

# PERSPECTIVES

JOURNAL OF ALPHA BETA PHI  
CHAPTER OF PHI ALPHA THETA

# PERSPECTIVES IN HISTORY

## EDITOR

Leigh Ann Ripley

## ASSISTANT EDITORS

Tammy L. Dorgan

Jim J. Nobbe

Rachel E. Noll

## FACULTY ADVISOR

James A. Ramage

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# PERSPECTIVES

## CONTENTS

### Perspectives in History

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#### LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

5 *Kristopher A. Teters*

#### FOREWORD

9 *Leigh Ann Ripley*

#### ARTICLES

- 11 Lady Rebels of Ireland: Easter Rising through Independence  
*David L. Webster, Jr.*
- 25 Evolution of the Missouri State Highway Patrol Uniform  
as Material Culture  
*Jodi L. Otto*
- 37 The Triumph of the Blues Form  
*Stephen J. Tully*
- 45 Turning the Tide: Impact of the P-51 Mustang in World War II  
*Brandon N. Brown*
- 51 The Kashmir Issue and Its Impact on India-United States  
Diplomatic Relations  
*Tripta Desai*
- 61 History Textbook Review: Student-oriented Rubric for  
Evaluating Textbooks  
*Jackie Shelley and Jennifer Roberts*

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

- 73 *The Killer Angels*  
by Michael Shaara  
review by Kristopher A. Teters
- 79 *When Whites Riot: Writing Race and Violence in American  
and South African Cultures*  
by Sheila Smith McKoy  
review by Michael Washington and Rodney Daniels
- 83 *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*  
by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie with collaboration  
of Jean-Francois Fitou, translated by Arthur Goldhammer  
review by Ryan N. Springer
- 87 *They Came Before Columbus*  
by Ivan Van Sertima  
review by Ned Wechsleman

## 91 **OFFICERS**

## 92 **MEMBERS**

# PERSPECTIVES

## LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

As the President of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, I would like to introduce you to the eighteenth volume of *Perspectives in History*. The scholarly quality of this journal is the product of the dedication and enormous effort of numerous individuals. I would like to thank those who contributed their outstanding essays and reviews to this volume. It is through your assiduous research and eloquent writing that this journal is able to offer unique insights on significant historical topics. Thank you History and Geography professors for encouraging your students to research and write and submit papers to *Perspectives*. A special thanks also goes out to this year's editor, Leigh Ann Ripley, who tirelessly worked to ensure that the essays selected for this volume would be of the highest caliber. Additionally, assistant editors, Rachel Noll, Jim Nobbe, and Tammy Dorgan, provided valuable assistance in the preparation of this journal. Recognition goes to Becky Carter for her outstanding work as editor of "History's Herald," the Chapter newsletter. Thank you, Assistant Faculty Advisor Bonnie May for your untiring enthusiasm and help in many ways. Finally, an enormous thanks goes to the Chapter's faculty advisor, Dr. James Ramage, whose devotion and steadfast commitment to the Chapter is instrumental in the publication of this journal year after year. Dr. Ramage's endless words of advice and seemingly boundless energy are invaluable in propelling the Chapter to greatness on a remarkably consistent basis.

This was truly a memorable year for the Chapter. The enthusiasm and participation of the membership was extraordinary. For the first time, the Chapter decided to organize committees and elect committee chairs to delegate authority for the various activities throughout the year. This suggestion by Professor May was a fabulous plan, for it engendered a greater sense of involvement and interest in the members. At the monthly meetings, the turnout was always impressive, and the committee chairs could be counted on to fulfill their responsibilities. The four bake sales hosted by Phi Alpha Theta this year

were all great successes because of the enthusiasm of the members. They were all well staffed, and everybody had an enjoyable time. Thanks go out especially to Leigh Ann Ripley and Tammy Dorgan for chairing the bake sale committee and making these events so productive. This year Phi Alpha Theta won recognition from United Way for raising the most money of any student organization in the Combined Giving campaign.

The Chapter also took three field trips this year. In October, we traveled to Perryville, Kentucky where we witnessed the gigantic Civil War reenactment that commemorated the 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle of Perryville. Nine of our members enjoyed this immense gathering of the blue and the gray that honored the soldiers of the 1860's with a grand but educational spectacle. A picture of the reenactment, which your president participated in as a common soldier, beautifully adorns the cover of this year's journal. Then in November, we made a trek to Lexington to visit the homes of Kentucky notables, Henry Clay and Mary Todd Lincoln. Finally, at the end of February, Dr. Robert Vitz arranged for the Chapter to take a trip to the Cincinnati Museum Center to get a behind-the-scenes glance at the upcoming Civil War exhibit. Phi Alpha Theta was honored to co-host the Military History Lecture series this year. Dr. Michael Adams and Bonnie May led a series of six lectures, which included an American interrogator from the Nuremberg trials, and our very own, Dr. Ramage, who presented his research on General Ulysses Grant. Thanks go out to all the members who helped out at the lectures, and especially to Heather Flannery, chair of the Military History Lecture Series Committee.

Thank you Tammy Dorgan and Becky Carter for extending the Chapter's community outreach by organizing a history program for the 5th graders at Kelly Elementary School in Boone County. On Friday night, April 18, 2003, the Chapter presented three educational programs during the schools "CATS Meow" lock-in. This was in preparation for the annual CATS (Commonwealth Accountability Testing System) exams. This was a significant contribution to Kelly Elementary, a school that ranked very high on the CATS last year. Thank you Steve Tully for presenting your poster "The Triumph of the Blues Form" in "Posters-at-the-Capital," in Frankfort, February 6, 2003. Steve presented the poster again in the Celebration of Student Research and Creativity in the Arts and Sciences on campus, April 14-15, 2003. In the Celebration, Steve also presented a paper on Karl Marx and your president gave a paper on Napoleon.

We had a spectacular ending to a great year. In March, Phi Alpha Theta held its annual book sale, which was a huge success. Ryan Springer and Jenny Plemen were co-chairs of the committee. Over a two-day period, the Chapter made a total of \$640.58 and had an enjoyable time in the process. Thanks go out to all those members who worked the book sale, and special thanks to the faculty members who dug through their personal libraries to provide us with an array of topics to include in our sale. Phi Alpha Theta was also involved in the History Day celebration in March. Thanks go out to the members who

contributed to the overall excellence of this event. On April 12, our Chapter actively participated in the Phi Alpha Theta Regional Conference at Morehead State University. Steve Tully and myself both presented papers at the conference, which were on Karl Marx and Napoleon respectively. Ryan Springer and Beth Richter also attended. Thank you to all those members who attended the conference and made this a special occasion. Our initiation banquet always is a special night, and this year's ceremony was no different with the induction of twenty fine students to our Chapter. At the banquet, we are privileged to have so many faculty of the History and Geography Department and administrative officials on hand to witness the recognition of the outstanding achievements of our students.

Our Chapter certainly had a special day on Wednesday, April 23. In the afternoon, we collected canned goods from student organizations for four local shelters in our 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Spring Share Soup Project. When we tallied up the final number of donated cans, the Chapter set a new record with 7,000 cans from 15 different organizations. A special thanks goes out to Bonnie May, Lou Stuntz, and Ryan Springer for all their hard work in organizing this project and making it another glowing achievement for our Chapter. That night the Chapter received two awards in the Student Organization Celebration at the Syndicate in Newport. For the third straight year, we won the Recognition Award as the organization that received the most national, regional, and local acclaim, bringing positive attention to the University. Additionally, for the sixth straight year, our Chapter was recognized as one of the top ten organizations on campus with the Merit Award.

The administration at Northern Kentucky University has always fervently supported our Chapter, and I would like to extend a special thank you to President Jim Votruba, Provost Rogers Redding, and Dean Gail Wells for consistently attending our activities and providing us with invaluable support. Thanks also go to Dean Kent Kelso, who is a member of Phi Alpha Theta himself, for backing our Spring Share Project with a grant from his office. The office staff of the History and Geography Department was a great help in making this year a success. Thank you Leigh Ann Ripley, Jan Rachford, and Tonya Skelton for your kindness and generosity. Very special thanks go to our Department Chair, Dr. Jeffrey Williams, who endlessly promotes the Chapter's activities and shows us all what a student-centered department is all about. Thank you so much Kathy Dawn, Jo Ann Fincken, and Bonnie Smith for printing our many flyers, posters, and newsletters. Your work on the journal this year was superb, and with the new color cover, our journal will rival any in the country.

This was truly an outstanding year for our Chapter, and we could not have done it without the unwavering support of the faculty and staff of the department. Thank you all for your commitment to our organization's values and mission. Last, but certainly not least, I thank all the dedicated members of our chapter this year, especially the officers, who once again led our chapter

to greatness. I can't thank Ryan Springer, Leigh Ann Ripley, Tammy Dorgan, Becky Carter, Rachel Noll, and Rick Carr enough for fulfilling the responsibilities of their respective offices with remarkable efficiency and enthusiasm. I will never forget your kindness and friendship. It has been a great honor to serve as Phi Alpha Theta President this year and lead such an excellent group of men and women, who are committed to the ideals of History and the service of the community. I am sure you will enjoy reading this selection of essays and reviews from such a talented and creative group of students.

Kristopher A. Teters  
President



# PERSPECTIVES

## FOREWORD

Northern Kentucky University affords students a rare opportunity to cultivate one's individual skills as a leader and scholar through both its numerous campus organizations and superb faculty who facilitate and continually emphasize the importance of undergraduate research. Phi Alpha Theta is one such example of an organization that promotes leadership on campus and within the community while encouraging academic excellence with its annual journal, *Perspectives in History*.

My association with the Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta has provided me with numerous opportunities to better myself as a leader and academic within the university and greater community. None of these experiences have been more rewarding than my term as editor for *Perspectives in History*. Serving as editor has allowed me to work closely with fellow undergraduates as well as distinguished faculty to create a journal that upholds the standard of scholarly excellence embraced by the students and faculty of Northern Kentucky University.

I am eternally grateful to all who selflessly donated their time and energy to the journal. While I could not possibly name everyone who contributed to the successful completion of *Perspectives*, I would like to acknowledge those whose role was instrumental in helping Dr. Ramage and me put together this year's journal.

To begin I would like to thank all students and faculty who submitted research papers and book reviews for publication in Volume 18 of *Perspectives in History*. It was truly a pleasure to read your brilliant submissions, without your creativity and hard work the journal would not be possible.

Secondly, I would like to acknowledge Kathy Dawn, Director of University Printing Services, and Jo Ann Fincken, Bonnie Smith and the entire staff of University Printing. Your originality continues to be a tremendous asset to the journal. Dr. Ramage and I wanted to take *Perspectives* to a new level this year and in every way possible your design team exceeded our expectations.

I would like to recognize Dr. Jeffrey Williams, Chair of the History and Geography Department, as well as Jan Rachford and Tonya Skelton for your countless contributions to Phi Alpha Theta. Over the past two years you have offered me a tremendous amount of support and encouragement for which I am eternally indebted to you. I would also like to recognize Regents Professor

Dr. Michael C.C. Adams for his role as creator and Director of the Military Lecture Series and constant support for Phi Alpha Theta. Your contributions are indispensable and you will truly be missed. Thank you Dr. Macel Wheeler, Geography Program Coordinator, for helping with the map of Kashmir, and thank you Senior Geography major Nicholas W. Wilson for producing the excellent map.

Next, I would like to acknowledge the Administration of Northern Kentucky University. Phi Alpha Theta has been extremely fortunate to have your continuous support for our activities and fundraisers as well as your presence at our annual initiation banquet. Most especially Dr. Jim Votruba, President of the University, Dr. Rogers Redding, Provost and Academic Vice President, and Dr. Gail Wells, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, thank you for showing your support in so many ways. We greatly appreciate the academic and financial support you generously give our chapter.

I would like to thank all of the members and volunteers of Phi Alpha Theta. It has been a joy working with you for the past three years. You give so graciously and selflessly of your time and energy on a daily basis. To President Kristopher Teters, I would like to extend my appreciation for your leadership. You have guided us through yet another wonderful year. To Becca Campbell, Becky Carter, Tammy Dorgan, Beth Richter, Ryan Springer, Steve Tully, and Donna Watts thanks for volunteering and always going the extra mile for our chapter. I would like to give a special thanks to Tammy Dorgan and Rachel Noll for their service as Assistant Editors. You were a tremendous asset and your suggestions helped Dr. Ramage and me greatly with the completion of the journal. Thank you Assistant Advisor Bonnie May for your enthusiastic and faithful support. I would like to give a very special thank you to Regents Professor Dr. James Ramage for his invaluable guidance and unfaltering commitment to the chapter and this year's journal. It was truly an honor to work under your clear mind and precise hand. Your creative zeal and professionalism are an inspiration to us all.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the wonderful faculty and staff of the History and Geography Department. You truly embrace the academic, personal, and professional standards of Northern Kentucky University. I would like to personally thank Dr. François LeRoy and Dr. Robert Wilcox for your endless support and instruction. I am thankful to have had the great fortune to study under you. Most especially, I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Eric Jackson for serving as my academic advisor and mentor. You have helped me achieve my academic and personal goals and dedicated countless hours to my counsel. You have gone above and beyond to assist and guide me through my years at Northern Kentucky University, and I thank you.

I am immensely proud to present Volume 18 of *Perspectives in History*. I hope this journal's diverse collection of articles will enlighten and inform and endure as a lasting contribution to historiography.

Leigh Ann Ripley, Editor

# PERSPECTIVES



## Lady Rebels of Ireland: Easter Rising through Independence

by

David L. Webster, Jr.

On Monday, April 24, 1916, at the steps of the General Post Office in Dublin, Ireland, Pádraig H. Pearse read a Proclamation of the Irish Republic: “We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of the Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible.”<sup>1</sup> For six days war raged throughout the area surrounding the General Post Office. Most people who have read or studied about the Easter Rising of 1916 are familiar with names of men such as Pearse, Connolly, Mac Diarmada and De Valera. But few have heard of the role women played in this rebellion and the War of Independence from Britain which followed. From the time of the Rising through Independence, women’s functions varied from correspondence, protests and spying to gun-running and using firearms and other weapons in battle. Some women were wounded, killed or imprisoned, but their steadfast loyalty to the Irish cause only grew stronger. Many women in Ireland, particularly in the south, were involved in organizations prior to the Easter Rising; their main objective being rights for women. However, following the rebellion, they turned their attention to the separatist movement, anticipating that with independence, equal rights, including suffrage, would follow. Organizations such as The Irish Women’s Franchise League, Irish Women’s Workers Union, and Cumann na mBan, combined forces

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David L. Webster, Jr. is a Senior History major at Northern Kentucky University. This paper won the third place prize on April 3, 2003 in the Women’s Studies Award Contest.

to push for separation from Britain and, at the same time, strengthen their position in feminist action.

Beginning with the Easter Rising, the women of Ireland embarked on a more militant style of involvement. Unknown to many at the time and still shadowed in the history books, there were numerous women armed and fighting during this rebellion. While various women prepared the food and nursed the injured, there were also those who participated directly in military actions. About two hundred women were involved, and many were arrested and imprisoned by the British, including Constance Markievicz, who received a life sentence.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps one of the reasons women were ignored was that they were camouflaged in men's clothing. Women disguised themselves as men or boys, and fought with the same vigor and resolution as the men. By cloaking themselves, they moved undetected by the British authorities and escaped more easily. But it was also more likely they could be mistaken for insurgents and captured or shot. On April 30, 1916, an ambulance worker who had been in Dublin told a London reporter: "I saw a number of women marching into Dublin on Sunday last. Some of them had naval revolvers strapped round them. They were wearing the dark green uniforms similar to that of the male insurgents and slouch hats. There are a conspicuous number of women fighting with the rebels, and some have been shot and some captured."<sup>3</sup> This was an extremely dangerous task for the fighting women, but they proved their courage and loyalty repeatedly. Margaret Skinnider, who was with the Countess Markievicz during the Rising, detailed her involvement. She described how she passed as a male while wearing the Fianna uniform, fooling not only the British soldiers, but also the Irish men and boys. However, wearing the uniform was only to be done while actually engaged in fighting. When spying, carrying messages, or concealing weapons, the women clothed themselves as ladies again, thus concealing their true involvement. While at the College of Surgeons, during the rebellion, Skinnider had such missions. In her book, *Doing My Bit for Ireland*, she wrote: "Whenever I was called down to carry a dispatch, I took off my uniform, put on my dress and hat, and went out the side door of the college with my message. As soon as I returned, I slipped back into my uniform and joined the firing-squad."<sup>4</sup>

Skinnider was extraordinary in that she appeared to have no fear when faced with a dangerous assignment. Time and again she would carry dispatches, spy on the British garrisons, or conceal weapons within her clothing at the risk of being captured or blown into pieces by an accidental explosion. One night, as a passenger on a steamship crossing the Irish Sea,

she transported detonators for bombs under her clothes. While she kept a cool appearance on the outside so as not to alert anyone to her plan, on the inside she was immensely nervous. She tried to avoid people the entire trip, sleeping on the deck and refraining from attending dinner in the stateroom. During the journey, the thought of being blown up was constantly on her mind. She said: "In my hat I was carrying to Ireland detonators for bombs, and the wires were wrapped around me under my coat. That is why I had not wanted to go to a state-room where I might run into a hot water pipe or an electric wire and set them off."<sup>5</sup>

Margaret Skinnider was one of the fortunate women not to be captured or imprisoned after the surrender of the Rising. However, fortunate is not truly a befitting word. For while she was on her way with other militants to set fire to a building in which the British had a command station, she was wounded from a volley of rifle fire. She was shot three times but fortunately none of the wounds were life threatening. Fred Ryan, one of her comrades on this mission, was not so lucky. He was killed in the street. She and the others wanted to retrieve Ryan's body but she was so seriously wounded it was impossible. Nevertheless, Markievicz and Councilor Partridge went back to recover the body. While there, Partridge acted as a decoy while Markievicz scanned the area for snipers. "To attract the fire of the soldiers across the street in the Sinn Fein Bank, Partridge had stooped over the dead boy to lift him. There were only two soldiers and they both fired. That gave Madam a chance to sight them. She fired twice and killed both."<sup>6</sup>

When the Rising ended, the true struggle for the women rebels began. Because of the number of prisoners being held by the British and the executions being carried out, women were responsible for gathering funds to aid the widows and children of those killed or executed and those at home whose husbands were imprisoned. In fact, the Rising had the effect of bringing different women's organizations closer together and making them more determined than ever to strive for Ireland's Independence and the equal rights of women. Their work was cut out for them. They had to organize protests of the ill treatment of prisoners, collect and distribute funds for the families of prisoners and the dead, and send women delegates to the United States to raise money and appeal to the American public. Hanna Sheehy Skeffington was the widow of pacifist Francis Sheehy Skeffington, an innocent bystander shot by the British during the Rising. Hanna was arrested in 1918 along with another prominent widow of the rebellion, Kathleen Clarke. Imprisoned, she went on a hunger strike and was eventually released. Soon after her release she sailed for America in hopes of

gaining support for Ireland and exposing the atrocities of the British. On January 6, 1917, she gave a speech at Carnegie Hall. She spoke of the innocent people killed by the British, the conscription forced upon the Irishmen, and how the British had eased up on their atrocities once they heard that the Americans were knowledgeable of these evil actions. “Irishmen today face conscription or famine, death by starvation or death in the trenches. The awakening of America to the real condition of affairs in Ireland during the suppression of the rebellion was partly responsible for cessation of atrocities.”<sup>7</sup> Upon returning from the United States, Skeffington was denied a passport to Ireland and was once again arrested. But after the Lord Mayor of Dublin challenged her arrest and called upon the government of Britain to prove her guilt in a fair trial, she was released.

Many women in America got involved. In New York, a group of women sent assistance to the women and children of Ireland. Calling themselves the Irish Women’s Council, they met regularly to raise funds. In Brooklyn, an organization known as the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic held meetings and benefits for the purpose of supporting the Irish Relief Fund.<sup>8</sup> The American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic also raised money in Brooklyn.<sup>9</sup> Women were arrested and jailed for their parts in protests and pickets of the British Embassy. The *New York Times* reported: “A Mrs. Currin, Mrs. Colanbine, and a Mrs. Walsh, who styles herself ‘Captain of the Irish Pickets,’ were arrested for violating Federal statutes. But they claimed they intended on continuing the pickets and if need be, to extend to other cities where British interest hostile to the Irish people are active in this country.”<sup>10</sup>

The women of Ireland carried on relentlessly with their activities of mass protest, but also persisted in underground exertions of gathering intelligence, running and hiding weapons, and many other activities. Kathleen Clarke was one of the Irish lady rebels who had a tremendous influence not only on the cause, but also on other women revolutionaries. When the Rising was in full swing, she wanted to join the others in the fight but was persuaded to remain at home where she could best fulfill her duties of correspondence and securing relief funds desperately needed for survivors of the revolt. This was very difficult for her because her husband Thomas was one of the leaders of the Rising. However, she accepted her responsibilities with reluctance, knowing she would be more useful to Ireland on the outside. “I ached to join them all and to be near my husband, but if I had been there at the surrender, and like the rest imprisoned, I would not have been free to do the work allotted to me.”<sup>11</sup> After the Rising and through the War for

Independence, she remained dynamic in distributing the much-needed funds to the widows and orphans of those killed, and the families of the prisoners. “On the instructions of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Kathleen, widow of Thomas Clarke, took a leading role in co-coordinating the relief operations following the Rising,” wrote Sinead McCool in *Guns and Chiffon*.<sup>12</sup> With so many Irishmen dead or imprisoned, it was up to the women to get the job done, and there was more than enough to do. Beyond the traditional domestic duties, women took part in underground activities such as concealing the male fighters from the British, acting as lookouts and spies, and continuously gathering intelligence and spreading ideas and information to better educate the public and further the cause. Clarke eventually was suspected of this type of espionage and two British agents were sent to search her house and arrest her. She had been at a meeting of the Sinn Fein Executive when Michael Collins warned her about a possible search and arrest. She did not want to believe this would happen to her. Nevertheless, she was followed home from this meeting; her home was searched; and she was arrested. She was sent to Holloway Jail where she met with Countess Markievicz and Maud Gonne MacBride. While in prison, the women discussed their plans and what could be done to increase the effort of other Irishwomen and organizations, not only for the separatist movement but for women’s rights as well. None of these women were imprisoned for long, and all came out more determined than ever to fight for justice and the Irish cause. As F.X. Martin states, “after Easter Week the women came into their own. Proving if proof were needed, that this was no romantic affair of a couple of headstrong and flamboyant personalities but a full-fledged and broadly based movement.”<sup>13</sup>

Without a doubt, one of the most noticeable women figures was the Countess Constance Markievicz. Born into the aristocracy, she grew up on Sligo enjoying the comforts of the good life, always surrounded by gentility. But she also learned humility from her parents. During the potato famine in the 1880s, her mother and father (Sir Henry Gore-Booth) worked day and night distributing food and assistance to those in need. She learned firsthand of the trying situation of the poor in Ireland, and this carried a lasting impact on her. When she was eighteen, she traveled to Paris to study art. There she met and fell in love with Count Casimir Markievicz-Dunin. They married in London in 1900 and, in 1903, settled in Dublin with their only child, Maeve Alys. By this time the disposition in Ireland was growing stronger for nationalism, and Constance Markievicz became impatient with the ever-constant failures of Home Rule Bills. She came to know men such as Padraic

Pearse and James Larkin, leaders in the movement for independence, and began to involve herself in the cause. From the beginning, she was a resolute militant. In fact, she became involved in Irish nationalism long before the Easter Rising.

In 1908, Markievicz began reading about Sinn Fein in Arthur Griffith's paper. Arthur Griffith was an Irish journalist who was the founder of Sinn Fein (Irish Gaelic, "ourselves alone"). He wrote articles for ending Great Britain's control over Ireland and creating a unified Irish state. Sinn Fein was, and still is an Irish nationalist political party. At first, Griffith's ideas and the Sinn Fein movement were unpopular, but with the Easter Rising, the concept of Irish political sovereignty began to gain widespread support. Perhaps the philosophy of Sinn Fein is best described by Francis P. Jones who said, "any external power that attempts to control, and does by force control, the free actions of a people is tyranny. Therefore it is the first duty of the citizen to oppose and seek to end that tyranny."<sup>14</sup> Markievicz immediately was captivated by these ideas and soon joined Maud Gonne and the Daughters of Ireland. At first, she limited her involvement to writing about the situation at hand, the changes which were needed, and the means required to bring about these innovations. However, "unlike Maud Gonne and Hanna Sheehy Sheffington, Markievicz never wrote regularly for the press, often choosing more physical means of expressing her activism."<sup>15</sup> A year later, she became a council member in Sinn Fein.

She joined the Citizens Army, and by the time of the Easter Rising, was Second-in-Command at St. Stephens Green. As early as 1910, she was lecturing and preparing young boys for a future in the separatist movement. Her behavior, actions, and character soon had her recognized by both men and women of the movement as one who would be a force to reckon with. As Sir James Dougherty, Under-Secretary of the Irish Republican Brotherhood said, "the Countess Markievicz, blossoms out as a full-blown physical force revolutionist."<sup>16</sup> During the Rising her true aggressive, fighting attitude came forth. As recounted by Margaret Skinnider, Markievicz was an excellent marksman, but her skills did not end there. She trained other insurgents in the fields of espionage and correspondence, knew where to search and find weapons and ammunition, and was a good speaker and politician. Likewise, she was one of the many women to disguise herself in men's clothing, preferably a green uniform. She was proud to be a leader among men and women, and was adamant when it came to the cause.

When the rebels were preparing for the Easter Rising, it was generally understood that the women of the Cumann na mBan (League of Women)



were not to be involved in direct combat. Their chief responsibilities were to cook for the men and nurse the wounded. Moreover, they were to be of military assistance by playing the part of spy and messenger. Nevertheless, because the Irish rebels were desperately in need of fighters, the women boldly took up arms and joined the battle. Madam Markievicz took control of her squad and executed her skills above and beyond the call of duty. However, the Easter Rebellion was doomed from the start. Immensely outnumbered by the British troops who were armed with machine-guns and cannon, it is astonishing the rebels held out as long as they did. When it was all over, there were hundreds of casualties and a large section of Dublin was destroyed. There were many prisoners, among whom were women in uniforms and men's clothes, including Madam Markievicz. "Countess "Markovitch", who was one of the insurgents who held houses by St. Stephen's Green, and was the last to surrender, wore man's clothes, and that among the prisoners are several other women and one or two young girls who also dressed themselves as men. They showed themselves particularly aggressive as snipers."<sup>17</sup> Although sentenced to death, Markievicz's sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment and she was eventually set free on general amnesty.

For the next few years she engaged in a constant cat-and-mouse game with the British authorities, and was many times arrested and thrown in jail. But this would not prevent her from following the course for independence, and, while spending one of her many terms in prison in 1918, she was elected to the House of Commons. She urged women to continue their fight for equal rights, but chose to put this issue on the back burner until the separatist movement was fulfilled. However, once the treaty creating the Irish Free State as a dominion of the British Empire was signed with Britain in 1921, she was one of the anti-treaty women who sided with Eamon de Valera, and traveled abroad preaching how Ireland could never truly be free if an oath to the King of England was part of the compromise. While touring the United States in 1922, she spoke out against Michael Collins, Arthur Griffith, and all who were in favor of the treaty, proclaiming it was a deplorable act of cowardice and treason, and Ireland deserved nothing but total independence from the Crown. In an interview with a reporter from the *New York Times* she claimed: "Collins and Griffiths are traitors to the cause, and her people would not be satisfied with any form of home government that prescribed oaths of allegiance to the British Empire."<sup>18</sup> Constance Markievicz became a national hero for the Irish People. Her militant ways inspired both men and women to fervently fight for Ireland's freedom and at her death in 1927, "more than 300,000 people

of Ireland saluted the Countess with one of the nation's largest-ever funerals. Eight cars were required to carry her memorial flowers."<sup>19</sup>

A multitude of women deserve recognition for their part in the Easter Rising and War of Independence, women such as Helena Molony, Maud Gonne MacBride, Julia Grenan, Elizabeth O'Farrell, Dr. Kathleen Lynn, and Winifred "Winnie" Carney. Helena Molony began her career pushing for the rights of workers. She eventually took the helm of the Irish Women's Workers Union to fight for equal rights of working women. This would eventually lead to this organization becoming involved in the separatist movement. She was also an officer in the Irish Citizen Army. In fact, it was Molony who brought Madam Markievicz into the women's independence movement.<sup>20</sup> During the Rising she became a militant with an aggressive fighting attitude. She was with Sean Connolly and a small group of rebels when the Rising first began, and tried to take Dublin Castle. She, like most other women soldiers, was dressed in male garb and armed with a revolver, which she used with deadly accuracy. However, the attempt on the Castle failed, and they were forced to retreat. But they did manage to take Dublin City Hall. Connolly was killed in this action but Molony and the rest continued their fight.

Maud Gonne, married to Major John MacBride, who was executed for his involvement in the Rising, was another lady rebel who contributed much to the cause, although she was not quite the combative soldier as other women. She was imprisoned but as Sinead McCoolle writes: "her participation in the troubles was primarily humanitarian. Probably her largest contribution was the founding of Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Ireland) whose group was a catalyst for Irish women activists and their fight for Irish freedom."<sup>21</sup>

Julia Grenan and Elizabeth O'Farrell were close friends all their lives, and they were together during the Easter Rebellion. They were both an integral part of the Rising, taking part from beginning to end. Their main assignments were to take care of the cooking and nursing of the men; however, they were also vigorously involved in running dispatches under heavy enemy fire from City Hall to the General Post Office. They were camouflaged and at a high risk of being shot. But they stayed the distance. In fact, when the General Post Office was no longer inhabitable from the constant bombardment and burning, three lady rebels were insistent on continuing the battle with no regard to the discouragement of opposition of the British forces. "Only three women had remained in the GPO after the evacuation: Winifred Carney, Julia Grenan and Elizabeth O'Farrell. On Friday, Pearse had approached Winifred Carney and asked if she would insist on remaining.

She told him that she had no intention of leaving.”<sup>22</sup> However, it soon became apparent that surrender was inevitable and all three women would have to leave. O’Farrell, Carney, and Grenan shared the same fate as the other women insurgents: a stay in prison. Elizabeth O’Farrell would, however, have the distinction in history as the woman who carried the flag of truce and the terms of surrender to the British. This was no easy task for she came under constant sniper fire. But she finally made her way through the Four Courts area and a Cease-fire was ordered on both sides.

Winifred “Winnie” Carney was a die hard rebel until the very end. She was also a long-time suffrage supporter and continued to fight for women’s rights and the separatist movement long after the Rising. Both she and Constance Markievicz campaigned for the British Parliament. Carney lost, but Markievicz became the first woman elected to an English Parliament.<sup>23</sup> “Carney is also the woman who secretly succeeded in getting a message to Grace Gifford from Joseph Plunket. Plunket and Gifford’s marriage in the prison chapel at Kilmainham was immortalized by the fact that he was executed the very next day.”<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Kathleen Lynn was another revolter who left her mark in the Rising. Before Easter Week she traveled with Countess Markievicz to smuggle guns for the revolt. It turned out to be a lost cause because the weapons they were to seize from the British army were “wooden imitations.”<sup>25</sup> Her main undertaking during the Rising was to transport and deliver desperately needed medical supplies. She treated the wounded soldiers, one of whom was Sean Connolly. However, she was unable save him. Dr. Lynn was a medical officer and she and Constance Markievicz were the only two women commissioned officers in the Citizen Army.<sup>26</sup> She was later recognized for her work in the influenza epidemic of 1918. “Her surgery was frequently raided and she was arrested and held for deportation at the height of the epidemic.”<sup>27</sup> However, with her arrest came an extensive amount of protest from the public and she was soon released.

The famous guerrilla leader Michael Collins, had many daring and brave women who worked with him and for the cause. Eileen MacGrane kept important documents at her home for Collins; in fact, he had many who did this for him. This eventually led to her arrest. Nevertheless, she remained an impassioned Sinn Fein woman throughout the struggle for independence. Nancy O’Brien was another faithful insurgent who worked as an intelligence smuggler for Collins under the most perilous conditions at General Post Office Headquarters. “Nancy was one of the unsung heroines of the time. Many of her lunch hours were spent in the GPO lavatory copying out

decoded messages which she then smuggled out to him in her bodice.”<sup>28</sup> She was one of many who would have a cache in her home for rebel weapons and ammunition. Even the family maid for the Collins family at Woodfield was a true patriot who supported the interest of the Irish cause. Additionally, if it were not for Eileen Hoey, one of Collins’ helpers, he may not have survived to negotiate the treaty with Britain. She had been taken into custody and questioned, but released so the detectives could set an ambush for Collins when he came to meet with her. This failed when she deceived the British and delivered the message to Collins.

The struggle for Independence in Ireland was an arduous, and painful endeavor. From the Easter Rising through the War of Independence, women were as obdurate as men. Whether they were cooking, nursing, spying, operating as messengers, or directly involved in combat, the women who took a stance against the British Empire in Ireland were among the most courageous individuals ever to engage in war. The endurance they held in the face of these hardships and their continuous plight to fight to the end for freedom was a demonstration of their spirit and temperament to stand fast in the face of jeopardy. In the words of Tim Pat Coogan: “One must take note of the Trojan work done by women, neither Collins or the volunteers would have survived without the country-wide network of women supporters who acted as intelligence agents, couriers, secretaries, providers of meals, shelter and nursing services.”<sup>29</sup> He fails to mention the actual combat missions, but it is clear that they were a significant force in the battle against the Crown. The British understood this better than anyone. Tom Barry, veteran rebel soldier, in his book *Guerrilla Days in Ireland*, declared: “these groups of women were not just politicians holding debating classes, they were indispensable to the army. Their work was vital to the well-being of the I.R.A., and they were a splendid body of young women whose value to the I.R.A. was well appreciated by the enemy, who banned the Cumann na mBan as an illegal organization.”<sup>30</sup>

Although the women warriors were widely respected for their roles during the War of Independence, their negative response to the treaty and militant actions throughout the Civil War turned many, including the Catholic Church, against them. The Reverend Bishop Doorley denounced the women in 1925, describing them as “Furies,” and claimed they were threatening social order and stability.<sup>31</sup> All but one of the five women elected to the national assembly, the Dail Eireann, refused to take their seats. Countess Markievicz, Dr. Kathleen Lynn, Mrs. Cailin Brugha, and Mary MacSwiney protested the signing of the treaty by not accepting their seats

in the assembly. This probably marred their chance for parity, “making it more difficult for future generations of women to establish a place for themselves in the politics of Ireland.”<sup>32</sup>

After the wars, the women returned to traditional gender roles. They had gained suffrage and certain rights within the working and political environment, but most Irishmen felt the women’s place was at home, having children. Therefore, the women of Ireland and their endeavor for justice was contiguous with women in many other countries around the globe. There have been women involved militarily in other wars, including the United States Civil War. However, the lady rebels of Ireland proved they had as much intestinal fortitude as the male warriors in any war.

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# PERSPECTIVES



## Evolution of the Missouri State Highway Patrol Uniform as Material Culture

by  
Jodi L. Otto

Law enforcement as a part of American history will remain a significant factor in shaping the future of our cities and social culture. Police history involves controversial social and political issues and often areas of conflict in American society. American law enforcement agencies are preserving their unique histories through the conservation of specific work-related material culture objects. The Missouri State Highway Patrol is preserving its local history through the conservation of police material culture objects dating from its creation in 1931. The Missouri State Highway Patrol has a collection of uniforms, among other culturally significant objects, which have been preserved and displayed inside their museum. The evolution of these uniforms provides a window wherein students of material culture can view the social/political, historical American societal issues through certain aspects of police uniform development. The police uniform reveals a great deal about American society. The American police have been on the edge of society, either good or bad, but never in-between.

Police uniforms are material culture objects, which fall under the definition of historian James Deetz, as “that section of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior.”<sup>1</sup> Social historian Cary Carson stated: “the study of material life entails object research into

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Jodi L. Otto, a member of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter, graduated from Northern Kentucky University as a Summa Cum Laude history major, May 2000. This paper was written as part of extended research in the area of historical analysis of textiles and apparel. She is a graduate student at the University of Missouri Columbia.

social institutions and social relations because ‘artifacts serve on one level as the devices that men and women have always used to mediate their relationships with one another and the physical world.’”<sup>2</sup> According to Thomas J. Schlereth, very few individuals left behind literary works and “the primary historical evidence of their lives is not written but survives as data gathered around them...as objects made and used and finally discarded by them.”<sup>3</sup> Police uniforms “make a unique contribution to our understanding of the workings of individuals and societies.”<sup>4</sup> The study of material culture, in this case studying the American police uniform, tells us about ourselves and the way we interpret and relate to our society’s mores. Susan Pearce wrote that material objects function succinctly as, “explanations of social change [which] have tended to revolve around the application of ideas... on the assumption that human culture can be divided up into different, although related, spheres of activity, known as subsystems, one of which is usually material culture.”<sup>5</sup> Police organizations parallel this idea as they fall into a subsystem within American society. Preserving police material culture is extremely important in interpreting and understanding the significance of societal conflict. Scherelth explains that the “topic of conflict is often disregarded or overlooked due to the political aspects of approaching the issues in American history regarding conflict...issues involving domestic conflict are often left untouched...violence in the North American past still receives little notice...court rooms, city halls, police stations have been artifacts for both individual and group conflicts such as...ethnic rivalries...urban riots, agrarian uprisings, and labor struggles.”<sup>6</sup> For scholars of American history these uniforms, their traditions, and their meaning offer an opportunity to further understand and interpret American social/political history through the study of dress, more specifically the uniform.

In Missouri at the State Highway Patrol, located in General Headquarters, Jefferson City, Capt. Christian T. Ricks states that, the preservation/conservation of police material culture within the museum:

creates an attitude within the organization, you build upon your past glory and you get the individuals who were involved in the agency to buy into that past history and to the things that were right and it keeps the standards high...gives the school kids the opportunity to see that there is something in the past to these organizations...daddies, grandpas and grandmas who worked hard to make this a class organization and it gives them a little connection back. It’s just not somebody that you see on the road to give you a “speeding ticket”- these are real people who have had families, who have been

killed doing their job and this...ties that back into a history of work. For all of the country ...all the stuff that this country has gone through, the racial problems, the Civil War, the World War, the Depression- all- made us who we are and without that we would not be who we are today.<sup>7</sup>

The policeman's/woman's uniform can be interpreted alongside written historical records and analyzed to provide a human understanding of American society and American conflicts within specific periods of history. Phillip D. Schertzing believes that preservation of police history "represents an effective means for uniting and motivating today's highly specialized and diverse work forces...provides useful lessons...and helps link the police agency with the community it serves."<sup>8</sup> This is an important factor in interpreting American history and a valuable tool for correcting past mistakes. Ann Smart Martin defines the study of material culture as being "about the way people live their lives through, by, around, in spite of, in pursuit of, in denial of, and because of the material world...artifacts are integral to cultural behavior...complex bundles of individual, social, and cultural meanings grafted onto something that can be seen, touched, and owned...meanings often unstable: they merge into and fly out of things."<sup>9</sup>

The Missouri State Highway Patrol was created by an Act of Legislature in 1931, entitled Senate Bill 36.<sup>10</sup> Before 1931, and as early as 1861, Missouri had a system of "patrols" that were appointed by a judge and initiated by a petition, "understanding...that [they were] not to receive any compensation for services" for the "protection of persons and property."<sup>11</sup> After 1861 the progression of policing fell under the duties of a voluntary watchmen or constables who would patrol their communities at night. The antecedent of this American system was England's watchmen and constabulary who were residents of the local communities and "policed the conduct of their neighbors."<sup>12</sup> There was also a Sheriff who was also an appointed official and had many responsibilities such as "collecting taxes, conducting elections, maintaining bridges and roads...criminal law enforcement was only a part of the Sheriff's role," according to Samuel Walker.<sup>13</sup> In a brief history of modern policing organizations Walker states:

Beginning in the 1830's a wave of riots struck American cities. Disorder became a more serious and more frequent problem...racial violence grew in the years before the Civil War, with pro-slavery whites attacking abolitionists and free black citizens in Northern

cities. Despite the breakdown in law and order, Americans moved very slowly in creating new police forces. These delays reflected deep public uncertainty about modern police methods. For many Americans, police officers dispersed throughout the community brought to mind the hated British colonial army. Others were afraid that rival politicians would fight for control of the police department to their own partisan advantage- a fear that proved to be correct. Finally, many people were reluctant to raise the taxes to pay for a large police force. This conflict between the desire for greater protection and the reluctance to pay for it remained a long tradition in American policing. Politics influenced every aspect of American policing in the Nineteenth century. Inefficiency, corruption, and lack of professionalism were the chief results. <sup>14</sup>

This generally reflected the situation in Missouri, until 1922, when Governor Arthur Hyde started to investigate the possibility of creating a Missouri State Police following the examples of other states such as Pennsylvania, New York and Connecticut.<sup>15</sup> Apparently Hyde wrote to numerous states to gather information which he used to draft legislation for the creation of a Missouri State Police Force.<sup>16</sup> There is a letter dating Feb. 5, 1923, from a Mr. Hazor of 3658, Folsom Ave., stating that he “just recently ...had the pleasure of a talk with Mr. Gurney of The American Trust Company with reference to the State Police Force, that we would like to see created in the State of Missouri...I feel reasonably certain that we can interest at least a part of the banking interests of St. Louis in the proposition.”<sup>17</sup> As the creation of roads provided easy access, linking cities and towns in Missouri, a new type of criminal was also created and easy access was key to this rise in crime. Hyde’s collection of information included articles from St. Louis newspapers in favor of the creation of the State police, and other articles that reflect the public concern stated above by Walker. An article in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* stated that “wets” opposed to prohibition were against organizing the state police, but the chief opposition came from labor and union leaders as,

R.T. Woods, president of the Missouri Federation of Labor, attacked the proposal as “czaristic” and declared the state policeman would become “Cossacks” riding rough shod over organized labor.”<sup>18</sup>

In an interview Capt. Ricks describes this opposition as being two-fold as “there was a lot of opposition from the sheriffs, [and the] unions [because] a lot of the Eastern State Police institutions had been used to break labor strikes

up, before the creation of a State Police agency the National Guard was being called up to work labor disputes.”<sup>19</sup>

The new uniforms for the first members of the Missouri State Highway Patrol, in November of 1931 “consisted of:

a French-blue whipcord blouse, breeches of dark blue whipcord, Pershing style cap with French-blue top, Sam Browne belt and holster, and boots. Non-commissioned officers wore black leather, gunmetal finish insignia and a dark blue band on the cap, while commissioned officers wore brown leather, gilt buttons and insignia and a royal blue mohair stripe band on the cap. Non-commissioned officers’ boots were fully laced. Commissioned officers wore boots without laces. The only weapon issued to and worn by each member was a .38 caliber Smith and Wesson revolver.<sup>20</sup>

Whipcord is a strong fabric, worsted-weight wool, with a surface that is diagonally ribbed lending a slightly raised texture to it. The blouse is the outer most shirt-like jacket and the top is worn underneath. The blouse appears to resemble both the New York State Police and the Pennsylvania State Police at this time in history, 1930’s. The color “French-blue” is a military uniform color and perhaps it was chosen in order to distinguish the new Missouri State Highway Patrol from other police agencies throughout the state, such as sheriffs and local police departments. The uniform is of military origin and the Pershing cap is named after General John Joseph Pershing, (1860-1948) Commander in Chief of American Expeditionary Forces in World War I.

The Sam Browne belt, according to Rebecca Stone, “is named after British General Sir Samuel Browne (1824-1901)...described by Webster’s ‘as a belt with a shoulder strap running diagonally across the chest, worn as part of a military uniform’...[and the] common legend has it that the belt was designed by Browne after his left arm was severed during battle in India...to have helped to



*Missouri State Highway Patrol, Biennial Report, 1937-1938.*

stabilize the belt for the one-handed drawing of a saber...”<sup>21</sup> Los Angeles Police Department Sgt. Det. Richard Kalkis stated that “the LAPD first used the Sam Browne in the late 20’s through the early 30’s...[ and in ]1934 or ’35 it became part of the standard uniform, with the strap...the military mass produced the gear, which was worn by WWI pilots, and law enforcement was able to get it at a good price...[and] police often adopted uniforms from the military.”<sup>22</sup> This is certainly the situation with the early uniform of the Missouri State Highway Patrol, as there is a definite resemblance between the National Guard uniform of this period (1930s) and the nascent state highway patrol uniform of Missouri.

Many of the original-founding members of the Missouri State Highway Patrol were recent National Guard members and this is reflected in the uniform and the traditions, which accompany the agency still today.<sup>23</sup> According to retired Captain Ernest M. Raub, there were very close ties between the Patrol and the National Guard. Raub states that “all but one of the original captains appointed to the patrol were company or field grade officers in the Missouri State National Guard.”<sup>24</sup> Raub points out that “most of the background investigations for applicants for the original class were conducted by members of the Guard.”<sup>25</sup> This was an important factor in



*Sam Browne belt, 1931.  
Missouri State Highway Patrol.*

shaping the Missouri State Highway Patrol's uniform.<sup>26</sup>

Traditionally and historically, the Missouri State Highway Patrol uniform traces its origins in part from the history of American military tradition, and in part from the uniform component of the New Jersey State Police. It exists as a unique blending of history and tradition. Hence, uniforms which incorporated the military ideal, and resembled the military uniform of the National Guard, which these original founding members were familiar with, offered another component, that of economy. New highway patrolmen could save money by using their National Guard uniforms because they were required to pay for their own uniforms:

The Superintendent shall prescribe a distinctive style of uniform for members of the patrol to be made of such material and of such color as he shall specify and such uniforms shall be purchased at such times as the superintendent shall require by members of the patrol at their own expense.<sup>27</sup>

As the uniform of the Missouri State Highway Patrol evolved and



*National Guard Uniforms around 1930.*

*Henry S. Caulfield Collection, Western Historical Manuscript Collection—Columbia, University of Missouri/State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.*



*Governor Henry S. Caulfield in center with his hat in his left hand and on the right a member of the Missouri National Guard in a cavalry uniform about 1930.*

*Henry S. Caulfield Collection, Western Historical Manuscript Collection—Columbia, University of Missouri/State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. n.d.*

changed to meet safety, comfort, and function requirements and technological advancements the uniform continues to represent and uphold tradition as it offers a brief glance into police material culture. The interpretation of this material culture and what it says about American society, and American political institutions within the area of law enforcement are complex issues, and in order to better understand and interpret uniforms as material culture one must gain insight by the words of Susan Pearce, who identifies objects acting as actors in a story: “the meanings of objects are constituted by past human experience, and in this sense objects are as passive as the traditional view holds, their embodiment of meaning has an active role in relation to the experiencing individuals.”<sup>28</sup> A relationship is formed between individual behavior and the person in uniform, and once in uniform the officer represents all the traditional history of the past agency, and at the same time is and often may be perceived differently by all the groups to which they relate while wearing the uniform. According to Pearce, “this perception may for some take the form of greater acceptance and admiration.”<sup>29</sup>



The uniform creates a relationship with the person who wears it and now that it is on display in a museum, it creates a relationship with the person who views it. These uniforms tell the people of Missouri about their state's history through the changes that have been made to their uniform and to the traditions, which have survived. The uniform has been a mirror of the political environment within the state and also within the country. The colors chosen, the interpretive uniform adjustments adopted, and those thrown away, all have a story to tell. Thomas J. Schlereth warns against using artifacts to show "social history as a story of success and achievement...neglecting the downside of human history, common to us all, but not commonly depicted."<sup>30</sup> The uniform adaptations reflect the humanity, good and bad, of a police organization establishing traditions based, and borrowed from military American institutions, steeped in controversy from their earliest beginnings. In the case of the Missouri State Highway Patrol, the uniform evolves within an environment of American social politics. The Missouri State Highway Patrol Uniform and all American police uniforms are historically and culturally vested artifacts of our past, they remain pieces of American history that deserve consideration.



*Lieutenant Colonel William K. Seibert, Jr. , Assistant Superintendent, Missouri State Highway Patrol, with brown leather belts, worn by officers with the rank of lieutenant and above. Missouri State Highway Patrol.*



*Missouri State Highway Patrol color guard wearing Sam Browne belts.  
Missouri State Highway Patrol.*

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# PERSPECTIVES

## The Triumph of the Blues Form

by

Stephen J. Tully

The music form known as the “Blues” has had a profound effect on how we as Americans experience music today. Although the Blues originated within the African American musical idiom, it quickly achieved a nearly ubiquitous transcendence across the entire American music spectrum. Jazz, Rock, Country, Hip-Hop, Bluegrass, Zydeco and most other music genre in the United States are crafted around a central Blues super-structure. Application of the Blues form appears limitless. In this paper I will critically examine both *how* and *why* the Blues form has become a defining element of American music culture, its cross-cultural aspects, and its inherent applicability to contemporary music forms. I will answer criticism regarding the quality of music today and explain why I believe that all Americans, regardless of race or ethnicity, are rightful heirs to the Blues heritage.

The Blues form developed out of a blending of rudimentary music forms that were part of African American slave culture, mixed with traditional European forms. The “work song” was one of the African American parent forms. African cultures tend to take a more utilitarian view of music than Western cultures. The belief that song is necessary in order to make work, especially communal work, more coordinated and therefore easier, is a fundamental Africanism. Work songs were common

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in the West and Central African tribes from which most slaves originated. Much of the work on plantations was done by groups of workers, and the work song was used to set the rhythm and organize the activity.<sup>1</sup>

Another music form that paved the way for the Blues evolved from a blending of English liturgical music and quintessential African expressionism. In the nineteenth century many African American slaves converted to Christian religions. Since the Baptist and Methodist religions readily accepted black converts, they were the religions of choice for most slaves. Blacks learned the old English hymns, and added African rhythms and tonal elements to create a unique form, known as the “spiritual.” Black preachers adopted a high-energy musical method of delivering their sermons, in which the preacher called out a line, and the congregation answered with a response. “Call and response” became a feature of black religious and secular music. Religious affiliation gave blacks a sense of self-worth and collective identity. Black churches became the social center of slave communities.<sup>2</sup>

The Blues form did not develop until after the Emancipation of the slaves following the Civil War. In his book *Blues People*, LeRoi Jones states, “The Negro, during those few years after the end of slavery, just before the exodus to the Northern cities, stood further away from the mainstream of American society than at any other time.”<sup>3</sup> The end of slavery was not accompanied by a plan to help incorporate freed slaves into the existing political and socio-economic structure. Blacks quickly discovered that they were on their own. This alienation led to the creation of a parallel culture, or black sub-culture that existed in isolation from the dominant culture. There was a limited amount of interaction between cultures, and by 1900 Jim Crow laws and rampant racial terrorism insured that segregation would represent both the de jure and de facto law of the land. Amid the poverty, despair, and terror of the post-Reconstruction South, the Blues was born.

Following the Civil War, Blues songs were performed by black musicians and minstrel shows in the rural South. Perhaps because of its similarity to an African stringed instrument (the banjo), the guitar became the accompanying instrument of choice among Blues musicians.<sup>4</sup>

Blues music is written in 4/4 time. The two most widely used forms are 8 bar, and 12 bar Blues, divided into 3 lines. The lyrics to Blues songs express the hardships of everyday life, in personal terms. The form itself is a synthesis that was created by African American musicians. They combined the rhythmic and expressive qualities of their religious and secular music, and applied it to European Folk music and ballads, which

were popular in white culture. The result was a purely American music form. It expressed the difficulties faced by people who were struggling to find a place in American society. Blacks were not the only people faced with this challenge. European immigration was at its apex at the end of the nineteenth, and beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> Blues lyrics, while expressed in personal terms, apply in a broader sense to everyone in search of the American dream. This is how the Blues form transcended racial and ethnic lines to become a means by which all of America defines itself.

Following rapidly on the heels of the Blues music form, Ragtime and Jazz music used the Blues form as its framework. Ragtime was a more structured form, typically performed on the piano. Scott Joplin, an African American musician and composer, helped popularize Ragtime music by composing enormously popular songs, such as *The Maple Leaf Rag* and *Weeping Willow*. Before the days of television and radio, the player piano was a fixture in many American homes. Ragtime was very lively and danceable, and was a favorite among turn-of-the-century music lovers.

Jazz music was the result of the blending of European instrumental forms and the Blues form. Jazz ensembles consisted of combinations of various instruments, including Brass, Strings, Woodwinds, and Percussion. Jazz musicians simulated vocalized elements of Blues music on their instruments. They also incorporated syncopated Blues rhythms.

After World War I, there was an enormous migration of southern blacks to northern cities. Blues and Jazz music spread to Chicago, New York, Cincinnati and other urban centers. Jazz music became the popular American music form. Although nearly all of the early ensembles were segregated, both black and white musicians played Jazz. Early Jazz bands included The Fletcher Henderson Band, The Duke Ellington Orchestra, and the Paul Whiteman Orchestra. Swing music and Big Bands became popular in the Thirties and Forties. Big Bands including The Glenn Miller Band, The Benny Goodman Band, and The Tommy Dorsey Band helped Americans deal with the Great Depression, World War II, and other social and political crises. Swing music taught the American public how to dance and helped them fall in love.

In the Fifties, another music form evolved from the Blues form. It was influenced by various hybrid forms, including a very straightforward Blues form known as Chicago Blues. It was also influenced by Rhythm and Blues, a close cousin that had gained a cult following among white youths following its appearance on independent stations. Country and Western music, another emerging music form that was constructed around a basic

Blues framework carved its own niche on the radio dial. Country music paved the way for white youths to embrace a simpler, cross-cultural brand of music. Rock and Roll music united the youth of the United States and gave them a common identity.<sup>6</sup>

The rise of Rock and Roll was truly a turning point in American music culture. When Bill Haley and his Comets recorded the song *Rock Around the Clock* in 1955, and it appeared in the movie *The Blackboard Jungle*, it sold three million copies. The youth market had announced its arrival. In her book entitled, *Hole in Our Soul*, renowned music critic Martha Bayles says, “The overthrow of 1950’s pop was largely an assertion of taste, and pocketbook power, by a segment of the population only recently defined as a distinct entity. The newly emergent ‘pimple audience’ was an undeniable fact of postwar American life. Without it there would have been no Rock and Roll.”<sup>7</sup> Record companies began catering to the youth market. Generations of young Americans began defining themselves by the kind of music they enjoyed. Rock and Roll, Folk, Soul, Motown, Rock, Funk, Disco, Punk, New Wave, Rap, Heavy Metal, Grunge, and Hip Hop were some of the manifestations of youth music as it progressed through the end of the twentieth century. They are all legitimate children of the Blues form.<sup>8</sup>

Trying to pin down precisely why the Blues form has become the primal parent form of contemporary American music is certainly a daunting endeavor. There are many political, economic, and social factors involved. I believe, however, that the most important criteria are not the outside influences, but rather the fundamental elements of the form itself.

The simplicity of the Blues form allows it to be used as an organizing structure, without imposing limits on creativity. It is a balanced symmetrical pattern, separated neatly and equally into three segments. This provides for a beginning, middle, and end within each verse, and for the song as a whole. A series of self-contained anecdotes are used to express a wider, overarching sentiment. This set-up provides movement and direction for the song.

Another appealing quality of the Blues form is the syncopated 4/4 rhythm. It is open and malleable, allowing for innumerable variations in rhythmic pattern. Blues music has a very steady beat at its center, and an entire universe of off beat and weak beat options, as well as divisions and subdivisions of beats and implied beats. The bottom line is that the Blues form allows for everything - from a regular steady beat, to a complicated polyrhythmic scheme. The result is thoroughly flexible, danceable music.

The Blues also introduced the practice of note bending. Both the vocal elements and the instrumental elements of Blues music explore and utilize the



gaps between the established register of notes. This can be used to give expressive emphasis to words and sounds. Early Blues musicians used bottles or knives, applied to the strings of the guitar, to *slide* from one pitch to another. Note bending can be traced back to African tribal music. Today, metal slides are common to most Blues musicians.

The overall simplicity and flexibility of the Blues form has enabled a multitude of contemporary derivative music forms to flourish. Advances in technology have led to computerized, synthesized music, which some music critics are disinclined to legitimize. Music *sampling*, the re-use of segments of previously recorded material in making new music, is fast becoming regarded as a form of plagiarism, and numerous law suits have been filed as a result of this practice. Rap and Hip-Hop are two music forms under fire for sampling.

The use of profanity and sexually explicit language by Punk, Heavy Metal, Rap, Hip-Hop, and various other contemporary music genres, has led to widespread public outrage. Disclaimer labels and Adult Only designations have been adopted in an attempt to limit the access of young music purchasers to the most graphic material. There is a growing disconnect between a large segment of the mainstream music audience, who consider many modern artists to have overstepped the acceptable moral bounds, and listeners who believe that free speech and freedom of expression outweigh any moral argument. Unfortunately, this situation has caused many listeners, and some music critics, to write-off all contemporary music.

Martha Bayles believes that the state of contemporary music, since the Sixties, has degenerated as a result of the effects of artistic modernism. She divides artistic modernism into three separate strains. She calls the first strain *introverted modernism*, and defines it as the “art for art’s sake” type, which is a high-minded, almost religious regard for art, and a hostile disregard for the audience. The second type is *perverse modernism*, a derivative of Dadaism, that uses “shock” to express contempt for the educated audience and traditional art, while attempting to reach the common people. The third type Bayles calls *extroverted modernism*, and is derived from, “cubism, realism, and robust romanticism.” It welcomes tradition, and relates art to “life as it is actually lived – not just by the privileged few, or by artists, but by everyone.” It openly craves recognition from the public, even those who do not fully understand it.<sup>9</sup>

Bayles asserts that modern music, from the psychedelic Sixties on, has broken from the legitimate line that proceeded from the African American Blues and Jazz tradition, and has become increasingly “perverse modernist”

in nature. She claims that it relies on obscene lyrics and abrasive noises to shock its listeners. She traces the beginning of the decline back to Bob Dylan and The Beatles.<sup>10</sup>

Martha Bayles makes some very on-target points about the state of today's music, but there are some points I feel are somewhat misdirected. Everyone has an individual bias towards music – Martha Bayles not excluded. All the elements that factor into who we are as individuals – age, race, ethnicity, religion, sex, and social and economic class– influence our understanding of, and ability to relate to different types of music. In other words music appreciation, by its very nature, is extremely subjective. The way I see and hear The Beatles or The Stylistics, is very different from the way anyone else does. I feel that Bayles has painted all contemporary music that she either can't relate to, or doesn't like, with the same broad brush – perverse modernism. I would agree that the more extreme examples of today's music seem to fit the description of perverse modernism for now, but what about ten, twenty or thirty years from now? The Beatles lyrics were considered quite radical a little over thirty years ago. Compared to today's lyrics they are completely mild. As time passes, our perception of political and social events changes. Radical protest songs of the Sixties are now viewed as legitimate expressions of outrage over war, poverty, racism and sexism. Obscene lyrics are often used by modern artists to portray the obscene conditions in which they live, using the obscene language that has always been a part of their life. They are not using obscene language to shock those who are not accustomed to hearing it; they are accurately portraying the reality of their world.

In my opinion Bayles underestimates the flexibility of the Blues form. The British invasion was made up of artists who fashioned their music within the Blues framework. Yes, it sounded a little different than the music Americans were accustomed to hearing, and yes, it came from outside the United States, but it was Blues form music none-the-less. It sold a lot of records and captured a huge segment of the American audience, not because it was perverse, but simply because many people, predominantly white youths, identified with it.

Contemporary music is an expanded version of the Blues form. The elements of Blues music have become specialized. The traveling country Blues performers were veritable one-man bands. They provided the vocals, the melody lines, the harmony lines, the bass lines, the rhythms and all the accompanying accents—they did it all. The steady rhythms they used allowed them to jump back and forth among the various parts, while the implied beat

held everything together. Today's music delegates individual elements of the music to individual instruments and vocalists. This allows each component of the music to be given greater attention. Each part of the music has been expanded, resulting in more structured, complex forms. Advances in technology have also contributed to the universe of sound options available to modern musicians. Synthesized instrument sounds, vocal processors, bigger and better amplifiers, along with multiple-track studio recording and computerized editing, have combined to make the sound engineer an indispensable resource. But much of the music itself is still organized according to the good old, tried and true Blues form. The majority of today's music is still done in 4/4 time. It still uses a combination of steady beat, and syncopated rhythm. Note bending has become a nearly ubiquitous practice in all music genres today. The basic elements are still present; they have simply been both added to and expanded.

Blues music is American music. It gives the rest of the world intimate insight into who we are as a people. It expresses the struggles and hardships of a youthful nation. It announces the cruelty of racial prejudice. It screams about the frustration of trying to measure up to the American ideal. It honestly examines the character of this nation, in an unapologetic manner. Though it owes much of its flavor to the rich artistry and brilliant inventiveness of African Americans, it speaks for all Americans. The Blues is social criticism, delivered in personal terms. It expresses the indomitable spirit of the people who have dedicated themselves to making this country live up to its promise. Long live the Blues.

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# PERSPECTIVES



## Turning the Tide: Impact of the P-51 Mustang in World War II

by

Brandon N. Brown

An old cliché states that necessity is the mother of all invention, and this is clearly true in time of war. With the invasion of Manchuria by Japan in 1937, and Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939, the world was thrust into a second global conflict, World War II. This war was very different from previous wars though; it was fought with rapid, swift attacks that were unparalleled in levels of destruction. The Germans used a tactic, "Blitzkrieg," which utilized blinding attacks from the Luftwaffe and devastating ground sweeps from the Wermacht. By September of 1939 the Luftwaffe dominated the air war in Europe. It seemed that no other nation involved in the war had the technology, numbers, or experience to challenge the Luftwaffe's superiority.<sup>1</sup>

The Allied air strategy in Europe resulted in massive bomber losses; the large un-maneuverable aircraft such as the B-17 were sitting ducks for the German ME-109s and the Focke Wolfe 190s. The British Royal Air Force (RAF) had geared itself more toward tactical bombing, but with this strategy it was unable to protect its bombers deep in German-occupied territory. The United States still believed that a bomber formation, with its defensive weapons, could protect itself against enemy fighter attacks. The two main Allied fighters at the time, the British Spitfire and the American P-47 Thunderbolt, did not have the range to escort the bombers to Germany and return home with enough fuel. At the same time, the Allies could not afford

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Brandon N. Brown, a member of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter, graduated from Northern Kentucky University with a major in History in May 2002.

to simply stop the bombing runs either; out of this conundrum, the P-51 Mustang was born.

The development of the P-51 Mustang was a birth of happenstance for the manufacturers involved. “In April of 1940, ‘Dutch’ Kindleberger, president of North American Aviation, visited Sir Henry Self, head of the aircraft division of the British Purchasing Commission, asking if Britain would like to buy some of his B-25 bombers.”<sup>2</sup> Self mentioned that what Britain really needed was not bombers but a new fighter capable of long-range bomber escort. Self suggested that Kindleberger talk with engineers at Curtiss Aviation for they had designed such a fighter but were unable to develop it because Curtiss had all it could handle in producing bombers and P-40 Warhawks. Hence, North American purchased the P-51 design from Curtiss Aviation for a mere \$56,000 in 1940.<sup>3</sup>

The NA-73, which would later be produced as the P-51, was a remarkable aircraft. Throughout the war aircraft engines had been growing more and more powerful, pushing aircraft closer and closer to the sound barrier. Unfortunately, the aerodynamics of the contemporary aircraft could not withstand the immense stress placed on a wing as it approached the sound barrier. The pressure from oncoming (RAM) air produced a shockwave that resulted in a loss of effectiveness of trailing control surfaces that was not corrected until the swept wing design of the F-100 and F-86.<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon is known as “mach tuck” because when the aircraft approaches the sound barrier the shockwave produced by the wings causes a loss of airflow over the horizontal stabilizer and the nose tends to pitch toward the ground. The “mach tuck” is difficult if not impossible to recover from because as the nose pitches down the speed increases, further aggravating the problem. It seems that a number of fighters on both sides were lost because of this aerodynamic trap. To counter this, the P-51 was given a laminar flow airfoil, which reduced the effects of “mach tuck,” and the air flowed more evenly across the wing resulting in a higher controllability at airspeeds above 400 knots and remarkably less drag.<sup>5</sup> The NA-73 had incorporated other remarkable improvements as well. It was designed with an improved radiator system that placed the intake air scoop on the belly of the fuselage; the cockpit was placed fairly low in the fuselage; and the fuselage itself was made more narrow than other conventional fighters of the day.

The RAF pilots had the first opportunity to fly the P-51 Mustang in combat. The P-51 was introduced in the summer of 1942 and was used by the British primarily for reconnaissance and attacks on ground targets such as troop trains, supply convoys and military installations. The RAF operated

the second version of the Mustang, designated P-51A, “powered by a 1250 horsepower, liquid cooled Allison V-1710 engine, which did not have a supercharger and lost performance above 11,800 ft.”<sup>6</sup> Because of the lack of power at altitude, the P-51A was limited to low altitude operations and performed very well. Another improved model that was built was the A-36, an attack version of the Mustang that was equipped with six .50 caliber machine guns and bomb racks on the wings.<sup>7</sup>

In December 1943, the P-51B Mustang entered combat in Europe. The P-51B Mustang however, was fitted with an improved Rolls-Royce Merlin engine that included a turbo-charger and a four-blade prop for improved performance. The P-51B had many new advantages over the other fighters in Europe on both sides. The ‘B’ model was faster, more deadly, more maneuverable, and had a longer range (thanks to its 420 gallon fuel tank which increased when external drop tanks were added, giving it a range between 1000-2000 miles depending on configuration) greater than any other fighter in the European theater.<sup>8</sup> Eventually the P-51 was so successful for the RAF that the United States Army Air Force decided to operate the American built aircraft in its own squadrons.

The P-51’s evolution continued and reached its apex with the “D” model. The “B” models were built on the west coast in North American Airlines’ Inglewood factory, and the identical “C” models were made in the company’s Dallas assembly plant.<sup>9</sup> The changes made in model “D” were not the last the warbird would undergo, but this model absolutely defined the Mustang. Maybe this label has something to do with the P-51D’s pilots, who included American legends and heroes like Chuck Yeager, Bud Anderson, Bob Hoover, and many more. Also contributing to this is the fact that more P-51D variants have been built, than all the other versions put together.<sup>10</sup> The “D” model was outfitted with a monstrous V-1650-7 rolls Royce Merlin engine, six wing mounted .50 caliber machine guns, bubble canopy to improve the field of view, new hard points for rockets or bombs, and a few other aerodynamic changes that produced a top speed of 437mph.<sup>11</sup> In short, the P-51D was an extremely fast fighter with power and fierce armament, all of which provided a deadly combination that eventually led to Allied victory to the air war in Europe.

The introduction of the P-51 Mustang turned the tide of the air war in Europe immediately. In 1944 the P-51’s role was evolutionary in nature. “Fortunately, a new fighter, the long-range P-51 Mustang, began arriving in Europe in November. It had flown its first all-the-way escort in December and answered the critical problem of deep penetration strikes. From the start

it proved superior to anything in European skies.”<sup>12</sup> Before the introduction of the P-51 in Europe Luftwaffe interceptors would wait at the escort “drop-off” point before attacking the bomber formations. This changed when the P-51 appeared along with the bombers over Germany. So alarmed was the German high command of this new fighter they organized a priority jet fighter program to counter the Mustang.<sup>13</sup> “On March 4, P-51 escorts flew all the way to Berlin for the first time. It was an ominous sign to the Germans, the fulfillment of something the pompous Hermann Goering said would never happen.”<sup>14</sup>

Also in March 1944, the P-51 Mustang was fitted with two 180-gallon drop tanks which gave it an operational combat radius of 850 miles. Because of this exceptional range the Mustang could operate from Allied bases in Britain up to the eastern limits of Germany. This range, combined with amazing aerodynamic performance when used as an interceptor / fighter, made the P-51 the key to success of the bombers and the Allied victory that followed.<sup>15</sup> “Never again did the American bombers have to fly beyond the range of fighter cover as, for example, they had to do on their Schweinfurt operations in 1943. No longer was there any point beyond which the German fighter force could rely upon finding an American bomber formation at a disadvantage.”<sup>16</sup>

At first, the P-51 Mustang was used to protect bombing runs deep inside German territory, and its mission was to fend off attacks from Luftwaffe fighters. When the P-51s escorted the Allied bombers, the attacking Luftwaffe fighters had to change their tactics. The attackers could no longer wreak havoc on the bombers from close range; they now had to either engage the P-51 before attacking the bomber formation, or make ineffective zooming passes into the formation, or simply avoid the P-51s altogether, which was nearly impossible to do. As a result, Allied bomber runs became increasingly successful. Later in the war the P-51s began to escort the bombers all the way to Poland. The P-51 became a favorite among the Allied pilots. As Chuck Yeager said, “By the time we flew combat in England, most of us had reached a point where, if a pilot borrowed our Mustang on our day off and was shot down, we became furious at the dead son of a bitch. The dead pilot might have been a friend, but he wasn’t as special as our own P-51 that loyally hauled our precious butt through the flak and tracers.”<sup>17</sup>

Soon, the values of the Mustang’s dog-fighting capabilities were realized and it was ordered on BARCAP (Barrier Combat Air Patrol) missions and fighter sweep missions. As a defensive fighter, the Mustang proved quite capable of intercepting and destroying incoming German



bombers and their escorts. When the Allies took the offensive in Europe, it took on a search and destroy role. "What this meant was that the escort fighters were not tied to the bombers anymore, and were free to roam over the countryside and through the towns and cities destroying at will. The sweeping Mustangs were released to ravage German convoys, trains, anti-aircraft gun emplacements, warehouses, airfields, factories, radar installations, and other important things that would be impractical to be attacked by bombers."<sup>18</sup> The impact of the roaming P-51's was immediately felt by the axis. On March 21, 1944 forty-one Mustangs from the Eighth Air Force swept through southern France and destroyed twenty-one Axis aircraft. On March 26 a combined task force of 140 ninth Air Force P-51s and P-47s dive-bombed the marshalling yards at Creil and military targets in France.<sup>19</sup>

If a single element can be looked upon as the one thing that won World War II for the Allies, I think it would have to be the P-51 Mustang and its pilots, with all due respect to every other Allied soldier in the war effort. Once the P-51 took the Allies on the offensive in the air, the Germans were forced back on the ground because of relentless air strikes from Allied bombers protected by the P-51. The Luftwaffe was virtually destroyed or starved of fuel because of effective strikes by the P-51. Finally the P-51 provided air cover, as the Allies rolled into Berlin signaling German defeat.

Europe was not the only place the P-51 Mustang saw action; it was also used in the Pacific theater and for close air support of ground troops in the Korean War.<sup>20</sup> While serving in the 10<sup>th</sup> Air Force, in the China-Burma Theater 1944, P-51s were dispatched to attack the Japanese airfield at Myitkyina. The P-51 Mustang also saw service in the Air National Guard, United States Air Force, Canadian Air Force, British Royal Air Force, Israeli Air Force, Republic of Korea Air Force, and a host of other nation's armed services.<sup>21</sup> The last North American Mustang to see service in the United States military was F-51D 4472990. It was flown on February 7, 1978 as a chase plane for *Cheyenne* and other helicopter programs including the YUH-60 Blackhawk. Currently this aircraft rests in the Army Aviation Museum at Fort Rucker.<sup>22</sup>

Today the P-51 Mustang still patrols the world's skies at air shows, and expositions through the luxury of private owners. Of the 15,705 Mustangs produced only 153 of them are in airworthy condition, 51 are on display, 46 are undergoing repairs and restorations, 20 are in storage, and 4 are unknown as to their whereabouts.<sup>23</sup> The P-51 is truly more than an old warbird; it is indeed a piece of history. The P-51, its pilots, and its ground crew helped save the Allies in World War II. The P-51 Mustang is more than just an aircraft it is indeed a living legend.

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# PERSPECTIVES



## The Kashmir Issue and Its Impact on India-United States Diplomatic Relations

by

Tripta Desai

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon opened a new chapter in relations between the United States and India. Suddenly Americans had a direct experience with terrorism and a new sympathy for other nations such as India who are targets of terrorists. India-United States relations had never been close. Beginning with the independence of India in 1947, the two nations were at odds on several issues. In the Cold War, the US was frustrated that India followed a policy of non-alignment and refused to covenant with the US to contain communism. India developed nuclear weapons in spite of the US nonproliferation policy.<sup>1</sup> In India's fifty-two year conflict with Pakistan over control of the state of Jammu and Kashmir (hereinafter Kashmir) in northern India, it appeared to Indian officials that the US favored Pakistan. Ironically, September 11 forged a common bond between the US and India in the war on international terrorism, and Indo-American diplomatic relations reached a new level of cordiality.

The problem extends back to 1947 when Great Britain prepared to depart India. At the time, the British government gave each Indian Princely ruler the option of joining either India or Pakistan. In the state of Kashmir, the population was predominantly Moslem, while the ruler, Hari Singh, was a

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Dr. Tripta Desai, Professor of History at Northern Kentucky University, is a member of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter. A native of India and author of several books and articles, she has taught at NKU since 1968.

Hindu who had ruled with Hindu administrators. He was reluctant to join India because India was to establish secular democracy, and he did not want Kashmir restructured with democracy. Being a Hindu, he did not want to join Islamic Pakistan. In 1947, communal riots broke out in the predominantly Hindu province of Jammu in Kashmir. Pakistani tribesmen, expecting that the Indian army might enter Kashmir to restore order, invaded Kashmir in October 1947. Singh withdrew from his summer capital of Srinagar to his winter capital in Jammu, and signed the document of accession to India.

On October 27, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, Governor General of India, accepted the accession provisionally. At that point, India sent troops legally into Kashmir. Lord Mountbatten stated that after the invaders were expelled and law and order restored, the question of accession would be submitted to the people of Kashmir. Indian's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru agreed that the voters of Kashmir should be the final arbiters of accession, but only after the invaders (tribesmen of the north-western province of Pakistan) were driven out and peace and stability restored.

With fighting continuing in Kashmir, Indian brought the issue to the United Nations Security Council on December 11, 1947. India claimed that Pakistan had committed an act of aggression against India by approving and supporting the invasion of Kashmir by Muslim tribesmen who lived in the adjacent territory. In April 1948 the Security Council adopted a resolution providing that Pakistan should take all steps possible to withdraw from Kashmir tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not residents and who had entered for the purpose of fighting. And the government of India was to begin withdrawing troops as soon as the UN Commission established to deal with the situation was satisfied that the government of Pakistan had carried out its obligations. The Indian troops were to be reduced to the minimum necessary to maintain law and order.

The resolution provided for a plebiscite and India was to appoint government officials at the state government level to govern for the time being and begin arranging to supervise the voting to assure that it was fair and honest. The Secretary General of the UN was to appoint a director and a number of deputies to oversee the plebiscite. In the summer of 1948, the UN Commission went to India to arrange a ceasefire, draw a ceasefire line called the Line of Control between India-held Kashmir and the part occupied by Pakistan, and prepare the way for the election. However, upon arriving in the Indian sub-continent, in July 1948, the members of the Commission learned that Pakistan had moved regular troops into the fighting in Kashmir. Pakistan's government alleged that it was a purely defensive measure.

The Commission continued seeking peace, and in August 1948 made a report. First, it called on both sides to cease firing. The report directed Pakistan to exert its best efforts to secure the withdrawal of Muslim tribesmen and Pakistani volunteers who were not residents of Kashmir. The government of Azad Kashmir—the part of Kashmir held by Pakistani troops—was to be entrusted to “local authorities” under UN supervision. Then, Pakistan was to withdraw its regular soldiers, and India would withdraw its forces except a contingent to keep law and order.

Neither side withdrew and hostilities were renewed. The Security Council instructed the UN

Commission to remain in the area and continue seeking an acceptable agreement. In December 1948 the Commission recommended a resolution that called for a ceasefire, followed by a plebiscite. The plebiscite administrator was to consult with “local authorities” in Pakistan-held territory to determine the disposition of armed forces within that area. The Security Council accepted the resolution in January 1949 and a ceasefire was accomplished. The Muslim tribesmen withdrew in early 1949. However, officials in India and Pakistan could not agree on how to synchronize the withdrawal of their regular forces or other details.

In October 1950 in India-occupied Kashmir, the General Council adopted a resolution recommending that the Kashmir state government convene a constituent assembly to confirm or deny the October 1947 accession to India and determine the future of the state. The expectation was that accession would be confirmed. Pakistan immediately objected because the constituent assembly would be elected under the authority of Sheikh Abdullah, who was pro-Indian.

The United States government, allied with Pakistan in containing communism through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), and



disappointed with India for its position of non-alignment in the Cold War, united with the British government in introducing a resolution in the Security Council in February 1951 declaring the convening of the constituent assembly illegal. In 1952 and 1953 Security Council resolutions recommended that both sides withdraw to a ceasefire line and reduce their forces, but neither side complied.

Early in 1954 the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower announced a program of military aid to Pakistan. This greatly altered India's position on Kashmir. India proceeded to consolidate the accession of Kashmir. The Kashmiri Constituent Assembly met February 6, 1954 and ratified the accession. A Constitution was written and adopted November 6, 1956, making Kashmir part of India. In January 1957 the Indian Parliament formalized the accession and made it irrevocable. On January 20, 1960, the Supreme Court of India extended its jurisdiction over Kashmir, this cementing the integration. Pakistan declared the accession illegal because the Constituent Assembly had no representatives from Azad Kashmir held by Pakistan. When the United States supported Pakistan's demands for a plebiscite, it further alienated India.<sup>2</sup>

US support for Pakistan remained firm and the State Department's attitude is best illustrated in an official communiqué that appeared in newspapers February 27, 1972, when Richard Nixon was President. The statement followed the United States-China conference held in Peking that month, and the US position was the same—that India and Pakistan should withdraw their troops to their own side of the ceasefire line, and that the people of Southeast Asia should be allowed to shape their own destiny, free of military threat.

India's government interpreted the communiqué to mean that the US still supported the right of the people of Kashmir to a plebiscite. Indian officials pointed out that Pakistan had never withdrawn its tribesmen or regular troops from Kashmir, which was required in preparation for the voting. This vital point is ignored still today in media coverage of the Kashmir issue. One evening in Spring 2002, I watched "Newshour with Jim Lehrer" on Public Television. India and Pakistan were on the brink of war because Azad Kashmir terrorists, trained in Pakistani camps, had entered the compound of the India Parliament in December 2001 and killed several security guards. Lehrer's guest was a lady from Pakistan identified as the representative of Pakistan's President Pervez Musharaff. He asked her how to resolve the Kashmir issue and she said India was the guilty party because India was reneging on her commitment to hold a plebiscite. She and Lehrer made no mention of India's position that Pakistan was still occupying part

of Kashmir and refusing to withdraw as Lord Mountbatten had required in 1947 in preparation for the plebiscite.

The issue remained unresolved, and when President Ronald Reagan declared that the United States would support anti-Communist “freedom fighters” everywhere, including Afghanistan, and when his administration began delivering arms to Afghanistan guerrillas fighting the Soviet Union, India objected. From India’s point of view the weapons could be used against India in Kashmir. The Reagan administration imposed sanctions against India’s nuclear weapons policy, restricting export of items that could be used for missile development or “dual-use technologies.”

In 1998 nuclear testing by India led to nuclear testing in Pakistan and the Bill Clinton administration imposed sanctions on both countries. In March 2000, President Bill Clinton visited India and made a speech in the Indian Parliament praising India’s democracy and forecasting an optimistic economic future for the nation. He carefully acknowledged that India had a right to determine its own security needs, though he questioned whether nuclear weapons were a sensible allocation of limited resources. Commercial agreements were signed and committees were established to promote cooperation in areas from information technology to health. The Clinton administration made no progress on the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan’s bottom line was self determination or a UN mandated and supervised plebiscite. India demanded that the ceasefire line should be adopted as an international border. India refused to accept UN monitoring in Kashmir because the monitors would observe the regular troops but not the terrorists who infiltrated from Pakistan.

In the summer of 1999 guerrillas from Pakistan advanced into the Kargil Mountains in India-controlled Kashmir and fighting broke out between them and Indian armed forces. Pakistan’s forces withdrew and relations between India and the United States improved as the Clinton administration was grateful for India’s nuclear restraint. In late 1999, the US criticized India’s testing of medium range missiles, pointing out that this might escalate the nuclear race between India and Pakistan.

Under President George W. Bush, the US and India experienced a rapprochement even before September 11, 2001. In June, 2002 Sonya Gandhi, President of the Indian National Congress Party in the Indian Parliament visited the United States and met with Vice President Richard Cheney. They agreed that the two nations should narrow their differences and work together closely in areas of agreement. Mentioning Kashmir, she said that cross-border terrorism must cease. She emphasized that Jammu and Kashmir are an integral part of India and vital to India’s secular “ethos.”

Representative James McDermott, Democrat from Washington and Co-chair of the India Caucus, remarked that Gandhi's visit represented progress in Indo-American personal relationships.<sup>3</sup>

President Bush nominated Robert Blackwell as ambassador to India and before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in his confirmation hearings, Blackwell said that sanctions against India to deter nuclear proliferation had failed. He recommended better cooperation on many issues, including "energy security in the Persian Gulf. India imports more than fifty percent of its energy from the Persian Gulf and has a tremendous stake in insuring the flow of Gulf oil." Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he praised President Bush's efforts to strengthen the US relationship with India. By this time, American investments in India had soared to fifteen billion dollars, making the US the largest investor in the Indian economy.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, before the attack on the World Trade Center, Bush had taken steps to strengthen ties with India and work together fighting international terrorism. This has moved beyond exchange of information to institution building in India. A delegation from India met with Edmund Hull, Acting Co-ordinator for Counter-Terrorism and others. Hull agreed to assist India in setting up a Center for Counter Terrorism and both nations agreed to increase intelligence sharing. The joint communique stated that both nations agreed that the policies of the Taliban fostered terrorism that threatened both countries, affirmed support for a Security Council resolution placing sanctions on the Taliban for supporting terrorism, harboring Osama bin Laden, and failing to close down terrorist camps in Afghanistan.<sup>5</sup>

In July 2001, Pakistan's President Musharaff and India's Prime Minister Vajpayee met to discuss the issue of Kashmir and other issues. Vajpayee held to the position that Jammu and Kashmir are an integral part of India and Musharaff maintained that there should be a plebiscite in the part of Jammu and Kashmir controlled by India. Vajpayee wanted cooperation in controlling cross border terrorism from Pakistan across the mountainous border between Pakistan and Kashmir and cooperation in the apprehension of suspected criminals wanted in connection with crimes in Jammu and Kashmir. Musharaff refused to condemn cross-border terrorism and insisted that instead of terrorism, it was a freedom struggle by indigenous people.<sup>6</sup> After the talks failed, incursions became more frequent and the violence increased.

After September 11, 2001, India hoped that the Bush administration would see the link between the Kashmir terrorist groups, Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency (ISI), and the Taliban. India had been making this point since the 1980s. The terrorists made it themselves on October 1,



2001 by exploding a car bomb in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, killing forty members of the Kashmir legislature. The Kashmir issue reached a boiling point and India requested the US to include in its war against terrorism, shutting down the Pakistan-based sponsors of the car bombing and other cross-border raiders. In October 2001 US Secretary of State Colin Powell visited Indian and Pakistan to defuse the tension and discuss global terrorism. However, he made it clear that he was not attempting to broker a deal on Kashmir.<sup>7</sup>

When the Bush administration extended aid to Pakistan and Afghanistan in the war on terrorism, Bush assured India's External Affairs and Defense Minister Jaswant Singh that aid to Pakistan was not at the expense of friendship with India. When reporters asked Colin Powell whether the US anti-terrorist campaign would target Pakistanis who train in Pakistan and raid in Kashmir, he refrained from a direct denunciation of Pakistan. On November 10, 2002, Prime Minister Vajpayee met with President Bush, hoping Bush would extend the war on terrorism to include "cross-border terrorism" in Kashmir, and approve "hot pursuit" of raiders into their safe havens in Pakistan. President Bush gave no hint of any such approval. However, the Bush administration took steps to further strengthen ties with India. Military cooperation increased and was invigorated in all areas.<sup>8</sup>

The war against terrorism seemed to be going well, and both India and Pakistan were behind the US, when on December 13, 2001, terrorists killed a number of security guards within the India Parliament complex. Musharaff refused to denounce the two terrorist organizations responsible and India withdrew its High Commissioner from the Indian embassy in Pakistan. Indian officials told *India Abroad* that Musharaff had to take clear, tangible, and unambiguous steps against the terrorists, or else India would launch a military strike into Pakistan. The threat of nuclear war between India and Pakistan loomed, and Colin Powell rushed to India and Pakistan to dialogue. As a result, Musharaff said that he would take immediate action against twenty terrorist groups wanted by India. *The New York Times* reported that General Musharraf arrested 1,430 militants, including many inside the Pakistan-controlled part of Kashmir. In an editorial the newspaper commended this as "a momentous development that should help defuse the confrontation with India." India provided Pakistan evidence on the terrorists, and the US approved a sale of arms to India of over one billion dollars, a sale that had been suspended in 1998 because of India's nuclear testing.<sup>9</sup>

Prime Minister Vajpayee took the initiative by inviting separatist groups to participate in the elections of the Kashmir Valley State legislature. He

stated that two shifts had occurred. First, the people of Kashmir are tired of guns and bombing and want peace. Indeed, a poll conducted by the Indian magazine *Outlook* revealed that 82 percent of the people of Kashmir Valley support a ceasefire and political dialogue. Second, he stated that groups depending on Pakistan must be disillusioned with Pakistan's support, because Musharaff had turned against the Taliban. How could they count on Pakistan after the events following September 11?<sup>10</sup>

Then, on May 14, 2002, a terrorist attack in Jammu killed thirty-four people, including women and children. US State Department Spokesman Philip Reeker acknowledged Pakistan's role in terrorist attacks on India and urged Musharaff to take steps to shut down the terrorist camps in Pakistan. In July 2002, Musharaff angered Colin Powell by making a U-turn. He told the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek* that he had not given the US any permanent commitment to halt cross-border terrorist infiltration into Kashmir, and further, that dismantling terrorist camps in Pakistan occupied Kashmir was not on Pakistan's agenda.<sup>11</sup>

On September 9, 2002 Powell hosted Indian Minister of External Affairs Jaswant Singh at the US State Department. In a joint media conference after the meeting, a reporter asked Powell if they discussed cross-border terrorism. Powell replied: "Yes, we discussed the situation across the border. I reaffirmed to the Minister that we would continue to press the Pakistani Government to do everything possible to stop the cross-border infiltration and remind them of the commitment they had made not only to the United States but to the international community that it would not support such activity and would work actively to stop it."<sup>12</sup>

The issue of Kashmir and the American war on terrorism have produced a new, more cooperative diplomatic relationship between India and the US but Kashmir remains divided. The US State Department urges India to continue the dialogue with Pakistan. India asks why terrorist activities on Pakistan's side of the Line of Control are not listed as a part of the anti-terrorist military campaign of the coalition led by the United States. It appears to me that the only solution is to accept the existing line of control in Kashmir. India has shown its willingness to accept this answer. There are about 150 million Muslims living in India and their religious freedom is respected. Why then, cannot the Muslims in Kashmir live within India? The terrorists who are demanding separation from India are a small group of misguided Muslims who believe that Islam cannot co-exist with other impure religions. But what about the average person? I am convinced that most Kashmiris realize they have religious freedom, and want to live in peace.

## ENDNOTES

1. See the author's *Indo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1940-1974* (University Press of America, 1974).

2. India and Pakistan have fought two wars over Kashmir—first in 1948 and then in 1965, when, after a few months of fighting, both sides agreed to a UN ceasefire.

3. *India Abroad*, June 28, 2001. Sanya Gandhi is the Italian-born widow of Rajeev Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, 1984-1989. Rajeev Gandhi was assassinated by a terrorist group in May 1991.

4. *India Abroad*, June 27, 2001; *Congressional Record*, “Bill-Foreign Aid Suspend, Pending Nuclear Weapons Agreement,” S. 3627, H.R. 15347, 15537.

5. *India Abroad*, June 27, 2001.

6. *Ibid.*, July 20, 2001.

7. *Ibid.*, October 21, 2001. For an on-line interview with Jaswant Singh on October 1, 2002, see Embassy of India web site, [http://www.indianembassy.org/special/2001/js\\_wh\\_oct\\_1\\_2001.ht](http://www.indianembassy.org/special/2001/js_wh_oct_1_2001.ht), accessed October 7, 2002.

8. *India Abroad*, November 2, 16, 2001.

9. *Ibid.*, November 28, 2001, January 11, 25, February 12, 15, 2002; *The New York Times*, January 15, 2002.

10. *Ibid.*, May 17, July 12, 2002; *Newsweek*, September 30, 2002, 41. For an in-depth discussion of the issue of elections in Kashmir, see Discover India web site, <http://meadev.nic.in/govt/24talkshow.htm>, accessed October 7, 2002.

11. *India Abroad*, May 24, 31, June 7, 14, 28, 2002.

12. U.S. Department of State web site, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2002/13336.ht>, accessed October 7, 2002.



# PERSPECTIVES



## History Textbook Review: Student-oriented Rubric for Evaluating Textbooks

by

Jackie Shelley and Jennifer Roberts

In March 2002, Dr. Jonathan Reynolds of Northern Kentucky University conducted a history textbook review workshop. The goal of the workshop was to discuss the attributes of a good history textbook. Dr. Reynolds organized and facilitated the workshop and the participants included two professors, the authors as education students, two additional education majors, and three other university students. The group discussed strengths and weaknesses of textbooks that we have encountered during our academic careers. We responded to the question, “If we could design our dream textbook, what would it include and how should it be organized?” Some of the suggestions for what should be included were relevant visual aids such as pictures, charts, graphs, fun activities, glossary, and supplementary materials to enhance study. Ideas were generated on how it should be organized including clear, logical flow, important themes, and methodology.

Through collaboration the authors of this article have applied some of the ideas discussed during the workshop and our own previous knowledge of textbooks to decide what makes a great history textbook and what makes a great textbook in general. Our goal is to assist educators in assessing the value of a textbook by providing a tool that can be used to quickly gauge the value of the text. We believe that the six most important characteristics of an ideal textbook are in order of importance: scope,

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Jackie Shelley and Jennifer Roberts are Senior Middle Grades Education majors at Northern Kentucky University. Their emphasis area of study is Social Studies.

accuracy, perspective, organization, visuals, and supplementary material. These categories are critical to the overall assessment of a textbook and are important because we consider them the basic essentials of a good textbook. We have provided a rubric for selecting the most appropriate textbook for any course. The rubric is based on a point system with considerations given to the relationship between each of the categories. For example, an average score in accuracy is higher than a superior rating in visuals because of the importance that has been placed on individual categories. The rubric can be completed in a review of the book by selecting the most appropriate rating for each of the six categories. The ratings are superior, average, and poor. The columns should be totaled and then the three column totals should be summed. The scores will range in value between 0 and 100, with 100 being the highest score attainable. The higher the score a book receives indicates its overall value and usefulness in the classroom. When comparing several textbooks, the higher scoring book should be the most appropriate for today's classroom.

After the rubric was created, we reviewed four world history textbooks. The textbooks selected for evaluation are located in the bibliography of this article. Within this article, each text will be referred to by its title.

## **DESCRIPTIONS OF CATEGORIES:**

### **SCOPE:**

The scope of the book refers to the range of topics that the book covers. The title indicates the basic subject of the book and may imply the author's perspective. For example, the world history book entitled "*Civilization: Past and Present*" implies that the focus of the book is on centralized states. More inclusive world history book titles are "*The Earth and Its People*" and "*Traditions and Encounters*." These titles imply a focus on human interactions with the earth and other peoples, not only organized states.

To more accurately assess the scope, the table of contents should be examined. The topics described in the table of contents should closely coincide with the course objectives. If only some of the class objectives are covered by the scope of the book, the book may be better used as a resource or reference book for the class.

Scoring the scope of the book is probably the easiest category to determine. A superior rating for a score has the highest point value in any category. We feel that the scope of a book is the most important criteria when selecting a textbook. If the scope of the book is not relevant to the course objectives, it will not receive an overall high score.

We intentionally reviewed only world history textbooks in order to focus on the other five categories. The four books we reviewed each received a

superior rating for scope. This score was expected because the textbooks chosen for review were narrowed to these textbooks based on world history and considered appealing for a general audience.

### **ACCURACY:**

The book should be accurate in the depiction of actual events and the implications and/or results of important events. Several topics or areas of personal knowledge should be reviewed for fact testing. These case studies should be examined for accuracy and fact based information. For example, a world history textbook should include information on pre-European North and South America. In cases where there is considerable controversy, such as the estimated total population of Native Americans at the time of European colonization, the text should clearly state the range of scholarly opinions. The use of primary sources should be included whenever possible. This will allow readers to make their own interpretations based on actual records. The information in the text, including narratives, maps, tables, and graphs, should be as current as possible. Also included in the category of accuracy is the inclusion of footnotes and references for each chapter.

Several different areas of the book should be examined when scoring accuracy. By using several examples from the textbook the depth and the currency of topics within the book can be gauged. Important topics should be discussed thoroughly with as many facts as possible and information should be based on the most current scholarly opinions on the topic. The superior rating for accuracy is the second highest value obtainable within the rubric, after scope.

Of the books we reviewed, one received a superior rating; two received an average rating; and one received a poor rating. *The Earth and Its People* earned a superior rating in accuracy because in the areas reviewed it offered accurate and precise information. The two books that received an average score for accuracy, *World History* and *Traditions and Encounters*, contained some inconsistencies, such as a failure to mention specific numbers when describing the number of Native Americans that declined after European arrival. The book *Civilization* received the lowest possible score for accuracy. This was due in part to the author's lack of use of current phrases such as the "Columbian exchange."

### **PERSPECTIVE:**

The preface of a textbook offers the thoughts of the author on the subjects of the book. Determining the textbook's point of view and level of bias may

be assessed by reading the preface. Also the methodology used in creating the book is usually described. A multicultural balance of different perspectives in a textbook should be sought. Using multiple perspectives deepens content understanding and encourages cultural diversity. Diversity and varying viewpoints should be apparent throughout the text with the contributions of many ethnic groups integrated within the narrative. A multicultural perspective encourages the reader to avoid stereotyping and ethnocentric beliefs. Exclusions of varying points of views cripple the reader into a false sense of superiority.

The presentation of the book involves style and readability. The narrative should be written for the appropriate audience and the text should be neither too difficult, nor too easy to read. Important ideas should be clearly stated and revisited throughout the text.

Scoring the book's perspective is an easier task if several places within the book are checked for multiculturalism. The superior rating for perspective is only two points lower than a superior rating for accuracy. This is because accuracy and perspective are very closely related. However, accuracy is more important than perspective because a book that has a multicultural perspective, yet inaccurate information would not be desirable.

In the category of perspective, of the books that we reviewed two received superior ratings; one received an average rating; and one received a poor rating. The two that were evaluated as superior were *The Earth and Its People* and *Traditions and Encounters* because their information was interesting and free of bias in the areas of the beginnings of slavery in the Americas. *World History* showed some bias when describing some of the information that was reviewed and therefore it was rated average. *Civilization* was rated poor because in our opinion it showed a clear bias when describing the plight of the plantation owners and their need for profit over the needs of the enslaved. Showing more sympathy for the plantation owners than the slaves, *Civilization* states "it was not easy to raise the capital, find the skilled technicians, and pay for labor" (p. 332).

## **ORGANIZATION:**

The text should be organized with a clear and logical flow of information, ideas, and concepts. All texts should follow a clear succession of ideas; however, some broad topics may require a certain amount of inconsistencies. For example, a world history textbook may focus on a geographical area and its history and later in the book discuss another geographical area with some shifting on the chronological timeline.



The themes of the book are closely related to the organization of the book. The preface and table of contents usually contain the central and reoccurring themes. These themes should closely coincide with the philosophy of the instructor and objectives of the class. Themes vary widely from a systems approach to the roles of individuals to environmental approaches. Reading a couple of chapters to see how the themes are presented within the text is helpful in determining the usefulness of the textbook for the purpose of the instructor.

A quick outline of a couple of chapters within the textbook should verify coherency. Each chapter should include chapter objectives, introductions, pre-reading and after-reading summaries and content comprehension questions, activities, and suggested readings.

To receive a superior rating for organization the book should be easily outlined and it should flow coherently. The superior rating for organization is higher than an average rating in perspective. All books we reviewed were well organized and easy to outline, therefore, all received a superior rating for organization.

### **VISUALS:**

Visual materials include photographs, maps, illustrations, diagrams, timelines, and tables. Visual materials should be historically accurate and reflect and coincide with the narrative. These materials help the reader gain a clearer insight into the information presented in the textbook. Without visuals a textbook tends to be boring and cannot maintain the reader's interest. Interesting connections to the reader's own life experiences make a text more appealing and therefore maintain the reader's interest while helping retain and learn the material.

Some textbooks may include misleading or inaccurate visuals in an attempt to perpetuate the author's own views, even if those views are slanted or ethnocentric. For example, a textbook could include an artist's rendering of "savage" Native Americans happily welcoming European explorers with gifts or a group of slaves "jovially" working a field.

A superior rating in visuals is defined by relevant materials and connections to the present. If the book is void of visuals, it should receive a poor score, because it would not be visually pleasing to read. Of the books we reviewed, three of the four books received a superior rating but, *Civilization* received an average score because it contained a minimal amount of charts, pictures, and maps.

## **SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS:**

Activities and technological materials should accompany the textbook. CD-Rom software and Internet web-sites allow the readers to further explore topics of interest. There should be an abundance of relevant and appropriate activities. Suggestions for web browsing and additional readings allow the readers to further investigate topics for clarification or further researching. Other types of supplementary materials include study guides, tutorials, atlases, and primary source documents.

Three of the four books reviewed received a superior rating for supplementary materials. Although *Traditions and Encounters* was packaged with a CD-Rom it still lacked in activities when compared to the other textbooks reviewed.

Selecting an appropriate history textbook is an important and often monumental task. At the beginning of our project we pondered the question of the design of our dream textbook. By reviewing various textbooks we determined that the categories of scope, accuracy, perspective, organization, visuals, and supplementary material were crucial in determining a textbook choice. Our goal is to enable educators to evaluate textbooks with ease using the same criteria for each book. Using the same criteria allows the assessor to evaluate each textbook without interjecting personal bias by offering a predisposed list of topic possibilities. The rubric and criteria developed for this textbook evaluation encompasses many common questions faced when selecting a textbook for a specific use. This article and rubric are designed to assist educators by eliminating the tedious work encountered when searching for a dream textbook that meets the needs of both the educator and the student.

### Scoring Rubric for Textbooks

**Name of Book** Civilization: Past and Present: A concise version

Category	Superior	Average	Poor
Scope	Covers relevant topics (35)	Most course topics are covered 15	Few course topics are covered 0
Accuracy/Depth	Correct, current, reference in each chapter and important topics are covered 18	Some inconsistencies and few details are provided 13	Incorrect, outdated information, no references, topics are skimmed (0)
Perspective/ Presentation/ Multicultural	Written for appropriate audience, interesting examples/free from racial, gender, cultural bias 16	Most of the text is written for the appropriate audience/some bias 11	Too difficult or too easy to read – audience is unclear/ Clear bias (0)
Organization/ Themes	Outlines easily, logical flow, coherent/relevant to course and throughout book (13)	Some difficulty in outlining or flow/some relevance to course 8	Does not outline easily, inconsistent flow/irrelevant themes 0
Visuals/Interest/ Real Life	Relevant maps, timelines, pictures, diagrams/clear connections to present/life experiences 10	Some basic maps and familiar pictures/few connections (7)	Few or irrelevant visuals/no real life connections 0
Supplementary Materials/Activities	Abundant, relevant/many activities that are appropriate and useful (8)	Scarce/some activities 2	Irrelevant or none 0

(63)

### Scoring Rubric for Textbooks

Name of Book Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past

Category	Superior	Average	Poor
Scope	Covers relevant topics (35) 18	Most course topics are covered 15	Few course topics are covered 0
Accuracy/Depth	Correct, current, reference in each chapter and important topics are covered 18	Some inconsistencies and few details are provided (13)	Incorrect, outdated information, no references, topics are skimmed 0
Perspective/ Presentation/ Multicultural	Written for appropriate audience, interesting examples/free from racial, gender, cultural bias (16)	Most of the text is written for the appropriate audience/some bias 11	Too difficult or too easy to read – audience is unclear/ Clear bias 0
Organization/ Themes	Outlines easily, logical flow, coherent/relevant to course and throughout book (13)	Some difficulty in outlining or flow/some relevance to course 8	Does not outline easily, inconsistent flow/irrelevant themes 0
Visuals/Interest/ Real Life	Relevant maps, timelines, pictures, diagrams/clear connections to present/life experiences (10)	Some basic maps and familiar pictures/few connections 7	Few or irrelevant visuals/no real life connections 0
Supplementary Materials/Activities	Abundant, relevant/many activities that are appropriate and useful 8	Scarce/some activities (2)	Irrelevant or none 0

(89)

### Scoring Rubric for Textbooks

Name of Book World History

Category	Superior	Average	Poor
Scope	Covers relevant topics (35)	Most course topics are covered 15	Few course topics are covered 0
Accuracy/Depth	Correct, current, reference in each chapter and important topics are covered 18	Some inconsistencies and few details are provided (13)	Incorrect, outdated information, no references, topics are skimmed 0
Perspective/ Presentation/ Multicultural	Written for appropriate audience, interesting examples/free from racial, gender, cultural bias 16	Most of the text is written for the appropriate audience/some bias (11)	Too difficult or too easy to read – audience is unclear/ Clear bias 0
Organization/ Themes	Outlines easily, logical flow, coherent/relevant to course and throughout book (13)	Some difficulty in outlining or flow/some relevance to course 8	Does not outline easily, inconsistent flow/irrelevant themes 0
Visuals/Interest/ Real Life	Relevant maps, timelines, pictures, diagrams/clear connections to present/life experiences (10)	Some basic maps and familiar pictures/few connections 7	Few or irrelevant visuals/no real life connections 0
Supplementary Materials/Activities	Abundant, relevant/many activities that are appropriate and useful (8)	Scarce/some activities 2	Irrelevant or none 0

(90)

### Scoring Rubric for Textbooks

**Name of Book**           **The Earth and Its People: A Global History**          

Category	Superior	Average	Poor
Scope	Covers relevant topics (35)	Most course topics are covered 15	Few course topics are covered 0
Accuracy/Depth	Correct, current, reference in each chapter and important topics are covered (18)	Some inconsistencies and few details are provided 13	Incorrect, outdated information, no references, topics are skimmed 0
Perspective/ Presentation/ Multicultural	Written for appropriate audience, interesting examples/free from racial, gender, cultural bias (16)	Most of the text is written for the appropriate audience/some bias 11	Too difficult or too easy to read – audience is unclear/ Clear bias 0
Organization/ Themes	Outlines easily, logical flow, coherent/relevant to course and throughout book (13)	Some difficulty in outlining or flow/some relevance to course 8	Does not outline easily, inconsistent flow/irrelevant themes 0
Visuals/Interest/ Real Life	Relevant maps, timelines, pictures, diagrams/clear connections to present/life experiences (10)	Some basic maps and familiar pictures/few connections 7	Few or irrelevant visuals/no real life connections 0
Supplementary Materials/Activities	Abundant, relevant/many activities that are appropriate and useful (8)	Scarce/some activities 2	Irrelevant or none 0

(100)

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# PERSPECTIVES



## *The Killer Angels*

by Michael Shaara

(New York: Random House, 1974)

review by Kristopher A. Teters

Michael Shaara, in his book *The Killer Angels*, gives a compelling account of the Gettysburg Campaign through the eyes of some of the battle's chief participants: Robert E. Lee, James Longstreet, Joshua Chamberlain, and John Buford. The novel affords the reader a glimpse into the thoughts and emotions of these key leaders during the consternation and turmoil of battle. Shaara's novel was a crowning achievement in Civil War literature, for it not only garnered the author a Pulitzer Prize, but it was also made into the epic motion picture *Gettysburg* in 1993. Unfortunately, Shaara never saw his invaluable work on the big screen for he died in 1988. However, Shaara's son, Jeff, followed his father's footsteps with the publication of both a prequel and a sequel to *The Killer Angels*. The prequel, *Gods and Generals*, was made into a movie released in theaters in February of 2003. The creative style and genius of Michael Shaara's work clearly lives on to inspire and captivate.

*The Killer Angels* centers around the three pivotal days in July during which the battle of Gettysburg was fought, and concentrates on significant engagements that were important to the battle's outcome. In the chapters

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Kristopher A. Teters, President of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta for 2002-2003, presented a paper on Napoleon's strategy and tactics at the Phi Alpha Theta Regional Conference at Morehead State University, April 12, 2003. He represented the Chapter in "Posters-at-the-Capitol" in Frankfort, Kentucky, January 10, 2002 and at Northern Kentucky University's Celebration of Undergraduate Research, April 17-18, 2002.

leading up to the battle, the reader learns why historians have characterized Gettysburg as a “meeting engagement,” and is introduced to the principle characters of the work. Colonel Chamberlain of the 20th Maine, in chapter two is presented for the first time, and delivers a riveting speech that captures both the idealism behind the Union war effort and the essence of this Professor of rhetoric. Unlike Chamberlain, Lee is not portrayed as a beacon of strength when he first appears in the novel, but rather is rendered as physically weak and tired. Moreover, the precarious situation General Lee is in without the indispensable intelligence provided by his cavalry chief-tain, General J.E.B. Stuart, is illustrated from the beginning of the book. Lee’s decision to concentrate his army in the direction of the town of Gettysburg sets the opening stages of the battle in motion.

On the first day of the battle, the book emphasizes the gallant stand made by Union General John Buford and his dismounted cavalry. Buford is cast in a positive light for his military prowess in holding crucial high ground against the determined assaults of General Henry Heth’s Confederate brigades at the inception of the battle. He emerges as a heroic figure on the Union side for it was his cavalry’s delaying action that gave elements of General John Reynolds’s I Corps time to reach the battlefield and push the Confederates back. However, despite Buford and Reynolds’s actions, the Confederates won a victory on July 1st due to a favorable tactical situation that placed General Ewell’s Corps on the flank of the Union Army. The novel shows Lee’s anxiety about committing his forces at Gettysburg before his army was fully concentrated, but once the commanding general realized that the battle had already begun and that he held the tactical advantage, he readily issued orders for all commanders to attack. This attack sent the Union Army fleeing to the high ground beyond the town of Gettysburg and created the general tactical dispositions for the second and third days of the battle.

Discussion of the second day really begins with the controversial disagreement between Lee and Longstreet over tactics. Longstreet asserted that the most reasonable course for the Army of Northern Virginia after the first day’s battle was to disengage from Gettysburg, where the Union occupied the key terrain, and maneuver between the Federals and Washington, D.C. This would force the Union to attack the Confederates and hopefully, produce another battle of Fredericksburg, which was a paradigm for how Longstreet thought Civil War battles should be fought. Lee was not persuaded by Longstreet’s entreaties and desired to attack the Union Army at Gettysburg by assaulting both their flanks on July 2nd. The novel devotes

considerable space to the main thrust of Lee's plan by detailing the intricate series of events that take place as Longstreet moves two divisions of his corps to the designated point of attack on the Union left. Important events on the morning and afternoon of July 2nd, such as General John Bell Hood's protest and Longstreet's famed counter-march, are described in gripping detail, but it is the activities of a Colonel on the Union side that dominate the book's portrayal of the second day of the battle. Shaara has followed Colonel Chamberlain and the 20th Maine's march to Gettysburg from the beginning of the book because it was Chamberlain's determined stand on the decisive ground of Little Round Top that was instrumental in denying Longstreet's forces the vital hill. The idealistic college professor is the very embodiment of courage as he inspires his troops to beat back the multiple assaults of the 15th Alabama regiment, and once his troops run out of ammunition, the Colonel orders a desperate, but successful bayonet charge. Lee's flank attacks both failed due to stiff Union resistance like the struggle on Little Round Top, but they came so close to achieving their objectives that Lee was encouraged to attack again on July 3rd.

The novel's depiction of the third day of the battle is simple, for it focuses on arguably the most famous attack in American military history, Pickett's Charge. This attack entailed moving Pickett's division of Longstreet's Corps along with two divisions of A.P. Hill's III Corps forward for the purpose of penetrating the center of the Union position on Cemetery Ridge. The assault was preceded by a massive Confederate artillery bombardment led by Colonel E.P. Alexander, which attempted to inflict serious damage on the Union batteries on Cemetery Ridge. Unfortunately, this was for the most part ineffective and the charge was doomed from the beginning. Nevertheless, Shaara, by allowing the reader to experience the charge through the eyes of General Lewis Armistead, creates suspenseful moments that make the reader think for a fleeting second that the attack might actually succeed. However, in the end, General Longstreet's sentiments concerning the wisdom of Pickett's Charge proved accurate, and the Army of Northern Virginia was devastated as a result of Lee's audacious strategy in Pennsylvania. Lee had fought the stubborn Army of the Potomac for three days at Gettysburg and failed to gain his long-sought-after decisive victory on Northern soil, but what he did accomplish was imbuing the Union army with a new sense of pride and determination.

In *The New York Times*, Thomas Lask asserted that Michael Shaara succeeded in his endeavor to recreate the battle of Gettysburg in the form of a novel, but it was more the subject itself and not the stylistic conventions

of the novelist, that made *The Killer Angels* a great book. Lask points out that since the battle of Gettysburg was the “high tide of the Confederacy,” it is easily discernable why the subject alone has inspired voluminous literature and historical scrutiny. Shaara, according to Lask, was consistent with the history of Gettysburg. However, Lask questions why Shaara did not adopt a more straightforward narrative style. The reviewer was simply not convinced that the aesthetics of fiction added any further engaging elements to the historical figures at Gettysburg. They already possessed the extraordinary qualities of character that transformed them from human beings to “gods of war” without any fictional additives that flowed from Shaara’s pen. Lask also felt that Shaara constructed the characters of Longstreet and Chamberlain as the heroes of the novel while Stuart was rendered as the villain.<sup>1</sup>

Another *New York Times* reviewer, Thomas LeClair, held a different interpretation of Shaara’s novel than Lask, and found Shaara’s utilization of innovative fictional conventions very productive. LeClair saw similarities between *The Killer Angels* and Styron’s *The Confessions of Nat Turner* and was impressed by Shaara’s use of multiple points of view to capture the reader’s attention. The work’s successful characteristics were summed up perfectly by LeClair when he referred to the novel’s ability to place the reader in the vortex of combat through the observations of an actual participant, and then quickly shift to quieter scenes of conversation between officers in the next chapter, which are just as revealing about the cultural traditions of the epoch. Shaara contrives a fictional/historical environment, where readers believe they are just as much a part of the struggle for Little Round Top as they are present in the dramatic scene, where General Lee chastises General Stuart for his long absence from the army. LeClair acknowledged that *The Killer Angels* has flaws, but also described one of the chief achievements of the novel, which is that it stimulates its readers to seek out additional literature on the Civil War.<sup>2</sup>

I personally regard *The Killer Angels* as a masterpiece in literature and Civil War history. It gives an accurate account of some of the most significant engagements of the battle, and more importantly, the novel injects vitality into historical figures on both sides that are otherwise viewed by most people as simple names in a book. Unfortunately, the book still has one major shortcoming in that it perpetuates the controversial myths surrounding the actions of General Longstreet at Gettysburg. While the “attack at sunrise” myth is not reiterated, Longstreet is still portrayed as the stubborn subordinate, who moved sluggishly on the second day of the battle,

and did not execute Lee's orders to the best of his ability. This anti-Longstreet message can even be gleaned from Shaara's choice of adjectives to describe the general throughout the book. On page eighty, Shaara states that Longstreet, "gave an impression of ominous bad-tempered strength and a kind of slow, even, stubborn, unquenchable anger." However, despite the negative Longstreet undertones, I concur with the sentiments of James McPherson when he states that *The Killer Angels* was "A superb recreation of the Battle of Gettysburg, but its real importance is its insight into what the war was about, and what it meant."<sup>3</sup>

## ENDNOTES

1. *The New York Times*, May 10, 1975.
2. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1974.
3. Dust jacket quotation.

# PERSPECTIVES

## *When Whites Riot: Writing Race and Violence in American and South African Cultures*

by Sheila Smith McKoy

(Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2001)

review by Michael Washington and Rodney Daniels

With the intent of making white riots as visible as the racialized violence they incite, Sheila Smith McKoy's *When Whites Riot* explores "the white racial violence—those events that have been misnamed as 'race riots'—to expose the ways in which race and violence are integral to American and South African cultures" (p. 5). In the United States and South Africa an oppositional relationship exists between the concepts of "whiteness" and "blackness." These terms describe cultural constructs that define social status. Whiteness has been defined as a source of privilege, while blackness has been constructed as being alien to the cultural norm. Asserting that in these apartheid countries the "white empowered" are in fact, rioters intent upon maintaining white cultural supremacy by any means necessary, McKoy believes that in such places the term *race riot* is, nevertheless, applied to any protest action, violent or nonviolent, that originates in the disempowered community. By their very choice of action, "rioters" lay claim to the space in which the riot occurs.

The white riot is disguised by the veil of noble racial violence. Hence, the

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Michael Washington, Professor of History and member of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter, is Director of the Afro-American Studies Program at Northern Kentucky University. Rodney Daniels, 1994 graduate of Northern Kentucky University, is a doctoral student at the University of Cincinnati and teaches Afro-American Studies courses as Adjunct Professor of History at Northern.

white riot is valorized because it is presented as a means to interrupt a cycle of social devolution that threatens to destabilize existing class and power structures. For example, in South Africa the violence of colonization is glorified by the use of the terms *settling* and *salvation*. The ideology of *settling* found its justification in images of white South Africans, themselves victimized by abuses associated with the Boer War, while the ideology of *salvation* finds credence in the obligation of capitalism to bring the so-called “primitive Africans” into a more civilized state. Similarly, according to McKoy, in the United States racial violence originates as a means of preventing miscegenation “while society simultaneously condones white male participation in the creation of an increasingly miscellaneous race of enslaved and / or politically powerless progeny. White supremacy makes white riot look black and representations of such riots manipulate public sentiment in order to validate these actions” (p. 21).

Critical to McKoy’s thesis is a concept she refers to as “white racialized ululation” or “the call to violence that incites white riots” (p. 8). According to McKoy, white racialized ululation calls for a response to threats to the social order and simultaneously valorizes the white riots it calls forth. She explains ululation in this context as “a ritualized process of vocalizing a response to threats to a white supremacist social order” (p. 24). Thus, it is a ritualistic call to violence, “a call to action, rather than a response to the rioting black bodies that usually fill the scene, making white riot invisible” (p. 25). In the context of social violence, racialized ululation finds its outlet through a variety of cultural reproductions: in newspapers, on television, in documentaries, on film, on talk radio, and through the entire spectrum of popular discourse. It is the process of vocalization through the discursive intersection of popular culture created for the purpose of eliciting a violent response. “In coalescing all calls for active preservation of the existing social order, it calls forth white riot that in turn elicits linguistic and violent responses from the disempowered community that become the *race riots* that the white supremacist [sic] mirror reflects” (p. 25).

The four riots analyzed in McKoy’s study are the Wilmington Race Riot of 1896, the Soweto Uprising of 1976, the Los Angeles Rebellion of 1992 and the pre-election riot in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana in 1994. In addition to examining how violence is designed and initiated by the white minority in Wilmington, McKoy traces the methodology of Charles Chestnutt’s novel *The Marrow of Tradition* in revisioning the historical record of riot. Similarly, by focusing on the ways in which white riot in South Africa is affected by the emergence of a black consciousness movement in a culture



where the empowered minority insists that black consciousness cannot exist, McKoy examines Sipho Sepamla's *A Ride on the Whirlwind* and visual adaptations of violence in the films *Sarafina* and *Cry Freedom* to explore the construction of violence during the aftermath of what has been (mis)identified as the Soweto Uprising. Lastly, by describing the events in Los Angeles in 1992 and Mmabatho in 1994 as "the legacies of the cultural texts of apartheid consciousness" (p. 119), McKoy explores the ways this legacy informs both the media's—and hence our own—assessment of these riot events.

In *The Marrow of Tradition*, Chestnutt uses fiction to make the white riot visible in the Wilmington riot of 1898. While white journalists of the period described the incident as the "Wilmington Race Riot of 1898," documentation of the event in the black press, memoirs, and narratives refer to the same incident as the "Wilmington Massacre of 1898." According to McKoy, "the differing nomenclatures call attention to a dissonance between the two races that goes well beyond matters of journalistic slant. The customs of the majority race colorize the violence by naming it a 'race riot' and inserting rioting black bodies in the midst of the rioting scene" (p. 37). By examining Chestnutt's novel as a revisionist history of the event, McKoy relies on a host of sources from black and white local newspapers and personal letters, to interviews with riot survivors in order to unmask the white media's role in "invisiblizing" the white riot as white rioters sought to reinscribe their political and social power in Wilmington under the "delusion of negro rule" (p. 38). In tracking the process of "blanketing white riot" she also relies upon secondary sources ranging from sociological and historical studies to a biography of Chestnutt and other works of African American literature.

Similarly, McKoy analyzed Sipho Sepamla's novel, *A Ride on the Whirlwind*, as a revised history of the racial violence that began on June 16, 1976, a significant moment in the anti-apartheid movement. Just as Chestnutt captures the riot event in *The Marrow of Tradition*, Sepamla recasts the prevailing image of the Soweto Uprising. The novel provides a means to remember the ways in which Soweto marked a turning point in the struggle against apartheid. And because he focuses on the story that was left untold by the liberal press and eventually silenced when black presses were banned, Sepamla makes white riot in Soweto visible. Using newspaper articles and studies about Soweto, power, and South Africa, McKoy does an astonishing job of revealing the ritual of white riot in South Africa.

In her examination of the racial violence in Los Angeles in 1992 and in Mmabatho—the capitol of Bophuthatswana, one of the former South African

Bantustans—in 1994, McKoy asks the question, “what, then, is the image of white riot at the cultural crossroads of the new millennium as South Africa attempts to reconfigure itself as a nonracial society and as the United States move to embrace a notion of multiculturalism, when neither nation has quite managed to dismantle the legacy of white privilege?” (See p. 118.) She unmasks the white riot in the Los Angeles rebellion by analyzing both the perceptions of the man who videotaped the Rodney King beating and the ranking officer who was present at the beating. Finally, she reveals how the incident in Mmabatho in 1994 was both a white riot and a call to arms, by analyzing a newspaper article about the affair, which was picked up by the Associated Press and disseminated worldwide and “cloaked in a discourse that insists on white privilege and on the immediacy of black violence.” She closes by declaring, “there can be no conclusion to this project as long as the tie that binds American and South African cultures is racial violence” (p. 127). McKoy’s work is very cumbersome to read and understand, but it makes an important contribution to the study of structural violence and should be read by all serious students of race relations.

# PERSPECTIVES



## *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*

by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie

with the collaboration of Jean-Francois Fitou

Arthur Goldhammer, translator

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)

review by Ryan N. Springer

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie provides an ordered and thorough explanation of Saint-Simon's concept and work from 1692 to 1723. Saint-Simon (1675-1755) was an influential French historian and memoirist. Ladurie does not wish to analyze Saint-Simon's writing or style—though he does at times, but instead he analyzes and interprets Saint-Simon's *Memoirs*, published posthumously. The book is presented with a preface, introduction, two appendices, and a body of two parts. The first part, "The Court System," provides a descriptive analysis of Saint-Simon's concept—as an onlooker or chronicler—of the court system in Versailles from 1692 to 1715 and of the court of Louis XIV in general.

The second part, "The Regency System," is divided into two chapters and provides an illustrious investigation into the life of Saint-Simon not as a memoirist, but as a key participant in the government of France and as one of the members of the regent's circle from 1715 to 1723.

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Ryan N. Springer served as Vice President of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter and Assistant Editor of *Perspectives in History* in 2001-2002. He volunteered for reelection as Vice President and served a second term in 2002-2003. The Chapter elected him President for 2003-2004. He plans to enter graduate school and study French history.

Ladurie's introduction provides a very concise biography of Louis de Rouvroy (Saint-Simon/*petit duc*). He briefly discusses Saint-Simon's childhood, military career, living conditions as a memoirist of the court of Versailles from 1692 to 1715, and his role in government from 1715 to 1723. In part one, the first chapter, entitled "Hierarchy and Rank," Ladurie examines many properties concerning hierarchy and rank at the court of Versailles. This discussion is drawn from two main sources of research: the *Memoirs* and the letters of Princess Palantine/Madame. The writing here brings history to life and virtually transports the reader into Louis XIV's court. While enmeshed in the 18th century, the reader learns all of the complexities within the court. These include seating arrangements at courtly events, material symbols that were a sign of rank among the court—very difficult since a member of the court could belong to more than one faction or group within the court—gambling with the court and with members of the court, and transmission of offices from one court member to another. However the main problem was the presence of a person's physical actions within the court. To explain, there may have been instances where the actions and positions among the court hierarchy may not have had a strong correlation—that is, these properties may not have agreed with each other. Much of this was caused by exceptions the monarch had made for certain people of the court. The concept of exceptions within the nobility became a problem because the structure of the government was very fragile. It was supposedly an absolute government and was supposed to have straight forward rules. Therefore, exceptions made rank and hierarchy very complex.

"The Sacred and the Profane"—the second chapter in part one—discusses the very strong correlation between the aristocracy/monarchy and the clergy/religion. It also discusses Saint-Simon's views on hierarchy and its relationship with the clergy/religion. Ladurie points out that Saint-Simon believed there was "a hierarchy in heaven" (p. 64), and therefore it pleases God to see hierarchy in the church and the aristocracy. There is also a good deal said concerning the parallel between the image of king to God and king to his subjects as well as the link between the king and the cardinal's Roman red skullcap. All of this illustrated the "link between the sacred and the profane" (p. 71), between the clergy and the nobility. There is considerable discussion on major orders and their relationship to religion such as the *Ordre du Saint-Esprit*, the awarding of the Golden Fleece, and the awarding of the *cordon bleu*. These awards were designed to honor men who were of good merit, performed valiantly on the battlefield, had a combination of

good birth, were in an “honorable situation, and had political backing” (p. 83). Thus, these were orders of knighthood. The sacred and profane were further associated with one another because not only was there a relationship between the highest orders of society, but this linkage continued down the entire line of hierarchy.

The next chapter describes various groups and cabals within the court and gets into great detail when explaining the setting of three major cabals. These three major cabals were led by the Grand Dauphin, Madame de Maintenon, and the Duc de Bourgogne. Ladurie uses these three cabals—because they are so venal—to describe the egocentricity among those within the cabals. The egocentricity among the individuals in the cabals was used as a means to achieve administrative offices, wealth, and hereditary statuses/ranks that could be passed on to the younger generation of a family. Ladurie also provides examples to show how each cabal—though they may not have been allies with each other—was linked together by a sort of group of messengers. These messengers were in a sense the balance among the cabals, keeping each one happy. That is, the messengers were used to scratch or stab the backs of the cabal members. The cabals caused the court to become divided and broken to a point not seen before during the reign of Louis XIV.

After describing the cabals, Ladurie introduces the reader to the idea of marriage in the upper social sphere and the demography of eighteenth century France. He discusses very little on the part of infants and children simply because the mortality rate was so high that children were not viewed the way they are viewed today. The author’s goal was to compare the social groups of men and women in high society. His conclusion was that the mortality rate of women was markedly lower than that of men. Ladurie’s critical study of Saint-Simon’s *Memoirs* reveals that the *petit duc* had flaws in his demography. For example, his samples of women were far younger than his samples of men. The different groups are ‘ecclesiastics; intellectuals, artists, and principal royal servants; and finally officials, functionaries, and court officers” (p. 168). The reason for this breakdown is to provide a more systematic approach at describing demographic properties in not just high society, but to do so in a division of groups by status, rank, and wealth in the upper class. It is also to describe how members of each group would strive for a better position in high society. Therefore, the division of groups is to allow for a better understanding of the social sphere of high society.

The book considers the struggle women had while trying to climb the aristocratic/hierarchical ladder of rank. Today, when a married woman

becomes widowed society does not look down upon her and she does not lose the status she had prior to her husband's death. However, in high society in eighteenth century France, a widow found her status, rank, and sometimes wealth in jeopardy." She had to remarry as quickly as possible. The second marriage could have both positive and negative impacts on her rank. An endogamous type marriage did nothing to influence one's previous status or rank. A hypergamous marriage could raise one's rank and status higher than it had been before. However, hypogamous marriage could have negative effects on rank and status, but it could have a positive effect on one's spouse if it allowed the person's family to secure a hereditary rank/office within high society. This book provides an effective, systematic view of high society and the complex interactions of individuals and groups affected by government and religion in eighteenth century France.

# PERSPECTIVES



## *They Came Before Columbus*

by Ivan Van Sertima

(New York: Random House, 1976)

review by Ned Wechsleman

Ivan Van Sertima, Professor of African Studies at Rutgers University, theorizes that Africans journeyed to the Americas from 1200 BC through 1300 AD and influenced the development of Mesoamerican culture and language. He presents voluminous anthropological, agricultural, and linguistic data in support of his African-diffusion theory. The evidence presented includes the naval expeditions organized by King Abubakari II of Mali, Arab-African linguistic influences in medieval Mexico, the influence of black Africans on ancient Egypt, and the appearance of maize in the old world prior to Columbus. Van Sertima's most concrete evidence for pre-Columbian African contact is the ancient stone heads of the Olmecs unearthed in Central and South America. He declares, "There is no denying their Negro-ness either. The features are not only Negro-African in type but individual in their facial particulars, canceling out the possibility of ritual stereotypes of an unknown race produced by some quirk of the sculptor's imagination" (p. 30). In describing a post-Classical clay sculpture, the author explains, "No stylistic accident can account for the undisputed Negro-ness of the features. From the full, vivid lips, the darkened grain of the skin, the prognathic bone formation of the cheeks, the wide nostrils, the generously fleshed nose, down to the ceremonial earring and cotton cap Cadamoston noted on the warrior boatmen on the Gambia, the American artist has deftly caught the face of this African" (p. 25).

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Ned Wechsleman is a Senior History major with an area of concentration in Political Science at Northern Kentucky University.

Since the mid-eighteenth century, scholars have suggested an African presence in ancient and medieval America. In 1920 Professor Leo Wiener, a Harvard linguist, published *Africa and the Discovery of America* which postulated an African and Arabic influence on medieval American languages. Van Sertima's book was the first to draw all the pre-Columbian contact evidence together and call for a reconstruction of world history. The author wishes to dispel the notion that the Atlantic Ocean presented a formidable obstacle to the New World before 1492. He claims that Eurocentric notions of African inferiority have prevented historians from coming to the inevitable conclusion and that there was indeed pre-Columbian contact with Mesoamerica. Furthermore, he accuses European historians of actively conspiring to deny Africans their rightful place as contributors to the development of world civilization. Van Sertima's intention is to effect a change in consciousness by invalidating the idea that one race can discover another.

*They Came Before Columbus* has a clearly Afrocentric agenda which the author makes clear throughout the text. He makes assertions that one does not generally associate with academicians: "We now know, without the shadow of a doubt," "there is no doubt," and "there is no question whatsoever." A significant portion of the book is comprised of historical dramatizations. For example, Van Sertima embellishes the mythic journey of King Abubakari II of Mali to an astonishing degree; he includes a vivid description of the clothing the king wore as he departed down the Senegal River. Additionally, he portrays Columbus as an opportunist who conspired with Portuguese King Don Juan to extract territorial concessions from the Spanish. Since the goal of the text is to effect a change in consciousness, these dramatizations are expected, but not necessarily desirable in a historical work. Oddly, Van Sertima resorts to conventional classifications of race, describing groups as Negroid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid, and proliferating terms such as Negro-Egyptian, Negro-Nubian, and Negro-African. These classifications seem especially archaic, as the author stated a desire to reject Eurocentric conventions.

To call this book controversial would be an understatement. Afrocentrists generally regard Van Sertima's book as gospel while traditional scholars in the fields of Archeology and Ethnohistory generally dismiss it. In the journal *Current Anthropology*, Haslip-Viera, de Montellano & Barbour state: "no genuine African artifact has ever been found in a controlled archaeological excavation in the New World."<sup>1</sup> An article in *Ethnohistory* concluded, "It also suggests that some Afrocentrists are willing to trample on the self-



esteem of Native Americans and Latinos of part-Native American background by denigrating their cultures, by minimizing their role as actors in their own history, and by usurping their contributions to world civilizations.”<sup>2</sup> In the journal *New African*, Saafu Khpera, on the other hand, declared that Van Sertima’s book “unearthed startling evidence that points definitely to pre-Columbian African presence in the Americas.”<sup>3</sup>

Overall, the book was provocative, intellectually stimulating, and informative due to the wide range of evidence supporting its thesis and the author’s elegant prose. Van Sertima’s research on the seaworthiness of Egyptian papyrus ships, the existence of oceanic currents between West Africa and Latin America, and the advanced state of Arab oceanic navigation makes the case that a voyage from Africa to America was technologically feasible. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that successful voyages had been made to the New World before Columbus similar to the Viking expedition to Newfoundland. However, the book’s central thesis, that Africans arrived in ancient and medieval America in huge fleets and influenced, and, or dominated Mesoamerican culture was not entirely convincing. The authors of the *Current Anthropology* article include photographic evidence demonstrating that Nubians do not resemble the stereotypical photos in Van Sertima’s book. Additionally, they provide photos of Asian populations that are more believable as the models for the giant Olmec stone heads. Nevertheless, *They Came Before Columbus* is highly recommended because it presents interesting ideas, many of which are worthy of further study.

## ENDNOTES

1. Gabriel Haslip-Viera, Bernard Ortiz de Montellano, and Warren Barbour, "Robbing Native American Cultures: Van Sertima's Afrocentricity and the Olmecs," *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 419-441.
2. Bernard Ortiz de Montellano, Gabriel Haslip-Viera and Warren Barbour, "They were not here before Columbus: Afrocentric Hyperdiffusionism in the 1990s." *Ethnohistory* 44:2 (1997): 199-226.
3. Saafu Khpera, "They came Before Columbus," *New African* 392 (2001): (16-21).

# PERSPECTIVES



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Christopher Bentley Haley

Laurie Anne Haley  
Sean P. Hennessy  
Brett Matthew Kappas  
David R. Lamb  
Mary Emily Melching  
Kenneth Edward Prost  
Ty Robbins  
Gregory J. Scheper  
Julie Shore  
David Stahl

## Members Initiated April 16, 1993

Mark E. Brown  
Randy P. Caperton  
James L. Gronefeld  
Marian B. Henderson

James L. Kimble  
Daniel T. Murphy  
Heather E. Wallace  
Kathryn M. H. Wilson

## Members Initiated April 12, 1994

Fred Lee Alread  
Julie B. Berry  
Craig Thomas Bohman  
Michael A. Flannery  
Aimee Marie Fuller  
Kelly Lynn Auton-Fowee  
Joyce A. Hartig  
Hilari M. Gentry  
Louis W. Brian Houillion  
J. Chad Howard  
Jill K. Kemme

Brian A. Lee  
Alden T. Meyers  
Leslie C. Nomeland  
Thomas Arthur Roose, Jr.  
David Austin Rossetott  
Shannon J. Roll  
Paula Somori-Arnold  
Kimberly Michaela Vance  
Brady Russell Webster  
Michael D. Welsh  
Robert W. Wilcox

## Members Initiated April 11, 1995

Donald C. Adkisson  
Monica L. Faust  
Sean A. Fields  
Randal S. Fuson  
Jason E. Hall  
Michael Hersey  
Sherry W. Kingston

Christina M. MacFarlane  
Andrew J. Michalack  
Rachel A. Routt  
Steven M. Watkins  
Brian Winstel  
Bradley E. Winterod  
Roberta A. Zeter

## Members Initiated April 9, 1996

Sarah E. Holland  
Brandon E. Biddle  
Dale N. Duncan, Jr.  
Gary W. Graff  
Robert L. Haubner II  
William M. Hipple  
Deborah L. Jones  
Francois Le Roy  
Bonnie W. May

Scott A. Merriman  
Laureen K. Norris  
Cliff J. Ravenscraft  
Allison Schmidt  
Diane Talbert  
Jason S. Taylor  
Elisaveta Todorova  
Lisa A. Young

## Members Initiated April 8, 1997

Megan R. Adams  
Dawn R. Brennan  
Patrick A. Carpenter  
Brad A. Dansberry  
Terry L. Fernbach  
Mary A. Glass  
Roy S. Gross  
Walter C. Heringer  
Kraig S. Hoover  
William J. Landon

Carrie D. Mayer  
John D. Nichols  
Andrea M. Reckers  
Christopher M. Scherff  
Jennifer L. Schmidt  
Walter L. Schneider  
Joshua L. Searcy  
Gabrielle H. Snyder  
Andrew G. Wilson

## Members Initiated April 9, 1998

Erik J. Arwood  
Clara M. Gerner  
Stephanie Hagerty  
Andre L. Maitre  
Thomas J. May  
Patricia A. Morwood

Jodi L. Otto  
Rick L. Trump  
Andrew K. Von Barga  
Karen L. Watkins  
Aaron M. Weaver

## Members Initiated April 13, 1999

Lisa V. Barrett  
Wendy J. Bradley  
Emily C. Bromwell  
Dean H. Celenza  
Mark E. Garbett, Jr.  
Jennifer L. Gerding  
Jann K. Irwin  
Anthony R. Koester  
Daniel H. La Botz

Terry A. Leap II  
Mary Beth Patterson  
Joshua P. Perkins  
Daniel E. Pickett  
Brian K. Puddy  
Ann L. Reckers  
Sara P. Scheyer  
Dawn R. Ward

## Members Initiated April 11, 2000

William B. Addison  
Rick Brueggemann  
Jeremiah J. Cummings  
Suzanne K. De Luca  
William R. Eckerle  
Theresa D. Geisen  
John A. Hodge  
Michael D. Howton  
Sara Meuser  
Rachel E. Noll  
Nicole R. Puckett

Karen S. Ramsey  
Thomas L. Ramstetter  
Jonathan T. Reynolds  
Gregory J. Schweitzer  
Misty A. Spinner  
Ryan N. Springer  
John R. Stoll  
Catherine D. Trunnell  
Rhonda K. Vrabell  
Anna M. Webb

## Members Initiated April 10, 2001

Joseph A. Alig  
Deborah M. Bogel  
Antonio Browning  
Mark D. Covey  
Lyman D. Dehner  
Robert K. Detmering  
Carmen S. Elliott  
Brooke A. Gillette  
Stephen A. Goldsworth  
Tara N. Higgins

Charlie T. Lester  
Robert A. Long  
Brian K. Powell  
Leigh Ann Ripley  
Dominic E. Ruschman  
Arden L. Steffen  
Christopher P. Teeter  
Ami M. Van De Ryt  
Danielle S. Vizgirda

## Members Initiated April 9, 2002

Richard L. Carr Jr.  
Rebecca B. Carter  
Kevin C. Bricking  
Brandon N. Brown  
Elizabeth A. Sauer Bugge  
Tammy L. Whittaker Dorgan  
Karen M. Engel  
James M. Faulhaber  
Sakiko Haruna  
Eric R. Jackson  
Kristy K. Kim  
Nathan J. Kohler  
Jonathan W. LaVelle  
Deanna Litchard  
Kevin Matthews

Erin M. McDermott  
Luke T. McGlasson  
Breanne L. Menkhaus  
Debra Meyers  
Jim J. Nobbe  
Brian E. Noel  
Robert S. Owens  
Angela A. Riesenbergl  
Laura A. Roach  
Anne L. Shaw  
Louise A. Stuntz  
Kristopher A. Teters  
Cindy K. Vorwerck  
Jerry L. Waddell

## Members Initiated April 15, 2003

Rebecca L. Campbell  
Elizabeth K. Comer  
Annette Fournier  
Jonathan A. Gabis  
Tiffany R. Hammonds  
Kelly M. Linkugel  
Carrie A. Masters  
Colin M. McClure  
Boyd T. Miller  
Donald A. Miller

William A. Montague  
S. Paul O'Hara  
John E. Osterhage  
Jamie C. Petrunia  
Christina A. Reis  
Ashley K. Sanders  
Eileen C. Slattery  
Mark L. Speed  
Nicholas D. Summe  
Stephen J. Tully

## Faculty

Michael C. C. Adams  
Leon E. Boothe  
Lawrence R. Borne  
John P. DeMarcus  
Tripta Desai  
Eric R. Jackson  
Debra Meyers

James A. Ramage  
Jonathan T. Reynolds  
W. Michael Ryan  
Robert C. Vitz  
Michael H. Washington  
Robert W. Wilcox  
Jeffrey C. Williams