Francisco, but he regretfully declined. Burnham's health was deteriorating, and he had prior obligations to other cities that prevented him from embarking on such an ambitious undertaking.

It was always Burnham's aspiration to expand his World's Fair model to the rest of Chicago. The Fair had awakened a renewed interest in Chicago's lakefront, and Burnham began plans for the area in May of 1894. At the time, members of the community felt that the lakefront was an eyesore, and " a positive disgrace to the City of Chicago."[41] Burnham hoped he could revitalize the lakefront and bring to mind images of the World's Fair. Unlike his later Cleveland model, however, Burnham wanted Chicago's lakefront to be composed of cultural parks in addition to civic centers.

Though Burnham began his planning for Chicago in 1894, it took more than a decade for his plan to materialize. After he ended his work in San Francisco in 1906, Burnham began officially planning the layout for the city of Chicago with his assistant, Edward H. Bennett. Their plan was sponsored by the Commercial Club of Chicago, which was composed of many notable businessmen. Burnham had been meeting with the elite organization since 1897, but the *Plan of Chicago* was not published until 1909. Burnham believed that if his plan were implemented, the world would see "'another transformation as occurred in '93 at Jackson Park,

[39]Ibid., 188.
[40]Ibid.
[41]Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 92.

only this time the result will be far more beautiful, and, better still, it will be permanent.'"[42] For Burnham, an attractive and efficient city meant a prosperous city. Burnham argued that aesthetic reform would benefit all Chicagoans, and he was able to convince the businessmen of the Commercial Club that commercial and financial growth would occur if Chicago were beautified.[43] Burnham understood that tourists would bring revenue, and residents would not feel the need to travel as frequently if they had attractive parks within their reach. After the World's Fair, Chicago was going to need a massive renovation if tourists were going to swarm there once again.

Chicago faced a multitude of problems in the late nineteenth century, including political corruption and widespread poverty. Along with these obstacles was the question of what should be done with the cluttered downtown and waterfront. Historian Thomas S. Hines has written that Chicago was unattractive, inefficient, and was "born of rapid, unguided, and haphazard growth."[44] Chicagoans sought ways to correct the city's political and social problems, and Burnham's leadership was instrumental in the movement to improve Chicago's efficiency and attractiveness. One of Burnham's first plans for Chicago proposed that the site of the World's Fair remain a city park, and he hoped to connect that space (Jackson Park) to downtown Chicago and the lakefront (the area known as Grant Park). It was his vision to have the two parks connected by landscaped parkways and lagoons.

The Columbian Exposition was largely composed of lagoons, and this appears to have been a feature that Burnham believed Chicago should replicate and expand on for the pleasure of its inhabitants. Burnham envisioned his proposed waterways rivaling "the Thames, the Seine, and the canals of Venice."[45] Burnham and Bennett believed a planned waterfront would benefit Chicagoans and increase tourism:

> Imagine this supremely beautiful parkway, with its frequent stretches of fields, playgrounds, avenues, and groves, extending along the shore in closest touch with the life of the city throughout the whole water front. What will it do for us in health and happiness? After it is finished will the people of means be so ready to run away and spend their money in other cities? ...We should no longer lose so much of the cream of our earnings, now spent in other lands.

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[42]As quoted in Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 316.

[43]Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 315.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, ed. Charles Moore (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993. Originally published: Chicago: Chicago Commercial Club, 1909) 51.

> When this parkway shall be created, our people will stay here, and others will come to dwell among us.[46]

The actual plans that were implemented differed from Burnham and Bennett's *Plan of Chicago* in some respects, but much of Burnham's legacy can be seen in Chicago today.

There are many key features in the *Plan for Chicago* that embody the City Beautiful ideals. Firstly, Burnham was a proponent of increasing the number of parks and public spaces in the city. Burnham and Bennett envisioned the lakefront as a public space that would be accessible to the masses, and they proposed widening the lakefront with fill. The visitors to the World's Fair thoroughly enjoyed their strolls along the lake, and it is apparent that Burnham believed all Chicago citizens should continue to have this luxury. The Plan also encouraged landscaping Grant Park in a "formal" style, as opposed to being "natural."[47] The development of museums near Grant Park is a result of Burnham's planning as well. In the *Plan of Chicago*, Burnham and Bennett write, "The intellectual life of the city will be stimulated by institutions grouped in Grant Park."[48] They believed that the expansion of "centers of intellectual life" would "give coherence and unity to the city."[49] Grant Park would then be a place to excite the senses as well as the mind. Burnham proposed that museums, a library, and a civic center be built within the park, but Grant Park's official designation was to "forever be vacant of buildings."[50] The building for the Art Institute, which is located in Grant Park, was constructed during the World's Columbian Exposition and escaped this rule. Institutions built later such as the Field Museum and Shedd Aquarium are located south of Grant Park's southern border because of this ordinance.

Though Burnham was a proponent of parks and attractive buildings, he also focused on ways to improve the efficiency and order of Chicago. The City Beautiful movement was not based solely on aesthetics, but it was an attempt to improve urban life and social problems as well. The movement was based on the notion that well planned, clean, attractive spaces would help cure some of society's problems. In developing the Columbian Exposition, Burnham was required to plan for massive amounts of people in one relatively small area. In planning for Chicago, Burnham similarly had to determine the best ways for the populous city to run smoothly, and he addressed the need for sanitation improvements. Burnham and Bennett argued that sanitary regulations should be enforced to "insure adequate air-space of the dwellers in crowded areas."[51]

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[46]Ibid.
[47]Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 130.
[48]Burnham and Bennett, *Plan for Chicago*, 112.
[49]Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 87.
[50]Stone, *Chicago's Classical Architecture*, 34.
[51]Burnham and Bennett, *Plan for Chicago*, 108.

Additionally, they believed that there should be "absolute cleanliness in the street, on the sidewalks, and even within the buildings."[52] Burnham and Bennett acknowledged that overcrowding in the city was a problem, but they did not think it was severe enough to require government intervention:

> Chicago has not yet reached the point where it will be necessary for the municipality to provide at its own expense, as does the city of London, for the rehousing of persons forced out of congested quarters; but unless the matter shall be taken in hand at once, such a course will be required in common justice to men and women so degraded by long life in the slums that they have lost all power of caring for themselves.[53]

The *Plan for Chicago* offered solutions for a number of issues relating to the improvement and productivity of the city, and it illustrates how far Burnham's planning skills had escalated since the World's Fair sixteen years before.

Burnham and Bennett despised the filthy streets of Chicago, but they were also aware that much of this pollution could be attributed to congestion problems within the city. The Plan addressed the issue of Chicago's teeming, disordered streets. It called for "The systematic arrangement of the streets and avenues within the city" that involved creating new diagonal streets and widening major roads, "in order to facilitate the movement to and from the business district."[54] Burnham and Bennett's plan elaborated on transportation issues by arguing for "The creation of a system of highways outside the city" that would involve concentric roadways that would loop to neighboring states.[55] The plan also focused on other modes of transportation at the time, namely the railroad system, which was vital to any city's success. The Plan suggested that the "development of a complete traction system for both freight and passengers," consisting of trains, subways, tunnels, and elevated rapid transit, should be located along Canal and Twelfth streets.[56] These streets were located on the edges of downtown, which would reduce congestion in the city center. Many of the roadways and train routes that can be found throughout Chicago today were most likely influenced by Burnham's ingenious planning.

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[52]Ibid.
[53]Ibid, 108-109.
[54]Smith, *The Plan of Chicago*, 87.
[55]Ibid.
[56]Burnham and Bennett, *Plan for Chicago*, 68.

The World's Columbian Exposition provided Burnham with the opportunity to plan and design on a large scale, and that experience resulted in lasting effects in Chicago's parks, streets, and public buildings. Burnham was a strong proponent of Classical architecture, and the city of Chicago is heavily influenced by the architecture of the World's Fair. One of Burnham's architectural feats after the Fair was the construction of the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank in Chicago (Fig. 5). The bank, a classical building with Corinthian columns, was built between 1896 and 1897. The building was constructed of granite, which gave it a similar appearance to the white structures of the Fair. Other architects at the time appreciated Burnham's design, and McKim told Burnham "as an echo of the work of '93 it will remain a monument long after you are gone."[57] Regretfully, the building was demolished in the 1920s, but there are several classical structures that remain permanent Chicago features to this day.

The design of the Field Museum was inspired by the architecture at the Columbian Exposition, and Burnham also planned this classical building. The Field Museum incorporates a peristyle in the Ionic order (Fig. 6). The front entrance houses two caryatids that are modeled after the Erechtheion in Athens, similar to the Palace of Fine Arts at the Fair. Unlike the temporary structures at the World's Fair, the building is constructed of white Georgia marble, and not simulated marble made from plaster. The Shedd Aquarium, built in 1929, is another Chicago building that is reminiscent of the Fair. Ernest Graham, who had worked for Burnham, designed the Beaux-Arts structure. The Aquarium's formal facade is based on traditional Greek temples, and Doric columns support the portico (Fig. 7).

Not far from the Shedd Aquarium and Field Museum is another classical structure near the lakefront. Soldier Field was built in 1924 by the firm of Holabird and Roche, and its design incorporates a colonnade in the Doric order. The classically inspired buildings of the World's Fair affected building styles across Chicago and the rest of America. According to Hines, the "classical" White City introduced a "classical" revival in American culture.[58] This classical influence can be seen in museums, libraries, and capitol buildings across the country.

Many scholars believe that the World's Columbian Exposition inspired the City Beautiful movement, the same movement that resulted in the beautification and reorganization of Chicago in the early twentieth century. Architectural historian Richard Guy Wilson argues, "The immediate crystallization of the City Beautiful movement can be laid to the

[57]Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 98.
[58]Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 123.

World's Columbian Exposition and the wide approbation it received."[59] The Beaux-Arts White City gave Americans the notion that they could plan and beautify entire cities and the Fair became a model for large-scale city planning projects across the country.

Not all historians, however, would agree that the Columbian Exposition was responsible for the City Beautiful movement. Historian William H. Wilson concedes that the Fair "exerted a major cultural influence," though he disagrees that the White City inspired the City Beautiful movement and led to comprehensive city planning in the United States.[60] Wilson believes this argument is flawed because of chronology.

Wilson argues that "the City Beautiful movement was not named until 1899, and did not mature until 1902 and after," even though the Fair ended in 1893.[61] Wilson does not take into account the planning that was begun by Burnham for Chicago's lakefront, as early as 1894. That year, Burnham attended a meeting of the Commercial Club to discuss, "What Shall Be Done with the Lake-Front?" and by the end of 1894, Burnham and the Commercial Club decided it should be a site for public buildings and public recreation.[62] Additionally, the argument against a direct connection between the World's Columbian Exposition and the City Beautiful movement because of chronology is inconsistent for the reason of finances. According to Hines,

> A long, crippling depression of the mid-1890s had dampened the immediate prospects of a real city planning movement. Only with the increased prosperity that followed the Spanish-American War did the legacy of the White City exercise its anticipated influence on American urban development.[63]

The Spanish-American War did not occur until 1898, and the economic slump before that date would have hindered the execution of city beautification and reorganization projects.

Lastly, it seems erroneous to argue that the Fair did not influence the City Beautiful movement because it inspired the architects who were involved in the project, like Burnham, to engage themselves in city planning afterwards. It is impossible to determine exactly how much influence the Fair had on the City Beautiful movement and city planning,

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[59]Richard Guy Wilson, "Architecture, Landscape, and City Planning," in *The American Renaissance 1876-1917*, edited by The Brooklyn Museum (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 87-88.

[60]William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 53.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 92.

[63]Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*, 142.

but it gave Burnham the experience needed to implement plans for beautifying cities and improving their efficiency all across America.

The World's Columbian Exposition awakened an interest in public buildings and spaces. Attendees from across the globe were impressed by the organization and presentation of the Fair, and the Exposition inspired the City Beautiful movement. Daniel Burnham had a vision that even after the Fair the city of Chicago could be a place of beauty that would attract visitors. Burnham hoped to cure many of Chicago's social ills through improving the infrastructure of the city, and he was a proponent of clean streets and buildings, ordered transportation systems, and numerous cultural institutions. He also desired that Chicago would have a waterfront that would rival European cities, and that public parks would be scattered throughout the city. Chicago owes much of its efficiency and aesthetics to the World's Fair and Burnham's planning. Grant Park remains an attractive public space that is highly visited, and the architecture of the city continues to awe visitors.

Illustrations

Figure 1: Grand Basin and Court of Honor (Courtesy Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology).

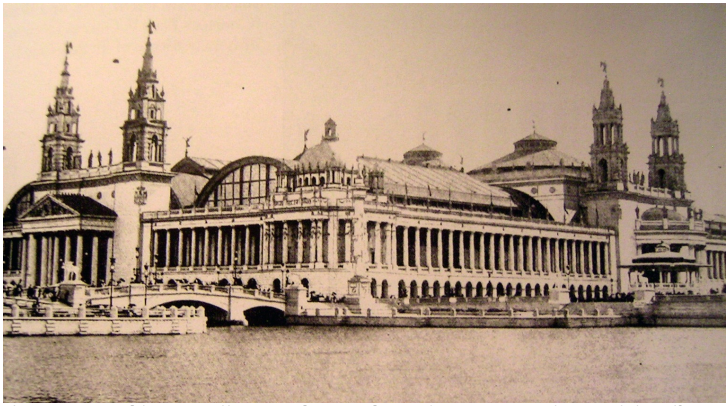

Figure 2: Machinery Hall From the Northeast (Courtesy Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology).

Figure 3: Palace of Fine Arts (Courtesy Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology).

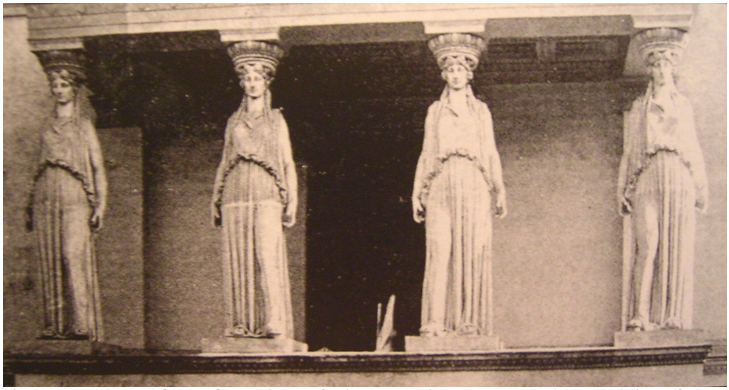

Figure 4: Caryatids at the Palace of Fine Arts (Courtesy Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology).

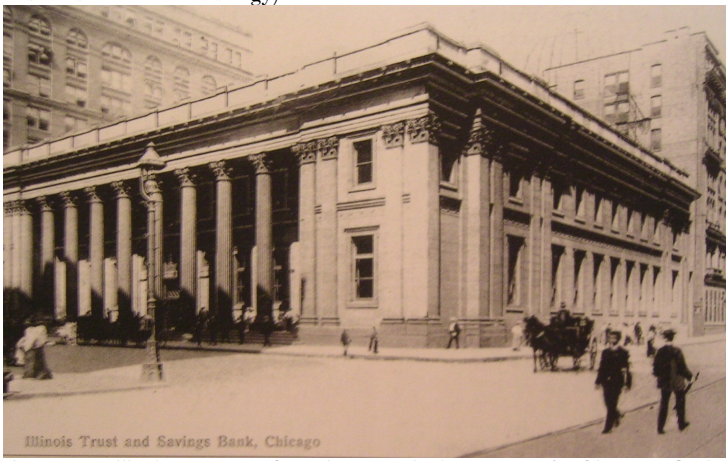

Figure 5: Illinois Trust and Savings Bank (Courtesy of *Chicago's Classical Architecture*, Arcadia Publishing).

Figure 6: Field Museum Entrance (Courtesy Chicago Photographic Collection [CPC 41-S-188], Special Collections Department, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago).

Figure 7: Shedd Aquarium Entrance (Courtesy Chicago Photographic Collection [CPC 41-S-190], Special Collections Department, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago).