



CHRONOS

The Undergraduate History Journal
Syracuse University

Chronos
Chronos
Chronos

The Syracuse University Undergraduate History Journal

CHRONOS – The Syracuse University Undergraduate History Journal
Volume 6, Issue 1
Spring 2011

Editorial Staff:

Davor Mondom – Co-Editor-in-Chief
Joclyn Wallace – Co-Editor-in-Chief
Eugene Park – Editor, Graphic Designer

Advisor: Professor Michael Ebner

Published by the History Department of Syracuse University, 2011

Cover design by Eugene Park

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Letter from the Editors.....	2
Angelica and Tancredi: An Italian Unification <i>Arjun Mishra</i>	3
The Medieval Bestiary as a Tool for Intensifying Anti-Semitism <i>Sarah Spencer</i>	7
Education Reform and Its Discontents: The Story of No Child Left Behind <i>Davor Mondom</i>	18
A Glance through a Bachelors' Picture Window: <i>Playboy</i> and the Transformation of the Feminine Family Room into a Masculine Entertainment Room and Den of Seduction <i>Joclyn Wallace</i>	26
The Role of Islamic Mysticism and Greek Philosophy in the Political Ideology of Ayatollah Khomeini <i>Gregory Fitton</i>	44
Acme and Degeneracy: Herodotus' Characterization of Spartan Conduct in Book Nine <i>Dennis Alley</i>	50
Brothers in Law: The Proposed Gracchan Land Reform of the Second Century BCE and the Environment of Growing Social Inequality <i>Michael Leess</i>	59
The Korean War and American Politics <i>Kristin Hunt</i>	69
Timbuktu: From Myth to Reality of Mali's Fabled City <i>Mary Beth Roe</i>	85
The Vietnam War: From the Big Screen to the American Public <i>Ashlie Daubert</i>	91
About the Authors.....	101
<i>Chronos</i> Editorial Staff Bios.....	102

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS...

We began this year searching for an answer to the following question: “Where is *Chronos* Spring 2010?” Those of us who served on the editorial committee last year recalled that papers were being edited not only during finals week, but even in the line set up in the Jabberwocky Cafe for cap and gown distribution. Acknowledging that editing must be managed more efficiently in order for publication to occur, we established deadlines in advance and held meetings once a week to make sure that everyone was on target. In addition, we appointed two Co-Editors-in-Chief so that leadership responsibilities could be more evenly distributed. These changes enabled us to revive *Chronos*; an achievement we chose to celebrate by giving the seven year old journal a new look. Breaking away from a cover design tradition that began in its second year (Spring 2006), we replaced the photograph of Maxwell Hall from the Syracuse University Archives with an artistic layout designed by the newest member of our team, Eugene Park. Through this change, we hope to assure you that *Chronos* will continue to add style to the shelves in your home and office, as well as Eggers 151 where each issue is proudly displayed behind glass.

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

This year we received over two-dozen submissions to our journal. These papers covered a wide range of topics, geographical regions, and time periods. In the process of determining this year’s selection of papers, our committee strove to have a diversity of topics while also choosing the most well written papers. In this regard, we are confident that we have come to the right decision. Once again, we want to thank everyone who submitted papers, and we encourage those who were not selected to enter again next year. In closing, we wish to say farewell to our departing committee member, Joclyn Wallace. Her effort and energy were indispensable in putting this journal together; without her, this year’s issue of *Chronos* would not be what it is. We wish her the best of luck on her future endeavors, and hope she will remain in touch.

Sincerely,

Davor Mondom
Eugene Park
Joclyn Wallace

ANGELICA AND TANCREDI: AN ITALIAN UNIFICATION

Arjun Mishra

The Risorgimento was rife with romanticism that ranged from the operas of Giuseppe Verdi to the novels of Alessandro Manzoni to the heroics of Giuseppe Garibaldi. It culminated in the Unification of Italy, but it was not a smooth process. Verdi's *Nabucco* and Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* were Italian works known throughout Europe. Garibaldi had become legendary in Italy and Europe, to the point that some Italians revered him as a saint or Jesus Christ.¹ In *The Leopard* by Giuseppe di Lampedusa, Angelica and Tancredi represented Italian Unification, displaying the romanticism of Unification and showing the South adapting to Unification, as the old nobility joined the rising liberal class. The initial romanticism of Risorgimento paralleled the promise and passion of the marriage of Tancredi Falconeri and Angelica Sedàra during their engagement. While the Prince of Salina, Don Fabrizio, spoke of love in marriage, his words succinctly captured Italy's Unification: "Flames for a year, ashes for thirty."² In Tancredi's and Angelica's marriage, which represented the fusion of liberal elite to landowning South, the passion extinguished after the initial excitement, and in Italian Unification, the romanticism of the Risorgimento became an unfilled promise and only benefitted the elite liberal class, the North, and landowning Sicilians.

Angelica Sedàra's father was Don Calogero and he embodied the values and ascent of the liberal middle class. This class was acquiring almost as much wealth as the nobility, and thus Don Fabrizio was threatened by Don Calogero, the richest man in Donnafugata.³ The new liberal class might have accrued wealth, but it lacked the style and mannerisms of the established nobility. The Prince was embarrassed when Calogero presented himself for dinner, wearing formal raiment with an appalling tailcoat.⁴ Angelica was the representation of this new class, having been educated in Florence, where she learned to speak proper Italian and without her Girgenti accent. This class educated itself in northern Italy and espoused liberal values, confiscating and selling ecclesiastical lands, and supporting Garibaldi in the merging of southern Italy to Piedmont. Angelica was not only refined through education, but when she was introduced to the Prince's family and its' guests at Donnafugata, she exuded a radiating beauty that mesmerized the room.⁵ Her arrival at dinner possessed the romantic image of Garibaldi landing at Marsala. Her charm was perhaps akin to the charismatic figures attempting to unite Italy, such as Garibaldi.

Tancredi Falconeri stood almost in direct contrast to the rising wealth and prominence of the liberal middle class since his parents frivolously spent themselves in bankruptcy and left Tancredi with nothing but a noble name.⁶ In his marriage with Angelica, he represented the old Italy, which was dying out and giving way to the liberal middle class the Sedàras represented. While Tancredi's parents destroyed their nobility, Angelica's family acquired wealth and power, even though her grandfather, Peppe 'Mmerda was notorious for being the lowest of the Prince's peasants.⁷

The quick ascent to wealth for the Sedàra family and freefall from nobility to bankruptcy for the Falconeris captured the emergence of the new, liberal middle class that superseded the nobility as the

¹ Marc Monnier quoted in Dennis Smith *The Making of Italy, 1796-1870* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 321.

² Giuseppe di Lampedusa *The Leopard* (New York: Random House Inc., 1991), 88.

³ Lampedusa, 81.

⁴ Lampedusa, 93.

⁵ Lampedusa, 94.

⁶ Lampedusa, 31.

⁷ Lampedusa, 140.

affluent group. The nobility had been established for generations, but the rising class, with people such as Don Calogero, had acquired wealth recently through selling land.⁸ This mirrored the situation in Italy during Risorgimento. The Prince realized that the nobility had to adapt to survive and Tancredi had to marry into rising wealth.⁹ The liberal middle class gained affluence, shown by Angelica's family becoming the wealthiest family in Donnafugata and Tancredi adapting by merging with the emerging class to survive.

The Risorgimento was brimming with romanticism and unbridled excitement among the middle class. Some peasantry fought with Garibaldi against The Bourbons, hoping for social change.¹⁰ The popular feelings of Unification were amplified by Garibaldi's successes in Sicily. The Unification fever spread over most of Italy and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies held a plebiscite, approving annexation by Piedmont. By 1861, with the exception of Rome and Veneto, all of Italy was unified by Piedmont. This romanticism and unbridled excitement for Italian Unification ignited Tancredi to fight for Garibaldi and it spurred his impending marriage to Angelica. The engagement was fraught with the same affections for Unification. The couple explored the Donnafugata villa, showered each other with romantic kisses, increased their desire, and were engorged and filled with sensuality and lust for the other.¹¹ This compared closely with Italian Unification, as Garibaldi and the Redshirts and Risorgimento gripped middle class Italians, provoking them to fight and clamor for Unification.¹²

Italy would soon be united and Angelica and Tancredi would soon marry, but the pinnacle of Unification and marriage occurred before the conjoining events. Following Unification, Italy struggled to find an Italian identity and history linking the provinces into one country, and many revolutionaries who had forged Unification were thrown into disillusionment, such as Francesco Crispi.¹³ Count Camillo Benso di Cavour succumbed to an illness in 1861 and Garibaldi's glory reached its apex.

The leaders of Italy were disheartened and the people were dispassionate, evinced by a small percentage of the electorate voting, even in the North.¹⁴ The Sicilian peasantry, including those who had fought with Garibaldi in hopes of change, was direly disappointed. Don Ciccio, the Leopard's hunting companion, was enraged with Unification from the start, but his vote against Unification was annulled. He conveyed many Sicilian commoners' feelings, claiming Calogero Sedàra and those representing the liberal class that stood to benefit rigged the plebiscite in their favor.¹⁵ Unification benefitted Piedmont and the elite, such as Tancredi and the Sedàra family, but damaged the peasants and relegated them into a worse state of being in Sicily.¹⁶

Brigands caused problems in the South, waging a civil war with the Piedmontese Army. It was a bloody and expensive civil war fought by Garibaldini, Bourbon loyalists, and men enraged by Piedmontization. The ramifications of civil war following Unification were an exacerbated disillusionment and a continued lack of change for the majority. Northern liberals, such as the Florentine educated Angelica Sedarà, and Southern landowners, such as Tancredi Falconeri, amalgamated with each other to benefit themselves. Only landowning men with money were enfranchised. The incipient

⁸ Lampedusa, 52.

⁹ Lampedusa, 53.

¹⁰ Christopher Duggan *A Concise History of Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 130.

¹¹ Lampedusa, 183.

¹² Duggan, 130.

¹³ Duggan, 144.

¹⁴ Duggan, 144.

¹⁵ Lampedusa, 133.

¹⁶ Leopoldo Franchetti quoted in Smith, 374.

romanticism and anticipatory excitement for unifying Italy were abated and supplanted by disillusionment and unhappiness for the future.

The marriage of Angelica and Tancredi that reflected Italian Unification experienced the same fizzling of romanticism and youthful exuberance that had sparked Unification. Following the young couple's dalliances in the villa and building each other closely to climax, their marriage stagnated and mirrored the unhappy situation in Italy. Their highly anticipated marriage carried the same unfilled promise as Unification. "Those were the best days in the life of Tancredi and Angelica...But they did not know then; and they were pursuing a future which they deemed more concrete than it turned out to be, made of nothing but smoke and wind."¹⁷ Chasing each other around the villa and teasing each other were the climax of their happiness, occurring before marriage. The idea of Unification and marriage was stimulating, but the actuality of it was an unhappy marriage laden with unfulfilled passion. Italy struggled following Unification, strangling with disillusionment, uncertainty, injustice, and a lack of the fervor that had guided Unification. Tancredi and Angelica settled into a mellow marriage that included Angelica engaging in an extramarital affair.¹⁸

Italy had changed during Unification and the tide of feeling was changing. At a ball the Sedàra family and the Prince's family attended, Colonel Pallavicino was heralded as a hero.¹⁹ The Colonel had wounded Garibaldi, who had been adulated as a hero previously. Giuseppe Garibaldi was no longer the answer for the liberal middle class and the Unification had resulted in the North, South, and Sicily experiencing disunity.²⁰ The elite liberal middle class were the victors of Unification, gaining wealth and power, and the nobility of Sicily experienced its demise. The death of the Leopard while he was staring into the face of Angelica signified the transition of power from the noble elite to the liberal elite. Angelica was the liberal with a northern education and the Leopard represented the moribund breed of Sicilian nobility. Tancredi had merged with the new liberal class to survive and adapted to become the elite.

Fifty years after Unification, the liberal middle class benefitted greatly and Sicily did not improve. The Church confiscated the relics of Concetta, Caterina, and Carolina, the Leopard's daughters.²¹ Angelica, two generations removed from Peppe 'Mmerda, boasted ecclesiastical connections, a friendship with the powerful Senator Tassoni, and wealth.²² She convinced Concetta's nephew, a Salina and Sicilian, to tribute Garibaldi, thinking it a "fusion of the old and new Sicily."²³ Concetta represented Sicily fifty years after Unification, still showing no signs of amelioration or growth, having lived a bitter life, not marrying, and having the powerful invalidate her relics. The romantic feelings of the Risorgimento waned and a unified Italy benefitted the interests of the elite and liberal middle class, eschewing peasants and commoners. Fifty years earlier, the peasants of Sicily, especially of Fr. Pirrone's hamlet, were shown to abhor unification and the taxes it imposed. Two cousins married each other in an ugly economic situation, showing a stark contrast to the elite, namely Angelica and Tancredi.²⁴ The exuberance of Tancredi's marriage to Angelica subsided and became stale, seemingly benefitting both of their economic but not romantic interests. Likewise, the North benefitted by taking the South and Sicily, but only the elite landowners of Sicily like Tancredi gained from Unification.

¹⁷ Lampedusa, 188.

¹⁸ Lampedusa, 314-315.

¹⁹ Lampedusa, 250.

²⁰ Lampedusa, 270.

²¹ Lampedusa, 319.

²² Lampedusa, 310.

²³ Lampedusa, 308.

²⁴ Lampedusa, 234.

Bibliography

Duggan, Christopher. *A Concise History of Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Lampedusa, Giuseppe Di. *The Leopard*. New York: Random House Inc., 1991.

Smith, Dennis Mack. *The Making of Italy, 1796-1870*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

THE MEDIEVAL BESTIARY AS A TOOL FOR INTENSIFYING ANTI-SEMITISM

Sarah Spencer

As one of the superpowers of the Western medieval world, the Roman Catholic Church certainly attempted to impose political and social stances in the temporal world, stances that were supported by the careful use of propaganda. In some cases these instances of church propaganda appeared subtly in the guise of fulfilling another role. For example, the Bible Moralisee of 1220, an illustrated moralized translation of the Bible was perhaps used to further a different church agenda than promoting Christianity. At the beginning of the 13th century the Church passed a law reserving the sacrament of wine to those exclusively in clerical positions. As this church-produced literature and art heavily emphasized the holiness of the remaining sacrament for lay persons – the bread – and ignored the wine it can be said the Church was attempting to appease non-clerics while at the same time supporting their new decree.¹ In the same way bestiaries, another type of medieval church-produced literature, are easily able to be interpreted as heavily propagandized volumes. More specifically, bestiaries were used to perpetuate and strengthen anti-Semitic fears and stereotypes that ran rampant in medieval Europe in order to further encourage a public discrimination leaning towards segregation.

A medieval bestiary was a compilation of known animals, both common and exotic, and their characteristics. However, the emphasis in bestiaries was not on the scientific behavior of these animals, rather emphasis was placed on the mannerisms and what those said about the character of that animal. For instance, in the Aberdeen Bestiary vultures^A were compared to the Virgin Mary – a very un-scientific but heavily Christianized description (not to mention an unexpected one for modern audiences). The primary bestiary that I will be looking at more in depth is the Aberdeen Bestiary, which was written



A. ²

¹ James Watts, *Passions and Transgressions Conference: Illuminating Leviticus*, (Syracuse University, 2010).

² *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010).

around the year 1200. Looking past the inaccurate behavioral descriptions of animals, the Aberdeen Bestiary is a rich source for social commentary on medieval Europe's mindset; specifically it is filled with vivid examples promoting anti-Semitic themes.

Apes^B, while not interpreted in the Bestiary as an explicit representation of the distasteful characteristics attributed to medieval Jews, do provide an anti-Semitic commentary. One curious characteristic the bestiary lists as the rule for apes is that when the mother "bears twins, she loves one and despises the other."³ This clear and unequal division of love between the twins seems to reference back to the Bible, the primary authoritative document of medieval Europe, particularly to the founding of religions by the children of Abraham. Galatians states that Abraham had two sons, Isaac and Ishmael. The



B.

book then goes on to suggest that the Judaism that formed the basis for Christianity was descended from the son Isaac, born of Abraham's lawful marriage, while the son Ishmael, born of a slave woman, went on to father the religion of Islam.⁴ Some centuries before the Aberdeen Bestiary was compiled, Pope Urban II's referred to those of Ishmael's religion as "enemies of the Lord" in his famous speech at the Council of Clermont.⁵ While the Pope specifically meant Muslims in this denouncement, the term was loosely interpreted and consequently applied to Jews – an interpretation that resulted in a genocide coinciding with the first Crusade.⁶ While the church at first responded to these attacks against Jews negatively, the idea of Jews as enemies of Christ had already taken root and therefore only flourished. As a result, this despised ape twin represents the shunned son and enemy of Abraham and therefore all Christians – namely the Muslims, but closer to home and more dangerous, the Jews.

One of the many symbolic bestiary representations evoking anti-Semitism is found in the animal defined as the leopard. The medieval notion of how a leopard was produced is evident in the animal's name – *leo*, for lion, plus the *pard*, a cat-like beast, combine to create the word "leopard." Because this creature is the result of an "adulterous" coupling, leopards were supposed to be degenerate "such as the mule and the burdon."⁷ In this case the word degenerate is applied to denote that these three mentioned creatures are sterile. While this is not in actuality the case for leopards, it is in fact true for mules. This infertility is the key point in the leopard's status as an anti-Semitic symbol, a point which is made clearer by looking at the role of medieval Jews in society, and, perhaps surprisingly, at the medieval Christian view concerning homosexuals.

³ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 12v.

⁴ *King James Bible*. ([Cambridge, England]: Chadwyck-Healey, 1996. Print), Galatians 4:22-30.

⁵ Chartres, Fulcher of, ed. "Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095." (*Medieval Sourcebook*. Fordham University, 20 Jan. 1996. Web. Apr. 2010).

⁶ Lecture: 3/4/10.

⁷ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 8v-9r.

Looking at examples of medieval art from this period allows better understanding of the medieval mindset regarding homosexuals, and therefore the bestiary's description of the degenerate leopard. In a presentation on the findings concerning an interpretation of Lorenzetti's *Sala dei Nove*, a fresco depicting the consequences of bad versus good government, Dennis Romano, Professor of History at Syracuse University, focused upon a partially concealed image of same-sex seduction that contrast with other depictions of moral society. On one side of Lorenzetti's painting there is depicted a moral city busy raising new buildings and full of markets illustrating the effects of good government. On the other side is shown a city under the management of bad government, rife with economic and moral breakdown.⁸ That homosexuality was depicted on the side of the immoral society enforces the idea of same-sex seduction as a dangerous act. Homosexuality in medieval Europe was then viewed as both a voluntary choice to commit unnatural acts and as leaving God for idolatry – instead worshipping each other's bodies. In addition to these views, social and economic disasters such as famine and disease that caused the loss of families were blamed upon homosexuals. This allocation of blame was due to the fact that they practiced non-procreative sex, which did not add to the population and earned them the title "murderers of the children." Thus, not only were sodomites threatening their own souls, they were considered to be very real threats to civil society.

However, throughout the books of the Bible the banning of Christians from the practice of usury occurs much more frequently than the banning of homosexuality. One of the most vivid stories of this contempt towards usury is the incident of Jesus and the moneylenders from the book of Matthew. After overturning the coin tables in the synagogue, Jesus states to the moneylenders, "My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves."⁹ Here Christians are taught to equate handling money with sin as well as being specifically warned against partaking in the practice of usury throughout the rest of the Bible. As a result, that necessary function in the medieval economy fell to the ones not forbidden to practice usury – the Jews. In the same way that homosexuals were considered a threat since they did not contribute to society due to the non-procreative aspect to their sexual practices, the Jews were not considered to contribute to society as they created money out of money by doing nothing, rather than engaging in any real labor. Interpreting the bestiary in this light, the inherent evil and sterile nature of "unnatural" crosses of species is easily seen as a commentary enforcing the idea of the Jews being dangerous to both Christian's souls as well as to society – effectively encouraging Jewish stereotypes and discrimination.

Hyenas^c are also excellent examples of the subtle anti-Semitic themes found throughout medieval bestiaries. First, in the Aberdeen Bestiary hyenas are specifically cited as resembling "the sons of Israel"¹⁰. Secondly, these hyenas are reported as living in tombs and feeding on the dead.¹¹ Since these bodies are buried in tombs, it can be assumed these are deceased Christians that the hyenas are feeding upon. This imagery of Jews gaining sustenance and power from the intake of the substance of Christians brings back to mind the practice of usury again; Jews growing richer from taking the Christian's money – one's means for living.

Considering the actual portrayal of the hyena in the bestiary's image, the animal features horns and a tail along with prominently displayed genitalia. The skeletal horns and tail present on the hyena obviously signify the devil, strengthening the animal's image as an unholy and unclean being. As the hyena is representative of the Jews, it follows that Jews were considered as demons and devil

⁸ Dennis Romano, *Passions and Transgressions Conference: A Depiction of Male Same-Sex Seduction*, (Syracuse University, 2010).

⁹ *King James Bible*. ([Cambridge, England]: Chadwyck-Healey, 1996. Print), Matthew 21:12-13.

¹⁰ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 11v.

¹¹ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 11v.

worshippers. In fact, medieval superstition went as far to perpetuate the widely believed rumor that Jews actually had horns and tails in reality – a myth reflected in the particular depiction of the hyena in the Aberdeen Bestiary.¹² In this same vein, the Jewish community was widely regarded as demons and



C.

considered to practice all sorts of satanic killings, as demonstrated in the torturous slaughters of children by Jews in the story of St. William of Norwich as well as the popular ballad, *The Jew's Daughter*.¹³

The other feature of the hyena's physical representation in the bestiary image is that of its blatant sexuality in the form of its prominently displayed genitals.¹⁴ In order to grasp the full nature of this use of imagery, the contrasting sexuality of the beaver^D in bestiaries is useful. In medieval Europe the practice of hunting beavers for their testicles, which were believed to be of medicinal value, was a frequent occurrence. In an extreme act of self-preservation, this bestiary beaver will rip off his own testicles when



D.

being pursued by a hunter.¹⁵ This extreme act of casting off the genitals symbolizes good Christians casting off their vices, with the testicles directly signifying chastity but in essence signifying all human

¹² Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.), p. 152.

¹³ "Thomas of Monmouth, Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich." *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Ed. John M. McCulloh. (New York: Garland, 2000. 515-36. Print.); Miyazaki, Mariko. "Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism." *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*. (New York: Garland, 1999. 23-43. Print.), p. 33.

¹⁴ Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.), p. 150.

¹⁵ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 11r.

vices.¹⁶ Therefore, since the absence of the genitals in a bestiary image symbolizes purity and Christian virtues, it follows that the presence, but more so the emphasis, on the genitals symbolizes licentiousness and a lack of both Christianity and virtue. In fact, during the time period that this Aberdeen Bestiary was created it was a common stereotype held by Christians that Jews were frequent violators of women – a stereotype only strengthened by this sinister symbolism.¹⁷

Another point of interest that the hyena description shares with that of the leopard – and even the fox – is the emphasis on their deceptive natures. The hyena is described as being able to mimic the voices of humans to lure them to their deaths, and similarly able to mimic the sound of human vomiting to “entice” dogs and then eat them.¹⁸ Both of these images suggest the idea of Jews luring innocent and unsuspecting Christians into their traps by pretending to blend into the accepted Christian society. Furthermore, the sex of the hyena constantly changes denoting un-cleanliness, duplicity, and refers back to the sexual sin of homosexuality that has already been linked symbolically to the Jewish practice of usury.¹⁹

It can be argued that the behavior of the fox^E also symbolizes the luring in of unsuspecting Christians by the Jews. According to the bestiary, foxes roll in the dirt to appear bloody and plays dead until birds “think that it is dead and descend to perch on it. Thus it seizes them and devours them.”²⁰ Here



E.

the Jew, represented by the fox in this situation, pretends to be “dead” to effectively convince others that he is incapable of harm and therefore not a threat – blending into nature and society. This situation is very similar to the skillful imitation of the hyena of the human voice – both scenarios portray the symbolized Jew as a masked danger. The medieval account, *Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich*, outlines the alleged capture of an innocent Christian boy by the wicked and deceptive Jewish community in order to perform a mock crucifixion. In this account written by Thomas of Monmouth, the young boy William was “deluded with cunning wordy tricks” by a Jew so that “the simple boy was deceived and

¹⁶ Hassig, Debra. “Sex in the Bestiaries.” *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*. (New York: Garland, 1999. 71-93. Print.), p. 77-78.

¹⁷ Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.), p. 152.

¹⁸ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 11v.

¹⁹ Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.), p. 146.

²⁰ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 16r.

trusted himself to the man.”²¹ In a greater act of deception, “the boy, like an innocent lamb led to the slaughter, was treated kindly by the Jews. Ignorant of what was being prepared for him...suddenly they seized hold of the boy William...and they ill treated him in various horrible ways.”²² In both of these quotes the Jews hide behind a façade, fooling the soon-to-be saint with a web of false words and actions until it was too late – just as the fox with the birds. All of this would leave a chilling impression of suspicion in the minds of Christian readers, again re-enforcing fear and resulting in discrimination against Jews.

Furthermore in the case of the fox, that animal’s crafty nature is also emphasized, especially in its manner of transportation where it is quoted as “never run[ning] in a straight line but twists and turns.” This crafty and slippery characteristic is again vividly reflected in the account of St. William with the instance of the speaker for the Jewish community talking around William’s mother into allowing the boy to go with them as their “apprentice.” For a good while the mother resists the Jew’s “wordy tricks”²³ as mentioned before, until finally she was “seduced by the glitter of money to the lust of gain...and the boy William was given up to the betrayer.”²⁴ This seduction by the glittering gold is extremely reminiscent of the bestiary transcription pertaining to leopards. The leopard, otherwise known then as the African panther, was said, after digesting a kill, to produce a belch “so sweet that the other beasts come and follow.”²⁵ This method of the leopard’s deceptive enticement is as the Jew with his money, again luring Christians to their doom but in this instance with malicious bribery instead of false manners.

The leopard, the mule, and crocote –offspring of a lioness and a hyena, are all the result of cross species breeding, according to the Aberdeen Bestiary. They are, therefore, considered unnatural and end up being defective in some manner as with the sterility of the mule. And even more than unnatural, some of these cross-breeds are considered monsters. Interestingly, two of these creatures are the result of a lion and some lesser creature – or monster in the case of the hyena. In the bestiaries the lions are quite obviously made out to represent both God and Christ, as demonstrated in the description of the birth of new cubs. When the lioness produces her cubs, they are born dead and she watches over them for three days. At the end of that three day period, the father returns and breathes on the cubs’ faces and brings them back to life – a clear reference to the resurrection of Christ.²⁶ Therefore, when the lion, representing Christianity, mates with that other lesser species, representing Judaism, a defective and unnatural breed results; signifying the ungodliness of that coupling.

This subtle discouragement of inter-religious relationships found in the bestiary is a relatively pale shadow compared to the incredibly un-subtle discouragement of these relationships in medieval European society. In fact, to further decrease the chances of these couplings, Pope Innocent issued a decree at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 towards that effect. As stated in the Pope’s ruling, all Jews were to distinguish themselves as Jews through their clothing so no Christians would accidentally mate with that “lesser race” – preventing Christians from “excusing themselves in the future for the excesses of

²¹ "Thomas of Monmouth, Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich." *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Ed. John M. McCulloh. (New York: Garland, 2000. 515-36. Print), p. 521-522.

²² "Thomas of Monmouth, Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich." *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Ed. John M. McCulloh. (New York: Garland, 2000. 515-36. Print), p. 523.

²³ "Thomas of Monmouth, Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich." *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Ed. John M. McCulloh. (New York: Garland, 2000. 515-36. Print), p. 521-522.

²⁴ "Thomas of Monmouth, Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich." *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Ed. John M. McCulloh. (New York: Garland, 2000. 515-36. Print), p. 522.

²⁵ George, Wilma, and William B. Yapp. *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary*. (London: Duckworth, 1991. Print), p. 53.

²⁶ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 7v.

such accursed intercourse.”²⁷ The consistent depiction of this coupling resulting in disgraceful degenerates in the bestiary most certainly reflects the church’s efforts to extinguish intermingling of Christians and Jews and create more defined segregation.

Turning to one of the more obvious Jewish stereotypes still present today, the weasel^F was used in bestiaries to represent cunning and greed among other distasteful



F.

traits. The most important indicator of how the weasel translates into those characteristics of cunning and greed is in their method of giving birth. The bestiary specifies that weasels “conceive through the mouth and give birth through the ear”.²⁸ This seemingly unnatural and backwards way of producing offspring, while again referencing back to the unnatural cross-breed animals, has more to do with the actual body parts involved in this alleged process. Taking the statement that weasels represent those “who listen willingly enough to the seed of the divine word but...ignore it and take no account of what they have heard”²⁹ into consideration, the conception through the mouth takes on another meaning. Here intake through the mouth represents the Jews receiving the word of God, and the birthing through the ear represents them casting off or ignoring that divine knowledge. This deliberate ignoring of Christian values and teachings was especially clear to the rest of the medieval world in the Jew’s frequent role as usurer – the banned, suspicious handling of money. From the connections of this idea, as well as the bestiary description, comes those stereotypes mentioned before of wicked cleverness and avarice. Therefore, while the casting off the scriptures could represent heretics as well as Jews, the stereotypes of cunning and greed present in the weasel were stereotypes widely perpetuated by the church and attributed to practitioners of Judaism.

The snake^G has almost always been associated with dark powers and unsavory qualities, and this is no exception in the bestiary’s interpretation of these animals. Immediately the description of the snake mentions its method of moving. Similar to the running fox’s path which is never straight, the snake’s body is constantly “folded...and is never straight” in its movements implying an inherent crookedness in its character.³⁰ Again this deceitful and suspicious characteristic suggests the stereotypical Jew in St. William’s story using his “wordy tricks” against the poor, weak, Christian mother.³¹ Furthermore the description of the snake as living “in the shadows” refers back to the other incident previously examined from *Passions of St. William* where the Jews are depicted as circling predators hiding behind masks or “in the shadows” of Christian society.³²

More interesting than the bestiary’s textual description of the snake, however, is the accompanying image of the snake strangling an elephant. In the bestiary, the elephants are described as intelligent creatures that carry on chaste monogamous relationships reminiscent of a good Christian

²⁷ Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print), p. 147-148.

²⁸ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 24r.

²⁹ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 24r.

³⁰ *IBID*, p. 65v.

³¹ "Thomas of Monmouth, Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich." *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Ed. John M. McCulloh. (New York: Garland, 2000. 515-36. Print). p. 521-522.

³² *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 65v.



G.

marriage as defined by the Church. Furthermore, due to the fact that bestiary elephants are unable to bend their knees, once fallen an elephant cannot get up without aid. However, even with the efforts of all grown elephants of the group the fallen elephant cannot be righted. It is not until the lone baby elephant attempts to lift the fallen creature that the elephant is able to get to its feet, signifying the ability of the peaceful Christ to save us all.³³ Additionally, elephants are cited as representing Adam and Eve before they were introduced to sin, not coincidentally, by a serpent.³⁴ Clearly the elephant represents the ideal of Christian humanity, a fact that directly relates to the content of the image accompanying the text on snakes.

In the bestiary the snake is cited as the “arch-enemy” of the elephant; a clear reference back to Urban’s misused declaration of war against the enemies of Christ who is represented by the elephant.³⁵ That the image supporting the text on snakes is a depiction of a snake suffocating an elephant to death becomes an obvious commentary on the Jew’s perceived desire and threat to choke Christianity out of existence. Disregarding the reality of this perception, the fear, suspicion and prejudice in the minds of bestiary readers would only increase as a result of this image.

A creature similar to the snake in physical characteristics as well as textual and ideological representation is the salamander^H. Its most powerful weapon is its deadly poison – the strongest poison of all animals. The potency of its poison is demonstrated in two specific examples. First, if a salamander crawls into a tree “it poisons all the apples and kills those who eat them.”³⁶ The immediate reference this passage brings up is again concerning the banishment of Adam and Eve. The poisoned apples represent the forbidden fruit that when eaten resulted in the banishment and subsequent mortality of Adam and Eve, a consequence represented by the death of those who eat the apples – another underlying warning that Jews were plotting to bring about the death of Christianity.³⁷

³³ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 10r; Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print), p. 130.

³⁴ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 10r; Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print), p. 130-131.

³⁵ Chartres, Fulcher of, ed. "Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095." *Medieval Sourcebook*. (Fordham University, 20 Jan. 1996. Web. Apr. 2010).

³⁶ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 69v.

³⁷ *King James Bible*. ([Cambridge, England]: Chadwyck-Healey, 1996. Print), Genesis 3.

The second example, that of the salamander poisoning the well, is a very interesting one. As this bestiary was created during the 1200's, the infamous Black Plague outbreak of 1348 had yet to occur. However, one common belief that ran rampant as to the origin of the plague was that the Jews had poisoned the wells of Christians. This notion was brought about due to the fact that the Jewish community suffered far fewer numbers of plague deaths than those around them, in reality a likely result of their superior and religiously driven sanitation practices.³⁸ So despite the fact that these theories concerning the Black Death would not come to full fruition for another century, the spreading of disease through Christian



H.

wells by Jews was obviously not a new concept by that point – and only added to the haze of fear and suspicion surrounding the Jewish community.

A similar train of logic equating Judaism to a plague is evident in the bestiary's textual information concerning the night owl³⁹. The actual name for this owl is *bubo*, which has the other definition of the swelling of the lymph nodes due to disease or plague.³⁹ Although this manifestation is most obviously connected to the later outbreaks of Bubonic or Black Plague, the *bubo* still clearly signifies a serious infection. And this idea of the *bubo* relating to a plague-like infection can be further interpreted to symbolize heresy. A medieval source in reference to heretics of a region states that, "The errors...spread to such an extent that in a short time it had infected more than a thousand towns, and if it had not been

³⁸ *King James Bible*. ([Cambridge, England]: Chadwyck-Healey, 1996. Print), Leviticus

³⁹ *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 50r.



I.

cut back by the swords of the faithful I think it would have corrupted the whole of Europe.”⁴⁰ This passage clearly speaks of heresy as a real deadly infection that had to be exterminated for the good of Christendom. Again going back to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the Pope condemned “all heretics under whatever names they may be known, for while they have different faces they are nevertheless bound to each other by their tails”⁴¹ This reference to heretics living behind masks and being characterized by their demonic figurative “tails” however brings to mind more the Jews rather than general heretics. As Judaism was perhaps the most despised form of heresy, this inference becomes an even smaller mental leap to take. With the references to masks bringing to mind the deceptive qualities of Jews as outlined by the bestiary with animals such as the fox, even more obvious is the reference to tails which clearly goes back to the bestiary commentary for hyenas equating the devil and subsequently the Jews. Therefore, the happenstance that the name for the night owl leads through a train of logic to plague, heresy, and finally to anti-Semitic superstitions seems to be no accident at all.

One of the important characteristics applied to the night owl in bestiaries is that of sloth – another trait that can be interpreted as anti-Semitic commentary.⁴² Sloth is in fact one of the seven deadly sins of the Christian faith and once again refers back to the practice of usury. The jobs of practicing usury or merchants, fields primarily occupied by Jews, were both lines of work considered to not be actual honest Christian work as both practices created nothing but instead simply moved money or goods around. Therefore, the attribute of sloth more closely links that bestiary animal negatively to the Jewish community.

Finally on the night owl, the most obvious aspect of this bestiary animal is the fact that it is the *night* owl and therefore lives its life in the dark and “shuns the daylight.”⁴³ In this scenario the daylight clearly signifies Christ and therefore all Christianity, which is shunned by the Jews. In the book of John in the Bible, the Jews are quoted as rejecting Christ saying “We have no king but Caesar, we know not who this man is.”⁴⁴ From this quote we see not only are these Jews turning away from Christ and Christianity, they are turning away for earthly power which in most cases translate to money – bringing back in the stereotype of Jewish avarice.

⁴⁰ Heisterbach, Caesarius of. "Medieval Heresies." *Medieval Sourcebook*. (Fordham University, 20 Jan. 1996. Web. Apr. 2010).

⁴¹ Schroeder, H. J., trans. "Fourth Lateran Council: Canon 3 on Heresy 1215." *Medieval Sourcebook*. (Fordham University, 20 Jan. 1996. Web. Apr. 2010).

⁴² *The Aberdeen Bestiary*. 1200's. *The Aberdeen Bestiary Project*. Web. (Apr. 2010), p. 50r; Miyazaki, Mariko. "Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism." *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*. (New York: Garland, 1999. 23-43. Print), p. 27.

⁴³ Miyazaki, Mariko. "Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism." *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*. (New York: Garland, 1999. 23-43. Print), p. 27.

⁴⁴ *King James Bible*. ([Cambridge, England]: Chadwyck-Healey, 1996. Print), John 19:15

While the themes and commentaries in medieval bestiaries certainly did not create the anti-Semitism so entrenched in medieval society, they certainly increased and strengthened the anti-Semitic climate already in existence. As demonstrated through an analysis of the Aberdeen Bestiary, bestiary texts and imagery further promoted all the Jewish stereotypes including cunning, greed, dirtiness of both body and soul, and backwardness. Using the bestiary, the church was able to both fortify the anti-Semitic stereotypes as well as reinforce their policies against the Jews through the use of this type of subtle propaganda.

EDUCATION REFORM AND ITS DISCONTENTS: THE STORY OF NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

Davor Mondom

Ohio Republican congressman John Boehner called it his “proudest achievement.” Massachusetts Democratic senator Ted Kennedy referred to it as “a defining issue about the future of our nation and about the future of democracy, the future of liberty, and the future of the United States in leading the free world” (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 95). The ‘it’ in question is the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, hereafter known as NCLB. NCLB was an ambitious program that sought to repair a public education system that many perceived as substandard. Nine years have come and gone since NCLB was signed into law. The passage of time has provided us with an excellent vantage point from which we can study the history and impact of NCLB. As the history illustrates, the perception that American schools were failing predates NCLB by several decades, but agreement on the problem does not always translate into agreement on the solution. Indeed, it is fairly astonishing that NCLB ever passed at all, given the intense political polarization over the issue of education. But that’s not the whole story. To truly understand NCLB, one has to look beyond the years that preceded it and study the years that followed it. What we find then is that, although NCLB was a bill with a remarkable history and a grandiose mandate, its impact on public schools in America has been less than flattering. NCLB was the product of twenty years of partisan wrangling over the federal government’s role in the American education system, and despite its stated aims, the bill has harmed public education more than it has helped.

The opening salvo in the political war over education was fired in April of 1983, when the Reagan-appointed National Commission on Excellence in Education published *A Nation At Risk: The Imperative For Education Reform* (DeBray-Pelot & McGuinn, 2009, pg. 22). In stark language, the report declared, “the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people” (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). The report found that, among other things, SAT scores dropped between 1963 and 1980, students spent less time on homework, colleges were offering more remedial courses in mathematics, and many states experienced shortages of mathematics and science teachers (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). To fix these and other perceived problems in the education system, the report recommended that all high schools adopt the Five New Basics as a minimum requirement for graduation: four years of English, three years of mathematics, three years of science, three years of social studies, one-half year of computer science, as well as two years of foreign language for college-bound students. Other listed recommendations made for improving schools include, but are not limited to, longer school days and school years, higher admission standards for colleges and universities, performance pay for teachers, and higher academic standards for teacher preparatory programs. The commission also made clear that the federal government had a role in education policy, writing, “the Federal Government has the primary responsibility to identify the national interest in education” and that “it must provide the national leadership to ensure that the Nation's public and private resources are marshaled to address the issues discussed in this report” (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

A Nation At Risk bluntly detailed the waning quality of American education. As a result of the report, public attention to education increased; in the 1984 presidential election, the public ranked education among its top tier of concerns for the first time ever (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 45). That said, policymakers in Washington were initially unsure how to react to it. The report’s endorsement of greater federal involvement in education directly clashed with the small-government conservatism of the Reagan

administration. As president, Reagan pushed to dismantle the Department of Education, but the effort met strong opposition both in Congress and among the general public. In a 1981 poll, just thirty-two percent of respondents favored eliminating the Department of Education (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 45). While he failed to end federal involvement in education, Reagan did succeed in minimizing it. Between 1981 and 1988, the budgets for the Department of Education and the National Institute of Education fell by eleven percent and seventy percent, respectively (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 46). Overall, the public resoundingly disapproved of Reagan's actions on education, with sixty-six of respondents in a 1988 poll giving the administration's educational policies a grade of "C" (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 46). A majority of the public – sixty-six percent in a 1987 poll – sided with the authors of *A Nation at Risk* in support of a greater federal role in education (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 47).

George H.W. Bush, Reagan's successor to the presidency, did not harbor his predecessor's contempt for an activist federal government. Instead, he embraced the need for more federal intervention in education. In the fall of 1989, Bush hosted a meeting of the state governors in Charlottesville, Virginia. Dubbed "the Charlottesville Summit," the gathering produced a consensus around higher academic standards; the summit's participants declared in a formal statement their belief "that the time has come, for the first time in U.S. history, to establish clear, national performance goals, goals that will make us internationally competitive" (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 61). Bush followed up the Charlottesville Summit with the proposal of his America 2000 program in April 1991. America 2000 called for the creation of American Achievement Tests, a set of voluntary national exams for fourth, eighth, and twelfth graders that governors could use. The plan also proposed the creation of the New American Schools Development Corporation, which would design model schools, merit pay for teachers, and the establishment of a private school choice program (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 65). America 2000 ultimately died in Congress due to opposition from both sides of the aisle, with Democrats opposing the school choice provisions and Republicans criticizing the bill's expansion of federal intrusion into education (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 66, 67).

Throughout much of the prehistory of NCLB, a rare left-right coalition existed against education reform. As Bruno Manno, a Department of Education official under the George H.W. Bush administration, noted, "Democrats didn't want anything to do with a test, and conservatives were afraid of a national curriculum" (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 68). This coalition helped to bring down America 2000, and it would rear its head again during the presidency of Bill Clinton. As the 1990s progressed, however, this coalition weakened under a growing moderate consensus for education reform, which ultimately materialized in the passage of NCLB. In early 1994, Clinton made his foray into the field of education reform with the proposal of Goals 2000. Like Bush's America 2000, Goals 2000 proposed the creation of voluntary national standards and tests. Unlike America 2000, however, Goals 2000 proposed the creation of a National Education Standards and Improvement Council and a National Skill Standards Board to oversee school reform efforts. Moreover, while the plan allowed states to design their own standards, the Department of Education would have to review those standards prior to states receiving Goals 2000 funds (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 86, 87). Goals 2000 met vehement criticism when it reached Congress. Republicans, true to their small-government mantra, opposed the provision requiring review of state standards, while Democrats "saw the [Goals 2000] proposal to define goals, standards, and reform as substitutes for commitment, programs, and money" (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 88, 89). Congress ultimately passed Goals 2000, but in the legislative process it was significantly watered down; Congress removed the provision requiring review of state standards and inserted language assuring that the national standards would be voluntary and "sufficiently general" (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 90, 91). Support for national standards came to a screeching halt in the fall of 1994, when controversy arose over voluntary history standards crafted by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Lynne Cheney, who sat as the organization's chairperson, attacked the standards as a "warped and distorted version of the American

past in which it becomes a story of oppression and failure,” noting that they mentioned “negative” historical figures like Joseph McCarthy and the Ku Klux Klan more often than “positive” figures like Thomas Edison or the Wright Brothers. The ensuing media debate caused many politicians to give up on the idea of national standards, viewing them as far too controversial for their own good (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 17, 18).

1994 was a significant year in the modern history of American education. In addition to Goals 2000, 1994 also saw the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, titled the Improving America’s Schools Act (hereafter known as IASA) (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 92). IASA required states receiving Title I grants to establish high content and performance standards in reading and mathematics, as well as to establish “adequate yearly progress” towards meeting those standards. Furthermore, IASA required these students to be tested “at some time” between third and fifth grade, then between sixth and ninth grade, and again between tenth and twelfth grade; these test scores would be disaggregated by gender, race, limited-English-proficiency status, disability, and economic status, so as to ensure progress among all students. Title I schools that failed to meet “adequate yearly progress” for two consecutive years would be marked as needing “corrective action,” which could include withholding funds, changing the school staff, or transferring the students, among other options (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 96). As we will see, many of the provisions of IASA mirrored those of NCLB. IASA passed Congress and was signed into law, but along remarkably partisan lines. Previous reauthorizations of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act garnered the support of anywhere between seventy-two and ninety percent of congressional Republicans; IASA, on the other hand, received the support of only nineteen percent of House Republicans and fifty-three percent of Senate Republicans (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 94).

The midterm elections of 1994 gave Republicans control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and immediately Republicans set out to roll back federal involvement in education (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 103, 104). In 1996, the Republican-controlled Congress passed amendments to Goals 2000 that repealed the Nation Education Standards and Improvement Council, removed requirements for states to submit education reform plans in order to receive Goals 2000 funds, granted six additional states waivers from federal regulators, and allowed states to use their Goals 2000 funds on technology rather than on developing standards and tests (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 109). Congressional Republicans also sought to slash federal funding for education and to revive the Reagan-era goal of abolishing the Department of Education, but in so doing they ran into significant roadblocks. Moderate Republicans, such as Sens. James Jeffords (R-VT) and Arlen Specter (R-PA), favored federal involvement in education, and they used their committee and subcommittee positions to crush the conservative agenda on education (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 116). Conservative Republicans also drew opposition from business groups, such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Alliance of Business, the National Governors Association, and the general public. A March 1995 poll found that only fifteen percent of those surveyed thought the Republican education proposals were a step in the right direction (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 110, 112, 133).

The second half of the 1990s witnessed a remarkable moderate convergence in favor of education reform. The general public rejected conservative Republicans’ attempts to cut back federal involvement in education, as exemplified by Bob Dole’s loss to Bill Clinton in the 1996 presidential election (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 129). At the same time, the public showed a frustration over the state of education and a hunger for greater accountability. A 1998 *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News Poll found that forty-one percent of those surveyed viewed teachers’ unions as a roadblock to reform, and the percentage of those who had “a great deal” of confidence in public schools dropped to a meager quarter of the population (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 142, 143). This frustration was particularly visible among minority groups, long a reliable Democratic Party constituency. Their frustration with the poor quality of urban schools led to the formation of groups like the Black Alliance for Education Options, which supported vouchers (DeBray-

Pelot & McGuinn, 2009, pg. 26). The public wanted neither a right-wing nor a left-wing solution to education, but rather a centrist, bipartisan plan that incorporated the best of both worlds: greater federal funding, but with strings attached. NCLB embodied just such a centrist position on education. In contrast to the highly contentious IASA, NCLB passed with strong bipartisan support: 381-41 in the House of Representatives, and 87-10 in the Senate (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 177).

NCLB has a fairly straightforward structure. By the 2005-2006 school year, all states were required to test students in grades three through eight in reading and mathematics, and by the 2007-2008 school year, states would have to test students in science once during the elementary, middle, and high school years. States would author their own tests, and would define their own academic proficiency and adequate yearly progress (AYP) standards. As in IASA, test scores would be disaggregated into various subgroups (e.g. race, income) to ensure that all subgroups achieved adequate yearly progress, with the goal of reaching one hundred percent proficiency by 2014. Under NCLB, schools received various sanctions if they failed to make AYP. If a school failed to make AYP for two consecutive years, it would have to offer its students the option to transfer out; three consecutive years of failure would require the school to offer tutoring services to its students; four years of failure, and the district would be required to implement corrective actions, such as changing the staff; and five years of failure would result in the reconstitution of the failing school. NCLB also stipulated that, starting in the 2002-2003 school year, all newly hired teachers must be “highly qualified,” and all public school teachers must meet that standard by the 2005-2006 school year (McGuinn, 2006, pg. 180).

By enacting tough new accountability measures, Congress hoped that NCLB would usher in a new era of high-quality public education in the United States. Unfortunately, it has done anything but that. For one, NCLB’s emphasis on standardized test scores to judge schools and school districts has given states a perverse incentive to “game the system,” finding ways to raise test scores without actually improving the quality of education students receive. Between 2003 and 2005, the state of Florida boasted a dramatic narrowing of the black/white achievement gap. In those two years alone, black fourth grade students registered an average increase of ten points in math scores, and the black/white achievement gap fell from twenty-eight points in 2003 to twenty-three points in 2005 (Haney, 2006, pg. 2). Florida governor Jeb Bush touted these gains in an August 13, 2006 essay in the *Washington Post*, writing, “our students are performing at higher levels and we’re closing the achievement gap between poor and minority students and their peers” (Haney, 2006, pg. 3). However, a study of grade transition ratios in Florida reveals that, in the 2003-2004 school year, Florida flunked approximately ten to twelve percent of its third graders, forcing them to repeat the grade. Additionally, fifteen to twenty percent of blacks and Hispanics were flunked, compared to just four to six percent of whites (Haney, 2006, pg. 6). The 2003-2005 Florida gains, then, were merely an illusion, a product of Florida holding back its lowest performing students.

Additionally, because they are allowed to set their own proficiency standards under NCLB, many states have set artificially low standards or have lowered their standards, making it easier for students to pass the state examinations. Mississippi, for instance, claimed that eighty-nine percent of its fourth graders were proficient in reading, while the National Association of Educational Progress (NAEP) calculated that figure at eighteen percent (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 106). In 2006, the state of New York lowered the passing grade on its mathematics exam from 59.6 percent to 44 percent; not surprisingly, therefore, the percentage of students meeting state proficiency in mathematics increased from 65.8 percent in 2006 to 86.5 percent in 2009 (Ravitch, 2006, pg. 158). The variability among state proficiency standards is astounding. In 2007, a fourth grade student in Massachusetts needed to receive the equivalent of 254 points on the NAEP mathematics exam to achieve proficiency (NAEP defined a score of 249 as

“proficient”); Tennessee’s proficiency standard, meanwhile, required a student to accrue a mere 198 points (Murnane & Papay, 2010, pg. 154).

NCLB’s focus on high-stakes testing has led to a precipitous decline in the quality of education that students receive. The passage of NCLB has forced many states (e.g. Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, and Nebraska) to drop innovative performance-based assessment programs, which evaluate students based on the completion of portfolios and other performance tasks, in favor of standardized, multiple-choice examinations (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 645, 655). As a consequence of NCLB’s stringent and narrow focus on reading and mathematics, many school districts have narrowed their curricula, focusing more time on reading and mathematics and less on other subjects. The Center for Education Policy found in 2007 that the amount of time elementary schools allotted to subjects other than reading and mathematics fell by one-third since the passage of NCLB (Murnane & Papay, 2010, pg. 158). Among all districts, fifty-eight percent increased their instructional time on English language arts and forty-five percent did so on mathematics. By contrast, the percentage of districts reporting a drop in time spent on social studies, science, and art/music were thirty-six percent, twenty-eight percent, and sixteen percent, respectively (Murnane & Papay, 2010, pg. 159).

What’s more, this relentless focus on reading and mathematics may not actually be helping students learn. As Diane Ravitch notes, because so much rides on the success or failure of students on standardized examinations, “most districts, especially urban districts where performance is lowest, relentlessly engage in test-prep activities...for weeks and even months before the state test, children are drilled daily in test-taking skills and on questions mirroring those that are likely to appear on the state test” (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 159). In the end, this sort of intensive test-prep does more harm than good, because it prepares students to take a test rather than to master the material. Daniel Koretz, a psychometrician at Harvard University, gave students from a district with impressive test score gains a different test of similar material, and found that they were unable to replicate the gains (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 160).

NCLB’s prescribed method of measuring student performance is quite obviously flawed, but so too is the regime it put forth to punish schools and school districts. Under NCLB guidelines, any school that fails to make progress towards the one hundred percent proficiency goal is labeled a school in need of improvement (SINI) and receives various sanctions (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 97). The goal of one hundred percent proficiency by 2014 is wholly unrealistic. According to one calculation that used NAEP proficiency standards, the American school system would need 160 years to reach this lofty goal (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 654). This means that, come 2014, vast numbers of schools will receive the SINI label. It is estimated that at least eighty percent of schools nationwide will fail to meet NCLB’s proficiency goal, with that number going as high as ninety-nine percent in the state of California (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 654). As Linda Darling-Hammond notes, as a result of the current system, “many schools with strong, consistent gains for all groups are nonetheless unfairly labeled as failing if they do not make AYP each year” (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 657). Not only does this system inappropriately label good schools as poor ones, it also makes it harder for truly poor schools to recruit high-quality teachers; as one Floridian principal remarked, “is anybody going to want to dedicate their lives to a school that has already been labeled a failure?” (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 661).

Unrealistic goals aside, the AYP mechanism contains numerous bizarre quirks that make it highly difficult for schools to make AYP. For one, if any single subgroup within a school fails to meet AYP, the whole school is considered not to have met AYP; even if said subgroup made progress over the preceding year, it is still deemed failing if it did not reach the AYP benchmark (Murnane & Papay, 2010, pg. 159). This is especially problematic for schools with high concentrations of limited English proficient (LEP)

students. By law, a LEP student is defined as someone “whose difficulties in speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language may be sufficient to deny the individual...the ability to meet the State's proficient level of achievement on State assessments.” But since limited English proficiency is one of the NCLB subgroups, schools are required to demonstrate AYP for a group of students who, by definition, cannot meet AYP. What’s more, once a LEP student becomes proficient, she is no longer counted under that subgroup, making it virtually impossible to meet AYP for the LEP category (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 657). NCLB also creates insurmountable barriers for students with special needs. The Department of Education implements a cap on the number of special education students who may be assessed using individualized education programs (IEPs), making it equally difficult for this subgroup to meet AYP (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 657). As such, NCLB creates a disincentive for schools to educate the neediest students.

NCLB’s aspirations to raise student achievement and school accountability are admirable. Unfortunately, the means prescribed by the law to meet these ends are counterproductive, at best, and harmful, at worst. Education reform is not a lost cause, but in order to improve our schools, we must learn from the mistakes of NCLB. First, we need federal-level regulation of state education standards. As we have seen, allowing states to define “proficiency” has led to many states lowering their standards to more easily meet AYP. Federal-level standards regulations could take one of two forms. The federal government could simply institute mandatory national standards and tests, which would first require a change in the current laws that prohibit just such an action (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 7). A second option would be to institute a system similar to that proposed under Goals 2000, whereby states can craft their own standards, but under the condition that they be reviewed by the Department of Education. I find the latter more desirable, since it would give states the opportunity to develop innovative means of assessment, as many New England states have.

We also need to develop a more robust criterion for evaluating student progress in schools. For instance, schools should be required to report grade progression ratios in addition to reporting student test scores for each grade. This will allow states to better judge whether high test scores are a result of better student comprehension, or a result of schools holding back their worst-performing students, as occurred in Florida (Haney, 2006, pg. 13). Using test scores as the sole measurement of student achievement is problematic in other ways as well. In a 1999 report, the National Research Council’s Committee on Appropriate Test Use wrote that “a test score is not an exact measure of a student’s knowledge or skills” and that “an educational decision that will have a major impact on a test taker should not be made solely or automatically on the basis of a single test score” (Ravitch, 2010, pg. 153). Not only do test scores reign supreme under NCLB, but the only test scores that count are those in reading and mathematics (and, most recently, science). Alongside test scores and grade progression ratios, schools should be judged by how well students do in the classroom, and this should include classes other than those that teach reading and mathematics. Not only does this provide a more holistic measure of student achievement, but since it considers factors other than reading and math test scores, it will hopefully help prevent some of the curriculum narrowing and teaching to the test that have become pervasive under NCLB.

The adequate yearly progress mechanism is in dire need of reform. The goal of one hundred percent proficiency by 2014 is unrealistic and unattainable, and should be dropped as the standard for tracking school progress. We should reward schools based on whether or not student performance is improving, instead of punishing schools for failing to reach the unreachable, as we do now (Murnane & Papay, 2010, pg. 159, 160). We also need to remove the disincentives to teach the neediest students that NCLB has created. Schools must be allowed to assess all their disabled students using IEPs; not only is that more consistent with the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, but it also gives schools a

chance to achieve real improvements among their disabled population (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 658). With respect to LEP students, those who have achieved English language proficiency ought to remain in that category as long as they stay in that school, thereby making it actually possible for the LEP subgroup to achieve some measure of progress (Darling-Hammond, 2006, pg. 658).

The impact of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 on public education is as complicated and complex as its history. NCLB was not born in a vacuum; it came to fruition after two decades of intense back-and-forth between the political left and the political right. NCLB represents an attempt to bring these two factions together around what might reasonably be considered a compromise, and it represents a genuine attempt to deal with the perceived shoddiness of American public education. However, despite its good intentions, the bill leaves behind a mixed legacy. States have employed numerous tricks to show student improvement without actually improving education, and schools and teachers have labored to achieve unattainable goals that harm the students that need the most help. All is not yet lost, though. If we are courageous enough to admit the bill's flaws and proactive enough to fix them, the rising tide of educational mediocrity may finally begin to recede.

Bibliography

- Darling-Hammond, L. (2006). No Child Left Behind and High School Reform. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76(4), 642-725.
- DeBray-Pelot, E., & McGuinn, P. (2009). The New Politics of Education: Analyzing the Federal Education Policy Landscape in the Post-NCLB Era. *Educational Policy*, 23(1), 15-42.
- Haney, W. M. (2006). Evidence on Education under NCLB (and How Florida Boosted NAEP Scores and Reduced the Race Gap). *Center for the Study of Testing, Evaluation and Education Policy, Lynch School of Education, Boston College*.
- McGuinn, P. J. (2006). *No Child Left Behind and the Transformation of Federal Education Policy, 1965-2005*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Murnane, R. J., & Papay, J. P. (2010). Teachers' Views on No Child Left Behind: Support for the Principles, Concerns about the Practices. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 24(3), 151-166.
- Ravitch, D. (2010). *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*. New York: Basic Books.
- The National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983, April). *A Nation At Risk: The Imperative For Educational Reform*. Retrieved November 14, 2010, from <http://www2.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/index.html>

A GLANCE THROUGH A BACHELORS' PICTURE WINDOW: *PLAYBOY* AND THE
TRANSFORMATION OF THE FEMININE FAMILY ROOM INTO A MASCULINE
ENTERTAINMENT ROOM AND DEN OF SEDUCTION

Joclyn Wallace

"My own pad!" Howard Sprague proudly exclaimed while standing in the living room of the home he, until recently, shared with his mother. A hasty decision to get married made by Mrs. Sprague and her love interest, George, afforded Howard the opportunity to live on his own for the first time. After the wedding bells rang, the former Mrs. Sprague left Mayberry for Mount Pilot where she would live with her new spouse. Prior to her departure, much of Howard's character and way of living was shaped by his mother, "who never allowed him to do anything."¹ Liberated from her control, Howard could live in his mothers' home however he chose to now that the place was his. First, he removed every feminine touch from the living room. His mothers' golden-brown couch set, fern green drapes, secretary desk, potted plants, oriental area rugs, and country cottage painting above the mantelpiece were all replaced by selections he made in modern home furnishings and decor. The cozy, feminine, rural living room was transformed into a cool, masculine, "urban" pad once Howard laid down his bear skin rug and satin floor pillows, placed a bar where his mothers' desk had been, set up his stereo equipment on the potted plant stand, and hung red drapes in the windows, a beaded curtain in the archway, and an abstract painting by the fire place. His friends Andy, Goober, and Emmitt were the first to see the transformation. While they glanced around the room Howard stated: "I feel that all of this is the real me. I've always thought that a bachelors' pad should reveal the true personality of its owner."²

It is unclear whether or not the writers' intent for this 1968 episode of the *Andy Griffith Show* titled "The Wedding" was to provide social commentary on the domestic ideology of the period that decorator is a feminine role. However, this onscreen conversion of a mother's living room into a bachelor's entertainment room can be analyzed as a form of rebellion against this societal belief. By embracing the hip, urban bachelor "lifestyle" that was popular in 1960s, Howard separated himself from the way fellow Mayberry bachelors Andy and Goober lived. The widowed Andy had his home decorated by Aunt Bee while the working class bachelor Goober had nothing more than a cot and a lamp in his apartment. It was Howard's unattached and middle class status that permitted him to turn his country home into a trendy pad. After claiming the once feminine domestic sphere as his own, Howard shed his former personality as a bow tie wearing, repressed momma's boy and became an ascot wearing man confident enough to display his masculine taste through the consumption of home goods.

Personal and spatial transformations of this kind were advised by the editors of *Playboy*, a men's entertainment magazine first published by its founder Hugh Hefner in December 1953. According to the pages of *Playboy*, young men like Howard were discontent with their home life. It was the control that their wives, not their mothers, had over them that was contributing to their unhappiness. However, wives were committing the same offense as Howard's mother: emasculating the home through feminine interior design. Firmly believing that men needed a permanent escape from feminine spaces as a result of this, *Playboy* "represented bachelorhood as a form of male liberation from [postwar] domestic

¹ Richard Michael Kelly, *The Andy Griffith Show*, (Winston-Salem, NC: J.F. Blair, 1981) 64.

² YouTube. "The Andy Griffith Show (S8E26) - The Wedding(2/2)" Accessed October 25, 2010.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CGZn0MWWHFk&feature=related>

ideology.”³ By remaining single, a man would have complete control over the house. He would design how the interior looked based on his own tastes and determine how each room should function. By arguing that single men needed to claim the domestic sphere as theirs, *Playboy* was a mobilizing force in producing shifts in masculinity.⁴ This new masculinity grounded in the concept that men need more indoor spaces to call their own was admired and embraced most strongly between its launching in 1953 and the late 1960s; the same time when suburban married life was increasingly advertised as the right way to live. Men looking at the detailed illustrations of fantasy bachelor pads featured in *Playboy* imagined themselves in a modern, “feminine touch free” living room with a dual function: entertainment followed by seduction. Here they would provide anyone peering through their picture window with a scene of passion roused by mood music, cocktails, and casual, sophisticated conversation; a masculine alternative to the trap of feminine, suburban married life.

In the postwar era, men reclaimed the production oriented public sphere, which women had entered during the war to produce supplies for troops and provide for their families while their husbands were overseas. With women back home in the consumption oriented private sphere, print and televised advertisements began to increasingly market home goods toward them. Women’s magazines like *Woman’s Day*, *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies Home Journal* functioned as handbooks for women to learn how to take on their newly designated role as primary consumer.⁵ Purchasing home goods, as well as arranging them for display became a strictly feminine activity after the war. Husbands only provided their wives with the money to buy these items; they did not assist them with decorating or make any catalog orders for home furnishings themselves. As a result, the home became gendered as well since it was women who were determining how it should look.

The domestic ideology that wives were responsible for designing the living space for their family coupled with the need for repetition created by mass production led almost every home to look the same.⁶ Articles in *Ladies Home Journal* with titles including “The Ideal Kitchen” and “Looking into Other Women’s Homes” helped to promote this cultural phenomenon. They encouraged women to keep up with their neighbors by replicating the staged interiors.⁷ Thus, there was little variation between each home since every woman in the neighborhood was modeling the rooms in their home after the same magazine image. Their middle class status enabled them to afford these products, which were often low-priced to begin with because they were mass produced.

Colorful advertisements, like those in the May 1952 issue of *Woman’s Day*, were often strategically placed in the outer margins of each page to catch the eye of the reader while they thumbed through the magazine. Most informed mother’s that through a simple purchase their jobs would become a lot easier. Fire-King Ovenware, for example, would save them from dish-washings since the “baked-on” foods washed right off the smooth, round edges.⁸ Similarly, the “roomy” G-E Refrigerator made food storage a cinch since it was a combination freezer and refrigerator; allowing everything to be “kept in its proper place at the proper temperature.”⁹ Technology did help make daily chores including dish-washing and

³ Steven Cohan, “So Functional for Its Purposes,” in Joel Sanders ed., *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity*, (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996) 30.

⁴ Bentham Benwell ed., *Masculinity and Men’s Lifestyle Magazines*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) 7.

⁵ Joan Kron, *Home-Psych: The Social Psychology of Home and Decoration*, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc./Publishers, 1983) 117.

⁶ Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s*, (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1979) 167.

⁷ Susan J. Matt, *Keeping Up with the Joneses: Envy in American Consumer Society, 1890-1930*, (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania P., 2002) 15.

⁸ *Woman’s Day*, May, 1952, 18.

⁹ *Woman’s Day*, May 1952, 21.

grocery shopping easier for housewives. Also, the money it saved them could be spent on items that would add a certain charm to their kitchen or living room. Women migrated back and forth between these two rooms most often; therefore it was important that these spaces reflected their personal tastes in design. Kitchens could instantly become more exciting by applying colorful “Plasti-Chrome” Roylege adhesive patterns to shelves.¹⁰ Some excitement could be added to the living room just as easily. For only twenty-five cents, a chair’s slipcover or curtains could be made to look brand new simply by dyeing the fabric in All Purpose Rit.¹¹ Even for middle class women, home renovations were costly; therefore these quick and inexpensive ways to upgrade interiors were invaluable to the women who tried them.

These modifications to the home were often made in order to impress other women in the neighborhood; rather than husbands and children. It was the wide, picture window in the living room that necessitated conspicuous consumption.¹² When the curtains were drawn back, everything in the room was on display. The next door neighbors, in particular, were expected to look in and grow envious of what they saw. Also, women hoped that the living room would provide those peering through the window with a positive first impression of their family. Acknowledging this, a 1945 advertisement for Kroehler Comfort Construction Furniture assured women that their, “‘live-in room’ would say – ‘happy people live here!’” (see figure 1). Through the bay window of the advertisement’s illustrated living room, the house across the street can be seen. Its front door and picture window appears to be aligned with this homes’ front door and living room window making them mirror images, at least externally. Anyone looking into the window from across the way would see a bright, colorful, and cozy living room. Radiating hospitality (as stated on the advertisement), a living room like this enticed other women in the neighborhood to ask the decorator if they could see it up close.

In addition to these informal drop-ins where wives and mothers would converse casually about interior design, formal invitations for dinner parties were also made. Along with advice on how to be an excellent consumer, women’s magazines also provided tips on entertaining. To supplement the articles on entertaining published each month, women could purchase the *Good Housekeeping Party Book* (1949), for example. Recipes for food and drink were included along with directions on how to make the event successful. Featured on the first page is an illustration of the gracious hostess; a woman wearing a little black dress greeting guests with a warm smile at the door. On the same page, the editors take note of the fact that while some women are as eager as the one in the illustration to entertain, others are not. However, all were informed that entertaining is a responsibility of community life, parenthood, and business.¹³ Women planned social gatherings including luncheons, dinners, and cocktail parties because fostering togetherness within the neighborhood was part of their role as housewife.

Although husbands attended the parties their wives planned, they did not plan any themselves. Men did not entertain other men indoors. They did not invite them over to marvel at the living room furniture or to sip coffee in the kitchen. In fact, if men did socialize in the home, homosexuality was often thought of as the cause.¹⁴ To confirm their heterosexuality and masculinity, men spent most of their time outside. Hours were put into maintaining the exterior of the house and more specifically the front lawn. In the suburban neighborhood, the lawn functioned as a second living room; it also gave the neighbors a

¹⁰ *Women’s Day*, May 1952, 51.

¹¹ *Women’s Day*, May 1952, 36.

¹² William H. Whyte Jr., *The Organization Man*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956) 352.

¹³ Dorothy Marsh and Carol Brock, eds., *Good Housekeeping Party Book*, (NY: Harpers & Bros. Pubs., 1949) 1.

¹⁴ Kron, *Home-Psych: The Social Psychology of Home and Decoration*, 114.

And Our "Live-in" Room Will Say-
"HAPPY PEOPLE LIVE HERE!"



**ADD HAPPINESS TO YOUR HOME WITH
 NEW KROEHLER *Comfort Construction* FURNITURE!**

Here's a real "Live-in" Room! No stands-offish atmosphere here. This room radiates hospitality, encourages companionship, nurtures happiness. You, your youngsters, and friends will cherish every hour spent here.

Plus yours today with Kroehler furniture. New, 5-Star Comfort Construction takes an almost personal interest in your comfort. Helps you relax by shaping instantly to you.

Still, it's so economical. Ask grandmother what a value Kroehler now offers, compared to furniture of her newwed days. Let your authorized Kroehler dealer help you plan your "Live-In" Room now!



Only Kroehler Has 5-Star
Comfort Construction

Springs that shape to you
 do not lose their shape. Cushions with no lumps or bumps. Under-
 construction that will not sag. Handwood frames that will not break down. Clean, new materials and expert workmanship inside and out.

KROEHLER (Soy KR-AY-LEE)

Furniture 

Look for the Kroehler Label - Your Assurance of Famous Kroehler 5-Star Comfort Construction.

WORLD'S LARGEST FURNITURE MANUFACTURER

Figure 1

From: "Happy People Live Here" *No Accounting For Taste* (blog), Tuesday, May 6, 2008., <http://www.noaccountingfortaste.com/?cat=6&paged=4>.

first impression of the family it belonged to.¹⁵ Husbands and fathers took pride in the care they gave to the front lawn. This outdoor space was one they controlled and could claim as their own.

For most men, the only indoor male space was the basement. Downstairs below the other rooms in the house was where they went while inside to escape from women and all things feminine.¹⁶ Each individual man may not have been content with only going back and forth between the outdoors and the basement. However, this was how suburban family life was intended to be according to advertisements in magazines and popular television shows among other cultural texts. Few men felt the need to argue with this. With their masculinity and sexuality on the line, making demands for more space in the home was rendered foolish. The home was, after all, a feminine space and decorating was a feminine activity. This was a myth that men created, along with the ideology of separate spheres, to confirm their masculinity. Why, then, would they want to dismantle it? The only way to prevent their identity as the antithesis of all things feminine from being tarnished would be to transform interior decorating into a masculine activity.

A feature story in the *Chicago Daily News* in 1953, titled “How a Cartoonist Lives,” revealed that one man in particular had challenged the domestic ideology of the period by taking on the role of decorator in his family’s apartment. This man was Chicago native Hugh Hefner, whose “taste for modern decor and clever use of cartoons to decorate the nursery” were highlighted in photographs that appeared in the two page spread.¹⁷ In one photograph, Hefner is shown seated on the living room floor holding his baby daughter Christie while his wife Millie is seated on the couch with what appears to be a magazine lying open on her lap (see figure 2). Anyone in the adjacent apartment peering through the two fixed windows behind the couch would see that the space differed greatly from the room in the Kroehler advertisement, for example. Unlike the busy, colorful, floral print curtains hanging above the picture window in the advertisement, Hefner’s patterned curtains were minimalist. Similarly, his floor lamp had a cool, functional look that contrasted from the decorative table lamp. The unique, modern pieces on the coffee table were a masculine alternative to cluttering the room with potted plants. With Hefner as the decorator, the living room was absent of the feminine touch that women’s magazines, like the one Millie may have been reading when the photograph was taken, encouraged wives and mothers to give to each room.

In the same year that this photograph appeared in the *Chicago Daily News*, Hefner published the first issue of *Playboy*, the men’s entertainment magazine he founded. The articles, fiction pieces, and later advertisements were all marketing the “lifestyle” Hefner fantasized himself having one day to young men. The magazine informed its middle class, male audience that there was more to life than marriage. It was the role of bachelor not breadwinner that *Playboy* prescribed to men. Hefner’s own discontent with married life was rooted in the knowledge he had that while he and Millie were engaged, she had an affair with “a coach at the school where she was teaching.”¹⁸ Hefner forgave Millie and did not break off the engagement. However, he felt betrayed and, according to Steven Watts, author of the biography *Mr. Playboy: Hugh Hefner and the American Dream*, the affair seems to be what caused Hefner to distrust the notion of commitment to, and from, women.¹⁹ He needed an antidote to the pain Millie caused him, which

¹⁵ Ted Steinberg, *American Green: The Obsessive Quest for the Perfect Lawn*, (NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 2007) 27.

¹⁶ Barbara Ehrenreich, “A Feminist’s View of the New Man” in Michael S. Kimmel and Michael A. Messner, eds *Men’s Lives*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989) 34.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Fraterrigo, *Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America*, (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2009) 15.

¹⁸ Steven Watts, *Mr. Playboy: Hugh Hefner and the American Dream*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008) 47.

¹⁹ Watts, *Mr. Playboy: Hugh Hefner and the American Dream*, 48.

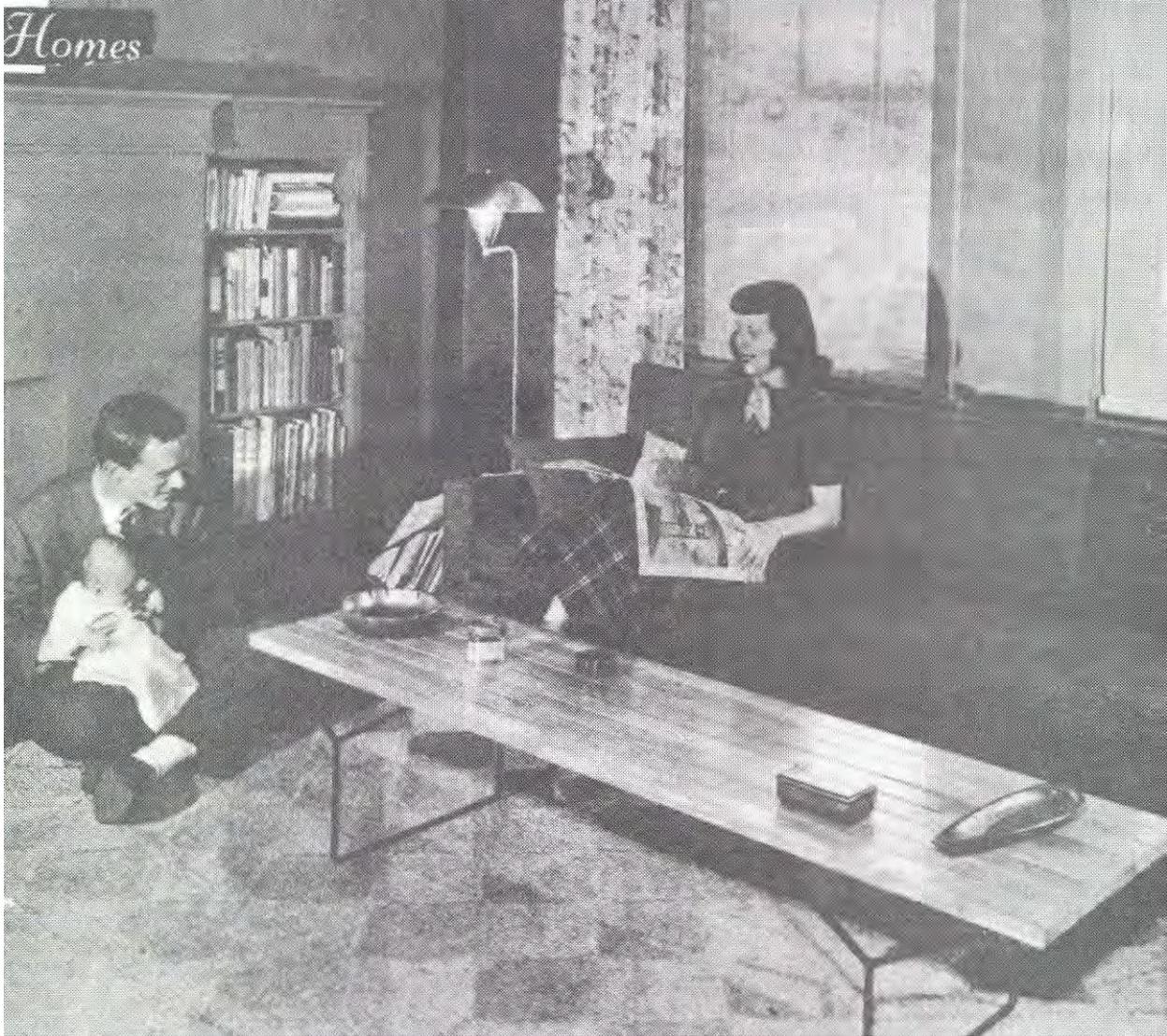


Figure 2

From: Elizabeth Fraterrigo, Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America, (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2009) 16.

ironically he thought could be found in open relationships with multiple women.

Although either remaining in or returning to a state of bachelorhood was what Hefner promoted in *Playboy*, he, along with most other men, could only fantasize about this. Marriage was an integral part of life for middle class Americans, in particular, during the postwar era. It was a rite of passage that confirmed a man's heterosexuality perhaps more so than spending time outdoors. Since marriage was a prerequisite to having sex, married men were informing the rest of society that they were being intimate with a woman. As a result, a man's single status would then signify "latent homosexuality."²⁰ To prevent anyone from thinking of them as homosexuals men typically married at a young age to show that they

²⁰ Cohan, "So Functional for Its Purposes: Rock Hudson's Bachelor Apartment in Pillow Talk" in *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity*, 29.

were in love with a woman and planned on having a family like everyone else. Men actively created this myth that heterosexuality was linked to the state of marriage and nearly all felt pressured to live by it.

In addition to the role of husband and father, men were expected to take on the role of breadwinner. As the primary producer for their family, men entered the public sphere where most middle class men held office jobs and were required to wear suits to work. Without the ability to express themselves through their attire, all men began to take on the same look. This revealed that the need for repetition in the postwar era extended beyond the home. In 1956, journalist William H. Whyte wrote in his book *The Organization Man* that “The Organization demands conformity” and “asks for the individuals psyche.”²¹ Was this loss of soul truly necessary for men to prove to other men that they were heterosexual? A *Playboy* article featured in the July 1964 issue titled “The Homogenized Man: A Plea for the Preservation of the Individual in our Increasingly Pigeonholed Society” examined The Organization (or American society) similarly to how Whyte had years earlier. It informed readers that some men “refuse to join the cults of conformists, status seekers, and organization men.”²² Knowing that others were also discontent with this way of life and were choosing alternatives helped to make the role of bachelor over breadwinner seem possible.

At the same time that the pages of *Playboy* were abdicating the breadwinner role, those who identified themselves as part of the Beat Generation were also liberating themselves from the trap of suburban family life. Beats were fellow nonconformists looking to only pursue pleasure in life. As members of a counterculture, the Beats were criticized by most “mainstream” middle-class Americans for their evasion of social reality.²³ Hefner acknowledged that Playboys had the potential to be under the same scrutiny. To prevent this, he argued in *The Playboy Philosophy* (1954) that Playboys were part of the Upbeat Generation. This name was borrowed from an article in *Life* titled “Take-Over Generation,” which claimed:

“The Upbeats can enjoy kicking up their heels, participating in the same sort of fun and frivolity for which the ‘20s are most famous, but they are equally capable of knuckling down to a particular job and getting it done.”²⁴

Connecting the *Playboy* lifestyle to the Upbeat Generation allowed Hefner to assure Americans that hedonism did not require people to leave work and live in voluntary poverty. In fact, the *Playboy* lifestyle was something men had to buy into; therefore they needed to work hard to earn spending money. It was this patronage to materialism that made the *Playboy* lifestyle less threatening to the foundations of American life than the Beat culture.

Articles in *Playboy* taught men how to be consumers. The products marketed toward them would function quite differently for them than the products women purchased. For example, unlike Kroehler Furniture, which promised to present happiness to the neighborhood, modern Knoll furnishings were advertised as masculine pieces that would aid in the art of seduction. To further convince men that they needed to buy the products highlighted, the editors assured them that it was their ability to live in style that made men irresistible to women.²⁵ Perhaps there was truth to this statement, but what could the

²¹ Whyte, *The Organization Man*, 171, 201.

²² J. Paul Getty “The Homogenized Man: A Plea for the Preservation of the Individual in our Increasingly Pigeonholed Society,” *Playboy*, August 1964, 129.

²³ Cornelius A. van Minnen, Jaap van der Bent and David Amram, *Beat Culture: The 1950s and Beyond*, (Amsterdam: VU U. P., 1999) 280.

²⁴ Hugh Hefner, *The Playboy Philosophy*, Part 1, Installment 2, (Chicago: HMH Publishing Co., Inc., 1962) 13.

²⁵ Lynne Luciano, *Looking Good: Male Body Image in Modern America*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001) 81.

average reader of *Playboy*, a married man, (at least when it was first published) do with this knowledge? While he may have wanted to make himself available to more women than his wife, societal customs and moral values made both premarital and extramarital sexual relations taboo.

As a result, for *Playboy's* advertising of an alternative lifestyle to be successful, support from an external source was needed. This was found in the Kinsey Report: *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Zoologist Alfred C. Kinsey interviewed and administered surveys created by staff members at Indiana University to 5,300 white males in order to gain “data about sex from scientific fact that was completely divorced from questions of moral value and social custom.”²⁶ It is questionable how statistically significant or “scientific” these survey responses were since sexual behavior varies among each individual and therefore cannot be generalized. However, there is no doubt that this report was socially significant. Kinsey’s findings, published in 1948, did help to break Americans from the belief ingrained in most of them through informal and formal education that a man’s interest in sex is solely to witness the joy of childbirth nine months later. According to the men interviewed, the reality was that all American men were sex crazed.²⁷ Perhaps the baby boom that occurred in the postwar era was a testament to this. Men and women were expected to perform the act of sex for reproductive purposes only; therefore the birth rate increased regardless of whether individual families wanted more children or not. This social custom was linked to another; waiting to have sex after marriage. With marriage as a prerequisite for sex, and sex being interpreted as fulfilling reproductive needs only, single, widowed, and divorced men were left without a socio-sexual outlet.²⁸ The report revealed the dangers of this by informing Americans that since men needed to have sex, some would substitute homosexual relations for “less readily available heterosexual contacts.”²⁹ Hugh Hefner used this finding to support the swinging single campaign he launched when *Playboy* was first published. It enabled him to argue that bachelorhood should be a socially acceptable state for men to remain in so their sexual behavior will no longer have to stray from heterosexual norms.

To confirm that taking interest in interior design and modern furnishings was not a way of straying from heterosexual norms, *Playboy* published an article by Philip Wylie titled “The Womanization of America” in the September 1958 issue. The author of *Generation of Vipers* (1942), in which he described the threat of “Momism,” was describing here the threat of women invading male spaces and converting them into female spaces. Some men could argue that since they preferred spending time outdoors, the “womanization” of the suburban family home was not threatening; rather it was an intended outcome of living by the ideology of separate spheres. However, Wylie warned that someday what men will be doing outside will only be to match the “overall design-feeling” the woman has created inside the home.³⁰ The front lawn would then become an extension of the living room instead of a second living room and, therefore, more space for a woman to control. What was so dangerous about this conversion of once male spaces into female spaces within the home was that emasculation of the home leads to the emasculation of its male inhabitants.³¹ When a home does not reflect that a man lives there not a single room within it will exist as a male space. As a result, the man himself will cease to exist as male. According to Wylie, man needed to know and appreciate art, which historically has been a male endeavor and triumph, to halt this process.³² By framing the knowledge of art as something that once

²⁶ Alfred C. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co., 1948) 3.

²⁷ Gary Cross, *Men to Boys: The Making of Modern Immaturity* (New York: Columbia U. P., 2008) 71.

²⁸ Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 263.

²⁹ Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 289.

³⁰ Philip Wylie, “The Womanization of America,” *Playboy*, September 1958, 51.

³¹ Wylie, “The Womanization of America,” *Playboy*, 77.

³² Wylie, “The Womanization of America,” *Playboy*, 78.

belonged to males and therefore needs to be reclaimed made it safe for men to begin thinking about how they would design the home.

While women reading *Ladies Home Journal* were looking into other women's homes for tips on feminine interior design, men reading *Playboy* began looking into other men's homes for tips on masculine interior design. A man's interest in learning how to properly design a pad extended beyond making the neighbors envious; he wanted to join in the moral crusade to stop the widespread emasculation Wylie claimed was occurring in America. In addition, men wanted to learn how a few purchases could transform their living room into a den of seduction. Both the imagined and real life bachelor pads featured in *Playboy's* Modern Living section aided in producing this new masculine function for the living room. The first imagined interior was "Playboy's Penthouse Apartment." Appearing in parts, the first in the September 1956 issue and the second the following month, the illustrated spread showed first a basic floor plan and then an elaborate, cutaway view of the furnished apartment. Men glancing at the detailed illustration saw what the domestic sphere had potential to look like if masculine pieces filled each room. To comfort men and alleviate any possible fears that they would be thought of, particularly by other men, as queer for admiring a domestic space, *Playboy's* editors informed them that "a man yearns for quarters of his own. More than a place to hang his hat, a man dreams of his own domain, a place that is exclusively his."³³ By presenting this as a factual statement that all men wanted their own pad, anxieties about signaling homosexuality were eradicated.

The living room in the bachelor pad, as it was in the suburban home, was centrally located and provided anyone looking up into the casement window wall with an impression of the decorator, as well as the rest of the space. Like the seating arrangement in the Kroehler advertisement, the seating in the penthouse apartment was located in the middle of the room. The Saarinen couch produced by Knoll could be flipped on its back with the touch of a button turning either the fireplace or the entertainment wall into the focal point.³⁴ Dividing the living room from the foyer, the entertainment wall helped to close in the space; making it more private and intimate. According to the editors of *Playboy*, this room divider was a must have because it gave a bachelor's guests something to marvel at. Those who approached it for a closer inspection were informed by the collection of jazz records and hi-fi stereo equipment it housed that the bachelor was both cultured and up to speed with the current technological trend. In addition, the jazz records served as a reminder that the Playboy lifestyle was partly a revival of an earlier period of hard work and play, the 1920s.

Years later in the Modern Living section of the October 1964 issue, the entertainment wall was given its own feature titled: "Playboy's Electronic Entertainment Wall." As a furniture unit that could actually be purchased, it promised to keep the bachelor and his company indoors and at ease in the conversation room.³⁵ The music playing in the background served as a conversation starter and gave both the bachelor and his guests something to listen to during breaks in the conversation. Neither the bachelor nor his guests would have been comfortable just sitting there in silence so the music always stayed on. When the couch was facing the entertainment wall, the four square tables placed together in front of it could easily be turned into extra seating by placing foam rubber cushions on top of each to create a casual lounging area.³⁶ This rather intimate seating arrangement was quite unlike the traditional suburban living room of the time period. Housewives would not have offered their dinner party guests a seat on the coffee table. Also, when extra seating was brought out, it would not have been placed so close

³³ "Playboy's Penthouse Apartment," *Playboy*, September 1956, 54.

³⁴ "Playboy's Penthouse Apartment," *Playboy*, September 1956, 57.

³⁵ "Playboy's Electronic Entertainment Wall," *Playboy*, (Chicago: HMH Pub. Co. Inc., October 1964) 110-112.

³⁶ "Playboy's Penthouse Apartment," *Playboy*, September 1956, 57.

together like the four square tables in the penthouse living room. Women wanted their living room arrangement to be cozy, while providing their guests with an appropriate amount of distance from each other. It would be both socially unacceptable and uncomfortable for one man to be sitting close to someone else's wife, for example. Meanwhile, men wanted their living room arrangement to "breed a certain intimacy," like the satin floor pillows on Howard's floor.³⁷ Since the majority of their guests would be single, it was important for the bachelor to aid all of them in loosening their sexual restraints.

When the party ended, the bachelor could flip the couch over to face the fireplace. This would allow him, and the one female guest who agreed to stay just a few moments longer, to get to know each other better while watching the flickering flame. The ability for the bachelor to flip the couch over simply at the touch of a button reveals the dualistic function of this space. A bachelor's living room was both a masculine entertainment room (for guests of either sex) and a den of seduction (for guests of the opposite sex only). With the entertainment wall now behind him and his young, beautiful, single female companion, the bachelor would swap out the upbeat jazz record for a little "mood music." Projecting warmth and a light glow on the couch, the fire place created "a confined area, a romantic setting for a tête-à-tête."³⁸ This was essential since, after all, the bachelor had not asked the young lady to stay and chat about interior design over a cup of coffee. Rather, he was in need of a [hetero]sexual outlet and wanted to slowly lure her into the bedroom. Several features of the room in addition to the fireplace aided the bachelor in the art of seduction. Technology in particular helped to make his job easier (quite differently than the G-E refrigerator did for the housewife though). To create mood lighting without interrupting a passionate moment, the lights could be set on a timer to slowly dim automatically. The mini bar on the entertainment wall saved the bachelor from making a trip to the kitchen and ensured that his date would not lose interest like she might have if left alone in the room.³⁹ In fact, his date may remain so wrapped up in him that the bachelor will have to make future plans for a second prolonged visit.

Playboy's second fantasy den of seduction was removed not only from the suburbs, but the urban setting as well. On every page of every other issue men were told that urban city life would offer them a permanent escape from married life. Now the editors were convincing them that they needed a temporary escape from city's "madding crowd."⁴⁰ Featured in the April 1959 issue, "Playboy's Weekend Hideaway" gave bachelors a second place to bring their dates. Since most of the excitement in their relationship was tied to a bachelor's ability to live in luxury, he needed to show his date more in order to prevent her from getting bored with either the space or him. Dates were instantly thrilled by what was ahead of them as the bachelor pulled his roadster into the driveway. Almost the entire interior can be seen through the floor to ceiling windows and glass sliding panels that make up each wall (see figure 3). Like the big picture window in the suburban living room, these windows enticed women to step inside for a closer look. In addition, the glass walls create an indoor-outdoor feeling allowing the playboy to enjoy nature without leaving the house.⁴¹

³⁷ YouTube. "The Andy Griffith Show (S8E26) - The Wedding(2/2)" Accessed October 25, 2010.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CGZn0MWWHFk&feature=related>

³⁸ "Playboy's Penthouse Apartment," *Playboy*, September 1956, 57.

³⁹ "Playboy's Penthouse Apartment," *Playboy*, 59.

⁴⁰ "Playboy's Weekend Hideaway," *Playboy*, April 1959, 49-53.

⁴¹ "Playboy's Weekend Hideaway," *Playboy*, April 1959, 49-53.

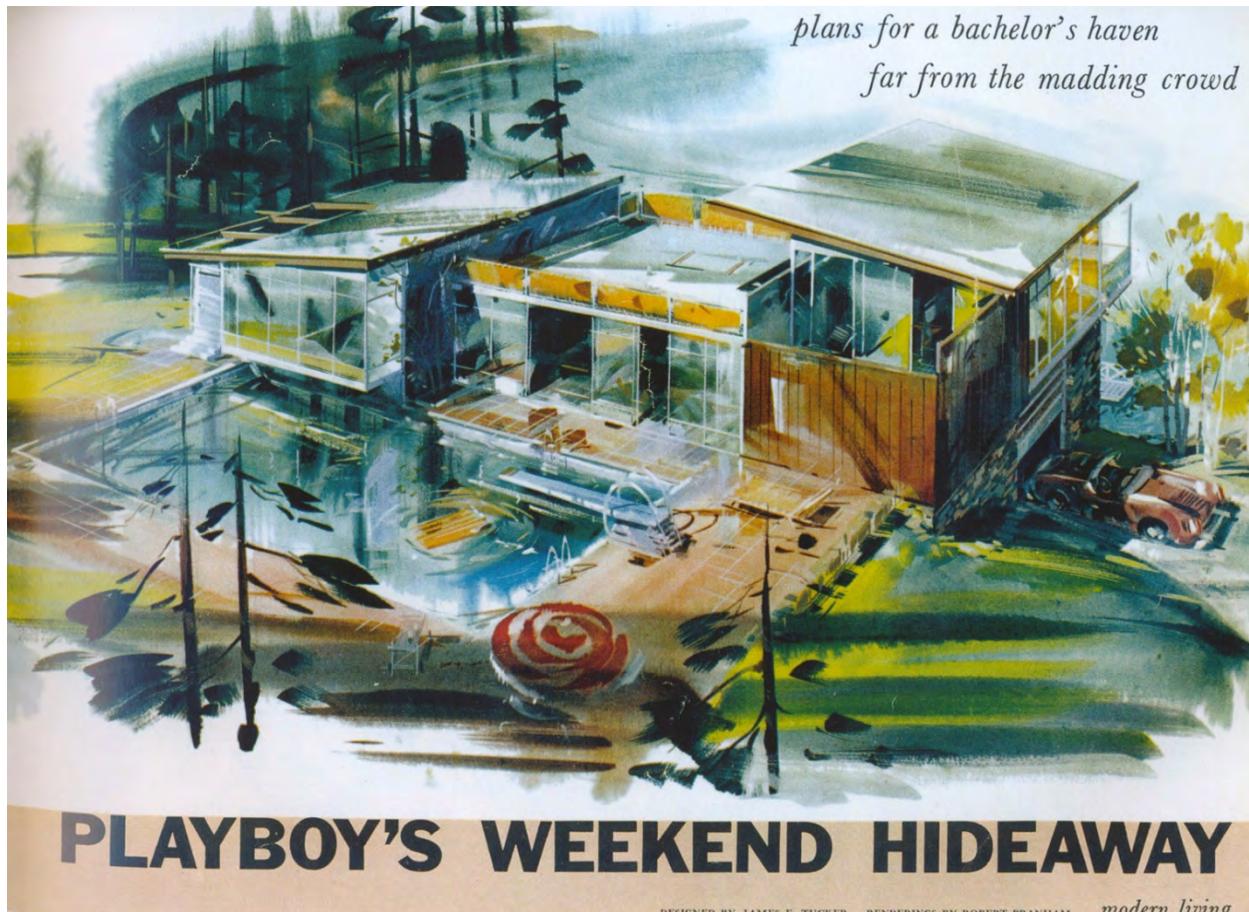


Figure 3

From: Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Birth of Cool: California Art, Design, and Culture at Midcentury*, (Orange County Museum of Art Prestel Publishing, 2007).

At the center of the floor plan, the living room offers guests a view of the luxurious, in ground pool. Complete with diving board, the pool functions as an outdoor extension of the living room where guests can be entertained and seduced while swimming around. Although a lake is nearby, the bachelor only sees it as adding aesthetic qualities to the surrounding area.⁴² Similarly to the glass sliding panels, which allow guests to see into the house before going in, the clear, chlorinated water allows guests to see the bottom; a comforting factor when asked if they would like to take a dip in the pool. A round of drinks from the small, living room bar would also help convince a lady to change into her swimsuit, dive in, and find herself wrapped tightly in the arms of the handsome bachelor by the dim glow of the pool lights. Thus, in this bachelor pad it is the pool, rather than the seating arrangement, that breeds a certain intimacy in the living room.

An architect named Fred Lyman transformed this fantasy created and advertised by the editors of *Playboy* into a reality by designing his own weekend hideaway in Malibu. Photographs of his “Oceanside digs” were included in the Modern Living section of the May 1964 issue. Men looking at them could not only dream of having a place like this as their own, but realize that if Lyman could live the Playboy lifestyle so could they. Following the pattern of previous Modern Living section features, “A Playboy’s

⁴² “Playboy’s Weekend Hideaway,” *Playboy*, April 1959, 49-53.

Pad: Airy Aerie” began with a description of the central living area. In the suburban home and bachelor pad, the living room functions as the nucleus. However, it controls quite different activities in each location. At Lyman’s pad, like at the Weekend Hideaway, the living room is a safe, indoor space that allows him to observe the effects of nature through glass walls. For example, the airtight and secure doors even transformed Malibu’s violent windstorms into “pleasurable pulses.”⁴³

At both the imagined and real pad, bringing the outside (a traditionally masculine space) inside (a traditionally feminine space) made staying in the domestic sphere a more respectable choice for men. The architecture of the pad informed outsiders that the bachelor was still interested in enjoying the outdoors even while indoors; reducing the likelihood of someone accusing him of being queer. It also revealed that men had control over both spaces. No longer were they imprisoned by the domestic ideology that swept through the suburban neighborhood. They did not have to allow women to control the inside while they were outside. Instead, both were their personal domains strictly for pleasure; as emphasized by Lyman when explaining why he built this pad.⁴⁴

Synthesizing and expanding on the features of previous illustrated fantasy pads, architect-designer R. Donald Jaye designed for *Playboy* “The Playboy Town House,” which appeared in the October 1964 issue. Distinguished from the post-Victorian brownstones that surround it, the converted Town House stood as an “ultra-urban island of individuality in a sea of look-alike multiple dwellings.”⁴⁵ In this case, the architecture and design of the space functions to separate the urban bachelor from the suburban organization men who all looked the same in their gray suits and replicated suburban homes. Due to the expense of the decor alone shown in the pads imagined by *Playboy*, few would be able to replicate their own pad after the shared images. This pushed men to work harder and begin spending on credit so that they would be able to live this exclusive lifestyle.

For those who were unable to simply charge all expenses to their card, pleasure could be found in dreaming about what life might be like in such a space. The design of the Town House made this task simple. Perhaps as a way to further acknowledge the seductive elements of the in ground pool, which were first employed by the *Playboy* bachelor at the Weekend Hideaway, Jaye placed one inside the Town House. Here in the center, the pool replaces the living room as the focus (see figure 4). Imagine the bachelor returning home with a lovely female companion after a night out in the bustling city. He offers her a drink and points across the pool to the kitchen at the far end of the Town House. Although the cutaway view reveals to the reader that there is a walkway across the pool, the bachelor has a perfect opportunity to tell his lady friend, who would undoubtedly be thrilled by the view in front of her, that it would be more fun to swim across instead. This is the sort of elaborate fantasy that could be conjured up simply by glancing at the illustrations and reading their accompanying descriptions.

With the Entertainment Wall being noticeably absent from not only the living room but the rest of the house, the bachelor most likely turned to the abstract art hanging on the walls when in need of striking up casual conversation. Just as Howard had been educated by someone at the “little out of the way shop in Mount Pilot” where he purchased his abstract paintings, the *Playboy* reader was educated by art critic Sidney Tillim about the “Fine Art of Acquiring Fine Art” in the January 1962 issue. If a bachelor could learn to tell the difference between a Pollock and a de Kooning they would surely be able to impress their date. As stated in the article, acquiring fine art is no longer for the elite only since the

⁴³ “A Playboy’s Pad: Airy Aerie,” *Playboy*, May 1964, 71-75.

⁴⁴ “A Playboy’s Pad: Airy Aerie,” *Playboy*, May 1964, 71-75.

⁴⁵ “The Playboy Town House,” *Playboy*, October 1964, 84.

“golden age of connoisseurship has died out.”⁴⁶ However, having knowledge about the artwork hanging in their pad would signal to single ladies that the man they were with was cultured and had an appreciation for aesthetics.

Although the living room was no longer at the center of the floor plan, its importance was not displaced. Its new location on the second floor under the master bedroom revealed that it still functioned as the conduit to the bedroom. An open spiral staircase connected the two rooms together in a more direct way than the hallways in the Penthouse Apartment and the Weekend Hideaway (see figure 5). It is this design that completes the transformation of the feminine family room into a masculine den of seduction by making it be the bedroom, rather than the kitchen, that the living room is most directly connected to. Anyone peering into the floor to ceiling window wall from the apartments visible across the street would surely see the bachelor following closely behind his female companion as she willingly ascended the staircase.

Inside the bedroom, a round, rotating bed located in the center faces a glass wall providing a view of the guest bedroom across the way, the seating area outside of the study on the floor below, and perhaps most importantly: the stars through the skylight above (see figure 6). Like the window wall in the living room below, this glass wall entices the bachelor’s companion to step forward and look out at her surroundings from a different perspective. Looking straight down, both would see the pool that they may have swam in earlier. Most likely it was only there to aid in the art of seduction by allowing the woman to make the ultimate decision whether or not she would be spending the night in bed with the bachelor.

Surprised by the fact that the man was giving her an option, and not realizing that this was part of his trap, the woman would willingly lay down on the bed; at least this was the intended outcome. The bed could then be rotated to face the fire place for warmth. The drapes could be drawn with the touch of a button on the control panel on the headboard and a drink could be poured from the concealed bar.⁴⁷ Like the mini bar in the Entertainment Wall, this bar saved the bachelor from making a trip to the kitchen. Since it was down three levels and was not so easily accessed as a result of the buildings layout, the bachelor’s companion surely would have grown tired of waiting and in a sober moment might have lost interest in spending the night. It is important to note the continued use of alcohol by the bachelor and his guest in the bedroom. Even if the swinging single lifestyle was as natural and necessary as the Kinsey Report claimed, it was completely contrary to what people were taught during the time period. Thus, in many ways a bachelor and his guests needed assistance from a substance to reduce their tendency to restrain themselves from expressing their sexuality.

When weaving his web of seduction, a bachelor could rely on the environment he designed to do most of the work for him. However, when it came to entertaining multiple guests of both the same and opposite sex, he needed to acquire some tips on how to make the event a success. Although not in the same way, entertaining was as much of a responsibility for the bachelor as it was for the housewife. The bachelor needed to help foster togetherness among the singles living in the urban area so that they could find readily available sexual outlets in either the man or woman of their choosing. Also, it provided the host, as well as those on the guest list with an opportunity to mingle with some rather interesting and accomplished individuals.

At least this is what the syndicated television show *Playboy’s Penthouse* hosted by Hugh Hefner

⁴⁶ Sidney Tillim, “The Fine Art of Acquiring Fine Art,” *Playboy*, January 1962, 60.

⁴⁷ “The Playboy Town House,” *Playboy*, October 1964, 89.



Figure 4

From: Midcenturyjo, "Playboy Town House" *Desire to Inspire* (blog), Friday, June 2007, <http://www.desiretoinspire.net/.../omg?currentPage=6>.



Figure 5

From: Midcenturyjo, "The Playboy Town House" *Desire to Inspire* (blog), Friday, June 2007, <http://www.desiretoinspire.net/.../omg?currentPage=6>.



Figure 6

From: Midcenturyjo, "Playboy Town House" Desire to Inspire (blog), Friday, June 2007. <http://www.desiretoinspire.net/.../omg?currentPage=6>.

suggested. The first episode aired on October 24, 1959 and comedian Lenny Bruce made an appearance as one of the guest stars.⁴⁸ At the opening of the show, the camera, acting as the eyes of a male guest (the viewer tuning in), follows a woman in a low cut dress swing her hips as she walks by in her high heels carrying what appears to be a martini in one hand and a highball in the other. Hefner then turns to face the “guest” who he greets by saying: “Hello there. I’m glad you could join us this evening.”⁴⁹ After Bruce is introduced, he and Hefner sit down together away from the other guests and in an area that creates a talk show environment. Here they casually converse about the show and Bruce’s comedy while other guests slowly begin to crowd around. Of course, this is a “TV fake party” as Bruce calls it; therefore the viewer would not necessarily attempt to simulate every aspect of the onscreen party. However, by watching Hefner’s body language and use of language, they could learn how to be as suave of a host as he was attempting to be.

Next, the *Playboy* reader needed to learn how to prepare food and drinks for his guests. As stated earlier, the kitchen in the suburban home was a feminine space. Married men spent virtually no time in the kitchen and as a result were quite inexperienced in cooking. Their wives were responsible for making meals for them and the children, as well as for guests when invited over. As a result, preparing hors d’oeuvres for an informal cocktail party, for example, was not regarded as masculine. *Playboy’s* food editor Thomas Mario helped to change this. The articles he wrote for *Playboy’s* food and wine section were compiled in 1972 to form the contents of *Playboy’s Gourmet* cookbook. Just as *Playboy* was a masculine alternative to picking up a copy of *Good Housekeeping* for tips on interior decorating, *Playboy’s Gourmet* was the masculine alternative to reading the *Good Housekeeping Party Book* for tips on entertaining. Mario promised the reader that *Playboy’s Gourmet* was “hearty and masculine from cover to cover, it banishes the curlicue carrot, the dainty delectables and soggy salads and brings back the lusty life!”⁵⁰ Recipes included The Hearty Ham, The Gourmet Gobbler and The Worthy Roast; all fit for kings as stated on the back cover. While this helped to confirm that cooking was a masculine activity, Mario may have placed too much emphasis on the masculinity of each recipe. A color page insert of roast beef with a knife stabbed in it does little to help the reader fantasize about having a nice dinner with a lady. Instead, it seems more likely that the extremely masculine chef will be dining alone both aggressively and sloppily.

Playboy was much more successful at making drink mixing appear as a sophisticated and leisurely activity. To ensure that a bachelor could tell an old fashioned apart from a highball as well as he could tell a Pollock apart from a de Kooning, several different drink and cocktail quizzes were printed in various issues of *Playboy*. In the “Cocktail Quiz,” author Joseph C. Stacey suggests that mixing is a “manly art of combining the perfect ingredients into that tasty symbol of Twentieth Century culture, the cocktail.”⁵¹ It was important for drink mixing to be considered “manly” because, as stated earlier, drinks were crucial to creating a relaxed environment. Alcohol helped to lift inhibitions and drew party guests closer together. Thus, a bachelor would ensure that female guests, more so than male guests, were poured a drink so that as the night progressed, they would be more willing to both develop and give in to their sexual appetite.

Truly it was the after party for two that men looked forward to all evening. Entertaining was mainly to fulfill a personal need for a sexual outlet. A bachelor did take pride in knowing that he was a

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Birth of Cool: California Art, Design, and Culture at Midcentury*, (Orange County Museum of Art Prestel Publishing, 2007) 241.

⁴⁹ Youtube, “Lenny Bruce on Playboy’s Penthouse (Part 1)” Accessed October 30, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4oSB4-Mt9s>.

⁵⁰ Thomas Mario, *Playboy’s Gourmet*, (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1971) 5.

⁵¹ Joseph C. Stacey, “Cocktail Quiz,” *Playboy*, April 1955, 45.

great host and that guests did benefit from the night of frivolity. However, a bachelor spent the night slowly convincing one woman to stay behind after the others had left to go home. The May 1954 article "Playboy's Progress" provided the reader with instruction on how to end the night with his lady friend following him into the bedroom. It set the stage for the late night "scene" that would be performed by the bachelor and his lady friend in the fantasy pad Playboy's Penthouse. An illustration of the cutaway floor plan with foot prints crossing back and forth between the kitchen, living room, balcony were supplemented with a list of the twenty-four "steps" taken before reaching the final destination (step twenty-five): the bedroom. Although the scene begins with the bachelor and his lady friend returning to the pad "after an evening at the theatre," the steps that follow would be the same for any night that the bachelor found himself alone with a lady friend.

After putting romantic Glenn Miller records on the phonograph, the bachelor mixes cocktails with spiked olives; drink round one of six for the evening.⁵² This step is followed by the lady friend returning from the kitchen munching a chicken leg. Perhaps she has the same "fit for a king" appetite in food as *Playboy's Gourmet* implies after all! Drink round three, which immediately follows round two, and the first passionate embrace on the couch are listed as a single step; revealing that alcohol will make females become more willing to give in to a bachelor's advances. After this, the bachelor reads aloud from the Kinsey Report *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* that "50% of females indulge in premarital intercourse" and pours round four.⁵³ By round six, the lady friend is staggering. However, she is still level headed enough to slap the bachelor in the face when he suggests "they adjourn to the bedroom."⁵⁴ To show his lady friend that he is now disinterested in her after being rejected, he feigns disinterest by talking about the stock market and the Yankees and wanders off toward the bedroom.⁵⁵ Acknowledging that the issue of sex is the only thing that is making the bachelor suddenly disinterested in her, the lady friend becomes frustrated and demands to know where it says in the Kinsey Report that she should be willing to have premarital sex. This combination of food, music, alcohol, passionate embraces, and statistics from the Kinsey Report followed by a sudden lack of interest does finally lure the lady friend into the bedroom; drawing the curtain on this scene of seduction that was displayed to anyone glancing through the bachelor's picture window.

Over five decades since its initial launching, *Playboy* continues to be in print and at the age of eighty-four Hugh Hefner continues to be an idol to those envious of his ability to spend all day in a silk robe with scantily clad young women on each arm. The Playboy lifestyle, however, seems to be adopted by most men today within the realm of fantasy. In neither urban nor suburban America has the number of bachelor pads simply been on a continuous rise since the 1960s. In fact, the term bachelor pad itself is decadal; it conjures up stereotyped images of the "swinging sixties," like those in the 1997 comedy *Austin Powers: International Man of Mystery*. Seeing the fluorescent, psychedelic colors and animal prints covering the walls and furnishings of Powers private jet, for example, and seeing him spinning around on the round rotating bed failing to impress the woman he is with, the idea of having a bachelor pad becomes a joke for men today.

While the bachelor pad may not be the space most men are looking to create for themselves, men still want an inside space to control. For most, the "man cave," rather than the bachelor pad, has become their masculine domain separate and safe from all things feminine. The man cave has become a popular real estate feature and websites, including theman-cavestore.com, supply men with all of the gadgets,

⁵² "Playboy's Progress," *Playboy*, May 1954, 22.

⁵³ "Playboy's Progress," *Playboy*, May 1954, 22.

⁵⁴ "Playboy's Progress," *Playboy*, May 1954, 23.

⁵⁵ "Playboy's Progress," *Playboy*, May 1954, 22.

furnishings, and decorative items they need to ensure that the space is “manly” enough for them to spend time in. Instead of abstract art and Knoll chairs, married men are purchasing neon beer signs, plush leather couches, and pool tables to furnish their space. What ultimately distinguishes the man cave from the bachelor pad is that it is for married men to entertain other men in. Women are not invited into this space; therefore it does not have a dual function as a den of seduction. According to a 2010 *HomeGoods* commercial, the man cave will cease to function as a masculine entertainment room as well though. Converted into a “mom cave,” the husband and his two friends are once again left without a place in the suburban home to call their own.⁵⁶

Recently, 1960s bachelorhood has become glamorized by AMC’s Emmy and Golden Globe-winning television series *Mad Men*. Beginning the series as the Creative Director of the Sterling Cooper advertising firm (before forming his own), the protagonist Don Draper is considered by most men and women alike as the epitome of man. He is handsome, charming, wealthy, accomplished, and in the first season successful at both playing the role of husband and breadwinner while secretly having an affair in the city on the side. *Mad Men* frames suburban married life the same way Playboy did in the postwar era; as a trap that men desperately want out of once realizing that there is so much more to life and so many more women to meet in the urban area. Similarly to how the fantasy pads allowed men to imagine living the Playboy lifestyle, episodes of *Mad Men* allow men to imagine what life could be like if they were Don Draper. With the “womanization of America” once again becoming a threat according to the “mom cave” *HomeGoods* commercial, perhaps men will slowly begin to adopt the Don Draper lifestyle to escape from the trap of suburban married life and end each night like the Playboy bachelor, by closing the door to their bedroom after luring a female guest inside.

⁵⁶ YouTube “Home Goods “Mom Cave” TV Commercial,” Accessed December 3, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iTOKWfio7cc>.

THE ROLE OF ISLAMIC MYSTICISM AND GREEK PHILOSOPHY IN THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI

Gregory Fitton

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was one of the most complex political and religious figures of twentieth century. Through a combination of his captivating personal charisma and enunciation of bold revolutionary principles, he became the face of an Iranian revolution that established a theocratic government in a modernized world. The Imam's theory of Islamic jurisprudence, a government based on Islamic law and ruled by a supreme jurist, was a revolutionary political philosophy, both in Muslim and Western society. His theory of a government based on the *sharia*, with the unique twist of a supreme executor, was Khomeini's own brainchild. A majority of the scholarly discussion surrounding Khomeini, both in the West and the Middle East, has been dissecting his theory of *velayat-e faqih* (governance of the jurist) and its roots in the theories of other Islamic writers, both during and before Khomeini's time. In order to fully grapple with Khomeini's theories and understand how he was able to apply them to the modern world, it is important to understand how Khomeini, the lifelong cleric, came to these conclusions. The ideas and thoughts of the early Khomeini are essential to understanding the Imam's principles later in life. Khomeini had an extensive background as a cleric, heavily influenced by the ideas of Islamic mysticism. This paper will argue that one of the principles of Islamic mysticism, known as *Irfan*, was a crucial element in the ideological framework and foundation of Khomeini's thought. Furthermore, this paper will argue that *Irfan*, both in and of itself and Khomeini's use of it, was in turn influenced by Greek philosophy, and that both were among the most influential factors in the development of Khomeini's unique theory of the proper form of theocratic government.

By the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Khomeini was a household name among Iranians and the rest of the politically informed world. But his popularity during the Revolution, which many attribute to his humble lifestyle and mastery of Shi'ite Islam, owed to his background as a lifelong cleric. Hailing from a very small town near Tehran named Khomein, and educated in the seminaries in rural Iran during his formative years, Khomeini eventually moved to the religious capital at Qom, where he was educated by some of the leading Shi'ite clerics of his time. Alexander Knysh, in his article *Irfan Revisited*, states that "these teachers and their masters linked the future ayatollah to the long tradition of learning in Iranian Islam that combined mystical and metaphysical trends" (Knysh, 34).

Khomeini's clerical education led to his keen interest in and eventual mastery of the philosophy of *Irfan*, which author Vanessa Martin, in her *Creating an Islamic State*, describes as "the perception that all creation derives from the One, the eternal truth" (31). This concept may be categorized as a form of Islamic mysticism, as it deals with the spiritual development of oneself in relation to God and the physical world. *Irfan* implies a spiritual perfection in daily life, captured by the idea of "divine essence" and that "man can only attain felicity and flourish to the fullest extent in which full cooperation in pursuit of the common good exists" (34). Essentially, the individual must be mastered in spiritual growth internally as well as externally. In *Irfan*, the internal self is about introspection and tranquility, which reflects externally by means of humility and good deeds. *Irfan* is about progressing towards this personal mastery, which is salvation and closeness to God through the actions and religious knowledge of an individual, as well as the experiential wisdom he achieves. This spiritual development comes in stages and must be guided by someone with grandeur, as cleric Murtaza Mutahhari, Khomeini's student and influential revolutionary figure, vividly articulates in one of his essays:

...all these stages and stations must be passed under the guidance and supervision of a mature and perfect example of humanity who, having traveled this path, is aware of the manners and ways of each station. If not, and there is no perfect human being to guide him on his path, he is in danger of going astray (Mutahhari, 4).

This implies the need for guidance, in this case religious, and a natural hierarchy of understanding. In this very idea alone, it is easy to see that Khomeini's political convictions about societal leadership were rooted in the tradition of *Irfan*. *Irfan* is very much a spiritual concept, but it has practical aspects as well. Mutahhari explains that *Irfan* "describes and explains the relationship and responsibilities the human being bears towards itself, towards the world, and towards God" (5). It is from this practical aspect that the relationship between government and mysticism begins to emerge. However, in the early stages of Khomeini's theological career, he focused on the mystical aspect, while he refrained from an engagement in politics even though he followed them closely.

Irfan influenced Khomeini's lifestyle as well as writings. In his early years as a scholar, throughout the 1930s and 1940s, he taught seminars and commented extensively on writings concerning *Irfan* and Islamic mysticism (Knysh, 632). He also lived very much like a medieval ascetic, depriving himself of material possessions and suppressing physical desires (635). As the revolution drew nearer, he had to abandon his stress on mysticism because of the focus required for the situation in Tehran, but, as Alexander Knysh stresses, "Khomeini never seems to have abandoned his early spiritual and intellectual allegiances" (651).

Irfan and other general tenets of Islamic mysticism are essential in understanding the character and thoughts of Khomeini, but Greek philosophy is just as crucial to his development of *velayat-e faqih*. The ideas and thoughts of Greek philosophers, particularly regarding the relationship among the self, the community, and the divine, had loomed large in the formation of Khomeini's ideas. Knysh observes that, even though Khomeini was "not the first Muslim thinker to come under the influence of the ancient philosopher[s]," his ideas had "heavy reliance" on the ideas of Aristotle, Plato, and Plotinus (638). Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, Aristotle's *Ethics*, and a fusion of Plotinus-influenced ideas all had a dramatic influence on Khomeini's principles (Martin, 34). Khomeini sought to synthesize and reconcile the principles of these Greek philosophers with the mystical traditions of *Irfan*. He was "ready to accept non-Islamic theories provided they were sanctioned by the tradition within the contours of which his thought operated" (Knysh, 639). Khomeini recognized that Islamic thought had pre-Islamic roots, and found that Greek philosophy was consistent with Islamic mysticism (639).

Some Islamic scholars do not believe that the Greek philosophers influenced the tradition of *Irfan*. For example, Mutahhari acknowledges there are elements of Greek thought in *Irfan*, but that its "sources of inspiration [are] from Islam itself and from nowhere else" (Mutahhari, 9). It is difficult to gauge Khomeini's specific thoughts on the roots of *Irfan*, but regardless, he saw the similarities to Greek philosophy and used them in conjunction. The evidence, however, linking the principles of *Irfan* to Greek philosophy is quite strong. In fact, Vanessa Martin sees a direct connection in that "from Plotinus *Irfan* inherited the view of the divine intellect that is the origin of all creation and which provides unity to existence" (Martin, 35). Khomeini's thoughts, driven by *Irfan*, also showed the link to these Greek ideas, particularly the Platonic and Neo-Platonic ideas of the One and the philosopher-king.

Plotinus, who came after Plato's lifetime, was responsible for the philosophy of Neo-Platonism, which adds the element of the One to Plato's philosopher-king. Knysh and Martin agree that Islamic scholars who applied Greek philosophy did not really distinguish between Plato and Plotinus, so their thought shows traces of both (as they are inherently related). The key is the idea of the perfect man,

which finds roots in both Plato's philosopher-king as well as *Irfan's* perfect spiritual guide, as they both derive from a divine nature. Plato stressed that the philosopher-king had achieved a certain level of spirituality, a sort of oneness with the external world, his internal soul, and that of the divine, which Plotinus represented by the idea of the One. Khomeini incorporated these Greek doctrines in his theology of Islamic mysticism and *Irfan*, eventually applying them to his theory of governance. He saw them through his lens of Islamic education. Knysh believes that Khomeini "reduce[d] the chilling impersonality of the Neo-Platonist notion of the One and replace[d] it with the God of Muslim monotheism" (Knysh, 639 – 640). Khomeini manifested the idea of a philosopher-king through the nature of the perfect man. This person would be in essence the embodiment of Islam, and would have direct connection to the divine through his gnostic and religious practices as well as mastery of the *sharia* (God's law). Khomeini's very own words demonstrated this connection: "Anyone who has the quality of a perfect man, that is the quality of the divine essence, is a caliph in this world as he was in the origins" (Martin, 39). Here, Khomeini displayed a vivid, though indirect, link between Islam and government. Khomeini had successfully mixed Greek philosophy with *Irfan* to create his lifelong ideological convictions that display themselves in his later works on government.

Irfan and Greek philosophy are the backbone of Khomeini's theory of Islamic jurisprudence. Those traditions' stress on spiritual perfection, divine presence, and communal good implies that God must be somehow involved with government, since Khomeini, a devout Muslim, saw God as the true way and path to salvation. No community would then, by this conviction, achieve utopia without direct adherence to the *sharia* since that is God's law. The idea of utopia, derived from both Islamic mysticism and Greek philosophy, is ubiquitous in Khomeini's works (Martin, 35). Thus, the only way to achieve the perfect community would be for the perfect man to lead it, and since the perfect man is endowed with divine essence, the government would automatically be theocratic in some way. Vanessa Martin sums up this derivation by saying that, "Khomeini's background in *Irfan* led him to see the states as being embodied in one wise and virtuous figure, in the tradition of Plato's philosopher ruler" (103). Here Martin demonstrates not only how *Irfan* is directly related to Greek thought and Khomeini's ideas on governance, but also how these made up the ideological framework that Khomeini used. His grounding in Islamic mysticism directly influenced his political theories.

In his book of collected lectures, *Roots of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*, renowned Iranian scholar Hamid Algar makes a strong connection between the role of Islamic mysticism and Khomeini's eventual role in politics, both popular and legal. Algar explains that:

All too frequently in the modern Muslim mentality philosophy and mysticism are held to represent a retreat from reality, a total abdication of any kind of political and social role, as if they were merely abstract matters that had no real connection with the existing problems of Muslims and the Islamic world. Imam Khomeini is living proof that these two subjects, correctly conceived and pursued, are on the contrary the mainspring for a form activity that is profoundly correct, guided by a clear insight that is not merely political and strategic (Algar, 52).

Here Algar draws the connection between a numbers of ideas. Firstly, the ascetic quality of Khomeini's life, which was due to his mastery of *Irfan*, was a huge factor in his popularity among Iranians, who were tired of the Shah's imposed westernization and admired Khomeini's humble lifestyle. Secondly, Khomeini's spiritual background underpinned his political convictions and also gave him ease in justifying them. Khomeini, though he was not the highest-ranking cleric of all Iran, represented an Islamic version of the philosopher-king, the perfect man. By virtue of his spiritual idealism and charismatic nature, millions of Iranians adored him and still do (Algar, 53). In his book *Theology of Discontent*, Columbia professor Hamid Dabashi states that the pursuit of "justice", which draws from the idea of

spiritual perfection and utopia found in the traditions of *Irfan* and Greek philosophy, led Khomeini to lead the people through a revolution against the Shah's rule and eventually to secure his place as the Supreme Leader of an Islamic government (Dabashi, 413). Ultimately, Dabashi thinks that Khomeini felt that "people sometimes do not know what is good for them" and that "in the mystical tradition, the path to spiritual perfection (rendered into political truth) is guided by the master" (413). Clearly, there was a demonstrable link between Khomeini's spiritual ideas of perfection, both on a personal and communal level, and his thoughts on how to conduct affairs in the physical world.

Hamid Algar, who has interviewed Khomeini directly, and who is a leading contemporary Iranian scholar, is very assertive about the relationship between Khomeini's mysticism, which this paper has established is directly linked with Greek philosophy, and his thoughts on government in his article *The Fusion of the Gnostic and the Political in the Personality and Life of Imam Khomeini*. He believes it is a grave injustice that the world views Khomeini only as a charismatic leader, failing to recognize his mysticism, his defining trait (Algar, 1). Algar views Khomeini's political convictions later in life to be the surface of his deeper, mystic qualities and that Khomeini's early principles "are the manifest fruit of a powerful, original, and lasting vision" and that "he possessed a vision transcending the political at the very same time that it controlled and embraced it" (1 - 2). Algar, who had personal interaction with Khomeini and knows a lot of respected individuals who did as well, is in a convincing position to make this argument. He also provides evidence from the Imam himself for his claims. Algar cites a 1944 lecture, considered one of Khomeini's first on politics, in which Khomeini opens with a passage from *Manzil al-Sa'irin* (one of the key theological books on Islamic mysticism) dealing with man emerging from darkness. Khomeini then interprets the passage and directly proceeds to discuss the politics in the "lamentable Muslim world" (4). Algar views this direct train of thought, from a passage on Islamic mysticism to a discussion on politics, as a "textual indication of the interconnectedness of the ethical and the gnostic with the political in the worldview of the Imam" (4). This is hard to dispute and it makes sense that Khomeini's principles of *Irfan*, which he spent the majority of his life studying, teaching, and living, would be omnipresent in his political philosophy.

There is some scholarly disagreement, however, concerning the strength of these claims. For example, Knysh, who strongly acknowledges that Khomeini never lost his convictions concerning *Irfan* and Greek philosophy¹, nonetheless believes that the connection between Khomeini's spirituality and his political thought is subtle and too unclear to make a scholarly claim about. Knysh calls for more thorough analysis, but his tone essentially conveys his belief in the connection, but he cannot say definitively that it exists. Even with further study, Knysh sees these relationships as too "personal to yield to even the most competent scholarly analysis" (652).

Obviously, it would be impossible to know completely what Khomeini thought. But the evidence that Algar cited in his article, together with the shared philosophical heritage of *Irfan*, Platonic and Neo-Platonic thought, and *velayat-e faqih*, is too compelling to ignore. Khomeini opened a chapter in his most famous work, *Islamic Government*, by calling for a government based on the *sharia* and also saying, perhaps more importantly, that, "in order for law to ensure the reform and happiness of man, there must be an executive power and an executor" (Khomeini, 40). Where then would an author like Knysh claim that Khomeini got the principle of this idea from? Khomeini's whole life was dedicated to *Irfan* and to deny its influence on his ideological thoughts on an Islamic state would be to misapprehend the true nature of Khomeini's principles. Hamid Algar is probably in the best position to make this claim, as his

¹ Knysh cites a letter from Khomeini to Soviet president Gorbachev, during the Communist collapse, where he heavily displayed his knowledge on "esoteric philosophy" and invites Russian leaders to Qom to "acquire the knowledge for the construction of a new society based on truth and justice" (Knysh, 652).

closeness with Iran, Khomeini, and Islam gives him great perspective. Even if one were to disagree with the direct link between Khomeini's background and his *velayat-e faqih*, one must recognize, at the very least, that, as Vanessa Martin vividly articulates:

Irfan is important for understanding how Khomeini constructed himself as a leader, the philosophic and cultural traditions he drew upon, the objectives he gave his followers, his relationship with them, and his vision, particularly in terms of authority, of the relationship between the leader and the community (Martin, 35 – 36).

Though it may be difficult, as Knysh pointed out, to make a direct textual connection between *Irfan*, Greek philosophy, and Khomeini's theories of Islamic government, the scholarly interpretations of all three demonstrate an ideological consistency. Khomeini's thoughts were a blend of a variety of ideas, and with his extensive knowledge on Islamic mysticism and Greek philosophy, it is definitely a safe assumption that both directly influenced his theory of Islamic theocracy. Knysh promotes a safe scholarly view, but when it comes to the ideological convictions of a historical figure, reasonable conclusions based on Khomeini's own writings, contemporaries, teachers, and influences, both intellectual and spiritual, are essential to understanding the roots of his theories. The philosopher-king of the Greeks, the Islamic spiritual guide of *Irfan*, and the supreme jurist of *velayat-e faqih* are three variations on the idea of leadership, and Khomeini blended all three in his beliefs. The historical, philosophical, and theoretical connection surrounding these three traditions seem to be related as well, as orchestrated and expressed through the complex personality of the Imam and his views.

This paper sought to demonstrate that the ideas of *Irfan* and Greek philosophy, particularly Platonic and Neo-Platonic thought, were crucial in the life of Ayatollah Khomeini and his ideas on Islamic theocracy. Furthermore, this paper presented a case that *Irfan* and Greek philosophy are inherently linked, and that Khomeini blended both to form his ideological convictions on life and government, and that ignorance of this connection hinders a full understanding Khomeini's complex character. Though not dissecting the Khomeini's *velayat-e faqi*, this paper argued that his overall principle, a government based on the *sharia* and administered by a supreme jurist, was firmly rooted in the early years of Khomeini's clerical experience.

Bibliography

- Abrahamian, Ervand. *A History of Modern Iran*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge UP, 2008.
- Algar, Hamid. *Roots of the Islamic Revolution in Iran: Four Lectures*. Oneonta, NY: Islamic Publications International, 2001.
- Algar, Hamid. "The Fusion of the Gnostic and the Political in the Personality and Life of Imam Khomeini (R.A)." *Al-Tawhid A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Thought & Culture* (2003). The Foundation of Islamic Thought. Web.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. *After Khomeini*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Dabashi, Hamid. *Theology of Discontent: the Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New York: New York UP, 1993.
- Hamid Enayat, "Iran: Khomeini's Concept of the 'Guardianship of the Jurisconsult'." In James Piscatoria (ed.), *Islam and the Political Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 160 – 180.
- Khomeini, Ruhollah, and Hamid Algar. *Islam and Revolution*. London: Kegan Paul, 2002. Print.
- Knysh, Alexander. "Irfan Revisited: Khomeini and the Legacy of Islamic Mystical Philosophy." *Middle East Journal* 46.4 (1992): 631-53.
- Martin, Vanessa. *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- Moin, Baqer. *Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah*. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.
- Mutahhari, Murtada. "An Introduction to 'Irfan." *Al-Tawhid A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Thought & Culture* 4.1. The Foundation of Islamic Thought. Web.

ACME AND DEGENERACY: HERODOTUS' CHARACTERIZATION OF SPARTAN
CONDUCT IN BOOK NINE

Dennis R. Alley

“Upon hearing this, the Spartans became outraged, and withdrew their request (μετίεσαν τῆς χρημοσύνης) entirely; but in the end, when they grew very frightened due to the impending Persian campaign, they pursued him again and consented to his demands. Perceiving the change in their attitude, he said that he was not satisfied with these, but that his brother Hegias should also be made Spartan on the same terms as himself....So the Spartans, since they were in desperate need (ἐδέοντο...δεινῶς) for Teisamenus' help, agreed to all his demands.”

Herodotus 9.33.5-35.1 (trans. Purvis)

After the dramatic events of Thermopylae and Salamis, the decisive land battle against the invading forces of the Persian King Xerxes would be fought at Plataea on the Boeotian plains. Following the deaths of the Spartan King Leonidas at Thermopylae and his brother Cleombrotus the following fall, the regency of the Agid line of Spartan royalty fell to the young and allegedly unstable Pausanias. In this context of uncertain royal leadership, on the eve of Plataea, the Spartans sought out the seer Teisamenus, who demanded the price of Spartan citizenship for himself and his brother in return for his services (Hdt. 9.33.5, 9.35.1). Campaign seers were commonplace in Greek armies, but for the Spartans to need one so desperately that they would confer full citizenship on a non-Spartan is incongruent with Herodotus' previous characterization of Sparta and therefore demands our attention. The passage indicates Spartan weakness, which stands in stark contrast to the heroic fortitude demonstrated at Thermopylae. To be sure, the actual situation—Spartan consternation at a time of impending invasion of the Peloponnesus and uncertainty over royal leadership—makes the appeal to Teisamenus understandable in historical terms; however, from a narratological perspective it is significant that Herodotus neglects to develop this context. Herodotus' treatment of the Spartans and Teisamenus is an example of a reoccurring theme throughout Book Nine: Spartan indecision and apparent cowardice.

Lexical analysis supports this interpretation. In the passage serving as our epigraph (9.33.5-35.1), Herodotus uses the noun χρημοσύνη (need), which occurs a total of eight times in extant ancient Greek literature. There are only two examples prior to Herodotus, and the word appears only here in Herodotus' text.¹ The earliest occurrence is in an exhortation elegy of the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus, in which χρημοσύνη reflects the basest condition of a person or state.² Given the word's rarity, we can ask why Herodotus would employ it in this context.³ Considering the occurrence at 9.33.5 as an intertextual echo of Tyrtaeus suggests an answer.

The structure of the passage extends the theme of Spartan need and enervation, embedding a narrative concerning Argos' mythical appeal to the seer Melampus. Here Herodotus draws attention to

¹ *LSJ*⁹ 2006. All dates in this paper are BCE.

² Heraclitus frg. 65 is the other. While Herodotus could have consulted Heraclitus' text, the themes developed in the narrative and the context itself involving Sparta more readily suggest a Tyrtaean allusion. See Lateiner 1988: 94 for a close parallel. While establishing the case for allusion is easier with Hecataeus, since Herodotus expresses a direct knowledge of him, some have seen a possible Tyrtaean influence in the narrative of Lycurgus and *Eunomia* at Hdt. 1.65.4; cf. Nagy 1990 : 272n.15.

³ Cf. Macan, 1908: 667, who noted the oddity of χρημοσύνη by referring to it as “a curious word,” translating the sentence “relaxed of their need” (meaning “abandoned their desire”).

the parallelism of Teisamenus and Melampus by explicitly stating that Teisamenus imitated Melampus (9.34.1). He then goes on to give a short digression about how Melampus procured a third of the Argive kingship for himself and a third for his brother when the Argive women were stricken with Bacchic madness. The parallelism underscores the exigency both states suffered. The digression ends with a statement on Argos' desperation, "the Argives being forced into narrow straits agreed even to these things."⁴ The verb *καταινέω* describes the Argives' concession to Melampus and Sparta's yielding to Teisamenus' demands. This sentence abuts one on Sparta's need, seemingly entwining the two cases.

Herodotus' persistent emphasis on Spartan need and weakness reflects some of his most common themes: autonomy in opposition to servility and ethical acme opposed to degeneracy. The interchange between the common soldier Amompharetus and the regent Pausanias (9.54-57) sharply contrasts a bygone Tyrtaean moral excellence (Amompharetus) with the recreant values of a degenerating Spartan ethos (Pausanias). Amompharetus advocates standing one's ground against the enemy even unto death, but Pausanias rejects such indomitable fortitude, even going so far as to call Amompharetus "mad and out of his mind" (9.55.1). The passages analyzed in this paper underscore these dominant themes in Herodotus' characterization of Sparta in Book Nine, and their thematic unity has not received the careful scholarly attention it deserves.

I. A Tyrtaean Echo?: The Context of Herodotus' Use of *χρησιμοσύνη* (9.33.5)

Tyrtaeus' hortatory elegies encapsulated the martial ethos defining Spartan culture for centuries. He hoped through his poetry to forge a ferocious Spartan warrior who trusts in his shield and withstands his enemy, being willing to die before relinquishing his post or bringing shame on his city. One poem, for example, begins, "To die fighting and falling in the front ranks on behalf of one's country is a fine thing for a good man."⁵ The first lines of this poem emphasize the *καλός θάνατος* (beautiful death), which Tyrtaeus extols in other poems as well.⁶

Prior to Book Nine, Herodotus' representation of Spartans in battle conforms to a Tyrtaean ideal. Othryades, the only survivor of the 300 Spartans at the "Battle of the Champions" (ca. 545) is an early example. After the first day of battle, according to Herodotus (1.82.1), Othryades retained his post despite being outnumbered two-to-one. When members from both sides returned after the contest, Othryades claimed victory on the grounds that unlike his Argive opponents, he retained his post and stripped the enemy dead. But after a decisive encounter in which the Spartans soundly routed the Argive forces, Othryades killed himself because he had survived some of his fellow Spartans.

The famous account of the 300 Spartans at Thermopylae—recently popularized in the film adaptation of Frank Miller's *300*—epitomizes the *καλός θάνατος*. Facing certain defeat Leonidas recognized that he must die, recalling an oracle he had received before the battle, and "hoping to store up *kleos* for Sparta alone, [he] sent away the allies."⁷ Leonidas and his men embodied the Tyrtaean ideals of courage and fortitude, and died to a man.⁸ Here the Spartans follow their code to death, but as Herodotus tells us, not all emulated the exploits of Leonidas at Thermopylae.

At 7.229-31, Herodotus narrates the return of two Spartiates who transgressed the accepted norm. Aristodemus was one of two Spartans dismissed for having an eye condition, but while he

⁴ Hdt. 9.34.2, Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα.

⁵ Tyrtaeus, frg. 10 West, τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.

⁶ Loraux 1977: 105-120 is one of the best treatments of *kalos thanatos* and its themes in Spartan society.

⁷ Hdt. 7.220.4, βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτηγέτων, ἀποπέμψαι τοῦς συμμάχου.

⁸ See Plut. *Cleom.* 3 for a saying attributed to Leonidas concerning Tyrtaeus: "Leonidas of old, when asked what he thought of Tyrtaeus' poetry, responded: 'a fine poet for firing the spirits of the youths.'"

returned to Sparta, his counterpart chose to die in battle. For the discrepancy in actions, Aristodemus' peers ostracized him. Herodotus states "no one of the Spartans would lend him a way to start a fire nor would they converse with him."⁹ Another survivor, Pantites, who had been sent as a messenger to Thessaly, committed suicide upon returning to Sparta for the disgrace of his continued existence. These two characters violated Tyrtaean imperatives and in so doing defined the boundaries of acceptable conduct. They demonstrated precisely what wasn't acceptable, and how one who missed battle could expect to be received. In Tyrtaeus' exhortations, condemnation of cowardice is a corollary to praise of valor. In Book Seven, Spartans embody Tyrtaean values to their fullest.¹⁰

Certainly for Herodotus there is a righteous fear, which compels the Spartans to uphold their *eunomia* ("good laws"). When Xerxes marvels at the apparent lunacy of the Spartans' unwillingness to abandon their post, the dethroned Spartan King Demaratus states:

The Spartans are in fact no better than any other men when they fight individually, but when they unite and fight together, they are the best warriors of all. For though they are free (ἐλεύθεροί), they are not in all respects free, for they are actually ruled by a lord (δεσπότης) and master: law is their master and it is law that they inwardly fear (ὑποδειμαίνουσι)—much more so than your men fear you. They do whatever it commands, which is always the same: it forbids them to flee from battle, no matter how many men they are fighting. It orders them to remain in their rank and either perish or prevail....I said all these things because I have been compelled (ἀναγκασθεὶς) by you to do so. (Hdt.7.104.4-5, trans. Purvis, slightly modified)

Demaratus' characterization of the Spartans adheres perfectly to Tyrtaean ideology. The Spartans would rather die in the vanguard against overwhelming numbers than abandon a post because their fear of disobeying the law was so powerful. In this context fear is not an expression of cowardice but rather reverence of the commonwealth, compelling them to perform acts of selflessness and heroism. These actions are underscored by vocabulary which plays on themes of freedom, despotism, fear, and necessity.

The fear underlying Spartan conduct towards Teisamenus conflicts with the pious fear Demaratus propounds. Flower has seen 9.33-35 as a curious passage, noting, "It would have been easy enough for Herodotus to narrate the events of that campaign without ever mentioning the name of Teisamenus or the fact that Plataea was merely the first of five famous victories that he won."¹¹ But the narrative does reinforce the themes of Spartan degeneracy and fear which run throughout Book Nine. In order to appreciate these themes let us begin with a brief overview of the passage.

Herodotus begins the digression by detailing how Teisamenus consulted the Pythia at Delphi and was given an oracle that he would win five great contests. Believing the oracle meant athletic contests, Teisamenus competed in the Olympic pentathlon, but failed to acquire an Olympic victory in the final event. His failure caused the Spartans to realize that the oracle concerned martial contests, so they sought him out and offered him a command in the army equal to the kings.¹² When Teisamenus recognized how important his services were to the Spartans, he demanded full Spartan citizenship and

⁹ Hdt. 7.231.1. The fate of this Spartan seems remarkably similar to Tyrtaeus' warning at frg. 10, lines 7-9, "Hateful he will be for those to whom he comes yielding to need and hated penury, a shame to his race and a disgrace to his glorious form, all dishonor and baseness will follow."

¹⁰ The structure of Tyrtaeus' poetry reinforces this notion. Frg 10 begins with a positive description, moves to exhortation, and ends with negative description; cf. Farone 2008: 45-51.

¹¹ Flower 2008: 3.

¹² The Spartans' willingness to grant Teisamenos a share in command equal to the kings calls into question the state's sovereignty, and develops a close parallel with the seer Melampus. See Section II below.

the benefits it conferred. Herodotus states that the Spartans “abandoned their need entirely, but finally when there was a great fear of the advancing Persian campaign they agreed, going after [him].”¹³ He then explicitly states that this was the only instance in Spartan history in which citizenship was granted to a non-Spartan.¹⁴

Herodotus’ language in this passage echoes Tyrtaeus, fragment 10, where it has highly negative connotations: ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι μετέσσειται οὓς κεν ἴκηται, χρησιμοσύνηι τ’ εἴκων καὶ στυγερῆι πενίηι, αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ δ’ ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει (“He will be a hated thing to those he reaches, yielding to need and hated penury, a shame to his family and a disgrace to his glorious form”). In the words of Julia Kristeva (2004: 37), “Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotation; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.” I have suggested that we have a case of such “absorption and transformation” of Tyrtaeus in Herodotus’ narration of Teisamenus and the Spartans on the eve of Plataea. When we look to our passage in Book Nine, the Spartans have betrayed the Tyrtaean ideal; they have compromised their ethical integrity and yielded to χρησιμοσύνη.

II. Things Fall Apart: Melampus as Prototype

After the story of Sparta’s seeking Teisamenus, Herodotus states that the seer was imitating Melampus when he demanded citizenship for himself and his brother. The narrative begins with the Argives approaching the seer Melampus when the Argive women were maddened by Bacchus. Initially Melampus demanded half the Argive kingship, but was rejected. When the madness worsened, the Argives gave in and accepted his original terms, but recognizing the severity of the Argives’ need, Melampus increased his demands and asked for a third of the kingship for his brother as well. The Argives were forced to accept the terms, and granted his request.¹⁵

The overlap between the two stories is remarkable, and Herodotus’ choice for a parallel story is certainly not random. Argos was Sparta’s bitter competitor for Peloponnesian hegemony. Herodotus’ narrative recalls the programmatic statement on the rise and fall of states in Book One (1.5). The power of the parallel characterization rests in Argos’ mythical hegemony and Sparta’s actual hegemony in 480. Herodotus begins his *Histories* with an account of the mythic abduction of Io, where he states, “at that time Argos was preeminent among all in what is now called Greece.”¹⁶ Here Argos is mythically supreme, but Argos’ fortunes are not to last. Indeed, for most of the *Histories* Argos is in continual decline, from its defeat at the “Battle of Champions” to its near annihilation by Sparta (6.82.1). Argos’ decline coincided with Sparta’s rise. The Spartans defeated Argos at the “Battle of Champions,” and the Spartans under King Cleomenes nearly destroyed the city in the closing years of the sixth century. It was also in the time of King Cleomenes when oracles, belonging to the Peisistratidai, forecast enmity between Athens and Sparta (5.90). When in Herodotus’ characterization Sparta begins to degenerate, the Athenians have become increasingly aggressive and powerful. The digression closes, “the Argives, being in dire straits consented even to these things (granting kingship to Melampus and his brother).”¹⁷ The

¹³ Hdt. 9.33.5, μετίεσαν τῆς χρησιμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν. τέλος δέ, δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος, καταίνεον μετιόντες.

¹⁴ Hdt. 9.35.1. Even when the citizen population of Sparta was beginning to decline rapidly in the late fifth century, the Spartans wouldn’t extend citizenship to anyone of non-Spartan birth. During the Peloponnesian war, instead of extending citizenship, military responsibilities were shifted to the *perioikoi*; see Cartledge 2002: 220. There are hints of Spartan population decline in Herodotus’ text, but the population in 479 would still have been substantially greater than half a century later; cf. Cartledge 2002: 176; see also Calkwell 1983: 385.

¹⁵ Hdt. 9.34. There are varying accounts of Melampus’ rise to kingship, and even one in which Bias, Melampus’ brother, becomes king instead of him. Cf. Homer *Od.* 15. 225; Hes. frg. 37. This is not the first mention of Melampus in Herodotus’ text; he discussed Melampus’ contribution to Dionysian worship, and his prophetic abilities earlier at 2.49. 1.

¹⁶ Hdt. 1.1.2, τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεἶχε ἅπασιν τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χώρῃ.

¹⁷ Hdt. 9.34.1, Οἱ δὲ Ἄργεῖοι ἄπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταίνουσι καὶ ταῦτα.

following sentence is the statement concerning Teisamenus with which we began: “So the Spartans, for they were in a terrible need of Teisamenus, granted everything to him.”¹⁸ Structurally, the Melampus interjection reinforces Sparta’s need and weakness in conceding Teisamenus’ demands—and hints at Sparta’s inevitable degeneration.

III. Reversal and Antithesis: Amompharetus and Pausanias

Herodotus believed that the Athenians were Greece’s saviors at the time of the Persian Wars, and he knew that his opinion would meet opposition among the Greeks (7.139). Others clearly vaunted the Spartan achievements at Thermopylae and Plataea, a view reflected in the recently discovered Simonides fragment, comparing the heroes at Troy and the Spartans at Plataea.¹⁹ Even in Attic tragedy the Spartans receive a favorable allusion in Aeschylus’ *Persians* (lines 816-17), where Darius’ ghost makes the chilling pronouncement, “There will be such an offering of slaughtered blood in the Plataean land by the Dorian spear.”

In Book Nine, Herodotus worked against this reconstruction. His methods are subtle. Without explicitly stating that the Spartan contribution at Plataea was inferior to the Athenian victory at Salamis, he develops scenes which highlight terror, disorganization, and insubordination among the Spartans, tacitly emphasizing Spartan degeneration, and undermining the value of their contribution at Plataea.

In Herodotus’ account, after setting out from the Peloponnesus and arriving at Plataea, the Greeks were unwilling to begin the battle because the omens came out unfavorably for them. They held their position until Alexander of Macedon arrived in the Athenian camp and informed them that the Persians intended to begin battle in the morning. At this point we begin to see Herodotus’ truly negative representation of Sparta.

At 9.46.1 the Athenians relayed the information Alexander had given them to the regent Pausanias, who was serving as the supreme commander of the Greek forces. Pausanias heard the account in fear (9.46.1, καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας), and he commanded the Athenians to shift wings.²⁰ In giving the Athenians the right wing, Pausanias was relinquishing the most honorable position for a contingent to hold and failed to lead the army by example of personal courage (Hanson 1989: 107). When the wings had been shifted, the Persians recognized the action and checked the Spartans. Realizing the Persians had adjusted, the Spartans returned to the right wing in fear, but upon doing so Mardonius, the Persian commander, sent a scathing message to them.

The message began “Lacedaemonians, you are said to be the finest men by those in this land, who boast that you do not flee from battle nor abandon your station, but remain and either destroy your enemy or yourselves are destroyed. But there is no truth to any of this” (9.48.1). The ethos Mardonius evokes and challenges is what we saw in Tyrtaeus’ poem, and the wording is strongly reminiscent of Demaratus’ speech to Xerxes.²¹ The message goes on to state “though you haven’t begun the contest, we shall. Since you are reputed to be the finest, why don’t you fight on behalf of the Greeks while we fight on

¹⁸ Hdt. 9.35.1, Ὅς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ ρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τεισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ .

¹⁹ Boedeker and Sider 2001 contains some of the best treatments of the new Simonides fragment.

²⁰ The phrasing is almost identical to καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας, which was used refer to the Spartans collectively in the explanatory digression on Melampus.

²¹ Cf. Hdt. 9.48.1, ἐκπαγλομένων ὡς οὐ τε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὐ τε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε, with Hdt. 7.104.4, οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατεῖν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι.

behalf of the Barbarians with matched number....whoever wins will be victor over the entire army.”²² The terms of the challenge Mardonius makes are precisely the same as those set out in Book One before the “Battle of Champions” (Flower and Marincola 2002: 196). Therefore, the message contains allusions to Sparta’s finest deeds up to that point. Here Herodotus has the Spartans presented with an opportunity to equal, if not surpass, the greatest accomplishments of their forbears, but instead they choose to let it go unanswered and thereby “concede a silent victory to Mardonius” (9.49.1). The message demonstrates degeneration in Spartan ethos by inherently contrasting earlier achievements, but more importantly it serves as a prelude to the most dramatic pronouncement of Spartan degeneracy under Pausanias’ leadership.

Nowhere is the dichotomy between acme and degeneracy in Spartan conduct as clear as in the narrative of the commander Amompharetus’ insubordination. After the message to the Spartans, the Persian cavalry cut off the Gargafian spring. The Spartans, being without a source of fresh water, resolved to move their position. Following a day of unrelenting assault by the Persian cavalry, the Spartans began the movement (9.50-52). At this point Amompharetus, the commander of the Pitane brigade, refused to shift positions. Herodotus states, “he said that he would not flee from the foreigners nor willingly shame Sparta” (9.53.2). Amompharetus boldly pronounces that he will stand his ground whatever the cost, and in his decision we see continuity in Tyrtaean ideology stretching from the “Battle of Champions” to him. Indeed, his actions are precisely what a reader of *the Histories* would come to expect of the Spartans in battle, but here Herodotus begins to further problematize the character and actions of the Spartans at Plataea.

Pausanias does all he can to dissuade Amompharetus from retaining the position: “they (Pausanias and his cousin Euryanax) tried to persuade him that it wasn’t necessary (χρεὸν) to do these things” (9.54.2). χρεὸν is often used of necessity or obligation, and by inserting it into Pausanias’ speech Herodotus implicitly suggests that Pausanias is asking the Spartan commander to eschew standard Spartan conduct. Not surprisingly, Amompharetus refuses to believe that it wasn’t necessary to hold his position and remains a stalwart adherent to Tyrtaean values.

The tension between the two men builds into an open quarrel: “Amompharetus picked up a stone, and setting it at Pausanias’ feet said, ‘I vote with this pebble not to flee from the foreigner’.”²³ Amompharetus uses the word “flee” (φεύγειν) to describe the change in field position, an inaccurate word to describe the movement, but an emphatic one in developing the polarity in the two character’s positions. For Amompharetus any shift is a reflection of cowardice, and his actions can’t help but remind us of the force under Leonidas at Thermopylae. In response to this Pausanias becomes infuriated, calling Amompharetus “crazed and out of his mind.”²⁴ The statement is deeply ironic since the actions and ethics Amompharetus demonstrates are the core of the Spartan mindset throughout *the Histories*, an ethics system which Pausanias should be the embodiment of as commander, but deems mad and ultimately rejects. From this perspective, Pausanias’ assessment of the Spartan commander’s actions parallels Xerxes astonishment at Spartan conduct earlier. Pausanias, the commander of both the Spartan contingent and Greek force, is beginning to look more like an outsider than a Spartan.

²² Hdt. 9.48.4, ὁ κότεροι δ' ἄν ἡ μέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῶν ἄπαντι στρατοπέδω νικᾷν; cf. Hdt.1.82.1, ὁ κότεροι δ' ἄν περιγέωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον.

²³ Hdt. 9.55.2, ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμοφτέρησι τῆσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τοῦ Παισανίω ταύτην τῆν ψήφω ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους.

²⁴ Hdt. 9.56.2, ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον; cf. 3.35.4 (Cambyses).

The two characters stand in antithesis to one another in significant ways. Both ferociously defend their position and are unwilling to concede to the other, but while Pausanias is the superior officer, Amompharetus is ethically and morally superior. Indeed, Amompharetus is the personification of the Spartan ideal. Not only does he refuse to yield and relinquish his post, but (looking ahead in the narrative) he dies the *kalos thanatos* and is awarded the title of *aristos* (finest in battle) for his conduct (9.71).²⁵

Herodotus never openly expresses his opinion of Pausanias' subsequent actions. Instead, when discussing Pausanias' later history he leaves it open-ended by simply stating, "if the story is true" (5.32.1). Yet, in his characterization of Pausanias, we can see the roots of the man who would try to make himself king. Herodotus persistently emphasizes Pausanias' fear, if not cowardice, when he was confronting the Persians or dissuading Amompharetus. Following the battle of Plataea, his autocratic tendencies emerge.²⁶ When Pausanias sets out a banquet in the Persian and Spartan style, upon looking at the Persian dining ware and finery, he was "marveling" at it (ἐκπλαγέντα), but the verb ἐκπλήσσω can also mean to suddenly be filled with desire for a thing.²⁷ His feelings toward the finery are confirmed when he laughingly states, "Greek men, I've brought you here, hoping to show you the foolishness of the Medes' commander. For he came from this finery to take from us our woeful way of life."²⁸

In Herodotus' representation, everything about Pausanias' ethical orientation is antithetical to the traditional values Leonidas, Othryades, and Amompharetus died for; it only makes sense that he and an uncorrupted, "throw-back" Spartan like Amompharetus would butt heads. The episode is truly Herodotean in its inversion of expected actions and statements, and in the way that it employs Tyrtæan values to characterize as un-Spartan an action as insubordination.

At the beginning of the *Histories* Herodotus states "I will recount cities of both greater and lesser importance, since many of those who were great long ago have become inferior, and some of those who were great in my time were inferior before. And so resting on my knowledge that human prosperity never remains constant, I will make mention of both without discrimination." (1.5.3-4) Time and again, he reminds us of this point, and by looking at the development of other states in the text the statement plays a vital role in Herodotus' conception of historical causality. Therefore when we consider the Spartan appeal to the seer Teisamenus, the allusion to the earlier diviner Melampus, and the interchange between Pausanias and Amompharetus sustained themes of Spartan degeneration from their earlier moral and ethical virtue permeate Book Nine of Herodotus' narrative, and demonstrate that Sparta, like any other power, was cycling through the phases of human prosperity.

²⁵ See note 6 above, and section I for the *Kalos Thanatos* generally.

²⁶ Pelling 2006: 114-16 discusses all the events following Plataea, and comes to the conclusion that the characterization is purposely developed to hint at Pausanias' downfall.

²⁷ *LSJ*⁹ 518.

²⁸ Hdt. 9.82.1. Lateiner 1977: 173-82 discusses that laughing as a way to mock another in the *Histories* is almost always a sign of arrogance, which foreshadows a character's downfall.

Bibliography

- Boedeker, Deborah and David Sider. *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Boring, Terrence. *Literacy in Ancient Sparta*, Leiden: Brill, 1977.
- Cartledge, Paul. *Spartan Reflections*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001.
- *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History*, New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Dillary, John. "Chresmologues and Manteis," in *Mantike: Studies in Ancient Divination*, ed. Sarah Iles Johnston, and Peter Struck, 167-231, Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Flower, Michael. *The Seer in Ancient Greece*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008.
- Flower, Michael and John Marincola. *Herodotus Histories Book IX*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Hall, Edith. *Aeschylus: Persians*, Oxford: Aris and Philips, 2007.
- Hanson, Victor Davis. *The Western Way of War*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.
- Harrison, Thomas. *Divinity and History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- ed. *Greeks and Barbarians*, New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Lateriner, Donald. *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Luraghi, Nino ed. *The Historians Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Loraux, N. "La belle mort spartiate," *Ktèma* 2 (1977): 105-120.
- Macan, George. *Herodotus: The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books*, New York: Arno, 1973.
- Marincola, John. *Authority and Tradition in Greek Historiography*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- *The Greek Historians*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Mikalson, Jon D. *Athenian Popular Religion*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

Neer, Richard. "Delphi, Olympia, and the Art of Politics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, edited by H.A.Shapiro, 225-264. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Pelling, Christopher. "Speech and Narrative in the *Histories*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*, edited by Carolyn Dewald and John Marincola, 103-121. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Stevens, P.T. *Andromache*, New York: Oxford, 1972.

Strassler, Robert ed. *The Landmark Herodotus*, New York: Pantheon, 2007.

West, Martin L. *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1974.

Whitby, Michael ed. *Sparta*, New York: Routledge, 2002.

BROTHERS IN LAW:
THE PROPOSED GRACCHAN LAND REFORM OF THE SECOND CENTURY BCE AND
THE ENVIRONMENT OF GROWING SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Michael Leess

In the second century BCE, the newly-expansive Roman Republic saw the rise and fall of the brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, grandsons of the conqueror of Carthage, Scipio Africanus. The primary political platform of both men during their years as tribunes was a land reform aimed at shifting the growing population of hungry and generally unemployed plebeians away from the city and onto public land outside of the city, *ager publicus*. They also hoped to encourage them to revert to the more traditional role as small farmers, which plebeians had assumed in the early Republic. While a sound plan in theory, the land reform encountered serious obstructions to its implementation, not least among which was the fact that land that was *officially* public had *de facto* claimants that were understandably disinclined to give up the lands they had inhabited and improved over the course of many years. The policies, political careers and lives of both tribunes ended when friction between the Gracchi and the senatorial class, who stood to lose wealth as a result of the land reform, spiraled out of control into a deadly scenario of sensationalism, extreme factionalism and mistrust. This paper will examine the social environment into which the Gracchi stepped as tribunes, and it will argue that the proposed land reform, the senatorial reaction against it, and the series of events that played out in the years to come were all indicative of much more deeply-rooted social, political and even military issues in the late Republic. It will also argue that the political actions taken by the brothers, while progressive and occasionally bordering on radical, would have addressed and potentially ameliorated those issues, and that their policies were interpreted as revolutionary by the senatorial class only because of its greed and the threat to its wealth that came with the prospect of land redistribution.

I. Plebian Problems

The existing distribution of land at the time of the coming of age of the Gracchi was problematic—at least for the population of poor Romans that had grown in the city, and for the government that had to expend resources to support them. Plutarch, biographer and historian of the late first and early second century of the Common Era, wrote that the government’s policy for the *ager publicus* was initially in favor of the small landholder, that the “common land they assigned to those of the citizens who were poor and landless, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury.”¹ What was a sound theory fell apart in practice: by the early third century, wealthy aristocrats in Rome had driven the poor off the land and into the city by offering larger rents, and despite the Senate capping the amount of land one individual could claim in 367, the owners of large estates, the *latifundia*, continued to find ways around the law and grew their holdings.²

The significance of land as opposed to other kinds of material wealth in Ancient Rome must be taken into account. In a study of the contribution of unequal land distribution to social unrest in the late Republic, P.A. Brunt wrote that, “land was the safest investment, and the chief basis of wealth.”³ Brunt

¹ Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, “Tiberius Gracchus.” tr. John Dryden. *Readings in Ancient History*, Eds. Bailkey and Lim. 2002. p. 336.

² *Ibid.*

³ Brunt, P.A. “The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution.” *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 52. 1962. p. 69.

goes on to explain that, “in the economic life of ancient Italy agriculture was of dominant importance.”⁴ Those without land wanted it above all, and as is made clear by Plutarch, those who had it wanted more. Land was capital, and the wealth built upon that capital gave landowners the ability to acquire more capital, and thereby build more wealth. However, as is the case even in modern economies, there was very little opportunity for those without capital to increase their wealth on the scale to which those with established capital foundations could. The result of this, as Plutarch suggests, was a widening gap between the rich and the poor, and a growth in the population of disenfranchised city-dwellers, and Plutarch was not the only one to make note. The historian Appian, also writing in the second century CE, wrote that, “the powerful citizens became immensely wealthy and the slave class all over the country multiplied.”⁵

The citizens who were pushed off their land were left unemployed due in part to the *latifundia*'s overwhelming reliance upon slave labor. Plutarch writes that in the second century, Italy “swarmed with gangs of foreign slaves. These the rich used in cultivating the lands from which they had driven the free citizens.”⁶ The reason for the dependence on slave labor is simple: it was cheaper than paying a citizen to work, and slaves were in abundance during that time—nearing the end of a period of extensive conquest. Roman sources writing on the agricultural situation of Italy focus not on the economy, but rather on how best to exploit one's estate—and, not surprisingly, slave labor was the most profitable option for the landholder.⁷ Appian suggests another explanation for landowners' reluctance to use free citizen labor: “because free laborers might be drafted from agriculture into the army.”⁸ Appian's argument can be applied to the state of affairs preceding appearance of the Gracchi only if non-landholding citizens were eligible to serve in the military at that time, which—at least officially—they were not. While the armies of the early Republic consisted only of the landed citizenry, land requirements were relaxed in the late Republic, but that relaxation was not officially instated until the Marian reforms of 107 BCE,⁹ 14 years after the death of Gaius Gracchus, so Appian's argument appears to hold little sway.

In any case, the result of such heavy use of slave labor can be equated to a stagnation of wealth in the hands of aristocrats. Instead of wage-earning Romans creating a stronger economy, the employment opportunities for free Romans shrunk. Brunt argues that it is very likely that for Roman plebs, “agricultural labour was not so much irksome as simply inadequate.”¹⁰ Here, the “inadequacy” Brunt identifies is most probably in reference to a wage that was too meager to survive on—but this inadequacy is in all likelihood due to estate owners' unwillingness to pay free Romans a living wage when slave labor was so abundant and affordable, and due to the fact that farm labor was only a seasonal option. While there must have been the occasional exception, Romans could not expect to make a living laboring on the *latifundia* as long as the status quo dictated that the vast proportion of laborers were slaves.

Doing away with slave labor simply to provide underemployed plebs with a living wage would certainly never have gained support—nor would anyone expect it to, as the slave was the basis of the growth in wealth and luxury for the aristocratic class of the late Republic. Therefore, the rationale of the Gracchan plan is clarified and reinforced. However, therein lies the root of a key problem encountered by the Gracchi: the land around Rome, while it was *ager publicus*, had been absorbed by the wealthy—legally or otherwise. These aristocrats, as we will see, were individuals who were both unwilling to give in to a

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, “On the Gracchi.” *Ancient History Sourcebook*, ¶ 1.

⁶ Plutarch, *Ibid*.

⁷ Brunt, 71.

⁸ Appian, ¶ 2.

⁹ Brunt, 74.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 70.

plan for redistribution, and had the political influence to be a thorn in the side to anyone who tried to take it from them.

II. Furthermore, a Socio-Military Issue

A change in Roman military practices, institutions and tradition were both causes and effects of the state of crisis into which the Gracchi were thrust. The issue regarding land ownership and service in the army has already been touched upon, but there is more to this subject than the question of who was allowed to serve. Lengthening campaigns, a change in the makeup of the armies, and a change in the soldiers' value systems all played a part in the shifting social outlook, and contributed to the growing undertones of a state of emergency in the late Republic.

The long campaigns that Rome waged leading up to the second century—while successful and expansive—were a catalyst to the growth of the *latifundia* and the accompanying growth of the gap between the rich and the poor. Henry Boren, in his sweeping work on the Gracchi and their policies, describes the result of a break in the tradition of Roman armies campaigning only in the summer in favor of drawn-out terms of service in Spain, Macedonia and elsewhere, in the century leading up to the appearance of the Gracchi,

The long absence of the head of a farm household, especially when the wife and children were unable to work the land, often meant the loss or ruin of the farm...Those who did come back with money in their belts often preferred to set themselves up in business in the cities rather than return to their forlorn heritages.¹¹

The “forlorn heritages” about which Boren writes must have seemed ripe for the picking by the heads of the *latifundia*, which had the means and the impetus to absorb into their own holdings great swaths of land suitable for cultivation. Moreover, the “ready market for land” Boren goes on to describe created a situation conducive to the returning-soldier type giving in to large buyout offers from aristocrats.¹² Landowners were giving up on their holdings, both through abandonment and by the prospect of monetary gain. They did this in favor of a city-dwelling life.

Interestingly, Boren relates a story indicating that even men who held high rank could see their land wealth vanish while off on campaign:

During [the consul Regulus's] absence for a year in Africa the steward of his farm of seven *iugera* had died; his hired man had run away with the farm stock, and his wife and children were in danger of starvation. Such must have been the fate, not of a consul and a noble in the third century, but of many a peasant in the second and first centuries. Thus, even when the legionary was a man of some property, army service would soon reduce him to the same economic level as his proletarian comrades.¹³

To reiterate Boren's point, small landholders could see their property vanish while away at war, and not even relatively “wealthy” landowners, or even political officers, were safe. If *consuls* had to worry about the continuing existence and productivity of their small farms, it is easy to see that plebeians had great cause for concern.

¹¹ Boren, Henry, *The Gracchi*. 1968. p. 21.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Brunt, 75.

The shrinking landowner class indicated and further fostered a shift in the composition of the traditional army of the early Republic. According to Plutarch, relocated plebs “thus deprived of their farms, no longer registered for service in war.”¹⁴ Because of this, and because of the fact that Rome’s borders had grown so expansive that a predominantly citizen-based army was no longer a feasible option to fill the ranks, the structure of Roman armies underwent a drastic change. The Rome of the late Republic did not field a “citizen-army of sturdy yeomen”¹⁵ as it had in the early years of the Republic, but rather a conscripted army of Italians. Indeed, Vellius Paterculus gives a figure that before 90 BCE, two-thirds of Roman armies were drawn from the Italian allies.¹⁶ The ramifications of that shift are very relevant, not just to the situation of the second century BCE but for the centuries to come.

The seeds of the great civil wars among ambitious generals like Pompey and Caesar were sewn as the ideals of the soldiers of the Roman army shifted away from traditional values, a result of reliance upon non-landed and Italian military personnel. When considering the possible manifestations of political and social unrest, civil war must top the list. The revolutionary path toward civil war upon which Rome was set in the time of the Gracchi had little impact on the lives of the tribunes themselves, but their plan addressed some of the causes of civil unrest—and had the potential to nip such revolutionary tendencies in the bud.

Romans of the early Republic praised men that were good soldiers, but in their minds, good soldiery went hand-in-hand with land ownership, hard work and living with minimalist ideals. Traditionally, those regarded as “good Romans” attributed military success and social stability “to the qualities of character instilled in them by the *mos maiorum*—the ancestral way of life that subordinated the individual to the religious and social traditions of the family, state, and gods.”¹⁷ This way of life was rooted to a large degree in land ownership. When Rome was in its infancy, citizen militias would fight not for material gain, but to protect their land and families, and ensure that their existence as Romans would continue. Plutarch wrote of Marcus Cato, the statesman of the second century BCE who is identified as having retained traditional values,

...for his part he thought that a more honorable thing than the possession of gold was the conquest of its possessors. Cato would go away with his mind full of these things, and on viewing again his own house and lands and servants and mode of life, would increase the labors of his hands and lop of his extravagancies...¹⁸

Plutarch makes it clear that the turnip-eating Cato adhered to the ideals of the “old way;” he was hardworking and had no interest in excessive wealth, or even wealth at all. It is true that Plutarch was writing many generations after the death of Cato, and the anecdotes that Plutarch relates may be embellished, but that is further proof that the traditional system of values with which Cato is associated was well respected and fondly remembered—one can go so far as to say “idealized”—by the Romans of the late Republic.

As “ideal” as Cato’s values were, they were not practiced by the poor, city-dwelling Roman soldiers who had no land to call their own, and who therefore had a changing sense of loyalty. Brunt writes that the soldier of the late Republic, dispossessed of land and often without hope for making a living after his discharge, “was apt to feel more loyalty to his commander than to whatever government could claim

¹⁴ Plutarch, 336.

¹⁵ Bailkey, Nels and Richard Lim, “The Republic at the Crossroads,” *Readings in Ancient History*. p. 335.

¹⁶ Brunt, 73-74.

¹⁷ Bailkey, 325.

¹⁸ Plutarch. “Life of Marcus Cato,” *Readings in Ancient History*. p. 326.

legitimate authority at Rome.”¹⁹ This may be due to the fact that the generals could make promises of spoils through conquest, or even a grant of land upon discharge, while through the existing system, returning soldiers could generally expect to return to poverty. For reasons that have already been argued, land may have been the better and more persuasive of the two offers—but in any case, the potential to improve one’s financial situation was all a soldier needed to fall under the general’s sway. In this way, the general could build himself an army of men who served him, rather than Rome. Brunt continues with the point that the strongest motive for the soldier was the prospect of material gain, and goes on to mention that at Caesar’s triumph in 46 BCE, he “gave each veteran 5,000 or 6,000 *denarii*.”²⁰ Moreover, Brunt concludes simply that, “republican soldiers did not show such a zest for civil wars as the professional armies in AD 68-9 and later.”²¹ This evidence, while from the century following the Gracchi, should not lose credence with respect to the second century. It is a direct contradiction to the Catonian ideal, and proof that Roman values changed drastically nearing the end of the second century. This is not necessarily a crisis in its own right, but the ideals of Roman soldiers were no longer those with which the early Republic found success.

The Gracchan land reform, had it been implemented to its full effect, would have rendered service to the generals of the first century far less appealing. The unemployed soldiers who became the base of support for Caesar, Sulla, Antony and others would have less reason to be enticed by promises of wealth and land if they had wealth and land of their own. To be fair, this summation does not take the aristocracy into account, and one must be careful when considering hypothetical series of events, because it is impossible to predict other sources of conflict that may have arisen out of fully implemented reforms. However, working under the assumption (for now) that the aristocracy withheld support for the Gracchi out of greed, and had personal interests at heart rather than the interests of the Republic, to say that the Gracchan reforms could have alleviated some of the social unrest that led to the civil wars is a reasonable conclusion.

III. The Italian Question Illuminates Gracchan Motivations

It is clear that the Italian allies played a major role in the survival and propagation of the Republic, especially from a military standpoint. As asserted above, filling the ranks of the army with only “Roman” soldiers was impossible during extended campaigns in several far-flung theaters. Thus, it is obvious that Italians fought and died for the Republic of the second century—to a greater extent than Romans themselves, if primary and modern source estimates are accurate. However, the degree to which the Gracchan reforms would have *benefited* those Italians is disputed, even between Plutarch and Appian. In taking the two sources into account, one must come to the conclusion that the Gracchi had the interest of the Republic at heart in making efforts toward land reform.

First, it is important to note that someone considered Roman was a full citizen, the population of which was densest around the city itself. Latins and Italians were from various Roman holdings throughout the peninsula, and had varying degrees of social and political rights in the eyes of the Republic. Plutarch gives the impression that the land law would benefit only citizens, or at least frames it that way in his writing. “The Life of Tiberius Gracchus” indicates that *ager publicus* was to be distributed “among the citizens,” and he quotes Tiberius directly, “...not one of all these many Romans [has] an ancestral tomb, but they fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury...and they have not a single clod of earth to call their own.”²² The fact that he uses the words “Roman” and “citizen” instead of “Italian” or “Latin” must be intentional. In his study of the Italian Question, J.S. Richardson identifies a

¹⁹ Brunt, 76.

²⁰ Ibid, 77, 79.

²¹ Ibid, 82.

²² Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, “The Life of Tiberius Gracchus.” Vol. X, Loeb Classical Library Edition Online. ¶ 9.4.

few details in Plutarch's writing that hint upon the reforms having a pan-Italian target, but he writes, "They can carry very little weight against the overwhelmingly 'Roman' view of Gracchus' measure that is clear in Plutarch's whole account."²³ The merit of this argument, as Richardson points out, is political:

Unless we are to believe that the Gracchans were acting for purely altruistic motives, it is difficult to avoid concluding that the main beneficiaries of the law were Romans who could first pass the measure and afterwards show their gratitude in both the tribal and centuriate assemblies.²⁴

The individuals who could "pass the measure" to which Richardson refers are the voting citizen class of full Romans.

Appian, in contrast, contends that the Italians were included not just in the plan for redistribution of *ager publicus*, but in the original distribution practices as well. Many passages in his writing support this assertion. Appian states that the original rental scheme for the public land was meant to "increase the Italian peoples, considered the hardest working of races."²⁵ He also claims that Tiberius, introducing his land reform, made "an eloquent speech... on the subject of the Italian race, deploring that...[they] were gradually sinking into pauperism and decreasing in numbers, with no hope of betterment."²⁶ If Appian's account is correct, we can infer that Tiberius had a great amount of respect for the Italians—and he realized that Roman expansion and maintenance of the Republic's conquests would not be possible without a landholding class of Italian allies.

Synthesizing the two sources on the subject of the Italian Question leads to a deeper understanding of the purpose of the land reform. Any action—especially a political one—does not necessarily have only a single motivation. If we assume that the Gracchi were not acting for "purely altruistic motives" (which is as valid an assumption about the politicians of the second century BCE as it is for those of today), it does not mean that they were entirely motivated by the popularity and political support they could win by appealing to the mass of poor citizens, either. Plutarch's account, in which land reform would decidedly apply only to citizens, implies a political rationale. Appian's account, meanwhile, implies a social rationale in which the reason for land reform is a backlash against a growing slave class and the decline in population of the hardworking and hard-fighting Italian races—those who likely made up the majority of Roman legions.

The true motivation of the Gracchi must lie somewhere between these two extremes, and it is the conclusion of this paper that the intention of the *lex agraria* tends much more toward social improvement than toward a simple campaign for high public opinion. For the sake of argument, if we say Appian's account is "right," we assume the Gracchi were acting for aims beyond political popularity—otherwise they would have pandered to only the citizen plebs—and so we must conclude that their aim was social: to encourage the re-proliferation of the farmer/soldier class (citizen or not) and to suppress the growth of the slave class. We have no reason not to believe that those ends were what the Gracchi thought were in the best interest of the Republic, and to that point, Appian says outright, "what Gracchus sought in framing the law was the increase, not of wealth, but of serviceable population."²⁷ If instead we say Plutarch's account is right, it is easier to claim that the plan for land reform was just a cry for public support. However, there were other, simpler ways to earn that support, as Gaius Gracchus demonstrated

²³ Richardson, J.S. "The Ownership of Roman Land: Tiberius Gracchus and the Italians." *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 70. p. 2.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 5.

²⁵ Appian, ¶ 1.

²⁶ *Ibid*, ¶ 3.

²⁷ Appian, ¶ 5.

by “buying the plebs,” and therefore buying a second term as tribune, with his grain dole.²⁸ Through Plutarch, too, we must assume that, because of the nature of the Gracchan proposition, and because it was fostered by the people “calling upon him”²⁹ for a change, the social motivation outweighs the political motivation.

The fact is that both accounts exist, and the variation between the two otherwise trustworthy sources gives the modern reader pause. Perhaps the disparity is due to Plutarch and Appian writing for their own political purposes, or in support of the purposes of others. There is also the chance that there was confusion among the people (including the two biographers) at the time about the letter of the law, or that a change in the plan for the law between its conception and its passage accounts for the difference. The former of these two possibilities is more likely than the latter. Richardson refutes the first hypothesis due to the logic that the sources would have “seized upon only one stage with apparently no awareness that there was ever an alternative.”³⁰ This rebuttal is reinforced when taking into account that both primary sources were produced hundreds of years after the tribunates of the Gracchi, and one would expect some sort of agreement about the “final product” so many years later if there was a change of plans—especially because the biographers could not have *personally* been aware of any changes as they were being made.

For the purpose of this paper, though, it is decided that the “true” motivation of the Gracchi and the accuracy of the details of their law are far less important than the fact that, again, the *lex agraria* was not a ploy for public support—such support was the effect of the policy. The Gracchi were concerned with the well-being of increasingly unemployed plebeians (or plebeians *and* Italians, as the case may have been), and could have restored the social and military fabric of the Republic. Evidence for this conclusion can be found in *both* Plutarch and Appian, so the discrepancy with regard to the Italian Question that is present between the two are negligible when considering the end the agrarian law aimed to achieve: a return of the lower class to its traditional role.

IV. Aristocratic Reactions and Implications

The *lex agraria*, while decidedly beneficial to the Republic as a society, was not without its short-term “winners” and “losers,” and was therefore not universally supported, especially not by those who had the power to stand in its way. Those who had worked around the land limits and amassed great holdings of *ager publicus* were in danger of having their estates broken up. While some *latifundia* were established and grown by extra-legal means, the aristocrats who owned them were not completely unjustified in their opposition to the law. Their shortsighted and outspoken opposition, though, led to accusations of revolution on the part of Tiberius, and eventually led to the senators’ justification of resorting to violence—despite the fact that Tiberius’ actions often had more revolutionary precedents.

Appian and Plutarch agree on the charge that landowners were not eager to support the new law and relinquish their often ill-gotten lands, even upon offer of compensation. Appian writes that no respect was paid to the original limit of 500 *iugera* (about 300 acres), and that the *lex agraria* “greatly vexed the wealthy, because...they could no longer pass by the [land limits] as they had done before.”³¹ Plutarch writes that, despite the first iteration of the law being a very moderate one, in which those giving up land would be compensated for their losses, a hatred for the law grew within the aristocrats as a result of their greed.³² The aristocrats’ reactions are not surprising, as they were simply acting out of self-interest. As Appian pointed out, not only did the average landholder think that he would never be

²⁸ Ibid, ¶ 18.

²⁹ Plutarch, Loeb Classical Library Edition, ¶ 8.7.

³⁰ Richardson, 3.

³¹ Appian, ¶ 4.

³² Plutarch, Loeb Classical Library Edition, ¶ 9.3.

ousted, but some made claims that the lands that were being taken away had become deeply tied to their own families:

[Landholders] declared that the graves of their fathers were in the ground that had been assigned to them in the partition of their family estate. Others stated that their wives' dowries had been spent on the land or that it had been given to their own daughters as such...All sorts of complaints and denunciations were heard at the same time.³³

While surely there must have been some truth to this passage, it is as likely now as it was then that those who opposed a law would cry out against it with grossly exaggerated complaints, or even downright lies. Furthermore, the aristocrats looked to the tribune Marcus Octavius to oppose Tiberius, through whom they could impose the strongest *political* countermeasure to the agrarian reform, as “the wishes of the majority avail not if one tribune is in opposition.”³⁴ It is clear that the aristocrats did not support land reform, but identifying the senators themselves as a source of opposition, instead of just the wealthy in general, is an important distinction, and Plutarch makes that distinction for us. Upon debating the agrarian law, “the senate in its session accomplished nothing, owing to the prevailing influence of the wealthy class in it.”³⁵ Plutarch even suggests that opposition was so strong that Tiberius feared for his own life. He writes that the men of property “in secret...plotted against the life of Tiberius...so that Tiberius on his part—and everybody knew it—wore a concealed short sword.”³⁶

This is not to say that greed on the part of the landholding class was the *only* hindrance to the agrarian reform. Boren indicates that *ager publicus* newly added to the public domain was occasionally left in the possession of its original Italian occupants, un-surveyed and with the land tax not collected upon it. Moreover, the plots could change hands among many unofficial tenants in the years following its designation as public land, without the knowledge of government institutions or regard to land laws.³⁷ As if the prospect of removing longstanding tenants from their land was not a task enough, the confusion over property lines and illegal (yet popularly honored) changes of possession created a logistical nightmare. However, while we can see that Tiberius “was to have his troubles” in *administering* the law, upset Italian tenants and overworked land surveyors were not the ones stirring up accusations of revolution against Tiberius. So, again, we turn back to the senatorial class and their vehement opposition to the redistribution of land.

The opposition of the aristocrats brought on accusations of revolution—accusations that would only increase as Tiberius gained popular support for his agrarian reform. Plutarch is most direct in illuminating this point. He wrote that the rich not only hated the law, but they grew to “hate the law-giver, and tried to dissuade the people by alleging that Tiberius was introducing a re-distribution of land for the confusion of the body politic, and was stirring up a general revolution.”³⁸ This sentiment must have grown as Tiberius assumed his second term as tribune, and we can use the occasion of the death of Tiberius as evidence for that conclusion. The gesture that incited a senatorial mob to final action against Tiberius and his followers—Tiberius' gesture to his own head, indicating, as Plutarch writes, that his life was in danger—was interpreted by those who opposed him as a request for a crown.³⁹ If that is true, and Appian corroborates the account, there must have been an existing environment of deepening hatred and mistrust of Tiberius. It seems that the senators were looking for any excuse to bring violence against the

³³ Appian, ¶ 4.

³⁴ Plutarch, Loeb Classical Library Edition, ¶ 10.2.

³⁵ Ibid, ¶ 11.2.

³⁶ Ibid, ¶ 4.7.

³⁷ Boren, 52.

³⁸ Plutarch, Loeb Classical Library Edition, ¶ 9.3.

³⁹ Ibid, ¶ 19.2.

tribune, especially if what Plutarch says is true and they had already plotted against his life. If Tiberius' intention was truly to make himself king, the senators' action would indeed be justified, but acceding to kingship was decidedly *not* his intention.

Tiberius' clash with Octavius was a radical measure, but it was not revolutionary, and it was a far more justified and peaceful removal of an officer than there is evidence of in the years preceding him. When Tiberius realized that Octavius would not end his opposition, Tiberius brought him before the assembly, and votes against him prompted a change in Octavius' position, or even an impeachment of the tribune, as Appian indicates.⁴⁰ In the twenty years before Tiberius' time as tribune, there were two instances of tribunes *imprisoning* consuls in reaction to senatorial actions.⁴¹ A vote before the tribes of the assembly is a far more civil and just resolution than simple imprisonment. Moreover, Tiberius justified his actions to the assembly:

A tribune, he said, was sacred and inviolable, because he was consecrated to the people and was a champion of the people. "If, then," said Tiberius, "he should change about, wrong the people, maim its power, and rob it of the privilege of voting, he has by his own acts deprived himself of his honourable office by not fulfilling the conditions on which he received it; for otherwise there would be no interference with a tribune even though he should try to demolish the capitol or set fire to the naval arsenal. If a tribune does these things, he is a bad tribune; but if he annuls the power of the people, he is no tribune at all."⁴²

So, Tiberius felt his actions were warranted because Octavius had been so greatly influenced by the aristocratic class, and he was not acting in the interest of the plebs or of the land law that would benefit them, a far cry from the intended nature of his office. Again, even if Tiberius was viewed as more "revolutionary" than "radical," he was not unjustified, and he was protecting the institution of the tribunate and the interests of the plebeian class.

An action that can be more strongly considered "revolutionary" was the way in which Tiberius went over the heads of the senators by first proposing his law to the assembly—although this tactic, too, was not without precedent. The passage of the Hortensian Law 150 years before was accomplished through the assembly rather than the Senate.⁴³ Boren also points out that it may not have even been politically necessary for Tiberius to do so, as he had the support of the Claudian faction of the Senate, and that the presiding consul, Mucius Scaevola, had helped draw up the first iteration of the agrarian reform bill. In any case, Tiberius went to the assembly first, a tactic that must have been interpreted as a direct threat to the superiority of the Senate—and cause for growing accusations of revolution. Again, though, we must remember that Tiberius was not acting in self-interest, but in the interest of the plebs. Furthermore, and his actions were only *interpreted* as revolutionary by the aristocracy and the Senate, those who would prove to have no sympathy for the aims of agrarian reform.

The act of revolution that, in comparison, makes Tiberius' reforms and tactics seem trivial is the violence undertaken by the Senate and their aristocratic supporters against a governmental figure. Plutarch tells us that no such measures had been taken since the end of the Kingdom of Rome at the time of the birth of the Republic, and that, "all [other matters] were amicably settled by mutual concessions, the Senate yielding for fear of the commons, and the commons out of respect for the Senate." He attributes the Senate's unwillingness for compromise to the "hatred and anger of the rich," at the

⁴⁰ Appian, ¶ 7.

⁴¹ Taylor, Lily Ross. "Forerunners of the Gracchi," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 52 1962. p. 19.

⁴² Plutarch, Loeb Classical Library Edition, ¶ 15.2-3.

⁴³ Boren, 56.

prospect of land reform, evidenced by the “inhuman treatment” of Tiberius’ dead body, and the trials and executions of his followers.⁴⁴

This violence is an undeniable indicator of the crisis that the late Republic was experiencing, and it set the precedent for more (and more large-scale) political violence—both causes and effects of the end of the Republic. Appian writes that the murder of Tiberius, the first of its kind, “was never long without a new parallel thereafter.”⁴⁵ This can be a reference, most obviously, to the subsequent death of Gaius Gracchus on similar grounds, after which “there remained little hope of solving Rome’s problems by constitutional means.”⁴⁶ However, the full-scale civil wars among Caesar, Pompey, Sulla and others came not only with political intrigues and violence, but also with violence against the state—including Caesar’s famous crossing of the Rubicon. Again, the Gracchi and the civil wars of the first century BCE are related more deeply than by violence, as the agrarian reform sought to alleviate social inequalities that contributed to the rise of warlord generals and personal armies—and the wars they waged. Nevertheless, the murder of Tiberius Gracchus can be considered the “year zero” of an era that saw an increasing disregard for the constitution and ideals of the Republic.

V. Conclusion

We can be certain that social inequality in the late Republic was the cause for the proposal of an agrarian reform law, and that the inability of the aristocracy to address those inequalities was the cause of the failure of the law, and for the death of its drafters. While ten- or twenty thousand plebeians tending farms and reestablishing the “citizen soldier” class was a step in the right direction, it was not a silver bullet, and more changes would have to be made to restore the “Catonian ideal” of the early Republic, if that was the prevailing desire. The fate of one law and of two tribunes is trivial when compared to the implications of the whole scenario. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus forced the Republic to face its problems, but the Republic appeared to have already reached a tipping point. It could be that the social values of the aristocrats may have already changed beyond the point of no return—or perhaps the growing wealth of the aristocrats revealed a selfishness that would have always taken precedence over traditional values. It could be, too, that the relocated and disgruntled soldier class was already too eager to take up arms against fellow Romans in return for the promise of a purse of gold. In any case, it turned out that “the Gracchan route was a dead-end, and at the end of it was the tyranny of the Caesars.”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Plutarch, Bailkey and Lim, p. 34.

⁴⁵ Appian, ¶ 12.

⁴⁶ Bailkey and Lim, 342.

⁴⁷ Boren, 128.

THE KOREAN WAR AND AMERICAN POLITICS

Kristin Hunt

“A limited war tends to be a political war...and it is a particularly frustrating war to wage. In a full-scale conflict one’s aims are relatively simple: to use maximum force to destroy the enemy. In a less extensive conflict, the military is restrained by the political demands of the home government – a fact of life that disturbed the Republican party.”

--Ronald J. Caridi, *The Korean War and American Politics*

The conflict in Korea between 1950 and 1953 is not remembered as a controversial or hotly contested conflict so much as a forgotten one. Caught in between the last “good war,” World War II, and the war that forever damaged the American psyche, the Vietnam War, this conflict is not especially noted for the political debate it encouraged. Yet, like the Vietnam War, the Korean conflict was an intensely divisive issue for American politicians between 1950 and 1953. Both the Democratic and Republican parties wanted to prove they were the proper crusaders of American democracy abroad; they sought to accomplish this feat by attacking each other.

This paper seeks to illuminate the extremely polarizing nature of U.S. politics between 1950 and 1953. The debate over Korea emphasized Democratic and Republican party lines so greatly that senators, members of Congress and even the president himself often resorted to unprofessional, almost personal accusations. The rhetoric changed as the conflict progressed, but, aside from the initial unity seen in the summer of 1950, the relentless partisan attacks never did.

In researching this topic, Truman’s autobiography—specifically volume two—is especially helpful. The former president shared his thoughts on and reactions to issues like General Douglas MacArthur’s dismissal, which are especially crucial to this discussion. Since most of the Republican rhetoric targeted Truman, it is important to have his perspective and rebuttal to the accusations leveled against him.

Newspaper clippings from the time are absolutely essential for this topic as well. Both national newspapers like *The New York Times* and local ones like *The Tuscaloosa News* contain a wealth of comments made by Republican politicians in Congress or to the press. Public opinion can also be derived from these sources, revealing which party position was popular at the time of the clipping’s publication. These newspapers are particularly helpful in discussing the 1952 election, during which the respective candidates—and Truman—held several press conferences and/or interviews. Some of the comments reported in the newspapers were fairly vicious, and thus support the main argument about divisive partisan politics.

Robert J. Caridi’s book, *The Korean War and American Politics*, is an extremely detailed secondary source that provides a clear narrative structure of Republican strategy, beginning in 1949 and continuing through the conflict in Korea. Like the newspaper clippings, it contains countless comments from Republican congressmen, which illuminate prevailing party attitudes quite well. The book is mainly useful for understanding the chronology of GOP criticism, and the shifts that occurred during the conflict in Korea.

Finally, *Truman in Caricature and Cartoon* features a compilation of political cartoons about Truman that were published during his presidency. Through the artists’ exaggerations, it becomes

apparent that Truman was often portrayed as a little, weak man incapable of handling the conflict, even though cartoons drawn shortly after June 25, 1950 portrayed him as a hero.

The Conflict in Korea (1950)

Truman's initial handling of the Korean conflict was met with a unity and camaraderie that is surprising, given how divisive the conflict would become. Andrew K. Frank and Kenneth Osgood make the point that, at the onset, this war fitted the World War II template. The response of the press was particularly rousing. Various newspapers across the nation painted an account of North Korean aggression "that melded Nazi Blitzkrieg with Japanese perfidy in Pearl Harbor" while almost fawningly praising Truman for his subsequent actions.¹ Indeed, *The Pittsburgh Press* said the North Korea forces "smashed into the suburbs of Seoul."² Cleveland's *Plain Dealer* ran a cartoon called "Decision," which depicted a stoic, heroic Truman signing a pledge of U.S. military aid to stop communist aggression in South Korea as American soldiers from all the nation's wars looked on, an American flag waving in the back.³ *The Tuscaloosa News* backed Truman unconditionally in a June 28, 1950 article titled "The Nation Applauds Truman's Action." The local paper insisted that "an affirmative, military fashion" was the only option, and that Truman's action must be accepted "regardless of what the consequences may prove to be later on."⁴ According to this article, there was no alternative to complete support: "All politics aside, the people of the United States will applaud the action of their chosen leader, President Harry S. Truman, in the Korean crisis."⁵ Truman was the man they *chose* to lead them through this crisis, and he absolutely had to be praised for his efforts.



Figure 1: *Decision*. Edward Kuekes, 1950. *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).

The Republican Party had been critical of Truman prior to June 25, 1950. Many members firmly condemned his decision to withdraw troops from Korea in 1949; a House Minority Report issued during that July read, "our forces...have been withdrawn from South Korea at the very instant when logic and

¹ Osgood, Kenneth and Andrew K. Frank. *Selling War in a Media Age: The Presidency and Public Opinion in the American Century*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010, p. 115

² "Truman Denounces Act of Aggression, Promises More Arms." *The Pittsburgh Press*, 26 June 1950. Print, p. 1

³ Giglio, James N. and Greg C. Thielen. *Truman in Cartoon and Caricature*. Des Moines: Iowa State University Press, 1984, p. 116

⁴ "The Nation Applauds Truman's Action." *The Tuscaloosa News*, 28 June 1950. Print, p. 1

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1

common sense both demanded no retreat from the realities of the situation...Our position is untenable and indefensible.”⁶ Paradoxically, the GOP also struck down Truman’s proposed economic aid to Korea that year. After finally obtaining his request for \$150 million—which took four months to receive authorization—Truman was dismayed to discover that his additional request for \$60 million had been defeated in the House of Representatives. “Most of the negative votes,” Truman wrote, came “from the Republican members.”⁷ The president had thus received the impression that the Republicans were not behind him in his Korean policy, noting that the Congress was generally “in no hurry to provide aid which had been requested for Korea by the President.”⁸

Some of that Republican reluctance to support Truman lingered in the immediate wake of the North Koreans’ crossing of the 38th parallel. Republican Senators Styles Bridges and William F. Knowland took the floor on June 26 to criticize the lack of “firm policy” in the East, as did several more dissenters who emphasized President Truman’s apparent lack of information.⁹ A meeting of the Senate Republican Policy Committee that day produced similar sentiments. Senator Eugene D. Millikin, acting as spokesman for the committee, said that he and his colleagues were “unanimous that the incident should not be used as a provocation for war,” adding that there was no obligation for the United States to go to war. A conclusive party position was not reached, but the members of the committee concluded that, “we should use cool heads and not be provoked into war.”¹⁰ Democratic Senator Tom Connally did not greet these words with warmth. *The New York Times* describes Connally, in his address to the Senate floor that day, as “turning to face the Republican side of the Senate chamber” and “[shaking] an admonitory finger at critics of the Administration” before saying, “Why all this splendid attitude of doubt, suspicion, and that something is wrong and something is dark and behind cover? So far as I know, there is nothing.”¹¹

However, this partisan flare-up died down in a matter of days as the press support mounted and Truman continued to act swiftly and decisively. Assessing these developments, the GOP changed its tune. After all, the party was not about to go against the overwhelming public and press support. Between June 26 and July 10, twenty-two Republican senators spoke on Korea, all favoring the action Truman had taken.¹² Though their degree of friendliness towards Truman might have varied, “the Republicans were clearly pleased that the United States was determined to halt this latest evidence of aggression.”¹³ Truman noted with satisfaction in his memoirs the approval he obtained from Republican senators and congressmen as well as Democratic ones during a briefing of select congressional leaders on June 27. Though some questions and concerns were raised, Truman claims that he gained the approval of all the Republicans in the group—Representative Dewey Short, Representative Charles Eaton, Senator Howard Alexander Smith, Senator Alexander Wiley and even Senator Styles Bridges, the same Senator Bridges who had voiced his dissent just one day earlier.¹⁴

Howard Alexander Smith gave an especially warm commendation. On July 5, he requested one of his interviews be placed in *The Congressional Record*. In it, he responded to the question of whether the Republican Party planned to use its repeated call for stronger action in the Far East for political purposes

⁶ Caridi, Ronald J. *The Korean War and American Politics: The Republican Party as a Case Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968, p. 30

⁷ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 329

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 329

⁹ Hinton, Harold B. “Connally Says U.S. Is Firm on Korea.” *The New York Times*, 26 June 1950. Print, p. 1

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 1

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 1

¹² Caridi, Ronald J. *The Korean War and American Politics: The Republican Party as a Case Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968, p. 33

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 33-34

¹⁴ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 338

in the November elections. “Of course it will,” Smith replied. “But I want to emphasize this point. We Republicans to a man—while we have been critical of the Far Eastern policy in the past—are united now with the administration. All of us as loyal Americans want to see the matter through to a successful conclusion.”¹⁵

Truman was seen by the press and public as a leader standing up to communist aggression and refusing to wait until the USSR overtook nations or committed genocide to intervene. Though the GOP had previously taken a stand against him in the events leading up to war, they fell in the majority line of support. The motives behind this support are murky. One could interpret the response as simply keeping with the previous Republican stance on Korea – they had cried out when Truman took the troops out of the country, so putting them back satisfied their demands. Yet one could also see the Republican praise as a political strategy devoid of genuineness. They had used their weight in Congress to swiftly defeat major economic aid to Korea, so did they really care about its fate? With everyone else in the nation clamoring to endorse Truman’s actions, this could be seen as the GOP saving its constituents and storing sharp critiques for a more opportune moment, when Truman was in a much weaker position.

The Republicans began looking for this moment fairly quickly. There had been some relatively isolated attempts at questioning the legality of the war – which had not begun with a declaration of war issued by Congress. Yet it took almost two months for the Republican goodwill to truly start to ebb. On August 14, 1950, Senator Wiley attempted to articulate these shifting GOP attitudes:

I speak now about the world situation as it confronts us today. The newspapers say there is a feeling of relief in Washington now that the bickering and indecision has disappeared and that we are rallying to the President’s support. I am not so sure that that feeling now exists to the extent it did immediately after the President sent American forces to Korea.¹⁶

It was not yet clear what the Republicans were opposing, or what their plan of attack was. Feelings of dissent were beginning to resurface, though.

Formosa then became one of the earliest Republican outcries. On June 27, Truman had ordered the Seventh Fleet of the U.S. Navy into the Formosa Straits, calling upon Nationalist China to cease any conflict against the mainland. The executive order did not merit much attention, until it was announced that Chinese Communists had attacked the island of Quemoy (or Kinman Island) on July 24. This played perfectly into the suspicion that the Chinese Communist troops – with the new freedom Truman’s order granted them – would leave China and join the North Koreans. Truman tried to calm his congressional critics at a press conference in late August. He insisted that the Seventh Fleet would be withdrawn from Formosa once the Korean conflict was settled, as it was a “flank protection” for the U.S. forces in Korea.¹⁷ He also, like Secretary of State Dean Acheson, expressed hope that “Communist China would keep her armies out of the Korean conflict.”¹⁸

Republican floor leader Senator Kenneth S. Wherry dismissed Truman’s words, saying he was “engaging in wishful thinking” if he thought Chinese Communists would not attack Formosa

¹⁵ Caridi, Ronald J. *The Korean War and American Politics: The Republican Party as a Case Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968, p. 36

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 53

¹⁷ Leviero, Anthony. “Fleet to Quit Formosa at End of Korea War, Says Truman.” *The New York Times*, 1 Sept. 1950, p. 2

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 1

once the fleet left.¹⁹ He also questioned whether Truman's statements meant his administration had completely abandoned the Chinese Nationalist forces, leaving them prey to communism.

Wherry was not the only one arguing with Truman over Formosa. In a highly publicized incident, General MacArthur contradicted the president's position on Formosa. MacArthur, after making a visit to Formosa on July 31, made a statement in which he declared Formosa "vital to America's Far East defenses" and that it must remain in non-communist hands.²⁰ Truman already had misgivings about MacArthur's trip – he thought it implied that MacArthur was rejecting his policy of neutralizing Formosa and that MacArthur had a more aggressive agenda.²¹ "I assumed that this would be the last of it and that General MacArthur would accept the Formosa policy laid down by his Commander in Chief," Truman wrote. "But I was mistaken."²² Fearing a confused public, and presumably a perception of weakness, Truman ordered that MacArthur retract the statement, which he did.

However, as *The Syracuse Post-Standard* noted, in striving to maintain a singular voice which avoided any hint of imperialism that communist propaganda might seize upon, Truman was "buck[ing] a powerful segment of opinion in Congress that stronger measures should be taken in Formosa."²³ Even more interestingly, "MacArthur complied with the presidential order, but his views quickly were placed on public record in Congress by Republican members."²⁴

The Republicans had found an effective means to launch their anti-Democrat attacks in MacArthur. The man was regarded as a hero and patriot who guided the U.S. expertly through World War II, and now his opposition to Truman was public knowledge. The public would listen to him, so it was in the party's best interest to make a friend out of MacArthur.

MacArthur proved to be an excellent investment for the Republican Party almost immediately after his public spat with Truman in August 1950. This was due to the success of his daring amphibious landing at Inchon on September 15, 1950. The language of the press once again conveyed the general approval of his action – a move that marked a major turning point in the war. MacArthur "hurled thousands of crack U.S. marine troops" into the Seoul port, in a "history making" landing, according to the *Lowell Sun*.²⁵ The "hard-hitting marines" were "personally led" by MacArthur.²⁶ The *Toledo Blade* reported that the marines "slashed inland" to join the waiting GIs "under the watchful eye" of MacArthur. This was not just a military victory for the U.S., but a major personal victory for the general – as the newspaper claimed, "General MacArthur and his battered gold-braided campaign cap were back in their element."²⁷

As MacArthur was aligning himself as a powerful GOP ally, a more extremist rhetoric took hold among some other Republican politicians. This rhetoric relied on red scare paranoia and positioned the Democrats as conspirators in a wide-reaching plot to undermine the nation.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 2

²⁰ Green, Roger D. "Truman Block MacArthur on Formosa Issue." *The Post-Standard* [Syracuse], 29 Aug. 1950. Print, p. 1

²¹ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 354

²² *Ibid*, p. 354

²³ Green, Roger D. "Truman Block MacArthur on Formosa Issue." *The Post-Standard* [Syracuse], 29 Aug. 1950. Print, p. 1

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 1

²⁵ Handleman, Howard. "U.S. Marine Assault Smashes Into Inchon." *The Lowell Sun*, 15 Sept. 1950. Print, p. 1

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 1

²⁷ "3-Point Invasion Opened By Allies." *The Toledo Blade*, 15 Sept. 1950. Print, p. 1

Though Senator George Malone and Senator William Jenner were perhaps the founders, it was most actively promoted by Senator Joseph McCarthy, a man who tried to accuse the Truman administration of a “conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man.”²⁸

Joseph McCarthy: A Case Study in Extreme Republican Opposition

No Republican stirred as much political divide, tumult and anger between 1950 and 1953 as Senator Joseph McCarthy. McCarthy is a figure primarily remembered as the communist witch hunter who was so instrumental in the red scare that communist paranoia became labeled “McCarthyism.” However, he did not just go after suspected communists. On several occasions, he attacked President Truman and the Democrats specifically. He often argued that Truman had lost control of his party, which was harming the stability and strength of the nation with a dangerous thought process, he insinuated, not unlike that of the communists. In McCarthy’s first speech delivered in the Senate on communists in government – the infamous “Wheeling Speech” – the senator stated, “I think the Democratic Party has lost control of the executive branch. An unusual group of people – a group of twisted-thinking intellectuals has taken over in the State Department in recent years. They think they are right, that is what makes them dangerous.”²⁹ McCarthy was careful to make a distinction between the Democratic Party that had lost control and the “twisted-thinking intellectuals” undermining it, but the implications of his speech cast Truman and the Democrats in an extremely unflattering light. Truman was once again weak, an ineffectual president who could not control his own supporters. Yet a more troublesome McCarthy assumption was at play. If the Democrats had lost control of the State Department and it had become overtaken by these awful intellectuals, where did these intellectuals come from? Despite what conspiracy theorists might have argued, they could not simply push their way into the government or assume the identities of honest politicians. They had to be placed in the State Department to begin with. They could not be Republicans, for Truman ran a Democratic administration. Were they not, then, sick and mutated versions of the weak, ineffectual Democrats? McCarthy made this point explicit in a speech about Democrats. While acknowledging again the existence of loyal and patriotic Democrats, McCarthy noted those “who are now complete prisoners, under the complete domination of the bureaucratic, communistic Frankenstein which they themselves have created.”³⁰ McCarthy was thus supporting the notion that there were two kinds of Democrats: the “soft” Truman type and the “twisted-thinking” madmen. No matter the variety, Democrats were harmful to the United States.

McCarthy railed several times against the Democrats’ handling of Korea. One of his earliest speeches dealing with the subject came on December 6, 1950, when he addressed the topic of American foreign policy. His very first line illustrates his harsh critique of Truman and his administration: “Mr. President, it is unnecessary to tell the Senate, the country, or the world that America is facing the greatest military disaster in its entire history,” it reads. “Day by day and hour by hour the situation grows blacker, blacker for the world, blacker for the United States, and more particularly is it painfully blacker for over 100,000 American young men in Korea.”³¹ McCarthy then proceeded to advise his audience “it is not of national interest to unite in support of error, or of policies that have failed.”³² To support Truman’s failed – in this case, McCarthy wagered, the Acheson-Marshall plan and the even more ghastly Hiss-Acheson-Jessup-Latimore-Vincent plan – in favor of unity would be idiotic. “World history is littered with the

²⁸ Press Release, Joseph McCarthy to Congress, June 11, 1951. Official File, Truman Papers, p. 1

²⁹ McCarthy, Joseph. Major Speeches and Debates of Senator Joe McCarthy Delivered in the United States Senate, 1950-1951. Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1975, p. 36

³⁰ “Joseph McCarthy on Democrats.” Speech. 7 Aug. 2009. YouTube. 10 Oct. 2010, 00:37.

³¹ McCarthy, Joseph. Major Speeches and Debates of Senator Joe McCarthy Delivered in the United States Senate, 1950-1951. Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1975, p. 157

³² *Ibid*, p. 157

corpses of nations which were united behind bad leadership following the wrong course,” he surmised.³³ McCarthy was not just critiquing Truman’s policies here – though he did rather explicitly in his claims that the “Acheson-Marshall plan fitted perfectly with Communist Russia’s desire for a power vacuum in all of western Europe.” He was also openly telling his listeners that supporting Truman, a man following “the wrong course,” would lead to the “corpse” of the nation.³⁴

Though McCarthy threw far more aggressive accusations than most GOP politicians, he was by no means preemptive in his attack of Truman’s administration. His foreign policy speech came about one month after the Republicans had made significant gains in the 1950 mid-term elections. High off their victory, they were in a better position to critique the opposing party. According to Caridi, “the most vocal elements within the party interpreted their election gains as an indication of widespread distrust of Administration policy...with the intervention of Chinese troops, there was dramatic evidence that once again Democratic policy had led to disaster in the Far East.”³⁵

McCarthy continued to publicly thrash Truman for his handling of Korea as the war progressed. He was one of the many Republicans who condemned Truman’s dismissal of General MacArthur – a controversy that will be detailed in full later. McCarthy issued a memo to Congress about two months after MacArthur’s dismissal.

It is impossible to develop the facts in the MacArthur inquiry without at the same time bringing to light some of the facts which bear on the question of why we fell from our position as the most powerful nation on earth at the end of World War II to a position of declared weakness by our ‘leadership’ – a leadership which whines, whimpers, cringes in fear, and urges that we dare not win a war which it started.³⁶

In a speech entitled “Blockade of Red China, 1952,” McCarthy viciously attacked the president for the continued stationing of the Seventh Fleet of the U.S. Navy in the Formosa Straits. McCarthy suggested that a quarter of a million previously contained communist troops were now taking American lives, and painted a manipulative, hypothetical story of two American brothers – one in the 7th Fleet and the other in the ground forces in Korea – being pitted against each other. But the attack was very specifically aimed at Truman and the Democrats. McCarthy quoted Ambassador Bullett as supporting his argument, making a quick aside that he hoped Bullett (a “great American”) was not a Democrat anymore. Yet even more audaciously, he concluded his speech with the following: “If that order isn’t treason...then I ask you what in heaven’s name is treason in this country?”³⁷

Calling a political opponent a liar or a fear monger is one thing, but leveling accusations of treason – especially during wartime – is something much graver. McCarthy, unlike the majority of his GOP brethren, was not content to simply say the Truman administration was handling Korea incorrectly, and that the Republicans had a better strategy. He tossed out serious allegations without much material to back them up, and worked tirelessly to draw the line between the level-headed GOP and the no longer just weak but dangerous Democrats. He may have been one of the most extreme examples, but the GOP

³³ *Ibid*, p. 157

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 157

³⁵ Caridi, Ronald J. *The Korean War and American Politics: The Republican Party as a Case Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968, p. 107

³⁶ Press Release, Joseph McCarthy to Congress, June 11, 1951. Official File, Truman Papers, p. 1

³⁷ McCarthy, Joseph. “Blockade of Red China.” Speech. 29 June 1952. Raynor Memorial Libraries, Marquette University. 25 Sept. 2010, 4:55.

would attack Truman with a fervor rivaling his following the termination of its new hero and virtual mascot, General MacArthur.

MacArthur the Martyr and Thwarted Peace Talks (1951-1952)

The Republicans had strengthened the validity of their attacks in 1950 through their alignment with General MacArthur. However, strangely, the GOP found him to be an even more valuable asset after his termination by Truman on April 11, 1951. Tension was obviously already apparent in the Truman-MacArthur relationship, but the general pushed the president to his limits when he issued a statement that ran completely counter to the administration's new push towards settlement talks. On March 24, MacArthur released the statement, which insisted that his troops were in a great tactical position and that the U.S. not abandon the Korean people.³⁸ Coupled with an earlier March 7 statement issued to the press in which MacArthur maintained anything but his policy would result in "savage slaughter," Truman was tired of the general's insubordination, which made him look ineffectual to his public and foreign powers, who were now much more skeptical about peace talks.³⁹ He resolved to take a firmer line:

This was a most extraordinary statement for a military commander of the United Nations to issue on his own responsibility. It was an act totally disregarding all directives to abstain from any declarations on foreign policy. It was in open defiance to my orders as President and as Commander in Chief. This was a challenge to the authority of the President under the Constitution. It also flouted the policy of the United Nations. By this act MacArthur left me no choice – I could no longer tolerate his insubordination.⁴⁰

A letter from MacArthur read by Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin on the Senate floor, in which the general supported Martin's proposal to use Chinese Nationalist forces in the war efforts, only confirmed Truman's decision.⁴¹ After rumors spread that the termination story had been leaked, Truman called a special press conference at 1:00 a.m. on April 11 to formally announce the news. Interestingly, Truman noted that, in his April 6 meeting with his "Big Four" advisers over what to do with MacArthur, Secretary of Defense Marshall advised caution, fearing that if MacArthur were relieved "it might be difficult to get the military appropriations in Washington."⁴² Given the gains the Republicans had made in the mid-term elections the year prior, it is easy to interpret Marshall's words as expressing a fear of *Republican*, not just congressional, outcry.

Marshall's fears were verified swiftly. A "gathering partisan storm" emerged, during which the Republicans not only denounced Truman for firing MacArthur, but even made some isolated demands for Truman's and Acheson's resignations.⁴³ In a radio address on April 12, Senator Wherry accused Truman of a "weak defense of his shabby treatment of this great General and statesman."⁴⁴ He further branded Korea as "Truman's war," pointing out that the president did not obtain a declaration of war from Congress. A statement unanimously approved by the House Republican Party Committee questioned whether Truman, Acheson and Marshall were laying the groundwork for a "super-Munich" and if Eisenhower and other military leaders were now also to be "throttled into silence" if they disagreed with

³⁸ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 440-441

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 442

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 441-442

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 445

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 447

⁴³ White, William S. "M' Arthur Due Back in U.S. Next Week; Rival Parties Trade Blows on Issue; Truman Confident He Will Be Upheld." *The New York Times*, 13 Apr. 1951. Print, p. 1

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 1

the administration.⁴⁵ “The determination of the Republicans to make the MacArthur incident a celebrated cause and the vehicle for a hostile Congressional examination of every phase of Mr. Truman’s foreign policy was demonstrated” in the subsequent congressional discussion, according to *The New York Times*.⁴⁶

The Republican position was echoed in the press. A cartoon, “Gulliver and the Lilliputians,” that ran in the *Houston Chronicle* depicted a massive, mighty General MacArthur gagged and being tied down by scheming dwarf versions of Acheson and Truman. A Soviet general guffaws in the background.⁴⁷ Another, in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, showed yet another diminutive Truman gaping in horror at a larger-than-life silhouette of MacArthur in the moon, labeled “The Old Soldier.”⁴⁸ According to these publications, a weak and petty Truman – signified by his ridiculously short stature – was picking on MacArthur, the true American hero. The first cartoon also suggested that by dismissing MacArthur, Truman was in fact pleasing communist enemies. Furthermore, the public seemed to share these views. A total of 125,000 telegrams – the overwhelming majority being critical of the decision – were delivered to the White House and Congress by this date concerning MacArthur; Western Union claimed that no issue in recent years had provoked such a volume of messages.⁴⁹ There was also an avalanche of phone calls. Mrs. Schcklefritz of Kansas City called to say, “I am certainly praying for the President to get a head



Figure 2: *Gulliver and the Lilliputians*. Ferman Martin, 1951. *Houston Chronicle*.

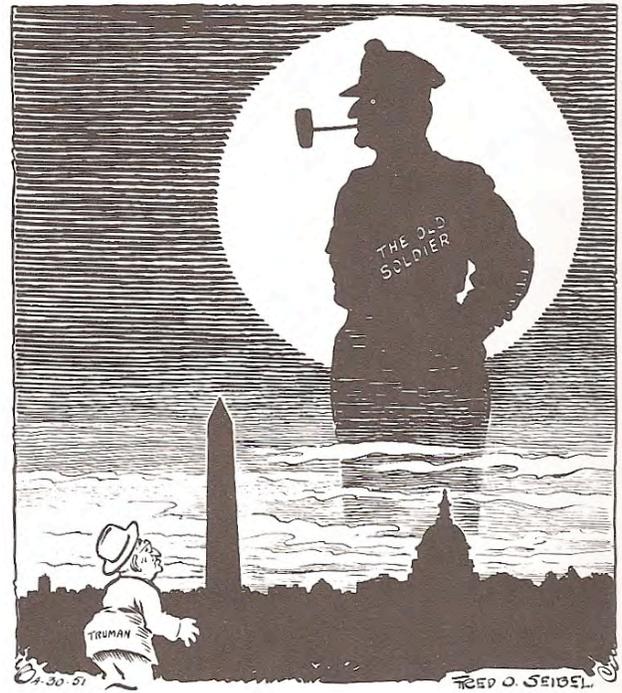


Figure 3: *When Is He Going to Fade Away?* Frederick O. Seibel, 1951. *Richmond Times Dispatch*

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 2

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 2

⁴⁷ Giglio, James N. and Greg C. Thielen. *Truman in Cartoon and Caricature*. Des Moines: Iowa State University Press, 1984, p. 124

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 124

⁴⁹ Lawrence, W.H. “President Says Republicans Will Rue Use of MacArthur.” *The New York Times*, 12 Apr. 1951. Print, p. 2

because he certainly needs a new one.”⁵⁰ Mrs. Rierdon of Covington, Virginia said she had switched parties in wake of the dismissal and called the president a traitor to his country.⁵¹ Mr. Edward D. Richards of Washington, D.C. called to say that Truman and Acheson were the biggest menaces to national security that the country has ever known.⁵² Clearly the backlash was taking a serious turn.

Truman himself alleged that the Republicans were the ones playing into communist wishes. He accused the Republicans of generally using the incident to lay out every strategy and detail of U.S. policy in Korea, adding that the Soviet leaders must have “gotten a great deal of satisfaction out of the hearings.”⁵³ He further maintained that, while he expected some resistance to his decision, the Republicans would regret pinning their party to MacArthur.⁵⁴ The Democrats in Congress backed him up, saying the Republicans were being needlessly vicious and labeling them the “war party.”⁵⁵

The GOP used MacArthur’s dismissal to promote their more aggressive policy in Korea. MacArthur had always favored a harder line than Truman, so, with the public largely behind him, the Republicans attacked the administration’s supposedly weak tactics with a greater fervor. They increasingly pushed MacArthur’s stance that the U.S. accept nothing but victory over Red China, and balk at any type of appeasement.⁵⁶ The increased zeal was also due no doubt to planning for the 1952 election; several politicians and citizens were already calling for MacArthur’s bid for the presidency.

China was for both MacArthur and the Republicans a major sticking point. Senator Bridges said on April 27, “I think General MacArthur’s views are definitely the answer in order to bring [the war] to a successful conclusion. He has presented the only positive program for China.”⁵⁷ The flare-up over Formosa – which continued into 1952, with McCarthy’s speech – introduced this issue; there were allegations that Truman’s executive order concerning the Seventh Fleet would allow too great an access between Chinese communists and North Korea. Truman had attempted to deny these worries, but the entry of China into the war confirmed those fears. Many in the party found it impossible to support Truman in the wake of Chinese participation in the war.⁵⁸ Some even seemed to think that the U.S. should be at war with Communist China. Republican Senator Cain attempted to introduce a resolution formally declaring war on Communist China on April 17, though his proposal was, as Democratic Senator MacFarland predicted, “quietly tucked away in a committee pigeon hole” and never seriously considered even among Republicans.⁵⁹

Due to hostilities towards China and a reluctance to “appease” the enemy, Republicans made many attempts to hinder or derail peace talks. MacArthur’s career-ending statements had done enough damage – foreign reaction to his dismissal had ranged from subdued enthusiasm to jubilation – but the GOP continued to chip away at Truman’s peace talks.⁶⁰ After Truman had indicated his desire for peace

⁵⁰ Record of Phone Calls Regarding the Dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur, ca. April 1951. Official File, Truman Papers, p. 7

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 4

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 7

⁵³ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 450

⁵⁴ Lawrence, W.H. “President Says Republicans Will Rue Use of MacArthur.” *The New York Times*, 12 Apr. 1951. Print, p. 2

⁵⁵ White, William S. “M’ Arthur Due Back in U.S. Next Week; Rival Parties Trade Blows on Issue; Truman Confident He Will Be Upheld.” *The New York Times*, 13 Apr. 1951. Print, p. 1

⁵⁶ Lawrence, W.H. “President Says Republicans Will Rue Use of MacArthur.” *The New York Times*, 12 Apr. 1951. Print, p. 2

⁵⁷ Caridi, Ronald J. *The Korean War and American Politics: The Republican Party as a Case Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968, p. 154

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 155

⁵⁹ “Senate Leader Promises Wide Probe of Policy.” *The Albuquerque Tribune*, 18 Apr. 1951. Print, p. 1

⁶⁰ “Relief Felt in U.N. on the Dismissal.” *The New York Times*, 11 Apr. 1951. Print, p. 1

negotiations on multiple occasions, Soviet representative to the U.N. Security Council Jacob Malik announced on June 23 over the U.N. radio that Russia believed peace talks should begin in Korea; Truman jumped on this speech, eventually organizing communications between the belligerents in Korea.⁶¹ Efforts at peace talks proceeded but, as *The New York Times* noted, the anti-administration Republicans were “troubled by the possibility that so splendid and desirable a thing as peace, for which they yearn as much as any, may damage their prospects of taking over the Government.”⁶² It was simply in their best interest to interfere in the peace talks.

Senator Robert Taft had already attempted to spark a great debate in Congress at the beginning of the year. He hoped to exploit confusing nature of the political mood in 1951 in order to place legislative constraints on Truman and reshape the public debate to suit Republican interests in a more aggressive policy.⁶³ Truman responded angrily to the challenge, insisting he would take the matter to the public if Republicans interfered with his fulfillment of U.S. treaty obligations; the State Department also thought “the time had come to take off the gloves.”⁶⁴ Yet the administration won out by March. Thus, when the truce talks began, the Republicans in Congress – still stinging from their defeated debate – “deemed it vital to launch a vigorous and innovative program to prevent any possible reversion to complacency, apathy and withdrawal.”⁶⁵ No longer facing the enormous public pressure they had the year before, the anti-Truman Republicans in Congress threatened to defeat the Defense Production Act, which needed to be renewed by the end of June, claiming typical conservative opposition to state interference in the economy. The administration viewed defeat on this bill as “unthinkable.”⁶⁶ The DNC called on party members to bombard Congress with letters and telegrams, as did labor bosses. Charles E. Wilson, head of the Office of Defense Mobilization (ODM) said on July 9, “I am shocked to learn that, even before a truce has been arranged, there is a movement in some quarter to wreck this country’s defense program.”⁶⁷ Indeed, organized labor, undoubtedly recognizing the link between the truce talks and Republican debate, adopted the slogan “No cease-fire on the Anti-Inflation Front.”⁶⁸ Armed with Dixiecrat allies, however, the Republicans had a majority vote. They ultimately did not defeat the bill, but when it finally reached Truman’s desk on July 31st, the president complained of “gravely deficient” controls and inflation as a likely consequence. Bested by the Republicans, he grudgingly signed it into law.⁶⁹

The Republican efforts to delay or harm truce talks soon took a backseat to the numerous deadlocks and tensions in the discussion between the nations involved in the conflict. Issues of POWs and buffer zones flooded the newspapers, all but burying Republican voices of dissent. Yet the Republicans had gotten exactly what they wanted: another bungled mess to blame on Truman, so that when their 1952 presidential candidate took to the campaign trail, he could promise a swift, easy end to “Truman’s war.”

Eisenhower Steps In (1952)

Many interpret Truman’s decision not to run for reelection in 1952 as a response to his many trials and tribulations with the Republicans and public – during his entire last year in term, Truman’s

⁶¹ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 456

⁶² Krock, Arthur. “Korea’s Consequences Weighed in Washington.” *The New York Times*, 8 Jul. 1951. Print, p. 2

⁶³ Casey, Steven. *Selling the Korea War: Propaganda, Politics and Public Opinion in the United States, 1950-1953*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 183

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 186

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 316

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 316

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 317

⁶⁸ Stark, Louis. “Labor Chiefs Meet on Controls Policy.” *The New York Times*, 9 Jul. 1951. Print, p. 1

⁶⁹ Casey, Steven. *Selling the Korea War: Propaganda, Politics and Public Opinion in the United States, 1950-1953*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 318

popularity hardly reached 30%.⁷⁰ However, the president claimed he made the decision much earlier, and for ideological purposes. He wrote in a personal memorandum on April 16, 1950:

In my opinion eight years as President is enough and sometimes too much for any man to serve in that capacity. There is a lure in power. It can get into a man's blood just as gambling and lust for money have been known to do...Therefore...although by a quibble I could say I've only had one term, I am not a candidate and will not accept the nomination for another term.⁷¹

He read the statement to his staff in March 1951, but this did not become public until March 29, 1952, when Truman announced the news at the annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner.⁷²

In Truman's place rose Adlai Stevenson, at the time the governor of Illinois. The president invited Stevenson to the White House first in January to discuss his potential candidacy. Stevenson was reluctant to commit, going back and forth with the president until July 24, 1952, when he called Truman to confirm he wanted to run.⁷³

The Republicans chose Dwight D. Eisenhower, a military man, like MacArthur, for their ticket. He had bested Taft and even MacArthur for the nomination. Korea became one of his biggest issues. "It was never inevitable, it was never inescapable...the Truman administration failed to read and outwit the totalitarian mind," he told the press on October 25, 1952. "The old administration cannot be expected to repair what it could not prevent."⁷⁴ He pledged to make a review and reexamination of Korea his very first task as president, with the ultimate goal of bringing about an "early and honorable end," that his administration would "always reject appeasement," and that he would confer with the free nations of Asia and cooperative UN members.⁷⁵ To prove the Republican strategy for Korea was the correct one, Eisenhower vowed to go to Korea himself, something Truman had never done.⁷⁶

Truman and Eisenhower had already attacked one another earlier in the presidential campaign. On October 6, Eisenhower branded Truman as the leading person "firing blanks" in the campaign as a response to Truman's denouncement of the "sheer poppycock and politics" of the Republican charges against him.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Truman called Eisenhower out on trying to disavow foreign policies that he himself had a hand in creating; any denial was in Truman's mind a "damned lie."⁷⁸ Truman's had a point: Eisenhower had seemed to accept the administration's policies prior to the campaign, removing himself so greatly from the political debate while serving as supreme commander of the NATO forces that many did not know if he was a Republican or Democrat.⁷⁹ The aggressiveness of Eisenhower's attack on Truman is also surprising, given the fact that Stevenson – not Truman – was the one running against him. But bland Stevenson was largely forgotten, and Eisenhower instead focused campaign attention on the president.⁸⁰

⁷⁰ "Presidential Approval Ratings History." Chart. *The Wall Street Journal*. Online. Accessed 7 Nov. 2010.

⁷¹ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 488

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 492

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 496

⁷⁴ "Eisenhower Rules Out Appeasement." *The Day* [New London], 25 Oct. 1951. Print, p. 1

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 1

⁷⁷ "Truman, Ike in Bitter Attack on Each Other." *Kentucky New Era*, 6 Oct. 1952. Print, p. 1

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 1

⁷⁹ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 500

⁸⁰ "Truman, Ike in Bitter Attack on Each Other." *Kentucky New Era*, 6 Oct. 1952. Print, p. 1

That is not to say Eisenhower backed off Stevenson entirely. In response to Stevenson's questioning over vice presidential candidate Richard Nixon, Eisenhower fired back, "we are tired of aristocratic explanations in Harvard accents."⁸¹ He further accused Stevenson of "smugness" and "smug evasions."⁸² Comments like these led members of the press to comment on the "increasing intensity" and "deepening bitterness" of the campaign.⁸³

After Eisenhower won the election in November, some members of Congress suggested a White House conference with Eisenhower, Truman and MacArthur. Perhaps with only a month left in office, Truman finally let his critics have a true tongue-lashing, for his response in the press was atypically vicious. He first called Eisenhower's pledge to go to Korea "a piece of demagoguery."⁸⁴ He then criticized MacArthur. The general should have reported to Truman after his return from Japan following his dismissal, the president insisted, saying it was what any "decent man" would have done. He pointed out that he had traveled over 14,000 miles to Wake Island to see MacArthur on October 14, 1950, just to receive a bunch of misinformation.⁸⁵ He dared the general to share his ideas for ending the war. Truman was described as "ready to do battle with the two generals" and speaking "with a touch of acid in his voice" at this press conference.⁸⁶ Republican Senator Welker later called Truman's response the words of "a pretty sick, frustrated man" and that Truman's own record "will live forever as a record of demagoguery of the highest rank."⁸⁷

Truman came away from the election – which went decisively to Eisenhower – feeling personally stung. "Those of us who knew Eisenhower through his long service in uniform under two Democratic Presidents had reason to hope that he would campaign on a high level...We were shocked and disappointed to find that he would lend himself to the type of campaign that followed," Truman wrote.⁸⁸ Truman did not see how Eisenhower could have possibly believed in the lies and exaggerations he articulated. He was especially offended by the GOP use of the Korean War in the campaign, saying he would "never understand how a responsible military man, fully familiar with the extreme delicacy of our negotiations to end hostilities, could use this tragedy for political advantage."⁸⁹ In this reflection and his incensed response to a conference with Eisenhower and MacArthur, we see that the partisan politics of the Korean War truly struck a nerve with Truman. He was personally hurt by the attacks on his leadership and administration, refusing to write them off as the usual criticism a president endures in his term(s). Out of the highly divisive Korean conflict had strung something unprofessional and outrageous, a type of partisan politics that the president could no longer stomach. "[It] has hurt," he told the press during the campaign. "I can tell you it has hurt me personally."⁹⁰

Conclusion

Given the vicious nature of the insults thrown between parties during the 1952 campaign – and throughout Truman's handling of the Korean War – one would think the conflict would linger in American memories. Yet the political divisiveness of this conflict, like every aspect to the Korean War, was trumped by a later conflict. This conflict was regarded as the first real loss the U.S. experienced, even

⁸¹ Marlow, James. "Presidential Campaign Is Paralleling Play." *Sarasota Journal*, 23 Sept. 1952. Print, p. 1

⁸² *Ibid*, p. 1

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 1

⁸⁴ "Truman Tongue-Lashes." *Tri-City Herald* [Kennewick], 9 Dec. 1952. Print, p. 1

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 1

⁸⁷ "Ike Branded with Election Demagoguery." *Prescott Evening Courier*, 11 Dec. 1952. Print, p. 2

⁸⁸ Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956, p. 501

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 501

⁹⁰ "Truman, Ike in Bitter Attack on Each Other." *Kentucky New Era*, 6 Oct. 1952. Print, p. 1

though the unresolved conflict in Korea could hardly be deemed a victory. This conflict was, of course, the Vietnam War.

Popular culture shows very clearly how Vietnam eclipsed Korea in the American conscious. Kris Kristofferson's rewriting of one of the most popular Korean War songs "Itazuke Tower" into "Phan Rang Tower" for the Vietnam War troops signals one of the more tangible ways Vietnam overrode Korean War memories.⁹¹ A similar revision occurred with one of the few well-known pieces of popular culture set in the Korean War, the TV series *M*A*S*H*. Running from 1972 to 1983, it remains one of the most popular and beloved shows of all-time. Yet it is widely acknowledged that any accurate or specific references to Korea were cut "so that it could be seen as a statement against the Vietnam War."⁹² No definitive Korean War movie has endured in American memory, either – films about the conflict made between 1950 and 1953 never even performed well at the box office on their initial releases.⁹³ Meanwhile, Vietnam movies are their own subgenre. Films like *Apocalypse Now*, *The Deer Hunter*, *Platoon* and *Full Metal Jacket* are not merely remembered, but grace lists of the best American movies of all time. Considering the enormous impact popular culture has on American attitudes – and the way it is said to reflect those attitudes – the way Vietnam is emphasized over Korea is extremely telling.

The haunting, now iconic photos and newsreels captured in Vietnam – the brutal execution of a Vietnamese soldier, the Vietnamese children screaming as napalm dripped over their bodies – also erased and replaced any reported atrocities in Korea. It only makes sense, then, that the bitter political and public debates waged during the Vietnam War took precedence over the extremely divisive nature of the conflict in Korea. Aside from the Korean War, Americans remember the 1950s as a time largely devoid of conflict and strife. It was the era of Dr. Spock, suburbia and *I Love Lucy*, as opposed to the turbulent 1960s and 1970s. During this era, the nation's counterculture movement was instigating massive upheaval and new ways of thinking, and the assassinations of JFK, Bobby Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. caused a deep public trauma. All this came on top of Vietnam, making it impossible to write the war off as a mere blimp of turmoil in an era of overwhelming stability and serenity. Such amnesia was much easier to carry out with Korea, and that is precisely what Americans did. President Truman likely never forgot the personal hurt he suffered, and General MacArthur could not possibly push his termination to the back of his mind, but the overwhelming majority of U.S. citizens have downplayed and erased from their collective memories an extremely divisive, bitterly debated international conflict.

⁹¹ Young, Ron. "Vietnam Vets Reflect on War Through Music." *San Antonio Express-News*, 19 Jul. 1992. Print, p. 1

⁹² McMurtrie, John. "Frontal Attack on War in Hollywood Comedies." *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 Feb. 2003. Print, p. 1

⁹³ Osgood, Kenneth and Andrew K. Frank. *Selling War in a Media Age: The Presidency and Public Opinion in the American Century*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010, p. 122

Bibliography

"3-Point Invasion Opened By Allies." *The Toledo Blade*, 15 Sept. 1950. Print.

Caridi, Ronald J. *The Korean War and American Politics: The Republican Party as a Case Study*.

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

Casey, Steven. *Selling the Korea War: Propaganda, Politics and Public Opinion in the United States, 1950-1953*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008.

"Eisenhower Rules Out Appeasement." *The Day* [New London], 25 Oct. 1951. Print.

Giglio, James N. and Greg C. Thielen. *Truman in Cartoon and Caricature*. Des Moines: Iowa State University Press, 1984.

Green, Roger D. "Truman Block MacArthur on Formosa Issue." *The Post-Standard* [Syracuse], 29 Aug. 1950. Print.

Handleman, Howard. "U.S. Marine Assault Smashes Into Inchon." *The Lowell Sun*, 15 Sept. 1950. Print.

Hinton, Harold B. "Connally Says U.S. Is Firm on Korea." *The New York Times*, 26 June 1950. Print.

"Ike Branded with Election Demagoguery." *Prescott Evening Courier*, 11 Dec. 1952. Print.

"Joseph McCarthy on Democrats." Speech. 7 Aug. 2009. YouTube. 10 Oct. 2010.

Krock, Arthur. "Korea's Consequences Weighed in Washington." *The New York Times*, 8 Jul. 1951. Print.

Lawrence, W.H. "President Says Republicans Will Rue Use of MacArthur." *The New York Times*, 12 Apr. 1951. Print.

Leviero, Anthony. "Fleet to Quit Formosa at End of Korea War, Says Truman." *The New York Times*, 1 Sept. 1950.

Marlow, James. "Presidential Campaign Is Paralleling Play." *Sarasota Journal*, 23 Sept. 1952. Print.

McCarthy, Joseph. "Blockade of Red China." Speech. 29 June 1952. Raynor Memorial Libraries, Marquette University. 25 Sept. 2010, 4:55.

McCarthy, Joseph. *Major Speeches and Debates of Senator Joe McCarthy Delivered in the United States Senate, 1950-1951*. Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1975.

McMurtrie, John. "Frontal Attack on War in Hollywood Comedies." *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 Feb. 2003. Print.

Osgood, Kenneth and Andrew K. Frank. *Selling War in a Media Age: The Presidency and Public Opinion in the American Century*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010.

"Presidential Approval Ratings History." Chart. *The Wall Street Journal*. Online. Accessed 7 Nov. 2010.

Press Release, Joseph McCarthy to Congress, June 11, 1951. Official File, Truman Papers.

Record of Phone Calls Regarding the Dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur, ca. April 1951. Official File, Truman Papers.

"Relief Felt in U.N. on the Dismissal." *The New York Times*, 11 Apr. 1951. Print.

"Senate Leader Promises Wide Probe of Policy." *The Albuquerque Tribune*, 18 Apr. 1951. Print.

Stark, Louis. "Labor Chiefs Meet on Controls Policy." *The New York Times*, 9 Jul. 1951. Print.

"The Nation Applauds Truman's Action." *The Tuscaloosa News*, 28 June 1950. Print.

"Truman Denounces Act of Aggression, Promises More Arms." *The Pittsburgh Press*, 26 June 1950. Print.

Truman, Harry S. *Memoirs, Volume Two: Years of Trial and Hope*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956.

"Truman, Ike in Bitter Attack on Each Other." *Kentucky New Era*, 6 Oct. 1952. Print.

"Truman Tongue-Lashes." *Tri-City Herald* [Kennewick], 9 Dec. 1952. Print.

White, William S. "M'Arthur Due Back in U.S. Next Week; Rival Parties Trade Blows on Issue; Truman Confident He Will Be Upheld." *The New York Times*, 13 Apr. 1951. Print.

Young, Ron. "Vietnam Vets Reflect on War Through Music." *San Antonio Express-News*, 19 Jul. 1992. Print.

TIMBUKTU:
FROM MYTH TO REALITY OF MALI'S FABLED CITY

Mary Beth Roe

INTRODUCTION

Timbuktu was a city in Mali that Europeans wrongly believed to be a wealthy city built and lined with gold. Since they had never actually traveled there, it was only through rumors that they learned of its existence and many wanted to find it to benefit from its supposed wealth. This rumor is thought to have spread through many sources. Over time, the drive to find and explore Timbuktu rose among many Europeans and resulted in numerous failed attempts to reach the mystical city. It was not until the late 1800's that European contact was made and the disappointment was endless, as the city was a typical trading post in Africa with no gold or great wealth anywhere to be found.

Timbuktu also experienced a great deal of change with the introduction of Islam. In order to grasp the magnitude of these changes, pre-Islamic Timbuktu needs to be investigated. Little is known about the pre-Islamic society because the city was so quickly introduced to Islam. Timbuktu developed originally as a trading center even before Arab merchants began trading with the city. With the introduction of Islam, almost everything changed. Besides the obvious religious convergence of the black Africans to a new religion, the architecture and social hierarchies were altered, along with the city becoming known as a major Islamic learning center.

BACKGROUND: EARLY HISTORY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE MYTH

For centuries, Timbuktu was a mystical, immensely fantasized about city by the Europeans. Timbuktu, located in Western Africa in Mali, was idealized for its supposed wealth in gold. In reality, Timbuktu was not a city of gold, but instead it was a major port city that traded goods that originated in other areas. While the Europeans had incredible difficulty locating the city, Arabs from the Middle East and North Africa had been involved and influencing the city for centuries before Europeans made contact with it. The Muslim city of Timbuktu went on to thrive through trade and was a leader in education, yet it was full of disappointment for the Europeans.

Mansa Musa, the emperor of Mali during the early fourteenth century, traveled to Cairo on a pilgrimage in 1324. When he arrived there, the Egyptians were astonished by the amount of wealth and gold that Mansa Musa had in his possession. Through European contacts with Egyptian merchants, word spread of Mansa Musa's gold and wealth that came from Timbuktu. Thus according to Brian Gardner "By the time this astonishment had spread to Europe it had gained in wonderment rather than lost."¹ Almost thirty years later, an Arab traveler by the name of IbnBatuta visited Timbuktu and returned with lavish (and thought to be extremely exaggerated) stories of the gold and wealth of the city. Thus the legend associating gold with Timbuktu was born. This myth would go on living in the minds of Europeans for more than five hundred years and cost hundreds of lives until the idea that gold came from Timbuktu was put to rest.

¹ Brian Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968), 5.

Timbuktu's location in Africa on the southern outskirts of the Sahara desert made it really difficult for Europeans to reach the city. Gardner emphasizes the limitations presented by this geographical region by stating, "The Sahara was the most inhospitable area in the world... Few men who entered it ever returned to Europe; those who did so told almost incoherent stories of madness of thirst, unspeakable cruelties of mirages, a fierce and terrible sun, and a vast, limitless ocean of sand."² The temperature at midday could reach up to 120 degrees Fahrenheit. This meant that men would require up to two gallons of water a day in order to stay hydrated in the immensely dry heat. Frank Kryza further adds to our understanding of the challenges posed by the Sahara desert on attempts to explore its southern reaches by emphasizing how "A supply was carried on the backs of camels in goatskin bags... The water was muddy, tinged red from the leather, and full of foreign matter (including goat hairs). It was tepid, even hot, and tasted of sulfur and magnesium."³ In addition water in general was extremely difficult to acquire. Since the Europeans had no knowledge or information on how to treat, cure or even manage the "mysterious and seemingly incurable diseases"⁴ that plagued the desert, crossing the Sahara "meant the inevitable contraction of disease and almost certain early death..."

To cross the desert knowing that the journey was more than likely fatal required great bravery, but yet the promise of the great wealth and fame from being the first to make it to and from the mystical city outweighed the risks to those who attempted the trip. No matter what the risk, explorers could not stop obsessing over the fact that "Whoever got there first was guaranteed worldwide renown, but the journey would be bitter and hard—and could be fatal."⁵

EUROPEAN QUEST FOR "THE CITY OF GOLD"

As early as 1530, the Portuguese kings were sponsoring missions to find and establish a commercial treaty with Timbuktu. King John III was the first king to send men on this journey. That year, he sent out a ten-man mission, but only Pero Reinel survived the trip, yet he did not make it to Timbuktu. The Portuguese crown was persistent and did not give up there. Thirty-five years later another attempt at finding the city was made, but again the mission did not prevail. By the late 18th century, encouraged by the desire to discover the great source of gold, the long existing rivalry between the French and British extended beyond the physical mapping of Central Africa.⁶ Sir Joseph Banks of London founded the Association for the Promotion of the Discovery of the Interior of Africa in 1788.⁷ It sponsored the exhibitions of many British men on their journeys to Timbuktu, including John Ledyard, Simon Lucas, Daniel Houghton, and Frederick Hornemann. By 1796, there was no doubt that the "Timbuktu Rush" had begun. The minds of Europeans had been running wild for hundreds of years and they would rest at nothing to find this city. With attempts to find the city still failing, in 1824 the Geographical Society of Paris established a prize of 10,000 francs for anyone who could travel to Timbuktu and successfully return with a detailed account of the city. Four years later, a Frenchman by the name of René Cailié, was the first to successfully enter the city and returned home with its description.⁸ Fighting the elements and diseases, however, were not the only things standing in the way of men making it to and from Timbuktu.

² Ibid., 4.

³ Frank Kryza, *The Race for Timbuktu: In Search for Africa's City of Gold* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 144.

⁴ Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo*, 5.

⁵ Kryza, *The Race for Timbuktu*, XI.

⁶ Barnaby Rogerson, "Timbuktu: City in the Sands," in *The Great Cities in History*, ed. John Norwich. (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2009), 140.

⁷ Kryza, *The Race for Timbuktu*, 11.

⁸ Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo*, 198-199.

Local Africans and Arabs frequently intervened in the various crossings from Europe to Timbuktu. According to Gardner, “To discover this city while in the throes of unchecked and untended disease was not all, for suspicious people had to be placated.”⁹ Gardner particularly details how one British explorer by the name of Gordon Laing recalled an encounter he had with locals involving slavery. Laing was horrified to be offered child slaves for thirty shillings each on two occasions. When he refused to purchase the children, he was “abused as being one of those white men who prevented the slave-trade and injured the prosperity of their country.”¹⁰ In one of his personal letters that successfully made its way to England, he states in regards to the slavery, “... that detestable trade... destroys the bonds of social order, and even extinguishes the most powerful natural feelings.”¹¹ He also described how, because of their want for money and European goods, “The chiefs of villages hinted that if more was not forthcoming, robbery or death might lie in wait on the road ahead.”¹²

Laing had anticipated that the trip across the desert would take no more than a few weeks, but it had actually taken him 399 days full “of loneliness, suffering, privation, and bloodshed... of solitude, without the companionship of a native of his own land, without the woman he loved.”¹³ On August 13, 1826, Laing saw the city in the distance. He entered it with great disappointment due to its lack of a plethora of gold. Shortly after his arrival, he was warned that if he did not leave the city, he would be killed based on his religious beliefs. With this threat, he left the city to make his way back home, but a group of Tuaregs attacked and killed him before he could make it safely back to Europe.¹⁴

René Cailié, the first to successfully make a trip to and from Timbuktu, used a very interesting and risky technique in order to survive the long and treacherous journey to the city. Although he was not the first to try this, he was the only one to succeed. In April of 1827, while the controversy of Laing’s unsuccessful trip back was still a major topic of conversation around Europe, Cailié departed from the coast of West Africa.¹⁵ He told whomever he met along the way that “he had been born in Egypt, of Arabian parents; that he had been carried away to France, in his infancy, by French soldiers who had invaded Egypt... His ambition was to return to Egypt to seek his family.”¹⁶ Although his story was hard to believe, he continued to insist on its truth and eventually won the trust of many. He dressed in Arab clothing and traded his Francs for gold and merchandise that could be used for trade along the way. To successfully survive the long trip, he travelled with Muslim caravans, who had experience making this voyage.¹⁷ As he maintained great records of his trip, many of his writings have survived. He explains in one of his writings how he passed the graves of men on their unsuccessful Niger trip from 1816: “I was seized with an involuntary shudder at the thought that the same fate perhaps awaited me...The heat was beginning to be painful...”¹⁸ He, too, was not immune to the diseases of the desert, for he came down with scurvy and was forced to temporarily halt his trip for more than six weeks before he was healthy enough to continue on his way.

Another explorer, Félix Dubois, also wrote down an extremely detailed account of his trip to Timbuktu. In describing the desert landscape on his way to the city, he stated that “Her sandy approaches

⁹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁰ Ibid., 53.

¹¹ Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo*, 53.

¹² Ibid., 69.

¹³ Kryza, *The Race for Timbuktu*, 229.

¹⁴ Ibid., 229-238.

¹⁵ Ibid., 256.

¹⁶ Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo*, 109.

¹⁷ Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo*, 109.

¹⁸ Ibid., 110.

are strewn with bones and carcasses that have been disinterred by wild beasts, the remains of camels, horses, and donkeys that have fallen down and died in the last stages of the journey... the roads across the desert are lined by their bodies.”¹⁹ In the end, Cailié, and later Dubois, made it to Timbuktu and were both more than a little disappointed with what they saw.

Timbuktu was not what the Europeans had imagined it to be, not by a long shot. Cailié entered the city on April 20, 1828 and described his first impression: “I looked around and found that the sight before me did not answer my expectations. I had formed a totally different idea of the grandeur and wealth of Timbuktu... The city presented, at first view, nothing but a mass of ill-looking houses built of earth. Nothing was seen in all directions but immense plains of quicksand of a yellowish-white colour.”²⁰ As Dubois was getting closer to the destination, and the city was in the far distance, he explains that no matter what direction you approach the city from, “the town presents the same outlines: fine, long and deep, and evoking the impression of grandeur in immensity.”²¹ This “grandeur” was quickly put to rest as soon as he actually entered the city. He continues thus:

We have entered the town, and, as behind the scenes of a theatre, behold ! all the grandeur has suddenly disappeared... Instead of finding the compact and well-ordered city which was promised us by the exterior, we enter a town that seems to have recently passed through the successive dramas of siege, capture, and destruction... I had not expected to find an Athens, Rome, or Cairo here; but straw huts!²²

TIMBUKTU'S BEGINNINGS

While the Europeans were obsessed with a city made of gold, the real Timbuktu was growing and developing very differently than the Europeans imagined it to be. Starting around 1000 CE, Timbuktu was the site of the nomadic group, the Tuaregs, summer residence. By 1100CE, the area had become a permanent residence for the Songhai Empire. Its location between the Niger and the desert led the town to become a meeting place of travelers, both by water and land. It continued to grow in size and around 1300 CE, the city was officially recognized as a trading center for its exportation of goods from farther south, like gold, that were transported by caravans all the way to the Mediterranean. Since many of the merchants were Arabs from the East, Islam was quite likely to start influencing the area. In 1324, the first mosque was built and in 1336 the inhabitants of the city of Timbuktu began converting to Islam.²³

ISLAM AND THE HEY DAYS OF TIMBUKTU

Since the town became Muslim so early in its existence, little is actually known about Timbuktu's pre-Islamic societies opposed to the post-Islamic era. The environment and resources available to the area dictated the construction of the city. Buildings in Timbuktu were constructed using square stones layered on top of one another. This kind of architecture was made possible by the “locally available, stratified sandstone which, easily split, left even, flat surfaces for regular ashlar coursework.”²⁴ Another early technique for buildings was a wet-mud process called *banco*. In terms of early, indigenous construction

¹⁹Felix Debois, *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, trans. Diana White (London: William Heinemann, 1897), 209.

²⁰Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo*, 120.

²¹Dubois, *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, 211.

²²*Ibid.*, 211, 214.

²³Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo*, 197.

²⁴Labelle Prussin, “An Introduction to Indigenous African Architecture”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, 3 (1974): 189.

methods, mud was used almost exclusively as the building material by sedentary peoples.²⁵ These buildings did not have windows and the doors were carved out after the building was constructed in order to prevent a collapse during construction.²⁶ Construction of buildings using the wet-mud technique was traditionally a communal project, as it was never a specialized craft. Even women were involved, as they would gather the water for the mud so that the molding of the mud balls could occur.²⁷ The city was established initially for its convenient location as a major trading port. Its location between the Niger River and the desert allowed Timbuktu to prosper as a major trading center. The hierarchical establishment was set up so that “The rulers of the empire of Mali were black Africans of the Mandingo tribe.”²⁸ This tribe was very successful in agriculture, thanks to the availability of the Niger River water. They were able to grow rice and other important crops, which led to a population increase. During the time of Mansa Musa, commerce in general increased on a massive scale, and Timbuktu, being a leading trading port, was prospering and benefitting greatly.²⁹

The introduction of Islam to the city can be partially credited to Mansa Musa: Thus according to Windsor, “The king of Mali built a palace and several mosques in the celebrated city of Timbuktu... Mansa Musa was, indeed, a champion of Islamic religion and learning.”³⁰ Mansa Musa built the Djinguereber Mosque between 1324 and 1327.³¹ The architecture of the buildings changed with the introduction of mosques and the techniques of building them from the East. Timber, which was used for structural horizontal bracing, was first used in the mosques and later in other buildings.³² The use of timber as structural support allowed for easier repairs to the mud and bricks after rainy seasons.³³

The people of Timbuktu were never completely unified and they remained heterogeneous. Their ability to work and exist together and in peace was key to their survival. Islam existed “side by side with a mosaic of indigenous African religions.”³⁴ There was no major influx of Arabs from the East, instead the religion and practices of Islam made its way into the city, converting the indigenous black Africans. Even though the city was not completely unified under Islam, the people who held an elite status in the city shifted from the Mandingo tribe to Muslim scholars.

The availability of the University of Sankore, located within the city, led to the development of an elite class of Muslim scholars. Whereas before the introduction of Islam the social hierarchy was led by local Black tribesmen, thenceforth, “The role of Muslim scholars in Timbuktu... exerted a continuous influence upon the organization and character of the city throughout its history.”³⁵ These scholars took on the role as leaders in the city. They dealt with public affairs, internal affairs, the administration, regulated the urban community, and were the spokesmen of the city as a whole. The role of the scholars and their taking initiative to rule and control the city enabled the city to develop and establish a unique personality. According to Elias Saad, “The ethnic diversity of the population, and especially that of the

²⁵Labelle Prussin, “The Architecture of Islam in West Africa”, *African Arts* 1,2 (1968): 35.

²⁶Prussin, “An Introduction”, 192.

²⁷Labelle Prussin, “Sudanese Architecture and the Manding”, *African Arts* 3,4 (1970): 18.

²⁸Rudolph Windsor, *From Babylon to Timbuktu* (Smithtown: Exposition Press, 1969), 95.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 95-97.

³⁰ Windsor, *From Babylon to Timbuktu*, 97.

³¹ArchNet Digital Library. “Dictionary of Islamic Architecture.” Accessed December 3, 2010.

http://archnet.org/library/dictionary/entry.jsp?entry_id=DIA0871&mode=full

³²Prussin, “The Architecture of Islam”, 72.

³³Hullsgrove. “Timbuktu.” Accessed December 3, 2010. <http://www.hullsgrove.com/Timbuktu.html>

³⁴Prussin, “The Architecture of Islam”, 71.

³⁵Elias Saad, *Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables 1400-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 22.

mercantile and learned elite, prevented the emergence of a strong kinship tradition.”³⁶ The hierarchical system was not simply made up of Muslim scholars and non-Muslim scholars. Within the Muslim scholars, there was a wide variety of levels that a learned elite could be at. Saad explains this elitist diversity by explaining how “Among the scholars themselves it is nearly impossible to reconstruct fully the hierarchy of prestige, even in the most richly documented periods because of the selectivity of the sources.”³⁷ Various levels within the hierarchy would perform different administrative jobs throughout the city.

Even with the influx of scholarly elites and its fame as a great Muslim educational center, the importance of the city as a major trading port on the southern edges of the Sahara desert was never abandoned. From 1468 onward, in addition to gold being a major export from Timbuktu, the city also exchanged slaves, kolanuts, hides, cotton goods and grains in return for importing goods like salt, horses, weapons and cowries, mostly from North Africa and probably Europe.³⁸ The population of the city fluctuated greatly over time, between 15,000 and 80,000.³⁹ The large variety in population was dependent on the trading seasons. Merchants came and went from the city seasonally.

CONCLUSION

Although Timbuktu was an amazingly complex and interesting society, it demonstrated nothing but pure disappointment for the Europeans. The hundreds upon hundreds of men that lost their lives looking for this city were lost because of an over-active imagination that swept the minds of Europeans for centuries. Although it was long imagined as a city of wealth and gold, it was in reality “a typical Sahelian trading town built of mud bricks that was swept by sand and dry desert winds, [and] could never live up to the expectations of a mysterious city of gold hidden among the vast wastes of sand dunes of the Sahara.”⁴⁰ The European imagination over time had managed to construct an amazingly extravagant city, in the middle to the Sahara Desert, that paralleled with that of a Western city. The true reality of the city was that of a traditional African port city from its very beginning. It rose and prospered because of its ideal location. At its start, it was built from indigenous materials of the earth, followed local practices, and designed as typical desert cities were. The city changed with the introduction of Islam and became a city that combined local and Islamic traditions into a complex and prosperous society. Even though Timbuktu could not live up to the unrealistic expectations imposed upon it by the Europeans, the truth behind the mystical city still showed a very successful and prosperous urban settlement for many centuries.

³⁶Saad, *Social History of Timbuktu*, 23.

³⁷*Ibid.*,82.

³⁸Michael Gomez, “Timbuktu under Imperial Songhay: A Reconsideration of Autonomy”, *The Journal of African History* 31,1 (1990): 7.

³⁹David Anderson and Richard Rathbone, *Africa's Urban Past* (United Kingdom: James Currey Ltd., 2000), 3.

⁴⁰Barnaby Rogerson, “Timbuktu: City in the Sands,” in *The Great Cities in History*, ed. John Norwich. (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2009),140.

THE VIETNAM WAR: FROM THE BIG SCREEN TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

Ashlie M. Daubert

Vietnam War films struggle, sometimes successfully and sometimes in vain, to inform audiences of the traumatic, life-altering experience that was the Vietnam War. Fictional Vietnam War films like *Go Tell the Spartans*, *84 Charlie MoPic*, *Platoon*, *Hamburger Hill*, *Full Metal Jacket*, *The Deer Hunter*, and *Apocalypse Now*, touch on a variety of issues stemming from the conflict in Vietnam and have shaped public opinion of the war in the process. The war's confusion and chaos, the issues of race, class, and gender, and the meaning of morality are just a few of the themes presented in these films. Some handle these issues better than others, which is why it necessary to supplement these fiction films with the actual words and experiences from the people who lived them. Vietnam memoirs offer insight into a war that is hard enough to understand from a textbook and even more difficult to portray accurately on the big screen. More and more, citizens gain their knowledge of the war from Hollywood movies, but these films often miss the mark on why it began, or why it went on for so long (*Patriots*, XV). Fiction films that focus on war aim to evoke emotion, rather than portraying the whole truth; and while these films are great stepping-stones for understanding the gravity of this war, they are also precisely why the first-hand accounts of witnesses are so important. They are the ones who saw what happened, survived, and were brave enough to tell the tale. Taken together, Vietnam War films, and the memoirs of survivors, are the public's greatest key to unlocking the reality of one of the most turbulent and terrifying times in American history.

*"Are you sure we're not in a looney bin?
Sometimes I think we're in a god damn looney bin!"*

- Major Asa Barker,
as played by Burt Lancaster,
in *Go Tell the Spartans*

The Vietnam War is probably the most complicated war of the modern era, defined by confusion, chaos, and death. Its real beginnings, however, are largely ignored by Hollywood films, perhaps because its roots go as far back as the end of WWII. Under the Truman administration, policies like the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine were designed to stop the spread of communism and protect United States credibility as the premier leader of the free world (Addington, 34). The Geneva Agreements, which partitioned off North and South Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel in June of 1954, put pressure on the United States to help build the free South Vietnam. A massive influx of Catholics to South Vietnam helped the US propagandize the rise to power of Ngo Dinh Diem, chosen by the government to rebuild South Vietnam against communist regime leader, Ho Chi Minh (Appy, 45). Under Eisenhower, the South East Asian Treaty Organization, formed in September 1954, was supposed to unite the countries of the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan, in protecting weaker nations that might fall to communism without proper protection (Addington, 47).

In many ways, however, these solutions to Eisenhower's Domino Theory were futile. Tensions in Vietnam continued to escalate when the French fell at Dienbienphu in May 1954, compounded by the popularity of North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh and the failings of Ngo Dinh Diem as leader of South

Vietnam (Appy, 45-47). For nearly twenty years the American public was almost completely unaware of any conflict in Vietnam, and for five different presidential administrations, the course of the Vietnam War could have been changed, “but all of them acted as if they were trapped by the history they inherited” (Appy, 35). It wasn’t until 1965, when the 23,000 troops in Vietnam rose to almost 200,000, that the American public at large began to take notice of the war (Appy, 3).

In many ways, Ted Post’s *Go Tell the Spartans* is an early examination of this war that no one really knew about. In multiple scenes the reason for being in Vietnam is unclear. The men simply acknowledge they have a job to do and were going to do it, no questions asked. As the movie progresses and battles between the US and the unseen enemy of Southeast Asia intensify, it is clear there is unexpected rawness to this war. Intelligence about the enemy’s location and the US army’s strategy is difficult to understand. More importantly, when the information is obtained, Major Asa Barker (Burt Lancaster) is unsure of what to do with it (*Go Tell the Spartans*). It is not far off from the reality of the Vietnam War at its beginning. As Bernard Trainor, a former commander of covert operations in South Vietnam described, the early part of the war was supposed to be about winning the hearts and minds of the people. However, that became an increasingly difficult task when conflicting orders from General Westmoreland were for search and destroy missions (Appy, 7).

Go Tell the Spartans’ most important symbol is its location. Set on the site of a battle between the French and the Viet Minh where the French were ruthlessly defeated ten years before US arrival. Many of the “advisors” present begin to wonder if Americans are destined to succumb to the same fate. At the end of the film, Cpl. Courcay, a once energetic volunteer, is now a jaded soldier and the only survivor of his platoon. He must “go tell the Spartans,” or in this case, the Americans, of the horrific defeat inflicted upon US troops by the Viet Cong. This film showcased how in one year, 1964, the conventional tactics the US used to win wars would no longer help them achieve a swift victory over an enemy that, as John F. Kennedy once wisely proclaimed, is “nowhere and everywhere at the same time” (Appy, 45).

84 Charlie MoPic, Patrick Sheane Duncan’s film that focuses on a Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol, is another example of the confusion and chaos embedded in the Vietnam War. Aesthetically the film allows the viewer to feel as though they are in the jungle with the LRRP team on this recon mission. Shot like an unedited documentary, the viewer gets an up-close glimpse of the personal lives of the soldiers who are “just doing a job” (*84 Charlie MoPic*). As Richard Bernstein wrote in his review of the film in the *New York Times*, “Its concern is not to decide whether the war was just or unjust, but rather to memorialize the harshness of warfare and the particular circumstances of Vietnam.”

Leroy Quintana, a real-life member of a LRRP team, debated over its advantages and disadvantages. “You lived in constant nervousness,” he said. His memories of life in the jungle are portrayed in Duncan’s film, especially one scene in particular when the men are forced to hide as a file of Viet Cong pass by. Since LRRPs were not supposed to initiate firefights, it was crucial to remain quiet to avoid being seen. “My teeth were chattering,” described Quintana as he remembered hiding from the VC (Appy, 538-39). In the film, a member of the LRRP team slams his arm down on bamboo shoots while trying to hide, forcing him to quietly stomach the agonizing pain while the VC moved along the trail.

At the heart of the films that examine life before the war was publicly unpopular, is that most soldiers did not care about the details of why they were there. There was no need for legitimacy of the war, and as one character in *84CMP*, Hillbilly, put it, “you do the best job you can do whether you like it or

not” (84 Charlie MoPic, 1989). Eventually the lack of interest in justifying the war would all change with events like the Tet Offensive, the My Lai Massacre, and the growing antiwar movement at home.

Many of the films previously mentioned deal with the confusion of battle by portraying them as sporadic firefights deep in the jungle in the dead of night. One movie, however, *Hamburger Hill* betrays that notion and offers a different kind of war confusion. In this film the character’s personal identities are more obscure and the real character becomes the battle itself. It was the cinematic story of the soldiers of B Company, 3rd Battalion, 187th Infantry Regiment, during a brutal ten-day fight (May 11-20, 1969) for control over a hill in the Ashau valley of Vietnam. It was rare to find major battles, similar to ones fought in WWI and II during the Vietnam War, but the story of Hamburger Hill reminded audiences that they still existed.

The confusion of this battle lay in its unclear objectives. What were they fighting for? Was it worth it? Why did it matter? Ultimately the viewer is left to believe there was no reason beyond the fact that someone higher up told them to do it. On May 15, an air strike was called in, but the difficult task of trying to distinguish the enemy among the many other soldiers led to US helicopters firing on its own people. This disturbing scene didn’t just occur in Hollywood movies. At one point Lieutenant Frank McGreevy actually called his artillery liaison officer and gave him a clear message, “I don’t want any more ARA out here if they can’t shoot the enemy instead of us. I’m tired of taking more casualties from friendlies than from the enemy. The next goddamn sonofabitch who comes out here and shoots us up, we’re gonna shoot his fuckin ass down. And that’s final.” The issue of friendly fire in the war accounted for many casualties and added leverage to the antiwar movement growing at home since 1965 (Flanagan, 4).

*“Don’t be so eager to get yourself killed,
there’s plenty of war here for all of us”*

–OD, as played by
Richard Brooks,
in 84 Charlie MoPic

Imagine a group of young soldiers, some are fresh from training and some are experienced veterans. They are walking quietly through a dense jungle, being careful of their every step, measuring their every breath, shifting their eyes from one side to another while fear races through their minds. This goes on for what feels like hours as suspense builds in a quiet and seemingly calm jungle. Suddenly, a shot is fired from atop of the trees. A Vietnamese sniper has spotted the platoon. Soon, many of the men are shot down, some fatally wounded, but it is near impossible to find the culprit. A firefight breaks out and the once quiet patrol of the jungle is cut short by abrupt chaos and confusion as the search to find the enemy drags on into the night.

This scenario occurs in both real-life documentaries, *The Anderson Platoon* and *A Face of War*. In nearly every fictional film mentioned in the introduction a similar scene appears. Vietnam War films constantly try to portray the abrupt senselessness of the war. In the book *Bloods*, a collection of black veteran’s memories, First Lieutenant Joe Biggers, describes such a similar ambush when a group of NVA snipers slipped between his squad and rest of his company. “Someone told me the snipers had just got Joe. He was my platoon sergeant,” recalled Biggers, “That did it. I passed the word to call in napalm...we kept shooting until everything was empty. Then we picked up the guns they dropped and fired them” (Terry, 115-116).

In many ways there was a complete disconnect between what was really happening on the ground in Vietnam and what Washington D.C. policy makers were telling the public. Lyndon Baines Johnson's "Gulf of Tonkin Resolution" from August 7, 1964 ensured him the support of congress "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression" and in the beginning such action garnered the support of the public (Addington, 78). Although, as early as 1965, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara began having doubts about US involvement in Vietnam. Though he supported the war publicly, he watched with concern as fighting intensified and General Westmoreland repeatedly called for more troops (Addington, 94-96). Yet much of the politics surrounding the Vietnam War goes unmentioned in films about the conflict. In some of the films, political messages can be interpreted, but hardly any take a firm stance on whether they were anti or pro-war. *Hamburger Hill*, for instance, can be construed as a very anti-war film in the sense the men fought to take over the hill for essentially nothing. On the other hand, it showcases the resilience of men in war to put up with whatever comes their way for the sake of their country. Most films let the viewer draw their own conclusions about the validity of the war, just as the characters themselves are forced to come to their own conclusions through the unraveling of each plot.

A powerful scene at the end of *Full Metal Jacket* features the soldiers, led by Private Joker, singing the theme for Mickey Mouse. The Mickey Mouse image was often used as a reference in many Vietnam War films to convey the conflict's silliness, and utter ridiculousness. For the soldiers singing, they were belting out a chorus that made no sense, in a war that made no sense. It was a perfectly ironic moment for them to address their feelings toward the war in Vietnam.

*It don't mean nothing, man.
Not a thing."*

- Motown, as played by
Michael Boatman,
in *Hamburger Hill*

There is a pivotal scene in *84 Charlie MoPic*, when MoPic asked Hillbilly what he thought about being white and having a black patrol leader. Hillbilly becomes angry and says, "That's a real world question, we don't ask questions like that here." It is an important statement, recognizing that societal rules of the time did not necessarily apply in a place like Vietnam. Vietnam was a world and a culture all its own. However, this may only be half-true. In many circumstances race, class, and gender were the last topics on anyone's mind. Other times, they were the key deciding factors on who led, who followed, and what role each person was meant to play in the war.

In *Hamburger Hill* there are many clichés and stereotypes promoted, especially along the lines of race. The characters Doc and Motown in particular claim to see and know things white men in the war just can't or refuse to see. For instance, that blacks and whites are mostly separate, and must each find their own ways of coping with life in the war. Only through the intense battle do the many characters from all walks of life find a way to come together in the pursuit of survival. It is their determination to reach the top of the hill that forces them to put all political and social concerns aside. Issues such as race and class, which were coming to a head back home in America, were sometimes pointless to discuss in the war. Such things "don't mean nothin" when you found yourself deep in the jungles of Vietnam, fighting for your life (*Hamburger Hill*).

Haywood T. Kirkland remembers vividly being told during his training to call the Vietnamese “gooks” and “dinks.” There was a new kind of racism taking hold. The soldier to your left and right, regardless of color, was your fellow soldier. The enemy, on the other hand, was less than human and must be destroyed (Terry, 90). In fact GIs were under pressure to produce high body counts on missions. For most, it became a rule of thumb that “if it’s dead and it’s Vietnamese, it’s VC.” This created an environment where it was easier to kill the enemy without hesitation or concern for the loss of life. Though racism existed within the military, most veterans recall a great deal of unity, especially in the midst of combat. As the war progressed into the late 1960s and 70s, however, men became divided on all sorts of issues. Race was certainly one, but there was also tension between officers and enlisted men, between combat and rear-area soldiers, between ‘juicers’ who chose to drink and ‘heads’ who preferred to smoke marijuana (Appy, 355-356). Hollywood films tend to promote an image of complete unity, especially when it comes to race, but even when such unity existed it did not come easily or under simple circumstances. Often movies completely ignore what is probably the definitive source of tension among men in the war: class.

“Despite its racial and ethnic diversity, the U.S. military in Vietnam was hardly representative of the larger society in terms of class” (Appy, 45). It was common practice for privileged men to be able to put off going to war via student deferments, even after they were supposed to have stopped in 1965. Over 80 percent of the two and a half million enlisted men who served in Vietnam were from working-class and poor families. *The Deer Hunter* follows the lives of three men (Michael, Nick, and Steven) from a working class town in Western Pennsylvania. They were perfectly content with their lives before they were drafted into the Vietnam War, but all are changed in different ways after surviving as POWs. While the movie has a blatant disregard for the chronology of the war, as well as its accuracy, Cimino’s explained that his film was not meant to be literally accurate, but was supposed to evoke the impact of war on the members of small industrial town where everyone knew everyone (Canby, 1). Michael was desperate to feel the same way he did about life before the war, Nick who was consumed by Vietnam, forgets his home, and ultimately dies in a game of Russian roulette, and Steven, almost a quadriplegic, was terrified to return home in his condition, knowing his life would never be the same. The chilling end scene features the close friends drinking around a table in honor of Nick. The once little war 10,000 miles away now saturated their lives. Confused over their feelings, hating the war, loving their country, missing their friend, and trying to move on they sing “God Bless America,” an ironic salute to a country that turned their lives upside down.

Those are the consequences of war more affluent members of society were able to avoid. James Lafferty opened one of the first free draft counseling law firms in Detroit, Michigan in 1965, trying to level the playing field for poor men wanting to avoid the war, but ultimately conceding it was much easier to do so with more money. “Class bias was also blatant in the case of medical exemptions,” he recalled, explaining that even though the poor had some of the worst health problems, doctors examining them were under pressure to process as many people as they could so they were pushed through. Richer men were able to obtain personal doctor’s notes excusing them from war because of suddenly pre-existing conditions like asthma or allergies. Lafferty believed that no draft board failed to meet its quotas, meaning for every man he helped avoid war, one more was just called up to take his place (Appy, 164-166).

Race and class, though not always the most prominent, still maintain more of a presence in Hollywood-made films about the war than gender (many choosing to exclude women’s roles in the war

completely). In some of the films, when women were portrayed, they're often treated as a side note, or a minor subplot to the real story. Usually, like in *Full Metal Jacket* or *Platoon* they were whores. Female Vietnamese characters were seen getting paid to be exploited sexually or they were raped. Women were something men could fight over, something to keep them going, something worth living for, but they are rarely seen. Mostly they are talked about in a derogatory manner, or revealed to an audience as a man writes a letter home. However, *Full Metal Jacket's* last scene features a Vietnamese woman as the sniper. Although she is defeated at the end, she did succeed in killing many Americans, and it offers a little acknowledgement to the contributions Vietnamese women made for their country during the war.

Tran Thi Gung represents a microcosm of what women were capable of in war. Fighting against the French in the 1950s and then again during the Vietnam War, she once spent seven days trapped in a tunnel. She killed many GIs and was a skillful sniper who was involved in countless firefights. "I never felt guilty about the killing I did" she explained, justifying her actions by asking "Wouldn't you shoot me if you saw me holding a weapon and pointing it at you?" (Appy, 18-19).

American women played an important role outside sexual favors in the war as well. Helen Tennant Hegelheimer remembered her work as a flight attendant for World Airways, one of the airliners responsible for ferrying US troops in and out of the war zone. She acted in many ways as a man's wife, sister, or girlfriend. She saw what they were like before they entered the war and how different they returned. She offered them comfort when they needed it, helped them write letters home, wished them good luck, and saw them off. "I can't imagine doing anything more important than to nudge a troop into war. If he wasn't lucky, I was nudging him to his death with the best "it will be okay" smile I could conjure up," she explained (Appy, 108).

Sometimes race, class, and gender defined every experience a person involved in Vietnam would have. At other times, all three simply meant nothing. Although they existed and were visible, there was often no meaning behind them. When the going got tough a soldier was only supposed to care about two things: staying alive and winning the war.

*"I think now, looking back, we did not fight the enemy; we fought ourselves.
The enemy was in us. The war is over for me now,
but it will always be there, the rest of my days."*

– Chris Taylor, as played
by Charlie Sheen,
in *Platoon*

Simply put, war changes people. Not just war, but it is the preparation one needs before entering war, the time they spend fighting, and their time at home after the war, that changes people. Recall the beginning of the Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket* when the audience is introduced to a dozen or so long-haired teenage boys whose heads are being shaved before entering basic training. From the minute a new recruit arrived, be it from volunteering or the draft, the Marine Corps knew how to turn young, incompetent men into fierce instruments of war. This is most exemplified by Private Joker and Private Pyle, two extreme examples of military training. They are abused, verbally and physically, by Gunnery Sergeant Hartman for weeks until they were considered ready for war.

Philip Caputo, in his memoir "A Rumor of War," remembers being a young, impressionable teenage boy interested in joining the Marine Corps both as an act of rebellion and also as a way to gain personal independence. The picture *Full Metal Jacket* paints of life at Parris Island, South Carolina in 1967 is not far off from what Caputo endured at Quantico in the mid 1960s as well. He had a romantic idea of war, thinking its end would be in a few months and he'd return home a welcomed hero, revered by the average citizens he fought for. He believed in John F. Kennedy's inaugural address, and that he was doing what he could for his country (Caputo, 40-58).

However, Caputo also remembered mob mentality. It is featured in both *Full Metal Jacket* and his memoir, as men were forced to shout ridiculous things while running or training (Caputo, 12). It didn't matter how inane the words were, when the group was shouting together another force outside themselves took over. "We had become self-confident and proud, some to the point of arrogance. We had acquired the military virtues of courage, loyalty, and *esprit de corps*, though at the price of a diminished capacity for compassion" he said (Caputo, 21). This diminished compassion serves as a breaking point for Private Pyle, who commits suicide under the enormous weight of the looming war in his future. Private Joker becomes the embodiment of peace and war in corporeal form. He wears his helmet which features the words "born to kill" alongside a peace sign. It is not until the very end of the film when he must put aside his moral principles and kill for the sake of staying alive.

Those who seek out Vietnam movies to gain their knowledge of the war would see a recurring theme when it comes to morality. It is often the story of the naive recruit, a clean-cut, follow-the-training soldier, who when juxtaposed with the tired, experienced, seen-it-all and done-things-you-wouldn't-believe veteran, seems entirely out of place and unwelcome. Eventually he will come face to face with the aspects of war that change him from the inside out. When the average life expectancy of a second lieutenant in the field is three weeks, there is a crucial need to stay alert and learn fast. LT is forced to kill a Vietnamese soldier when it goes against his protocol (*84CMP*), Christ Taylor must pick a side in his platoon (*Platoon*), Joker stops reporting and picks up a gun (*Full Metal Jacket*), the list could go on and on.

Similarly in Caputo's memoir, his desk job documenting casualties gave him a perspective of the war he doesn't expect. He sees the carelessness and unpreparedness of the war's leaders and understands this war will not give him the post WWII glory he is seeking. Instead he begins to see the fine line Vietnam soldiers walk between being alert and being paranoid, between making rational decisions and acting on impulse, between trying to find camaraderie and staying alive (Caputo, 228-232).

Hollywood movies also introduce audiences to individuals who, under the pressure of war, go too far. In *Platoon*, the actual platoon itself becomes a character as it is divided into two factions. One, led by the ill-tempered Robert Barnes, who ultimately believes it is sometimes necessary to compromise your morals in order to support the war effort. The other, led by Elias Grodin, still believes that even in war there is a difference between right and wrong. In one of its most dramatic scenes Barnes becomes convinced some villagers are secretly Viet Cong and shoots a mother for failing to cooperate with his platoon. The act is considered murder and the platoon divides over whether or not Barne's action was right. In subsequent scenes Barnes murders Grodin, Bunny beats a handicapped Vietnamese boy to death, and Chris Taylor finally sees the atrocities of the war that have been hidden from the public for so long. His decision to murder Barnes and find a way out of Vietnam is symbolic of the pressure soldiers were under.

Tim O'Brien, a renowned author of Vietnam War stories, has said this is what his stories are really about. "I don't write about maneuvers and bombing and how guns work...these things bore me," he said, "...I'm trying to speak to everyone about the heart under pressure, the incredible spiritual pressure of seeking the right thing to do under difficult circumstances" (Appy, p.543). In some way, all of the Vietnam War films analyzed explore this idea. Perhaps no fiction film focuses on the issue of morality more than Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*. Of course the story of the formerly praised and glorified war-hero-turned-renegade-with "unsound methods," Walter Kurtz, is really an overblown exaggeration of this pressure O'Brien has alluded to.

Kurtz explains to Willard (the captain sent on a mission to murder Kurtz) about the day he "went insane" and asked whether or not Willard would have behaved the same way. After vaccinating Vietnamese children from polio, a tactic to win hearts and minds, the VC chopped the vaccinated arms off of the children. Kurtz decided his "unsound methods" were the only way Americans were going to be able to win the war. This movie presents a savage, barbaric image of Vietnam and surrounding countries, as well as the story of how one American can gather devout followers to be just as ruthless toward the enemy. Kurtz proposes that if moral men were able to use their primordial instincts to kill without judgment (as he believes the Vietnamese are doing), then the war would go to the Americans. In this one scene, *Apocalypse Now* gets to the heart of morality better than any other fictional Vietnam film. Though it is hardly an accurate portrayal of events in the War it is a symbol of the extreme decisions soldiers had to make and how some, after making them, found it impossible to enter back into regular society at the war's end.

"War is hell"

War is hell, but it is also so much more. If a person relies solely on films for their understanding of the Vietnam War they are doomed to miss the whole truth, as told from the men and women who lived through the period. Fictional war films manipulate audiences the same way the press, as described by war correspondent H.D.S. Greenway felt *Time* magazine was manipulating the public about the war until the late 1960s (Appy, 259-261). There are themes Hollywood movies, no matter how big their budget, large their cast or long their production schedule, can never cover completely in a two and a half or three hour movie.

It can be argued that many of the films, like *Platoon* or *Hamburger Hill*, are war-glory movies often missing the realities of the politics and disappointment felt at home (Felker, 1). Tom Grace's experiences at Kent State on May 4, 1970 (Appy, 385-89) never make it into these movies, the American public learning the truth about the war through their televisions at home are looked over (Appy, 268). Nixon's Cambodian Incursion and growing public disapproval are unseen. The purpose of these movies is to evoke those basic human emotions about men in war and leave discovering the rest of the details up to the individual who watches them. Vietnam War films molded public opinion of the war into a simple box by using elaborate cinematic tricks. Music said what screenwriters could not, explosions were meant to scare, gruesome images were meant to shock, and characters were tested. The product became little nutshells of the war: it was confusing, it left tens of thousands of dead, it became increasingly unpopular, and it was hell. Memoirs, offer the meat and bones to these ideas. Soldiers like Reginald Edwards find films like *Apocalypse Now* to be attention grabbing, but not accurate in any way (Terry, 13). Thai Dao, a Vietnamese immigrant found Hollywood depictions of the war in movies like *Hamburger Hill* and *Platoon*, incomplete when it came to describing and portraying the enemy that defeated the United States (Appy, 541). Only when this information is sought out are those truths revealed. Movies create a picture memoirs cannot, and memoirs tell a story films often try to tell, but fail to capture completely. Both films

and memoirs are unquestionably needed to truly learn about one of the most complicated wars in history, a quagmire that spanned decades and affected millions of lives, from soldiers deep in the jungle to whole towns at home in America, from the Vietnamese people and their way of life, to the very top of the United States federal government.

Bibliography

- Addington, Larry H. *America's War in Vietnam*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2000. Print.
- Apocalypse Now*. Dir. Francis Ford Coppola. Zoetrope Studios, 1979. DVD.
- Appy, Christian G. *Patriots*. London: Penguin Books, 2003. Print.
- Bernstein, Richard. "Review/Film; Vietnam, From a Cameraman's Vantage." *New York Times*: 22 March, 1989.
- Canby, Vincent. Screen: *The Deer Hunter*. 15 December 1978.
- Caputo, Philip. *A Rumor of War*. New York: Holt, 1977. Print.
- 84 Charlie MoPic*. Dir. Patrick Sheane Duncan. Charlie MoPic, 1989. DVD.
- Felker, Mike. *Platoon, Full Metal Jacket Back to Vietnam*. Jump Cut: February 1988.
- Flanagan, Lt. General E.M. *Hamburger Hill, The Real Story*. The Rakkasans: The Combat History of the 187th Airborne Infantry.
- Full Metal Jacket*. Dir. Stanley Kubrick. Natant, 1987. DVD.
- Go Tell the Spartans*. Dir. Ted Post. Mar Vista, 1978. DVD.
- Hamburger Hill*. Dir. John Irvin. RKO, 1987. DVD.
- Platoon*. Dir. Oliver Stone. Hemdale Film, 1989. DVD.
- Terry, Wallace. *Bloods, Black Veterans of the Vietnam War: An Oral History*. New York: Presidio Press Mass Market Edition, 2006. Print.
- The Deer Hunter*. Dir. Michael Cimino. EMI Films, 1979. DVD.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Arjun Mishra is a junior with majors in psychology, political science, and history. He intends to do a distinction in Italian history next year.

Sarah Spencer is a physics and history major, with a minor in Medieval and Renaissance Studies. She is currently expanding on the research done for the paper featured in this journal for her Capstone Project.

Gregory Fitton is currently a junior pursuing a major in political science and a minor in European history.

Michael Leess is a senior newspaper journalism major in the S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications. He completed minors in European history and Spanish. He studied in Madrid in the spring of 2010, and his experiences abroad illuminated and enhanced his continuing interest in ancient and medieval studies.

Mary Roe is a senior history major, concentrating on Renaissance and Early Modern Europe.

Ashlie M. Daubert is a junior TRF and History major, concentrating on Documentary Film and American History. She is also a Renee Crown Honors student and recently received the Crown/Wise-Marcus scholarship to help fund her Capstone project, "The Millennial Generation's Guide to the 1960s."

CHRONOS EDITORIAL STAFF BIOS

Davor Mondom is a junior United States history and economics dual-major and philosophy minor. In his spare time, he enjoys reading and watching television, especially his all-time favorite show, *Friends*. He is also an amateur coin collector; he soon hopes to have a coin from every country in the world. After graduation, he plans on going to graduate school for U.S. history, with the goal of eventually becoming a university professor.

Eugene Park is a junior at Syracuse University and is double majoring in European History and Writing and Rhetoric. Eugene is originally from Lexington, MA and is involved in various student groups including Liberty in North Korea and Theta Chi Fraternity. In his free time he enjoys reading and exercising. He is currently preparing for law school and plans to apply this coming fall.

Joclyn Wallace is a senior American history major and Anthropology minor. She transferred to Syracuse University in 2009 from SUNY Dutchess Community College, where she earned an Associate's degree in Humanities and Social Sciences. At the end of the Spring 2011 semester, she will be the first person in her immediate family to earn a Bachelor's degree. Following graduation, she plans to continue gaining experience working with archives; an interest newly discovered while interning at the Community Folk Art Center.

Submissions to:

CHRONOS
can be emailed to
chronos@maxwell.syr.edu

Please visit our webpage for submission guidelines at
<http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/hist.aspx?id=772>

Join our Facebook group and add our page:
Chronos The Syracuse University Undergraduate History Journal

