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FOREWORD
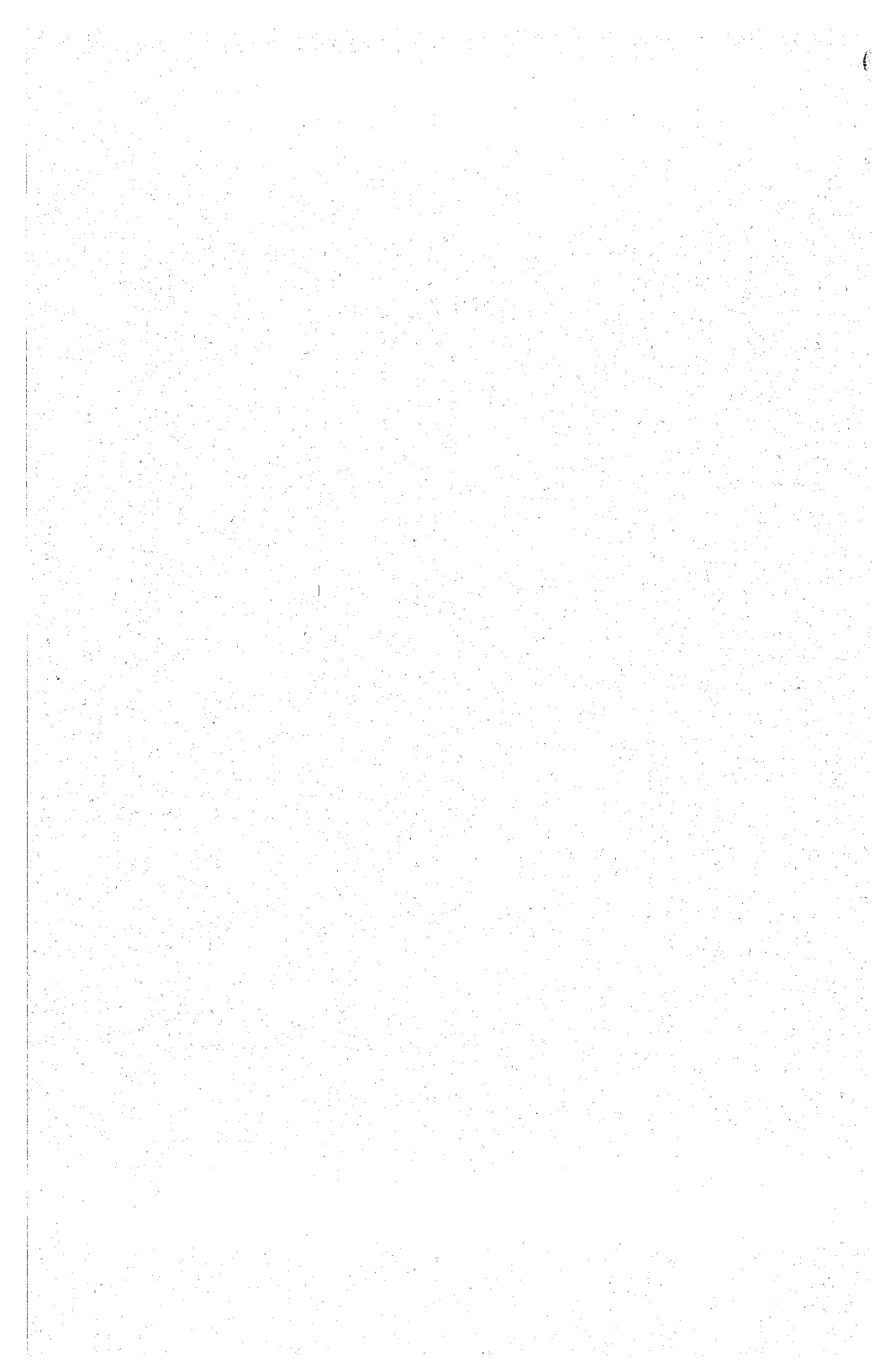
Serving as editor of the 1993-94 issue of *Perspectives in History* has been both enjoyable and rewarding. On behalf of the officers of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta I would like to thank the authors of the articles and book reviews for an outstanding performance and for sharing their work with the readers. Five members of the chapter participated in the annual Regional meeting at Cumberland College on April 9, 1994: Sandra Seidman, David Rosselott, Brian Lee, Brian Houillion, and the editor. Brian Houillion, Brian Lee and I presented papers. The Chapter is grateful to Dr. W. Frank Steely for his assistance with preparations for the trip, and Dr. Michael Adams, Chair, History and Geography, for his continuous support of Phi Alpha Theta. Dr. Paul Reichardt, Interim Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, has encouraged this chapter and all honor societies this year.

We are appreciative of Alissa Ogle, Heather Wallace, Bert Brown and Kathy Stewart for their cheerful and enthusiastic help with the technical production of the journal. Sandra Seidman, the 1993-94 President of Phi Alpha Theta, has done an enthusiastic job of leading our chapter and generating new ideas. All of the officers and members of Phi Alpha Theta wish to thank Dr. Ramage, our Faculty Advisor, for his constant support and guidance of our chapter. His ability to relate to students, as well as his flexibility, have helped to make our chapter of Phi Alpha Theta an organization of which Northern Kentucky University can be proud. Good luck to the 1994-95 officers and members.

Marian B. Henderson
Editor

Northern Ireland: A Study in Division
by
Emily Melching

Modern history has been plagued with the problem of prejudice and discrimination based upon race, religion, or gender. This scourge has permeated the heart of the island of Ireland. Through the involvement or as a result of British imperialism, Ireland has been divided into two nations -- the Republic of Ireland and the six northern-most counties of Northern Ireland or Ulster. There exists also within Northern Ireland a great division among the people. It is a fully dichotomized society, split between Protestants and Catholics -- the have's and have-not's, respectively. Tensions rise as these two communities struggle to co-exist and national identities clash. Protestants in Northern Ireland view themselves essentially as British, merely living in an extended Britain. Catholics, on the other hand, view themselves as members of the greater whole of Ireland, trying to maintain a particularly Irish identity. These groups are strongly suspicious of one another: Protestants believing that all Catholics are basically nationalists and want a reunification of Ulster with the Republic, while Catholics resent the presence of Protestants as the influence of British tyranny. With Protestants for the most part retaining control of Northern Ireland, Catholics continue to be disadvantaged in terms of education and employment. In order to understand the complexity of this region, one must analyze the disparity of Catholics and Protestants in several key areas: employment, education, housing and social concerns, such as marriage and leisure activities. It is imperative first to study these aspects so that one may begin to grapple with the hostility that often results from them.

There is a great divide in the social status of Protestants and Catholics. Protestants are of the business and professional classes as well as large farmers and skilled laborers. Meanwhile, Catholics are most often the small farmers and unskilled laborers. However, a small Catholic business and professional class has grown up to serve those Catholics who refuse or are denied services from the Protestants. This creates some opportunity for Catholics to become skilled laborers, yet the vast majority of Catholics remain unskilled workers.[1]

This inequality between the two groups also creates a difference in the impact of unemployment, which usually most harshly afflicts the unskilled laborers, the Catholics. Economic status does not alone explain unemployment figures in Northern Ireland because one must also evaluate the influence of discrimination in employment and emigration to understand the statistics.[2] Most Catholics firmly believe that religious discrimination is rampant in Northern Ireland and, therefore, many choose to emigrate from Ulster in hopes of better job opportunities. However, if the Catholics would remain in Ulster they would eventually find themselves in the

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majority because the Catholic population grows at a faster rate than does the Protestants due to differing religious beliefs on the issue of birth control.[3]

Discriminating in employment in Northern Ireland is not a complicated task. One need not even ask an applicant his or her religious affiliation. All the employer must do is question the person's educational background to determine his faith. Since education is almost completely segregated, to know someone's schooling is to know whether they are Catholic or Protestant. For this reason it is not an effortless enterprise for researchers to attempt to determine the extent of religious discrimination. Employers will not admit to any purposeful or willful bias. Instead, they can state that they never at any time required the applicant to disclose his or her religious affiliation, but only asked information that was pertinent to the job.[4]

In privately owned businesses or firms, the employer, whether Catholic or Protestant, shows a stong desire to keep the company among "his own people." The trend can be seen in larger companies as well.[5] Researchers Denis P. Barritt and Charles F. Carter, in their study of various issues confronting Northern Ireland, note that both Catholic and Protestant employers follow a "Look out after one's own" mentality, seeing nothing peculiar in discrimination in employment. According to Barritt and Carter, some Protestant business owners believe that Catholics "are not to be trusted, that they are shifty, idle and unreliable, and fit only to be employed on unskilled work."[6] Since few people are able to escape the occupational status of the previous generation, the cycle of unskilled labor perpetuates itself.

Discrimination in employment can also be seen on a governmental level. Catholics have been thwarted in their attempts to rise in the hierarchy of the civil service, since many Protestants are distinctly disturbed by having those in higher levels of service who would potentially like to see the union of Ulster with the Republic of Ireland. Therefore, the vast majority of the executive posts in the Civil Service are given to Protestants. Since many Catholics do not believe in the right of Northern Ireland to exist freely from the Republic, many do not even apply for posts with government organizations.[7] Catholics are, however, employed in higher numbers in the "Imperial" Civil Service--that is jobs for the government in London. These positions include work in the Post Office, Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise Departments and the Defense Departments. Yet, Catholics still do not break the barrier to the upper levels of employment. Discrimination in hiring practices can also be seen by the government on local levels depending upon which religious group is in power.[8]

Barritt and Carter developed a list of various levels of discrimination in employment in Ulster. On the bottom levels are those small companies that practice complete discrimination, excluding all members of the opposite religion. Next, are those companies that relegate only lower paid positions or the "dirty work" to Catholics. These are often the jobs that Protestants would prefer not to do. On the level above are the companies that hire both Protestants and Catholics, but keep them separated in different departments to maintain the peace. Finally, are the few companies that hire both religious groups on all levels without segregating them.

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These companies are usually owned and managed by foreigners who have no personal stake in the religious division.[9]

Unfortunately, even if discrimination in employment were not present in Ulster, Catholics would still not proportionately obtain as many high level jobs as the Protestants because of their schooling; few Catholics are qualified to fill these positions. However, many Protestants believe that poverty is only a natural element of Catholicism, that it is inherently interwoven with the faith. Protestants frequently cite Italy and Spain as examples of this link. Yet, they overlook the successes of Catholic France and southern Germany. This reference is merely a convenient way to justify their own actions and ignore other reasons for the prevalence of Catholic poverty.[10] It is essential to study the influence of discrimination in employment in Northern Ireland, but one must question to what degree it affects employment statistics. Discrimination cannot always be easily proved and further study must be made into other factors, such as education.[11]

Education, like employment, is a major source of division between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. Segregation of the two groups is nearly complete. However, the few Protestant children in the rural areas are forced to go to Catholic schools since there are no Protestant ones nearby. This leads to some degree of understanding between the two groups, but for the most part, tensions remain high.[12]

Protestants and Catholics have been determined to educate their children separately. The government of Northern Ireland in Stormont proposed an education bill that would have essentially created a secularized, public primary school system. Both communities, however, were outraged, and under pressure from the Catholic and Protestant Churches who wanted to keep their position as educators of their own children, the government dropped the issue. Nevertheless, an amended version of the bill passed whereby the school system was theoretically to be non-sectarian; yet a strong Christian education was to be included in the curriculum. In order to receive government money, a school had to prove that they were teaching the "correct" form of Christianity from the Protestant Bible. The primary school system in Ulster, therefore, innately became Protestant.[13]

In primary and secondary schools almost all children are segregated by religion to either Catholic or Protestant schools. Teachers for these institutions are likewise trained in segregated groups. It would not be acceptable for those who would have influence over the minds of impressionable young children to have been exposed to thoughts and teachings of the opposing religion.[14] Catholics, although likely to be denied admittance to a Protestant school, are just as likely to be denied permission from the Church to attend a non-Catholic school.[15] Very early on children realize that they are distinctly different from other children. They learn this through their parents' language and references to those of the other group and the fact that they are often not allowed to play with children of another religion. These differences are highlighted when one begins school at a religiously segregated institution.[16]

The material that is taught is significantly different. For example, non-Catholic

schools tend to teach British history with the use of high quality text books. They inform children about what they should regard as their own history--that is, the history of the United Kingdom. Irish history is not really seen as relevant in the whole scope of the United Kingdom. Catholic schools, on the other hand, often teach a mostly Irish history to bolster their national pride while they are still under "foreign occupation;" however, their text books are not of very high quality since most publishers in Northern Ireland are Protestant.[17]

Catholic schools in Ulster also frequently teach the Irish language. Many Protestants see Irish as a dead language while most Catholics consider it an intrinsic part of their heritage. The education of young Catholics in the history and language of their land is spurred on by the Gaelic League, an organization which seeks to maintain Irish culture, particularly the language, and promotes research and publication of Gaelic manuscripts to advance the status of Irish literature and culture.[18]

Both the Protestants and the Catholics accuse the other of defaming them in the education of their children. Protestants feel that Catholics are evil and wicked, and are taught to be anti-British Irish nationalists. Catholics, on the other hand, believe that Protestant children are indoctrinated to despise the Catholic faith and at the same time to view all Catholics as untrustworthy. Although it is inevitable that there will be some bigots and religious fanatics within the teaching profession, most teachers as educated men and women tend to advise against hostility and hatred rather than instill it. When one encounters bigotry and prejudice among teachers it is because everyone is surrounded by the overwhelming problems of Northern Ireland and it is not always easy to maintain an objective point of view.[19]

Ulster fares much better in its institutions of higher learning. Here one finds a greater degree of mixing between the two religious groups. Following the Education Act of 1946, grants were made available for university level education which opened new opportunities for Catholic students who otherwise would never have had the means to attend college. This also spurred the growth of a Catholic professional class which played an important role in the ensuing civil rights movement.[20] The religious mingling that is so ardently avoided in the early years of education occurs much more often in further and higher education with the exception of teacher's training.

Many Catholics in Northern Ireland are poor and are not free to choose which school they would like to attend. It is regretable that Catholic schools on a primary and secondary level do not adequently prepare students for the Ulster examinations, therefore, limiting these students to working class jobs, preventing them from ever climbing the ranks of management.[21] Segregation in education also leads to further problems, such as segregation in housing.

Catholics and Protestants are not only educated in separate schools, but tend to live in separate areas as well. Living apart from one another, the two groups develop distinct cultural identities. The Protestants view themselves as distinctly British and in no way Irish, despite the fact that they live in the northern six counties of the island

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of Ireland. Catholic ties are much stronger with the fellow Catholics of the Republic rather than the Protestants of Ulster or even London.[22]

Although housing segregation is a very real problem, the disparity is not nearly as widespread as in the educational arena.[23] Yet evidence of discrimination in housing in Northern Ireland can easily be found. For example, in the city of Dungannon in the county of Tyrone, the local unionist, Protestant council provided almost seventy-five percent of the publicly-built housing to Protestants from 1945 to 1968, regardless of the fact that this is an area of a Catholic majority. Perhaps, it is not suprising that Dungannon was the site of Northern Ireland's first civil rights march on August 24, 1968. [24]

Segregation is a substantial problem for most towns in Northern Ireland. As researchers Frederick W. Boal and J. Neville H. Douglas note in their work, *Integration and Division,* it is very likely that most towns have at least some segregation, and that the majority of urban centers demonstrate a high level of segregation.[25] It is clear that segregation is present in a higher degree in the cities than in the country, where one can hardly avoid knowing neighbors of both faiths. In the city, specific areas or pockets like Creggan estate in Londonderry are almost entirely Catholic. Segregation increases with politics. For example, a Unionist city council will not often put Catholics in an area of public housing that is predominantly Protestant. There also exists a "canvassing system" whereby the applicant is given a list of the names of members of the council and must personally plead to the members to receive housing. The system is inherently open to suspicion because a religious preference is only natural in this society.[26]

In the cities or towns, segregation is commonplace. It is not nearly as frequent in the countryside, although there is great objection to the sale of one's farm to a member of the other religion. Historically, in the areas where plantation farming was prevalent, the Scottish and English lived around the market or within walls, forcing the Irish to live on the outskirts. This was the earliest form of segregation. In the country, the Irish-Catholics were prevented from owning the fertile land and forced to live in the mountains. The topography of towns can help one to see the historical segregation. Street names, such as "English Street," "Scotch Street," and "Irish Street" help one to see which group dominated an area. The place names are not as easy to trace in the countryside, since many Irish names were retained after being settled by the English and Scottish. However, the names of the local people can often give one a good indication of religious affiliation.[27]

Segregation in housing and living areas continues for various reasons. Catholic schools and churches were established to serve the Catholic community, and they continue to function as focal points for the Catholics in a particular area. There is a sense of belonging that one loses if he chooses to move outside his or her community, whether it be Catholic or Protestant. Neighbors of the same faith provide a feeling of security and comfort especially in the face of religiously sparked violence. It is much easier to live among people that can be trusted.[28] Protestants tend to fear any breakdown of religious segregation. They dread that if a few

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Catholics break the established barrier, it will start a whole flood of Catholics trying to move into Protestant areas. Protestants view a mixed neighborhood as one that is in decline--a similar attitude that many American whites have toward neighborhoods that are intergrated with both whites and blacks. A Protestant landlord is looked upon as a traitor if he sells or rents to a Catholic. In some areas, the sale of property to someone of another faith may upset the political balance of voting, and as a result the representation in the district. Therefore, there is often a great deal of social pressure to keep landlords from doing such a thing.[29]

As with employment, education and housing, the divisions between Catholics and Protestants can be seen in social aspects as well, particularly marriage. Differences in social and economic status between Catholics and Protestants and residential segregation have helped to keep the incidents of intermarriage very low and maintain the "racial" differences between the groups.[30] This is not to say that intermarriages did not occur in Northern Ireland. Nevertheless, marriages that cross the religious barrier are often fraught with friction and tension between the two families. A major factor that reduces the likelihood of these marriages is that in many cases, families will refuse to recognize kinship ties across the division.[31]

Intermarriage has not been successful in bridging the wide religious gap that exists in Northern Ireland today. These are rare marriages, but it is possible to try to draw some conclusions about them. In such relationships, the couple is usually married within the wife's church and the husband often dissociates himself with his old friends and family even though he does not necessarily convert to his wife's religion. There is no clear evidence available to determine which people are more likely to marry outside their group--female Catholics or Protestants or male Catholics or Protestants.[32]

For those Catholics who choose a partner who is not of their faith, they are required by the Church to sign a document, agreeing to four essential points: the Protestant member can in no way interfere or attempt to disrupt the Catholic member's faith or with the practice of it; the Catholic is obligated to do all that he or she can to bring the Protestant to Catholicism; all children from the union of the couple will be baptized within the Catholic faith; and the couple may not present themselves at any time before or after the Catholic ceremony to a Protestant minister for any kind of religious wedding ceremony.[33]

When the researchers Barritt and Carter surveyed college students of Northern Ireland in order to determine their beliefs on such issues as intermarriage, they were not certain if the students' attitudes would differ greatly from the population at large or would reflect them. Ninety-six percent of all college students who were interviewed said that mixed marriages should basically be avoided. This data was somewhat suprising to Barritt and Carter, particularly because seventy-eight percent of the students also indicated in the survey that they shared a high degree of friendship with students of other faiths. Despite the relationships between Catholics and Protestants on the university level, mixed marriages remain quite low due to segregation in primary and secondary education and in residential areas.

Another area of society in addition to marriage where one can study the relationship of Catholics to Protestants is in the use of leisure activity in Ulster. For example, most social clubs for adults in Northern Ireland are comprised solely of one religious group or the other. Many of the clubs or organizations are connected with churches, therefore, membership is obviously restricted to one faith or the other. Those clubs that are not directly linked to a particular church often receive their membership from an established community; and since residential areas are mostly segregated, so then are the clubs. If someone from the other religion were to attend a club function of the other faith, he or she would feel out of place and unwanted.[34] Ties with one's own people are very important in a province that is torn apart by hatred and mistrust. Therefore, organizations that had no real religious association or connotation, developed into groups of one religion or the other. For instance, the Farmer's Union, Young Farmers Club, Poultry Society and even the Women's Institute are Protestant. Catholics refrain from attempting to join these farming societies because they see them as organizations only for wealthy farmers, usually the Protestants.[35]

Protestants and Catholics even play different games in their leisure time. Catholic schools in Northern Ireland will not allow their students to play such games as football (soccer) or cricket because to those Nationalists these are "Protestant," "British," or "foreign" games, and represent years of oppression and strife. Many Catholics instead prefer to play a traditional Gaelic game called "hurley" which is very much like hockey, or they will play Gaelic football which is similar to rugby.[36]

There are, however, a few clubs or societies where Catholics and Protestants come together. The strong passion for the game of bridge in Northern Ireland causes both groups to put aside their differences to play the game. In the cities of Newry and Portadown the Bridge Clubs are composed of Catholics and Protestants. Mingling of the two religions can also be seen in such organizations as the Round Table, Youth Hostels Association, the British Legion and Business and Professional Women's Clubs.[37]

The relationship between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland is for the most part peaceful. Most of the hostility between the two religious groups remains latent. People often try to avoid confrontation and conflict, but their prejudiced beliefs remain with them. They seem to accept that their province is a society divided. Yet it is clear that the anger, fear and frustration that is bottled up can easily explode. To keep the peace, many feel that it is best to remain in separate camps, mingling as little as possible. Thus, employment, education, residential areas, and leisure activities are mostly segregated. Northern Ireland is a complex area that often lends itself to bias observation. But, in order to begin to grasp the problems of the province, one must begin to analyze why they are a people divided and how certain attitudes towards education, political culture, and recreation continue to divide them.

Endnotes

1. Denis P. Barritt and Charles F. Carter, *The Northern Ireland Problem* (London, 1972), 54.

2. Ibid., 55.

3. Rosemary Harris, *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster* (Manchester, England, 1972), 213-214.

4. Ibid., 213.

5. Ibid., 213.

6. Barritt and Carter, *Northern Ireland*, 54.

7. Harris, *Ulster*, 213.

8. Barritt and Carter, *Northern Ireland*, 97.

9. Ibid., 100.

10. Ibid., 59.

11. Ibid., 93.

12. Harris, *Ulster*, 214.

13. Paul Arthur and Keith Jeffery, *Northern Ireland Since 1968* (London, 1988), 245.

14. Ibid., 25.

15. Barritt and Carter, *Northern Ireland*, 83.

16. Ibid., 77.

17. Ibid., 91.

18. George Dangerfield, *The Damnable Question* (Boston, 1972), 36.

19. Barritt and Carter, *Northern Ireland*, 92.

20. Arthur and Jeffery, *Northern Ireland*, 25.

21. Harris, *Ulster*, 214.

22. Arthur and Jeffery, *Northern Ireland*, 22.

23. Frederick W. Boal and J. Neville H. Douglas, *Integration and Division* (London, 1982), 305.

24. Arthur and Jeffery, *Northern Ireland*, 5.

25. Boal and Douglas, *Integration*, 292.

26. Barritt and Carter, *Northern Ireland*, 68.

27. Ibid., 53.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 53-54

30. Ibid., 59.

31. Harris, *Ulster*, 143.

32. Ibid.

33. Barritt and Carter, *Northern Ireland*, 26.

34. Ibid., 145.

35. Harris, *Ulster*, 138.

36. Barritt and Carter, *Northern Ireland*, 148.

37. Ibid., 145-146.

Colonel James Montgomery:
Freedom Fighter and Fanatic
by
Charles F. Hollis III

"And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."[1]

"To keep the Missourians from our doors, we must give them something to do at home."[2]

—Captain James Montgomery

"The southerners must be made to feel that this is a real war. . . that they will be swept away by the hand of God like the Jews of old."[3]

—Colonel James Montgomery

It has been contended by many that holy wars are the bloodiest, that when people observe themselves as instruments of God, they feel no contrition for their pernicious actions. Perhaps the most quintessential example of such an attitude is the Thirty Years War of 1618-1648, which brought unprecedented debacle to Europe. In the American theater however, outside of the Indian wars which were deemed by some as "righteous ruthlessness," such mind-sets were not cultivated on a notable scale until the abolitionist movement began to gain momentum in the 1850s. James Montgomery believed that a holy war was occurring years before P. G. T. Beauregard fired on Fort Sumter. A staunch abolitionist and a contemporary of John Brown, Montgomery would supplement William T. Sherman's quest for total war with a religious motive.

This paper examines the character of Colonel James Montgomery, the Kansas Jayhawker and commander of the Second South Carolina black regiment. It peers into the thoughts and deeds of a man who was largely responsible for inflicting the terror and mayhem of total war on the southern sea islands during the War Between the States. In doing so, it argues the point that the Union brought total war to the South for religious as well as strategic purposes.

James Montgomery's transition from abolitionist to both abolitionist and freedom-fighter began in 1854 when he was forty-seven. A native of Ashtabula County, Ohio, he taught school in Kentucky and later Missouri for seventeen years before

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moving to Linn County, Kansas, near Mound City. An ardent Methodist and former slave owner, whose father-in-law also owned slaves in Kentucky, Montgomery was an exhorter of antislavery. Kansas was a relatively peaceful place for Montgomery and his wife until 1856, when pro-slavery Missourians began to raid Linn County.[4]

Under the leadership of George Clarke, Border Ruffians swept through southern Kansas destroying crops, plundering horses and livestock, and burning free-soil cabins. In the course of the raid, Montgomery's own cabin was attacked. His hatred of the pro-slavery elements became insurmountable.[5]

Montgomery traveled through Missouri pretending to be a schoolteacher. Under this guise, he was able to acquire the names of twenty of Clarke's accomplices. He returned to Kansas, amassed a posse of irate free-soilers, and then visited the Border Ruffians on his list. They were completely despoiled of money, weapons, horses, and cattle. This was the first fulfillment of the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" policy of Montgomery.[6]

Although this particular foray could be considered somewhat retaliatory, Montgomery and his men also made a habit of going to Missouri on the offensive. Montgomery labeled himself a "practical abolitionist" and made it his practice to bring slaves from Missouri back to Kansas with him. Some say that the word "Jayhawker" is derived from the swift, pouncing nature of Montgomery's attacks in Missouri.[7]

In early 1856, Montgomery also ordered a large number of pro-slavery settlers living in Kansas to leave their homes and flee to Missouri. Charles Hamilton, a native Georgian living in Missouri, was outraged at Montgomery's actions. On May 19, he and his band of pro-slavery Missourians crossed the border into Linn County. They captured free-soilers wherever they could find them. Eleven men were rounded up, forced into a ravine, and fired at. Five were killed, five were seriously wounded, and one man escaped injury by feigning death.[8]

The Marais des Cygnes massacre convinced free-soilers that immediate retaliation was necessary. Soon after the murders, two hundred Kansans, Montgomery included, marched into West Point, Missouri, where Hamilton had started from. The murderers were able to escape when Montgomery's suggestion to surround the town was left unheeded. In the week which followed, the border areas were practically in a state of anarchy. Before a peace treaty could be enacted, Montgomery had already endeavored to burn the pro-slavery town of Fort Scott. Such raids were now becoming commonplace.[9]

By 1858, Montgomery had established quite a reputation as a firebrand in both Kansas and Missouri. Now a captain in the Kansas militia, Montgomery had even gained the attention of antislavery crusader John Brown. Montgomery's character aroused the curiosity of nearly all who encountered him. In an 1858 letter to the New York *Evening Post*, he was described as follows:

> In a conversation, he talks mildly in a calm,
> even voice, using the language of a cultivated,

educated gentleman. His antecedents are
unexceptionable; he was always a Free State man,
although coming from a slave state, where he was
noted as a good citizen and for his mild, even
temperament. In his daily conduct he maintains
the same character now; but when in action and
under fire, he displays a daring fearlessness,
untiring perseverance, and an indomitable
energy that has given him the leadership in this
border warfare.[10]

Described as tall and slender, his eyes had "the uneasy glare peculiar to hunted men", and his laugh aroused "the unpleasant suggestion of a mind diseased."[11] As one might anticipate, upon making Montgomery's acquaintance John Brown observed him in a more optimistic light:

I deem (Montgomery) a very brave and talented
officer, and, what is infinitely more, a very
intelligent, kind, gentlemanly and most
excellent man and lover of freedom.[12]

According to Brown:

Captain Montgomery is the only soldier I have
met among the prominent Kansas men. He
understands my system of warfare exactly. He
is a natural chieftan, and knows how to lead.[13]

John Brown first met Captain Montgomery in July, 1858 at the Captain's cabin near Mound City. Their personalities complemented each other almost eerily, and they soon became compatriots. On October 30, pro-slavery men attempted to assassinate Montgomery, as well as his wife and children by firing a volley into their cabin. Montgomery and Brown saw this as a clear violation of the June 15 treaty which had temporarily terminated much of the hostility between free-soilers and pro-slavery men.[14]

On December 16, Montgomery and about 100 of his men raided the town of Fort Scott once again. This time, their objective was to free Benjamin Rice, a free state settler whom Montgomery thought had been wrongfully arrested and held since November 16. Brown accompanied Montgomery and his men on the excursion.[15]

Montgomery's troops stormed the town and were in the process of freeing Rice from the prison when a storekeeper across the street fired a load of buckshot at one of Captain Montgomery's men. A melee ensued in which the storekeeper was killed. Seven thousand dollars' worth of goods were taken by Montgomery and his men.[16]

As a result of the travesties which Montgomery and Brown were responsible for at Fort Scott, President Buchanan himself offered a reward of $250 per man for their arrest. After hiding out for nearly a month, on January 18, 1859, Montgomery turned himself in. Because the only indictment pending against him was for the robbery of a Post Office (Brown had been wanted for many different offenses), Montgomery was able to slip off the hook. He was quickly released on $4,000 bail.[17]

With the commencement of the Civil War in April of 1861, the Confederacy was threatening to take all of Missouri. Such an action would have cut off Kansas (which became the 34th state on January 29, 1861) from the other states in the Union, paving the way for an invasion. With such a threat pending, Senator James H. Lane requested the formation of three new regiments whose purpose would be to parry a rebel invasion. In creating the three new regiments, which would be referred to as the Lane Brigade (Lane vacated his Senate seat for a commission as Brigadier General in the Union army), Lane gave Montgomery, now a colonel, command of the Third Kansas.[18]

Endeavoring vigorously to forestall the Confederate threat, Lane ordered his brigade to march to Kansas City, a strategic focal point. On September 23, 1861, while marching through Missouri, the brigade sacked and burned the town of Osceola, plundering 350 horses and mules, 400 cattle, and hundreds of wagon-loads of flour, sugar, molasses, and other supplies. Needless to say, Montgomery, who had become quite preoccupied with annihilating William Clarke Quantrill and his band of rebel guerillas, was in the center of the destruction.[19]

With the Lane Brigade's march into Kansas City, a rivalry developed between Colonel Montgomery and Colonel Charles Jennison, whose southern Kansas Jayhawkers were notorious for their acts of plunder. Before the march into Kansas City, Lane had been authorized to raise a regiment of blacks. Montgomery, who naturally wanted to be the commander of the new regiment, was exasperated at Kansas Governor Charles Robinson's choice of Jennison to fill the post. On August 3, Montgomery wrote to Governor Robinson, calling Jennison "an unmitigated liar, black leg, and robber."[20]

As a sort of "consolation prize" Montgomery attained the command of a "tri-colored brigade" of Indians, blacks, and whites. In spite of this, Montgomery's bitterness was not alleviated. In December of 1862, no longer wishing to feud with Jennison and now Lane, Montgomery left Kansas for Washington, D.C., to lobby for his own cause. On January 13, 1863, with the assistance of General David Hunter, the War Department authorized Montgomery to raise a black regiment of volunteer infantrymen in South Carolina.[21]

In a somewhat twisted manner, Montgomery's eight years in Kansas served as a "trade school" for what was to follow in the southern sea islands. The Union's new mode of warfare, which often required such trespasses as burning towns, plundering anything of value, destroying crops, stealing livestock, and freeing slaves was all "old hat" to Montgomery when he arrived in South Carolina in early 1863. It could be contended that Montgomery's well-honed foraging skills, discipline, and fanatic

dedication made him the ideal person for administering total war in the southern sea islands.

Upon leaving Washington, Montgomery immediately began recruiting men for his 2nd South Carolina. When Montgomery reached South Carolina, he found only a few volunteers. This was because Colonel Thomas Higginson's ambitious recruitment there for his 1st South Carolina had already transpired. In early February of 1863, Montgomery headed south to Jacksonville, Florida. To his dismay, he found that Higginson had also recruited there. Traveling further south to Key West, Montgomery enlisted 130 men, all volunteers. With only 150 men at the beginning of March, Montgomery commenced a more aggressive expedition for black soldiers.[22]

Failing to gain men on a purely volunteer basis, Montgomery decided to add men to his regiment by stealing them from slaveowners. In other words, the 2nd South Carolina became a contraband regiment. As Montgomery put it: "We resorted to the draft."[23]

As the war became more protracted, many Union officers came to exhort the drafting of blacks. As D. H. Strother, a Virginian who fought for the Union, stated in his diary on June 10, 1863:

> The military news is cheering. Vicksburg and
> Port Hudson will presently fall and the enemy is
> powerless to prevent it. Nelson's Negro troops
> fought well at Port Hudson, Stafford's also. This
> will give a stimulus to the enlistment of Negro
> soldiers and their assistance in putting down the
> Rebellion will be great. They should be officered
> by whites and the best officers given them that can
> be found. They will not volunteer at first, but will
> have to be conscripted. From long habit their
> will is too inert to enable them to act for
> themselves. No acts of emancipation, no fanciful
> appeals of liberty, virtue, and independence will
> have any effect on them. To be made available he
> must be taken hold of, controlled, and ordered...he must be drafted.

Drafting facilitated the river raids. According to Higginson: "In Colonel Montgomery's hands, the up river raids reached the dignity of a fine art."[25] Pushing deeper into Florida, Montgomery led a river raid up the St. John's to Palatka. Knowing that the Confederacy had threatened ill usage of black soldiers and their white commanders, he began taking prisoners in accordance with General Hunter's command:

> Every rebel man that you capture, citizen or
> soldier, you will send in irons to (prison) to be

kept as hostages for the proper treatment of
any of your men who may accidentally fall
into the hands of the enemy.[26]

While occupying Palatka, Montgomery made his objectives crystal clear to all, including the enemy. On April 2, 1863, Thomas T. Russell wrote to Confederate Brigadier General Joseph Finegan as follows:

In a conversation with Colonel Montgomery of
the negro regiment (I having been surrounded
and taken prisoner, but afterward released),
he informed me that he had come up for the
purpose of permanently occupying Palatka,
and that they intended restoring Florida
to the Union at all hazards; that he would
have been acting in a mild way all along, but
that they intended now to let us feel what war
actually was; that the United States marshal
for Florida was along and pointed out to
me; that all the negroes were declared free
and he intended to take all he could find.[27]

During the Palatka raids, Montgomery's men were not to go unscathed. In fact, even Montgomery himself was susceptible to injury as excerpts of a letter from Confederate Captain J. J. Dickson to fellow Captain W. Call (dated March 27, 1863) indicate:

We suppose the forces on board (the gunboat)
from 600 to 700, under command of the
notorious Montgomery. He acknowledged to
the Hon. T. T. Russell that his whole regiment
was on board, except 70 or 80 negroes landed
on the east bank of the river. My candid opinion
is that we must have killed and wounded not
less than from 20 to 30. Among the wounded,
we are informed, was the illustrious colonel
himself. This was acknowledged to several
parties on the river; but among the strongest
proofs of some accident befalling their
leading officer is that they drew off from the
wharf in great haste as soon as they could
take in their dead and wounded under cover
of their heavy artillery.[28]

By the end of March, Higginson and Montgomery had captured and occupied

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Jacksonville. Montgomery returned there with wagons, mules, cotton, forage, men for his regiment, and fifteen prisoners. Montgomery was elated with the progress he had made with his soldiers. Such a procedure as the occupation of a city required great stamina and discipline. What is more, the occupation of Jacksonville would have been far more complex were it not for the knowledge of the terrain which Montgomery's men shared.[29] In a letter dated March 14, 1863, Rufus Saxton, a Brigadier General of Volunteers wrote to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton:

> It gives me pleasure to report that so far the objects of the expedition have been fully accomplished. The town is completely in our possession and many prisoners. There has been constant skirmishing going on for several days, and in every action the negro troops have behaved with the utmost bravery. Never in a single instance can I learn that they have flinched. It is my belief that scarcely an incident in this war has caused a greater panic throughout the whole Southern coast than this raid of the colored troops in Florida.[30]

Writing to Senator Henry Wilson, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, Montgomery lauded his troops, contending that they were "second to none" and that "their loyalty and fidelity might put to blush some who boast of white skins."[31]

The unorthodox raiding tactics of Montgomery and his 2nd South Carolina were indeed so disturbing to the Confederates that they themselves contemplated using Cherokee warriors to partake in similar raids and thus counter the ferocity of Montgomery and other such Union raiders. On May 3, 1861, Felix W. Robertson wrote to Confederate President Jefferson Davis:

> Allow me to suggest to you that should the United States of the North continue the demonstrations at Cairo and elsewhere against our Confederation, that you commission some person to raise say, 2,000 warriors picked from the Cherokees, and send them that they may go and fall suddenly from the unpeopled prairies and unannounced upon the Northwestern Territories and States. These men as irregulars are, in my estimation, superior to any on this continent: can be so marched that they will need no outfit but what a few pack-horses will carry; will sustain themselves

with the rifle; can be made to conform to the
usages of war. But the examples set by
Montgomery and others in their forays in that
quarter during the few years last passed, and
those lately exhibited on the Atlantic board,
might justify any little irregularities that might
occur.[32]

Soon after the occupation of Jacksonville, Montgomery returned to South
Carolina. In early June of 1863, he led a raid up the Combahee river. Montgomery's
appetite for destruction during the raid was described by the *New York Tribune* in
these terms:

The soldiers scattered in every direction,
and burned and destroyed everything of
value which they came across. Thirty-four
large mansions known to belong to notorious
rebels, with their rich furniture and rare
works of art were burned to the ground.
Nothing but smoldering ruins and crisped
skeletons of once magnificent old oak
trees and palmetto groves now remain of the
delightful country seats.[33]

In addition, according to the *National Intelligencer* of June 10, Montgomery's
Combahee expedition also "destroyed a vast amount of cotton, rice, and other
property." Montgomery also freed 725 slaves, "drafting" some of them into his
regiment.[34]

During the Combahee raids, Montgomery employed the services of former
underground railroad operator Harriet Tubman. Montgomery used Tubman as a
scout and liaison between the officers and slaves in the raided regions. She was
instrumental in dispelling the myths which the slaves had been told about the
malevolence of the Union soldiers. On July 6, Montgomery wrote to General
Gilmore: "I wish to commend to your attention Mrs. Harriet Tubman, a most
remarkable woman, and invaluable as a scout."[35]

By now, Montgomery sensed that he was truly above the law. He believed that
as both an instrument of divine law and an outlaw to conventional military
regulations (being the commander of a contraband black regiment) he was entitled
to wreak destruction wherever and whenever he wished. "We are outlawed", he
stated, " and therefore not bound to the rules of regular warfare."[36]   Such a
philosophy as this was what compelled Montgomery to commit what would become
his most notorious deed: the burning of Darien, Georgia.

On June 10, 1863, Montgomery entered the wharf at St. Simon's Island, Georgia,
which is at the mouth of the Altamaha river. He hailed Colonel Robert Gould Shaw,

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who was the commander of the 54th Massachusetts black regiment, asking him: "How soon can you get ready to start an expedition?" Shaw's reply was "In half an hour." By 8:00 A.M. they were all aboard Montgomery's steamer. Montgomery set course for Darien, shelling plantations along the way.[37]

At noon, they arrived at the beautiful little town of Darien, which had been deserted with the exception of two white women and two blacks. Montgomery landed the troops and ordered all of the furniture and movable property to be taken on board the boats. According to one officer who was present during the raid:

> The men began to come in by twos, threes, and
> dozens, loaded with every species and all sorts
> and quantities of furniture, stores, trinkets, etc., till
> one would be tired of enumerating. We had sofas,
> tables, pianos, chairs, mirrors, carpets, beds,
> bedsteads, carpenter's tools, cooper's tools, books,
> law-books, account-books in unlimited supply,
> china sets, tinware, earthenware, Confederate
> shinplasters, old letters, papers, etc. A private
> would come along with a slate, yard-stick, and
> a brace of chickens in one hand and in the other
> hand a rope with a cow attached.[38]

After the town was almost completely despoiled, Montgomery turned to Shaw with a "sweet smile" on his face and said to him in a very low tone: "I shall burn this town." Shaw refused at first, obeying only when Montgomery reminded him of his higher rank. Darien was razed to the ground. Montgomery himself set fire to the last of the buildings.[39]

On June 9, 1863, the day before Darien was incinerated, Major-General David Hunter sent Montgomery the following command:

> It will therefore be necessary for you to
> exercise the utmost strictness in insisting
> upon compliance with the instructions
> herewith sent, and you will avoid any
> devastation which does not strike immediately
> at the resources or material of the armed
> insurrection which we are now engaged
> in the task of suppressing.[40]

Evidently, Hunter's command arrived too late to stop any of the unnecessary thievery.

Remaining in Montgomery's command for over a month following the Darien raid, Shaw came to question Montgomery's character. In his letters, he described in great detail the merciless nature of Montgomery's personality. A prime example

is Shaw's description of Montgomery's treatment of deserters.

Upon discovering that over seventy of his men had deserted the 2nd South Carolina, Montgomery sent word that those who returned voluntarily would be pardoned and those who were captured would be shot. According to Shaw, in a letter to his mother dated June 28, 1863:

> This morning one of my sergeants captured
> one. At 8 o'clock Colonel Montgomery called
> him up and said: "Is there any reason why
> you should not be shot?" "No sir." "Then be
> ready to die at 9:30." At 9:15 the man sent to ask
> permission to see the Colonel, but it was
> refused, and at 9:30 he was taken out and
> shot. There was no Court-Martial - and the
> case was not referred to a superior officer.
> Montgomery, who just told me the story, in
> his low voice, but with an occasional glare
> in his eye (which is by the bye, very
> extraordinary) thinks that his prompt action
> was the only way to stop desertion, and it
> only remains to be seen whether he will be
> pulled up for it.[41]

Montgomery simply had an aversion to the red-tape way of doing things.[42] The deserter whom Shaw mentioned was executed before a twenty-four man firing squad. Such "uncivilized" methods of warfare as Montgomery's were criticized by Shaw and Higginson alike.

Montgomery's character was a conundrum to Shaw, an enigma which he often examined in his letters. On June 13, 1863, Shaw wrote to his mother:

> Montgomery told me he (burned Darien)
> because he thought it was his duty. I asked
> him if it wasn't partly from pure hatred of
> everything southern. He said no and that
> he only hated them as being enemies of
> liberty and he had good reason to hate
> every enemy of liberty.
>   I can't help feeling a great respect for him.
> He is quiet, gentlemanly, full of determination,
> but convinced that the south should be
> devastated with fire and sword. His perfect
> calmness at all times is very impressive.
> My objection is to firing into houses
> occupied by noncombatants, and
> burning down dwellings which

shelter only women and children.[43]

Shaw also marveled at Montgomery's phenomenal austerity. A letter which he wrote to his friend Charley Morse dated July 3, 1863 captures the essence of the stringent facet to Montgomery's character. Shaw's description is alarming, yet almost comical in parts:

> Montgomery is a strange sort of man. At first
> sight one would think him a parson or a
> schoolmaster. He is a very quite
> gentlemanlike sort of person very careful
> to speak grammatically and not in the least
> way like a Western man. He is religious,
> and never drinks, smokes, chews, or swears.
> He shoots men with perfect looseness, for a slight
> disobedience of orders, but is very kind and
> indulgent to those who behave themselves
> properly. The other night on board the
> steamer, he shot at a man for talking after
> taps, when he had ordered him twice to
> be quiet. He told me that he had intended
> to kill him and throw him overboard, and
> was much astonished at having missed his aim.[44]

Shaw believed that the ruthless facet of Montgomery's otherwise calm and collected personality dated back to his days in Kansas. Montgomery had told Shaw about many of his gory experiences in the west, claiming that he had never been a fighting man before that time. After becoming well-acquainted with Montgomery and his experiences in bleeding Kansas, Shaw formed the opinion that in actuality Montgomery was "a tender-hearted man" despite what others who only knew him by reputation would contend.[45]

In early 1864, Montgomery and his 2nd South Carolina marched back into Florida. On February 20, the 2nd South Carolina joined forces with the 1st North Carolina and the heavily battered 54th Massachusetts regiments in the battle of Olustee. The regiments fought until sunset, with neither side clearly attaining the upper hand.[46]

For the remainder of the war, Montgomery spent much of his time in Florida. He states in a letter to Captain W. L. M. Burger that he left Hilton Head, South Carolina on May 20, 1864, arriving in St. Augustine the following evening. As the war came to a close, Montgomery's activities continually grew less and less salient.[47]

Shaw's argument that Montgomery was actually a "tenderhearted" man seems to be a cogent one. Scholars of military history have devoted tremendous amounts of time to the study of how the atrocities of war can transform the most reasonable and rational human being into nothing short of a hateful and pernicious monster.

The bloodiest war in American history, the Civil War certainly created its share of men obsessed with destruction and carnage. What made Montgomery's character such an interesting topic was his behavior during times of bellicosity. During times of peace, outside of being somewhat of a charismatic church-goer, the average person would probably find Montgomery's personality to be sanctimonious and dull. What became of Montgomery once the South was subdued? Most people, myself included, do not have a clue. Why is this? The answer might be that following the surrender at Appomattox, Montgomery no longer had any motive to destroy. Slavery was dead, and with it the apocalyptic lust for vengeance and justice which burned in Montgomery's soul.

Endnotes

1. Exodus 21:16.

2. Thomas Goodrich, *Bloody Dawn* (Kent, Ohio,1991), 6.

3. Peter Burchard, *One Gallant Rush* (New York, 1965), 108.

4. Stephen Starr, *Jennison's Jayhawkers* (Baton Rouge, 1957), 30.

5. Albert Castel, *William Clarke Quantrill* (New York, 1962), 17.

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8. Oswald Villard, *John Brown: A Biography Fifty Years Later* (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1910), 348.

9. Ibid., 349.

10. Ibid., 350.

11. Albert Cartel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1861-1865* (Ithaca, New York, 1958), 42.

12. Villard, *Brown*, 353.

13. Burghardt DuBois, *John Brown* (USA, 1962), 188.

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23. Ibid., 140, 182.

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25. Thomas Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York, 1984), 120.

26. Howard Westwood, *Black Troops, White Commanders and Freedmen During the Civil War* (Edwardsville, Illinois, 1992), 88-89.

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30. *O. R.*, I, Vol., 14, 226.

31. Joseph Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, (New York, 1990), 173.

32. *O. R.*, I, Vol. 53, 676-677.

33. Burchard, *One Gallant Rush* , 104.

34. Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 142.

35. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (Boston, 1953), 226-227.

36. Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 149.

37. Russell Duncan, ed., *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw* (Atlanta, 1992), 342.

38. Ibid., 346.

39. Ibid., 342.

40. *O. R.*, I, Vol. 14, 466.

41. Duncan, *Letters*, 362-363.

42. Ibid., 370.

43. Ibid., 348-349.

44. Ibid., 369.

45. Ibid., 379.

46. *O. R.*, I, Vol. 53, 24.

47. Ibid., I, Vol. 35, Pt. 2, 100.

Greek Philosophy of History:
Analysis of Method and the Use of Sources in the Writings of Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius[1]
by
Brian Lee

The history of historical writing is a vast and fascinating subject. Understanding the origins and development of our discipline is, perhaps, one of the more important tasks that the historian can undertake. It gives us not only a perspective of how the people of a certain time viewed themselves, but it also helps us to understand why we practice our art in the way that we do.

There are many techniques which we can use to analyze our predecessors. One of the newer and, in my opinion, more exciting approaches is the analysis of the writer's philosophy of history through an examination of the source material and methodology. This type of research allows us to see the writers of history in a new light. Many authors, once thought to have been mined for all of their research potential long ago, may be re-examined and perhaps seen in a new light.

The Greek writers offer much potential in this new field of historiographical writing. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius contributed a great deal to our modern conception of history, and each presented different types of methods and sources which can be used to point to their philosophy of history.

Formal historical writing, of which Herodotus is the first true example, evolved gradually. Its genesis required an easy, conventional prose, an interest in social origins and a sense of the past that was not rooted in mythology.[2] This had not been the tradition of the writers before Herodotus, the best example of which is the epic poet Homer. Born of a tradition of oral history, works such as the *Iliad* are replete with references to the supernatural; the gods are often depicted as playing direct roles in the affairs of men. Homer bases his work on a core of actual historical events, but the work is not meant to be a chronology of the Trojan War as much as it is meant as a tale of heros and a tool for the teaching of religion, culture, conduct and politics.[3]

During the sixth century before Christ, the area of the Aegean coast of Asia Minor became a center for change in the fields of writing and thought. This so-called "Ionian Enlightenment" saw a revolution in the way people viewed themselves in relation to the world around them. The whims of the gods began to play a lesser role

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in life. The Enlightenment removed them as the prominent cause of events in the world and left a void in this area which required filling. This need sparked a spirit of inquiry that inspired men like Hippocrates to begin to treat those suffering from ailment by examining their symptoms. It also motivated Hecataeus of Miletus to write his *Tour Around the World*, a study of cultures and traditions of the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt. Hecataeus was a "logographoi" or writer of prose who traveled extensively to gather information for his work.[4] It was from this tradition that Herodotus came.

Herodotus was born in about 484 B.C. in the Greek city of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor.[5] At the time, Halicarnassus was a part of the Persian empire, but it would be incorporated into the Athenian empire by 454 B.C.[6] It is the legend that, as a young boy, Herodotus watched the defeated fleet sail in after the battle at Salamis and asked his mother "what did they fight each other for?"[7] It would be that question that would become the driving force throughout his life, with the result being the first work of history.

After his participation in an ill-fated attempt at rebelling against the Persian control of his homeland, Herodotus was exiled to Samos. It was at that time that he probably began the majority of his researches. After an unknown amount of time at Samos, he returned to Halicarnassus to join a second attempt at the liberation of the city, which was under the tyrannical rule of the Persian puppet Sybarites. This attempt was successful. Because of this success there is wide speculation that the movement had major backing, probably from the Athenians. At any rate, soon after the revolt, Herodotus fell from popularity among the citizens of Halicarnasus and was forced to leave the city for a second time.

When Herodotus left the city, he travelled to the newly formed colony of Thurii in southern Italy. There is some speculation as to who controlled the colony, founded in 510 B.C. Tradition states that it was the city-state of the Sybarites who founded it after their own city was destroyed by their neighbor and rival, Croton. It is, however, widely believed today that Thurii was actually an Athenian colony. This is supported, to some degree, by the idea that Herodotus wanted to be an Athenian citizen. It was there in Thurii, that Herodotus was supposed to have died, his body buried under the marketplace.[8]

The English writer Thomas Hardy wrote that "War makes rattling good history; but peace is poor reading."[9] If this is the case, then it is only fitting that the first true history was a work written about a conflict. The Persian Wars began in the fifth century as a conflict between the Persian Empire and the Greek cities which were struggling to maintain their independence from the expanding Empire. Persian expansion had begun about a half century before when Cyrus had been able to consolidate his reign and focus his attention outward (550 B.C.). It was this expansion that involved almost the entire Greek-known world and it was this conflict between the Greek and Persian forces that would be the subject of Herodotus' work.

R.H. Twaney wrote that what history needed was "better boots, not better

books." This phrase seems best to exemplify one of the main characteristics of Herodotus' method: travel and first-hand observation. It appears, though the evidence is not entirely clear on this point, that he began his travel while in exile at Samos.

The evidence for his travel is abundant in his *Histories*, the first of which demonstrates his knowledge of Babylon. He speaks of the Zeus figure (actually called Bel by the Babylonians) in this manner: "I myself did not see this figure, but I relate what the Chaldaens reported concerning it."[10] Further, he makes reference to Babylonian prosperity as: "The fruitfulness of Babylon must seem incredible to those who have never visited the country,"[11] implying that he was not one of those who found it incredible.

The second location that Herodotus seems to have visited, in the order of the text,[12] is Egypt and North Africa. The first reference comes from his attempt to explain the origin of the Nile. "All that I succeeded in learning further of the more distant portions of the Nile, by ascending myself as high as the Elephantes, and making inquires concerning points beyond..."[13] Another reference is to the city of Tyre. While discussing the Egyptian gods, he wrote:

> In the wish to get the best information on these matters, I made a voyage to Tyre and Phoenicia, hearing there was a temple of Heracles at that place, very highly venerated. I visited the temple and found it richly adorned with a number of offerings.[14]

He seems to have visited Cadytis since he was able to compare its size to the city of Sardis, of which he says that it is "almost as large."[15] He then went on to recount the battle between the Egyptians and the Persians which was fought near "the Pelusian mouth of the Nile." Of the battlefield, he subsequently wrote: "I saw a very wonderful thing which the natives pointed out to me."[16] Seeing piles of bones and commenting on the thinness of the Persians' skulls, he qualified his account with the fact that "What I have mentioned here I saw with my own eyes."[17]

There are several other references in the text to the travel of Herodotus which are worth mention. Concerning the account of Metapontum, in close proximity to Thurii in Italy, he wrote "I collect by comparing accounts given to me at Proconnesus and Metapontum."[18] He also visited Scythia. About its population, he wrote: "I was not able to learn with certainty... This much, however, I have witnessed with my own eyes."[19] He also made a general reference to his travels: "I have measured the Pontus, Bosporus and the Hellespont and such is the account which I have given of them."[20]

Outside of travel, another important aspect of Herodotus' method can be seen in his use of sources. Herodotus lived and wrote in an age dominated by its oral tradition. Although he did use some non-oral sources, the majority of his researches seems to have come from interviews. Of Herodotus it was written:

He succeeds in carrying out a most profitable inquiry - questioning men, visiting monuments, informing himself about everything, about customs, laws, forms of government, and religions, without preconceived ideas or prejudices, but with a singular mixture of acuteness and credulity, of insatiable curiosity and religious discretion.[21]

Many of his oral sources came from unspecified individuals. Many times he simply refers to the tradition of a culture: "the Argives say," "the Chaldaens reported," or "the account given me by the Egyptians."[22] It is unclear, when he cites with such vagueness, from whom the story is taken, though it can be assumed that it is probably from a variety of different interviews which corroborate one another or an official oral tradition of the region. He makes reference, vaguely, to temple memorialists or priests called "heiromenemones" who would have kept temple records or passed down information among themselves orally.[23] He also makes reference to family traditions such as "the family of Gepgyraeans, to which the murderers of Hipparchus belonged."[24]

Herodotus, unlike many who came before him, did not trust the oral traditions entirely and preferred to back them up in some fashion, whether through seeking other sources or through his own observation. Concerning Egypt, he stated: "In what follows, I have the authority, not of the Egyptians only, but of others also who agree with them. I shall speak likewise in part from my own observations."[25] If he could not find another story which would support a claim, and if he could find nothing in his observations which would do likewise, he would not credit it with full validity. Of an account of the island of Cyrauis given by the Carthaginians, he wrote that "If it be true, I know not; but I must write what is said."[26] He qualified a later fact with: "For my part I can not positively say whether Xerxes sent the herald or not... neither do I deliver an opinion thereupon other than that of the Argives themselves."[27]

Aside from general oral traditions, Herodotus makes reference to only four specific sources in his *Histories*: Archias, son of Samius, of the Spartan township of Pitana; Tymnes, steward of Arapeithes; Dicaeus, son of Theocydes, an Athenian in exile who "had gained a good report on the Medes"; and Thersander, native of Orchomenus and "a man of first rank in that city."[28]

Another source which Herodotus used was Hecataeus of Miletus. This is especially true, it seems, in the description of Egypt. Both, for example, refer to Egypt as "the gift of the river."[29] He also makes reference to Hecataeus' account of the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Attica[30] and to his description of the world.[31] There is speculation as to the degree to which Herodotus was indebted to Hecataeus' work. It is clear, in any case, that he was well aware of the work of his predecessor.

As his methods were somewhat new to the writers of his day, Herodotus' philosophy of history broke the tradition of the previous writers, such as Homer, and set his work off as something almost completely new. It can be seen in the types

of evidence he used, or more directly, in the types of sources that he did not use. This can be demonstrated by the fact that nowhere in the *Histories* did he say that Zeus directed the Greek armies to victory nor that Athena donned the human form of Alexander, son of Amynthas, to deliver the words of Mardonius to the Athenians at Salamis. Herodotus believed that the scroll of human history is written upon by men, not gods. The events of the past can be traced to very knowable and mortal sources. If Herodotus credits divinity with anything, it is the occasional condemnation of an overzealous ruler whose fall is probably just as attributable to human events as divine wrath. Otherwise, such references are to oracles, but even these he did not credit with direct causation, for he clearly shows that it is the reaction of the kings and generals to these prophecies which set events into motion.

If Herodotus had credited Olympus with steering the events of the Persian Wars, he certainly would not have had to travel as extensively as he did. A vast knowledge of the various cultures and traditions of the belligerents would not have contributed anything to the understanding of the will or the whims of the gods. A specific example of this is the reference to the trip to Tyre "in the wish to get the best information."[32] The extensive travel and research that Herodotus accomplished points to a new direction in historiography.

In the use of sources, this same idea is echoed. Not only did he collect a variety of different accounts, but he weighed each in terms of its validity. He compared sources to one another to see if there was a conflict. If there was, he then presented each case in an unbiased fashion and, where possible, superimposed his own observations to sort out the facts. When he could not draw a logical conclusion from the sources, he simply presented the various versions and let the reader judge. A writer in the traditions of Homer would have presented whichever version of the story suited his purpose - truth playing an inferior role to message.

Another aspect of his philosophy of history is that there are no heroes in the *Histories*. Athenians were portrayed as self-serving at times and there were Persians of noble character. In the same way that he made no judgements about individuals, there were none concerning the validity of their oral traditions. "The Persians say" or some such phrase, are just as likely to be seen as are references to Greek or Athenian accounts. Each was weighed on its own merit and neither was above criticism or condemnation from the father of history.

Herodotus has been credited with many offspring by subsequent historiographical scholarship. Not only is he the father of History, but he has been credited as father of Sociology, Anthropology and prose writing. To be so fertile, there must have been something unique about this logographoi from Asia Minor. Though he was still a part of the oral tradition (the best example of which is his constant digression which was intended to keep the interests of a listening audience), he had sufficiently broken with the past to show that history was taking a different route. His distrust of oral histories is shown in his constant testing of their validity. It is also expressed, somewhat underhandedly, in his opening in which he claims to write "in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the rememberences of what

men have done."[33] He acknowledges that he is treading on new ground as he speaks "of points which no other writer has touched."[34]

When Herodotus delivered his *Histories* at Olympia, a young boy, so the story goes, was deeply moved by the words and wept. The boy, Athenian by birth and of a rich family, was called Thucydides. The story, whether true or not, is a charming tale which not only demonstrates the closeness of these two great men in time, but also the love for history both men shared. Thucydides' approach to history, while having some of the same characteristics of his elders, would move him in a very different direction. He moved so far from the ideas of Herodotus, in fact, that Thucydides opposed some of the *Histories'* methods. One might suspect that Thucydides would claim that he wept because of the poor quality of the work, not its beauty.

Born in about 455 B.C., Thucydides was raised and educated during the reign of Pericles. He served as a general during the Peloponnesian War, a war which was to become the subject of his monumental work. He began his writing "at the moment that it broke out,"[35] making him the first writer of contemporary history.

The Peloponnesian War is the chronicle of the war between Athens and Sparta. The work, in eight books, is divided into two sections. The first part (including Book I to the first part of Book V) deals with the development of the war, beginning with the Trojan expedition and the growth of Athenian power (which Thucydides believed "made war inevitable"[36]) and discussed the first ten years of the war, ending with the peace of Nicias in 421 B.C. The second part (the remainder of Book V through Book VII) covers the uneasy peace, the renewal of hostilities, the Athenian disaster at Syracuse, the final Athenian defeat and the internal struggles which followed.

Although both Herodotus and Thucydides wrote about a major war, Thucydides' writing differed from the writing of Herodotus in many significant ways. The method of Thucydides is a distinct enterprise from the work of his predecessor. Although both men sought truth, they did not agree on the best way to give chase to such an elusive prize.

One new aspect of Thucydides' method was his development of a chronology for his writing. At the time Thucydides wrote his *History*, there were several different calendars in use by the different peoples of the Hellenic world. In order to make his description of events more understandable to the readers of these different backgrounds, he began his chronology with the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, a date which would have been constant on all Greek calendars. He then calculated the passage of time in years since that date. He further divided the years into winters and summers. Thus, the Funeral Oration of Pericles was said to have been held "during this winter, with which the first year of the war came to an end."[37] Thucydides made reference to certain natural events such as an eclipse, when they occurred, which would be common on different calendars and could act as reference points. The fact that accurate chronology was important to Thucydides is best exemplified in his criticisms of the writings of Hellanius on the Median war

which he characterized as "somewhat concise and not accurate in his dates."[38]

The main characteristic of the method of Thucydides stems from the nature of his work. He wrote a contemporary history of a war in which he was, at one point, a major character. The events of which he wrote he knew from first-hand experience or from eyewitness accounts. Since he had limited his scope to the political and military history of the Peloponnesian War, he did little supplemental travel to build up his narrative. He consequently treated geography very lightly in his writing; giving a general picture of the Greek world in the first book (called the Archaeology) and only making reference to it afterward if it was an important factor in a particular event. The method of gathering information is similar to that used by Herodotus in that he gathered much from personal interviews. This is, however, only a surface similarity. The people whom Thucydides interrogated were actual participants and, it can be assumed, major players. Herodotus also questioned participants, but his *Histories* was written some time after the fact. Participants that he would have talked to would have been young at the time and, therefore, Hoplites, oarsmen of some similar rank. Others with whom he spoke were not participants at all. Thucydides, since he was writing history more or less as it happened, did not have to deal with secondary sources except for that portion of the first book which dealt with early history.

The way in which Thucydides used speeches is another important aspect of his method, an aspect which has earned some criticism from subsequent historiographical scholarship. Comprising a large portion of the *History*, Thucydides acknowledged that it was

difficult to carry them word for word in one's memory, so my habit has been to make the speeches say what was in my opinion demanded of them by the various occasions, of course adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what was really said.[39]

In this sentence, Thucydides betrays a great deal about his method. Of this point, the classical historian, Peter Kosso, wrote that "in the tension between telling the speeches as they were and as they ought to have been, the tension between historical accuracy and the philosophical conviction, there is reason to believe that philosophy gets the upper hand" and that "it subverts rather than reinforces our confidence."[40] Kosso fails to acknowledge one important point. Thucydides recognized that the speeches were not quotations of the orators. This admission should far from subvert our overall confidence in their accuracy, it should enforce it. The mere fact that he attempted to adhere "as closely as possible" shows that he gave the matter much thought.

The types of sources used by Thucydides, as part of his method, reveal a great deal about the uniqueness of this Athenian. The main aspect of this is a product of the type of history he was writing. By writing contemporary history, he was able to base his writing "partly on what I saw myself, partly on what others saw for me."[41] Unlike Herodotus, who wrote about a war in which he did not participate,

Thucydides was a leader in the Athenian army and had "great influence with the inhabitants of the continent"[42] who not only knew of some of the events himself, but was acquainted with others of high rank who would have been able to provide other important information for his research.

Another kind of source which Thucydides used in *History* is documentation which is inserted into the text. He uses the truce between Athens and Sparta, the alliance agreement between Athens and Sparta, the treaty and alliance between Athens and Agros, the treaty between Sparta and Agros, and the alliance between Sparta and Agros.[43] There is some debate as to whether these documents are true to the actual versions. I find this difficult to accept. We have seen in Thucydides' treatment of the speeches that he was very concerned by the fact that they were not verbatim. He therefore felt the need to add the disclaimer in his first book. No such disclaimer appears concerning the use of the documents. This seems to imply that the rendering Thucydides gives of them should be considered largely true to the originals.

The philosophy of history which Thucydides held is very clear when his method and use of source material are considered. He betrays how he views the study of the past in his *History*. Concerning his work, he writes that "if it be judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future, which in the course of human things must resemble if it does not reflect it, I shall be content."[44] Thucydides took a very pragmatic view of history and its writing. Written history was a reference tool for future leaders to use to help them make decisions about future events. This is possible, thought Thucydides, because events occurred in a cyclical manner. He felt it probable that an event in the past, like the Peloponnesian War, would reoccur in the future as an event that would "resemble it if it does not reflect it."

This idea about history is strongly reflected in the method of the Athenian. In his use of speeches, Thucydides admits that they are not actually what was said, but were "what was in my opinion demanded of them." Since he felt that history was a tool to be used by future leaders, actual speeches were not entirely necessary. A future king or general would want to know what they should say when faced with this same situation. The actual words used would not be vital.

Along with his method, Thucydides' use of sources tells much about his philosophy. In order for his work to be useful, he required that it provide "exact knowledge of the past." The first aspect of this he demonstrates in his disdain for the use "of a poet displaying the exaggeration of his craft, or [of] the compositions of the chroniclers that are attractive at truth's expense."[45] Here, he takes clear exception to the uses of Homer and Herodotus respectively. He feels that their histories are of a scope which is "out of the reach of evidence."[46] He believes that, especially in the case of Homer, their works have been robbed "of historical value."[47] He felt that history needed to be based on the "clearest data." The work of those who had written before him simply did not meet that need.

Thucydides used sources that had been key figures in the events of the

Peloponnesian War and the actual documents that the war generated. In order for his work to be "useful" he could not fall into the habits of those who had taken little time "in the investigation of truth, accepting readily the first story that comes to hand."[48] He could little afford to be inaccurate, with the weight of future decisions on the shoulders of his writing. His research was laborious because of a lack "of [agreement] between accounts of the same occurrences by different eye-witnesses, arising sometimes from imperfect memory, sometimes from undue partiality for one side or another." Thucydides did not even trust himself completely. A version was deemed accurate and to lack bias if it was the version which survived "the most severe and detailed tests possible."[49]

Thucydides created his work "not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time."[50] Through his concentration on purely political and military men and events, he wrote a work for the use of these political and military men. He felt that these men should not go to the oracles to get advice as divine intervention had no place in his scheme of things. He believed that history was a tool to be used in decision making. The closer the historian's method and use of evidence came to discovering truth, the more useful the tool became.

After the writings of Thucydides, the historiography of the Greeks began to change. More and more emphasis was being placed upon rhetorical form in historical composition. Greek historical writing had gained diversity in subject matter from Herodotus and the qualification of facts from Thucydides. These, however, were absent from the writings of the Alexandrian Period. Writing developed a limited scope of one polis or another and lacked the reflective qualities of the two great Greek historians. Androtion of Megara wrote a history of Athens and Philochorus gave us the *History of Attica*, but none seemed to reach the standards that had been set by the histories of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.

It was during this time that the center of Mediterranean power was beginning to shift. Influence and control was moving from the Greeks to the Romans and the Carthaginians. During this transition another great historian appeared. Polybius was to become a herald for the dawning of Latin domination of the known world.

Born in about 208 B.C., Polybius was raised in Megalopolis, an Arcadian town founded during the war with Sparta. His father was called Lycortas, a friend of Philopoeman who was a general in the Achaen League. Polybius was attached to the embassy to be sent to the court of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt but he never went due to the king's death. In 169 B.C., he served as a hipparch in the Third Macedonian War. As a result of the Roman victory at Pydna, Rome demanded one thousand hostages to insure Greek compliance with the terms of the treaty. Polybius was one of those thousand and spent the next sixteen years of his life in Rome. There he developed a friendship with Scipio Aemilianus, one of Rome's leading citizens. Because of this friendship, he was allowed to remain in Rome after the other hostages had been returned. While there, he developed great respect for the Roman Senate, the unity of the state and the laws which governed the Republic. In 150 B.C., he returned to Greece and remained there for one year. He left with Scipio at the

beginning of the Third Punic War, accompanying him on his campaign. It was during this war that he witnessed the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C. After this, he acted as a political go-between for Greece and Rome until his death from an equestrian-related accident at the age of eighty-two.

Polybius wrote during a very rich period in the history of the Mediterranean World. He lived through the time of the Second Punic War (209-201 B.C.), the war with Antiochus III of Syria (192-189), the Third Macedonian War (171-168), the Third Punic War (149-146), the Numanitian War (143-133), and the civil disturbances in Rome during the reform of the Gracchi (133-123). Through this chain of events Rome consolidated its control of the Mediterranean and these conflicts make up the body of Polybius' *Histories*.

A large portion of his work did not survive. *History of the War of Numantia, Life of Philopeomen*, and *Manual of Grammar* have all been lost.[51] Likewise, a large portion of *Histories* survived only through other sources. A good deal of this work is still left incomplete.[52]

The *Histories* depicts the political and military events of Roman history from 221-146 B.C. with an introductory section that reviews the years 264-221. Polybius thought the ways of the Romans to be the wave of the future. He wrote so that

contemporaries will thus be able to see clearly whether the Roman rule is acceptable or the reverse, and future generations whether the government should be considered to have been worthy of praise and admiration or blame.[53]

Polybius believed that three things were necessary in order for a writer of history to be effective in his craft. The historian must have the ability to collect, classify and digest the written sources of history, a knowledge of geography, and a knowledge of practical politics, including the art of war. Polybius saw himself an exemplary embodiment of these three traits and felt no need to restrain himself from criticizing those who did not measure up.

In the use of sources, Polybius in many ways mirrored the types used by Thycudides. However, Polybius placed far more emphasis on documents than did his predecessor. He incorporated four treaties between Rome and Carthage (c.509-508, 306?, 279 and 241 B.C.) into the text and alluded to one other.[54] When listing Hannibal's supplies during his campaign, he justified the figures he used by stating that he

found on the Lacinian Promontory a bronze tablet on which Hannibal himself had made out these lists during the time he was in Italy, and thinking this an absolutely first-rate authority, decided to follow the document.[55]

Also, like Thucydides, he relied on the interviewing of important individuals. In his discussion of the excesses of Hannibal, he said that he had

been told about this matter both by the Carthaginians themselves... and more in detail by Masinissa, when he discoursed on the love of money displayed... by Hannibal and this Mago who was known to be a Semite.[56]

In his method, Polybius differs somewhat from Thucydides and more resembles Herodotus. This can be seen most plainly in his use of geography and travel. In his writing, he made several references to travel.[57] He thought that geographic knowledge was especially important in the understanding of the immense accomplishment that was Hannibal's journey to Rome:

In view of that fact I underwent the perils of journeys through Africa, Spain and Gaul and of voyages on the seas that lie on the farther side of these countries, mostly for this very purpose of correcting the errors of former writers and making these parts of the world also known to the Greeks.[58]

Polybius differed further from Thucydides in the way he treated speeches. Thucydides, as previously mentioned, maintained that the actual words were not important, rather the essence of what was said was key. Polybius felt it was important to write "the words actually spoken, whatever they were."[59] He was the first writer of history to view speeches as evidence rather than a tool for the writer.

The philosophy which Polybius held of history is very clearly stated in the body of his *Histories*.

The peculiar function of history is... to ascertain the reason why what was done or spoken led to failure or success. For the mere statement of a fact may interest us but it is of no benefit to us. But when we add the cause to it, study of history becomes fruitful. For it is the mental transference of similar circumstances to our own times that gives us the means of forming presentiments of what is about to happen, and enables us at certain times to take precautions and at other times by reproducing former conditions to face with more confidence the difficulties that menace us.[60]

Polybius felt that determining the cause of an event was one of the main goals of the historian: "for I maintain that [by] far the most essential part of history is the consideration of the remote or immediate consequences of events and especially that of causes."[61] He believed one of the faults of previous writers was the inability to distinguish between cause and pretext.[62]

Polybius felt that history was a tool to be used by the political and military leadership in the process of decision making. He held a view that was the same as that of Thucydides in its pragmatism. Since written histories were works to be used by political and military men, he felt they should be produced by men, like himself, who had experience in these fields. He said

it is neither possible for a man with no experience of warlike operations to write well about what happens in war, nor for one not versed in the practice and circumstances

of politics to write well on that subject... their works are of no practical value to readers.[63]

Some understanding of his philosophy can be attained by considering the types of sources he used. By using actual documents, he gives the reader a model on which to base their future diplomatic writings. By describing in detail what armies carried with them, as in the list of Hannibal, a general can get an idea of what is and what is not needed on a campaign. By interviewing members of the military and political elite (usually the same person), he could make sure that his information was both accurate and useful. By recording the speeches verbatim, he gave models for the elite to follow.

His method also betrays his philosophy. Unlike Thucydides who felt geography relatively unimportant, Polybius traveled extensively to supplement his writings and gave accounts of the topography of the regions he visited. He felt that it was appropriate to present such material in the text for he understood that geographic considerations were important for military strategy and in determining cause and consequence. In order for this information to be as accurate as possible, he felt it necessary that he visit these places. This prevents the errors of which he accuses Timaeus of Tauromeaum, spending almost the entire twelfth book criticizing the "book historian" who got his information from written sources and not from observation.

Polybius said that his history "differs to its advantage as much from the works on particular episodes as learning does from listening."[64] He attacked not only the episode historians, but also any whom he felt did not present accurate pictures of the past. He criticized not only Timaeus, but also Fabius Pictor who was then considered one of the leading writers of history. His criticisms of their technique and their results makes him, almost surely, the father of historiography. His writings provided a model for the pursuit of truth in such a way that the finished product could be found to be useful by future leaders. In many ways his writing is a union of the ideas of Herodotus and Thucydides. In many ways, he sets off to do new things. He wrote about a new power in the Mediterranean, one which stole the importance of the Hellenes in the story of history. Polybius placed the spotlight squarely on the city-state of Rome.

And so the stage was set for the dawn of Roman historical writing. What the writer believed about the making and writing of history can be plainly seen by those who choose to search the text for clues. Herodotus felt that history was a product of the deeds of men and not the will of the gods. He separated himself from the historians who wrote in the flowing verse of the Homeric style. He weighed evidence and formed conclusions based on what he considered the best authority. In this way he is considered the first true historian. Thucydides went a step farther than Herodotus. He used actual documents, interviewed actual major participants and presented the essence of many speeches in his work on the Pelopennesian War.

He felt that his writings could be used by a future political/military elite, which might find them useful for making policy decisions. Polybius continued this idea and introduced the use of actual speeches as pure evidence rather than as only a tool for the writer. With all three of these great men, the emphasis was on documentation and the search for the truth about the past.

These writers were both innovators and continuers in one way or another. As no historical event can exist in a vacuum, without an understanding of the environment in which it was produced, no historian created his idea of the past without reflecting the historical thought of those who came before. The study of historiography, then, is one of the most valuable areas in the education of the historian and this technique may aid us in our understanding of those who have gone before us.

Endnotes

1. From Brian Lee, "On the Use of Sources and Other Methods in the Understanding of Philosophy of History: Historiographical Study of the Great Writers from Herodotus to Einhard," unpublished research, Northern Kentucky University, 1993.

2. Harry Elmer Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing* (New York, 1962), 26.

3. John Barker, *The Superhistorians* (New York, 1982), 7.

4. Barnes, *Historical Writing*, 26-27.

5. Barker, *Superhistorians*, 9.

6. James Allen Stewart Evens, *Herodotus*, Twayne's World Author Series No. 645 (Boston, 1982), 4.

7. Barker, *Superhistorians*, 9.

8. Evens, *Herodotus*, 2-6. Herodotus was not actually eligible for Athenian citizenship. According to Athenian law, both parents must be Athenian in order to pass on their citizenship to their children. Herodotus did not meet this requirement as he was of Greek/Carian heritage. See Evens, *Herodotus*, 3.

9. Barker, *Superhistorians*, 14.

10. Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, translated by George Rawlings, introduction by Francis R. B. Godolphin (New York, 1942), Book I, 183. (Hereafter referred to as Herodotus, followed by book and chapter number).

11. Herodotus, I, 193.

12. The textual order of this evidence, according to the evidence in Herodotus' *Histories* and to the best scholarship concerning this matter, is not the order in which Herodotus actually visited these places. I chose to order the references in this manner because I feel it aids the modern reader and the actual chronology of his voyages is not relevant to the point at hand.

13. Herodotus, II, 29.

14. Herodotus, II, 44.

15. Herodotus, III, 5.

16. Herodotus, III, 12.

17. Ibid.

18. Herodotus, IV, 15.

19. Herodotus, IV, 81.

20. Herodotus, IV, 86.

21. Maurice Croiset, *Hellenic Civilization* (New York, 1935), 143-144.

22. Herodotus, VI, 84; I, 183; II, 99.

23. For examples, see Herodotus II, 28, 44, 99, 142; IV, 48; V, 59.

24. Herodotus, V, 59.

25. Herodotus, II, 147.

26. Herodotus, IV, 159.

27. Herodotus, VII, 152.

28. Herodotus, III, 55; IV, 76; VIII, 56; IX, 16.

29. Herodotus, II, 5.

30. Herodotus, VI, 137.

31. Herodotus, II, 23.

32. Herodotus, II, 44.

33. Herodotus, I, first paragraph (not numbered).

34. Herodotus, VI, 55.

35. Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Richard Crawley, edited by Ernest Rhys (New York, 1910), Book I, 1. (Hereafter referred to as Thucydides, followed by book and page number.

36. Thucydides, I, 16.

37. Thucydides, I, 128.

38. Thucydides, I, 64.

39. Thucydides, I, 14-15.

40. Peter Kosso, "Historical Evidence and Epistemic Justification: Thucydides as a Case Study," *History and Theory* (February, 1993), Vol. 32, 10-11.

41. Thucydides, I, 15.

42. Thucydides, IV, 314.

43. Thucydides, IV, 321-322; V, 346-349, 350-351, 368-369, 388, 389.

44. Thucydides, I, 15.

45. Thucydides, I, 14.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Thucydides, I, 15.

50. Ibid.

51. James Westfall Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (2 Vols., Massachusetts, 1942), Vol. I, 55.

52. Ibid.

53. Polybius, *The Histories*, English translation by W. R. Paton (6 Vols., Massachusetts, 1922), Vol. III, 4. (Hereafter referred to as Polybius followed by book and section number).

54. Polybius, III, 22, 24, 25, 27; I, 26.

55. Polybius, III, 33.

56. Polybius, IX, 25.

57. Polybius, I, 41-42; II, 14-17; III, 36-56; IV, 36-42; IX, 21.

58. Polybius, III, 60.

59. Polybius, XII, 25b.

60. Ibid.

61. Polybius, III, 32.

62. For an example of this distinction, see Polybius, III, 6, 7.

63. Polybius, XII, 25g.

64. Polybius, III, 32.

Ruminations on History: Rethinking Orthodoxy
by
Michael A. Flannery

This kind of history is an excellent thing,
provided it be understood that the matter in hand
is not history but observations upon history

—Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, 1605.

Perspectives in History is a delightful journal with an intriguing title. Recently it gave me cause to pause and ponder, what are some of the historical "perspectives" that we bring with us to our craft? So often the historian sits down with pencil in hand giving little thought to ultimate aims and goals of the study of the past. Certainly we assume agreement upon these kinds of fundamental issues, but are we perhaps assuming too much? In reflecting upon these matters, it occurred to me that some impressions might at least suggest some new visions in our normative practice. Designed as a forum between student and teacher, this publication seems well-positioned to offer a bird's eye view of the field to the benefit of both. Being highly subjective in nature, I ask the reader to pardon the occasional first-person familiarity.

The logical starting point, it would seem, is not to embark upon the new, but rather to outline the established — the orthodoxy of the field. Nowhere is this better exemplified than in Carl G. Gustavson's *A Preface to History*.

Since 1955 Gustavson has introduced a whole generation of college students to the pleasures and pitfalls of history. There is good reason for the longevity of his monograph; it is a concise, nondogmatic approach to a subject riddled with extremism and eccentricity. It expresses in many ways the standard canon of the professional historian which, in turn, explains its persistence in academia. After nearly forty years on the academic scene, some specific discussion of his approach might serve to indicate what, if any, new paths might be cut into the intellectual wilderness of historical praxis.

Broadly speaking, Gustavson views history as an enabling discipline that places an individual in touch and in context with his or her temporal surroundings.[1] Placed in the perspective of human history, Gustavson reminds the reader of the brevity of life and places him in historical terms as "a pygmy walking among giants."[2]

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"Bound as our lives are to the tyranny of time," writes A. L. Rowse, "it is through what we know of history that we are delivered from our bonds and escape — into time."[3]

True enough, but how is this accomplished accurately and effectively? It is through a process Gustavson calls historical-mindedness.[4] For pedagogical purposes, Gustavson separates his concept of historical-mindedness into seven component parts as follows: (1) a natural curiosity for factors underlying past events; (2) a utilization of contextual precedents to present-day problems and issues, seeking origins, relationships, and parallels; (3) a discernment and appreciation for dynamic forces at work in society; (4) an appreciation for the continuity of society; (5) an understanding of the forces of change in society; (6) an attempt to approach the subject objectively; and (7) an appreciation for the uniqueness of events.[5]

Now there is nothing remarkable here. All of us practice this kind of thinking at some time or other whether we know it or not. We review our personal economic past in our bank statements and make decisions based upon past performance and current capabilities (surely we must approach that with some degree of objectivity!); we recount our social histories in letters to friends and family (we can become a bit Whiggish[6] here); and we sometimes formalize our professional histories in resumes (prospective employers are *always* interested in the past of their employees).

As commonplace as historical-thinking is at this level, little headway can be made in understanding large movements and trends in society unless there is some understanding and appreciation for the driving forces at work in history. These are the dynamics of the past and present and they are fundamental to our concept of the balance of continuity and change in both history and current events. Because of their importance, Gustavson spends the bulk of his discussion on the forces which he sees as playing key roles in the ebb and flow of history. They are social forces, institutional factors, revolutions, the individual, ideas, power, and international organization.[7]

At first glance Gustavson's approach to history seems comprehensive and compelling. Like a received text of orthodox canon, *A Preface to History* separates history from science by pointing out repeatedly that it is neither measurable nor predictive.[8] In addition, it has an overall view of historical progression as linear. This is stated early on. "Events of history are visualized in a linear manner," declares Gustavson, "a straight line with events strung out upon it in chronological order."[9] This concept is implicit throughout much of the discussion and is, in fact, reintroduced later when current consensus histories (e.g. textbooks) are viewed as "the latest link in the long chain of knowledge from the original chroniclers to the present."[10]

The epistemological significance of this view of history is that events are portrayed as cumulative episodes heaped upon each other like geological strata. The epistemological significance of this view for historiography is that the practitioner is characterized as a brick mason placing one building block of

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knowledge upon its predecessor, presumably toward the erection of some indefinable temple of truth. While the goal of absolute truth may be unachievable, the historian is exhorted to strive for its approximation. The objective is not merely accuracy but a striving for some vague idea of perfection implicit in an approach devoted to secular humanism.[11]

This notion has been challenged by some insightful and highly influential analysts. Nowhere has the linear, cumulative view of history been attacked more forcefully than in the development of science. Arthur Koestler writes:

> . . .we have seen that . . . progress was
> neither 'continuous' nor 'organic.' The philosophy
> of nature evolved by occasional leaps and bounds
> alternating with delusional pursuits, culs-de-sac,
> regressions, periods of blindness, and amnesia.
> The great discoveries which determined its course
> were sometimes the unexpected by-products of a
> chase for quite different hares. At other times,
> the process of discovery consisted merely in the
> cleaning away of the rubbish that blocked the path,
> or in rearranging of existing items of knowledge in
> a different pattern. The mad clockwork of epicycles
> was kept going for two thousand years; and Europe
> knew less geometry in the fifteenth century than in
> Archimedes' time.[12]

Koestler's first volley against the so-called historical "march of progress" in the sciences was really a prolegomenon to the work of Thomas S. Kuhn. Clearly the most thorough and influential treatment of the subject is offered in Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962; rev. 1970).[13] According to Kuhn, scientific research proceeds not through some abstract quest for truth but through fundamental beliefs shared by the community of duly recognized practitioners in the field. These "paradigms" provide model problems and suggest solutions to scientific inquiry.[14] They also serve to set the parameters of acceptable inquiry and discussion. Under this model science proceeds not through linear progression but through definable stages of investigative praxis. So long as the paradigms of a given discipline provide acceptable answers to appropriate questions, normal science continues essentially unaltered. As anomalies emerge and accumulate under sets of prevailing paradigms, however, despite their resilience and resistance to change, these persistent problems eventually stretch the existing paradigms to the breaking point and a crisis ensues. After momentary disciplinary confusion a paradigm-shift (i.e. revolution) occurs. A notable example is the collapse of the traditional Newtonian physics in favor of a "new physics" ushered in by Niels Bohr's quantum mechanics and Albert Einstein's relativity.[15]

This view is dramatically different from the received orthodoxy of Gustavson's

Preface.[16] While the Kuhnian model offers a truly new perspective on growth and development, continuity and change, it affects other aspects of historical analysis as well. This is most clearly demonstrated when contrasted with Gustavson's treatment of ideas and revolution as forces in history.

Gustavson calls ideas in history "the threads which bind the minds of men together sufficiently for joint action."[17] Perhaps there is a sense in which this definition of "idea" approaches that of Kuhn's paradigm, but only imperfectly and incompletely. For Gustavson an idea is intangible and only acts as a motivation to action, and although he admits that it cannot be left out of any historical discussion, neither is it the essential factor in any great historical movement.[18]

Kuhn has ideas playing a fundamental role in scientific movements, for these ties which bind also lead the way. When broken nothing less than a radical paradigm-shift takes place. This paradigm-shift (for Kuhn, synonymous with the concept of revolution) is also quite different from Gustavson's treatment of revolution as a driving force in history. Since Kuhn defines paradigms in terms of a community consensus of scientific practitioners, the loss of that consensus creates confusion and ultimately a dramatic shift to a new constellation of shared beliefs, values, and techniques.[19] Gustavson acknowledges revolutions in nonpolitical fields, but devotes himself almost exclusively to a discussion of revolution in political terms which he defines as an occurrence when "a social or economic group is superseded in control of the state by another group under circumstances of violence."[20] This alone is an over-simplification, for a mere violent substitution in who controls the reigns of government is not necessarily revolutionary — it may represent little more than a changing of the guard. Witness, for example, the countless military juntas in the banana republics.[21] In Kuhnian terms, the litmus test of revolution is in permanently altered ideas and the consequent changes in shared community standards. A new generalissimo installed after one of many palace coups hardly fits the bill of revolutionary in any meaningful sense. This clearly demonstrates the different criteria for change between Gustavson and Kuhn.

Given the differences between Gustavson and Kuhn, to what extent, it may be legitimately asked, is Kuhn's analysis of the history of science amenable to other areas of historical inquiry — e.g. social, intellectual, and even political history? After all, Kuhn was a historian of science, a highly specialized field and one fraught with peculiarities all its own. Kuhn himself has never claimed that his model was applicable to the social sciences or humanities.

This is true enough but a good many others have.[22] Here we must be careful to keep two aspects of history separate in the discussion: one is history itself, another is historiography. The former concerns the ontology of actual episodes, movements, trends, and the like; the latter concerns the epistemology of practitioners. To confuse the two is to be caught in a historical quagmire.

The concept of paradigms and change based upon paradigmatic shifts, however, will support both sides of the coin. From a historiographic viewpoint Kuhn frees the practitioner from some vague abstraction of historical truth. For the historian

truth in the Kuhnian sense is defined in fundamentally sociological terms of what counts as admissible discourse among the bar of professionals. The aims of the historian must satisfy three criteria for the scholarly community: (1) it must ask questions worth asking in an understandable way; (2) it must use sources relevant to the inquiry at hand; and (3) it must be rational in its presuppositions about human nature, the behavior of groups, causation, etc.[23] Unlike the sciences, the community of practitioners in history will tolerate a good deal more diversity. Thus what David Hollinger calls "intersubjective validity" as to what counts as "good history" is much broader than what counts as "good physics" or "good chemistry."[24] Nevertheless, there is a standard (albeit defined by the community) despite the argument of Imre Lakatos and others that such a view reduces scholarly decisions to "mob psychology" and condemns the field to a vicious cycle from normal practice to anomaly to crisis to revolution and finally back to normalcy. As Hollinger has pointed out, however, the reliance on community sanction as a measure of paradigmatic validity need not sentence the historian to a cyclical treadmill. Progress in the field of history, like science, is not the accumulation of correct or accurate observations, it is an evolutionary process of refinement from primitive beginnings to sophistication.[25] These refinements can so alter the shape of a discipline that it in effect puts on a new face. Just as alchemy bears little relationship to modern chemistry and pharmacy, so too is Thucydides quite different from his counterpart of today.

So much for the historiographical implications of Kuhn's model, what about its impact on continuity and change in history itself? Here David Hackett Fischer sums up the matter and answers the critics in a nutshell:

> Narrative history is still consistent with
> Kuhn's paradigms, but it becomes a more profound
> and intricate narrative, in which the story consists
> not in a progressive unfolding of the present, but
> rather a series of structural reformations (in a literal sense). . . .
> And it is relevant to all fields of
> historical inquiry. Political history can be con-
> structively conceived in precisely the same paradigmatic
> terms — a certain congruence is established in a polity,
> and then eroded by a sequence of new problems and
> purposes. The old polity is at last overturned, there
> is a period of confusion, a new polity is created, which
> possesses a congruence of its own, and the process begins again. The
> cyclical implications of this approach need
> not be taken very seriously, for the nature of the paradigmatic
> relationship is itself in motion, and it
> must vary greatly from one phenomenon to another. To
> accept Kuhn's model is not to argue that history itself
> is a right- or left-handed spiral, a sine curve, a merry-

go-round, a roller coaster, or a loop-the-loop. The
method can coexist with any of these absurd abstractions;
it entails none of them. Instead, it is a flexible, empirical device
which means not the end of narrative history but the beginning of a new
kind of narration, which is in turn capable of further refinement.[26]

Clearly Gustavson is in need of refinement. His adherence to a linear, cumulative view of history (unabated with his expanded work of 1976) profoundly affects his treatment of continuity and change. Also in need of refinement are his handling of the dynamics of ideas and revolution in history. But to say more is to become hypercritical. Gustavson packs much of value into this slim volume. He saves us from the sweeping histrionics of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee as well as the rigid dialectic of Karl Marx; his eschewing of metahistory for a multiplicity of causation is to be commended.[27] Beyond this, the reader gets a sense that he captures the essence of the craft when he writes, "The historian is careful to remember that the facts shall determine his conclusions; he is perpetually checking the sources of the evidence from which he is writing. He seizes upon every bit of information that is discovered to see if they bolster or weaken his own previous deduction."[28] Furthermore, his discussion of five misuses of history — the Great Man theory, the single cause error, the view of historical events as a morality play between extremes of good and evil, the static-rebel dichotomy, the perfectionist or idealist error, and the error of presentism — seem well-founded.[29] Although they are not in themselves erroneous, they are (like much else in this book) still in need of refinement.

David Hackett Fischer's *Historians' Fallacies* provides the needed prescription. Jacob Burckhardt has said, "Clear-cut concepts belong to logic, not to history,"[30] but this is precisely what Fischer proposes — a logic of history. To accomplish this he divides history into three parts: inquiry, explanation, and argument. Within these broad categories he outlines eleven fallacies and 105 more specific errors capable of violation by the historian, professional or amateur. After discussing the attendant fallacies, he concludes each section with a general proposition regarding the proper utilization of such vital topics as question-framing, verification, factual significance, generalization, narration, causation, motivation, etc. by the historian. These propositions become Fischer's historical-mindedness. His overall view of history as a problem-solving discipline of adductive reasoning is consistent with Kuhn's view of science as a puzzle-solving discipline,[31] but this does not mean that they are one in the same. The object is not to make history a science but to make it a discipline more amenable to rational verification and assessment. Surely there can be no objection to a methodology which proposes merely a refinement of one's craft.

Fischer's work clearly offers a more sophisticated approach to his subject than does the orthodoxy of Gustavson. Until something better comes along, it appears to be at least one promising trail out of the deceptive forest of historical treatments which assume a linear, cumulative path of progress.

Endnotes

1. *A Preface to History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 3.

2. Ibid., 4.

3. *The Use of History* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 30.

4. *Preface*, 5.

5. Ibid., 5-7.

6. A term coined by Herbert Butterfield which is the tendency to write history as a ratification if not glorification of the present. There is a conspicuous tendency to praise success and ignore failure when working in this fashion.

7. Ibid. See chapters 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15.

8. Ibid., 25, 62, 80, 177.

9. Ibid., 13.

10. Ibid., 166.

11. This outgrowth of the hubristic certitudes of speculators like Auguste Comte, F. C. S. Schiller, and kindred spirits need not have a monopoly on acceptability in learned circles, although it is so pervasive that it has become a tacit assumption in most scholarship today — history included. There is no cause to dismiss alternative views as beyond the pale of reason. For example, see Roger T. Forster and V. Paul Marston, *God's Strategy in Human History* (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House, 1974). The very title implies the absurdity of this notion of human derived truth, but having made the obvious suggestion that purely empirical inquiry is hardly equal to the task of delineating Truth, I will say no more about it here.

12. *The Sleepwalkers: A History of Man's Changing Vision of the Universe* (New York: Macmillan, 1959; reprint ed., London: Arkana, 1989), 523.

13. Peter Novick calls Kuhn's work one of the most widely influential pieces of scholarship of this century and adds that "among historical books it would appear to be without serious rival." See his *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cam-

bridge University Press, 1988), 526.

14. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), viii.

15. Detailed discussions of this historic paradigm-shift in physics are available in Fritjof Capra, *The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture* (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1983); John P. Briggs and F. David Peat, *Looking Glass Universe: The Emerging Science of Wholeness* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984); and Fritjof Capra and David Steindle-Rast, *Belonging to the Universe: Explorations on the Frontiers of Science and Spirituality* (San Francisco: Harper, 1991). They are all distinguished by their abandonment of Cartesian duality and rejection of positivism.

16. It would be unfair to chide Gustavson for not revising his treatment of continuity and change or the dynamics of revolution and ideas in history to account for the scholarship of Koestler four years later or for Kuhn's magnum opus to come seven years after *A Preface to History.* But Gustavson's *The Mansion of History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976) certainly should have devoted more thoughtful attention to Kuhn than three pages (pp. 223-225). Gustavson's awkward and imprecise definition of a paradigm as "a general statement of relationships" surprised even his reviewers. See review by Leon J. Goldstein in *The American Historical Review* 82 (April 1977) : 332.

17. *Preface,* 153.

18. bid., 162.

19. Kuhn, 181-187.

20. *Preface,* 99.

21. Gustavson tries to extricate his definition of revolution from the Latin-American example by stating that "seizures of power [occur there] within the same social group." This too is an oversimplification. For example, the ousting of the unpopular military regime of Manuel Noriega in Panama (albeit with U.S. intervention) and the installation of President Guillermo Endara in 1989, who headed the Alianza Democratica de Oposición Civista, received support from a very different social group than did his predecessor. According to Gustavson this would count as a revolution. Nevertheless, in many respects the change represented business as usual, some even claiming the new Endara government to be more corrupt than Noriega's.

22. In the realm of social science see Barry Barnes, *T. S. Kuhn and Social Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). The most complete attempt to apply Kuhn's concept of paradigms to American history has been Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1973). For the employment of Kuhn's model to the field of history in general see David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970); and David A. Hollinger, "T. S. Kuhn's Theory of Science and Its Implications for History," in *Paradigms and Revolutions: Appraisals and Applications of Thomas Kuhn's Philosophy of Science*, ed. Gary Gutting (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980).

23. Hollinger, 208.

24. Ibid., 207.

25. Ibid., 216-217.

26. Fischer, 162.

27. *Preface*, 55.

28. Ibid., 171.

29. Ibid., 175-176.

30. Quoted in Rowse, 141.

31. Fischer, xv.

Peterloo and the Historians
by
John J. Dawtry

Among historians of the development of English Radicalism, little consensus has emerged as to its causation, materialist or ideological, scope of activity, scale of membership and popular involvement, and significance: what was the scale of the threat to the established order? However, from the Fabian social democrats to the Marxian paradigms of Hobsbawm and Thompson, a continuity of development has been observed, a Radical tradition embracing the heterodox nature of the phenomenon. And few historians have thus adopted a "punctuational" interpretation, with bursts of radical fervour subsiding all too quickly into the restoration of the status quo. It would thus appear problematical to investigate in isolation, individual events, or even the phenomena bounded by an arbitrarily-determined short time-span. Yet the period immediately subsequent to the end of the Napoleonic Wars had a particular character, a distinct flavour. It saw crucial interaction between political discontent and industrial distress, a burgeoning of ideological conviction among the radicals themselves, and an irreversible change in the modes of attack upon the established order.

In August, 1819, a large unarmed crowd gathered in St. Peter's Fields in Manchester demanding universal suffrage and other reforms. Henry Hunt was speaking when the magistrates ordered the militia to arrest him. Pandemonium broke out and several people were killed and many wounded in "the Battle of Peterloo." The event has a most important — arguably, pivotal — role within the process of transition. Viewing earlier patterns of protest from the retrospective vantage point of 1819-20, we see, in short, a profound change — the *politicisation* of the Radical response — to have taken place within a few intervening years.

Yet the traditions of historical scholarship are concerned far less with ideas and theory than the primacy of facts. And so the debate which has raged around the topic of Peterloo — usually generating more heat than light — might be adequately summarized in the "ancient" Rankean mode: "Wie es eigentlich gewesen." Comparatively, little energy has been expended on assessing what Peterloo "means"; what is its significance? The positivistic school of historiography enshrined the fact: it was (sic) imagined that by a judicious accumulation and catholic selection of evidence, (minutely detailed, and woven into a seamless web of narrative) there would be revealed, as if by magic, an authoritative and objective reflection of what

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actually happened—no interpretation needed, for the facts will speak for them-selves. This optimism was shattered by Collingwood's assertion that the event was merely recreated in the mind of the historian, and by Croce's thesis that history was reinterpreted anew by each generation in the light of its particular views and concerns. But the assault on fact was crucially led by E. H. Carr's Trevelyan Lectures of 1961; for Carr, and a large number of historians influenced by his work, facts and interpretation are inextricably linked and there is no ultimate, objective history. A fact's "status as a historical fact will turn on a question of interpretation. This element of interpretation enters into every fact of history. . . .The historian is necessarily selective. The belief in a hardcore of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy but one. . . .very hard to eradicate."[1]

For Robert Walmsley, revisionist historian of Peterloo, however, the facts, arranged in the right order, *will* reveal objective truth. "Facts are stubborn things; they get into the wrong order; some are left out; some push their way in but are overshadowed by other facts (and). . . .there is no lack of facts about Peterloo".[2] He castigates Donald Read as a relativist for foolishly introducing a note of caution to the discussion of "what happened." "Dr. Read, in spite of all his investigation, ends his study, 'The final comment in any study of Peterloo must be one of caution. . . . something *must* still be admitted as unknown'. Such an admission might be thought remarkable. There are masses of material, eye-witness accounts, thick closely printed reports of the trials (and) the Home Office papers have been sifted."[3]

One fears that this is not *quite* (!) what Donald Read meant. So, if Walmsley is pilloried by E. P. Thompson, he has no one but himself to blame: "a Manchester antiquarian bookseller. . . .Mr. Walmsley is interested, chiefly, in the events of the day of Peterloo and even more closely in the events of one half hour of that day — from 1.14 to 1.45 p.m."[4]

The impossibility of ultimate objectivity does not preclude our making every conceivable effort, pace Geoffrey Elton, to minimize distortion and inaccuracy.[5] Regrettably, since its earliest days and including its very appellation, the "massa-cre" of "Peterloo", the "event" has attracted conspicuously ideological observers, few "right" of "centre." Thus, one must concur with Walmsley that "defending the magistrates, or even offering anything in the shape of an apologia, became utterly futile. This was soon equated with condoning the massacre of the innocents, the defense of the indefensible."[6] Such is the adherence to received truths and preconceived notions that it was rather inevitable that even moderate Dr. Read should dub Walmsley's account an "inevitable. . . .right-wing reassessment."[7] E. P. Thompson clearly believes that, in shifting attention from the actual attack by the Yeomanry, and in "battering away at the. . . .accusatory. . . .evidence", [Walmsley] almost impels us to fall into the trap which he has spent half a lifetime in baiting."[8] Clearly, conspiracy theories are contagious! Employing a splendid euphemism for bias, Thompson still reserves some praise for Walmsley — and himself? "His *zealous partisanship* is. . . .Worthy of the Peterloo tradition."[9] As for the finality of

eye-witness accounts, J. B. Smith is rather unhelpful: "by this time, so much dust had arisen that no accurate account can be given of what further took place"![10]

Thompson's thesis of a government determination to produce a violent confrontation with Radicals rests on an almost counter-factual approach: finding little or no evidence in Home Office Papers, he argues that, if there *were* any, they would have been destroyed to avoid discovery of such a plan. Given the evidence to the contrary, concerning Sidmouth and the Manchester magistracy, this is hardly the strongest argument to be found in *Making of the English Working Class*. Much of the "tradition" of "partisanship" is due to excessive if inevitable reliance on personal memoirs and recollections given in subsequent legal evidence, much of the former being written after the event had become one of the great "causes célèbres" of English History. Bamford's *Passages in the Life of a Radical*, (used in extenso in all accounts) is marvelously poetic and anecdotal — even noble — but uses what would be termed, in other circumstances, the language of propaganda. "The yeomanry had dismounted — some were easing their girths, others adjusting their accoutrements and some were wiping their sabres. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Some of these were still groaning, others with staring eyes, were gasping for breath — others would never breathe more."[11]

There are three major interpretations of what happened at Peterloo and who was to blame. E. P. Thompson's analysis in the *Making of the English Working Class*, and subsequently defended elsewhere, has been that the Liverpool cabinet sought a bloody confrontation with the Radicals, planned for it and made suitable logistical arrangements, and everything went more or less according to plan until the unexpected aftermath of the country moving *closer* to revolution than before the fateful day. The government had excellent intelligence but tended to misconstrue harmless working class activity, interpreting it in insurrectionary terms. As General Sir John Byng communicated to Sidmouth only days before the event, "it is an evil which, if not put down soon, will grow to such an extent as to be eminently dangerous."[12] A particular feature of the massacre, of great import for Thompson's thesis, is the use of the Yeomanry (a part-time volunteer force of manufacturers, shopkeepers and assorted petty bourgeois), of which the Special Constables had been apprised some days before, to attack the crowd — upper class utilization of middle-class violence and hatred, to murder the working-class participants who were merely exercising their constitutional privileges. "There is no term for this but class war.... pitifully one-sided war."[13] Sidmouth's record of aversion to violence, and characteristically English habit of defusing potentially explosive situations, has been chronicled by his biographer, Ziegler.[14] His surprise seems genuine, when he learned of the débacle. The fact that the government "stood by" the magistracy is not as damning as Thompson believes, for the English nobility have something of a tendency to act as a "team" and present a "united front" if under attack. Thompson, however, defends his thesis: "There was a plan. It was put into operation."[15]

Ziegler presents supporting evidence for Donald Read's thesis, that the "massa-

cre" was solely due to the incompetent Yeomanry; and thus the magistracy, who had ordered their attack, then panicked yet again, and compounded incompetence with the possibility of malevolence. The Yeomanry was characterized by "poor horsemanship" and was "disorganised even before it set out for the hustings."[16] The fleeing crowd, their exit from St. Peter's Fields blocked by troops, had stampeded and been crushed: despite the fact that "the magistrates could see this from their window",[17] they 'elected' to see a "general resistance"[18] when there was merely the occasional brick thrown at the perimeter. They had been "advised" by the Home Office to "abstain from any endeavour to disperse the mob".[19] Whether by design, or incompetent misapprehension, and certainly no attempt at precautionary planning, the magistracy must take every jot of blame to be ascribed.

Thirdly, by utilizing the Sidmouth evidence, and by attempting to ascribe not ignoble motives and characters to the magistrates (and most especially their Chairman, Hulton), Walmsley believes that nobody was to blame and everybody was a victim.[20] The magistrates were faced with a wholly new and unexpected situation and, although problems of intelligence were paramount, tried to restore order, (in both crowd and seditious speakers) by use of the inadequate means available. But if a *measure* of blame may be tendered, it must lie on the shoulders of *some* of the Radicals. Much is made of the controversial evidence as to who commenced the violence but his central argument is that, in their actions in the months preceding Peterloo, the Radicals gave the *impression* of preparing for rebellion. Thus if a "communication" problem obscured their peaceful motives, and the authorities merely were able to deduce *future* conduct from *present* drilling and arming, those doing the drilling and arming are clearly responsible. Thomis, doyen of consensus history, agrees: "it has been shown how their methods inspired belief that they were planning a revolution. . . .pikes and sticks were brought to meetings not for protection but in readiness for insurrection".[21] Certainly, men underwent drill and arms-training, in very large numbers, and their disciplinarian instructors were unemployed, recently demobilized troops replete with buglers and adjutants.[22] Thompson's attempt to explain this in terms of love of political and union ceremonial, or Methodist rallies and processions, seems to stretch the cultural context idea just a little too far.[23] And, as Stevenson notes, great pains *were* taken by the Radicals to present a non-revolutionary image — or reality.[24] Of the three theses expounded, it remains clear that Donald Read's most readily conforms with the bulk of the evidence currently to hand, although his more traditional historical scholarship, and intellectual caution, may be influencing such a conclusion.

The *short-term* significance of the movement is a good deal less controversial. First, there exists the problem of the extent of revolutionary activity in the period of Peterloo itself, and in the immediate aftermath. In particular, was Peterloo, in the context of Radicalism prior to the Reform Bill, a setback or an advance? Not surprisingly, this evokes familiar partisan replies. Yet it is clear that, not only with regard to working-class activity but also the militaristic governmental backlash which always threatened to *provoke* full-scale rebellion, England was much nearer

to that rebellion (particularly in the North) than authorities have been prepared to allow. "News of Peterloo sparked off riots in Macclesfield on the 17th August when a crowd of 700 men and boys attacked the office of the pro-ministerial *Courier* newspaper as well as the houses of forty people who were yeomanry or special constables. . . .By October there was considerable alarm. The *London Chronicle* described the district around Manchester as being 'in a truly frightful state. . . .there, the war between the poor and the rich is almost openly proclaimed.'"[25] The selection of members of the Special Constabulary and Yeomanry does much to bolster Thompson's thesis.

Second, Peterloo and its immediate aftermath raised questions of the extent, means, and success or failure of Government policy for social control. For Donald Read, it signified the end of repressive Toryism and meant that England was never to proceed further along the road of Holy Alliance "repression through violence," and is clearly of the view that, had there been an "obedient" magistracy, even the Six Acts (and their concerted attempt to de-politicise working-class action) would have been unnecessary.[26] Thompson argues that the aftermath of the massacre clearly indicated to the "Ancien Regime" (his nomenclature) that blind repression (and aristocratic, naked class aggression) was no longer a practical political possibility.[27]

Third, there is the short-term effect on the radical movement itself: its aims (was revolution to be discounted in favour of moderate reform?), and membership and leadership. For Thompson, Peterloo "served notice"[28] on the middle class that a wholly independent working class was being born and that they could no longer hope to control this class by the judicious use of reform, for it had genuine revolutionary potential. However, Harold Perkin views the same immediate aftermath as a swift middle-class reaction in seeking to repossess the working-class movement, as the repression of Peterloo created the possibility that the aristocracy would be left with no determined and constructive opposition.[29] Class alliance or collaboration was an urgent need. Finally, there exists the thesis that the significance of Peterloo is that it clearly demonstrates the negative and reactive nature of working class protest — that working class political interest and involvement after Peterloo is merely a reaction to the heavy-handed policies of the "powers that be."

It is clear that these issues have antecedent relatives in the interpretation of the events themselves. They are also clearly related to the different assessments of the long-term significance of the climacteric, and thus, to varied interpretations of this period of Radical history in the round. For historians interested in the formation of working-class consciousness — not merely Thompson, but Hollis, Foster, Hobsbawm, Rudé, Williams, Perkin, Johnson inter alia — Peterloo has a most important role in the continuum of "learning" and "lived experience." Peterloo becomes integrated into the cultural myths and norms. It provides a clear focal point where, by identification, the working-class may perceive their own unique position — know whom they *are* and whom they *are against* or *is against them*. "It went down to the next generation and, because of the odium attaching to the event, we

may say that in the annals of the 'free-born' Englishman, the massacre was yet in its way a victory."[30] Whether, in the period in question, such a subjectively defined (and impressionistically demonstrated and perceived) class consciousness was "conceived," "born," or "came of age" is inevitably going to become a rather futile procedure.[31]

For the "vulgar" economic determinists of social-tension chart ilk,[32] where such rebellious activity waxes and wanes with the tide of the trade-cycle,[33] Peterloo is merely a mechanistic reaction to hunger and unemployment: with other such phenomena, it may, at best, be seen as a "demonstration" against destitution — at worst a "panic."[34] For the tradition of enlightened Whig/Liberal Reformism, Peterloo represents a process of Radicalism as *functional prerequisite* for a "steady alteration in the climate of political opinion,"[35] a more liberal "tone of England,"[36] by "galvanising," "prodding," and "stiffening."[37] Peterloo represents a didactic moment (for the Whig interpretation of nineteenth century English history), enabling the Whigs "to broaden their basis of support."[38] In similar vein, Peterloo and the "events" of 1815-22 may be seen as "battle honours" in the noble struggle for an "institutionalised, constitutionalised, and powerful"[39] democratic-Fabian-socialism. For the latter school, class is a "series of key events",[40] as Morris contends. The sociologically-derived consensus theorists, however, see such "moments" as the Blanketeers, Cato Street, Pentrich and Peterloo as discordant, unrepresentative events of conflict in a generally calm and stable equilibrium of consensus politics and gradual reform. Peterloo is an act of "the designs of extremists"[41] (political hooliganism?) — pure social deviancy.

The long-term significance of Peterloo and its contextual relatives, however, is worthy of less superficial, flippant and generalized treatment. For the men of Peterloo and their national counterparts were not only complaining of their poverty; they were asking why it should always be so. Peterloo marks an end to the "moral economy" of the eighteenth century crowd and "riot;"[42] for, now, the "enemy" is different and perceived to be so. It is clear that the Government recognized this new dimension of industrial unrest — if, pace Thomis, there was no revolutionary threat of any magnitude,[43] one might well inquire as to why the Government expended so much time, expense and personnel in investigating and quashing it. In its sophis-ticated policy of isolating (and removing from circulation) the radical leadership,[44] the Government was channelling unrest into manageable forms and dimensions. Had the Manchester manufactories (and thus St. Peter's Fields) been in London, the fate of "failed" revolution in nineteenth century England might have been different. But in pointing to a conjunction of political discontent and industrial distress, — the politicisation process — Peterloo, whatever the veracity of minutiae, was crucial.

Endnotes

1. E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Harmondsworth, 1961), 12-13.

2. R. Walmsley, *Peterloo: The Case Reopened* (Manchester, 1969), 21.

3. Ibid., 23.

4. E. P. Thompson, "Peterloo," in D. Rubenstein, ed., *People for the People* (London, 1972), 63-64.

5. G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (London, 1969), 71 ff.

6. Walmsley, *Peterloo*, 38.

7. D. Read, Review of Walmsley, *Peterloo* in *History*, 55 (1970), 138-140.

8. Thompson, "Peterloo," 66.

9. Ibid., 74.

10. Cited in F. Bruton, "Three Accounts of Peterloo" (1921) in P. Hollis, ed., *Class and Class Consciousness in 19th Century England* (London, 1973), 99-100.

11. S. Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (1841), c. 35.

12. Byng to Sidmouth, 10 August, 1819 (H.O. 42/191).

13. E. P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1963), cited in Walmsley, *Peterloo*, 22.

14. P. Ziegler, *Addington* (London, 1965), cf. Read, Review of Walmsley, *English Historical Review*, 74 (1959).

15. Thompson, "Peterloo," 73.

16. D. Read, *Peterloo: The Massacre and its Background* (2nd ed., Manchester, 1973), 136-137.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Sidmouth, cited in J. Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England* (London, 1979), 213-214.

20. "All the actors in that tragedy were victims. . . .there were no victors and no vanquished, only victims." Walmsley, *Peterloo*, 22.

21. M. I. Thomis and P. Holt, *Threats of Revolution in Britain, 1789-1848* (London, 1977), 64.

22. Chippendale to Byng, 8 August, 1819 (H. O. 42/191) cited in J. Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1974), 144.

23. Thompson, *Working Class*, 746.

24. Stevenson, *Disturbances*, 213.

25. Ibid., 215-216.

26. Read, *Peterloo*, 207.

27. Thompson, *Working Class*, 779.

28. Ibid.

29. H. Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (London, 1969), 216.

30. Thompson, *Working Class*, 779.

31. See D. Read, Review of H. Perkin, *Modern English Society* in *Northern History*, 5 (1970), 214-215.

32. See W. W. Rostow, *British Economy in 19th Century* (Cambridge, 1948).

33. See R. C. O. Matthews, *A Study in Trade Cycle History: Economic Fluctuations in Great Britain, 1833-1842* (1954).

34. G. D. H. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement* (London, 1948).

35. Read, *Peterloo*, 207.

36. Peel to Crocker, March, 1820, cited in Read, *Peterloo*, 207.

37. J. Marlow, *The Peterloo Massacre* (London, 1969), 210.

38. Stevenson, Disturbances, 215; Read, *Peterloo*, vii.

39. R. J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (London, 1979), 30.

40. Ibid.

41. Thomis and Holt, *Threats of Revolution*, 63.

42. See E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the 18th Century," *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 76ff.

43. Thomis and Holt, *Threats of Revolution*, 63.

44. See Read, *Peterloo*, 153-154 and D. Johnson, *Regency Revolution: The Case of Arthur Thistlewood* (London, 1974).

Bell Hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, 1992).
by
Sonja Phillips

Black Looks: Race and Representation is a collection of critical essays which are "gestures of defiance." The essays represent Bell Hooks' political struggle to push against the boundaries of the images and identity imposed upon blacks by the white status quo. Hooks's conception of racism is so vivid and realistic in depicting harmful images of black people that one would utterly have to be blind not to understand what is being said. Every essay is meant to "challenge and unsettle, to disrupt and subvert" (p. 7). Her basic point is that African-Americans must struggle to gain control of how they are represented in the mass media and other institutions of socialization. When one turns on a television or opens a magazine one is most likely to see images of black people that reinforce and reinscribe white supremacy. These images may be constructed by white people who have not divested of racism, or by people of color/black people who may see the world through the lens of white supremacy in what she calls "internalized racism." It matters not who the perpetrators are. The point is that the institutionalization via mass media of specific images and representations of black people support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of African-Americans.

The book is a fascinating yet disturbing, sensitive yet hopeful discourse on the black experience from a perspective of one of the most profound black women writers of our time. The book makes several fascinating points. For example, in chapter two Hooks makes the point that because of black powerlessness, blacks can not systematically dominate the lives of whites no matter how prejudiced blacks may be. In her own words:

> Why is it so difficult for many white folks to understand that racism is oppressive not because white folks have prejudicial feelings about blacks (they could have such feelings and leave us alone) but because it is a system that promotes domination and subjection? The prejudicial feelings some blacks may express about whites are in no way linked to a system of domination that affords us any power to coercively control the lives and well-being of white folks. That needs to be understood (p. 15).

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Hooks's point is a fascinating one because it distinguishes the oppressed group from the oppressors, whose power dominates the lives of the oppressed regardless of prejudicial feelings.

In addition to her profound insights on the definition of racism the book makes some disturbing points. It was disturbing for instance, to discover that some young male athletes shop for sex from women of different racial groups in the same way that they shop for their college courses. Hooks states that "it was commonly acepted that one 'shopped' for sexual partners in the same way one 'shopped' for courses at Yale, and that race and ethnicity was a serious category on which selections were based" (p. 23).

Another disturbing point is that often blacks have white friends who make racist jokes. According to Hooks, one day a black student was with some white friends and they were joy-riding when they came upon some other black young males crossing the street. Someone in the car suggested that "they run those niggers down." Hooks wrote "that self-segregation seems to be particularly intense among those black college students who were often raised in material privilege in predominantly white settings where they were socialized to believe racism did not exist, that we are all 'just human beings,' and then suddenly leave home and enter institutions and experience racist attacks. To a great extent they are unprepared to confront and challenge white racism, and often seek the comfort of just being with other blacks" (p. 16). She states that blacks felt that racism did not exist, until they were confronted with the problem face to face.

Hooks's creative use of chapter titles compels the reader to investigate the contents. For instance, her chapter entitled "Loving Blackness as Political Resistance" thrust the reader into a unique experience of perceiving the love for blackness differently. One can not help but be fascinated by the author's experience with her students when she discovered that they were "more interested in discussing the desire of black folks to be white than in understanding why to love blackness is dangerous in a white supremacist culture..." (p. 9).

The book concludes with a hopeful point in reclaiming the spirit of black and red people's ancestors. Black Americans, and Indians can now look back and reclaim their spirituality in that their ancestors just did not give up and quit, they used perseverance to strive on to make this world a little better for them. Hooks proclaims: "within changing worlds, black and red people look once again to the spirit of our ancestors, recovering worldviews and life-sustaining values that renew our spirit and restore in us the will to resist domination..." (p. 194). The book makes a contribution to the literature on black people and specifically black women.

C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1938).
by
John Rossi

"The Young Electress valiantly assumed a neutral attitude (towards Frederick's proposed ascension to the Bohemian Throne) in public, but popular report attributed a different policy to her, and legend put into her mouth the proud statement that she would rather eat sauerkraut with a king than roast meat with an elector" (p. 97). The enthusiasm, with which the Electress Elizabeth supported her husband's claim to Bohemia, would cause the downfall of the Elector Palatine and plunge Europe into thirty years of turmoil. Political maneuverings and religious dissensions fanned the coals that set Europe ablaze, searing alliances and the Holy Roman Empire, consuming armies and towns, and engulfing the peasantry.

The Thirty Years War is an immersion into courtly intrigue and religious fervor in Europe during the hostilities between 1620 and 1650. After an introduction to European conditions before the out-break of war, Wedgwood delves into the strife caused by Frederick's ascension to the Bohemian Throne among the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. The comprehensive work can be divided into three distinct sections: (1.) Frederick of Bohemia, the Elector and his allies seek to maintain and, after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, restore his title titles and lands; (2.) the Swedish Intervention, a phase denoted by the Swedish invasion of Germany under King Gustavus Adolphus in order to ensure the rights of German Protestants in the face of the onslaught of a Catholic Counter-Reformation; (3.) and the period of Habsburg against Bourbon, the final era that replaces religious divisions with the political rivalries of Habsburgs and Bourbons. At the end of the book examples of the devastating effects of the war are cited, such as the seventy five percent decrease in population in Bohemia (p. 512).

Wedgwood's gradual unfolding of the war's progression of events serves to support the book's multiple, interspersed assertions. At different points in the book, Wedgwood forecasts the downfall of the Spanish Habsburgs, the rise of the Brandenburg Elector Frederick William, and the ruin of such leaders as Tilly, Mansfeld, and Wallenstein. Fortunately, the author had the benefit of hindsight to calculate the events that led to calamities; nonetheless, this method keeps the reader interested, and allows for smooth transitions between key episodes, which is important in covering a topic of this magnitude. For example, Wedgwood proclaims, "The choice of Frederick must mean war to the death, and the death of Bohemia" (p. 95). It is not until much later in the book that the disastrous situation of Frederick's ascension develops.

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The author's convincing arguments, in-depth analysis of battles and political situations, and insightfully researched material entice the reader to savor every page of the text. It is important to understand that this master-work was only made possible by Wedgwood's thorough research of French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish resource materials.[1] Wedgwood's multi-lingual references sufficiently demonstrate her ability to reinforce assertions.

Accurate and detailed accounts of events make *The Thirty Years War* very enjoyable to read. The account of an Englishman journeying to Regensburg relays numerous tales of destruction in Germany. The Englishman wrote: " we stumbled upon two bodies in the street, one of which had been newly scraped out of the grave." The macabre imagery is continued with references to gruesome incidents involving widespread cannibalism. The various colorful descriptions hold the reader spellbound. Maps of battles located in appropriate sections of the text are key in understanding the tactics of the principle engagements of the war. I could not have understood the strategies of the Battle of Breitenfeld, if the map of the battle had not been located opposite the account of the battle. Quotes of noted leaders of the day and cryptic scenes of the times gave me a better understanding of the consequences of events. Wedgwood's writing is organized chronologically. The prose is written in an enjoyable, scholarly fashion. Wedgwood shelters no prejudice for any particular belligerent party; consequently, there is a great deal of balance in matters concerning religion—a focal point of the war.[2] Wedgwood's objectivity lends a great deal of credibility to the text; for objectivity is the most important trait that a historian can display.

I enthusiastically recommend *The Thirty Years War* to all scholars with an interest in this area of history. The book provides a pleasant reading of an otherwise lamentably complicated subject with many captivating descriptions and personal accounts of the period. The writing is of high scholarly merit with its intricately detailed battle maps and progressive, informative retelling of events. *The Thirty Years War* achieves the goal of concisely, yet comprehensively, covering a conflict of approximately thirty years in an invigorating manner.

Endnotes

1. "The Pendulum of Fortune," *The Literary Supplement of the Times* (November 19, 1938), No. 1920.

2. Ibid.

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