

PERSPECTIVES

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PERSPECTIVES IN HISTORY

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PERSPECTIVES

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

As the President of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, I would like to introduce you to the nineteenth 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, Stephen Tully, who tirelessly worked to ensure that the essays selected for this volume would be of the highest caliber. Additionally, Assistant Editors Rebecca Campbell 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. At the monthly meetings, the turnout was always impressive, and the committee chairs could be counted on to fulfill their responsibilities. The 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 goes out especially to Rebecca Campbell for chairing the bake sale committee and making these events so productive. This year Phi Alpha Theta won recognition from the campus Combined Giving campaign co-chairs for raising the most money of any student organization in the Combined Giving campaign. Thank you Becky Carter and Beth

Richter for extending the Chapter's community outreach by organizing for the second year a history program for the 5th graders at Kelly Elementary School in Boone County. On Friday night, April 16, 2004, the Chapter presented three educational programs during the school's "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.

Our Chapter certainly had a special day on Wednesday, April 21. In the afternoon, we collected can goods from student organizations for four local shelters in our 5th Annual Spring Share Soup Project. When we tallied up the final number of donated cans, the Chapter involved eleven student organizations in collecting over 3,700 food and personal care items. A special thanks goes out to Bonnie May, Lou Stuntz, and Beth Richter for all their hard work in organizing this project and making it another glowing achievement for our Chapter. That night the Chapter received a coveted award in the Student Organization Celebration at the Radisson Hotel in Covington. For the fourth 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.

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 Gail Wells, and Interim Dean Phillip Schmidt 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. The office staff of the History and Geography Department was a great help in making this year a success. Thank you Amanda Watton, 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 and your staff in Printing Services for printing our many flyers, posters, and newsletters. Your professional and creative work enhances the quality and appearance of the journal, and we are most appreciative.

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 missions. 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 Beth Richter, Rebecca Campbell, Becky Carter, and Louise Stuntz 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.

Ryan N. Springer
President

PERSPECTIVES

FOREWORD

My initial reaction upon being selected as this year's editor of *Perspectives in History*, the annual history journal produced by Northern Kentucky University's Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, was gratitude for the opportunity to learn new skills that would pay dividends throughout my academic career. However, I also felt a certain amount of editorial performance anxiety. After all, our journal established and has maintained a very high standard of quality over the years and I didn't want to be responsible for initiating a slide towards mediocrity. As it turns out, my fretting was unfounded. All I needed was a dose of humility and an increased awareness of what goes into publishing a journal. One of the most valuable lessons I learned as editor was that the consistent quality of the journal is not the sole responsibility of any person, group or department; it is a result of the collective energies of a dedicated community of talented and dedicated people. It is a testament to what can be accomplished when motivated students, faculty, administrators and staff work together toward a common goal. Northern Kentucky University provides the fertile ground in which these collaborative projects flourish. Student research is emphasized and encouraged at NKU to a degree that is rarely matched at other schools.

Phi Alpha Theta remains one of the most vital and accomplished student organizations on campus. Participation in this scholarly enterprise provides students with the opportunity to become involved in an array of activities and projects that benefit the university and the community at large. Regional and national Phi Alpha Theta conferences provide undergraduate historians rare opportunities to participate in their chosen field at a professional level. My personal experience as a presenter at the National conference in January was invaluable.

There are many individuals who deserve recognition and thanks for their services and assorted contributions to this year's edition of *Perspectives in History*. I'd like to begin by thanking Assistant Editors Rebecca Campbell and Tammy Dorgan for your outstanding work in reading, editing, and making valuable recommendations. I'd like to extend my deepest appreciation to all the students and faculty who submitted research papers and book reviews to Volume 19 of

Perspectives in History. I enjoyed reading and reviewing all of your fine work. Your creativity, research and hard work provide the solid, scholarly bedrock on which our award winning journal was founded and continues to grow and prosper.

I'd be remiss if I failed to thank the *Louisville Courier Journal* for granting us permission to include the editorial cartoons of Mr. Hugh Haynie in our journal. I'd also like to thank Mrs. Julianne Warren for her generosity in allowing us to use her late husband's political cartoon, which was originally published in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. Both Mr. Haynie's and Mr. Warren's artwork are featured in Lori Goetz's fine research paper addressing local press coverage of the Kent State shootings.

I would also like to thank Kathy Dawn, Director of University Printing Services, and the entire staff of University Printing. Your dedicated professionalism and enthusiastic support allow our journal to incorporate new design ideas, providing a fresh look from year to year.

I would like to recognize and thank Dr. Jeffrey Williams, Chair of the History and Geography Department, for his support and leadership, as well as Jan Rachford and Tonya Skelton for their cheerful assistance in ways too numerous to mention. You keep the department running smoothly and are a credit to the university. I'd also like to acknowledge the fine work of Amanda Watton, student assistant for the History and Geography Department, and Bethany Richter, our hard-working department intern.

Next, I would like to acknowledge and thank Professor Francois Le Roy and Professor Bonnie May, Co-directors of the Military History Lecture Series. Your leadership and tireless effort allow our university to reach out to the local community and engage in an on-going, meaningful dialogue on past military matters. This series remains enormously popular through your enthusiastic efforts.

I would like to acknowledge the Administration of Northern Kentucky University for your generous support of Phi Alpha Theta. Your active participation and continuous support is greatly appreciated. Your presence at Phi Alpha Theta's annual initiation banquet demonstrates the warm, congenial relationship that has developed over the years and turns our celebration into a real university event. I want to especially thank Dr. Jim Votruba, President of the University, Dr. Gail Wells, Provost and Academic Vice President, and Dr. Phillip Schmidt, Interim Dean, College of Arts and Sciences. We appreciate the generous academic and financial support you give our chapter. I want to thank Jennifer Gregory, Special Collections Librarian and Archivist for Stealy Library for your assistance and expertise.

My next note of thanks goes to the members and volunteers of Phi Alpha Theta. Your enthusiasm and cheerful hard work provided an endless source of motivation, inspiration, and pride during my years at Northern. I cherish my association with this fine group. In many ways, it has been the highlight of my undergraduate experience. I want to express my appreciation to our officers; President Ryan N. Springer, Vice President Rebecca L. Campbell, Secretary and Newsletter Editor Rebecca B. Carter, Treasurer Louise A. Stuntz and Historian Sakiko Haruna. Your capable and steadfast leadership has produced another fruitful academic year. I also want to acknowledge the tireless good work of Bethany Richter. You have done tremendous service for the organization and have been a true friend and a wonderful traveling companion. I'd also like to send a special note of thanks to Kris

Teters for his first-rate work for Phi Alpha Theta. You have been a real inspiration and I am proud to call you a friend.

I have no doubt that Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta has the best Faculty Advisor, and Assistant Faculty Advisor on the planet. Assistant Advisor Bonnie May is the consummate organizer. She makes sure that all the behind the scenes "grunt" work gets done. She accomplishes more in one day than most people do in a week. Her generous support and tireless effort help our chapter maintain its phenomenal level of excellence. This year, after twenty years of dedicated service to Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, Regents Professor Dr. James A. Ramage announced that he would be stepping down as Faculty Advisor. Under his brilliant leadership our chapter has been recognized as a model of excellence and consistency within the national organization. His dedication, determination and attention to detail have been the engine that drives our success. As editor, I have been honored to work under you. You have taught me what it means to be a professional and what is possible when a superior mind is coupled with a dedicated work ethic. On behalf of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, I offer you are most sincere gratitude and appreciation.

Finally, I would like to thank our wonderful faculty in the Department of History and Geography at Northern Kentucky University. The superbly qualified and accomplished faculty is accessible and supportive; promoting a level of intimacy and involvement among the student body that permeates the various clubs, organizations, projects and activities. Dr. Robert Wilcox has been a wonderful mentor and repeatedly allowed me to stop by his office, unannounced, to interrupt his lunch. Dr. Ramage has always greeted me with warmth and enthusiasm. And last, but certainly not least, I'd like to acknowledge and thank my faculty advisor, Dr. Jonathan T. Reynolds. You have shown a great deal of intestinal fortitude in agreeing to step into the Faculty Advisor vacancy left by Dr. Ramage. And I thought I had performance anxiety! But seriously, I know you will do a wonderful job. You have provided me invaluable advice and counsel over the years, not to mention your friendship and support. Thank you for believing in me and helping me live up to my potential.

I am proud to present Volume 19 of *Perspectives in History*. I hope this diverse collection of scholarly works will enlighten today's students of history and inspire future generations.

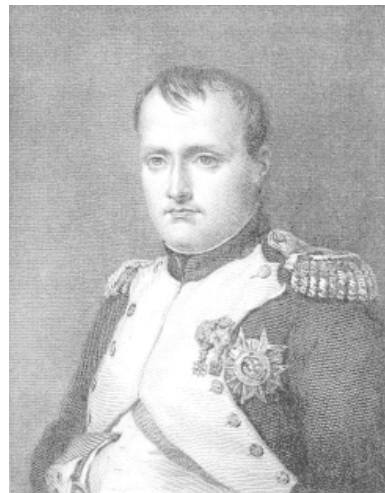
Stephen J. Tully
Editor

PERSPECTIVES

Dissecting the Mind of a Genius of War: An Examination of the Strategy and Tactics of Napoleon Bonaparte

by
Kristopher A. Teters

Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the greatest commanders in history. His campaigns and battles were fought with a ruthless effectiveness that shook Europe to its very foundations. The strategy and tactics utilized by Napoleon in his great victories had an incalculable impact on the conduct of war as future great captains sought to emulate the masterful methods of the French Emperor. However, this proved a nearly impossible task, for Napoleon never laid down in exact terms his principles of warfare. He left that for aspiring military commanders and students of history to figure out, and many have tried. Baron Antoine Henri Jomini and Karl von Clausewitz were two of the most influential writers that attempted to reveal the underlying concepts of Napoleonic warfare. One of the chief problems in discerning Napoleon's system of war, as Napoleon expert David Chandler accurately points out, was the fact that Bonaparte's "genius was essentially practical



Napoleon Bonaparte in John S.C. Abbott, *The History of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 2d ed. 4 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1883), 3: frontispiece.

Kristopher A. Teters, President of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter for 2002-2003, presented this paper at the Phi Alpha Theta Regional at Morehead State University, April 12, 2003, at the Celebration of Undergraduate Research, April 15, 2003, at Northern Kentucky University, and at the national Phi Alpha Theta convention in New Orleans, January 16, 2004.

rather than theoretical. In consequence there are so many variations and adaptations to be found in his conduct of campaigns that it is all too easy to reach the conclusion that he possessed no “system” of any sort.”¹ Nevertheless, despite the complexity of Napoleon’s military genius, there are certain elements that appear consistently in his campaigns which serve to construct the basic Napoleonic military doctrine.

Bonaparte undoubtedly began to formulate the major ideas behind this doctrine as a young lieutenant at the Artillery Training School at Auxonne. There, the endless intellectual appetite of Napoleon devoured countless volumes on the campaigns of great military leaders in history and influential theorists in the art of war. In the school’s library, reading about the brilliant victories of King Cyrus, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar fired Napoleon’s imagination, but in particular, it was the Prussian King Frederick the Great who inspired him. Frederick’s emphasis on maneuver, severing the enemy’s communications, and forcing a decisive battle on an unsuspecting foe all resonated with Napoleon. Bonaparte expressed his opinion of Frederick as follows: “I think that he [Frederick] is one of those who knew their business best in all respects.”² Napoleon was convinced that this early period of intensive study in his life was crucial to his later military success. “I have fought sixty battles,” Napoleon contended, “and I have learned nothing which I did not know at the beginning.”³ While there is more than just a tad of egotism and inaccuracy in this statement, it does reflect the invaluable contributions that Napoleon’s book learning made on his military principles.

Essentially, Napoleon’s true genius was not as a great innovator of new stratagems, formations, or weaponry, but rather as the master of implementing ideas of other military men with extraordinary efficiency. With his incredible memory, Napoleon could borrow from the pages of Frederick the Great’s “Secret Instruction” or Jacques Antoine Hypolite, Comte de Guibert’s *Essai general de Tactique*, and apply their theories to his current military situation. However, besides his superb intellectual faculties and practical mind, Napoleon had one enormous advantage that his predecessors lacked. The revolutionary spirit that permeated France provided a fertile environment for Napoleon’s talents to flourish.

The French Revolution, which swept away monarchical authority and inaugurated an era of major reforms, also marked a dramatic change in warfare. The limited warfare traditions of the eighteenth century were shattered, and the conservative forces of Europe faced massive conscripted French armies. The principle of the nation in arms was born as France asked its male citizens to stand up in defense of the ideals of the revolution. Napoleon inherited these armies imbued with a nationalistic fervor, dedicated to the cause of liberty, and officered by young men of considerable military ability. The soldiers gave Napoleon their unwavering loyalty. They executed nearly impossible marches and performed extraordinary feats on the battlefield for their beloved Emperor. The situation could not have been better suited for Napoleon’s purposes. Gunther E. Rothenberg summed up the Revolution’s impact on the military when he asserted, “For a few crucial years the enthusiasm of the nation communicated itself to the French soldiers. . . . At the same time, the Revolution brought forward leaders who put into practice the theories of open order fighting, movement and fire, and the swift and deadly concentrations later called ‘Napoleonic.’”⁴

What exactly were the components of “Napoleonic” warfare? In general, there are some key characteristics to consider before moving on to a detailed examination of Napoleon’s tactical and strategic concepts. First and foremost, Napoleon was an offensive-minded commander, who sought to exploit any advantage his enemy afforded him. However, this does not mean that Bonaparte was reckless in his use of the offensive, for he always tried to ensure the security of his own position before launching an attack. Napoleon was actually a very calculating commander who attempted to plan for every possible scenario before the start of a campaign. He formulated in his mind a master blueprint to guide his operations considering, of course, the strengths, weaknesses, and proclivities of his foe. This blueprint was subject to constant modification as the campaign developed, for one of Napoleon’s greatest attributes as a commander was his seemingly endless flexibility. This does not, however, support the claims of Owen Connelly’s analysis of Napoleon’s generalship. Connelly contended, “that the greatest general of his time had no tactical doctrine,” and that Napoleon simply “scrambled” or “blundered” to victory after victory.⁵ While it is true that Napoleon never had a set of rigid principles that dictated his course of action, he was always working within a framework of basic ideas about warfare with a tentative plan on how to best implement his military vision.

Another feature of the type of war waged by Napoleon was rapid movement. The French Emperor was an expert at figuring out the most practical routes by which to move his army. He was determined not to waste a single moment, so he could catch his adversary off guard and pounce on him with a sledgehammer blow. Logically, all of Napoleon’s complex movements were calculated for the purpose of creating a favorable battlefield situation. Napoleon desired to marshal as many troops as possible on the field of action for the impending struggle, so he carefully maneuvered his corps along paths where they could easily concentrate in the case of danger. The real brilliance of Napoleon’s system of maneuver was his ability to meet the seemingly contradictory demands of concentration and dispersal.

Napoleon often began a campaign with a wide front. A broad disposition of his forces gave Bonaparte certain advantages over his foe. It deceived Napoleon’s antagonists as to where the French Emperor’s main thrust would fall. Additionally, it allowed for the flexibility that Napoleon’s strategic designs required. Finally, a wide front by the French compelled the enemy to also extend the placement of their own forces, leaving them utterly unprepared when Napoleon effected the rapid concentrations for which he was famous.⁶ Again and again, Napoleon crushed isolated segments of his enemy by consolidating his apparently widely dispersed forces with lightning-fast speed. The genius of Bonaparte was his ability to combine maneuver and battle, which had hitherto remained separate enterprises. The enemies of the French Empire, who were steeped in the military traditions of the eighteenth century, were stunned at the way “Napoleon fused marching, fighting and pursuing into one continuous process.”⁷ As B. H. Liddell Hart observed, Napoleon “caus[ed] divisions to act in the theatre of war as battalions were acting on the field of battle.”⁸

Napoleon’s art of war consisted of more than just strategy and tactics, for he also believed in the power of psychological warfare. Instilling his own men with high morale through competent and courageous leadership while breaking his opponents’ will to fight was Napoleon’s chief goal. Understanding the character and desires of



Napoleon meeting with his officers.
Abbott, *Bonaparte*, 3: 132.

his soldiers was one of Napoleon's many gifts, and he could make it seem to the rank and file of his army that he personally cared for their individual needs. By roaming around his men's campfires at night and recalling the identity of some of his hardened veterans, Napoleon gained his soldiers' deep affection. A letter he composed in Poland in May of 1807 to the Chancellor of the Legion of Honour reveals the extent to which Napoleon cared about morale. "Write to Corporal Bernaudet of the 13th of the Line," Napoleon told the Chancellor, "and tell him not to drink so much and to behave better. He has been given the Cross because he is a brave

man. . . . Make him understand, however, that he is wrong to get into a state which brings shame on the decoration he wears."⁹ In armies of thousands of men, Napoleon had no small mind for details.

With speed, surprise, maneuver, thorough planning, dictatorial power over military affairs, and a boldness unmatched by any soldier of his generation, Napoleon wrecked army after army that the European powers hurled against him. He was not inventing some completely original strategy in his campaigns, he was simply perfecting his art better than everybody else. In fact, the different types of strategy employed by Napoleon, with of course many variations, can be grouped roughly into three categories: the advance of envelopment, the strategy of central position, and lastly, strategical penetration.¹⁰ Napoleon preferred the advance of envelopment, or "*la manoeuvre sur les derrieres*," and utilized it as often as possible.

This form of strategy carried a tremendous amount of risk, but the payoff could be enormous. Napoleon desired decisive victories, and the "maneuver about the rear" proved to be an optimum method by which to achieve them. It essentially involved using a part of the French army to launch a diversionary attack from the front while Napoleon hurried the main element of the army along a secure route to strike his foe in the flank and rear. With his communications severed and with virtually no hope of receiving reinforcements, Napoleon's adversary would naturally become psychologically rattled and rarely possessed the military poise to extract himself from the French Emperor's enveloping trap. Napoleon would most likely be offered battle under very favorable circumstances and have an excellent opportunity to achieve his primary goal in the conduct of war, the annihilation of his opponent's army.¹¹ Two examples of Napoleon employing the advance of envelopment effectively with decisive results occurred when he surrounded the unfortunate Austrian army of General Karl Mack at Ulm during the Austerlitz campaign of 1805, and when he destroyed the inept Prussians at the dual victory of Jena-Auerstadt during the 1806 invasion of Prussia.

Regrettably for Napoleon, he was not always afforded the luxury of using the advance of envelopment maneuver. When confronted with two enemy armies that

were numerically superior to his forces if combined, he often opted for the second type of strategy. The strategy of central position involved seizing a carefully selected point between the two enemy armies from which Napoleon could destroy his foes in detail. As the bulk of the French army assaulted one opposing army, Napoleon prevented the other from interfering by dispatching a wing of his own army to watch and even attack the second enemy army. Once Napoleon's troops had thoroughly thrashed the first contingent of enemy forces, they moved to subject the second to the same harsh treatment.



Napoleon inspecting an artillery battery. Abbott, *Bonaparte*, 3: 312.

However, while this maneuver could place the strategic advantage squarely in Napoleon's corner, it lacked the decisive potential of a flanking maneuver against a single enemy army. The strategy of central position ended up proving disastrous in the Waterloo campaign, where Napoleon strove to overpower the forces of the Prussian General G. L. von Blücher and the indomitable Duke of Wellington in turn. Baron Henri Jomini, who articulated the vital importance of interior lines of operations, mistakenly contended that the strategy of central position was Bonaparte's preferred method of maneuver.¹² In fact, Napoleon only employed it when no other option was open to him.

The third type of strategy in the Napoleonic textbook was strategical penetration. This approach was not meant to guide the entire operations of the campaign, but rather was only a preliminary step to achieve an advantageous position from which Napoleon could operate. Strategical penetration entailed breaking through the enemy defensive front at a weak point and plunging deep into hostile territory through swift movement to capture a key point to serve as a base of operations. After this was accomplished, Napoleon was most likely in an excellent location to initiate one of the two aforementioned stratagems to destroy the enemy army. Appropriately then, the maneuver of strategical penetration marked a blitzkrieg beginning to Napoleonic campaigns that were oftentimes won by lightning-fast strategic maneuvers or tactics on the battlefield. Speaking of tactics, how exactly did Napoleon seem to always turn the tide of war his way when the crisis of the battle had been reached?

The answer to this complex question emerges more clearly when examining Napoleon's system of battle. At the heart of this system was Bonaparte's consistent desire to attack his foe. Napoleon's penchant for offensive tactics stemmed from his belief in the power of the single knockout blow. The logic of attack was simple enough. If Napoleon assembled a superior force opposite the critical point in the enemy's line at the right time, he could create a breakthrough that would destroy all continuity in the enemy's defensive position, demoralize the troops, and achieve a glowing French victory, complete with a vigorous pursuit. Interestingly, the

opponents of the French Emperor who doggedly remained in a defensive posture had the most success in thwarting Napoleon's plans. On some occasions, it would have done Bonaparte good to hear the advice of one of his Prussian enemies, Carl von Clausewitz, who would later convey his military philosophy in a landmark work appropriately entitled *On War*. Clausewitz emphasized the power of the defense to an extent which Napoleon would have hardly lent his approbation. In *On War*, Clausewitz wrote: "What is the object of defence? To *preserve*. To preserve is easier than to acquire; from which follows at once that the means on both sides being supposed equal, the defensive is easier than the offensive." Clausewitz further pronounced that the defensive was not only easier, but "*that the defensive form of War is in itself stronger than the offensive.*"¹³

Napoleon was nonetheless able to produce astonishing results with bold offensive strokes. Similar to the realm of strategy, Napoleon's battles can be divided into three different groups: the battle of the frontal attack, the double battle, and the strategical battle.¹⁴ The first of these, the so-called battle of attrition, seems ill suited for Napoleon's appetite, but at times, he was compelled to accept this type of straightforward battle. This variety of Napoleonic battle, which could produce horrendous losses on both sides, consisted of a series of massive frontal assaults intended to wear the opponent down. It was totally devoid of the finesse and calculated maneuvering that exemplified Napoleon's greatness. Yet, Bonaparte adopted the frontal type battle several times, although often it was out of pure necessity.

One notable example of an action that demonstrated the limitations of the frontal battle of attrition occurred at the village of Borodino in September 1812. At the battle of Borodino, Napoleon rather unimaginatively hurled his French army in frontal assaults against the Russian defensive positions. For twelve hours the battle raged as Napoleon tried to smash the Russian forces of General Mikhail Kutusov, but in the end, he just gained a barren victory. With an enormous butcher's bill, Napoleon had cleared the way to the Russian capital of Moscow, however, the Russian army he had set out to destroy was still a formidable force.

One of Napoleon's brilliant subordinates, Marshal Louis Davout, proposed to his commander that the French undertake a flank attack against the exposed Russian left instead of Napoleon's frontal approach. Davout, who had earned the *nom de guerre* "Duke of Auerstadt" for his spectacular turning movement against the Prussians in that famous battle of 1806, was denied his request to envelop the Russians at Borodino. Napoleon was firmly committed to bringing the Russians to battle as soon as possible, and didn't believe he had the numbers or the morale to implement Davout's proposal. Preeminent military historian, Russell Weigley, alluded to an important factor that might have clouded Napoleon's military judgment at the battle. Bonaparte had a bad cold at Borodino, and "[i]t was to be the first of a series of battles during which the state of Napoleon's health detracted from his performance."¹⁵ Liddell Hart leveled harsh criticism at Napoleon for utilizing the battle of attrition too frequently in the later years of the Empire. "The Emperor Napoleon developed a practice which wrecked his empire," asserted Liddell Hart. Following Jena, "If he [Napoleon] still exploited mobility he unconsciously pinned his faith to mass, and subordinated his art to his weight. . . . His victories are won less by mobility and surprise than by sheer offensive power" elaborated Liddell Hart.¹⁶

While there is some veracity to the assessment of Liddell Hart, what is certain is that Napoleon's genius did not flourish when he fought a battle predicated upon the primacy of the frontal assault. The second type of Napoleonic battle was the double battle, which was closely related to the strategy of central position. The French Emperor implemented this form of battle on the grand tactical level when a prominent natural feature separated the terrain of the battlefield, or when the immensity of the opposing armies demanded such a division for proper control. Typically, a double battle consisted of main and secondary sectors of operation, and the secondary attacks were sometimes isolated from the main maneuvers of the battle. A perfect example of a double battle occurred on the field of Austerlitz in December 1805. There, Napoleon designated Marshal Jean Lannes's V Corps and Marshal Joachim Murat's cavalry on the French left to pin down the forces of General Peter Bagration in one area of the battlefield, while he concentrated on seizing the key high ground of Pratzen Heights in the center, and destroying the main element of the Allied army. The battle between Bagration's troops and those of the French Marshals, though intense, was just a subscript to the battle of Austerlitz, which was mainly transpiring to the south where Bonaparte was working his magic against a dazed opponent.

While Austerlitz was technically a double battle, it was also the third variety of Napoleon's battles, the strategical battle. The strategical battle was what Napoleon relished, and if executed properly it exhibited the finest qualities of Bonaparte's generalship. It is hard to overemphasize the role that turning the enemy's flank played in the Napoleonic ideal battle. Clausewitz contended, "A combat in lines, formed to envelop, has evidently in itself great advantages," which was a lesson Napoleon understood all too well.¹⁷ In detail, the strategical battle occurred roughly in these following steps. First, the French cavalry would report the location of the enemy army to Napoleon in proximity to the French main body. Napoleon, with his superb ability to reign in the divergent corps of his army on a moment's notice, would put in motion a speedy concentration to net the unsuspecting foe. As the army was uniting at the point which Napoleon had decided to fight his foe, the nearest French corps would already be engaging the enemy in a "pinning" action. This was simply a frontal battle to hold the enemy in place as Napoleon maneuvered his other corps into position. Typically, Bonaparte would reinforce the corps that had initiated the "pinning" action with another corps, so the enemy would be induced to call up his reserves in this escalating frontal battle. While the battle was raging in full fury in the front, Napoleon would be secretly maneuvering a flanking force towards the most vital enemy flank.

The appearance of this flanking force at precisely the right time in the battle was instrumental for the success or failure of Napoleon's plan. Hence, he would entrust the command of the enveloping corps to only the most talented and experienced marshals, such as Louis Davout or Nicolas Soult. Once Napoleon felt that the enemy had committed the entirety of his reserves to the engagement against the French "pinning" corps, he would order the flanking force to strike. The sudden materialization of a significant body of troops on an army's flank and rear could dishearten any general, especially if that commander thought he had been fighting the main battle to his front. Napoleon's opponent, thus ensnared in such a trap, could conceivably pursue only one practical course of action. With all his reserves

already engaged with the attacking French columns to their front, Napoleon's foe could only withdraw troops from the main line to form a new defensive position on the threatened flank. This would entail a weakening of the battle line at points close to the endangered flank, which played right into Napoleon's hands.

David Chandler described the next part of Napoleon's strategical battle as follows: "The second act of the battle drama—the decisive attack—soon began to unfold. Its aim was to launch a surprise attack with fresh troops against the newly-weakened "hinge" of the enemy's hairpin battle line in sufficient strength to ensure a break-through and the rupture of the enemy army into two disconnected parts."¹⁸ This was the moment of truth for Napoleon in the battle, and for that matter, in the entire campaign. He would utilize massive formations of artillery, infantry, and cavalry in a grand push against the most vulnerable portion of the enemy's defensive line. First, Napoleon wheeled forward his artillery and subjected the enemy troops to a horrific barrage of cannonballs. Bruce McConachy, in his examination of the role of artillery in Napoleonic warfare, emphasized its paramount importance: "Massed artillery now acted as the spearhead, pounding a breach in the enemy lines, which was exploited by the supporting infantry and cavalry."¹⁹

After the artillery was finished softening the enemy's defenses, French infantry columns would rush the enemy position, bayonets fixed, and determined to win another victory for their revered Emperor. If everything went according to plan, the French onslaught would be irresistible, and the enemy line would be pierced. Jomini asserted that, "Retreats are certainly the most difficult operations in war," and Bonaparte was firmly committed to making it impossible for his defeated opponent to successfully withdraw from the field of battle to a safe haven.²⁰ As soon as the battle was won by a decisive thrust of French arms, Napoleon would dispatch his light cavalry and dragoons to vigorously pursue the disorganized contingents remaining of the enemy. General Francois Joseph Lefebvre believed that the relentless Napoleonic pursuit was the characteristic that was the "most original of Napoleonic warfare."²¹ Certainly, Napoleon used the pursuit effectively against the Prussians following Jena in 1806. At the end of this chronology of Napoleon's strategical battle, it is important to note that, although this was Napoleon's "ideal" battle in theory, rarely in the annals of war did the friction of combat allow theory to perfectly translate into reality.

The battle of Austerlitz, which is known as Napoleon's greatest victory, is a good illustration of the strategical battle in practice. There was, however, a little twist to the pattern described above. Bonaparte possessed insufficient strength at Austerlitz to launch a powerful offensive flank assault against the Austro-Russian army. Without this important ingredient to the strategical battle, how would Bonaparte effectively implement his ideal plan? The answer to this question lies in the area of psychological warfare. Napoleon managed to convince the Allied high command through a series of carefully calculated ploys that his position at Austerlitz was extremely weak, especially on the French right flank. Instead of the French initiating a strong flank attack, as the strategical battle formula required, Napoleon lured the Allies into executing an ill-conceived enveloping maneuver of their own.

Upon witnessing the Allied army massing for a juggernaut assault on the French right, *The Times* of London reported that Napoleon "perceived then to what a pitch presumption and ignorance of the art of war had misled the Councils of that brave

Army.”²² Napoleon’s rationale was simple. The manpower needed for the Allied assault on the French right flank would necessitate a weakening of the Allied line defending Pratzen Heights, which was the key terrain feature on the whole battlefield. Once the Allies became deeply invested in their flank attack, Napoleon reasoned he would be able to launch a prudently timed counter-stroke which would seize Pratzen Heights with relative ease, and place him in command of the battlefield. This was what exactly transpired at Austerlitz, for around 9:30 A.M. the divisions of L. V. J. St. Hilaire and D. J. R. Vandamme from Marshal Soult’s Corps stormed the Pratzen plateau and drove the Russians back. Once Napoleon was in possession of the Heights, he was able to wheel his army to the right and envelop as well as practically destroy the huge Allied flanking column to the south, which had totally run out of steam by this time of the battle. This was an ideal ending to a battle that represented the closest Napoleon ever came to achieving his ideal strategical battle.

From this extensive discussion of Napoleonic strategy and tactics, it is evident that Napoleon had a coherent system of war. Among the endless variations of Napoleon’s methods of war, there were certain common denominators that appeared again and again in his campaigns. It is true that Bonaparte never elucidated his principles of warfare in the precise way that Jomini and Clausewitz later tried to interpret them, but the great Emperor did leave historians with an exhaustive record of campaigns and battles from which they can be readily gleaned. Unfortunately, commanders of succeeding generations following Napoleon attempted to apply Napoleonic theories to their own battles, and oftentimes, failed utterly due to the changing conditions of warfare. In the American Civil War, rifled musketry and improved artillery shattered the once invincible formations employed by Napoleon across Europe, and made the frontal attack futile on most occasions. Of course, none of this later destruction was Napoleon’s fault, for he was a product of his own age of warfare, and the greatest military genius of his generation at that. An astute overall criticism of Napoleon’s greatness that helps explain his demise, despite his preeminence among military leaders, was composed by the famous World War I leader, Field Marshal Ferdinand Foch: “He forgot that a man cannot be God; that above the individual is the nation, and above mankind the moral law: he forgot that war is not the highest aim, for peace is above war,” wrote Foch.²³

ENDNOTES

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8. B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Ghost of Napoleon* (1933; reprint, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), 97.
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PERSPECTIVES

The Underground Railroad Takes Shape: A Historiography of the Movement

by

Eric R. Jackson

On a peaceful night in 1842, John P. Parker quickly boarded a ship that was docked in New Orleans. Frightened but determined, Parker knew that his days as an enslaved person of color were numbered. Several hours later, the vessel set sail up the Mississippi River. Along the way, young John admired the scenery as if he was a passenger on an ocean cruise. This latest attempt at freedom brought Parker first to New Albany, Indiana, then to Cincinnati, and eventually to Ripley, Ohio. Once in Ripley, he, along with the white abolitionist Reverend John Rankin, began to assist thousands of other African Americans escape enslavement.¹ During one of these ventures, Parker recalled his journey out of slavery. He recalled how it started when he hid among piles “of freight on the New Orleans boat dock” and that during this event his desire to abscond intensified greatly.²

Several years earlier, in 1838, Frederick Douglass (formerly known as Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey) took flight from his Baltimore plantation. After much thought and planning, young Douglass began his quest for freedom when he acquired a set of “free papers” from a Black American sailor he had known for several months. He used these documents to board a train headed for Philadelphia. Repressing much anxiety and apprehension, Douglass entered the train, took a seat next to a window, and told himself that freedom was just a train-ride away.³

As the cars began to move down the track, a sense of comfort and excitement fell upon him, but these feelings soon subsided. All of sudden, Douglass’ heart began to beat quickly when he became involved in an unexpected discussion with a free Black American passenger. Almost immediately Douglass began to think that this person might reveal to the approaching ticket-taker that he was a fugitive. No doubt, he hoped that this conversation would end soon. Gradually, it did, and Douglass’ identity remained concealed.⁴

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As the train continued, Douglass gracefully watched the sky, trees, and other woodland surroundings. Soon he arrived in Philadelphia. From there he traveled north to York New City where he quickly got ready to move to Boston. Years later, he recalled his freedom journey to New York and stated “I reached New York Tuesday morning, having completed . . . [my] journey in less than twenty-four hours, [such . . . [was] the manner of my escape from slavery.”⁵

About a decade later, Ellen and William Craft devised a secret but dangerous plan to abscond from enslavement in Georgia. On a bright morning, Ellen awoke and began to dress in clothes that made her look like a white slaveholder. Some time later, William, her husband, appeared as Ellen’s African American slave. Quickly the two of them packed some items and left their plantation. Although Ellen and William could not read or write, their escape plan worked almost to perfection. They rapidly traveled through various southern towns and cities. Only when they entered a hotel in South Carolina did trouble arise. However, this tense moment subsided when Ellen came up with the excuse that her writing hand had been injured in a recent farming accident.⁶

Once free, the Crafts became involved in the northern abolition movement. One antislavery mission had them travel to London for a convention. During their visit, a local abolitionist asked Ellen to speak to an antislavery audience about her enslavement experience. She did this with great ease. Sometime later, while still in London, Ellen was asked by an unidentified abolitionist to comment on a rumor that she was not comfortable with her freedom status and wished to return to enslavement.⁷ Mrs. Craft responded to this assertion by saying, “I have never had the slightest inclination whatsoever of returning to bondage; and God forbid that I should ever be so false to liberty to prefer slavery in its stead.”⁸

The journeys, activities, and comments of Parker, Douglass, and the Crafts are just a few examples of the experiences of thousands of enslaved African Americans who decided to emancipate themselves from the drudgery of slavery. The path to freedom was hard, complex, long, mysterious, terrifying, exciting, and exalting, but it was worth it for those who were willing to try to abscond. This quest for freedom became more difficult after the American Revolution, when various states enacted harsher proslavery laws and the United States Constitution was ratified with a provision that protected the “peculiar institution” from any interference from the federal government. In addition, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850 not only gave slaveholders the right to pursue, capture, and re-enslave persons of color in “free” territories, these decrees made criminals out of anyone who assisted runaways in their escape plots.⁹ Despite the enactment of such laws, many people, African Americans and Caucasians, rich and poor, Christians and non-Christians, continuously broke the law to help African American fugitives gain their freedom.

Ordinarily such a topic as the activities of fugitive African Americans would be relegated to the distant past. Yet, as indicated by Congressional actions and the National Park Service initiatives during the 1990s, as well as the opening of the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in 2004, the history of the Underground Railroad remains a dominant and powerful image in the minds of many Americans. The most common vision many people have, however, is of one, two, or three fugitive slaves being assisted in their escape ventures by one or more

well-meaning whites, particularly Quakers. Indeed, such scenarios did occur quite often but an abundance of historical evidence illustrates that free African Americans assisted numerous Black American escapees in their freedom journey.

Despite these two differing interpretations, it is hard to dispute the depiction of scholars such as J. Blaine Hudson, Spencer Crew, and Prince Brown, who have described the Underground Railroad as the first multiracial, multi-class, human rights movement in the history of the United States, and perhaps the world.¹⁰ As a result, historians, researchers, and local activists have begun to revisit the origin and legacy of the Underground Railroad. What is needed, however, is an overview of some of the major works that these individuals have published on this topic. In a way, this article performs this task. More specifically, this essay contends that four basic questions influenced most of the writings on the history and impact of the Underground Railroad during the later part of the twentieth century: (1) What was the composition of the abolition movement? (2) How much influence did the abolition movement have on the development of the Underground Railroad? (3) Can the Underground Railroad be understood merely by focusing on well-known leaders? (4) Is a regional and local approach necessary to gain a more “realistic” perspective of the Underground Railroad movement?

In 1960, historian Larry Gara published a very unflattering view of the Underground Railroad. In his article “The Underground Railroad: Legend or Reality,” Gara asserted that the Underground Railroad was “Like most legends[,] . . . vague and indistinct.”¹¹ Furthermore, he contended that, “The legend of the underground railroad is a combination of fact and fancy. Many of the stories handed down by word of mouth had a factual basis, but frequent repetition has led to exaggeration.”¹² One year later, Gara expounded on these views in his book *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad*. In this work, Gara described the Underground Railroad as “a reality, [with] much of the material relating to it . . . in the realm of folklore rather than history.”¹³ He went on to claim that the Underground Railroad was based mostly on “legends” and that “few people can provide details when asked about the institution.”¹⁴ Finally, Gara concluded that white abolitionists were at the center of the Underground Railroad movement.¹⁵

Without question, Gara’s claims had a profound impact on the various literature published on the history of the Underground Railroad for the rest of the twentieth century. Indeed, his findings stimulated many historians to examine the backgrounds of various abolitionists with much vigor. One of the first scholars to take up this cause was Benjamin Quarles. In his book *Black Abolitionists*, Quarles meticulously documented the major role African Americans played in the antislavery movement and the Underground Railroad from its inception.¹⁶ His powerful and timely piece introduced various readers to countless numbers of both famous and little-known Black American abolitionists, such as James Forten, Charlotte Forten, James McCune Smith, Martin Delany, Lewis Hayden, Robert Purvis, and James McCrumbell. In general, Quarles asserted that, “the Negro was, in essence, abolitionist’s ‘different drummer.’ To begin with, his was a special concern; he felt the fight against slavery was the black man’s fight.”¹⁷

Such an enlightened interpretation echoed many of the claims that had appeared decades earlier in such classics as Wilbert H. Siebert’s *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*. In this book, which was perhaps the most influential study on

the topic until the works of Gara appeared, Siebert chronicled the activities of more than 3,000 individuals who willingly participated in the origin and development of the Underground Railroad.¹⁸ In short, he concluded that the antislavery crusade included both prominent and little-known Black and white abolitionists.

Two other path-breaking studies that supported and built upon on Siebert's findings were William Still's *The Underground Railroad* and Henry Bibb's *Narrative of the Life and Advantages of Henry Bibb – An American Slave*.¹⁹ Overall, Still's study demonstrated that Black American abolitionists greatly shaped the abolition movement during the 1810s and 1820s, while Bibb's work asserted that his participation in the crusade to end slavery rested on his Christian belief that viewed slavery as "a system of the most high-handed oppression and tyranny that ever was tolerated by an enlightened nation."²⁰

With the publication of Quarles' study, the essential involvement of African Americans in the abolition movement became a dominant theme in the literature on the Underground Railroad throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. More specifically, the basic question that these analyses set out to answer was: "What was the makeup of the abolition movement?" For instance, in 1971, John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick edited a brief but pertinent volume, titled *Blacks in the Abolitionist Movement*, that asserted that despite the fact that African American abolitionists were excluded from leadership positions in most antislavery organizations during the antebellum period, they contributed "through their lecturing, writing, and activities in the Underground Railroad, they [African American abolitionists] played a central role in the fight against slavery."²¹ Some twelve years later, R.J.M. Blackett's *Building an Antislavery Wall*, reiterated many of the same findings revealed in *Blacks in the Abolitionist Movement*. However, Blackett introduced an international perspective when he argued that African American abolitionists "kept the international movement alive at a time when it appeared that it might founder on the rocks of sectarian dispute."²²

About ten years after Blackett's book appeared, C. Peter Ripley and his co-editors published an invaluable collection of letters, speeches, and editorials, titled *Witness for Freedom: African American Voices on Race, Slavery and Emancipation*, that expounded on the claims of Bracey, Meier, Rudwick, and Blackett. Specifically, the editing-team of Ripley, Roy E. Finkenbine, Micheal Hembree, and Donald Yacovone contended, "Black abolitionism left the United States a benevolent heritage through its vigorous role in the antislavery crusade, its enormous influence on African American culture and institutions, and its generous contribution to the nation's understanding of the meaning of freedom and justice."²³

During this same period, numerous biographies were published that reinforced the claims that African Americans played a prominent role in the abolition movement and in the assault of enslavement in general. Some of the most influential of these studies were Joel Schor's *Henry Highland Garnet*, R.J.M. Blackett's *Beating Against The Barriers*, Leon Litwack and August Meier's *Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century*, David W. Blight's *Frederick Douglass's Civil War*, William S. McFeely's *Frederick Douglass*, Joel Strangis' *Lewis Hayden and the War Against Slavery*, and Randolph P. Runyon's *Delia Webster and the Underground Railroad*.²⁴ Essentially, the appearance of these studies helped to usher in a "new" paradigm in the literature on the Underground Railroad that placed the experience

of both well-known and obscure African Americans at the center of all “serious” works on the abolition movement and the Underground Railroad.

As some scholars continued to focus their attention on activities and views of Black Americans in the antislavery movement, another group of writers of the African American experience began to challenge Gara’s assertions that the Underground Railroad itself rested mainly on fiction, repetitive exaggerations, and undocumented stories. To disprove these charges, many historians began to use a regional or local perspective to examine the origin, development, and impact of the Underground Railroad. For instance, Charles L. Blockson, in his book *The Underground Railroad*, based on an exhaustive array of both primary and secondary sources housed in local, state and regional research facilities, claimed that the Underground Railroad began and expanded because of its direct connection to various African American communities across the nation. Moreover, Blockson concluded that the Underground Railroad clearly emerged as a “secret avenue to freedom” and that its primary employees were African American “organizer[s].”²⁵

A similar perspective was used some ten years later in John Hope Franklin and Loren Schwening’s *Runaway Slaves*.²⁶ As one of our nation’s preeminent historians on the history of African Americans in the United States, Franklin, along with Schwening, sought to create a riveting study on the frequency in which enslaved African Americans emancipated themselves. Based on a thorough analysis of plantation documents, petitions, court records, and local newspapers, Franklin and Schwening argue that between 1790 and 1860, thousands of Black American captives decided to escape enslavement and “attain their freedom even if” the odds were against them being successful.²⁷

During the last few years, local and regional studies have dominated the literature on the history and legacy of the Underground Railroad. Also, a more open-minded tone about the nature of the Underground Railroad has been embraced by most of the writers of this topic. Even Gara himself published a new edition of his 1961 book that recast some of his early claims and conclusions.²⁸ Of these works, Pamela R. Peters’ *The Underground Railroad in Floyd County, Indiana* and J. Blaine Hudson’s *The Underground Railroad in the Kentucky Borderland* are two of the best.²⁹ In her book, Peters examines the fact that during the antebellum, thousands of enslaved African Americans fled to Floyd County because Indiana was considered a free state. However, once they were settled, the newly arrived Black American Hoosiers still had to fight for their freedom at every turn. In comparison, J. Blaine Hudson’s study shows how more African American fugitives escaped from and through Kentucky than previous historical accounts had revealed. In addition, the author asserts that although many Black American runaways in the Bluegrass state were assisted in their freedom journey by well-meaning whites, such “aid came primarily from other African American [Kentuckians].”³⁰

Works like Peters’ and Hudson’s clearly illustrate that a new era in research and writing on the history and legacy of the Underground Railroad has arrived. Most of the scholarly studies on this subject have been on the regional and local level. This focus should not obscure the need to move from the particular to the general, from case study to an over-arching synthesis. Indeed, historian John Hope Franklin articulated this very point when he noted that, “despite the large number of books and articles touching on the subject, there is not a full-length study of runaway

slaves.”³¹ In part, this explains why the interest in the history of the Underground Railroad shows no signs of declining anytime soon. As we speak, many books and edited collections are rolling off the presses.³² Such works, I believe, also attest to the continuous quest of most Americans to find a link to our nation’s first multi-racial, multi-class, multi-ethnic civil rights movement – the Underground Railroad.

ENDNOTES

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16. Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).
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PERSPECTIVES

Adams-Seward vs Palmerston-Russell: Diplomatic Crises during 1861

by
Michael L. Williams

During the first year of the Civil War, the United States had a new President inexperienced in foreign relations and diplomacy, eleven of its states in armed conflict with the other twenty-three and it had foreign nations uncertain about whom to support, if anyone. For both sides of the conflict, a “prize” was to obtain British support for their cause. The South was confident the need for its cotton in British textile mills would sway England to support the Confederacy. The financial crisis that would accompany a cotton famine in England was thought to be the single factor that would bring Britain onto the side of the Confederacy. The North knew of the substantial investments by British financiers in America, and since the South was a slave economy, it was thought unlikely the anti-slavery nation of Great Britain would give its support to the Confederacy. To the forefront came four diplomats, two for each nation, who would bear the burden of maintaining harmony between the two countries. The Union had William H. Seward and Charles Francis Adams; England had Viscount Henry Palmerston and Lord John Russell, but they had in excess of one-hundred thirty years of diplomatic experience. The Union’s diplomats were forced to learn under incredible stress. Examining their handling of one issue after another during the first year of the war, and Seward and Adams’ evolution as diplomats in their own right, reveals all four of them—icons as they became—as mere men who performed well under unimaginable pressures, and much of it in the public eye. Failure by the American diplomats meant Lincoln had a possible three-front war: the North in Canada, the South in the Confederacy, and the East by the formidable British Navy. In the end, and in spite of their many differences, these four men prevented an expanded war for Lincoln that was already destined to become a bloody confrontation exceeding anyone’s expectations in early 1861.

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Seward was Lincoln's Secretary of State, and Adams, son and grandson of former presidents, was his minister to Great Britain. Most of the time Adams dealt with British Foreign Secretary Russell, and he came to realize Russell may have been the real "driving force" behind England's relations with America during the Civil War.¹ Russell was sixty-eight years old, and Prime Minister Palmerston was seventy-seven. Both possessed superior abilities in their offices.² Adams surmised that Palmerston's experiences in opposing the slave trades³ would make him a staunch Union supporter since the Confederacy had a slave economy. Since Russell was also anti-slavery, there was reason to think he would be supportive of the Union.⁴ Adams was to discover otherwise.

Lincoln's appointment of Seward was not well received by Palmerston. He disliked Seward. Seward generally disliked England. Events dating back to 1841 during Seward's governorship of New York soured Palmerston on him, and, in 1860, Seward, during a visit to Washington, and while highly intoxicated, became insulting to the visiting Duke of Newcastle.⁵ In Palmerston's own words, Seward was a "vapouring"⁶ blustering, and ignorant man who would provoke a quarrel without meaning to do it.⁷ If the rebellion could not be quashed, Palmerston was convinced Seward would initiate an invasion of Canada in order to compensate for the loss of the Southern states. Seward's dislike of England was known to both Palmerston and Russell.⁸ Seward recalled the events surrounding his prior encounters or experiences with Palmerston differently,⁹ but British misgivings about him were not too misplaced. During the early stages of Lincoln's presidency, when hope still existed that violence might have been avoided, Seward submitted a memo to Lincoln in which an alternative was presented to the new President about how the South might have been returned to the Union. This was tendered to Lincoln on April 1, 1861. It was titled, "Some Thoughts For The President's Consideration."¹⁰ In it he suggested a conflict with European powers, especially Great Britain, over anticipated European encroachments into Mexico. Seward reasoned the seceding states would reconcile with the Union in opposition to a common foe, such as England.¹¹ Seward was mistrustful of Palmerston and Russell because he accredited to them an intention to facilitate America's disintegration.¹² Adams would soon learn of Russell's mistrust of the motives and good faith of the Lincoln Administration.¹³ Unfortunately, as the American crisis moved toward armed rebellion, a crucial time when Lincoln needed the support and alliances of other nations, and when conflicts with other nations would only have added to the chaos about to befall the Union, those in England and the Union charged with the responsibility of preventing the deterioration of harmony between the two nations neither liked nor trusted each other. It is an overused metaphor, but it did not appear England and America were "starting on the right foot." Most unfortunate for Lincoln in this regard, Palmerston and Russell were formidable adversaries in what would become a diplomatic tug-of-war as the two countries engaged in continuous posturing.

When Lincoln took office in early March 1861, England had not yet committed whether it would support or ally with the Confederacy or Union. Both entities presented serious economic considerations for Britain. In 1861 Anglo-American trade was at an "all time high."¹⁴ Britain's investments in America exceeded four hundred million dollars, mostly in the North. The influential and prestigious Baring Brothers investment and banking firm, reputed to be the "first commercial house

in the world,”¹⁵ and the investment firm of George Peabody & Co., were supportive of and lobbied for the Union. A member of Baring’s sat in Commons, and the United States had its London Treasury office in the Baring office building.¹⁶

The South believed it had its “trump card” to cinch early diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy as a sovereign and independent entity. It was England’s need for Southern cotton that Jefferson Davis perceived as the greatest advantage over the Union.¹⁷ The South supplied approximately eighty percent of Britain’s raw cotton.¹⁸ Jefferson Davis’ February, 1861, inaugural intimated it was in the “best interests of manufacturing nations that the free flow of cotton continue.”¹⁹ This reference to “free flow” was probably in anticipation of a Northern blockade of Southern ports once Lincoln took office in March. The Confederacy strategized a cotton shortage would compel Britain’s intervention to keep its huge textile industry functioning. Having no recognizable navy in early 1861, the South looked to Britain for assistance in running or lifting any blockade to insure needed cotton would reach British shores. To stimulate cotton shortages, the Confederate Congress imposed limitations upon cotton exports, and some urged the mandated destruction of any available cotton inventories.²⁰ Some plantation owners agreed they would plant no new crops until the blockade was lifted.²¹ Davis was confident British aid and recognition would follow soon after England began to suffer the consequences of a “cotton famine.”²²

The South’s reliance upon “King Cotton” in 1861 was misplaced. The excellent cotton crop yield of 1860 provided sufficient cotton surplus that satisfied England’s needs in early 1861; therefore, a cotton famine was thought by Palmerston and Russell as unlikely.²³ They further believed, as did many, that the rebellion would end with the South achieving autonomy and independence, that the conflict would be of short duration, and that the surplus already on British soil would be enough to outlast the rebellion.²⁴ England did not confront Lincoln’s blockades over any real or fabricated “cotton famine.”²⁵ In the unlikely event the conflict continued longer than anticipated, and if the cotton surplus neared exhaustion, alternative sources of supply might be found in Egypt and India.²⁶

The South needed financing. Foreign loans using cotton crops as collateral were thought to have been a source of funding. Again, it seemed the Confederacy’s estimation of cotton’s importance was overrated and grandiose. There were those in Britain who remembered when a financial crisis in 1837 resulted in some Southern states repudiating loans held by British investors. Many of those investors lost great sums of money. In 1861, the Confederacy was not generally considered a sound investment opportunity for many British investors.²⁷

On slavery, diplomacy was more complex, and Lincoln’s presidency offered Britain nothing persuasive to balance against the Confederacy on that specific issue. British Royalty was anti-slavery. It was believed Queen Victoria had read *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and met its author, Harriet Beecher Stowe.²⁸ Palmerston and Russell, both anti-slavery proponents, saw America as one of the most powerful “slave nations.”²⁹ Because of the probability of slavery’s continued existence when the South prevailed, Palmerston and Russell were disappointed.³⁰ Nations had already abolished the slave trade during the early 1800s, but Palmerston was never convinced America had seriously pursued the elimination of the trade. Palmerson knew many slave ships sailed beneath the American flag, and that many of those

ships originated in America.³¹ Palmerston had always been more militant and aggressive about abolition, often finding himself at odds with the United States, especially on the issue of returning fugitive slaves. When black seamen were found walking about in some Southern ports, they were arrested for violations of laws relating to “at large” Negroes. At the time, Washington neither helped nor offered help.³² In the 1840s, Palmerston was instrumental in establishing British policies that slaves be summarily released when their ships docked in British ports. Captains were advised they could simply consider their cargoes as “lost at sea.”³³

Southern sympathizers in Great Britain argued that a slavery question was not a reason for denying the Confederacy recognition as an independent and autonomous entity. At least on the surface, there were no discernible differences between the policies of the North and those of the South.³⁴ From the beginning of his presidency, Lincoln offered abolitionists nothing to suggest the elimination of slavery was a goal or policy of his administration. His inaugural specifically addressed that question, and Lincoln stated he had no intentions to interfere with slavery where it existed.³⁵ He expressed no designs to intercede against the mandated return of fugitive slaves pursuant to U.S. laws.³⁶ Shortly after Lincoln assumed office, Seward corresponded with foreign governments and communicated the Union’s desire that the international community respect American laws on the return of fugitive slaves, and this included his sending copies of Lincoln’s written inaugural.³⁷ When Adams assumed his post in London, he was to have made clear that abolition was neither a goal nor policy of the Lincoln administration.³⁸ Considering England’s well known stance on the issue, it is puzzling why Lincoln’s policies were highlighted if the Union was concerned about garnering support from Great Britain. The Confederate Constitution specifically abolished the slave trade and prohibited the expansion of slavery.³⁹ The United States Constitution contained only vague references to the possibility of abolition.⁴⁰ If there was an opportunity in early 1861 to have avoided the diplomatic crises that loomed in the very near future, that chance was lost. It would not come again until over a year later.

Lincoln’s diplomats were to have projected nothing but confidence that the rebellion would fail and Union would be preserved. Lincoln insisted that his resolve on that issue should never be doubted.⁴¹ Palmerston thought otherwise, but notwithstanding that belief, he suggested to the Crown and Parliament that England should remain “uninvolved.”⁴² This should not imply Palmerston lacked any interest in a Southern victory. A Confederate victory and independence were seen as beneficial to British interests. A sovereign Confederacy would have upset the balance of power in North America. A divided and weakened North America would have enhanced British influence, including commercial interests, and, on Palmerston’s part, he would have suffered less anxiety about any encroachments by America into Canada in furtherance of America’s philosophy of “Manifest Destiny.”⁴³ He saw much potential for British manufactured goods in the South, but, in early 1861, no clear victor was emerging. There was no immediate need to alienate either the North or the South.⁴⁴ Britain kept its diplomatic options open.⁴⁵

Consistent with the pervasive feelings in England that Lincoln could not preserve the Union, and that America would soon be divided,⁴⁶ Russell instructed British minister Lord Richard Lyons in Washington to avoid expressing opinions or giving advice to North or South, except to urge avoidance or cessation of

violence.⁴⁷ Lyons was ordered to express opposition to any blockading of ports against English shipping because of the potential for conflict such a measure would cause.⁴⁸ To Palmerston and Russell, reconciliation of North and South was not a realistic possibility. They held the opinion that Lincoln's most prudent course would have been to recognize the South and move forward from there.⁴⁹

Seward was extremely troubled by what he thought were British perceptions of the United States. He was convinced the English saw Americans as a "boastful and conceited people" whose republican form of government had failed to "weather a storm," and the failure of that government would, in the view of some European governments, give "additional strength and stability to their own institutions."⁵⁰ Once in London, Adams began to share that belief.⁵¹ In September of 1861 Adams wrote of the "unfriendly spirit" in London. He described London advertisements that promised substantial sums of money to successful blockade runners, and information was freely offered on how evade the blockade.⁵² Despite prevailing British opposition to slavery, both men thought that England was eager to see America's bold experiment in democracy fail.⁵³ If Southern supporters convinced Parliament to acknowledge the Confederacy as a "de facto government," they were aware British legal precedent could be applied to give the South the recognition it sought.⁵⁴

In preparing Adams for his post, Seward and Lincoln stressed that he should project nothing before the British except unwavering confidence in the Union's continued life.⁵⁵ He was to protest any English efforts to recognize the South as an independent government in America. He was to remind England there was but one legitimate government in America, and the Confederacy was not it. Adams was to impress upon British government officials that any recognition of or alliances with the Confederacy would make England or any other nation so doing an enemy of the American republic.⁵⁶

It is difficult to attach to any one official within the Lincoln Administration as originating the idea to have the United States become a signatory to the Treaty of Paris of 1856, but an effort was mounted to do so in the belief that Britain and other nations, also signatories, would be compelled to recognize Lincoln's naval blockade that began in late April, 1861.⁵⁷ The 1856 Treaty⁵⁸ was an international agreement dating back to the end of the Crimean War.⁵⁹ The original parties were Turkey, England, France, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, but others signed later. America was invited to join, but declined to do so.⁶⁰ Ironically, it declined because America did not want to relinquish its right to employ privateers to supplement its naval forces.⁶¹ In 1861, it was Lincoln who became concerned that Jefferson Davis' call for privateers would diminish the effects of his blockade, and the Paris Treaty included rules against the use of privateers. The Treaty considered such persons as "pirates," thereby subjecting them to summary and severe punishment if captured, including immediate execution. It also provided for seizure of neutral ships transporting contraband. International laws provided for the taking of such ships to "prize ports" for independent adjudication of the captured ship's status, as well as the status of its crew, cargo, and passengers. Other provisions mandated member nations to abide by declared blockades.⁶²

The idea seemed ingenious, at least in theory. As a signatory, the Union could secure some support for Lincoln's blockade, and it potentially provided support for the Union's efforts against Southern privateers. If European nations would not

aggressively support the Union in other ways, at least, on these two issues, member signatories might be of some help. Along with Adams' attempts to prevent formal recognition of the Confederacy as a sovereign entity, procuring the United States' status as a signatory nation to the 1856 Treaty of Paris was Adams' other important goal.

In May, 1861, as Adams prepared to embark to his London post, there had not yet been a diplomatic crisis of any consequence. Russell had informed George Dallas, outgoing United States minister to London, that no decisions on Confederate recognition would occur prior to arrival of Adams, the new ambassador. Russell's message was that Adams' arrival would "doubtless be regarded as the appropriate occasion for finally discussing and determining the question" of what status, if any, the Confederacy should be accorded by England in the future.⁶³ It was known to Adams and Seward that Jefferson Davis had previously sent representatives to England to open diplomatic relations.⁶⁴ Although this might have been an impetus to hasten Adams' departure, it did not. Russell's assurances were enough to allay any fears that haste was necessary; however, considering Seward's mistrust of Palmerston and Russell, this reliance is puzzling.⁶⁵ When Adams did arrive, it fell to Baring Brothers' partner, Josua Bates, to meet Adams as he disembarked.⁶⁶ It was likely that meeting Adams was not an unpleasant task; however, to Bates also fell the duty of telling Adams what had transpired during his crossing. This news would cause Adams, and then Lincoln and Seward, great distress.

Within a mere day of Adams' arrival, on May 13, 1861, Queen Victoria announced Britain's recognition of the Confederacy's status as a "belligerent."⁶⁷ Russell and Palmerston convinced her that measure was in Britain's best interests.⁶⁸ A presumption that she knew of Adams' appointment to the ambassadorship is probably sound, but it is uncertain whether she knew of the assurances given by Russell to Lincoln that such a diplomatic event would await Adams' opportunity to assume his post and address the matter.⁶⁹ Whether or not Queen Victoria knew, Russell and Palmerston certainly did. Concurrent with this announcement, or in anticipation thereof, Palmerston ordered British troops to Canada.⁷⁰ This move reflects Palmerston's long term belief that the United States would invade Canada upon little or even no provocation, and it also suggests the Proclamation was more significant than he or Russell would admit. For most of his career he had been convinced America had designs on Canada.⁷¹ Considering Adams' imminent arrival, the Proclamation has the appearance of diplomatic recklessness if the goal of the diplomacy was to avoid conflict and hostilities. Palmerston was too wise and experienced not to have known the Proclamation and its timing would have incurred the wrath and future mistrust of Lincoln and his administration. The timing did not suggest a benevolent purpose.

The "belligerency" status accorded the South certain benefits under international protocols. According to international law the South would be permitted to use privateers, but the Union would not be permitted to arrest and punish British privateers as pirates. The Proclamation did admonish England and its subjects against aiding either side to the conflict. If British shipyards and private shipbuilders had contracted to build Confederate ships, they would be prohibited from arming them on British soil.⁷² The Confederacy could purchase materials for warfare, could be eligible for loans, and could bring captured ships to "prize ports."⁷³ This was true even if done by privateers, at least at first. The Confederacy

began contracting for the building of many ships.⁷⁴ The Queen's Proclamation was not dissimilar in many ways with the earlier "British Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819," which forbade British citizens from serving in foreign military outfits and armies, forbade the equipping of warships for other nations if Britain maintained neutrality, and, if British subjects were captured violating Lincoln's blockade, they could not expect England's protection from the legal consequences.⁷⁵ Seward and Adams remained positive this was England's first step to full recognition of the South.⁷⁶ This belief was reinforced because Russell had recently met with Confederate representatives, and the timing of the Proclamation was foreboding.

From Bates, Adams learned Russell had made the formal announcement just before his ship had landed, and Adams was forced to endure reminders of this when he saw the news headlines during his first day in England.⁷⁷ His first goal, the prevention of any Confederate recognition, had been denied him even before he set foot in England. He believed it represented the "possible imminence of a great disaster."⁷⁸ His son, Henry, who acted as his father's personal secretary during his term in England, was more expressive of his inner feelings as he saw his father's distress. He recalled that, although he did not have "any burning desire to kill Confederate rebels," he wanted "England off the earth."⁷⁹

When Seward learned of the British actions, his reaction was not unexpected. He was extremely angry. To him, Russell, indeed England, had breached good faith, and the action, taken when Palmerston and Russell knew of Adams' imminent arrival, and further aggravated by Russell's empty promises or, perhaps, outright deception, amounted to an "act of national discourtesy." One can merely speculate what Seward's reaction would have been upon hearing of Russell's formal and public announcement, during which he was supposed to have referred to the "late Union."⁸⁰ To him, this was further evidence of English attempts to "dismember the Union."⁸¹ Adams—perhaps not as militant as Seward, but still pessimistic about the meaning and significance of the British Proclamation—thought this to be just one more piece of evidence that full diplomatic recognition of the South was "merely a question of . . . a very short time."⁸² Repeated requests by Seward in 1861 for promises not to do so were unsuccessful.⁸³

Seward's responsive dispatches to the Proclamation were so aggressive and belligerent in tone that Lincoln modified them to be less offensive.⁸⁴ Adams reflected later that Seward's dispatches were of such a tone that war would surely have erupted between England and the Union, so ". . . indecorous and threatening" were they as to have been "tantamount to a declaration of war."⁸⁵ Even toned down, Lincoln ordered that Seward's remarks not be conveyed to Russell, but only that they be used to guide Adams' discretion.⁸⁶

From the perspective of Palmerston and Russell, events that occurred in the short span of time during Adams' voyage prompted the Queen's Proclamation. To insure Britain's "non-involvement" in the North American conflict some formal statement of policy was deemed necessary. The Proclamation was the means through which to insure that Lincoln and Davis understood England's position. Whether this stretched the limits of credibility may be fodder for another discussion, but England could not have continued in its total non-committal mode for much longer.⁸⁷ The House of Commons had already begun to aggressively debate whether to give the Confederacy full recognition. On April 16, 1861, Commons member William

Gregory, a Confederate sympathizer, made a motion for full diplomatic recognition, but Russell convinced that House to delay any such measures for a few weeks.⁸⁸ The imposition of the blockade, and Jefferson Davis' call for privateers, both occurring within a few days of each other in mid-April 1861, generated concern on the part of the British. Lincoln proclaimed privateers would be considered pirates. Anyone captured acting in that role could, and probably would, be summarily executed. British subjects might have been on those ships, and, by virtue thereof, English naval officers would have found themselves in the unenviable position of arresting and prosecuting, perhaps even hanging, their own countrymen. Apparently, it was known that some British subjects had answered the South's call for privateers.⁸⁹ In recognizing the South as a "belligerent," Britain was relieved from considering the privateers as pirates, and, perhaps, Lincoln might have been convinced to take a less punitive view of them as well. Parliament also expressed doubts about the propriety of Lincoln's blockade.⁹⁰ International treaties required that blockades be real or that they at least demonstrate effectiveness. "Paper blockades," those that were mostly in "name only," did not require compliance.⁹¹ In the early months of the rebellion, the United States Navy was not developed enough to establish much more than a paper blockade around many ports, but in an unexpected gesture, Palmerston ordered English ships to recognize the American blockade of Southern ports in anticipation of America's shipbuilding industry shortly making the blockade "effective."⁹² Until then, and to deal with the initial risks, on May 6, 1861, an English fleet was dispatched to protect British shipping off the coast of North America, but this did not include attacking Lincoln's blockade.⁹³ In spite of Seward and Lincoln's fears, the much sought after diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy remained beyond the immediate reach of Jefferson Davis and his government.⁹⁴

During his meeting with Russell in late May, Adams stressed the position of the United States that further recognition of the Confederacy would result in the termination of diplomatic relations, and the serious implications of this were easy to comprehend. This admonition included any actions giving the South any de facto legitimacy through ongoing diplomatic contacts as if the Confederacy was a sovereign nation. At Adams' urging, Russell promised no further meetings would occur with Confederacy representatives.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, as Adams would come to learn, this was to be still another promise for Russell to break.

Next on Adams' agenda was to secure the United States' status as a signatory to the Declaration of Paris.⁹⁶ The negotiations directed toward this goal led to even more mistrust of England's Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, as Adams came to doubt that good faith had ever been practiced by Russell or Palmerston.

Early in the Treaty of Paris negotiations, Adams believed all was proceeding smoothly.⁹⁷ Even Seward was encouraged and optimistic about possible good results. Britain had recently decided to deny privateers the use of English ports, including ports to which they would otherwise have brought seized prizes.⁹⁸ Early indications were that the negotiations were going to be of short duration and would result in the United States' status as a signatory to the Treaty.⁹⁹ During July, 1861, Adams began to suspect something was very wrong. He wrote later that Russell was demonstrating "evasiveness, procrastinations, and vacillations . . . the whole conduct of the (English) Administration here is inexplicable . . . and it is difficult to suppress indignation."¹⁰⁰ Notwithstanding Adams' suspicions, he

was again instructed to execute the Treaty of Paris without reservations. It was not to be.¹⁰¹

It was learned that Russell's delays had a purpose. When he was negotiating with Adams, supposedly in "good faith," he had already undertaken to have surreptitious contacts with Confederate officials, all unbeknownst to Union diplomats, and contrary to earlier promises such would not be done. That this would doom America's participation as a signatory to the Treaty must have been known, but Russell proceeded anyway. Russell had directed England's ambassador to Washington, Lord Lyons, to link up with the French ambassador for the express purpose of negotiating with Jefferson Davis on whether the Confederacy intended to respect British and French neutral rights on the high seas. Lyons was cautioned to maintain strict secrecy from Adams and the Lincoln administration.¹⁰² Obviously, Jefferson Davis agreed to abide by the terms of the Paris Declaration of 1856, albeit on an informal basis. Realistically, what options did Jefferson Davis have? If he refused and informed the British and French diplomats he would not respect their neutral rights, that he would seize British and French shipping, and that he would consider the two European nations as enemies, then the impact upon the South can only be speculated. Naturally, Jefferson Davis promised as requested.

Russell's actions placed Britain in a delicate posture. Once acquiring the Confederacy's voluntary and informal assent to the Treaty of Paris terms, it would have been unreasonable to then handle Confederate ships and privateers as enemies of the Treaty members, of which the Union was in the process of becoming a signatory. If the United States became a signatory, Britain was required to do just that. Since the United States never did recognize the Confederacy's "belligerency" status, it had no intentions of demonstrating any respect for "neutral rights" of privateers as anything other than "pirates." To escape this quandary, and since the negotiations that had taken place with Jefferson Davis were expected to have remained secret from Adams and Seward, then some measures had to be taken to discourage Lincoln from pursuing a signatory status to the Treaty. The solution was a demand that Adams execute the Treaty, but with an "addendum" or "adhesion" that would have exempted the other nations to the Treaty from abiding by its terms until the rebellion had been resolved. It was late August when this new provision was thrust upon Adams as he prepared to sign on behalf of the United States. Apparently, as Russell explained it to Adams, if America became a signatory, then England, as a party signatory, would have been compelled to act contrary to the terms of the Queen's "Neutrality Proclamation" of May, 1961. This, Russell declared, it would not do. Specifically, the new terms were to have excluded from the Treaty any matters associated with the Civil War in North America.¹⁰³

Adams could not execute the Treaty under those circumstances and with those terms. It is doubtful that Russell and Palmerston did not suspect as much. Indeed, there is every reason to believe it was their design and purpose that Lincoln would refuse to accept the additional terms and not go forward. Common sense dictated the United States would never have agreed to such terms; therefore, the Paris Declaration would still lack America as a signatory. By virtue of this, Britain was not obliged to recognize the Confederacy as an adversary under the Treaty, and the United States would be none the wiser about the secret negotiations with Jefferson Davis. The effect of the "adhesion" would have nullified the very reasons for the

United States becoming a signatory.¹⁰⁴ Russell, the one dealing with Adams on a “face to face” basis, demonstrated why he was known as a skilled diplomat, if not a totally honest one. Russell also told Adams Britain feared she would have been compelled under the Treaty’s original terms to prosecute British subjects acting as privateers, and the English government would never have tolerated that.¹⁰⁵ It is unknown why Russell did not inform Adams of that much earlier. Palmerston and Russell were certain armed encounters with Confederate ships were inevitable.¹⁰⁶ The Bull Run debacle gave Britain less incentive to welcome the United States as a signatory anyway, and it inspired more Southern support for recognition of the Confederacy. The performance of Lincoln’s army reinforced the belief that attempts to reunify the nation were “pure folly.”¹⁰⁷ Lord Palmerston was reportedly jubilant over the Union’s misfortune, referring to the battle as “Yankees’ Run,” or as “the Bull’s Run Races.” He and Russell were convinced that Lincoln and Seward would be more “reasonable” as a result of that defeat.¹⁰⁸

Reflecting later on the failure of the Treaty of Paris negotiations, Ambassador Adams’ son, Henry, wrote of his father’s belief that Russell had not negotiated in good faith. After this episode, Ambassador Adams concluded that Russell had not dealt with him candidly and in good faith since he first assumed his London post during May of 1861. In the two months between the arrival in London and the suspension of negotiations on the Paris Declaration, the ambassador recalled the British government did nothing which impressed him as “honest and straightforward.”¹⁰⁹ Russell and Palmerston remained convinced, at least for awhile, that the intrigue had worked, and that the Lincoln administration had been duped. This was not the case. Russell may have been as inept at international intrigue as he was at keeping his promises to America.

During August 1861, Seward discovered a member of South Carolina’s militia, Robert Mure, was traveling to Europe out of New York, and that he carried dispatches for delivery to Confederate commissioners in London and Paris. He was captured in New York. A search revealed a New Orleans British consul had obtained a passport for him, and there were several personal letters from Robert Bunch, a British consul assigned to Charleston, South Carolina. According to Seward, Bunch’s letters contained *anti-union* materials, and, under prevailing laws, perhaps even under international law, this was a serious offense that rose to the level of treasonous conduct. The letters also contained Bunch’s detailed journals of his acting on Russell’s behalf in meeting with Confederate leaders.¹¹⁰ It was not a secret anymore. Adams’ instincts about Russell during the Paris Declaration negotiations were proven correct.

In November 1861, Adams notified Russell that Bunch’s credentials were withdrawn, and that he should be recalled to England. Bunch’s consul status did not include diplomatic negotiations, so any contact with a “foreign state” in the absence of President Lincoln’s permission, was a violation of U.S. statutes and diplomatic protocols.¹¹¹ Russell refused to remove Bunch. Even if Russell’s apparent lack of diplomatic integrity was as bad as Seward and Adams came to believe, or as demonstrated by Russell himself, what he presented as an argument to justify his deceptions and Bunch’s activities must be considered as inspired. He again demonstrated his diplomacy skills by assuming the “offensive.” He argued Lincoln was ignoring a “factual reality” under the circumstances.¹¹² Whereas Lincoln had

no control over the actions of the Confederacy in the event British goods or subjects were involved, Britain had rights to communicate with a “de-facto” government in efforts to protect its interests and those of its subjects. He cited no specific international law provisions in support thereof, but that did not deter his making the argument. He tried again to allay any fears that England was on a path to recognition of the Confederacy as a sovereign nation.¹¹³ Russell then cleverly pointed to what he considered another flaw in Lincoln’s position on this issue. He reminded Adams that Lincoln did not recognize the Confederacy as any independent state or sovereign, and he certainly did not recognize the South as any kind of “foreign state,” a factual predicate to finding the law to have been violated. Had not Lincoln repeatedly emphasized this to foreign governments? Had not Lincoln repeatedly reminded the international community that but one “nation” existed within America’s borders? Had not Lincoln been emphatic the Confederacy was not that government? Bunch, therefore, had not contacted a “foreign nation.” He had contacted the Confederacy. Logically, Russell concluded, there was no transgression of the law. Russell then finished by suggesting Lincoln’s insistence upon Bunch’s guilt had accorded to the Confederacy more recognition than anything the British had yet done.¹¹⁴ If Adams had previously thought that Russell was a superior diplomat, if not an honest one, this must have gone a long way to reinforce that belief. Although Seward, always eager to engage the British, was convinced the facts showed British intentions to recognize the South, Adams was not.¹¹⁵ He thought the matter of lesser significance than did Seward.¹¹⁶

The “Bunch Affair” was never truly concluded because all of the parties became distracted by an incident that occurred in the Atlantic, a few hundred miles off the coast of Cuba. On November 29, 1861, Lord Palmerston delivered a letter to the Queen and Prince Albert telling them of a British commercial vessel that had been boarded and had passengers seized while bringing them, goods, and mail to Europe through the Caribbean.¹¹⁷ It was the British steamer *Trent*. This, to the British, was serious.

When it must have appeared to Adams and Seward that nothing further could have occurred to disturb the delicate balance the Union was maintaining with England, something did. While docked for coal on the fifteenth and sixteenth of November 1861, Captain Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States frigate, *San Jacinto*, informed Washington that after receiving information of at least two Confederate envoys bound for England aboard a British ship, he decided to intercept her and capture the Confederate diplomats.¹¹⁸ Believing it to have been his duty to do so, he intercepted the ship.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately for Wilkes, and due to what may today be considered odd legal interpretations of the 1856 Paris Treaty, the actions of the American naval officer was contrary to then prevailing international laws.¹²⁰

The *Trent* permitted the boarding, but not before shots were fired over the bow.¹²¹ Found were Confederate commissioners, John Slidell and James M. Mason, their secretaries, and the commissioners’ families, all bound for France and England. The Confederates were removed from the *Trent*, but the ship, along with the other passengers were allowed to continue. The commissioners’ families were given the choice to come with them, but they stayed aboard the *Trent*.¹²²

Adams wrote “America went crazy,” in describing America’s elation to Capt. Wilkes’ actions. Considering how Russell dealt with him since arriving in England,

Adams must have taken some pleasure in what George Sumner, brother to Sen. Charles Sumner, wrote to the *New York Tribune* on November 22nd. Surely referring to the turmoil created by British naval commanders when they impressed sailors from American vessels in the past, Sumner wrote Wilkes should be honored, as should the British, because the Captain had acted in “strict accordance . . . and conformity with the international law recognized in England, and in strict conformity with English practice.”¹²³ Horace Greeley had high praise for Wilkes, noting that the *Trent* was transporting persons under a British flag when these same persons could never have sailed under their own, and he further noted that the Queen’s Neutrality Proclamation specifically warned against British subjects engaging in services on behalf of the North or South, which, Greeley maintained, was exactly what the *Trent* was doing when intercepted.¹²⁴

Reactions in England were as expected. Russell promptly corresponded with Washington and demanded reparations and the release of the commissioners. He underscored the serious nature of the incident to both nations, and, at least on that subject, Russell was telling the whole truth. It was serious.¹²⁵ Adams recalled that emotions ran high in England. There were many calls for war or other hostile actions against the Union because of what was termed America’s “insult” to the British flag.¹²⁶ Later, Adams reflected how fortunate the two nations had been that the Atlantic cable was not yet in service in 1861. Had it been so, the rampant emotions, the sense of nationalism in Britain, and the sheer weight of popular anti-Union sentiments in the British government might have resulted in inflammatory and arousing messages to Lincoln and Seward, all with fatal consequences for peace between the two nations. The wave of emotions would surely have led to warfare.¹²⁷ Seward would certainly have been ready, if not eager, to engage the British.

Back in America, Seward heard reports of British soldiers being shipped to Canada as their company’s band played “I Wish I Was In Dixie.”¹²⁸ Palmerston formed a belief that Lincoln and Seward, particularly Seward, had planned the seizure ahead of time. Considering it was common knowledge by the diplomats about Seward’s anti-British feelings, and further considering Seward’s April 1st memo to Lincoln, the Prime Minister’s thoughts about a possible incitement to war between the two countries because of recent events was not too farfetched.¹²⁹ His attempts to convince the Queen and Prince Albert of this went for naught.¹³⁰ Fortunately, neither Queen Victoria nor her husband, Prince Albert, believed Lincoln caused the incident. Neither believed Lincoln would have sought a war over the commissioners. To them, it was probably nothing more than a mistake and misunderstanding caused by an overzealous naval commander. A mere apology and return of the commissioners would suffice.¹³¹

It was then that something remarkable happened. Prince Albert, possibly an admirer of Lincoln, prepared a memo reflecting the Queen’s views which were much more conciliatory than the waves of anti-Lincoln and pro-war sentiments expressed by many, if not most, of her government. Seward reflected later, “a pathetic interest attaches to this incident from the fact that Prince Albert was at the time suffering from the illness which shortly afterwards proved fatal, and that this memorandum was the last thing he ever wrote.”¹³² The memo expressed his and the Queen’s belief that Wilkes had acted without authorization from the United States government, and, if he thought he had, then he had simply misunderstood.

After Lincoln heard the facts and had time to consider the matter, he decided keeping the commissioners was of no value to the war effort. He agreed to the release, but there would be no apology. Treasury Secretary Chase wrote it was Wilkes' humane consideration for the remaining passengers traveling upon the *Trent* that convinced him to only take the envoys, but, as Chase correctly reported to Lincoln, under applicable international laws, Wilkes should not have been so considerate, and he should have seized the entire ship, its passengers, crew, and the British mail, and taken them to a "prize port" for adjudication. Had he done so, wrote Chase, England would have had no sustainable legal position against the seizure. If Wilkes had not been so compassionate and considerate towards the crew and passengers, and if he had simply taken the ship and everything and everyone aboard, his acts would have been securely within international laws. By obeying the "dictates of humanity and friendly consideration to a friendly nation," Wilkes deprived himself of that justification.¹³³ In other words, as Adams and others noted later, "England would have been less offended if the United States had insulted her a great deal more."¹³⁴

There remained some voices calling for war against America because of the alleged "affront."¹³⁵ Before the matter was resolved in December of 1861, Britain prepared to send 12,000 troops to Canada.¹³⁶ Seward, never willing to pass on a chance to pique Russell, wrote him asking if he (Russell) would prefer to have the (British) troops land in Maine and go overland to their post due to the frozen and un-navigable conditions of the St. Lawrence River. Russell declined.¹³⁷

Adams wrote later that during the time it took for these initial communications and the receipt of the many responses and other dispatches, emotions began to "cool." He reflected that the passage of time helped to temper the emotions of all concerned. Adams noted that the "popular effervescence had time in which to subside . . . while by the forty-first day . . . sober second thoughts (were) invoked . . . An Anglo-Saxon community rarely goes daft permanently."¹³⁸

After the events of 1861, England and the Union seemed to have acquired an "understanding" of each other. Charles Adams, uninitiated in stressful diplomatic relations before May 1861, received his "seasoning under fire." England and the US had spent the year posturing and maneuvering with each other, always touting their military might, at times more pronounced than others. But when an unexpected encounter between a zealous American naval captain and an otherwise obscure British steamer occurred, placing the two nations in an international "face off," wisdom prevailed, due in no small part to a Queen and her dying husband who, together re-introduced reason into a process that had deteriorated into a scenario dangerous to peace. Palmerston began to fully understand Lincoln would not have hesitated to battle England or any other European power if it meant the preservation of the Union. Palmerston's policy of "wait and see," an irritant to Seward and Lincoln, turned out to have been the most prudent course. A close examination of the men and their thinking as they addressed one diplomatic issue after another should serve as a reminder that figures of the past, no matter how famous or even deified, were human beings with human emotions, and what makes them deserving of the reverence in which some of them are now held, was their ability to be wise under pressure in the midst of stress and turmoil, and amid public outcries for the bloodshed of young men in payment for alleged national insults.

After 1861 the two nations would never come so close to hostilities during the Civil War. Crises and issues would come and go, stresses would mount and subside, but warfare was never again a serious option.

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PERSPECTIVES

Woodrow Wilson's Court of Versailles

by
Rebecca L. Campbell

Following World War I, the powers of the world congregated to settle on their terms for peace. "We have assembled for two purposes – to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this War, and also to secure the Peace of the world not only by the present settlements but by the arrangements we shall make in this Conference for its maintenance," said Woodrow Wilson at the Paris peace talks of January 1919.¹ His main goal was to achieve a League of Nations to help police the world, but his dream was quite possibly to end wars altogether.

After years of brutal fighting, Europe was ready for peace. However, Wilson was finding the American role that had proved vital to ending the war was not carrying over to negotiations. His decision to personally attend the Peace Conference was condemned by many on the home front. It went against precedent for a President to be away from the country. Wilson ignored warnings and pressed onward to Paris. The man who had campaigned to keep the United States out of World War I was now on his way to convince the world a League of Nations would allow for peace on earth.

In the world arena, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Lloyd George, later wrote, "I am now convinced that his [Wilson's] personal attendance at the Conference was a mistake."² Wilson was the head of a state, not just a secretary or prime minister. There was much controversy over how he should be received, and his "holier than thou" attitude left much to be desired. His welcome was quickly worn out, and the home front was quickly going to shambles.

This lust for peace, as well as his arrogance stems from the highly "Christian" nature of Wilson. He felt he was directly in tune with "God's" wishes for the nation, and the world for that matter. He had a deep passion for his League of Nations and

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was anxious to make sure it was accepted and passed. His passion was great, and his temper was just as great. Unfortunately, his ideas weren't as impressive to those at the Paris Peace Conference, as they were to himself. When asked to visit some of the sites of the ruins in France, he always seemed to be able to avoid such a situation. Once he accepted and viewed Rheims, where a Cathedral had been in its glory a few years prior and he "congratulated the prelate on the edifice not being nearly as much defaced as he had expected to see it."³ It was almost as if Wilson was in denial that anything could be imperfect around him. "He shunned the sight or study of unpleasant truths that diverted him from his forgone conclusions."⁴ Wilson had predisposed ideas, and he would not let go of them. He felt he knew what was best for the world, and he was determined to see his ideas through.

The "saving grace" of the Americans had fizzled by the time the delegates met at Versailles. Britain and France quickly forgot the necessity of the American forces to end the war. The war had been wrapped up so quickly that Wilson did not have time to concentrate on the demands of the United States; he was focused on passing his League of Nations. He learned very soon the other nations had other agendas.

The first 26 Articles of the Versailles Peace Treaty outlined the League of Nations. It listed the nations that were to be members, and set forth the obligations and functions of the League. It recognized the "seat" of the League to be at Geneva, Switzerland. Article 8 was one of the more controversial points, calling for armaments to be reduced in all nations to the bare minimum. Other articles discussed options in war time, and the relationships that would be founded due to the League and the proper context of such relationships. Article 10 bound the United States to "preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence" of members of the League.⁵

One major downfall of the League of Nations was that it could only enforce its decisions on its members. All the countries of the world must join to make it successful in its presented state. This posed a problem when the United States Senate never ratified the Treaty of Versailles, therefore not becoming a member of the League. It's highly ironic that President Wilson proposed the League, yet had no success convincing his own country to join. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge from Massachusetts, Chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, offered to support the treaty if Wilson would agree to several reservations including weakening of Article 10. But Wilson considered the deployment of troops to protect members the "heart of the Covenant," and refused to accept Lodge's reservations. Though Wilson is credited with the idea of the League, in reality it wasn't his entirely.⁶ It was in earlier communications with Sir Edward Grey, of England, that the idea was implied to Wilson. Edward House wrote, "This noble conception was the product of no single brain, but was the consummation of the thoughts and aspirations of the forward-looking men of the past and the present."⁷ Wilson only used the idea once the war was over to push his arrogant nature to its maximum. Of course, if asked, Wilson would have taken entire responsibility for the idea.

Essentially, Wilson aimed to produce a "world policing" system. He felt that if civil leaders could come together and speak rationally, problems could be solved without war. Also, the League would serve to maintain peace. Countries could take their matters to the League, and have them mediated. This idea seems well intended, however other parts of the treaty would not allow for peace to be forever maintained.

Perhaps the League would allow for nations to discuss their problems, but could it really maintain peace? The answer is no, and the roots of the answer are found in the Versailles Peace Treaty. The most famous clause of the treaty is the “War Guilt Clause,” or Article 231. This article forced Germany to assume all guilt for the war, as well as the assumption of reparations. Germany was about to sign a blank check, and its effect would be felt throughout the nation and cause great resentment.

Lloyd George submitted to the Supreme Council on March 29, 1919, for the amount of reparations to be omitted from the text of the treaty.⁸ Britain was one of the major powers that felt the war was solely the fault of the Germans, and they were determined to seek financial revenge. Britain and

France soon allied themselves together against Germany, and tended to leave President Wilson in the shadows. “The President forgot that the Allies had fought for nearly five years for international right and fairplay, and were then exhausted and sore from the terrible wounds they had sustained in the struggle.”⁹ Germany was about to suffer a blow that would begin the tide toward World War II.

The “moral” question was on the minds of all involved. This was most evident in Wilson. “An implication of ‘casual responsibility’ was, in view of the general belief in Germany’s war guilt that existed in 1919, almost equivalent to an implication of ‘moral responsibility.’”¹⁰ The preceding statement was a description of the Note of November 5, 1918. This note was sent by the United States to the peace proceedings. The powers felt that Germany was the one who antagonized the world into this major war, therefore they must assume responsibility for the consequences. To ensure the punishment of Germany, they stripped the borders, taking away many of the claims they made during the war. Also, they drastically disarmed Germany.

The land that was taken from Germany was in its industrial areas, thus causing a large decrease in employment and revenue for the country. Germany lost thirteen percent of their industry – mainly coal, iron ore, zinc, potatoes, rye, and wheat. Most importantly, was the loss in population: ten percent, which was six and a half million. In other words, Germany lost equal to the entire population of Sweden.¹¹

Thus, the aftermath of the war was brutal on the people of Germany. They were left without raw materials and food. In addition, the deficit was growing with no end in sight, and the number of unemployed was on the rise. The government began printing money, without backing, therefore causing inflation which would give rise to a depression.¹² Ultimately, the economic strife suffered during this time would



Woodrow Wilson.
*Stuart Sprague Collection, Department
of Special Collections and Archives,
Steely Library, Northern Kentucky
University*

allow for political revolution in Germany, yet another foothold for the second world war. "In January 1923, the cost of living for a family of five in Berlin was 1,120 times the cost in 1913. . . . The cost of food had actually risen to 1,366 times its cost in 1913."¹³ Tension was now unable to be ignored. The people of Germany had no means available to live any type of comfortable life. The continued pressure would allow for extremist parties to rise, and take over the welfare of the country.

In 1923, Count Harry Kessler wrote, "My conclusion is that Germany is a sick nation, gripped by two mortal diseases, the destruction of its economic organism and the corruption of its currency; but that if these two diseases are cured in time, it will probably recover not to its former strength, but to be a healthy member of the great family of industrious nations."¹⁴ Germany did recover with time, but it recovered with revenge as its primary concern and a need to spread its racist and self-idealistic reasoning. As America tries to make the world a safe place for democracy, Germany will try to make the world safe for its perfect race.

The United States Senate never ratified the Treaty of Versailles. Ironically, no peace treaty was ever signed between the United States and Germany. As of July 2, 1921, by virtue of public opinion, there was a state of peace toward Germany.¹⁵

Public opinion was a concern of Woodrow Wilson, yet it was never fully manipulated. In later reflections, Edward House described the need for public support, "If the American purposes could have been known, a moral backing and stimulus would have been given our representatives. . . . This sustaining force might have come from the whole world."¹⁶ The world was so fatigued from the fighting that it was not as concerned over the peace proceedings. People were generally relieved that the fighting had ceased and Americans were not overly joyous with the entrance of the war. Wilson, who had campaigned in 1916 using the fact that he had kept the United States from getting involved, eventually had to get involved. This did not bode well with the public, but Wilson believed the public would always be on the side of the righteous. With that in mind, and an understanding of Wilson's self-righteousness, it is easier to grasp his arrogance. Wilson thought the public would always be on his side.

To Wilson's credit, he did try to end the war in Europe without sending troops. His "Peace without Victory" speech was very famous; it was his push for an end to the war, without either side claiming victory. Of course, Britain and France would have never submitted themselves to such an idea. Both nations had lost so many troops, how could they dishonor their countrymen in such a way? As Edward House wrote, "Theoretically, 'peace without victory' was within the realm of reason, but practically it was not."¹⁷ As many of Wilson's ideas seemed to be, it was a phenomenal idea on paper, it simply did not seem to be plausible.

Once the Paris Peace Conference concluded, and Wilson had signed the treaty, even though his League had been stripped down past the skeleton he had presented, Wilson returned to the United States. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty, so Wilson went on a speaking tour to help raise public support and morale. His campaign did not work, and he wore himself out eventually suffering a stroke in Pueblo, Colorado. He was rushed back to the White House to recover. Even through his personal dilemma, he still pushed the Senate to pass the treaty. They still refused.

Wilson seemed to be a man before his time with the idea of the League. He was well-intended, despite other opinions. He did have minor problems with the racial

areas; for instance, his refusal of a statement of equality for Japan, yet he had a good idea in the creation of checks and balances for the world. After such a traumatic experience, the world needed a way to prevent future occurrences. Unfortunately, the League or the harshness of the treaty could not prevent the onslaught of another war. Perhaps the world was tired, or maybe just too naive, but a second war was eminent.

Without ratification, Wilson failed to make his nation a part of the League of Nations. He fought with a deep desire to see his vision reality. The League was formed with those who chose to join, and a debate ensued in the United States. Wilson was not given the Presidential nomination in 1920; his leadership days were over. Perhaps he should have stayed home and delegated his authority from his desk. Unfortunately, it will never be known if the outcome would have been modified. The results of the Paris Conference were many, two very important ones were centered around the United States and Germany. In both cases, it seemed to set the stage for another war. Another war to be more shocking and horrific. To the dismay of many, World War I was not the “war to end all wars.”

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PERSPECTIVES

A Fight Against Modernism

by

Carrie A. Masters

The 1920s, also called the Jazz Age, were a time of radical change in America. These changes occurred rapidly and left Americans struggling to keep up with their transitioning society. People had already been flocking to the new industrial cities in search of a better life. For the first time in history, more Americans lived in the cities than in the countryside. After the Great War, emigration from Europe began to slow down due to the passage of immigration laws. African Americans had begun to migrate north. America was changing and so were its people; the ideals of the past, moderation, refinement, and sexual restraint, were being deserted. The new icons of the time period were the “speak easy,” the “tabloid press,” and the sexually free “flapper.”¹ This relaxed moral atmosphere allowed all segments of society, especially women, to expand the horizons of social acceptability. With the passing of the nineteenth amendment, women were seeking a more active role in society by attending school and becoming more independent.

Traditional religious attitudes were also questioned. The new ideals of the 1920s rejected the strict morals of conservative Christianity and people everywhere were challenging the virtues of the white Protestant. Conservative and liberal Protestants continued to fight a battle that had enveloped them for years. The time period gave birth to a more liberal approach to interpreting the Bible called “modernism.” Conservative Protestants were labeled “fundamentalists” and were known to be strict interpreters of the Bible. They began to fight against the growing acceptance of modernism and struggled to regain control in their communities.² This conflict was the basis for the Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925. The Scopes Trial saw conservative and liberal Christians battle it out in the courtroom for the first time. This essay

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explores how the rise of fundamentalism led to the struggle against modernity by examining the proceedings of the trial and the opposing arguments, dominated by the Democratic politician, William Jennings Bryan, and the famous defense attorney, Clarence Darrow. Finally, this article highlights the outcome of the trial and its aftermath.

The transformations in American society challenged the very core ideas of fundamentalism. The characteristic beliefs of early fundamentalists included:

An intense focus on evangelism as the church's overwhelming priority, the need for a fresh infilling of the Holy Spirit after conversion in order to live a holy and effective Christian life, the imminent, premillennial second coming of Christ, and the divine inspiration and absolute authority of the Bible, whose very words were free from errors.³

Fundamentalists did not feel as if their faith was being fatally challenged until the early twentieth century. They began to notice the rapid growth of liberal theology and that strict beliefs were slowly being abandoned for new ideas. Much of the debate between liberal and conservative Christians began after World War I. The culture in America changed dramatically after the War. Conservative Christians were astounded by the changes around them. It was during this time that fundamentalism began to develop a more militant ideal. Conservatives believed that the viciousness of Germanic leaders stemmed from a disbelief in the authority of the Bible and the acceptance of scientific ideas like evolution. Liberals accused the conservatives of being dangers to their country because they did not support the changes and advancements. In 1919, the conservative Protestants came together to form the World's Christian Fundamentals Association. In 1920, Curtis Lee Laws, editor of the Baptist paper the *Watchman-Examiner*, titled this anti-modernist federation the *fundamentalists*.⁴

During the early 1920s conservative Protestant ministers began to seek cooperation from politicians in order to stage legislative fights over the teaching of evolution versus the teachings of Genesis in public schools. They fought against liberal ministers who had gained support from lawyers, scientists, politicians, and journalists. These legislative debates allowed fundamentalists to gain some ground in many states. In 1925, the Tennessee legislature passed the Butler Law, which represented a victory for the fundamentalists.⁵ The Butler Law was signed into law on March 21, 1925 and stated the following:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the general assembly of the state of Tennessee, that it shall be unlawful for any teacher in any of the universities, normals and all other public schools of the state, which are supported in whole or in part by the public schools funds of the state, to teach any theory that denies the story of divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals.⁶

Representative John Washington Butler justified his bill on the ground that “the Bible is the foundation upon which our American government is built and the teaching of any theory which denies the Bible will, I believe, destroy the principles which have made our nation what it is.”⁷ The creation of this law outraged many liberal modernists in America. It would not be long before the law was challenged.

Many people thought the law would be an unenforced sign of the religious beliefs in Tennessee. However, this was far from what reality had in store. The challenging of the Butler Law came from Roger Baldwin’s American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The ACLU was concerned about the future of academic freedom in American schools. They feared that the creation of the Butler Law in Tennessee would influence other states to form anti-evolution laws. The ACLU quickly offered to fund a test case for any teacher who was willing to challenge the law.⁸ Minds were already at work in the small town of Dayton, Tennessee. They responded to the ACLU’s offer by supplying a defendant. They hoped that the case would bring a great deal of positive publicity to their small community. On May 5, 1925, they held a meeting and asked general biology teacher, John T. Scopes, if he was interested in the job.⁹ John Scopes was persuaded to accept the proposition. He made the following statement in his memoirs, “I knew there would be a certain amount of publicity and that a great deal of our society would believe I had some kind of horns. At the same time, I knew that sooner or later someone would have to take a stand against the stifling of freedom that the Butler Act represented.”¹⁰ John T. Scopes was indicted on April 24, 1925 and the fight against modernism was brought into the courtroom.

Former Democratic presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan, quickly came to aid the prosecution. Bryan represented the fundamentalists in the courtroom and the fight against modernity. In his speech, “Who Shall Control,” he made the following statement, “Evolution disputes the Bible record of man’s creation, and the logic of evolution eliminates as false the miracles of the Bible, including the virgin birth and the bodily resurrection of Christ.”¹¹ It is clear to see that Bryan believed in the strict interpretation of the Bible and in the importance of educating children to coincide with the teachings of the Bible. Bryan had strong beliefs that the trial would finally settle the disputes between religious fundamentalists and those who trusted in the conclusions of science. He also believed the trial would establish the right of American parents to regulate the curriculum of the schools that their tax dollars were supporting.¹² Bryan became the mouthpiece of the anti-evolution movement. In his eyes, politics of the church and politics of the nation could not be separated. His success as a politician lay in his ability to assemble the spirit and expressiveness of the nation’s Christian heritage. Bryan had gathered evidence that evolution and scientific education were weakening Christian doctrines. This led to his crusading against evolution in the years prior to the Scopes trial.¹³ The Scopes trial could be referred to as a simple case of a man violating the law. However, it is clear that Bryan’s involvement would bring to the courtroom the arguments of the fundamentalists and the fight against modernity. Later we will see how his arguments unfolded during the trial and what resulted.

With the entry of Bryan into the case for the prosecution, it was almost inevitable that popular defense attorney Clarence Darrow would volunteer for the defense. Darrow was a well-known agnostic who gave recurrent lectures and wrote a lot about the absurdity of the Old Testament myths. He believed that his role in the trial would be to prevent “bigots and ignoramuses” from controlling education in America.¹⁴ Darrow came from a working-class family in Ohio and first gained public notice in the 1890s as a liberal attorney in Chicago. He articulated a democratic position in Congress in the mid 1890’s and campaigned for William Jennings Bryan’s campaign ticket. He then shifted his focus to labor struggles. He gained recognition as an exceptional defender of labor. Darrow’s career was very successful until 1911, when he took on a murder trial. He defended two union leaders accused of blowing up the *Los Angeles Times* building. When the men, who Darrow had continuously proclaimed innocent, admitted to the crime, his reputation was almost ruined. After this incident Darrow began to concentrate more on criminal law. His defense of wealthy murderers and political radicals kept his name reappearing in national papers. Darrow was not shy when it came to expressing his religious beliefs. He believed Christianity and the concepts of the Bible were based on “a very dangerous doctrine.” He was more than happy to challenge the traditional system of morals and religious ideas of fundamentalists.¹⁵ Clarence Darrow seemed like the perfect candidate to represent the defense. He quickly offered his support to John Scopes.

The trial began on July 10, 1925. The involvement of William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow quickly transformed the case into a national debate over evolution and the Bible, or science versus religion. The trial began with arguments over the constitutionality of the Butler Law. This could have put an end to the trial before it even started by quashing the indictment of Scopes. The defense concentrated on the liberty of the individual and the prosecution focused its arguments on the duty of the legislature to regulate educational organization and teachers.¹⁶ Darrow, who focused on the unconstitutionality of the law, also took the opportunity to defend religious liberty in a diverse society. In his speech defending religious liberty he argued, “Your life and my life and the life of every American citizen depends after all upon the tolerance and forbearance of his fellow man. If men are not tolerant, if men cannot respect each other’s opinions, if men can not live and let live, then no man’s life is safe, no man’s life is safe.”¹⁷ Judge John T. Raulston declined to quash the indictment. He backed up his decision by referring to the relationship between teacher and employer as a contractual agreement. Judge Raulston noted that the defendant was not forced to accept this teaching job and sign the contract; therefore, if he had any problems with the curricula specified in the contract he should have looked elsewhere for a job.¹⁸ These comments made it clear that the trial was not going to be brought to a quick end.

As the trial proceeded the arguments were unleashed. The defense entered a plea of “not guilty” in violation of the Butler Act. The jury was directed that in order to convict Scopes of a violation of the act, the prosecution must prove that, “Scopes taught a theory that denies the story of divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and that instead and in place of this theory he taught that

man is descended from a lower order of animals.”¹⁹ The next day Darrow announced his intentions to call scientists and scholars of the Bible to the stand. He believed that these expert testimonies by men who had done extensive research would put the issues at hand into a “new” perspective. Darrow explained that through these testimonies he would prove that the theory of evolution did not directly conflict with the teachings of the Bible. The state immediately moved to exclude the testimonies, stating that the evidence would be “entirely incompetent.” They referred to the statement in the act, “to teach instead that man descended from a lower order of animals.” The prosecution then alluded to the fact that the defense had admitted that John Scopes had taught that man had descended from a lower order of animals. Therefore, the evidence that would be presented by the experts would be entirely irrelevant because of this confession. Even if they tried to prove that he hadn’t taught something that conflicted with the Bible, it was already established that he had taught the latter.²⁰

At this point, William Jennings Bryan gave his first speech. He spoke strongly against the use of expert testimony in the trial. He argued that a small minority of experts had no place to tell Tennessee citizens what to believe. He posed the following question, “can a minority in this state come in and compel a teacher to teach that the Bible is not true and make the parents of these children pay the expenses of the teacher to tell their children that what these people believe is false and dangerous?”²¹ Bryan’s spiritual beliefs dominated his speeches at the trial. He gave a strong argument that parents had a right to monitor and direct the course of their children’s education because they paid for it. Bryan felt that taxes secured parents a permanent role in the education process. Bryan used good persuasive techniques to influence the opinions of the spectators. However, his arguments were weak in the fact that they were centered on the assumption that all taxpayers supported fundamentalist beliefs. He failed to address the growing acceptance of modernist values in American families. If parents should have a role in the education of their children, then what about those parents who wanted their children to learn about the theory of evolution?

A member of the defense team, Dudley Field Malone, strongly criticized Bryan’s speech. He argued that there must be a separation between religion and science. He proclaimed that America’s youth had nothing to be afraid of when it came to studying scientific truth. He simply felt that the trial was a conflict of ideas and that it dealt with two different mindsets, one theological and one scientific. He defended the request to allow expert testimonies into the trial, stating, “I believe that if [the prosecution] withdraws their objection and hear the evidence of our experts their minds would not only improve but their souls would be purified.”²² He also drew attention to the fact that preachers and churchgoers were not the only ones who cared about the youth in America. Malone closed his speech with the following statement,

We feel we stand with progress. We feel we stand with science. We feel we stand with intelligence. We feel we stand with fundamental freedom in America. We are not afraid.

Where is the fear? We defy it! We ask your honor to admit the evidence as a matter of correct law, as a matter of justice to the defense in this case.²³

Malone's speech was met with a roar of applause. He had made a strong argument playing off the fear of the prosecution to hear the witnesses. Despite his compelling argument, on July 17, 1925 Judge Raulston announced his decision to reject the use of expert testimony in the trial of John Scopes.²⁴

The next highlight of the Scopes case came on July 20, 1925, as the defense called William Jennings Bryan to the stand. Bryan accepted the proposition and became a victim of Darrow's intense questioning. Darrow questioned Bryan on many of the stories in the Old Testament, including Jonah and the Whale, Joshua and the Sun, and the Great Flood. Bryan's testimony seemed most damaging when Darrow questioned him on the creation of the earth in six days. Bryan held the belief of many fundamentalists that the days might have been longer than twenty-four hours. He admitted that he believed that the creation of the earth actually could have covered a time span as large as a million years. In doing this, Darrow had tricked Bryan into admitting that he did not always interpret the Bible literally. The questioning soon turned into a heated argument between Darrow and Bryan, with cruel words and lots of shouting and accusations. It came as no surprise that Judge Raulston dismissed the testimony from court records.²⁵ With the arguments presented the court adjourned to await the verdict, even though it appeared inevitable what the outcome would be.

During the course of the trial the media played a huge roll in turning the trial into a national debate over science and evolution. Newspapers kept the public updated on the day-to-day events of the trial. The small town of Dayton, Tennessee, had turned into a circus of reporters and observers over night. The press treated Bryan harshly. An article in the *Baltimore Sun* stated, "The Bryan of today, old, disappointed and embittered, is a far different bird. He realized last that the glories of this world are not for him, and he takes refuge, peasant-like in religious hallucinations."²⁶ Reporters and journalists attacked fundamentalists, their denial of progress, and their views on the modern world. Many believed that fundamentalists who could not let go of the past symbolized a threat to progress in the new American society. Americans began to blame the lack of freedom in the south to the "illiteracy and general backwardness" of the people there. They also attributed the lack of freedom to the inferiority of the schools, to the poor training provided to teachers, and to the abundance of ignorant people in the south.²⁷ These ideas permeated the newspapers, journals, and magazines at the time. For example, a cartoon in the *Chicago Defender*, a prominent African American newspaper, depicted two monkeys in a tree watching a white mob lynching a black man nearby.²⁸ One says, "Joe, do you believe fiends like those are descendants of ours?" "No!" says Joe. In the background a large U.S. flag is flying on the U.S. capitol building. The artist was sending a message. It was a time in America when many people had an opinion, and they wanted it to be heard.²⁹

The verdict of the Scopes trial was read on the eighth day of the proceedings, after the jury had met for a mere nine minutes. John T. Scopes was found guilty and received a small fine, that the ACLU paid. It was a small price to pay to bring such an issue to national attention. The fundamentalists had a victory at the Scopes trial, but the struggle was far from over. Fundamentalists were attacked all over the United States as more and more American citizens were accepting modernist beliefs. As America became more modern, so did its citizens. However, the Butler Law was not repealed until 42 years later, in April 1967. Since then, a sequence of court decisions has banned creationists' efforts to teach their beliefs in school. However, the fight goes on. The debate over evolution is still present in our society today as states and education boards continue to battle the subject that attempts to put science against religion.³⁰

The Scopes trial is firmly set in American's collective memory. It is often portrayed as a circus, a tragedy, or a mockery.³¹ However, the trial set a precedent for using the courts to resolve the conflict between advances in technology and existing laws and social traditions. With a culture that is constantly changing, it is sometimes impossible for the law and the people to keep up with these changes. As scientific and technological information continues to grow, the need for reform in the law is needed to confront these issues. For example, the medical advances of birth control and abortion have been issues addressed in the courts.³²

The Scopes trial certainly has gone down in history as a very significant event in America's past. It was a key event in the struggle of Americans to cope with an ever-advancing society. Change can be seen as progressive in many ways, but it can also be viewed as a threat to the traditions that this country was built on. This is why Americans will always struggle to agree on issues like the teaching of evolution. There will always be disagreements between the theological and the scientific mind. The topics of science and religion can never be reconciled. People must simply learn to accept and respect the many different views on both topics. The fight against evolution during the 1920s and today simply symbolizes a bigger fight that many Americans continue to battle. This is a fight that puts progress versus tradition; this is a fight against modernism.

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PERSPECTIVES

“Reverence for Life”: George W. Ratterman and Reform in Newport, Kentucky, 1961-1964

by
Mary L. Keeton

“B-o-n-g, b-o-n-g,” rang the twelve foot, thirty-three ton Peace Bell in Newport, Kentucky.¹ Listening to the bell’s reverberations saluting America in this clean, Midwestern community, it is difficult to believe that forty years ago Newport was second only to New York as the most vice ridden city in the United States.² Located on the Ohio River across from Cincinnati, Ohio, the streets run straight and narrow. The sidewalks lead shoppers, strollers, and tourists to the Newport Aquarium and the restaurants and entertainment complex at Newport On The Levee. A purple pedestrian-only bridge frames the river against the sky. Newport is a comfortable and pleasant town.

The Millennium Peace Bell was the product of more than one hundred and twenty countries around the world campaigning for peace, “Bells Ringing for World Peace Through Reverence for Life.”³ Sounded for the first time on December 31, 1999, the bell now rings everyday at noon. There could not be a more appropriate city to house such a monument. However, peace and reverence for life had deteriorated in Newport during the 1940’s and 1950’s. Gambling and prostitution thrived openly and provided lucrative employment for many local residents. Some young women working as prostitutes¹ were originally from the economically depressed, eastern hills of Kentucky. An alleged White Slave Ring, importing women from remote areas of Kentucky, was investigated in 1948. However, not enough evidence was found to build a case. Prostitutes may have also been brought to Newport from a Canadian syndicate.⁴

Although, gambling was the primary source of vice, prostitution was an essential service requested by many of the gamblers. In 1959, there were six “day” houses of prostitution and five “night” houses of prostitution.⁵ By designating the times of operation, the houses provided prostitutes with adequate rest and constant rotation.

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The big money draw in Newport was gambling. There were cafes, clubs, bars, grills, and hotels that conducted games of chance. "Lay-off betting," "bust-out joint," "handbook," and "razzle dazzle," were all common terms used to describe various forms of gambling and methods of placing bets. The "bust-out joint" was one of the most dangerous places. If a gambler actually won a bit of money, he was more than likely to meet with armed rough-necks while leaving the establishment. Reverend Donald Baker, a member of the Newport Ministerial Association, said, "It's a joint you don't get out of until you're busted financially. If they can't cheat you, they'll put knockout drops in your drinks and rob you. Either way you go out busted." "Razzle dazzle" described an all or nothing wager on dice. Apparently, the shiny dice hypnotized the player, forcing her/him to go for an all out risk.

There were unsuccessful attempts to clean-up Newport. The corruption ran through some of the local attorneys and police officers. It was even alleged that some government officials in Frankfort, Kentucky's capital, were involved. Intimidation, fear, and bribery kept any attempt at reform in check. The Internal Revenue Service reported that all lay-off-betting in the United States was channeled through northern Kentucky with the exception of only one fellow in New York, who handled his own lay-off-betting.⁶ The Cleveland Syndicate extended into Northern Kentucky and went all the way to Miami, with interests in Las Vegas as well. The leaders of the Cleveland Syndicate did not try to oust the local operators, but rather worked with them. They were efficient, reasonable, and professional. Cooperation with them was made easy by their approach to business.⁷ It is easy to understand why so many of the local residents actually embraced the gambling casinos. The Cleveland Syndicate provided a path for high economic standards that was otherwise beyond the reach of many of the local people. A man working on an assembly line in a factory in the 1950's could expect a yearly salary of approximately eight to ten thousand dollars. The same man, with the same skills, could make as high as seventeen to twenty thousand per year working for the gambling houses.⁸

A lot of people were making a lot of money. Forcing gambling and prostitution out of town meant a tremendous loss of revenue. Besides, if people chose these forms of recreation and others were willing to provide it, was it anyone else's business? It becomes the public's business when little boys between the ages of eight to fourteen ask a stranger, "Hey mister, I'll show you a cat house for a dime."⁹ The *Louisville Courier-Journal* on March 12, 1961 reported that trained crime investigators who visited Newport encountered a cab driver soliciting prostitution for sixteen year old girls! Life in Newport was out of control and the public began to act.

A social action committee was formed, called the Newport Ministerial Association which finally expanded into the Committee of 500. Ministers, from all denominations of churches in Campbell County, came together with concerned citizens to explore possibilities of putting an end to crime in Newport. With corruption inside the police department, the first order of business was to elect an honest sheriff. A strong candidate was needed to resist intimidation and bribes. The yearly salary for sheriff was approximately seven thousand dollars, but during a four year term, by simply looking the other way, the sheriff could make as much as two hundred thousand dollars. It was tempting, and more than one seemingly honest sheriff had succumbed to the bribery.¹⁰

George W. Ratterman, originally from Cincinnati, was a former NFL quarterback. Retired from playing with the Cleveland Browns and Buffalo Bills, he had moved to Fort Thomas, Kentucky, in 1956. His wife, Anne Henglebrok, was originally from Fort Thomas. There had been gossip that Catholics in the community were not interested in supporting the Committee of 500. Ratterman said the gossip annoyed him, because he was Catholic and he was concerned about the welfare of his area. He felt that the children of Campbell County were being exposed to dangerous situations, and they needed protection. Out of curiosity, he attended one of the meetings.

Working as an investment counselor for Thomas Emery & Sons, Inc., in Cincinnati, and doing sports commentary for television,¹¹ Ratterman had no idea that his career was about to take an abrupt turn. With a law degree and national fame as a football player, he agreed to run for sheriff of Campbell County in hopes of bringing attention to Newport's need for clean-up. He ran neither as a Democrat or Republican, but as the "reform" candidate, and he campaigned for restructuring law enforcement. Campaigning as an independent allowed him to stay clear of the established policies of kick-backs and good-ole-boy networking. When announcing his candidacy, Ratterman said:

I am willing to run for office if you people are really serious. I am not willing to sacrifice four years of my life if this is to be but a temporary clamor. There have been reform movements in our county before. They did not last . . . I have eight children. I don't want them to grow up in a community where syndicated gambling finds a home, where prostitution flourishes, where officials are known to be corrupt, and where now the illegal narcotics industry has found a home. I'm told that if I run for sheriff, I will probably be the victim of all sorts of slanderous attacks. If this is the price which one must pay to run for office as your candidate, so be it. But I say to our opponents, let the battle be joined now, for I shall not accept one penny of their foul money nor shall I be influenced by any of their cheap threats.¹²

The reform movement gained momentum from the attention of Hank Messick, a journalist from the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. Messick had been visiting Newport for several months reporting on the Alcohol and Beverage Control Board's investigations, headed by Harold Moberly. Even a British newspaper became involved. Arthur Helliwell of London's *People*, wrote that when he visited Newport in May of 1961, he was told, "We know all about you. You're a British reporter looking for trouble. Why don't you tell the Limeys we ain't so bad as we're painted."

Threatening phone calls arrived at the Ratterman home. Apparently, Ratterman's announcement of his candidacy for Campbell County Sheriff caused concern in the owners of the casinos and the people who protected them. Mrs. Ratterman described a morning after receiving an obscene phone call. She went down to the basement to wash laundry. She looked around at all the windows and thought that someone could easily crawl through without being noticed from the outside. They could be waiting for her. Would she have to live afraid to wash laundry for the next four years? She

made a resolution: this was her home and she was going to move about normally. They expected some opposition and this was just part of it.¹³

The campaign for sheriff continued. An old friend and business associate from Medina, Ohio, Tom Paisley, contacted George Ratterman and asked him to attend a meeting. A casino owner, Tito Carinci, had asked Paisley to arrange this meeting because Carinci wanted Ratterman's help in moving out of the gambling business. On May 8, 1961, the three met for dinner at the Hilton Hotel in Cincinnati. During the course of the evening, Ratterman lost consciousness; he woke-up in a bedroom at the Tropicana Club in Newport. Parts of his clothing were missing and an exotic dancer named April Flowers, alias Juanita Jean Hodges, was with him. He was awakened by a photographer entering the room. Suddenly, Newport Policemen burst in. Dazed and unsteady, Ratterman lunged at the policemen. He was subdued and arrested for disorderly conduct and prostitution. The Tropicana Club was owned by Tito Carinci. At the same time, Paisley was undergoing similar treatment at a different Newport location. Paisley had been accompanied by Rita Desmond, another exotic dancer.

Released and finally taken home, Ratterman stumbled into his bedroom at three o'clock in the morning. Waking his wife, he told her he had been arrested by the Newport Police. She asked, "For what?" He mumbled, "Prostitution and something else." He then collapsed on the bed into a deep sleep for the next several hours. It is no wonder that Mrs. Ratterman has a clear memory of that morning even though it was forty-two years ago. She understood that it probably had to do with the election campaign for sheriff. They knew they would be facing some tough opposition. She woke up the children as usual. Getting them ready for school, she made their breakfasts. Eight children, ages 13, 11, 10, 8, 5, 3, 2, and an infant two months old kept her busy until Henry Cook, their attorney, arrived at approximately 8:00 a.m.¹⁴

Being a former professional athlete—not smoking or drinking—Ratterman knew that something had been introduced into his body. Standing 6'1" and weighing 182 pounds, his physical condition was the same as when he had played football. He was first examined by his family physician, Dr. Carl Anderson, at St. Luke Hospital in Fort Thomas. To prevent collusion, it was decided that another physician, one without any ties to Northern Kentucky, would also examine him. A nationally known coroner from the Kettering Laboratories in Cincinnati, Dr. Frank Cleveland, confirmed that a massive dose of chloral hydrate was present in Ratterman's blood. Dr. Cleveland indicated that a man in lesser physical condition would not have survived such a high level of this drug. It was several days before Ratterman completely recovered from the effects.

Chloral hydrate is a sedative, hypnotic, and central nervous system depressant. It is used in veterinary medicine as a general anesthetic for cattle and horses. It is a byproduct of the chlorination of water and used as a synthetic intermediate in the production of insecticides and herbicides. During toxicology and carcinogenicity studies of chloral hydrate, it proved to be mutagenic in mice.¹⁵ There were some people who believed that Ratterman had administered the drug to himself after he was found with April Flowers. That could not be true, given the fact that the police report was logged at 2:32 a.m., on May 9, 1961, and Ratterman was awake until 3:50 a.m., when he was finally released on a five-thousand dollar bond. Had he taken that size of a dose of chloral hydrate after 2:32 a.m., it would have rendered him immobile.

It is interesting to observe how the public reacts to news of a personal nature. Just a few years ago President Bill Clinton was involved in a very personal situation that became the focus of the news media. More often than not, opinions are formed based on what was believed to be true about the person “before” the details are circulated. In Clinton’s case, he first denied any inappropriate involvement with Monica Lewinsky. Later, through deoxyribonucleic acid testing, confirmation of an impropriety was revealed.

In contrast, Ratterman’s case was received positively by the public, because his reputation was impeccable. He was a devoted family-man, lawyer, musician, and athlete, who attended church services regularly—the community was on his side from the moment the news broke. As the brother of a priest, Father P. H. Ratterman, Dean of Men at Xavier University in Cincinnati, George W. Ratterman had every reason to feel confident that he would be exonerated.¹⁶

The Police Court trial began on May 16, 1961. There were so many spectators that the proceedings had to be moved from the police courtroom to the circuit courtroom. Many people packed their lunches, so they would not have to leave and risk losing their chairs. Mrs. Ratterman recalls the interruptions by the television news reporters every time they walked out into the hall. This trial was the first to be covered via live television in the northern Kentucky-Cincinnati area.¹⁷ “Ann Ratterman was composed. She wore a string of pearls against a dark dress and, somehow, without any effort, made the strippers look trashy by comparison.”¹⁸ When asked how hard it must be for her to remain so calm, she replied that it was not hard at all. She knew her husband was innocent and it was just a matter of exposing the facts.¹⁹

The trial continued; testimony after testimony pointed to a frame-up. The photographer’s grandmother-in-law had taken a telephone message for a photo appointment at the Tropicana Club on April 14th. This was nearly one month before the incident occurred. The photographer was told he would be paid well and that he had come highly recommended by the Commonwealth of Kentucky’s Attorney. After the F.B.I. spoke with April Flowers, she recanted her original story, and explained that she had not been invited to the room by Ratterman. Names were dropping, and the domino effect took place. On May 20, 1961, Ratterman won his case.²⁰

With national publicity in magazines like *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Time*, the Committee of 500 Reform Movement in Newport continued forward. The U.S. Department of Justice, under Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, became involved. Kentucky Governor Bert T. Combs ordered investigations of public officials. Four officials were prosecuted: the sheriff and police chief of Campbell County, the police chief of Newport, and an attorney. Ratterman felt that the additional attention only added to his and his family’s safety. The organized crime figures were probably not going to kill anyone so well known.²¹

In October 1961, Ratterman won his bid for sheriff of Campbell County. Receiving fifty per cent more votes than the Democratic and Republican candidates combined, he took office in 1962.²² Many of the casinos simply closed and their owners moved to Miami or Las Vegas. Ratterman earned the respect of some of the former gambling operators who remained in Newport. He even helped Albert “Red” Masterson get a liquor license for his restaurant, “The Merchant’s Club.” Masterson was a primary character during the height of Newport’s vice. Nicknamed, the

“Enforcer,” it was alleged that Masterson was responsible for four murders. However, there was not enough evidence to indict him. Ratterman said that Masterson had closed the gambling in his restaurant and was operating a legitimate business. There was no reason why Masterson should be denied a liquor license. It was time to move forward and stop blaming people for the past.²³

It would be gratifying to report that the city of Newport lived happily-ever-after, but that is not what happened. For some local residents, resentment grew because they had lost their way of earning a living. Money from organized crime had provided Newport with attractive, finely furnished clubs. By 1970, many of the former gambling locations became bars and stripper clubs. With no illegal gambling, liquor licenses were easily obtained. The level of entertainment and the clientele dropped dramatically. It was not uncommon to find intoxicated persons sleeping in the doorways of vacant buildings. Instead of signs boasting, “Beautiful Exotic Dancers Inside,” they flashed, “Live Nudes.” Throughout the remaining 1970’s and 1980’s, Newport struggled to find her identity.

Fortunately, in the late 1980s, a new City Commission revived reform and concerned citizens firmly supported them. City officials launched an economic development program, and the appeal of Newport’s riverfront captured the eyes of some investors. One of the best aquariums in the country is now a permanent fixture, along with an entire restaurant and entertainment complex. With a contemporary design, Newport On The Levee rivals any city. It is safe, clean, and high styled—if a visitor did not know, they might imagine they were in Miami Beach or San Francisco.

The transformation of Newport was made possible by many different people. But there was one who put his reputation on the line. When viewing a problem, it is natural to declare that someone should do something about it. George W. Ratterman did exactly that. He stepped forward and accepted the responsibility of making a difference. It could have cost him his reputation; it did cost him embarrassment. After his term of office ended, he moved his family to Denver, Colorado. He was instrumental in altering the history of a town. Now, “Peace Through Reverence for Life” is celebrated in Newport—everyday at noon when the Peace Bell rings.

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PERSPECTIVES

Dichotomies of Free Speech: A Comparative Analysis of Cincinnati and Louisville Newspaper Reaction to Kent State

by
Lori Goetz

Of all the basic tenets afforded to Americans, perhaps the most widely recognized is the right to freedom of speech. As one of the cherished fundamental principles of the country, both today and in 1776, Americans have long relied on this freedom. The nature of the Vietnam War protest movement rested on this dynamic endorsement of free speech. In this period, free speech manifested itself in many forms; among them the protest movement itself, hinging on the right to dissent from government. However, newspapers at the time also employed free speech – allowing both advocates and critics of the protest movement to be heard.

This research attempts to explore and analyze three dichotomies of speech following the Kent State shootings of May 4, 1970. By comparing the editorial content of the *Louisville Courier Journal* and the *Cincinnati Enquirer* in the three weeks following Kent State, aspects of the political cultures of both cities, situated nearly 100 miles apart, become apparent. Thus, this research compares the content and editorial opinion of both papers, each representing the geographical region they both inhabit, while simultaneously drawing parallels between citizen opinions outlined in Letters to the Editors, another mechanism of free speech. Therefore, specific dichotomies of free speech are established: between the two manifestations of free speech (protests and the media), between polarized content in the editorial opinion (two different perspectives on the same issue within the same geographic region), and between opinions expressed in Letters to the Editor (both support and criticism). Furthermore, in a broader context, this regionally based research unwittingly illustrates the media's independent status, compared to the supposed liberal tendencies of the media during the period. The differing editorial positions of both papers illuminates divergent public opinion, both liberal and conservative,

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a finding in stark contrast to the perception of the press as an “antiwar, antigovernment crusader.”¹

In the week preceding May 4, 1970, anti-war protesters gathered to rally at Kent State. In the days before the shooting deaths of four students, a barn and tractors were destroyed by arson, according to fire investigators. In response, the governor of Ohio ordered the National Guard onto the campus to prevent future lawlessness. On May 4, students surrounded a group of thirty Guardsmen and threw rocks at them. Guardsmen were reportedly alerted of a sniper on the roof of a nearby building, though police records reveal no such transmission. The Guardsmen subsequently opened fire on the crowd, killing four students and injuring eleven.²

Shortly thereafter President Richard M. Nixon and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew issued statements pertaining to the incident at Kent State. Nixon warned that “When dissent turns to violence, it invites tragedy.” Agnew chastised those who he referred to as “smug purveyors of mockery and scorn” and those politicians who he characterized as “ready to endorse tumultuous confrontation as a substitute for debate.”³ Additionally, Agnew stated that the incident was proof that his condemnation of “violent demonstrators and revolutionary politics” had been justified.⁴

In the aftermath of Kent State, a twenty-one-year-old University of Kentucky student was charged with arson when an Air Force ROTC building burned following a day of campus protests on May 5, 1970.⁵ Earlier that day, students attempted to attend a meeting of trustees of the university, to both protest the Cambodian expansion and Kent State killings and encourage the university to ban the use of weapons on campus (a resolution that failed). Not all students were granted admittance. Consequently, students organized a two hour march across campus, which culminated in a sit-in at the ROTC building. Sixty-five riot equipped police officers anticipated the marching students and formed a barrier to separate the students from the building.⁶ Sometime thereafter, the building caught fire. In response, UK’s President Otis Singletary prohibited “gatherings” after 5 pm. A student attempt to boycott exams in protest failed the same day.⁷ Kentucky’s Governor Louie B. Nunn endorsed Singletary’s curfew and ordered state police officers and 250 National Guardsmen to patrol the campus.⁸ Professors filed suit in an attempt to force the Guard and police to leave campus.⁹ Meanwhile, students were given the option to completely bypass exams, without impact to their final grades, or to complete them at a later time.¹⁰ On May 9, 1970, the last day of the semester, Nunn ordered a complete withdrawal of the Guard and police, noting that most demonstrators had already left. Singletary indefinitely postponed Commencement.¹¹

At other Kentucky institutions, the scene was decidedly less dramatic. At the University of Louisville, deans voted to postpone both classes and exams for one day in remembrance of the deaths at Kent State. A memorial rally was held the same day.¹² At Transylvania University, students held a sunrise memorial service and opted to boycott classes for a day. At Berea College, students participated in a faculty-supported moment of silence for the victims. Meanwhile, students at Eastern Kentucky University approved a resolution “expressing concern” for the events at Kent State and lowered flags on campus to half-mast.¹³

In Cincinnati, students occupied Beecher Hall and the Registrar’s office after gaining control of the Administration Building, all in protest to Kent State and the Cambodian expansion. UC eventually closed for the remainder of the semester.

Miami University imposed a curfew on all students and residents around the campus and then, a day later, opted to close indefinitely.¹⁴ Miami had initially attempted to cancel Thursday and Friday classes, to allow memorial to and mediation on Kent, but eventually decided to close the school. At Ohio State University, the school's President, observing student protest, closed the university.¹⁵

Though, according to the 1970 Census, the city of Cincinnati had a population decidedly larger than that of Louisville, the populations had relatively similar demographic characteristics. In 1970, the Cincinnati Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), defined as Cincinnati and its suburban counties, contained 1,384,852 inhabitants while only 826,553 people lived in the Louisville SMSA. Aside from the relative difference in population, little else distinguished these two cities nestled along the Ohio River. Slightly more than one-tenth of the population in both cities was black and people aged 25 – 34 years accounted for the largest population segment in Cincinnati and Louisville. Fifteen percent of the Cincinnati population and sixteen percent of the Louisville population held high school diplomas; about one twentieth of the population in both areas had earned a college degree. Furthermore, both cities reported employment near the eighty percent level. The average annual income of Cincinnatians was \$11,565, with those in Louisville earning a slightly lower average of \$11,203 per year. The poverty level of both cities hovered around eight percent.¹⁶ The dominant religion in both cities was Catholicism, with a twenty-seven percent following in Cincinnati and twenty-two percent in Louisville.¹⁷ Table 1 summarizes these results. The significance of the similarity in demographic distributions within the two cities' populations is that it effectively eliminates such demographic factors as determinants of a particular political attitude in each city. Thus, potentially deviating opinions are less likely the result of demographic factors in such similar populations.

Table 1 1970 Population Comparison of Cincinnati and Louisville*

	Cincinnati	Louisville
Population	1,384,851	826,553
White	1,228,776	723,721
Black	11% (152,333)	12% (101,081)
Largest Population Segment	25-34 (13%)	25-34 (12%)
High School Graduates	15% (213,600)	16% (128,673)
College Graduates	6% (77,937)	5% (39,823)
Percent Employed	78%	79.3%
Mean Annual Income	\$11,565	\$11,203
Percent Below Poverty Level	8.1%	8.6%
Dominant Religion	Catholic (27%)	Catholic (22%)

*Religion was listed on a per county basis. Therefore, in order to calculate the dominant religion for each SMSA, the church attendance per religion in each county of both SMSAs was combined.

From the period of May 4, 1970 to May 23, 1970, the editorial content of the Louisville *Courier Journal* heavily favored the rights of dissenters in the country, condemned the use of force and governmental suppression of free speech, and

expressed sympathy to those affected by the Kent State tragedy. Editors printed five editorials during the period, all but one supportive of protest efforts. A hint of sympathy for those dead at Kent State pervades the writings. The editors furthered this sympathy by referring to those dead as martyrs for dissenting youth to rally behind.¹⁸ The *Courier Journal* consistently denounced repression of student speech, noting the danger involved with limits to freedom. An editorial notes, "It was inevitable, given the tinder of student agitation and official repression that the spark of escalation in Vietnam would touch off fatal violence."¹⁹ The editorials stressed that critics often devalued students due to their youth and their opposition to the war. Editors praised students "who have spoken out for a better America" and "have a legitimate grievance."²⁰ The *Courier Journal* demonstrated an apparent discontent with President Nixon, noting that peace relied on the recognition of the student segment of the population and not just the President's accountability to "the clean shaven and crew cut young Republicans."²¹ As well, editors introduced a theme of precedent; that is, the very generation currently repressed by the government would one day inherit control of that same government.²² The *Courier Journal* added a hint of sarcasm in its analysis of the current governmental situation: "Surely America can do better than (Kent State)."²³

Editors of the paper strongly condemned the use of force to combat student protests – both at Kent State University and the University of Kentucky. Calling the actions of the National Guard at Kent State an "irrational use of force,"²⁴ they criticized government policy on a state and local level. They noted that Nunn's decision to deploy troops to the UK campus turned the area into a quasi-battleground, whose conflicts really belonged in court. The paper denied that UK students were threatening enough to warrant Nunn's order to send an armed National Guard force to the campus, and also challenged Nunn's "show of naked strength."²⁵ It also blamed the escalation of the protest movement on authorities stating, "The public official who overreacts to student demonstrations gives priceless aid to these provocateurs. . . What (Nunn) may well have done is to drive many of the milder and less committed students into the ranks of violence and desperation."²⁶ While being critical of the use of force in either situation, the editors warned of possible fallout from armed governmental intervention.

One editorial, however, praised the governor of Kentucky, despite denouncing his actions a few days before. Editors noted a judicial ruling, as a result of a suit filed by UK professors, that upheld Nunn's decision, citing a need to rely on laws and rights. They suggested that the governor acted on the best information available in regard to the potential for violence at the campus and advocated the use of live ammunition as a tool to make students calm down and seriously contemplate any action they may take. The casualties at Kent State, the editors say, might have been avoided had protestors known the Guard was armed with live ammunition.²⁷

Editorial cartoons, including those produced by *Courier Journal* cartoonist Hugh Haynie and those published in other papers but reprinted in the *Courier Journal*, represented another component of editorial opinion following campus protests. The paper printed eleven cartoons during the May 4-23, 1970 period, eight of which supported the protest movement, one that criticized protesters, and two that were neutral.

Generally, those cartoons that supported the protest movement gave positive portrayals of students – not as the long haired hippies that became infamous symbols of the movement –but as innocent dissenters well within societal norms. The cartoons expressed sympathy for the deaths at Kent State, often portraying the dead as victims of a larger cause. The *Courier Journal* selected cartoons that condemned both the use of force on campuses, at times with a ridiculous amount of sarcasm, and also the actions of Nixon.



Above cartoon by Hugh Haynie was published in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* on May 6, 1970. © *The Courier Journal*

The May 6, 1970 cartoon above, by the *Courier Journal's* Hugh Haynie represented both a positive portrayal of protesters and a condemnation of force. Students appear as normal representatives of the college population, not dangerous and violent revolutionaries, without stereotypical outlandish clothes and hair styles. The peace signs that lie with two of the downed students sharply conflict with the violent nature of their deaths. Although one of the protesters appears to be clutching a rock, the cartoon suggests that Guardsmen severely overreacted and that student actions did not warrant this type of force. The dead students might additionally symbolize repressed ideas or the need to eliminate the enemy, whether domestic or international. Ultimately, a sense of sadness and misfortune pervades the cartoon, etching an image of helpless students in a final state of anguish and ultimate peace into the minds of Americans.



Above cartoon by Hugh Haynie was published in the *Louisville Courier Journal* on May 7, 1970.
© The Courier Journal

Haynie's May 7, 1970 cartoon touched on many aspects related to the debate about the protest movement. His portrayal of Nixon, conniving and unsympathetic, extends criticism to the administration. The pledge he is quoted as making, to depolarize Americans, is hypocritical of his support of repression of protesters, evident in the Guard's actions in the background. Haynie represents Nixon as a politician rank with injustice and willing to make false promises to alleviate short term tensions to long term problems. In the background, the protester is illustrated in a positive light. She is reminiscent of an ordinary, non-militant college student who, based on the peace sign she carries, appears innocent. The Guardsman, however, appears to be applying more than the necessary force to suppress her and acts irrationally. Also, his dress appears inappropriate for dealing with the harmless student. Nonetheless, his actions prevent the

expression of the protester's ideas. Thus, Haynie seems to question the over-powerful forces on campus and suggests that protesters are not the most serious threat to peace and life. Haynie implies that Nixon, above all, endorses this type of action.

The *Courier Journal* also printed one cartoon, by Haynie, which represented protesters very negatively, unlike his other works.

The depiction on the right ran on May 16, 1970. Haynie presents the protesters as shady characters, atypically dressed: the girl in the foreground is dressed in a very provocative short skirt and the male in the foreground wears flowered pants, not ordinary for a male.

Perhaps to discredit the male in the background, he is smoking. They are distinct from their classmates and represent the radical element. By depicting the students in such a suspicious manner, their socially unacceptable long hair concealing their shadowy eyes, the cartoon depicts a sinister element of student protest. Haynie's illustration suggests that protests are often reduced to violence, as evident in the quotation and the dynamite the front male holds. Haynie also emphasizes the



Above cartoon by Hugh Haynie was published in the *Louisville Courier Journal* on May 16, 1970.
© The Courier Journal

hypocrisy of peace protesters in that they are willing to employ violent means to reach a peaceful end, thereby nullifying protester credibility.

Finally, the *Courier Journal* carried a great number of Letters to the Editors, representative of the public view, during the May 4 – 23, 1970 period. The paper printed a total of 89 letters, 41% supportive of the protest movement, 55% critical, and 4% dually critical of protesters and authority.

Supporters of the protesters often wrote about the right to dissent and a need to equally acknowledge, and not repress, certain segments of society, namely students. There was a continuous call to hear the voices of those quieted: “Can’t you hear them all over America crying their hearts out? It’s true America has long silenced some with ingenious apologies and murderous weaponry. Yet, long after you’ve swept countless bodies under the rug of democracy, the cry will linger.”²⁸ Protests expressed both a cry for peace and also a call for the end of repression, evident by readers’ letters. Those that supported the protest movement further argued against the use of force, in general and in specific instances (30% of pro-protest letters). They abhorred the introduction of force into a relatively peaceful situation and criticized the use of force by the Guard at Kent State. The backwards journey to “firing squads and mass murderers” appalled readers.²⁹ Readers also seemed alarmed that others would find rocks, like those used at Kent State, equally as deadly as live ammunition.³⁰

Almost an equally large percentage of letters condoning protest expressed disgust with the government. Some readers extended blame for the protests and the subsequent violence to Nixon’s repression and cynicism toward dissenters.³¹ Readers charged Nixon with hypocrisy for suppressing free speech at home while fighting for it abroad and for claiming to reunite the country. “Dissent at home,” Lyndon Everback argued, “breeds and brings the same ugly response as resistance in Vietnam.”³²

Yet, letters opposing protests or supporting the government represented a majority of all letters printed. Letters often pointed out the faults of protesters, individually criticizing them. As well, readers wrote to express support for their state and federal governments and officials. They often praised Governor Nunn’s “backbone” in a time a crisis.³³ K.G. Frisbee offered that it was “refreshing to have an elected official that recognize(d) arsonists, hoodlums, and anarchists.”³⁴ Similarly, readers extended support for the use of force. Often citing a right to self defense, readers argued that force had to be installed in order to preserve law. Readers also suggested that protesters were communists, with the intent to overthrow colleges and universities. Communist leaders were thought to “exploit these immature, idealistic minds and will them with hogwash, claptrap, and vicious lies.”³⁵

The *Cincinnati Enquirer* promoted an opinion very derogatory of both protesters and professors at universities. Editors endorsed the actions of the government in order to preserve the rights of the silent majority. They published nine editorials, all committed to similar conservative opinions. The *Enquirer’s* editorials focused mainly on the university system, highlighting the faults of protesters and faculty en route to placing blame for violence. Editors commented that students not only sought to end repression, but as a means to meet that end, demanded not only to be heard, but that their policies be implemented. Achieving that goal, the *Enquirer* said, was the only way to satisfy students.³⁶ Such objectives inevitably led, then,

to the “breakdown of civil society”.³⁷ The paper frequently belittled protesters, citing superficial motivations to protest, such as warm weather.³⁸ John Roche refers to protestors as students “whose IQs are questionable” and who had turned colleges into a “progressive kindergarten.”³⁹

While editors devoted much space to denouncing protestor aims, they also identified college professors as the instigators of college unrest, as “firebrands and encouragers of violence.” Professors’ criticisms of the government and the political order as well as their promotion of dissent were frequently referred to as uncalled for and without warrant.⁴⁰ Editors charged that college faculty invited honest, law-abiding, patriotic students into their institutions and brainwashed them into a completely different line of thinking. Impressionable students were compelled to publicly express themselves in the form of protest. Professors, therefore, were “inflaming, propagandizing, and radicalizing” students.⁴¹ Additionally, professors were viewed as attempting to destroy the country. J. Roche charged that professors were actually a manifestation of “anti-intellectualism.”⁴² As a further criticism of students and teachers, editors insinuated that colleges, “agencies of indoctrination,” were also to be blamed for the protest movement.⁴³ T. Gephardt implied that college left students worse off than when they entered school with “a feebler intellect, a less cultivated sensibility, and a greater vulgarity of the soul.”⁴⁴

To complement the written editorial opinion, the *Enquirer* ran four cartoons pertaining to the campus protest movement during the three week period, all critical of protesters. The most recognizable of the *Enquirer* cartoons was L.D. Warren’s “History Lesson.”

The cartoon illustrates Nixon’s reaction to the Kent State deaths. Its message, that both dissent and violence are necessary for tragedy (death in this case made obvious by the skeletal hand), implies that Kent students became responsible for their own deaths when they dissented. With the illustration of the addition problem, it becomes clear that both dissent and violence are necessary components for tragedy – not just violence or dissent. Tragedy, in part then, requires dissent.

That implication makes both seem equally evil. Thus, students partaking in both together attract tragedy. Perhaps this cartoon suggests that to avoid tragedy, both dissent and violence should be avoided.

The Letters to the Editor of the *Enquirer* provided an equally compelling glimpse of the Cincinnati population. During the May 4 – 23, 1970 period, the *Enquirer* printed 49 letters, most in support of government and critical of protesters (57%). The paper printed 14 letters advocating protests and condemning the use of force. Fifty percent of the letters in support of protesters made reference to the right of



“History Lesson” by L. D. Warren published in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* on May 8, 1970.
© Mrs. L.D. Warren

dissent and the avoidance of repression. Readers frequently relied on the basic right of free speech to justify protest and dissent as a mechanism to improve society. “If we cannot dissent . . . if we cannot challenge . . . if we cannot change things and make them better,” one reader wrote, “then what good is this democracy that we live in?”⁴⁵ Another significant group of readers expressed disapproval of the use of force to control students. These readers assessed such powerful force as both another form of repression and also the foundation of unwarranted and unnecessary policies. According to these readers, there was always an alternative to the use of force.

The *Enquirer*, though, printed even more letters denouncing protesters and universities. Most letters described student protesters as hypocritical, immature and unintelligent, hardly worthy of being enrolled in college at all. These readers emphasized that protesters and dissenters were a minority who impinged upon the rights of all other students. Referred to as “rotten apples,” protesters were derided for not making better use of their time and for forcing their rhetoric and diatribes on the general law-abiding public.⁴⁶ “Truculent minorities,” writers insisted, wanted their suggestions for policy change to be immediately implemented.⁴⁷ Letters ridiculed the war protester who resorted to violence in order to ensure peace and to save the country from its repressive government. Readers suggested the Kent State incident was the result of poor decisions made by students and that protestors should have anticipated the Guardsmen to be armed with live ammunition.

Other letters denounced college faculty and the university system itself as creators of both dissent and violence. Readers implied that administrators laid the foundations on which student protesters developed dissent. They also believed that administrators, with very low esteem for the current government, did not belong in a capacity to influence young people. Protests were “instigated and systematically encouraged by professors hiding cleverly in the privileged sanctuary of academic freedom.”⁴⁸ Universities ran rampant with dissent, and professors seized the opportunity to convert unsuspecting students. Additional letters disapproved of the media’s coverage, describing it as overly liberal, and as expressing disfavor over the closing of universities – which was viewed as appeasing protesters.

The coverage of the *Enquirer* and *Courier Journal* presented few parallels. In fact, it is not entirely obvious that these cities developed around very similar populations demographically and geographically, with Louisville just 100 miles downstream on the Ohio River. The demographic features of the populations, which motivated the comparison of the cities, actually prompted few parallels in each city’s newspaper.

Over the course of the three week study period, although Cincinnati had a larger population, the *Courier Journal* printed forty more letters. The *Courier Journal*, when letters became too numerous, established a special section to accommodate readers’ opinions. Published letters sometimes amounted to more than ten per day. The *Enquirer*, however, printed slightly more than half as many letters as the *Courier Journal* and no more than five editorials per day, never separating letters about protests from other letters of any context. It is also noteworthy that the *Courier Journal* began printing letters to the editor on May 6, just two days after Kent State. However, the *Enquirer* delayed printing a letter until May 9, five days after Kent State and only ran one letter regarding student protests. That the *Enquirer* would receive fewer letters than the *Courier Journal* remains suspect. With a population significantly larger than Louisville, it is doubtful that fewer readers

would be compelled to voice their opinions. A central question evolves around this data – whether the Louisville population was generally more compelled to respond or whether the paper was valued editorially as a forum for public discussion and thus printed more letters.

Letters to the editor in both papers followed a similar line, one of the few parallels between the Louisville and Cincinnati papers. Both papers printed a majority of opinions critical of protesters and supportive of the government. Fifty-five percent of letters in the *Courier Journal* and fifty-seven percent of letters in the *Enquirer* expressed these views. Consequently, fewer letters expressed support for protests and condemned the government: 41% of those letters from Louisville and 38% of those letters from Cincinnati. A minimal percentage of letters in both cities were dually critical of the government and protesters. Thus, the letters, in the percentages of each opinion printed, drew certain parallels between the populations. Most people in both cities expressed discontent for the protests. Yet the subjects of letters from both perspectives were not always consistent. Protester support in both cities claimed a right to dissent and condemned repression. Yet, those letters expressing championing protests held few other similarities. Pro-protest letters from Louisville revealed a strong criticism for government; however, few Cincinnatians mentioned support for government while condoning protests. Likewise, letters from readers in Louisville who condemned protest offered strong support for government, while anti-protest letters in Cincinnati failed to reveal a parallel belief in government. To Cincinnatians, the actions of the government were apparently separate from campus unrest. Also, while most anti-protest letters in Louisville revealed support for force and praise for the National Guard, most letters from the anti-protest perspective in Cincinnati ridiculed protesters in general. There was also a decidedly strong Cincinnati conviction that professors were at the root of protests and violence, but in Louisville, this view was less pronounced. Thus, while perspectives hold similar percentages of letters in each city, their subjects vary, indicating the populations were not necessarily committed to the same ideas. While the general public of both cities offered similar amounts of praise and criticism in general, the apparent differences in content lessen the effect of the initial similarities. Still, the populations did exhibit some comparability.

The actual issues covered by letters and the percentage of each that appeared in the papers is summarized below in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2 *Explanation of Anti-Protest Letters*

	<i>Courier Journal</i>	<i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>
Hypocrisy, immaturity of protesters	16%	26%
Government support	20%	0%
Communist threat	14%	8%
Critical of university faculty	8%	19%
Critical of media	9%	15%
Support for force, Guard	24%	12%
Rule of minority	4%	15%
Generation gap	4%	4%
Other	1%	4%

Table 3 Explanation of Pro-Protest Letters

	<i>Courier Journal</i>	<i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>
Condemnation of force, Guard	30%	36%
Right to dissent	34%	50%
Critical of government	28%	7%
Praise of peaceful, responsible protests	4%	7%
Stereotyping	4%	0%

The editorials of each paper, however, represented a decidedly less comparable aspect. In fact, the editorial opinion of the two papers offered few comparisons and more often each refuted the opinion of the other. While the *Enquirer* concentrated most on the university system in a tirade against student protests, the *Courier Journal*, for the most part, emphasized the right to free speech and supported student dissent, unhindered by force. The letters to the editor in Cincinnati also revealed discontent with the university system, furthering editorial opinion. The letters in Louisville, however, do not seem to further editorial opinion, but truly offer a diversity of perspectives.

Enquirer editors concentrated specifically on students and faculty in condemning protests, generally localizing the conflict. That is, editors, and to a degree the population, removed the campus conflicts in Cincinnati from the context of a larger, national campus protest movement. The *Courier Journal*, perhaps because events were less than dramatic at U of L, concentrated on UK and Kent State. Interestingly, however, UK is nearly the same distance from both Cincinnati and Louisville. Although Cincinnati is across the river from Kentucky, the *Enquirer* failed to even mention the actions of the Kentucky governor or the events that occurred just an hour and a half away at UK. The *Enquirer* writers worked in a smaller realm and on a smaller scale. They were committed, it seems, to localizing the conflict and sometimes applying criticism to a larger scale, but were largely unaware of the occurrences on the other bank of the Ohio. *Courier Journal* editors, despite devoting two editorials specifically to the UK situation and the governor, offered broader support for protesters in general and the universal right to dissent. Thus, readers in Louisville were given opinions on a much broader scale.

The language employed by writers for the *Courier Journal* and *Enquirer* also exposed a difference in political culture. Those in Cincinnati were often reduced to petty name-calling and superficial stereotypes of protesters. Louisville, perhaps because of its open support of protesters, failed to describe protesters in this manner. It also, however, was not reduced to depicting the government officials and the uses of force it opposed in such a manner. *Enquirer* editorials attempted to garner more support through cleverly designed phrases than through actual facts. By referring to campus protests as “warfare” and recognizing the campus at the second “battlefront” of the Vietnam War, *Enquirer* editors created an environment of intense hostility and attempted to discredit the peace movement.⁴⁹ The “attacks” by protesters created unprovoked “Cold War” or “limited warfare” at home,⁵⁰ giving the impression that all protests relied on an element of violence and were hypocritical in their quest for peace. Students engaging in such protests

became commonly known as a “mobocracy,” enriched with “barbarians” and “militants” that had to be forcefully “tranquilized.”⁵¹ Protesters were reduced to less than human forms of life – incapable of possessing the reasonable thought and intelligence of the older generation. These college students, though adults in age, were regarded as merely “youngsters.”⁵²

The *Enquirer* did not stop short of criticizing the system it believed produced protesters in like terms. It referred to college as a “progressive kindergarten” and “intellectually bankrupt,” incapable of producing rational thought.⁵³ The faculty of universities was equally troublesome to *Enquirer* editors. Such “firebrands” who did not teach but instead “inflam(ed), propagandiz(ed), and radicaliz(ed)” were destroying the university system. According to editors, these professors were compelled not to instill basic knowledge and fundamentals of society, but instead continuously “fanned the fires of dissent.”⁵⁴ The connotations of the words in the *Enquirer* revealed that the editors, their works factual or not, expanded their free speech to great lengths, nearly defaming some subjects. These phrases, protected as free speech, served to perhaps alter reader opinion on the issue and promoted a one-sided account. A noteworthy parallel existed between the name-calling editors and the protesters they denounced for name-calling in lieu of intelligent debate.

Conversely, little evidence exists to suggest the *Courier Journal* relied on similar tactics. Louisville editors, while critical of the government, remained content to argue logically. Thus, the *Enquirer’s* troublesome phraseology represented an obvious difference in the approaches of the papers. The *Courier Journal* recognized its adversaries, but did not use its right to free speech to publicly defame them, as the *Enquirer* did. The editorial space in the Louisville paper seems reserved for more rational and mature debate. The phraseology used by the *Enquirer* somewhat discredited its opinion. In criticizing the immaturity of protesters, they engaged in very like juvenile name-calling.

The *Enquirer* editorials, however, remained consistent. Not one strayed from the opinion outlined in the first editorial on May 6. The cartoons followed the same theme. Yet, the *Courier Journal* lacked such consistency. Editorials, first appearing two days after Kent State, established a concrete approval of protesters and dismissed the opinions and actions of leading government officials. However, on May 9, Governor Nunn criticized the paper’s apparent bias and coverage of the events at UK. He denounced the paper’s editorials, which were unfavorable to him at a dangerous time. Nunn also went so far as to suggest that to avoid its biased reporting tactics, it consider the coverage in Lexington papers.⁵⁵

After the seemingly consistent opinions during the days after Kent State and UK, the editors of the *Courier Journal* offered one editorial of little substance on May 10 and then remained silent on the entire campus protest issue until May 15, when they starkly reversed their previously held position. In fact, Nunn, who they considered to be acting irrationally and endangering students’ lives with live ammunition a week earlier, was praised by editors for relying on laws and rights and using live ammunition to calm rowdy students. They deviated from their original position, that live ammunition should not have been at Kent State, enough to propose that an advanced warning would have saved the lives of the four Kent State students.⁵⁶

The editorial is accompanied by a cartoon drawn by Haynie, who in previous editions presented a very positive portrayal of protesters and assailed the use of

force by the National Guard. In his May 16 cartoon, previously described and pictured, he gave protesters features to appear secretive, abnormal, and destructive. They do not follow the norms of society and embrace danger. As well, their tactic to destroy the campus center to ensure peace conveys a hypocritical nature. Thus, while inconsistencies in editorial opinion have the possibility of representing a diversity of opinions, such variety was probably not the motive of Louisville editors. More likely, governmental criticism, on a public level and perhaps another level, forced the paper to retreat from its previous position in order to appease the executive official. Thus, Nunn, in a sense, denied editors their right to free speech in condemning their opinions and editors relinquished that right to alleviate tensions with the government. Such appeasement represented a type of repression in itself. Apparently, when editors could not express their opinions without fear of government criticism and retribution, they changed their opinions. Thus, it is difficult to evaluate the final *Courier Journal* editorial as supportive of government when this opinion was likely coerced.

Defining the exact intentions and tactics of a newspaper and its editors more than 30 years ago presents a formidable task. Editors could have sought to strike a balance between opposing factions after Kent State in order to best satisfy all segments of the populations they served. Thus, they might have selected a variety of letters of readers to truly display the existing diversity of opinions. On the other hand, editors have the means to select editorials not to represent diversity, but to further their arguments, emphasizing their own published opinion. Or, editors are always afforded the option of selecting letters to publish in proportion to the number they receive on a subject. Governmental pressure, especially in the case of the *Courier Journal*, frequently factors in. Which tactic(s) the editors of the *Courier Journal* and *Enquirer* editors utilized can never be completely revealed. What can be established, however, is despite manipulations by editors, each paper emphasizes certain dichotomies of free speech.

This research initially sought to compare the positions of the populations in Cincinnati and Louisville in the aftermath of Kent State and during the ensuing campus protests. Yet, it is impossible to characterize the dominant opinion(s) of the general population of each city by exploring the content of published reader letters. Such limitation extends to any research considering Letters to the Editor as representative samples of popular opinion. Nonetheless, the dichotomies proposed in the initial description of this research seem valid. There was a seemingly perpetual dichotomy in the opinions expressed by editors from each city. That is, each newspaper presented one entity included in the dichotomy. The *Courier Journal* editors published editorials, minus one aberration to the trend, in direct contrast to that printed by *Enquirer* editors; each side of the campus protest debate corresponds to one newspaper. The *Courier Journal* presented coverage heavily praising protest efforts and denouncing government while the *Enquirer*, on the contrast, devoted editorial opinion more often to criticism of protesters and their suspected promoters. Editorials clearly expressed views supported by only one side of the debate. Editors failed to establish a middle ground and frequently championed the rights of those who favored their opinion. Thus, the two contrasting editorial opinions of each respective paper formed a dichotomy of free

speech. Through the rights granted to them, each felt compelled to present competing arguments.

Differing opinions did, however, give rise to another dichotomy of free speech apparent at the time. The Letters to the Editor, particularly those published by the *Courier Journal*, utilized free speech to express a dichotomy of opinion. Proponents arguing both for the rights of protesters and those in support of government were given voice in the editorial pages. Though the tactics involved in selecting which letters and how many were to be printed will never be established, the papers confirmed that the general population contained advocates of protests and their critics. Letters resembled each perspective. Editors granted neither side overwhelming support, though a greater percentage of letters criticizing protests was printed in each city. Therefore, through their representation of competing arguments, Letters to the Editor created yet another dichotomy of free speech.

The final dichotomy of the period lies not in the exact amount of what editors printed, but what they used their freedom of speech to convey. Free speech, characterized by its many expressions, such as the cries of protesters and the opinions of newspaper editors examined in this research, has the potential to create a dichotomy. Competing factions had the potential to emerge, and did, recognizing one form of speech as significantly different from another. Such a dichotomy did not present itself in the *Courier Journal*. Editors were largely supportive of the protest movement and the right to dissent in the United States. Their support was more than just verbal though. By actually criticizing the government and those purported repressors of free speech, the newspaper aligned itself with the protesters in its support of genuine free speech. Free speech, in the *Courier Journal*, was extended to all who wanted a voice, protesters and editors alike. Editors extolled freedoms in the sense that both arguments were given credit, though only one was given support. Legitimacy of speech was never denied. Neither side was denied the right to support or dissent, but, in the shadow of history, was granted voice.

A dichotomy developed within the pages of the *Enquirer* though. *Enquirer* editors defined their right to free speech as significantly different from that of protesters and also more worthy. Through the connotations that editors used, they routinely denied that protesters had the same legitimate right of free speech and grievance as the papers did. The juvenile descriptions created the impression that protesters utilized mechanisms inferior to free speech or abused the first amendment. Editors' views invoked a specifically different authority and worthiness. Protesters were screaming anything to be heard, supposedly not using free speech to argue rationally as the editors apparently did. There evidently existed a distinction between editor's thoughts and those of students; editors established a difference in their right to free speech and what they said protesters were calling free speech. Protesters' speech, therefore, had faults prohibiting it from being compared with editorial writing. To go so far as to suggest that professors, not maintaining support of government or, worse, expressing Communist sentiments, should not have had the right to teach or express such viewpoints in the university setting, confirmed this dichotomy to an even greater degree. What protesters and faculty spoke of did not merit mention or acknowledgement in the *Enquirer*, signifying a deference to editorial opinion over that of protesters and dissenters. Though both factions claimed to be acting with regard to free speech, *Enquirer* editors conveyed the

message that their opinions and the opinions of protesters could not be classified under the same umbrella of free speech. This specific attitude towards protesters gives the impression that *Enquirer* editors truly created a dichotomy of free speech: protests and editorials were not the same manifestations of free speech.

Additionally, a stark contrast to the common public opinion that the media had intentionally held a liberal, antigovernment stance develops when considering the messages of both papers. The evidence in the *Courier Journal* and the *Enquirer* reveals that the media did not represent an exclusive outlet for antigovernment feeling, but actually existed as a forum for both liberal and conservative factions, to some extent. Despite some pronounced tendencies, neither paper, in its entirety, exhibited a total partiality to either side, liberal or conservative, as popular public opinion of the time would have it.

May 4, 1970 significantly changed the campus protest movement. The right to free speech was undoubtedly challenged by live ammunition. Despite the similarities and proximity of the Louisville and Cincinnati populations, different issues became paramount. The editorial opinion followed two very different strands of thought and viewpoints expressed in the Letters to the Editor rarely coincided. This research does not attempt to account for such differences, but removes demographic factors as a cause. This research merely observes and analyzes variations in thought. The prevailing attitudes of readers writing to papers on the issue, of diverging editorial opinion between the papers, and within the dichotomy of free speech established by the *Enquirer* reveal much about the troubling time.

ENDNOTES

1. Clarence R. Wyatt, *Paper Soldiers: The American Press and the Vietnam War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 218.
2. *Lexington Leader*, May 5, 1970.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., May 6, 1970.
6. *Louisville Courier Journal*, May 6, 1970.
7. *Lexington Leader*, May 6, 1970.
8. *Louisville Courier Journal*, May 7, 1970; *Lexington Leader*, May 7, 1970.
9. *Louisville Courier Journal*, May 7, 1970.
10. *Lexington Leader*, May 8, 1970.
11. *Louisville Courier Journal*, May 9, 1970.
12. *Louisville Courier Journal*, May 7, 1970.
13. Ibid., May 6, 1970.
14. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 8, 1970.
15. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 7, 1970.
16. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population and Housing, 1970*, Final Report PHS(1)-44 Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind. SMSA, in *1970 Census Tracts*, 1-73.
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21. Ibid., May 6, 9, 1970.
22. Ibid., May 9, 1970.
23. Ibid., May 8, 1970.
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25. Ibid., May 8, 1970.
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29. Ibid., May 12, 1970.

30. Ibid., May 15, 1970.
31. Ibid., May 9, 1970.
32. Ibid., May 12, 1970.
33. Ibid., May 23, 1970.
34. Ibid., May 15, 1970.
35. Ibid., May 9, 1970.
36. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 6, 1970.
37. Ibid., May 13, 1970.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., May 15, 1970.
40. Ibid., May 9, 1970.
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44. Ibid., May 10, 1970.
45. Ibid., May 22, 1970.
46. Ibid., May 18, 1970.
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48. Ibid., May 20, 1970.
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50. Ibid., May 9, 17, 1970.
51. Ibid., May 6, 13, 17, 1970.
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53. Ibid., May 15, 1970.
54. Ibid.
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56. Ibid., May 10, 1970.

PERSPECTIVES



Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation

by Joseph J. Ellis

(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000)

review by Kristopher A. Teters

In *Founding Brothers*, Joseph Ellis produces an insightful examination of the Revolutionary era. He deftly divides his work into six chapters, each concentrating on a significant event or theme in the early republic. These chapters brilliantly reveal the personalities, proclivities, and deficiencies of the Revolution's chief protagonists: James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and George Washington. Ellis shows how these figures struggled with one another after their fight with England to carve a nation out of thirteen colonies. Despite the tendency to view the success of the infant nation as inevitable in hindsight, it was far from certain at the time. Ellis accurately captures the spirit of the age as a propitious, but chaotic and tumultuous time. The political wars fought in the 1790s and beyond were fierce and full of intrigue, but always remained bloodless with one exception. This one exception is where Ellis's work begins its exploration.

The Hamilton-Burr duel was the most famous duel in American history, and it tragically left one of the "Founding Brothers" dead. Ellis painstakingly recreates the events leading up to the duel and attempts to unravel the mystery surrounding those few fateful moments, on July 11, 1804, when the shots rang out along the Hudson River. More important, however, than the actual duel itself was what the duel said about the world of Revolutionary America. Ellis convincingly shows that Hamilton's vituperative statements about Burr, which prompted the duel, were a product of Hamilton's fear that Burr was a threat to the fledgling republic. Burr's

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audacious political opportunism and unscrupulous behavior caused Hamilton to view him as a man who lacked the virtue and character necessary to subordinate personal ambition to the public interest. Viewed within this context then, the duel can be seen as symbolic of a world where America's fate still remained in the balance. It was a fate that Hamilton was determined, in his mind, to rescue from the conniving clutches of Burr.

Ellis next turns his attention to the famous dinner table bargain between Hamilton, Madison, and Jefferson in 1790. The bargain helped resolve two explosive issues on the national agenda: assumption of the state debts by the federal government and the permanent location of the national capital. Basically, the compromise was that Madison would allow Hamilton's financial plan to pass in Congress if Hamilton would use his influence to ensure that the new national capital was located on the Potomac. Ellis contends that the issues discussed at this historic dinner reveal the contrary opinions within the revolutionary generation over the future course and shape of America. Was America going to become a nation of farmers with a small less powerful central government, like the Jeffersonians envisioned, or was it going to become a more industrialized nation with the consolidation of political and economic power at the federal level, like the Hamiltonians advocated? Only time would answer this question, but the dinner at Jefferson's house certainly helped avert political crises over these two incompatible visions for America.

The issue that produced a political crisis with catastrophic consequences was of course slavery. In his next chapter, Ellis explains the Founding Fathers' response to the peculiar institution, which can be summarized in one word, "silence." This chapter concentrates on a heated debate over the forbidden subject in Congress in 1790, which was touched off when two Quaker delegations in February of that year appealed to the House to end the slave trade. The debate split along sectional lines. While the Deep South was enraged over the topic even being broached, some representatives from the North were equally adamant that slavery was an inconsistency on the American democratic landscape that eventually needed to be abolished. Madison intervened before the arguments swirled out of control and pushed the emancipation question off the congressional agenda. Like many of his fellow revolutionaries, Madison felt that the issue of slavery was too divisive to be attacked in the early republic. The nation would simply fall apart before it had a chance to come together if slavery was touched. Sadly, this would leave another generation of Americans with the task of settling the question of slavery, which was finally resolved on the battlefields of the Civil War.

The following two sections of the book detail Washington's departure from the political arena and the party wars of the 1790's. Ellis gives significant attention to Washington's celebrated Farewell Address and examines the last kernels of wisdom that the great general gave his people. This wisdom included such things as the need to rise above political partisanship and unite as a people, and the importance of maintaining a position of neutrality with respect to European affairs. When Washington retired, he left a gigantic void in American politics, which was quickly filled with constant political bickering and caustic rhetoric, despite Washington's entreaties to the contrary. In particular, it was Madison and Jefferson who launched a concerted campaign against the administration of John Adams, who had the

unfortunate luck of trying to fill the shoes of the immortal Washington. Ellis describes the ruthless effectiveness of the Madison-Jefferson collaboration along with several other factors that undermined the Adams presidency, such as the XYZ Affair and the Alien and Sedition Acts. In the end, it was just too much for Adams to resist the Jefferson surge or revolution of 1800.

The last chapter focuses on the friendship that Adams and Jefferson rekindled in old age and their legendary fourteen-year correspondence. Adams had become preoccupied with his own legacy as he witnessed Jefferson's star rising in the American pantheon, and he was determined to record his own version of the American Revolution for posterity. The renewal of communication with Jefferson gave Adams the perfect opportunity to not only engage with an old friend, but also to tell his story of those magical years. The two patriarchs explored a variety of subjects with some of the most controversial being the meaning of the Revolution and the ideological wars that followed, the French Revolution, and the role of the aristocracy in America. Moreover, the letters convey that both men could see the Civil War looming in the distance from their respective vantage points on opposite sides of the North-South divide. By 1820, however, contentious topics no longer entered the discourse between Monticello and Quincy, and both men decided to set aside their differences for all time. The letters that Adams and Jefferson composed in their final years were meant as much for future generations as they were for each other. It was two living legends trying to get their final thoughts and feelings down for the historical record before they met their end on that 4th of July in 1826.

James M. Banner finds that *Founding Brothers* does little to conform to current historical trends, for it focuses on the traditional white male figures of the Revolution.¹ However, Banner sensed a "modern temper" in Ellis's work because of its intensive study of such subjects as slavery and political partisanship. Moreover, the reviewer feels that Ellis's use of political pairs, whether working together or at odds, to illustrate the shaping forces of the period was very effective. Within Ellis's vivid descriptions and captivating narrative, Banner also locates some fresh interpretations. One example of Ellis's key insights occurs in the chapter on Washington's Farewell Address, where Ellis observes that Adams's diplomatic solution to the war with France was the first time Washington's message of neutrality was implemented. There were only two flaws that Banner detected in the work. The first is that the chapter on the Hamilton-Burr duel is misplaced chronologically and should have been closer to the end of the book. The other problem that concerns Banner is whether Franklin or Burr really belong in the study. Despite these arguable defects, Banner contends that Ellis's study is an "indispensable addition" to the seminal historical works on the Revolutionary period.¹

Lance Banning, from the University of Kentucky, feels that *Founding Brothers* serves as a splendid introduction to those pivotal first years of the American nation, and answers many key questions about why the republic lasted despite the intense factionalism. The reviewer views Ellis's prose as lucid and sophisticated with a novel power. Banning also notes that most of Ellis's assertions are in harmony with the widely accepted historical interpretations of the era, and Ellis even offers a persuasive new spin on the Hamilton-Burr duel. However, Banning found some problems with the text that might mislead a neophyte in the field. For example, Ellis's characterization of Jefferson's political maneuverings during the Adams

Presidency is a little extreme to say the least. Additionally, Banning sees Ellis's portrayal of the slave trade debate in 1790 as highly questionable. But overall, the reviewer affirms that Ellis is as effective as any historian exploring the formative years of the republic.²

I consider *Founding Brothers* an outstanding study of the revolutionary generation that is definitely worthy of the Pulitzer Prize. I concur with both reviewers that Ellis has a magic with words that introduces a fresh tone into often told stories. His chapters, while they work well as excellent essays by themselves, also possess an internal unity that makes them cohere well as a book. Ellis's portraits of the "Founding Brothers" are revealing because they attempt to capture the essence of these men's personalities, with all the jealousy, pride, and greatness together. His most effective portrait was of Adams, and by far, his most distorted portrait was of Jefferson. In my opinion, the chief flaw of this book lies with Ellis's biased attitude against Jefferson, which seems to be a consistent attitude throughout his career. Ellis simply never gives Jefferson the benefit of the doubt and rarely has a kind word to say about the Sage of Monticello. He constantly dwells on Jefferson's intense idealism and elusive personality with these supposedly self-deceiving mechanisms built into it. However, despite his prejudice towards Jefferson, Ellis has produced a landmark study in *Founding Brothers*, which will surely become a standard read for anyone interested in the period.

ENDNOTES

1. See review in *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (2001): 491-493 (by James M. Banner, Jr.).
2. See review in *The Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 1057-1058 (by Lance Banning).

PERSPECTIVES

The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789

by T.C.W. Blanning

(New York: Oxford University Press, 2002)

review by Ryan N. Springer

Blanning's book examines the cultural revolution that transformed Europe in the eighteenth century from a court culture dominated by Louis XIV to the new public sphere ruled by public opinion and including newspapers, periodicals, novels, and lending libraries. The new public sphere posed new challenges to regimes and their ruling orders. In describing old regime Europe, Blanning explains that anything that was French was represented through Louis XIV. In order to dominate, Louis XIV had to keep every aspect of French culture under his control. To control the royal court the King built Versailles and made it explicitly clear that he was the sole representative of French culture. To control education and the arts he took control of the French academies. In the process, moreover, the French monarch—with all the grandeur of Versailles and France—caused the French language to dominate all languages on the continent. However, the idea that France was the sole contributor to German culture in the old regime is false. German culture was also influenced by the Netherlands, the Slavic world, Italy, and Spain.

In old regime Europe painters and actors were treated with respect by high society. Actors and musicians, on the other hand, were treated harshly. However, musicians enjoyed a certain amount of freedom because they were not controlled by the state. Furthermore, musicians could choose to travel from town to town, while in the process could be hired to perform and live with their employers as Haydn had. The fact that musicians began to be employed by aristocrats—even Frederick the Great—illustrates that musicians were beginning to have a way to social advancement and that they too were beginning to be dominant representatives of culture. Artists and musicians of the eighteenth century realized, over time, that the public was becoming very interested in music and was beginning to buy the

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work of artists. The public gave its opinions and judged the work of artists and musicians without bias. The artists of every genre, therefore, came to view the public as the only just judge of the fine arts.

The increase of literacy rates and the expansion of education throughout Europe caused a reading revolution and played a significant role in the development of the public sphere. Education during the early eighteenth century was largely controlled by the church. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, education was turned over to the control of the state. The state allowed more freedom in education and allowed for the teaching of subjects suppressed by the church in the past. The major influence the state had on the public realm of education was that it allowed more freethinking. The increase of literacy rates and the expansion of education brought about a reading revolution and influenced the development of libraries. These libraries proliferated and, therefore, influenced the spread of the public's ideas.

In discussing the cultural origins of the French Revolution, Blanning states that legitimacy was no longer derived from the monarch, but from the public. French nationalism only endured while Louis XIV was king because only he could represent the monarchy effectively. When his successors tried to represent French culture, they failed to do so due to a loss of character and initiative. In the new public sphere image of public figures became very significant, and the image of Marie Antoinette was that she engaged in every act of lascivious behavior possible. Gossips at court and Paris pamphleteers handed out pornographic pamphlets of Marie Antoinette. And there was no way the French monarch could have total control of the press. Obviously, Blanning's book has great significance because in the modern age we still live in the public sphere. Governments today still attempt to keep their balance and use public opinion in some of the same ways as did the old regimes in Europe.

PERSPECTIVES

*Africans in the Americas:
A History of the Black Diaspora*
by Michael L. Conniff and Thomas J. Davis
(New York, 1994)
review by Christian Remse

Africans in the Americas: A History of the Black Diaspora, a college-level textbook, portrays concisely the entire Diaspora of Africans and people of African descent in the Americas. Michael L. Conniff and Thomas J. Davis begin with the civilization of the African continent, its inhabitants, and their initial experiences in the Americas, discuss the slave trade and the end of slavery in the New World, and describe the Africans' conditions in the Americas since the abolition of slavery. In order to achieve a clearly structured outline, Conniff and Davis organized the book in four chronological parts, and provided many charts and maps to clarify the complex material for the reader.

Essentially, this book points out that Africa's strong and enduring cultural heritage has shaped and is still shaping a tremendous share in the modern culture of the whole American continent. The outstanding number of various impacts on the different American societies, cultures, and ethnic developments is immense and very powerful. These impacts refer back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the first European explorers traded slaves with the ruling African kingdoms. Conniff and Davis claim that these slaves, who were brought to the New World, set up the initial cultural customs and social patterns in the Americas. For instance, Africans established their own food culture and held their native religious ceremonies in order to keep their traditions in their new homeland alive. Although this process, which we call *Creolization*, may be considered a general phenomenon in the Americas, the Spanish exploiters were less racist than the British colonists and allowed intermarriages from which evolved a new ethnic phenotype known as *mulatto*. Today, it represents the majority of the Latin-American population.

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Yet the most significant impact on the establishment of a Creole African culture was made during the peak of slavery and lasted to its abolition. Africans began to develop their own strategies, methods, and customs in order to survive in captivity. Blacks resisted through various tactics in their new homeland, such as keeping either their own native culture alive or creating their own new Creole subculture. Black bondage men such as the so-called *Maroons* opposed their dominators physically and were the most successful insurrectionists in the New World. In 1655, when the Spanish Conquistadors were driven out of Jamaica by the English Crown, *Maroons* hid in the mountains and fought the British with African guerrilla tactics brought from their old homeland. This warfare became the role model for other slave insurrections in different parts of the American continent such as the United States, where Nat Turner's Rebellion took place in Southampton County, Virginia, 1831. Today, according to their strength and perseverance in the past, *Maroons* still enjoy political immunity and independence. Hence, regardless of geographic regions, the introduction of slavery in the New World formed a whole new dimension for Africans in the Americas in many different socio-cultural perspectives.

Although slavery was finally abolished on the American continent African Americans still suffer from socio-economic inequality and racism. Conniff and Davis argue that the situation for African-Americans has widely improved, yet overall racial discrimination still threatens the life of blacks in the Americas. One of the weaknesses of the book is that the authors fail to demonstrate how movements and revolutions in one nation affected blacks in other countries throughout the continent. For example, Conniff and Davis describe in great detail how in the 1910s and 1920s, Marcus Garvey, the founder of several black institutions such as the Black Star Steamship Line, initiated national consciousness for the back-to-Africa movement. However, the authors failed to say that this movement affected technically not only the Jamaican population or former Caribbean slaves, but every black ex-slave and their descendants on the entire continent. A revolutionary on a completely different basis was Fidel Castro. He, as a white Cuban, eliminated racial discrimination against Afro-Cubans and incorporated them through socialistic patterns into the most progressive social system in the Americas. However, this advancement only concerned Cuba itself and not significantly any of its neighboring countries, in particular not the United States, which feared the wave of communism.

In conclusion, this textbook not only covers the general aspects of the Black Diaspora, but also addresses the growing interest in global history and multicultural approaches. Students need a broad common knowledge about African culture on a global basis before they can start to examine specific background assumptions, and this book provides the reader with the essential information to do so. In particular, the maps, charts, and illustrations give the reader a wonderful and accessible insight into the very complex patterns of the African Creolization process. Sometimes the book suffers from a lack of criticism, but relying upon both secondary and primary sources such as documents and archival manuscripts, Davis and Conniff provide an insightful introduction to the impact of Africans on American life and culture.

PERSPECTIVES

Destined To Witness: Growing Up Black In Nazi Germany

by Hans J. Massaquoi

(New York, 1999)

review by Alexander Siegmund

Many books have been written about Nazi Germany and World War II. *Destined to Witness*, however, presents the history of the 1930s and 1940s from a completely different point of view. Hans Jürgen Massaquoi, the author of the book, tells his personal story of growing up as an African-German during the era of National Socialism in Germany. Depending mainly on his own memory, personal records, and occasionally on the memories of his mother or his friends as sources, he divided the book into small, mostly chronologically ordered, episodes that inform the reader about important persons or events in his life. He starts out with a brief explanation of how his family came to Germany.

His grandfather, Momolu Massaquoi, Liberia's first consul general to Germany, came to Hamburg in 1922. His oldest son, Al-Haj, studied in Dublin, Ireland. The author's mother, Bertha Baetz, worked as a nurse in a Hamburg hospital. She met Al-Haj at a party that Momolu Massaquoi organized in order to say thank you to all the doctors and nurses that treated him extremely well during his brief stint in the hospital. Al-Haj and Bertha fell in love, started dating, and four years later Hans Jürgen was born. For various reasons, their marriage was delayed. Al-Haj wanted to finish his studies in Ireland, commuting between Dublin and Hamburg. In 1929, the Massaquois had to return to Liberia due to political reasons in their home-country, thus leaving Bertha, who refused to join them in Liberia, alone with the task of raising Hans Jürgen. The family's life suddenly turned upside down. They

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had to move from the Massaquoi's comfortable villa into a small apartment building in the city.

Things took a turn for the worse for Hans Jürgen, when Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933, establishing his Aryan society in which Jews, people of color, and other minorities that didn't live up to Hitler's far-fetched ideal of the perfect human being were constantly excluded, discriminated against, and later on physically humiliated. Massaquoi, in his childish unawareness, initially admired the regime, at one point even admitting that the "brainwash" had worked on him as he also started to believe in the Nazi lies that were funneled into the people's heads. Those lies were mostly about alleged German heroics, about the inferiority of Jews, or the "stab-in-the-back" legend that Germany lost World War I only because Jews in Germany had spread the lie that the war was lost thus shifting the people's mood against the war. The cover of the book shows five-year-old Hans Jürgen Massaquoi wearing a swastika, which he begged his "aunt" Tante Möller to sew on his sweater.

However, Hans Jürgen gradually found out that people of color were not included in Adolf Hitler's plan for the 3rd Reich. First of all, his mother lost her job in the hospital because of the plain fact that she had a "non-Aryan" child. Then the young Hans Jürgen was suddenly prohibited from playing at his neighborhood playground, a place where he spent various happy hours, when a sign was erected that "non-Aryans" were strictly prohibited from setting foot on the playground. Besides giving him a hard time at school, his new school principal, Herr Wriede, also denied his request to join the HJ (Hitler Youth), an institution that all his classmates had proudly joined.

As Nazi Germany marched toward war, Massaquoi struggled to find his place in society. His relationship to Gretchen, his first girlfriend, was complicated by the fact that in Nazi Germany "Rassenschande," the mingling of races, was considered the most cardinal of all sins. The Gestapo, the German State Police, did their best to prevent mixed dating and to punish those who did it. Massaquoi's attempt to join the German army was turned down. He passed all examinations with flying colors, but was termed "not useable" due to his "non-Aryan" status, leaving him as one of only a handful of men serving on the "homefront." In fact, the recruitment officer literally told him that "Germany is not, and never will be, so hard-up to need the likes of him to win the war" (p. 196). This event turned his sentiment toward the Nazis completely into hate, and made him dream about leaving the country one day.

In 1943, during Britain's Gomorrah-Attack on Hamburg that leveled most parts of the city, Massaquoi and his mother Bertha narrowly escaped death in an air-raid shelter. From that point on, they carried all their belongings in four small suitcases. Two years later, the 3rd Reich finally collapsed, Hitler committed suicide and the British troops occupied Hamburg. After the war, hunger became the people's biggest enemy. Unfortunately, one day, Bertha and Hans Jürgen's apartment was robbed when they were both at work, leaving them again with nothing but the clothes on their backs. Massaquoi developed his musical skills and earned some extra money by playing the saxophone.

In 1948, his father finally sent him a letter from Liberia. Hans Jürgen seized the chance and prepared for his departure from Germany. His father obtained a Liberian passport for him, thus enabling him to leave Germany whenever he felt

like leaving – a privilege that Germans were often denied by the allied forces. After separating from his father, shortly after coming to Liberia, Hans Jürgen Massaquoi tried to take charge of his own life. He applied for an immigrant visa to the United States, and his aunt Clara enrolled him in the Aeronautical University of Chicago to give him a better chance of obtaining at least a student visa. In 1950, Massaquoi finally emigrated to the US, meeting his aunt Clara and her family in Chicago. Although a non-citizen, he was drafted for the US army due to a bureaucratic mistake during the Korean War. He served in the army for two years before returning to the US and obtaining a degree in journalism and communication from the University of Illinois. He joined Johnson Publishing Company as a co-editor of the weekly black magazine *Jet*, before he was transferred to a similar position at *Ebony*, the company's most important monthly photo-feature magazine. In his job, he met famous African politicians, as well as African-Americans, such as Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, his childhood hero Joe Louis, Max Schmeling, and Muhammad Ali.

Destined To Witness is a very interesting and well-written book. It gives the reader valuable insight on life in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s, and on the author's personal problems and difficulties, such as racism and prejudice. Furthermore, the extraordinary perspective the author provides makes the book something truly special. It is the story of a man searching for, and finally finding, not only his roots and identity, but also his place in society. Despite all the negative experiences in Germany, Massaquoi didn't write his book in order to get even with the country and its population, but rather to tell "his" story. He dedicated the book to his mother and thanked her for all she had done for him. Above all, Hans Jürgen Massaquoi never lost his sense of humor which, together with his positive sarcasm, make the book entertaining, easy-to-read, and therefore absolutely worth reading.

PERSPECTIVES



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