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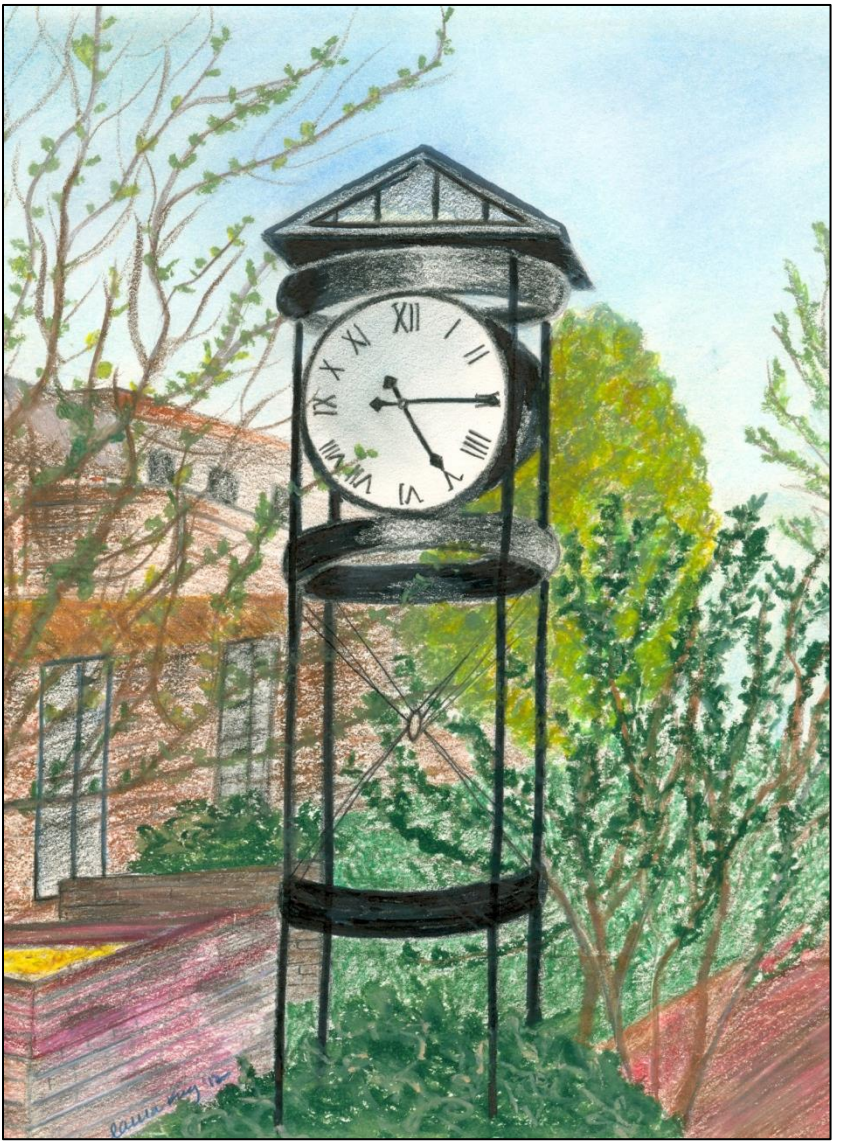

COVER

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RAYMOND L. MUNCY SCHOLARSHIP

An Academic Scholarship for Undergraduate Students of History

The Raymond L. Muncy Scholarship is a one-time financial award for those undergraduate students at Harding University majoring in history who demonstrate exceptional scholarship, research, and Christian character. The scholarship was created to honor the late Raymond L. Muncy, chairman of the Department of History and Social Sciences from 1965-1993. His teaching, mentoring, and scholarship modeled the best in Christian education. Applied toward tuition, the award is granted over the span of a single academic year. The award is presented annually at the Department of History and Political Science banquet.

John L. Frizzell's "Cannae: Crucible of Roman Hatred for Carthage" was selected to receive the primary award for the 2015 Raymond L. Muncy Scholarship.

Joe Aaron Gafford II's
"The Development of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome" was selected to receive the secondary award for the 2015 Raymond L. Muncy Scholarship.

C. Claire Summers is a graduate student in Harding University's College of Education working toward completing a Master of Arts in Teaching with licensure focused in secondary social studies. She received a Bachelor of Arts in history with an English minor from Harding University in May 2015. While pursuing her Bachelor of Arts, Claire served as the president of Phi Alpha Theta for the 2014-2015 school year. She is from Conway, Arkansas and plans to return there to teach high school in the fall.

ADDICTION, ARROGANCE, AND AGGRESSION: THE QUESTION OF ATTITUDE IN THE FIRST OPIUM WAR

By C. Claire Summers

"We [Britain] seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind." –J. R. Seeley, 1883[1]

The nineteenth century was an era of resurgent expansion for Britain. The development of the British Empire was once again in full force, and this was one of the most influential factors in the formation of the British cultural mentality during this time. This neo-imperialism in Britain created a sharp increase in patriotic and apparently benevolent sentiment—the idea that the British Empire was the pinnacle of modernity, and that it could be only generous to spread its rule to other parts of the world. The British extended the reach of their Empire in the nineteenth century not only through military conquest, but through trade as well. One of the areas that fell under British influence during this period was China, whose isolationist foreign policy differed dramatically from Britain's. The British inserted themselves into the Chinese economy by means of the opium trade, which served to support the British addiction to that coveted Chinese substance, tea. The meeting of these two cultures created a dangerously charged political situation that culminated in violence with the beginning of what has become known as the First Opium War in 1839. Historical interpretations of this conflict's origins varied considerably throughout the decades since its occurrence, and many focused on the development of the opium-tea trade as the primary cause. To grasp the story in its entirety, however, it is necessary to widen the historical scope beyond the influence of opium itself. While the opium trade was both the immediate cause and primary catalyst of the First Opium War, from a greater historical distance it appears that the war was largely the result of an attitude collision: on the one hand the cavalier indifference of British imperial officials, and on the other the cultural superiority of the Chinese government.

[1] J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, 1883 (Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971): 12.

Lawrence James, a historian of the British Empire, neatly summarized the paradox of their imperial mindset in his *Rise and Fall of the British Empire*: "[Empire] encouraged a sense of superiority… It also fostered racial arrogance. And yet at the same time, deeply-rooted liberal and evangelical ideals produced a powerful sense of imperial duty and mission."[2] These various factors combined with a burgeoning sense of nationalism, fostered by victory over Napoleon earlier in the century, to create a strange dichotomy in which Britain desired good for its colonies and dependencies and yet felt little compulsion to work to understand their cultural differences—as tales of the first diplomatic contact between Britain and China plainly reveal.[3]

The first British ambassador to China was Lord George Macartney, an experienced and distinguished young diplomat who had recently completed a successful term as the governor of Madras in British India.[4] His posting in China, however, would not prove so effective. He arrived in 1792 on a mission to initiate diplomatic contact between the two countries, and the sign affixed to his boat by his Chinese escorts clearly illustrated the fundamental misunderstanding between these two countries. It read, in effect: "Tribute-bearer from England."[5] China was not accustomed to negotiating with foreign nations; rather, they were used to accepting tribute from the other Asian countries that rested in their enormous shadow.[6] The British, however, clearly had a very limited knowledge of Chinese culture and anticipated no such thing. British tradition involved presenting gifts to a foreign prince, but always with the understanding that the gifts were offered as a sign of respect and not as a way of paying homage to a superior power. Tensions increased during Macartney's audience with the Emperor, particularly over what would become one of the primary illustrations of the British-Chinese culture clash: the *kowtow.*

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[2] Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1994), xiv.

[3] W. Travis Hanes III and Frank Sanello, *The Opium Wars: The Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2002), 13-16. See pages 3-4 for additional explanation.

[4] Ibid., 14.

[5] "The Reception of the First English Ambassador to China, 1792," ed. Paul Halsall, *Internet History Sourcebook: Modern,* (Accessed April 11, 2015).

[6] Hanes and Sanello, 15.

Any foreign visitor to the Chinese court, upon arrival, was required to perform the *kowtow* before the emperor—that is, to bow, kneel, and place forehead to floor nine times. It seemed that Macartney would have readily performed this ritual, but only if the emperor made the same gesture in return before a portrait of King George III. In the end, neither party conceded and the visit drew to a close. Although this incident caused no major repercussions, the British envoy returned from China without making any real diplomatic progress. This alone would probably have been forgotten as a simple misunderstanding, were it not for the second British attempt a few decades later that proved even less productive and generated more tension than the first. Lord Amherst, the British ambassador to China sent in 1816, flatly refused to *kowtow* and apparently offered no potential solutions to this quandary. Although the Chinese government worked to come up with a compromise, they could not seem to find a remedy that satisfied both sides and the situation ended in a stalemate. Amherst was denied audience with Emperor Jiaqing and eventually returned to Britain; the only accomplishment was the bruised egos of both empires.[7] These two incidents combined were representative of the irreconcilable differences between Britain and China. The problems could likely have been averted if the British had put forth more effort to understand the mindset of the Chinese, or if the Chinese had been able to step back and meet with the British ambassadors as equals rather than tribute-bearing barbarians.[8]

China and Britain both exhibited a similar cultural arrogance that accompanied the development of a stable empire. China, however, had solidified their empire much earlier (many historians agree that Imperial China began with the Qin dynasty in the third century BC) and had established themselves as the peak of civilization in the Far East.[9] As a result of this cultural superiority, the Chinese government generally viewed foreigners as barbarians.[10] China had shut down foreign trade in an attempt to keep Chinese society pure. This perturbed the British, who had developed a love for tea (at that point only available in China) and a belief

[7] Summary of these diplomatic meetings drawn from Hanes and Sanello (14-24) and "The Reception of the First English Ambassador to China, 1792."

[8] Toby & Will Musgrave, *An Empire of Plants: People and Plants that Changed the World* (London: Cassell & Co, 2000): 123.

[9] C. P. Fitzgerald, *The Chinese View of Their Place in the World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964): 1-2.

[10] Hanes and Sanello, xii.

that they had a "right to conduct unrestricted trade throughout the world."[11] Indeed, John Quincy Adams, still not far removed from the British Empire himself, called the Chinese system "churlish and unsocial."[12] Their divergent mentalities seemed diplomatically irreconcilable, portending Kipling's words from 1889: "Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."[13] Cultural attitudes planted the seed for the nineteenth-century trade conflict that eventually sparked the First Opium War.

India was, without doubt, the largest supplier of opium for the Chinese. By the 1800s, however, the title "India" as an administrative term referred for all practical purposes to the British East India Company. This meant that the true regulation of the opium trade rested not with the native government of India, but with the British. This opium traffic began as a gradual trade process not unlike that of any other commodity, such as tobacco. China's appetite for opium grew exponentially with the discovery that smoking the leaves produced a more intense hallucinogenic experience than alternate methods of consumption.[14] This newly developing method of opium consumption rendered the user almost completely inert while under the influence and provoked higher addiction rates with much more debilitating withdrawal symptoms than eating or drinking the drug.[15] Naturally, as Chinese dependency on the drug grew in the early nineteenth century, demand for the product increased rapidly and the East India Company rose to the occasion with enthusiasm.

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[11] James, 236.

[12] John Quincy Adams, "Lecture on the War with China, delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society, December 1841," in *The Chinese Repository vol. XI* (Canton: Printed for the proprietors, 1842): 277.

[13] Rudyard Kipling, 1889. Reprint: *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1994): 245. This quote is taken out of context of the spirit of Kipling's poem, but the idea is useful in this instance.

[14] In both Western and Eastern countries opium was frequently prescribed as a medical aid to treat nervous disorders, general pains, and really almost anything. In the West it was generally administered as part of a mixture of medicines; laudanum was one of the most common forms of an opium remedy. The use of opium in a restorative capacity led to many instances of both inadvertent addiction and exacerbation of medical issues. [Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War 1840-1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975): 7-8.]

[15] Fay, 8-10.

Tea was the other essential component of the Chinese-British trading relationship. Britain had first been exposed to this drink in the mid-seventeenth century, and by the nineteenth century tea consumption in Britain had increased dramatically.[16] At that point China was virtually the only source of these leaves to which the British had become so attached.[17] In fact, by the late eighteenth century China was supplying Britain with fifteen million pounds of tea each year,[18] creating a significant trade imbalance since the British had very little to offer that the Chinese desired. China would only accept payment in the form of silver, placing enormous strain on the British economy as the government and merchants worked to keep their citizens supplied with their beverage of choice. China's growing dependence on opium proved to be the answer to their economic woes, since Britain had gained control of the opium industry through the incorporation of India into the Empire.[19] Opium seemed the most workable solution to the trade impasse: the British would export the drug from India to China, sell it for silver, and use their profits to purchase tea from China. This triangular trade that developed between Britain, India, and China set the stage for the Anglo-Chinese conflict, further illustrating how the countries' attitudes toward each other were the underlying causes of the open warfare that was to come.

Although the East India Company initially wanted to avoid engaging in illegal trade in China, by the end of the eighteenth century the economic pressures proved too great for them to continue ignoring such a large potential for profit.[20] The Company began selling opium outright to the Chinese but soon realized that, as an official agency of the British government, it was bad foreign policy for them to directly contravene the Chinese government's 1799 opium ban.[21] The British found a morally dubious technicality that allowed them to circumvent this prohibition. The Company began auctioning off the opium to private British merchants in Calcutta with, in the words of Roy Moxham, "no questions asked as to its

[16] Hanes and Sanello, 20.

[17] Roy Moxham, *Tea: Addiction, Exploitation, and Empire* (New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers, 2003): 64.

[18] Hanes and Sanello, 20.

[19] Ibid., 20.

[20] Ibid., 20.

[21] Ibid., 21.

final destination."[22] The independent traders would then transport the opium to China for illicit sale and use the profits to bring precious tea back to England. Placing the responsibility of the actual buying and selling in the hands of private citizens essentially absolved the British government of any technical liability. This trade situation was a clear example of Britain's cavalier attitude toward imperialism. They did not maliciously plan to create a nationwide addiction to a hallucinogenic drug; the trade developed as a matter of expediency, and they allowed it to happen as they followed opportunities to achieve their economic ends without any in-depth consideration of the human cost. This method worked for several decades, and as addiction levels in China swiftly rose, so did the concern of the Chinese government.

Serious misgivings about the growth of the opium trade developed in the Chinese government several decades before the issue came to a head in military conflict. Already dubious about permitting interaction with foreign traders, the Chinese government had restricted external merchant access to the city of Canton by the time the British paid their first official diplomatic visit.[23] Beginning in 1760, Chinese officials established an official trading season from October to May every year, prohibited foreigners from interacting with Chinese citizens without official supervision, and forbade all foreign merchants from learning Chinese.[24] This "Canton System" remained in place until the end of the First Opium War, but had little effect on the influx of the drug into Chinese society; merchants had only to bribe the Chinese trade administrators and the trade continued to flourish, worsening diplomatic tensions.[25]

As the British rashly pressed their trade advantage, China still refused to engage with the world around them, which was evolving into a progressively more globalized society. Chinese officials could not, however, ignore the negative effects of the foreign opium trade on their society. Opium had become so popular that by the early 1800s the 1760 government ban on its trade had almost no effect.[26] In 1820 Chinese opium

[22] Moxham, 67.

[23] Musgrave, 123.

[24] Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970): 120.

[25] Musgrave, 126.

[26] Carl A. Trocki, *Opium, Empire, and the Global Political Economy: A Study of the Asian Opium Trade 1750-1950* (New York: Routledge, 1999): 92-97.

imports reached a level of 4,000 chests a year (over 350,000 pounds) and a decade later that number increased to 18,000 chests (2.5 million pounds) at an annual cost of £2.2 million.[27] This soon prompted drastic action from the government, especially after another, more severe prohibition edict failed to effect any noticeable change. The conflict began in earnest in 1838 with the appointment of Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu (or Tse-Hu).[28]

Commissioner Lin was under strict orders from the Emperor to find a way to curtail the opium problem.[29] In the years before his appointment the government had waved aside suggestions to appeal directly to the British Crown, but by 1839 the problem had grown bad enough that Lin decided to try.[30] He wrote a letter to Queen Victoria stating in no uncertain terms how much the Chinese government detested the opium trade and admonishing Victoria to cease immediately or risk severe consequences.[31] Lin's language in this letter exhibited a good deal of the cultural superiority typical of imperial China, referring to China as the "Inner Land" or "Center Land" and saying, "Our celestial empire rules over ten thousand kingdoms! Most surely do we possess a measure of godlike majesty which ye cannot fathom!"[32] He also, however, made some comments that directly struck the heart of the matter:

> We find that your country is distant from us about sixty or seventy thousand miles, that your foreign ships come hither striving the one with the other for our trade, and for the simple reason of their strong desire to reap a profit. Now, out of the wealth of our Inner Land, if we take a part to bestow upon foreigners from afar, it follows, that the immense wealth which the said foreigners amass, ought properly speaking to be portion of our own native Chinese people. By what principle of reason then, should these foreigners send in return a poisonous drug, which involves

[27] Trocki, 94; Moxham, 69.

[28] Arthur Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958): 12.

[29] Ibid., 12.

[30] Ibid., 27-28.

[31] Lin Zexu, "Commissioner Lin: Letter to Queen Victoria, 1839," ed. Paul Halsall, *Internet History Sourcebook: Modern* (accessed 25 April 2015).

[32] Ibid.

> in destruction those very natives of China? [33] Without meaning to say that the foreigners harbor such destructive intentions in their hearts, we yet positively assert that from their inordinate thirst after gain, they are perfectly careless about the injuries they inflict upon us![34]

Commissioner Lin voiced within these lines his own view of British imperial haphazardness: that the British had, in their pursuit of economic gain, inadvertently created an addiction that crippled an entire country. China had become a branch of Britain's informal economic empire. Lin went on to inform the Queen that new severe penalties had been attached to the trafficking of opium: foreign merchants caught selling opium would be beheaded, and all property aboard their ships seized. These new terms did offer a period of grace during which any merchants who voluntarily surrendered their illicit cargo would be spared the death penalty.[35] Common historical agreement indicates that although Queen Victoria never received Commissioner Lin's letter, the British were made aware of the Chinese government's new terms through other outlets.[36]

Commissioner Lin resolutely implemented his new policies. He immediately confiscated and destroyed any opium or drug paraphernalia found in China and arrested hundreds of Chinese users and dealers in the Canton area.[37] Eventually, after the attempted arrest of several prominent British merchants (one of whom he planned on beheading to serve as an example), Lin blockaded the British into their factories at Canton. Only after the British merchant ships off the coast of Canton surrendered all their contraband opium did Lin finally allow them to leave the city and return home. This hostage situation and temporary surrender dealt a severe blow to British pride. The incident, combined with Lin's use of tactics Britain considered underhanded such as poisoning wells and cutting off

[33] Lin also mentions later in the letter that the British should not sell a substance in China that is illegal in their own country. In fact, though this was difficult to research, it does not seem as though there were any laws prohibiting opium in Britain at this time. It is likely that this was because smoking opium was uncommon there during this period. Most people took it medicinally, as mentioned earlier. This is not to say that the British did not have an opium problem; addiction and overdoses were very common.

[34] Lin Zexu, "Letter to Queen Victoria."

[35] Ibid.

[36] Hanes and Sanello, 40-41.

[37] Ibid., 41.

food supplies, eventually led to the opening shots of the First Opium War in September of 1839.[38]

The conflict began as a direct result of Lin's attempted arrest of British citizens and his refusal to allow British ships to access food and supplies. After warning the Chinese that they would attack if not allowed to resupply, the British fired on the Chinese war junks that were blocking access to Hong Kong.[39] This first minor battle resulted in a dubious success for the Chinese—they far outnumbered the British, and were therefore able to fend them off long enough to put an end to the brief confrontation. The Chinese government, however, received a dramatically exaggerated account of this battle as a wondrous victory over the barbarians.[40] Jack Beeching, author of *The Chinese Opium Wars*, commented that this kind of hyperbole both exemplified China's superior attitude and hindered the Chinese government from receiving reliable information about the war. Beeching observed, "The passionate anti-foreign sentiment being aroused in Canton by the scholars who followed Lin's lead was from now on to hail any major setback to the foreign devils as a Smashing Blow."[41] The war had finally begun in earnest, and due to China's inward focus government officials had no idea of the damage the British were capable of inflicting.

Although the decision to force open Chinese trade was met with substantial debate, Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston largely quashed British concerns in Parliament.[42] Palmerston, who had been instrumental in the development of trade with China and in the unfolding of the opium conflict, was adamant that China should open its gates to foreign nations. He employed his skills as a politician and orator to rally the support of the Parliamentary majority, and soon raised the necessary support to send a British Navy force to Canton in response to these perceived injustices.[43] Before long the British had taken Hong Kong and mounted a campaign up the Yangtze River, ultimately capturing Shanghai.[44] China's outdated

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[38] Summary of Lin's response taken from Hanes and Sanello, 41-66.

[39] Jack Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975): 90-91.

[40] Beeching, 92.

[41] Ibid., 92.

[42] One of the most vocal opponents to not only the war but the opium trade as a whole was William Gladstone, who would later become Prime Minister several years after Palmerston himself.

[43] Beeching, 108-111.

[44] James, 237.

military technology was far inferior to Britain's, and after three years the Chinese were forced to surrender.

The Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing), signed to bring the hostilities to a close, was a humiliating blow for China, who was forced to fully cede Hong Kong to the British, as well as open five other "treaty ports" where Western merchants could trade freely. The treaty also abolished the Canton System and required China to pay full reparations for the opium that had been confiscated or destroyed. Britain did not push for the legitimization of the opium trade; at that point popular objections in both China and Britain were vocal enough to prevent this. The treaty, however, was disingenuous; in fact, even the continued ban on opium facilitated British interests since they retained a monopoly on the illegal opium trade in China.[45]

The crux of the conflict between Britain and China was evident in the terms of the Treaty of Nanking. The catalyst of the war—the regulations on the opium trade—technically did not change as a result of the treaty. Although British opium sales continued to flourish, more importantly Britain had accomplished the greater goal of undermining Chinese isolationism and autonomy. The imperial edicts forbidding opium had clearly not been a problem for the British when they could be subverted; Britain had been more concerned with loosening the regulations on foreign trade in general. Now, with Hong Kong a fully British port and five more cities open to Westerners, China was truly part of the informal empire. Through casually unleashing a destructive substance on a sequestered population, Britain had drawn the attention and retribution of the Chinese government. Now, with their victory in the lopsided war, Britain forced China into an economic relationship with them and expanded the Empire even further.

Historiography reveals a distinct rift in opinions surrounding the causes of the First Opium War during its immediate aftermath and into the early twentieth century. Dr. Tan Chung attests to this in his book *China and the Brave New World*, stating: "Controversy on this conflict had started even before the war ended."[46] Most of the debate centers on the

[45] Summary of the terms of the treaty drawn form Gregory Blue, "Opium for China: The British Connection," in *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952*, ed. Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000): 34-35.

[46] Tan Chung, *China and the Brave New World* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1978), 1.

nomenclature; many of those writing at the time of the war, including both British and American scholars, disliked the term "Opium War." They believed the war resulted largely from the culture clash between imperialistic Britain and reclusive China, saying that China's ingrained feeling of cultural superiority made them antagonistic to British traders and explorers.[47] Some were disinclined to identify the introduction of the opium trade by the British as the cause of the conflict on any level. As studies regarding the war progressed, scholars began developing a more balanced perspective. Many modern authors began condemning the work of the earlier writers as Eurocentric and revisionist, saying they were simply trying to justify British exploitation of the Chinese. In all of these works, the question of opium and where it fit in the causation of this conflict was one of the predominant questions.

In a lecture to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1841, John Quincy Adams pinpointed the *kowtow* specifically as one of the chief causes of the war. In his words, the issues were primarily caused by the Chinese view that "in all their intercourse with other nations…their superiority must be implicitly acknowledged, and manifested in humiliating forms."[48] In a brief historiographical essay, Far East scholar Tan Chung identified Adams as the initiator of the academic controversy surrounding the causes of the Opium Wars.[49] Adams certainly stated his opinions concerning the origin of the conflict in no uncertain terms:

> It is a general, but I believe altogether mistaken opinion, that the quarrel is merely for certain chests of opium imported by British merchants into China, and seized by the Chinese government for having been imported contrary to law. This is a mere incident to the dispute; but no more the cause of the war, than the throwing overboard of the tea in Boston Harbor was the cause of the North American revolution.[50]

Although perhaps overstated, Adams's point merits consideration, particularly considering the extent of the obvious cultural and political

[47] Ibid., 1
[48] Adams lecture, 281.
[49] Chung, 1.
[50] Adams lecture, 281.

conflicts between China and Britain from the beginning of their diplomatic interactions.[51]

The debate continued in the decades following the First Opium War, varying in conclusion but always revolving around the opium issue. Chung's *China and the Brave New World* provided a historiographical essay in which he discussed the causes of the war. He presented three existing theories regarding the nature of the war: a cultural war, a trade war, or an opium war.[52] Chung himself wrote in order to "revitalize the opium-war perspective" and provide a rebuttal against the other two theories, in direct contrast to Adams's cultural theory.[53] Carl Trocki's *Opium, Empire, and the Global Political Economy* examined the economic consequences of the opium trade and argued that, rather than extending the reach of the British Empire, opium made the Empire possible. This represented the "trade war" perspective of the three outlined by Tan Chung. Among Trocki's many emphatic statements concerning the issue of opium trafficking, this may have been the boldest: "I argue here that without the drug, there probably would have been no British Empire."[54] He suggested that without the revenues from the opium trade the British would have been unable to finance their colonial ventures. As evidenced by the body of scholarship surrounding this conflict, researchers have often disputed the true cause of the First Opium War.

The war left an undeniable mark on Chinese society, particularly through the terms of the Treaty of Nanking and the development of their foreign trade. For the British, however, it was simply another chapter in the development of Empire. Nothing significantly changed for the ordinary British at home; they continued to drink their tea as China's foreign policy was being turned upside down. This could have influenced Britain's casual imperialistic attitude: their various spheres of influence lay so far removed from everyday life that it became easy to approach these foreign interactions in a more cavalier manner than they otherwise might have, had they taken place closer to home. Indeed, the war began primarily because the British felt that their pride and supremacy had been challenged. They

[51] Adams's ideas were met with some uncertainty and opposition even in his own time (Josiah Quincy, *Memoirs of the Life of John Quincy Adams* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee and Company, 1860): 336.

[52] Chung, 3.

[53] Ibid., 12.

[54] Trocki, xiii.

believed China had encroached on their jurisdiction by attempting to administer justice on British citizens, while China believed the British were trespassing foreign barbarians who should have been kept out of the country. Both sides had become too blinded by both perceived and genuine wrongs to attempt diplomatic reconciliation any longer. Through an examination of these factors it becomes clear that, although the opium trade was indeed the catalyst for the war, the true causes ran much deeper than the opium problem in itself—deeper, in fact, than economics in general. This was a collision of ideologies and attitudes, caused at its true roots by the relentless nationalism of one country, which blinded them to the human cost of their actions; and by the obstinate isolationism of the other in a world that was rapidly becoming more internationally connected than it had ever been before.

Caroline A. Reed is a senior history major and political science minor from Atlanta, Georgia. She is involved in Phi Alpha Theta and Pi Sigma Alpha and has been an editor for *Tenor of Our Times* for two years. She is also actively involved in the club Zeta Rho as the alumni relations director. Caroline will graduate from Harding University in May and attend Southern Methodist University's Dedman School of Law in the fall.

DISRAELI AND THE EASTERN QUESTION: DEFENDING BRITISH INTERESTS

By Caroline A. Reed

The Eastern Question concerned Europe for the better part of 500 years, but it reached crisis points several times during the 19th century. The deterioration of Turkey, the creeping advance of Russia into the Balkans and Central Asia, and the creation of an alliance between Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary were all issues contained in the Eastern Question of the 1870s. All three of these issues threatened Britain's goals of securing India and maintaining a balance of power between the major powers on the European continent. Therefore, in dealing with the Eastern Question, Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli pursued a course that kept Russia out of India and reasserted British power relative to the rest of the European Continent.

An understanding of events in the 1870s requires knowledge of the Eastern Question. According to historian J. A. R. Marriott, there were six main underlying factors involved in the Eastern Question.[1] The principal issue was the effect of the Ottoman Empire's deterioration on the major European powers. The second major issue was the boundaries and ethnic makeup of the Balkan states like Serbia and Bulgaria located within the Ottoman Empire. A portion of the Ottoman Empire was located in Europe, which meant that many of the people in the Balkans were Christians and therefore persecuted by the Ottoman Muslims.[2] Third, control of the Black Sea, particularly the Dardanelles and Constantinople, often caused conflict between the Russians, Austro-Hungarians, and Ottomans. The Ottomans continued to control Constantinople, which benefitted Britain since the Ottoman territory provided a buffer between Russia and India. Russia and Austria-Hungary posed another problem for the powers, for both countries wanted access to the sea. Russians and Austro-Hungarians also had ties to different Balkan states that were both religious and ethnic in nature.[3] The Russian government, in particular, had to consider its subjects' panslavism and sympathy for the Orthodox Christians.[4] Marriott says that the sixth factor

[1] J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 2-3.

[2] Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1967), 576.

[3] Marriott, 3.

[4] Blake, 576.

is "the attitude of the European powers in general, and of England in particular, towards all or any of the questions enumerated above."[5]

Towards the end of the 19th century, the makeup of the European continent began to change. The Franco-Prussian War left France weak while Germany experienced a surge in power after finally unifying in 1871. Beginning in 1870, the leaders of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary made a series of state visits to each other's countries to confirm their similar foreign policy positions and a collective need to follow the same policies. This unofficial alliance, called the *dreikaiserbund* ("three emperor bond"), represented a return to the alliance systems in Europe.[6] The *dreikaiserbund* concentrated power on the continent in those three countries, leaving France, Italy, and Britain without allies to counter them. On the British side, Disraeli returned to the office of Prime Minister in 1874 intent on reasserting Britain's dominance on the European stage. Disraeli accused William Gladstone and his Liberal government of being inactive and isolationist because of Gladstone's "failure to mediate in the Franco-Prussian war, [or] to prevent the Russian denunciation of the Black Sea clauses."[7] One of Disraeli's biographers, Georg Brandes, went so far as to say that these supposed blunders "made England an object of ridicule to every European state."[8] Disraeli considered foreign policy to be "the most important and fascinating task of the statesman," so he resolved to pursue a more aggressive, pro-empire course.[9] In Disraeli's own words, "what our duty is at this critical moment is to maintain the Empire of England."[10]

Britain also had to keep events in Central Asia in mind. Any threat to India could not be ignored because it was the centerpiece of the British Empire. While most countries were afraid of an invasion on home soil, Britain instead worried about an invasion in India.[11] To the British statesmen

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[5] Marriott, 3.

[6] Barbara Jelavich, *A Century of Russian Foreign Policy 1814-1914* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1964), 159.

[7] Blake, 571.

[8] Georg Brandes, *Lord Beaconsfield: A Study* (NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1966), 222.

[9] Blake, 570.

[10] Benjamin Disraeli, "The Maintenance of Empire, 1872," http://www.ccis.edu/faculty/dskarr/Discussions%20and%20Readings/primary%0sources/Disraeli,%20speech%201872.htm (accessed November 23, 2015).

[11] Sneh Mahajan, *British Foreign Policy 1874-1914: The Role of India* (London: Routledge, 2002), 1-2.

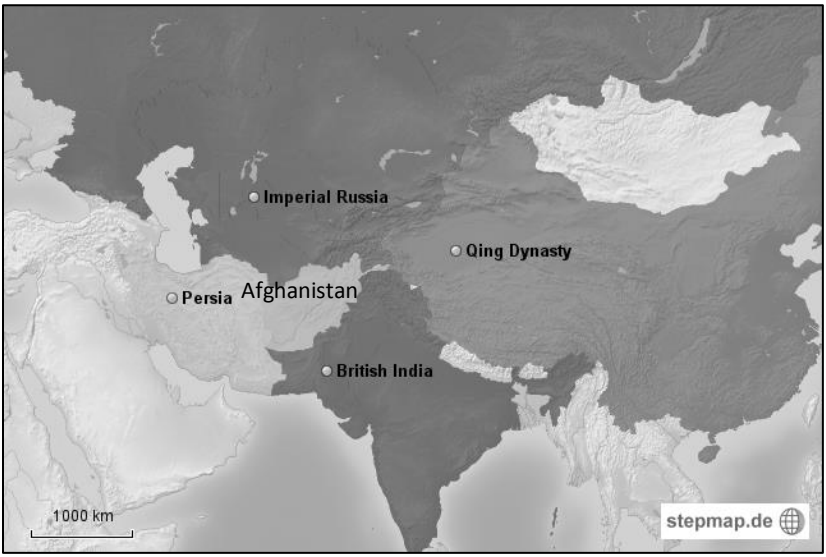
of the 1870s, Russia was the biggest threat because of its expanding territory, economy, and population. Russia's expansion into Afghanistan threatened the northwest frontier of India.[12] During the 1800s, Russia had steadily advanced her territory in the Far East and Central Asia. China and "disunited, semi-barbarous states" in the Middle East did not put up much of a fight so it had been fairly easy for the Russians to expand as far south as Afghanistan.[13] Neither Russia nor Britain controlled Afghanistan officially, but this mountainous region separated Russian forces from India. However, Britain was more afraid of Russian influence rather than an actual physical attack. The British feared that it would be very easy for Russia to incite an insurrection among the Indian troops.[14] In fact, by 1870 the Russian generals located in Central Asia began ingratiating themselves with the Amir of Afghanistan. The British followed suit and so the Amir felt caught between the two countries. Gladstone's Liberal government, however, refused to promise military aid to the Amir in the case of a Russian attack and so by the time Disraeli came to power, the Amir was leaning more towards the Russians.[15]

[12] Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1995*, 3rd ed. (London: Pearson Education, 1996), 84-85.

[13] Jelavich, 161.

[14] Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (NY: Kodansha International, 1994), 359.

[15] Willliam Flavelle Monypenny and George Earle Buckle, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield,* vol. 2 (NY: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 748-749.



Selfstudyhistory, "Imperialism and Colonialism: The Great Game," History and General Studies: A Complete Study of History for Civil Services and General Studies, http://selfstudyhistory.com/2015/01/02/world-historyimperialism-and-colonialism-the-great-game/ (accessed December 14, 2015).

In reality, Russia did not have the ability to finance development in its outer fringes such as Afghanistan. Therefore, events in Afghanistan did not matter to Russia to the extent that they mattered to Britain.[16] The Russian government made repeated promises not to advance farther or threaten India.[17] However, Russian generals in Central Asia often made territorial advances that were not sanctioned by the government, which undermined their promises. St. Petersburg's lack of apparent control over their generals made Britain and Disraeli nervous.[18] The Russian threat in Central Asia, combined with the age-old worry of Russia's quest for Constantinople, a worry made more tangible by the Balkan Crisis, affected the way Disraeli handled the coming crises of the Eastern Question.

Beginning in 1875, it became apparent that the Eastern Question was causing another crisis when several revolts broke out in Bosnia and spread quickly to Herzegovina and Serbia. The uprising broke out for several reasons, all of which pointed to weakness and gross mismanagement on the part of the Ottoman government. The Ottomans had an unsound economic structure that worsened by heavy borrowing and heavy spending. In addition, there was a drought and famine in Asia Minor from 1873-1874 and a financial panic in Constantinople in 1873.[19] These events only made existing conditions worse for the Christian peasants in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The Christians paid heavy taxes to both landowners and tax farmers and were often exploited for more money.[20] There was little opportunity for justice for these peasants, so they opted for rebellion.[21] This uprising gave Disraeli his first opportunity to pursue the more active foreign policy he believed was necessary to maintain Britain's power and importance on the European Continent. Therefore, as the Balkan Crisis developed, Disraeli sought a response that was solely Britain's rather than one dependent on the major powers.[22]

The first formal reaction by any of the major European powers to the Balkan Crisis was the Andrassy Note. Count Andrassy, the Foreign Minister

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[16] Jelavich, 171.

[17] R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1962) 4-6.

[18] Jelavich, 170-171.

[19] Leften Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* (NY: Rinehart, 1958), 390.

[20] Stavrianos, 397.

[21] Seton-Watson, 17.

[22] Blake, 580.

for Austria-Hungary, Prince Gorchakov, the Chancellor of Russia, and Prince Bismarck of Germany formulated a reform program for the Ottomans in an effort to appease the rebelling Balkan states. This committee of foreign ministers sent out the so-called Andrassy Note on December 30, 1875 to the major European powers. The reforms called for the "abolition of tax farming, agrarian improvements, a guarantee that provincial revenues should be spent on provincial needs," religious freedom for Christians in the Balkan states, and a joint Muslim and Christian commission to oversee enforcement of all the reforms.[23] The *dreikaiserbund* hoped that the Andrassy Note would produce true reforms in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans usually did not implement the reforms that European powers imposed on them, but the method the Andrassy Note laid out had potential for true reform.[24] Russia, Germany, Italy, and France quickly accepted the Andrassy Note. Britain, or rather Disraeli, hesitated. He wanted Britain's course to be set by the British and the British alone. Disraeli did not appreciate being left out of the discussion of terms for the Ottomans by the *dreikaiserbund*.[25] Now he either had to simply follow the other powers or do nothing. Disraeli reluctantly accepted the terms, but it did not matter anyway because the Andrassy Note failed. Though the European powers and the Turks accepted it, the rebels in the Balkan states did not, as they did not see the reforms actually being achieved unless the European powers put real force behind it.[26]

Meanwhile, Disraeli made a couple of political moves that strengthened Britain's hold over India and showed the rest of Europe that India was fully Britain's territory. One of Disraeli's biographers, Clive Bigham, calls both of these actions "personal strokes" for Disraeli.[27] These are two of the events he is most remembered for in his whole political career. The first of these moves was the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal. Although far from carrying the majority of Britain's overall trade, the Suez Canal was extremely important commercially and strategically for Britain. 4/5 or 80 percent of the trade through the Canal itself was British. The Suez Canal cut the route from Britain to India down by several weeks and nearly

[23] Stavrianos, 400.

[24] "Count Andrassy's Note," *John Bull* 2,876 (January 22, 1876), 56.

[25] Marvin Swartz, *The Politics of British Foreign Policy in the Era of Disraeli and Gladstone* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 55.

[26] Stavrianos, 400.

[27] Hon. Clive Bigham, *The Prime Ministers of Britain 1721-1921* (London: John Murray, 1922), 294.

6,000 miles. For Britain, this was important should there be more Indian insurrections or Russia threatened their interests in India or the Far East. Because of this, Disraeli moved toward involvement in the Canal Company before he became Prime Minister. However, the Suez Canal Company was French owned.[28] He tried to buy out the owner, Ferdinand de Lesseps, soon into his term as Prime Minister in order to control the company but nothing came of it. De Lesseps was not willing to sell despite the fact that the company was running at a loss.[29] Disraeli continued to look for a way to involve Britain in the Canal. The Canal was too important for Britain's trade and defense of India to not have a solid and defendable financial interest in it.

In 1875, Egypt's precarious financial situation was pushing the government very close to bankruptcy.[30] The Khedive of Egypt, Isma'il Pasha, had been spending an increasing amount of money until he could not pay the debt of three to four million pounds that he owed in 1875. Virtually, the only option he had left to raise the money was to sell his 144,000 shares. The Khedive began secret negotiations with two different French companies in attempt to sell his shares. Henry Oppenheim, a financier who was greatly interested in Egypt, knew of the negotiations. He then told Frederick Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and Greenwood let the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Derby, know of the development.[31] Disraeli wanted to act quickly because of Egypt's precarious financial situation, as well as the interest show by French companies in buying the share. Both the Cabinet and the Khedive were reluctant.[32] The French companies tried to raise the money in time but could not and the French government refused to intervene even after de Lesseps requested it.[33] The Khedive eventually decided that it did not make sense for him to sell to a French company because it was less profitable for him.[34] He informed the British government that he was ready to sell the shares. Disraeli felt he needed to act quickly so the Khedive did not change his mind. Parliament was not sitting at the time of the negotiations so Disraeli had to procure the money through a loan. Disraeli was a friend with the Rothschilds, a wealthy

[28] Blake, 581.
[29] Ibid., 582.
[30] Porter, 90-91.
[31] Monypenny and Buckle, 779.
[32] Seton-Watson, 26-27.
[33] Blake, 582.
[34] Seton-Watson, 26-27.

British family that was involved in banking, and so requested that their firm put up the four million pounds. They agreed immediately and the transaction was secured.[35]

On November 24, 1875, the Queen wrote in her journal that the purchase gave Britain "complete security for India, and altogether places us in a very safe position."[36] *The Times* claimed that now Britain finally had stock in Egypt. This was somewhat of an overstatement, but it highlighted the importance of the purchase because it gave Britain something tangible in Egypt.[37] Many European countries recognized the purchase as a masterful stroke for British foreign policy. In fact, nearly every European country aside from Russia congratulated the British government on the purchase.[38] In a debate over the shares purchase in Parliament, Lord George Hamilton said, "The purchase told the world that if in the past we had ignored the advantages of the Canal, we had amply condoned our error, and by this judicious investment…we had formed a happy combination which would do much towards securing a free and uninterrupted water way between this country and India."[39] Though Disraeli did not know it at the time, the purchase he directed led Britain's increasing influence in the Suez and in Egypt over the next decade.[40] For the time being, major powers recognized that the Suez was an extra layer of security for British interests in India, as well as the Suez Canal itself.

In 1876, Disraeli made the second political move that gave Britain a greater hold over India. Early in that year, Queen Victoria began pressuring Disraeli to introduce a bill to create the title, Empress of India, a phrase already used colloquially. The timing was inconvenient for Disraeli, but his Queen placed immense pressure on him.[41] Though he was reluctant to use his political capital to pass the bill, the conferment of the title agreed with

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[35] Blake, 583.

[36] "Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodoe Martin, Windsor Castle, Nov. 26, 1875," *The Letters of Queen Victoria, Second Series: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1862 and 1878,* vol. 2, ed. George Earle Buckle (London: John Murray, 1926), 428.

[37] Porter, 90-91.

[38] Monypenny and Buckle, 791.

[39] *Hansard Parliamentary Debates. "*Resolution. Adjourned Debate," HC Debate, 21 February 1876, v. 227: col. 636. http://hansard.millibanksystems.com

[40] Byron Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars* (NY: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), 253.

[41] E. J. Feuchtwanger, *Disraeli* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000), 177.

everything Disraeli believed and expressed about imperialism and the importance of capturing the imagination of India.[42] The timing of it also lined up with the Prince of Wales' recent trip to India. Within the context of growing fears of Russian advance in Central Asia, Queen Victoria was more sensitive to the fact that Tsar Alexander II was an Emperor and she was not.[43] The leaders of Germany and Austria-Hungary also held Imperial titles. Furthermore, the Queen's daughter was soon to have an Imperial title and the Queen, understandably, would not have appreciated her daughter outranking her.[44] Therefore, creating the title of Empress for her was an attempt to reassert British power and authority.[45] The Queen recognized that the Empress title reflected the status the she had over India since the Indian Mutiny, and sent a message to the world, namely Russia, that India was off limits.[46]

There were several objections to the Bill in both Houses. One objection was that the title would only apply to India. The case was made for the title to encompass all of the colonies with the Princes becoming the Princes of Australia and Canada. However, this idea was quickly dropped because there was a greater difference in relationship between Great Britain and India than between her other colonies. The Empress title was incredibly helpful for Britain's presence in India.[47] Many British subjects also worried about forsaking the ancient royal title in favor of an imperial title. It seemed un-English in many ways.[48] Other monarchs had imperial titles, but English monarchs did not. The Queen dispelled all these fears in a letter to Disraeli on March 18 in which she said that she did not have the "*slightest intention* of giving the title of Imperial Highness to any of her children, or of making any change in the name of the Sovereign of Great Britain."[49] Disraeli explained these intentions repeatedly to Parliament. The Queen would remain Queen first and foremost and be Empress only in India.[50] The Royal Titles Act

[42] Feuchtwanger, 177.
[43] Blake, 562.
[44] Feuchtwanger, 177.
[45] Blake, 562.
[46] Elizabeth Longford, *Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed* (NY: Harper & Row, 1965), 404.
[47] Monypenny and Buckle, 806.
[48] Feuchtwanger, 178.
[49] "From Queen Victoria, Windsor Castle, March 11, 1876," Monypenny and Buckle, 809.
[50] Monypenny and Buckle, 811.

finally passed at the end of year, giving the Queen the title of Empress of India on the end of her name. There were celebrations around India for a full two weeks leading up to the proclamation on the first of January, 1877. Before the actual proclamation, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy in India, decorated Indian chiefs with honors, increased the salaries of the chiefs and their army, distributed food and clothing to the poor, and granted amnesty to prisoners. Disraeli hoped that the Empress title would impress upon the Indian people the strength of the Queen and counteract rumors about Russia extending their authority.[51] In a letter to Lady Bradford on December 28, 1876, Disraeli said of the celebrations of Empress, "it has no doubt consolidated our empire there."[52]

While Disraeli focused on the Royal Titles Bill at home, Serbia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina continued to rebel against the Ottoman government. At the end of May 1876, two events occurred at the same time. When the Balkan crisis worsened in May, the *dreikaiserbund* made an attempt at another reform program like the Andrassy Note. Prince Bismarck, Gorchakov, and Count Andrassy gathered once again to create terms for a two-month armistice between the different sides in the uprising.[53] The Berlin Memorandum, as it was called, basically extended the Andrassy Note. The Christians could keep their arms initially while the consuls from the various powers oversaw the settlement of refugees and the implementation of reforms for the Balkan states. They recognized that continued trouble in the Balkan states was an easy way to break up their alliance.[54] Though Bismarck, Andrassy, and Gorchakov drew up the actual document, they did consult the British, French, and Italian ambassadors to Germany before finalizing it. All of the ambassadors, including Britain's Lord Odo Russell, agreed to the terms and expected their governments to react favorably to the memorandum.[55] However, Disraeli completely rejected the Memorandum. He did not like the reforms it proposed or the fact that it was created among the *dreikaiserbund* without British input.[56] At this point, Disraeli felt that Britain's rejection of the Memorandum was the correct step in the imperial course he was taking.

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[51] Seton-Watson, 6-7.

[52] "To Lady Bradford, Hughenden Manor, December 28," Monypenny and Buckle, 826.

[53] Seton-Watson, 33.

[54] Stavrianos, 400.

[55] Seton-Watson, 34.

[56] Feuchtwanger, 182.

Britain no longer appeared to be isolationist because she was making her own decisions rather than accepting it like all of the other powers. Britain also did not have to intervene to be interventionist or commit to either Turkey or the Balkan states. Furthermore, in his calculations, pushback from Britain equaled uneasiness and weakness in the *dreikaiserbund* alliance.[57] He did not succeed in weakening the alliance at this point, but he certainly made an impression on the other powers. Disraeli's biographer, Edgar Feuchtwanger, called the rejection of the Memorandum Disraeli's "most high-profile initiative" of that year.[58]

Immediate events justified Disraeli's rejection of the Berlin Memorandum. On May 30, 1876, the same day the *dreikaiserbund* issued a Memorandum, a palace coup took place in Constantinople. Murad V replaced Abdul Aziz as Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Soon after, in June, both the Ottoman Foreign Affairs and War Ministers died at the hands of one of the council chamber guards.[59] All the powers realized they created the Berlin Memorandum in vain. They had to give the new Sultan time to set up his government before they could possibly impose any reforms.[60] The new Sultan promised reforms that would hopefully treat the Christians and Balkan peoples better. Instead, Britain's rejection of the Memorandum only emboldened the Ottomans against adhering to any reforms. The message the Turks received was that Britain's interest in preserving the Ottoman Empire came first before any genuine desire for the Turks to reform.[61]

Serbia declared war on the Ottomans in the early summer of 1876. At first the declaration of war did not produce much more debate among the powers. The declaration was essentially a formal statement of existing circumstances. However, later in the summer, reports began to surface that the Turks had committed atrocities against the Christians in Bulgaria, such as arson, sodomy, rape, and torture. Soon, Britain was in an uproar over the Bulgarian atrocities. Disraeli did not fully trust the horror stories, particularly, the initial reports.[62] In fact, it was difficult to tell what was actually happening with the Turkish Christians. On the one hand, William Richard Holmes, the British consul at Sarajevo, kept insisting that it really

[57] Seton-Watson, 38-39.
[58] Feuchtwanger, 182.
[59] Seton-Watson, 35-37.
[60] Blake, 588-589.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Blake, 592.

was not as terrible as it seemed. He also insisted that the Christians were not vying for autonomy, but rather that they be treated justly under Turkish rule. However, many news correspondents, travel journal authors, and relief workers located in Bulgaria claimed otherwise and corroborated the story that the Christians were being persecuted and wanted autonomy.[63] Unfortunately, Disraeli made some distasteful comments, dismissing the atrocities as nothing more than "coffee-house babble."[64] Gladstone even came out of retirement to speak against Disraeli on this issue and to champion the Bulgarian Christians' cause.[65] Disraeli obstinately refused to "respond to the scare-mongering" of the Liberals.[66] He was not pro-Turk or opposed to autonomy, but he did not see the benefit of an "emotional hostility to the Turks."[67] He cared more about the fate of the Balkans, the impact on Turkey, and the relationship between Russia and Britain rather than what it meant for the Christians.[68]

By the fall of 1876, the Ottomans routed the Serbian army and only fought a few skirmishes. The real battle was about to begin, because the conflict did not affect only Serbia and the Ottoman Empire, it affected nearly all of the major European powers. Therefore, they all had opinions about the armistice. On the Russian side, the war between the Serbs and the Ottomans inspired a resurgence of Russian Panslavism and sympathy for Orthodox Christians in the Balkans.[69] Panslavism was a broad term that encompassed people with many different types of programs, from the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Society to the Slavic Ethnographical Exhibition. However, all Panslavs sought Russian leadership of their Slavic brothers and sisters in the Balkans. They wanted the Balkan provinces to be liberated from the Ottomans and claimed by Russia instead.[70] Tsar Alexander II did not condone the uprising or Panslavism, but enough of the Russian consuls located in the Balkan provinces were actually Panslavic that they misrepresented Russia's goals.[71] Disraeli's biographer, Robert Blake, wrote that General Ignatyev, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, "frankly aimed at the overthrow of Turkish power in the Balkans and at Russian

[63] Seton-Watson, 29-31.
[64] Blake, 593.
[65] Feuchtwanger, 183.
[66] Ibid., 182.
[67] Ibid., 181.
[68] Blake, 580.
[69] Seton-Watson, 19.
[70] Jelavich, 174.
[71] Seton-Watson, 19-20.

seizure of the Straits."[72] Panslavism threatened other European powers like Austria-Hungary and Britain. Disraeli tended to only see the radical Panslav side, which clouded his view of Russian designs.[73] However, it was not Disraeli's fault that he felt threatened by the Russian government's perceived Panslavism. From the outside, it was reasonable to assume that Russia would be sympathetic to the Serbian cause. The Panslav influence seemed overwhelming, and in many ways it was. Panslavism often influenced the Tsar when he was surrounded by it, like at Livadia. When more clear-headed ministers surrounded him in St. Petersburg, he was pacifist.[74]

On the British side, Disraeli continued the traditional policy of maintaining the Ottoman Empire. Russia's advances on the Ottoman Empire threatened Britain's interests in India in a roundabout way. Britain needed to be able to communicate with and travel to India. Their best options were to go overland through the Mediterranean or through the new Suez Canal. Russian movement into Ottoman territory threatened British access to both of those routes.[75] The Bulgarian atrocities and the resurgence of Panslavism heightened the tension between Russia and the Ottomans. This made Disraeli nervous because a war between the two countries seemed imminent. He needed to make sure Russia knew Britain would intervene if their interests were threatened.[76] Disraeli still considered the protection of the Ottoman Empire against Russia to be the most important way to protect India.[77]

Between the fall of 1876 and the spring of 1877, a myriad of armistice options, negotiations, and ultimatums passed between the Ottomans and the major European powers. Overarching all the negotiations were the opposing forces of panslavism in Russia and the need to protect Turkey on the British side. Essentially the Turks refused everything either power suggested. Russia and Britain continually made proposals, however, because the Ottomans' own terms were completely unacceptable. They wanted the Serbian prince to pay homage to the Sultan and increase taxes on the Serbians.[78] Russia could not agree to such terms because of the consequences

[72] Blake, 610.
[73] Seton-Watson, 20.
[74] Blake, 609.
[75] Porter, 85-86.
[76] Blake, 608.
[77] Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (NY: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1977), 519.
[78] Seton-Watson, 95-96.

for the Serbian Christians. Britain could not agree to the terms because Russia would not agree to them, and, if Russia was unsatisfied with the settlement of the war, they would declare war on the Ottomans. Of course, the Serbians would never accept the Ottomans' terms either. In September of 1876, Britain's Lord Derby proposed maintaining the status quo of Bosnian and Montenegrin territories and called for the autonomy of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria with the transition to be overseen by the powers.[79] All of the powers agreed to Lord Derby's suggestions, except the Ottomans. They countered the proposal by suggesting a long armistice with a general reform program for the Balkans that none of the other powers believed would occur. Most of the powers, including Britain, agreed but both Russia and Germany hesitated.[80] Britain might be able to pretend that the Ottomans would carry out the reforms, but the Russian government could not ignore the outcry from the Russian public to defend the Christians.

Lord Derby then proposed that the powers meet for a conference in Constantinople. Everyone agreed, and the Constantinople Conference began on December 12, 1876. Lord Salisbury went as Britain's representative, which pleased Disraeli because the two men had similar, if not identical, ideas about the whole situation. Unlike Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury had a healthy suspicion of the Russians, and he never let an olive branch from them go to waste. However, he was unlike Disraeli in that he was determined to get the Balkan Christians out from under the Ottomans as soon as possible.[81] Lord Salisbury was a perfect mix between the opposing sides of Lord Derby and Disraeli.

The Conference was to settle three main things: peace terms between the Ottomans and Serbs, autonomy of Bosnia and Bulgaria, and the logistics of international oversight of the terms.[82] The objective was to settle the Balkan territorial issues and Ottomans' reform issues rather than make sure that any of the powers got anything tangible out of the terms.[83] However, the Conference was doomed to fail from the beginning. As soon as it started, the Ottomans announced a new Grand Vizier and a new constitution that promised new reforms and a better system. In reality, they

[79] George Carlslake Thompson, *Public Opinion and Lord Beaconsfield, 1875-1880* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1886), 60-61.
[80] Thompson, 70.
[81] Feuchtwanger, 186-187.
[82] Seton-Watson, 122.
[83] Blake, 611.

were simply stalling and trying to disrupt the Conference, because they did not want it to take place.[84] As usual, the Ottomans fooled none of the powers into thinking that they were sincere. However, there was not much the delegates could do if the Ottoman's Constitution was promising all of the reforms that the Conference proposed. So the Conference ended in January of 1877, almost as soon as it started. The Ottomans and Serbs finally made peace but only based on the status quo rather than any territorial changes or promised reforms.[85]

Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in April 1877. All of the major European powers expected Russia to win and to eventually occupy Constantinople. Apparently, the tension and worry led Disraeli to threaten resignation and the Queen to threaten abdication.[86] The closer Russia got to Constantinople, the more nervous the British became. Disraeli was afraid that the Russians would reach Constantinople faster than the British fleet could be sent through the Dardanelles, so he suggested occupying Gallipoli. The Cabinet rejected his suggestion and instead settled on sending a note to Russia warning them not to go near Constantinople, the Straits, the Suez Canal, or Egypt.[87]

The Ottomans effectively halted the Russians at a Bulgarian town called Plevna in July 1877 and held them back longer than anyone expected. This delay for the Russians gave Disraeli and his cabinet more time to formulate a response and contingency plan in case Russia did occupy Constantinople. Though the British threatened Russia numerous times with intervention if the Russians advanced further, Disraeli was not confident that they would not touch Constantinople. In October 1877, Disraeli's cabinet met to come up with plans in case Russia did advance towards the Bosporus.[88] Disraeli had military plans ready for a long time before anything between Russia and the Ottomans broke out. Most of his plans were extravagant and unfeasible, like the occupation of Gallipoli, but the fact that he had possibilities planned, showed how much he distrusted Russia.[89] At this point in the war, Disraeli was able to convince the Cabinet to agree to war with Russia if the Russians actually occupied Constantinople and the

[84] Seton-Watson, 122.
[85] Thompson, 517-518.
[86] Feuchtwanger, 188.
[87] Stavrianos, 406-407.
[88] Feuchtwanger, 187-188.
[89] Blake, 612-613.

Straits.[90] The Russians finally took Plevna in December 1877 and continued their advance.

In January of 1878, the British Cabinet voted to send the British fleet through the Dardanelles and asked Parliament for six million pounds to spend on a potential war.[91] On January 23, the British fleet sailed to Constantinople.[92] *The Great Game* author Peter Hopkirk summed it up eloquently when he wrote, "…in February 1878, the Russian armies stood at the gates of Constantinople, their age-old dream seemingly about to be realized, only to find the British Mediterranean fleet anchored in the Dardanelles. It was a blunt warning to the Russians to proceed no further. War now seemed certain."[93] As an additional warning, Disraeli ordered that British Indian troops be moved towards the Mediterranean area, specifically Malta. Britain was trying to make it clear to the Russians that they would defend their interests in the Mediterranean with force.[94] Thankfully it did not come to that. In fact, there were no hostile encounters between Russia and Britain because the Russians stopped their advance just outside Constantinople.

Tsar Alexander backed down with his army two days away from Constantinople. The threat of war with Britain was reason enough for Tsar Alexander to stop his advance. Instead of continuing on to Constantinople, he made a truce with Turkey called the Treaty of San Stefano.[95] The Treaty called for the independence of Montenegro, Serbia, and Romania, and established Bulgaria as an autonomous principality. In addition, the Russians required a re-working of many of the borders of the Balkan states in order to get huge pieces of land in Anatolia.[96] Everything about the new Bulgaria was to be Russianized even though the Ottomans still nominally controlled it. The Treaty called for Russian oversight of every aspect of the government.[97] It was wholly unacceptable to every power, particularly to Britain and the Ottomans. Britain was afraid that Russian control of the Anatolian territory

[90] Stavrianos, 407.
[91] Feuchtwanger, 189.
[92] Stavrianos, 408.
[93] Hopkirk, 380.
[94] Feuchtwanger, 190.
[95] Hopkirk, 380.
[96] "Preliminary Treaty of Peace Between Russia and Turkey: Signed at San Stefano," February 9/March 3, 1878 https://archive.org/details/jstor-2212669 (accessed November 23, 2015).
[97] Kinross, 524.

gained from the Treaty would allow them easy access to the Mediterranean, which in turn would allow easy access to India.[98] Even more than that, the treaty gave Russia considerable power over the Ottomans with the potential for increase over time. Disraeli made his opinion on the Treaty clear in a speech to the House of Lords:

> It is to the subjugation of Turkey, it is against an arrangement, which practically would place at the command of Russia, and Russia alone, that unrivalled situation and its resources, which the European Powers places under the government of the Porte, that we protest.[99]

Diplomats on every side suggested a congress in order to revise the Treaty of San Stefano more favorably. The hope was that a congress could fix the problems and tension without Russia and Britain going to war. Russia was reluctant to agree to a congress but eventually relented.

Before the Congress met, Britain made two secret agreements. Russia and Britain forged the first agreement. Lord Salisbury, who was now the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Count Shuvalov, an influential Russian statesman, negotiated the agreement.[100] It outlined the concessions and reservations that the two countries would voice at the main Congress and gave a solution to most of them. The main points included a division of Bulgaria into two different sections with two different governments. Britain also insisted on dramatically changing the borders laid out in the San Stefano Treaty with the specific purpose of keeping Russia from having access to the Aegean Sea.[101] Unfortunately for Britain, they had to allow the Russians to keep some territory gained in the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire, namely Kars and Batoum.[102] Tsar Alexander assured the British that they would not extend their territory any farther. No one in Britain put much stock in such a promise, but there was not much more that could be done. The agreement was signed on May 30, 1878.

The second agreement Britain conducted prior to the Congress was

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[98] Hopkirk, 381.

[99] *Hansard Parliamentary Debates.* "Message from the Queen-Army Reserve Forces," HL Debate, 08 April 1878, v. 239: col. 771. http://hansard.millibanksystems.com.

[100] Blake, 644.

[101] Seton-Watson, 418-419.

[102] Feuchtwanger, 192.

the Cyprus Convention with the Ottomans. The document was very short. It addressed the threat posed by Russia if she gained Batoum, Ardahan, or Kars in the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire and promised Britain to defend against any Russian advance past those territories. "In order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement," the Sultan agreed to give the island of Cyprus to Britain.[103] Biographer George Buckle believed that Disraeli himself chose Cyprus as the location but not without good reason. The island was perfectly situated in the Mediterranean to defend both the Persian Gulf and the Suez.[104] Commitment to stopping Russian aggression in the Asian part of the Ottoman Empire was a step for Britain, but it was also completely consistent with the direction of Disraeli's policy since he became Prime Minister. The promise of British intervention contained Russia and minimized the threat to India from yet another direction. Almost as a side note, British control of Cyprus meant freedom for the Christians there, as well as a better position to enforce reforms for Christians all over the Ottoman Empire.[105]

Scholars disagree over the effect that the secret preliminary agreements had on the effectiveness of the Congress. According to one source, the agreements locked Britain into certain concessions that hindered Disraeli and Lord Salisbury at the Congress.[106] Authors Monypenny and Buckle asserted that it was necessary to reach an agreement beforehand so that there was not an intractable conflict at the Congress with potentially disastrous results.[107] In the moment, meeting with Russia beforehand was the correct move to make. Armed with promises of concessions, both sides met, along with all the other major European powers, at the Congress of Berlin.

The Congress of Berlin opened on June 13, 1878 and lasted for exactly one month to "decide the fate and future of Eastern Europe."[108] Attending the Berlin Congress were three diplomats each from Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, as well as a few

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[103] "The Cyprus Convention," BYU Harold Lee Library – History of Cyprus: Primary Documents, http://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/History_of_Cyprus:_Primary_Documents (accessed November 23, 2015).

[104] Monypenny and Buckle, 1171.

[105] Monypenny and Buckle, 1172.

[106] "Congress of Berlin and Its Consequences," *North American Review* 127, no. 265 (Nov. – Dec., 1878), 393.

[107] Monypenny and Buckle, 1174.

[108] "The Congress," *John Bull* 3,001 (June 15, 1878), 381.

representatives from Turkey.[109] Out of all the delegates at the Berlin Congress, Disraeli caused the greatest stir and excitement among Berliners and the press. He interested Berliners, particularly, because he actually traveled to Berlin himself as Prime Minister to be a part of the deliberations. *The Times* reported on June 13, "Lord Beaconsfield is the centre of attraction. His personal qualities, his past career, and his personal successes equally commanded the interest of the public."[110] The official object of the Congress was "to submit the work of San Stefano to the free discussion of the signatories of the Treaties of 1865 and 1871."[111] As President of the Congress, Bismarck had the authority to decide the order of deliberation. He recognized that the sharpest point of contention and the one that involved the majority of the powers was the division of Bulgaria.[112] In fact, the primary difference between the Treaty of San Stefano and the Treaty of Berlin was the makeup of Bulgaria.[113]

The preliminary agreement between Russia and Britain addressed Bulgaria and called for the division of Bulgaria into two parts, but the two countries still disagreed over Britain's desire for the Ottomans to have military control of the southern half.[114] The Berlin Congress deliberated heavily over this specific issue because the Russians were unwilling to give in. Finally, Disraeli declared Britain's proposal for the status of the southern province to be an ultimatum. He threatened to break up the Congress and even had his secretary, Montagu Corry, look into getting train tickets back to London for the very next day. Thankfully, Bismarck caught wind of Disraeli's plans to leave and convinced him to stay. Behind the scenes,

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[109] Henry F. Munro, *Berlin Congress Proceedings* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 7-8.

Representing Germany was Prince Bismarck, Chancellor Herr von Bulow and Secretary of State Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst; representing Austria-Hungary was Count Andrassy, Count Karolyi, and Baron Haymerle; representing France was Secretary of State M. Waddington, Count de Saint-Vallier, and Mons. Desprez; representing Great Britain was Prime Minister Lord Beaconsfield [Benjamin Disraeli], Secretary of State Lord Salisbury, and Lord Odo Russell; representing Italy was Count Corti and Count de Launay; representing Russia was Chancellor Prince Gorchakov, Count Shuvalov, and Mons. d'Oubril; representing Turkey was Caratheodory Pasha and General Mehmed Ali.

[110] *The Times*, June 13, 1878.

[111] Seton-Watson, 446.

[112] Ibid., 446.

[113] Stavrianos, 411.

[114] Monypenny and Buckle, 1193.

Bismarck convinced the Russians of the British sincerity and intractability on this point. The next day Disraeli was pleasantly surprised to learn Russia's acquiescence.[115] There were a few minor details of the Bulgarian question left, but they were settled fairly quickly.

Bulgaria was ultimately divided into three parts. The first was Bulgaria proper, which would be an autonomous principality. All the powers, including Britain, accepted that this part would be heavily influenced by Russia. The second portion became Eastern Roumelia, which was to be governed by a Christian governor and was semi-autonomous. The third and final portion included the Macedonian lands retained by Turkey.[116] Disraeli told Lady Chesterfield of the Bulgarian question that Britain "gained a great victory here, the extent of which is hardly yet understood in England…"[117] Disraeli won the major battle of the Congress of Berlin.

Treaty of San Stefano

Treaty of Berlin

"The Eastern Crisis,"
http://www.amitm.com/thecon/lesson8.html#The_Eastern_Crisis
(accessedDecember 14, 2015).

[115] Seton-Watson, 448-449.
[116] Jelavich, 184.
[117] "To Lady Chesterfield, Berlin, June 28, 1878," Benjamin Disraeli, *The Letters of Disraeli to Lady Chesterfield and Lady Bradford 1876-1881*, vol. 2, ed. Marquis of Zetland (NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1929), 229.

The next major issue involved Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarians wanted to claim Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of their territory. The British backed Count Andrassy's proposal because he had been on Britain's side during the Bulgarian incident.[118] In fact, no one particularly opposed this point, though Russia agreed only reluctantly.[119] Other major issues included disagreements over the borderline of Russia's Asiatic frontier. The main problem was a misunderstanding between Disraeli and the Russian Count Gorchakov over what border line they were trying to move. Once the other diplomats with them discovered the misunderstanding, they were quickly able to come to a compromise over where the line should be.[120] The final issue was that of Batum. Disraeli planned to argue strongly against Russian claims to it at the Congress. However, the details of the Cyprus Convention leaked right at the moment that Batum was being discussed. It was embarrassing for the British and made it hard for Disraeli or Lord Salisbury to ask for any concessions regarding Batum. They were only able to secure Batum as a free port rather than completely block the Russians from taking that area. Disraeli was right to worry about Russia in Batum because eight years later, Batum became a fortified Russian base as Russians claimed that the wording was vague.[121] Even so, Britain made the correct move for the security of their colonies in obtaining Cyprus. Once the Congress knew all of the details, most of the diplomats praised Disraeli and Lord Salisbury for such a "daring stroke."[122]

The Treaty of Berlin was signed on July 13, 1878. At the time, most people deemed it a major success, particularly for Disraeli and Britain. The German Crown Princess, Victoria, wrote to her mother Queen Victoria on the day it was signed to share that she thought that Britain's prestige on the continent was finally restored. The Russians had been checked and put in their place.[123] Disraeli and Lord Salisbury returned home to London to an enthusiastic public.[124] Disraeli had conquered the Eastern Question. If nothing else, he accomplished his own goals for Britain. Disraeli's own

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[118] Seton-Watson, 451.
[119] Monypenny and Buckle, 1205.
[120] Seton-Watson, 454-455.
[121] Blake, 649.
[122] Monypenny and Buckle, 1215.
[123] "The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria, July 13, 1878," ed. George Earle Buckle, 629.
[124] "Lord Beaconsfield's Speech," *John Bull* 3,006 (July 20, 1878), 461.

popularity and participation in the Congress turned all eyes towards Britain. Though Bismarck presided over the Berlin Congress and directed the general discussion, the entire Congress had been dominated by British goals and fears. In that regard, Disraeli reminded the other powers that Britain still had a strong, if not the strongest, say in continental and world affairs. Russian threats and advances towards India were sufficiently checked for the time being. Issues in Afghanistan continued to flare up, but Disraeli stopped the Russian advance he had feared from their conflict with Turkey and the San Stefano Treaty. While Russia gained some territory, the Treaty of Berlin made certain that there was not enough for her to threaten the Ottomans or Britain. Finally, the Congress of Berlin succeeded in breaking up the *dreikaiserbund*. Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany did not agree with each other enough by the end of the Congress and Eastern crisis as a whole to justify a continued joint policy.[125] They based their alliance largely on the problem in the Balkans, and now that the problem was "fixed" there was no longer a need for an alliance.

For more than 500 years, Europe dealt with the problem of the Eastern Question. The Question became especially troublesome in the 19th century, causing several crises. As Prime Minister in the 1870s, Benjamin Disraeli dealt with a great crisis that was exacerbated by the deterioration of the Ottoman Empire, Russia's territorial advances in the Balkans and Central Asia, as well as an alliance between Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. Disraeli successfully pursued a policy that contained the Russian threat to India and restored Britain's power and prestige on the European Continent.

[125] W. A. Gauld, "'The Dreikaiserbundnis' and the Eastern Question, 1877-8, *The English Historical Review* 42, no. 168 (Oct., 1972), 568.

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THE EFFECTS OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

By Curt Baker

In 2016, English is one of the most widespread languages in the entire world. It is the national language of thirty countries, and more than twenty others claim English as a second language.[1] As one of the most-spoken languages in the world, English is a crossroad of several dialects, demographic groups, and cultural influences. The time of Roman rule in England is where historians begin to understand English language formation; from there forward a picture begins to form as researchers piece together the development of English. Different influences on the development of English include indigenous populations in England, Anglo-Saxon influence, and finally the Norman Conquest, which scholars consider a "defining moment in the development of the English language…."[2] Although it is one of many factors in the evolution of English, the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 and the resulting effects were crucial in the formation of the English language.

An understanding of the complex nature of the English language requires a detailed study of the history of English in the time preceding the Norman Conquest. This consideration of the linguistic landscape begins during the time of Roman authority in England. Romans, invading from Italy, brought their own culture, traditions, and language when they conquered England. For reasons that will not be addressed in this paper, however, the Romans did not attempt to change the existing culture, traditions, and language like the Normans. Nonetheless, the period of Roman rule is significant to the study of the English language — historians find ample evidence during this time period for the existence of indigenous people groups and their own unique dialects in the time of Roman rule. Their presence, however, raises questions. Scholars have speculated that these seemingly indigenous peoples are actually of mainland-European descent.

[1] "Facts and Figures," U.S. English, INC., accessed October 21, 2015, http://www.usenglish.org/userdata/file/FactsandFigures.pdf

[2] Robert P. Creed, "The Norman Conquest and the English Language," *Science New Series* 34, no. 5675 (May 28, 2004): 1243, accessed September 14, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3837114.

This is evidenced in the Welsh, who likely descended from Spain. Similarly, the Britons living in the lowlands appear to have connections to Gaul.[3] These native peoples spoke dialects reflective of their differing backgrounds, rendering it unlikely that a national, unifying language existed before the late tenth and early eleventh century AD.

Evidence for a central language is first apparent during the reign of King AEthelred around 1000 AD. During this time period there was an explosion of writing in Latin and Old English. This included the first English law code — most likely in Old English — commissioned in 985 by AEthelred. Additionally, AEthelred charged scholars to record works of contemporary and classic poetry such as *Beowulf* in Old English. King Wulfstan, a later ruler, also ordered a written law code in 1008 A.D.[4] This flurry of law codes and writings reflects a centralization and unification of language, arguably the first recorded in the history of English.

French entered this linguistic environment in 1066 as a result of the invasion of England by William the Conqueror. The duke of Normandy, William had a legitimate claim to the English throne as the distant cousin of Edward the Confessor, king of England. With the death of Edward in January 1066, Duke William immediately declared himself the heir to the English throne, asserting that Edward had chosen him as the successor.[5] Duke William's claim included evidence of Edward calling together his nobles in 1051 and forcing them to support William. Also, William claimed that Edward had specifically sent Harold, Earl of Wessex, to Normandy to personally swear fealty to Duke William. Upon the death of Edward, Harold denied the entirety of William's claim and seized the throne.[6] William promptly responded by invading England in September 1066, crushing Harold's defenses and establishing himself as King of England on Christmas Day 1066.

Following his coronation, King William began a widespread campaign to legitimize his kingship and establish allies in prominent

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[3] Nicholas J. Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (Yale University Press, 2013), 70.

[4] Ibid., 342, 352, 357.

[5] George Garnett, *The Norman Conquest: A Very Short Introduction (*Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6.

[6] James Henry Ingram, trans., "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," (Project Gutenberg Ebook, 2008), 87-89.

positions of society. As a part of this effort, he commissioned a country-wide census in 1086 known as the Domesday Book. Written by William of Calais, a French lawyer, this extensive account of the English population served not only its statistical purpose but was also designed to influence the political and legal environment.[7] Calais used language and vocabulary to solidify William's ownership of the land and his resulting ability to give it to his nobles.

This manipulation of vernacular in Domesday Book included a dispute of land ownership. When Harold took the crown, he awarded land and towns to nobles supporting his cause. William, after dethroning Harold, retracted Harold's gifts and in turn bestowed them upon his own supporters.[8] Naturally, the original landowners opposed this reversal. Calais anticipated such resistance and wrote Domesday Book in Norman Latin, meaning that some words contained different meanings than their traditional connotation in the legal jargon of Old English.

An example of this exploitation in Domesday Book is the term *antecessor*, a common word in Old English ecclesiastical law. Before Domesday Book, the term was used to indicate someone who had held ecclesiastical office before the current clergy. It was widely accepted this way and used in various law codes. William of Calais, however, used the term to denote land ownership. He defined an *antecessor* as one who held land at the moment of Edward the Confessor's death. According to Duke William's claim as the rightful heir to the English throne, he was the *antecessor*.[9] Under the interpretation of *antecessor* in Domesday Book, William, as King of England, owned all the land in England at the moment of Edward's death, thereby legitimizing his ability to take and give land at his own inclination.

Finally, an Old English translation of Domesday Book was never written. Thus, an explanation of the nuances and changed meanings of rights and laws — such as *antecessor* — under Domesday Book was almost entirely unavailable to Old English speakers. Furthermore, the glossary of terms developed for Domesday Book — most likely written by a Frenchman, possibly William of Calais himself — included words alien to England before

[7] Garnett, 56.
[8] Ingram, 90-91.
[9] Garnett, 59.

1066.[10] Therefore, not only were Englishmen unable to understand the terms themselves, but even the explanations of these terms contained foreign words, significantly increasing the obstacles for disapproving Englishmen in their protestations against the new king.

King William's efforts reached beyond land ownership, however. He also rewrote law codes utilizing French vocabulary and loanwords that slightly altered legal procedure.[11] With his coronation in 1066, King William officially established Anglo-French "…alongside the traditional Latin as the language of public state business and of the court."[12] The limited available records, solidifying that early law codes were written nearly entirely in French, confirm this. [13] Many of these codes contained French loanwords, one example being *portirefan,* meaning mayor.[14] The English did not have a word for mayor; indeed, the existence of the concept itself is questionable before the conquest. Thus, King William not only introduced a new word but also a new legal position.

Similarly, these law codes were primarily written in Old English but occasionally the author added a French phase, altering the meaning of the law. For example, *him lahlicne spalan,* a new Norman phrase to describe a substitute in trial-by-combat, was inserted into law codes, introducing a new method of resolving disputes. Again, King William used language to benefit himself and the other Norman invaders; the French phrase *mid unforedan aoe* was placed at the end of a law about oaths, releasing Normans from repeating English oaths.[15] Literate Englishmen, even ones who could read French, would not have understood the implications of the new laws because the concepts themselves were foreign. These literary works — Domesday Book

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[10] Garnett, 59.

[11] George Garnett, *The Norman Conquest: A Very Short Introduction (*Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 59.

[12] Ishtla Singh, *The History of English: A Student's Guide* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 107.

[13] Paul Brand, "The Language of the English Legal Profession: The Emergence of a Distinctive Legal Lexicon in Insular French" in *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts,* ed. Richard Ingham (Rochester, NY: York University Press, 2010), 96.

[14] A.J. Robertson, ed. and trans., *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I: Part Two: William I to Henry I* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 230.

[15] Ibid., 232, 361.

and law codes — helped cement French into English legal practice and, eventually, general speech.

Although significant, the influence of legal vocabulary on the English language pales in comparison to the impacts of social pressure from the upper French class and its effect on common speech. King William, largely through the giving of land, brought French nobles to England, forming an aristocracy of French-speakers. Initially, this upper-class failed to influence colloquial speech but rather made its impact on vocabulary through the elite caste as a result of the limited literacy rates in England at the time.[16] Nevertheless, as the official language of the state and the one spoken by society's most prominent figures, it is not surprising that French loanwords began to make their way into the English lexicon in the period immediately following the Conquest. For instance, the French word *trône* appears for the first time, from which the English word throne is derived. Similarly, the word *saint* makes its debut, a Latin word brought to English by French.[17] A relatively confined influence seems to be the limit of French on English immediately following the conquest; by 1250, however, the effect increased significantly.

Nearly 200 years after the conquest, French was sufficiently established in England and rapidly gaining popularity among the general public. As the primary language of the aristocratic portion of society and the law, French had a trickle-down effect on common speech, gradually becoming more attractive to commoners. This consistent presence of French sounds and words in routine conversation eventually led to general acceptance of formerly unnatural morphemes and expressions. As French became more prevalent and desirable among Englishmen, the amount of French words and units of language that came to be included in English speech and lexicon naturally increased. Additionally, entirely new words formed from combinations of existing French and English words.[18] This

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[16] Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to speke Frenche trewely: The French Language in England, 1000-1600: Its Status, Description and Instruction (*Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991), 2.

[17] Isabel Roth, "Explore the Influence of French on English," *Innervate: Leading Undergraduate in English Studies* 3 (2010-2011), 255.

[18] Ishtla Singh, *The History of English: A Student's Guide* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 127.

development, known as derivational morphology, ushered in changes to English in sentence formation and vocabulary.

The beginning of this process was not by direct and immediate combination of affixes and words but rather through loanwords, some of which have already been discussed. Before 1250, the number of loanwords from French seems to be limited; after 1250, the number expanded to include words like coronation, princess, royal, inspiration, and university, representatives of others that still endure today.[19] Another example of this word-borrowing is the Middle English word *blihand.* This is a derivation of the French *bliaut,* a word describing a long garment.[20] Thus, it is clear that a great number of French words were consistently used and accepted by society, ushering in even greater changes of English through French.

Although French syntax shaped English sentence structure, it was almost entirely limited to official titles. These often follow the Old French pattern of placing a noun before its describing adjective; e.g. Prince Royal, a deviation from the standard English placement of adjectives before nouns. [21] Change in this area can be attributed to the multi-lingual influence on the scribes and literature of the time period.[22] Although minimal, there is contemporary evidence for French influence on English word order.

The checked effect on syntax is not representative of French impact on vocabulary, especially through word structure (derivational morphology). With increased French influence on common speech, formation of new words with French roots or affixes became common. For example, the word *hindrance* resulted from a combination of the Old English verb *hinder* and the French suffix *-ance*, used in the construction of nouns. Thus, the merging of an English verb and a French suffix formed a new word entirely. In addition, English words are occasionally formed entirely from French, as in

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[19] Anita Singh, "Royal wedding: Huw Edwards to lead BBC's coverage", Daily Telegraph, 13 December 2010.

[20] Mark Chambers and Louise Sylvester, "From Apareil to Warderobe: Some Observations on Anglo-French in the Middle English Lexis of Cloth and Clothing," in *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts,* ed. Richard Ingham (Rochester, NY: York University Publishing, 2010), 68.

[21] Singh.

[22] Eric Haeberli, "Investigating Anglo-Norman Influence on Late Middle English Syntax," in *The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts,* ed. Richard Ingham (Rochester, NY: York University Press, 2010), 149.

the word *coverage*, a combination of the French word *cover* and the French suffix *-age*.[23]

Although there are many examples of word formation according to this pattern, the derivational morphology of English is not limited to French plus English or vice versa. Latin also plays a role, evidenced in the word *involvement*, a Latin verb *involve* with the French suffix *-ment*, used in the construction of nouns. Another example of mixing languages is *coveted*, a Latin word brought to English as a French loanword. The addition of a native — originally Germanic — suffix *-ed* forms the adjective describing something highly desirable. Each of these morpheme combinations indicates a distinct French presence in the formation of English words following the Norman Conquest, evidencing the profound French impact on English.

Many people groups and native dialects have influenced English, including seemingly indigenous peoples with connections to various European demographics and foreign influences like the Romans, Angles, Saxons, and finally Normans. Nevertheless, the linguistic effects of Duke William of Normandy's takeover of Britain mark that event as a crucial element in the formation of the English language. This is evidenced in legal vocabulary following the Conquest, as the English lexicon swelled to include French words as well. The Domesday Book is also noteworthy, as the usage of formerly-unknown French terms in the book led to new definitions and understandings of standard English nomenclature. Finally, French slowly influenced common speech in England, to the degree that the general population consistently used French vocabulary and even formed new words using French affixes and roots. These three influences form a critical stage in the formation of English lexicon and phraseology. Indeed, a study of the evolution of English directs researchers to an undeniable conclusion: the Norman Conquest and its accompanying French linguistic impact was foundational to the English language.

[23] Roth, 257-258.

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WHEN MARY MET MUHAMMAD: THE QUR'AN AS RECEPTION HISTORY OF THE ANNUNCIATION TO MARY

By Jessica Markwood

Eighth century tradition tells of the Prophet Muhammad storming into Mecca to destroy more than 360 gods housed in the Ka'aba so that he may reclaim the holy site for a new monotheistic religion. He cleared the sanctuary of every idol and icon – all but one. Only an image of the Virgin Mary and Jesus remained.[1] This was no oversight. Instead it acknowledged a veneration of the Virgin that spanned across Christendom and the emergent Islamic world. Mary went on to become an integral character of Muslim religion, being the only woman to have a surah named after her and the only woman mentioned by name in the Qur'an.[2] While the Quranic Mary narrative finds parallels in the canonical Gospels, it has several additions that reveal a connection to apocryphal Christian traditions present in pre-Islamic Arabia and Arab polemics that would validate the proto-Muslim community. The annunciation narrative, in particular, receives special emphasis in the Qur'an and reflects a diverse milieu of Christian doctrines and practices with its inclusion of the Annunciation to the pious wife of Imran, the mother of Mary. This narrative development is known as reception history, which is the way biblical texts have been interpreted and altered over time through culture, translation, or retelling. The Annunciation to Mary in the Qur'an acts as a reception history of the biblical account and Marian traditions in Byzantine Christianity, Christian heterodoxy, and Syriac Christianity active on the Arab Peninsula during the time of Muhammad.[3]

The Quranic Annunciation to Mary, found in Q.3 and Q.19, shares plot and stylistic elements with the Annunciation in Luke 1:26-56, but also includes the Annunciation to Anna the mother of Mary, a story typically

[1] David D. Grafton, "The Identity and Witness of Arab Pre-Islamic Christianity," *Hervomde Teologieses Studies* 70, no.1 (2014): 5.

[2] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Study Qur'an: A New Translation and Commentary.* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015): 763.

[3] To say that the Qur'an is reception history goes against a phenomenological understanding of Quranic revelation, which does not acknowledge any influence outside of the direct revelation from Allah. The research done here reflects an etic perspective, addressing Judeo-Christian resources that may have been available to Muhammad.

associated with second-century Christian apocryphal literature. In both Luke 1 and Q.3 Gabriel is sent to the Virgin Mary; Gabriel greets her; Mary fears; Gabriel announces Mary's favor; Gabriel says Mary will conceive a child named Jesus who will be sent to the people of God; Mary questions Gabriel; Gabriel states that God can do anything; and Mary departs for a time. However, the story of Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, is entirely extrabiblical.

The story of the immaculate conception of Mary seems most obviously correlated with the presumably Gnostic work, the *Protoevangelium of James*. The text was penned circa 150 CE, though perhaps earlier due to its use of Synoptic material but lack of Johannine references, which would have emerged close to 90 CE.[4] The text rose in popularity throughout the second century, receiving mentions in the works of Clement of Alexandria, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus of Lyons.[5] More than one hundred fifty manuscripts survive in various forms and languages. Most notably, there are manuscripts in Greek from the fourth century, Syriac from the fifth century, Coptic from the tenth century, Arabic from the tenth century, and Ethiopic from the thirteenth century.[6] Fragments of Sahidic and Coptic versions have been discovered from earlier centuries, but entire manuscripts have not yet been found in these languages of the Arab world.[7] The author, who identifies himself as James the half-brother of Jesus, tells the story of a wealthy Jewish couple, Joachim and Anna, who fast so that they may receive a child from God. Finally, an angel appears to Anna and announces that she will conceive a daughter, Mary. The tale satiated a rising curiosity about the early life of Mary, largely absent from the canon, and defended the perpetual virginity of Mary that was disparaged by Jewish skeptics.[8]

The *Protoevangelium of James* uses the Lucan account as a source

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[4] Nasr, 382.

[5] Mary B. Cunningham. "'All-Holy Infant': Byzantine and Western Views on the Conception of the Virgin Mary," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 50, no.1-2 (2006): 131.

[6] Reck, 360.

[7] Cornelia B.Horn, "Mary between the Bible and the Qur'an: Soundings into the Transmission and Reception History of the Protoevangelium of James on the Basis of Selected Literary Sources in Coptic and Copto-Arabic and of Art-Historical Evidence Pertaining to Egypt," *Islam and Christian Muslim-Relations* 18, no.4 (20017): 514.

[8] Jewish antagonists claimed that Joseph was the true father of Jesus while others claimed that Jesus was the illegitimate child of Pantera, a Roman soldier. [Reck, 357.]

because both accounts include similar elements of the annunciation story. However, the *Protoevangelium of James* presents new information that parallels the Qur'an. For example, the *Protoevangelium* and Qur'an include Mary's mother dedicating her unborn child to the Lord, Mary living in the temple with Zechariah, and being miraculously fed.[9] The information found only in the Qur'an likely serves to create an Arab culture in the narrative by linking Mary to the house of Imran and legitimizing the new movement by connecting it to the temple and well-established Judaism. For example, the Annunciation to Mary's mother utilizes the familiarity of the Christian story in a Jewish setting while replacing the Jewish names, Joachim and Anna, with Arab names that connect the characters to the historic line of Imran. The new information also serves to preserve Mary's purity by emphasizing her time alone in the temple and omitting the role of Joseph entirely.[10]

Though the Quranic Annunciation appears to be a combination of the canonical Gospels, the *Protoevangelium of James*, and Arab influences, the question still remains: how did Muhammad know about these Christian traditions and why did he add them to the Qur'an? Most historians, regardless of religious affiliation, agree that Muhammad was illiterate and would not have been able to comprehend Christian literature himself.[11] It would not be text, but oral tradition and popular liturgy that would impact the Arab world. Jewish exile, increased trade along the Silk Road, and widespread use of the Aramaic language facilitated the eastern spread of Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries.[12] Christian communities grew in size throughout the Arabian Peninsula, particularly in Najran, Mecca, and Yemen.[13] Even after Islam took hold of the Middle East, Christian converts brought with them the stories that coincided with the Abrahamic monotheism preached by Muhammad. Most of these Christian communities and converts were associated with Byzantine Christianity, Christian heterodoxy, or Syriac

[9] "The Protoevangelium of James," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, ed. Alexander Roberts, (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1886): 361.

[10] Jonathan M. Reck, "The Annunciation to Mary: A Christian Echo in the Qur'an," *Vigiliae Christianae* 68, no.4 (2014): 358.

[11] Darren M. Slade, "Arabia Haeresium Ferax (Arabia Bearer of Heresies): Schismatic Christianity's Potential Influence on Muhammad and the Qur'an," *American Theological Inquiry* 7, no.1 (2011): 44.

[12] Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London: Tauris, 2006) 25.

[13] Ibid., 138.

Christianity. Through these groups Christianity was transmitted to the Islamic world.

In the seventh-century the Byzantine Empire, which spanned from Spain to Asia Minor, represented Christendom to the Eastern world. Meccans interacted with Christian traders and monks and were familiar with the ongoing conflict between Persia and Byzantium.[14] This interaction almost certainly included an increasingly developed Mariology that was gaining prominence in the Church of the East. From the fifth century onward, a unified devotion to Mary as the pure and sinless Mother of God permeated the Byzantine church. It was even sanctioned by the Church in 431 at the Council of Ephesus.[15] Though the emphasis was originally a Christological attempt at defining Christ's humanity and divinity in light of his relationship to Mary, sermons and hymns praised the ever-virgin Mary as the temple of the incarnate God.[16] Mary B. Cunningham, an authority on pre-Islamic Mariology in Arabia, expands upon this idea in her study of Byzantine Mariological development claiming, "During the late sixth and early seventh centuries, Mary had come to represent for the people of Constantinople not only a symbol of the reality of Christ's human incarnation, but also a powerful, intercessory figure."[17]

Perhaps of greater importance was the role that the *Protoevangelium of James* came to play in Byzantine culture and art. Beginning in the mid-sixth century, feasts to honor various events in Mary's life were added to the Christian calendar.[18] Once the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin became an integral part of the liturgical cycle in the seventh century, portrayals of the Annunciation to Anna began appearing across the empire. A fifth century medallion and some fifth century Egyptian woodcuts are some of the earliest artifacts to show Mary drawing water at the time of annunciation, a stereotypical scene from the *Protoevangelium of James*.[19] Some engravings of Anna are dated even earlier. The infancy of Mary is depicted on a sixth century column that is most likely of Oriental origin and was pillaged by

[14] J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (New York: Longman, 1979): 258.

[15] Cunningham, 130.

[16] Ibid., 128.

[17] Ibid., 135. The Eastern Church believed that if Christ was truly divine as the ecumenical councils confirmed, Mary would be the only truly human point of access to God, making her the intercessory figure instead of Christ.

[18] Ibid., 129.

[19] Horn, 524.

Crusaders in Constantinople in 1204 CE.[20] Two sixth century ivory plates, likely originating in either Syria or Egypt, also reveal the angel's annunciation of Mary's birth.[21] The fact that this pre-Islamic art existed in Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt means that the proto-Muslim community as well as Muslims involved in conquest of the Christian East had the opportunity to frequently interact with these common images from the *Protoevangelium of James*.[22] Though Mary was deeply venerated and the images relating to apocryphal Marian traditions were common enough to assume Muhammad would have seen them, it still does not explain the textual transmission of the story that becomes Q.3 and Q.19 of the Qur'an.

The diverse Christologies presented in the Qur'an lead many scholars to attribute Quranic development to the numerous schismatic and heretical Christian groups that found refuge on the Arabian Peninsula.[23] The most influential splinter groups contemporary to Muhammad were Gnostics, Nazoreans, Monophysites, and Nestorians. The Qur'an clearly shows a familiarity with various Christological controversies and Muhammad's overall agenda seems to be an attempt to resolve these divisions in the Judeo-Christian world. Emran Iqbal El-Badawi, in his comparison of the Qur'an and Aramaic Gospel Traditions, states, "The Prophet Muhammad sought to bring an end to the sectarianism of his world by calling the People of the Scripture to join him by coming to a 'common word' and commanding his early community to 'hold on to the cord of God and not to the splinter.'"[24]

Gnostics and Nazoreans had a small but significant role in formation of Quranic Mariology. The Gnostics represented a group who claimed to have special knowledge from God that led them to reject the material world, and therefore could not accept the humanity of Christ. Arabs were drawn to the spirituality of Gnosticism and its docetic tendencies in the second century, but these communities had largely dissolved by the fifth century.[25] Perhaps more important than the physical communities were the Gnostic agendas that gave way to the *Protoevangelium of James* and later works depicting the life of Mary and Christ's omniscience in infancy, such as the *Gospel of Pseudo-*

[20] Horn, 524.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Slade, 44.
[24] Erman Iqbal El-Badawi, *The Qur'an and Aramaic Gospel Traditions* (New York: Routledge, 2014): 4.
[25] Slade, 49.

Matthew, the *Infancy Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*, and the *Arabic Infancy Gospel*.[26] The Nazoreans, a Jewish sect that accepted Jesus as Messiah while rejecting his divinity, produced texts such as the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*, which affirm Mary as the divine third member of the Trinity.[27] In his investigation of pre-Islamic heretical influences, Darren Slade notes that though there is no certifiable way to confirm transmission of Nazorean doctrine into mainstream Arab culture, the Qur'an does reflect an abnormally similar deification of the Virgin.[28]

Monophysites, most notably characterized by their belief that Jesus was only divine in nature, composed one of the largest Arab sectarian groups. Many were part of the Coptic Church or desert monastic movements.[29] Ethiopic and Coptic Christians made numerous liturgical references to the *Protoevangelium of James*, especially after they began celebrating the feast days of Saint Mary.[30] Scenes from apocryphal traditions of Mary also appear in Egyptian Coptic art in sequences depicting the entirety of the life of Anna and Joachim through the birth of Christ.[31] Arabs would have certainly interacted with Monophysites not only through art, but also in person. Monophysites were active missionaries to the Arabs, developing small Christian desert communities throughout the Arabian Peninsula.[32] Even more directly, Muhammad had a Coptic wife named Mariya and sent many of his early followers to Negus, an Ethiopian Monophysite king.[33] The Qur'an is evidence that these interactions allowed Muhammad to become very familiar with Monophysitie doctrine, not because Muhammad supports it, but because Monophysitism consistently coincides with the Christology that the Qur'an explicitly rejects.[34]

The heterodoxy that most profoundly influenced Muhammad's understanding of Christianity was likely Nestorianism, a view promoted by Nestorius's teaching that Jesus was not fully divine. In 431 the Council of Ephesus exiled Nestorius and triggered the move of his followers into

[26] Reck, 358.
[27] Slade, 50.
[28] Ibid., 51.
[29] Slade, 44.
[30] Reck, 362.
[31] Horn, 526.
[32] Slade, 46.
[33] Ibid., 45.
[34] Baumer, 161.

neighboring Arabia and Persia to avoid persecution.[35] Church historian Cristoph Baumer refers to Nestorian Mariology as the "Pandora's Box" that initiated Nestorian exile. Nestorius rejected the council-approved Marian title *Theotokos*, "God-bearer," and proposed the use of *Christotokos*, "Christ-bearer," to place emphasis on the humanity of Christ rather than the divinity of Mary that could be interpreted in *Theotokos*.[36] Nestorius supported the veneration of Mary, but opposed worshiping her like the Nazorean desert tribes that turned her into a Mother god and part of another pagan divine triad.[37] Like his contemporaries, Nestorius held Mary in high honor, viewing the Annunciation as key to the unity of Christ's humanity and divinity. Baumer writes, "[Nestorius] emphasized again and again the complete ontological unity of Christ and the genuine incarnation of the word in him, which did not happen only at his baptism but, rather, simultaneously with the Annunciation to Mary."[38]

This adoration of Mary, importance of the Annunciation of Mary, and emphasis on the humanity of Christ all closely resemble the Mariology and Christology presented in the Qur'an. Just as Nestorians presented Jesus as a saint more divine than others, Muhammad presented him as a prophet holier than others.[39] Even the name for Jesus the Messiah in the Qur'an, Isa al-Masih, seems to stem from the Nestorian Syriac, Isho Mshiha.[40] Nestorians were some of Muhammad's key mentors in Islam's formative years, particularly Bahira, the Nestorian monk who affirmed Muhammad's prophetic authority and taught Muhammad about Christianity.[41]

Though the various heterodoxies present in pre-Islamic Arabia had great influence on the Qur'an, it is also clear that Muhammad did not fully adhere to any. Muhammad utilized the Gnostic and Nestorian positions that emphasize the humanity of Christ and Mary to oppose the Nazorean and Monophysite positions that deify them, but these schismatic traditions were not the dominant influences in Quranic development. Heretical movements obviously impacted Muhammad's Christology, but the Qur'an does not reflect loyalties to any one creed. Instead it reflects Muhammad's response to

[35] Baumer, 49.
[36] Ibid., 43.
[37] Ibid., 45.
[38] Ibid., 49.
[39] Ibid., 48.
[40] Trimingham, 267.
[41] Slade, 45.

divided Christianity and a call to unity for the Arabs.

The greatest Christian influence on the Quranic text and Islamic Mariological development was Syriac Christianity, which refers to the earliest forms of Eastern Orthodoxy that emerged among Aramaic-speaking people in Asia. According to Acts 2, Arabs had been hearing the Gospel since the very foundation of the Church.[42] The Syriac Gnostic Bardaisan mentions an active Christian presence in Parthia, Gilan, Kushan, Media, Edessa, and Hatra in *The Book of Laws of the Lands*, meaning that Christian cells had developed throughout the whole of Mesopotamia by the time of his writing in 224 CE.[43] Eusebius also makes references to Christianity flourishing all over the Arabian Peninsula in the third and fourth centuries.[44]

The canon most often used in Syriac Christianity and most familiar to Arabs was the Aramaic Gospel Traditions rather than an Arabic translation. Aramaic Gospel Traditions refers to the canonical Gospels written in either Syriac or Christian Palestinian Aramaic, both corpuses translated from an original Greek text.[45] This text, which replaced the earlier Old Syriac Gospel, was circulated during the final years of Tatian's life around 180 CE.[46] It was translated from Greek but stylistically Syriac.[47] Though translating the Gospels into the local vernacular was considered standard protocol for many monastic movements, an Arab translation of the Bible was not complete until more than two centuries after Muhammad.[48] Though many off-handedly attribute this lack of Bible translation to stereotypes that Christians had about the nomadic Arab peoples, which certainly existed, there are various additional explanations for why a written

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[42] "And they were amazed and astonished, saying, 'Are not all these who are speaking Galileans? And how is it that we hear, each of us in his own native language? Parthians and Medes and Elamites…both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians – we hear them telling in our own tongues the mighty works of God.'" (Acts 2:8-11 ESV)

[43] Baumer, 19.

[44] Grafton, 4.

[45] El Badawi, 30.

[46] Aramaic Gospel Traditions were likely influenced by Tatian's *Diatessaron,* a one-volume harmony of the four Gospels, that was most often utilized in Syriac Christianity.

[47] El-Badawi, 33.

[48] "Kachouh has argued that the earliest Arabic Gospel text that we now possess is Vatican Arabic Manuscript (MS) 13 from the Mar Saba monastery near Jerusalem that can be dated to around 800 CE. It includes Matthew, Mark, and a portion of Luke and was more than likely translated from Syriac." [Grafton, 2.]

Arabic translation did not exist. Firstly, written Arabic was rarely seen prior to the Qur'an.[49] Secondly, many Arabs who would have been in contact with these monastic Christians could have been largely illiterate.[50] Thirdly, Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of Egypt and Asia Minor as far as India and would have been understood by most Arabs as a trade and liturgical language.[51] Finally, and least suspected, all early Arabic Gospel texts could have been destroyed in Muslim conquest.[52] Regardless of the explanation of the absent Arabic texts, it is clear that Arab Christians were utilizing the Syriac Gospels and Aramaic liturgical material. Syriac worship emphasized the public recitation of the Aramaic Gospel Traditions and liturgies that honored the Virgin Mary. Though this lack of textual tradition is typically a problem for scholars looking to explain the transmission, Grafton asks,

> How do we abandon the prejudice that persons, who encounter Scripture through its oral reception, its recitation, or changing, or even by seeing its stories portrayed in visual images, are somehow less scriptural or orthodox than those who read the silent pages for themselves? How do we recognize that even for someone who is highly literate scriptural words that are spoken, recited, or changed have an impact different from that of the written text read in privacy or silence?[53]

These Syriac readings would soon enter the pre-Islamic oral milieu to define much of the material that composed the Qur'an and the style in which it was written. Because the Qur'an was the next step in Arabic language development, moving from an oral to written tradition demanded theological loan words from Syriac, Ethiopic, Persian, and Hebrew, with the greatest number coming from Syriac.[54] Aramaicists identify significant linguistic and poetic similarities between the Qur'an and the Aramaic Gospels, particularly the Syriac, that are largely absent in the Greek text, which led scholars to infer that the recited Aramaic Gospel Traditions served as a textual template for the Qur'an.[55] The earliest surah to strongly used this

[49] El Badawi, 36.
[50] Baumer, 143.
[51] Ibid., 18.
[52] Ibid., 143.
[53] Grafton, 7.
[54] Trimingham, 266.
[55] El Badawi, 35.

Syriac styling and mention Gospel characters is the nineteenth surah, the surah named after Mary.[56]

It was not only the Syriac text that was passed from Christianity to Islam, but also the values, particularly devotion to the Virgin Mary and emphasis on the annunciation narrative. In his treatment of Syriac Mariology, James Puthuparampil claims, "For the Syriac Fathers, the scene of the Annunciation was the most favorite topic of erudition on Mary. In presenting Mary before Gabriel, the messenger of God, they presented Mary's characteristics as a model to humanity, and her consent to cooperate with God as marking the beginning of the redemption from sin."[57] The Feast of the Annunciation was of utmost importance on the Syriac calendar, and was even declared the "beginning and source of all other feasts."[58] In the fourth century St. Ephrem interprets the Annunciation as a parallel to Moses seeing the burning bush, which though aflame would not wither, just as Mary would have a child but her purity would never be compromised.[59] In his "Hymn on Nativity," St. Ephrem writes, "In her virginity Eve put on leaves of shame. Your mother put on, in her virginity, the garment of glory that suffices for all," defending the necessity of Mary being eternally virginal.[60] Later in the fourth century Mar Jacob describes Mary as the "mouth of the Church," because she quickly enters into an active dialogue with a holy angel and she submits to the Lord without any hesitation.[61] Mary was also called the Second Heaven, because Christ left Heaven to dwell in her. Mary's proclamation that "all generations shall call me blessed," reveal that the whole of Israel is personified in her and that through her the hope of redemption is manifested.[62] Just as Abraham submitted to the call of God to uncertainty in order to initiate the Old Covenant, so Mary submitted to uncertainty to

[56] Luxenberg 13; Nasr also notes, "Maryam has several unique characteristics that give it a distinct linguistic and thematic unity. It is one of the longest surahs to have a clearly defined rhyming pattern; sixty-seven of its ninety-eight verses end with the same final sound, and other, shorter passages contain separate, but related, rhyming patterns." [Nasr 764]

[57] James Puthumparampil, "Mariology in Syriac Traditions," in *East Syriac Theology: An Introduction,* ed. Pauly Maniyattu, (Satna: Ephrem's Publications, 2007): 324.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., 322.

[60] Ibid., 326.

[61] Ibid., 323.

[62] Ibid., 335.

initiate the New Covenant.[63] Her role as divine intercessor, perpetual virgin, bearer of redemption, and submitter to God's will made Mary an exemplary Christian, and an exemplary Muslim.

As Muhammad travelled across his sixth century trade routes he encountered tales from soldiers at war with the Byzantine Empire, heretical exiles escaping state persecution, and fellow merchants practicing a distinctly Eastern form of Christianity. By the time the account of the Annunciation reached Muhammad it had already been enhanced by Gnostic writers to secure Mary's eternal purity and divine origins. Muhammad appropriated the story to maintain Mary as exemplar while introducing particularly Arab details increased legitimacy of a new religious movement. He followed no particular doctrine, but saw a need for unity in an environment overrun by religious factionalism. Though there was no text, the diverse homiletics, liturgies, hymns, artwork, and celebrations of the Byzantines, Syriac Christians, and even heretics in pre-Islamic Arabia molded the fluid oral tradition to esteem Mary and humanize Jesus. Like his religious contemporaries, Muhammad upheld the Annunciation to Mary in the Gospel of Luke and the *Protoevangelium of James* as a turning point in prophetic history, when God would break his silence to commission the righteous to submit to him – but now the righteous would be Arab.

[63] Puthumparampil, 338.

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THE SUPPER THAT SUPPOSEDLY SPLIT THE REFORMATION: THE EUCHARIST CONTROVERSY BETWEEN HULDRYCH ZWINGLI AND MARTIN LUTHER

By Jacob A. Clayton

On March 15, 1529, various German princes and representatives of the Holy Roman Empire (HRE) attended the second Diet of Speyer. This meeting dealt with the political upheavals rising from the religious movements of Martin Luther and others. The Diet decided to suppress these religious movements in order to restore Catholicism to the various principalities of the Holy Roman Empire.[1] However, the leaders of fourteen cities signed a protest and appeal because they were a part of the new religious movements. Thus, the other Catholic leaders called the dissenting leaders "Protestants."[2]

Philip of Hesse, one of the Protestant leaders, wanted to unite all Protestants in order to counter the papal forces. However, political unity was impossible because of the religious disunity among the Protestant theologians. In an attempt to unite the Protestants, Philip invited the bickering theologians to his castle in Marburg on Oct. 2, 1529 to discuss their disagreements.[3] Afterward, the theologians attempted to create fifteen articles

[1] G.R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 317, 318; Shawn D. Stafford, "A Different Spirit: Luther's Approach toward the Reformed at Marburg," *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 50, no. 2-3 (June-September 2010): 122. Although Charles V of the HRE called the meeting, he was busy fighting the Turks in Austria and his regent Ferdinand presided in his place.

[2] Potter, 318; Stafford, 122; the princes who "protested" were Philip Landgrave of Hesse, John Frederick Elector of Saxony, George Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, George Prince of Anhalt, and the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Ernest and Francis; the cities included Strassburg, Nuremburg, Weissenburg, Windsheim, Ulm, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny—all south Germans and sympathizers with Zwinglianism—Constance, and St. Gall.

[3] Iren Snavely, "The Evidence of Things Unseen: Zwingli's Sermon on Providence and the Colloquy of Marburg," *Westminster Theological Journal* 56, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 400; Potter, 316-319; Volker Leppin, "Martin Luther," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 2014), 48, 49; Stafford, 122; Ulrich Gäber, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, trans. Ruth C.L. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 131-135; W. P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 248.

about their points of agreement. Although the theologians initially seemed to have reached a consensus through the Articles, the meeting ended up as a failure. Luther told his wife that the debate was an "amiable colloquy (i.e. friendly discussion)," but in reality, it was shouting match in which all sides repeated their favorite biblical texts over and over. They all interpreted the wording of the Articles differently, so they were ultimately divided further.[4] The greatest disagreement was over the fifteenth article, which dealt with the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli, in particular, disagreed over this aspect of the Eucharist and they were the main spokesmen at Marburg.[5] Thus, religious and political unity among Protestants was impossible since Luther and Zwingli were arrogant in their mindset in which both thought they could persuade the other easily. This difference of mindset was manifested in their ontologies, political views, emphases of fellowship and unity, and their hermeneutic principles toward the Eucharist.

Luther was a nominalist like William of Ockham and strongly emphasized a focus on scripture alone, to the extent of denying human reasoning to interpret Scripture.[6] Thus, when he approached the verse, "Take, eat; this is my body," in reference to Christ instituting the Lord's Supper, Luther took the text literally and believed that the bread and wine became the actual body and blood of Christ.[7] Unlike the Catholics, who believed that a priest miraculously turned the bread and wine into the literal body and blood

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[4] Martin Luther, "To Mrs. Martin Luther, October 4, 1529," in *Luther's* Works, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 49, *Letters II*, ed. and trans. Gottfried G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 236; B.A. Gerrish, "Discerning the Body: Sign and Reality in Luther's Controversy with the Swiss," *Journal of Religion* 68, no. 3 (1988): 378; Stafford, 155-159; Potter, 331; Gäber, 137; Leppin, 53, 54; Stephens, 249, 250.

[5] Martin Luther, "The Marburg Colloquy and the Marburg Articles," in *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 38, *Word and Sacrament IV*, ed. Martin E. Lehmann, trans. A.T.W. Steinhäuser (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), 85-89; this will be denoted "LW 38" from here; Others who signed the Marburg Articles included Justus Jonas, Andreas Osiander, Stephen Agricola, Johann Brenz, and Caspar Hedio.

[6] Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and* Liturgy (New York: Cambridge Press University, 2006), 95; Leppin, 53; Stafford 127, 128; Snavely, 402; Potter, 291; William of Ockham was an English Franciscan friar who lived from 1287-1347 and whose thought influenced parts of Europe during the late Medieval period; *Sola Scriptura* was the phrase which described the concept of focusing on the Bible alone as a person's rule of faith and practice.

[7] Wandel, 96, 99; the scripture used is found in Matt. 26:26, Mark 14:22, Luke 22:19, and 1 Cor. 11:24, describing Jesus' institution of the Eucharist.

of Christ, Luther believed it happened miraculously as the person consumed the bread and the wine.[8]

As early as 1520, in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther regarded that Jesus' statement "It is the Spirit who gives life; the flesh is no help at all…," did not belong in the discussion of the Eucharist. He argued that the verse did not refer to the Eucharist since it had not yet been instituted when Jesus said this. Since the verse ends "The words I have spoken to you are spirit and life," Luther used this clause to emphasize the words, "This is my body/blood" and support his view of the corporeal eating.[9] Thus, when he gave a rebuttal to Zwingli at the Colloquy in 1529, he supported his literal interpretation by emphasizing that the words of Christ, particularly those words that seemed to support his view of the body and blood, were to be obeyed and believed without discussion.[10]

On the contrary, Zwingli was influenced by humanists like Thomas Aquinas and Erasmus of Rotterdam. He was a realistic thinker and a priest who had a moralistic understanding of the gospel. He had a great respect for ancient paganism—to the extent that he pictured pagan heroes in heaven as he described in a sermon called "Divine Providence!"[11]

While Luther felt that John 6:63 had no bearing on the Eucharist, Zwingli believed that the verse was referring to the Eucharist and he focused on it heavily. Zwingli thought the passage disproved the transformation of the

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[8] The Catholic idea of the transformation of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood is called transubstantiation while Luther's idea of it, which did not involve a priest doing it, is known as consubstantiation.

[9] Leppin, 51; Martin Luther, "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," in *Luther's Works,* ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 36, *Word and Sacrament II*, ed. and trans. Abdel Ross Wentz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 19, 20; this work will be denoted as "LW 36 'BC'" from here; the Bible verse mentioned here is John 6:63.

[10] LW 38, 27; given at the 2 p.m. session of the Marbury Colloquy on Oct. 2, 1529; in this rebuttal he said: "I admit that even if I shared your belief and would regard the body of Christ as being of no profit, these words can nevertheless not be refuted: 'This is my body.' No matter how many people have written against us, they have written as if we spoke of the sacrament without the word…As to the power of words: words merely signify, the human word is a mere sound…However, we add, when something is said by the Majesty on high, it does not become effective through our strength, but the strength of divine power. When God says: Take, do that, speak these words—then something takes place. He speaks and it is done. We must distinguish between what we say and God's command. Therefore, I say that the sacrament [Eucharist] should be celebrated within Christendom. There God establishes the sacrament upon his word and not upon our holiness..."

[11] Stafford, 128; Potter, 291; Leppin, 51.

bread and wine into the literal body and blood of Christ because of the phrase, "the flesh is no help at all." He took the phrase "This is my body/blood" symbolically and believed that the word "is" meant "signifies." He also used logic to confirm this since the flesh and blood were not seen nor tasted.[12] Thus, when he was at the 6 a.m. session of the Marburg Colloquy on Oct. 2, it was no surprise that Zwingli told Luther that John 6:63 was going to break his neck.[13]

Besides their basic ontological views, Zwingli and Luther had different political ideas. First of all, Luther was already prejudiced toward Zwingli before Marburg since Zwingli agreed with Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt on the Eucharist in 1524.[14] Luther wanted nothing to do with the Swiss, of which Zwingli was a part, because he thought they were rebellious, fanatical peasants. After all, Luther wanted to maintain loyalty to Emperor Charles V and be in his good favor rather than cause trouble like Zwingli's followers did.[15] Also, he disliked religious warfare since he believed that only Christ could defend the Gospel.[16]

Just as the Saxons despised the Swiss, the Swiss resented the Saxons because Saxony had an elector for the Holy Roman Emperor while the Swiss Cantons did not. One of Zwingli's Swiss supporters, Johann Oecolampadius said the Lutherans were eaters of flesh and drinkers of blood and accused them of worshiping a baked God. In return, Luther considered Zwingli's followers to be possessed with the devil and hypocritical in their faith.[17] Thus, with these presuppositions, unity was a mere fantasy.

Unlike Luther, Zwingli was an active politician wanting the Protestants to ban together against the Catholics since he believed that the gospel could be spread by the sword as well as through teaching, which

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[12] Gäber, 132, 133; Stephens, 228, 229.

[13] LW 38: 26.

[14] Gäber, 132; Gerrish, 379; Luther wrote to Nicholas von Amsdorf on December 2, 1524 saying "Carlstadt's poison crawls far. Zwingli at Zurich…and many others have accepted his opinion, continually asserting that the bread in the sacrament is no different from the bread sold in the market."

[15] Snavely, 401; Luther's views also reflected the views of the people in Wittenberg as well as Saxony in general.

[16] Stafford, 129.

[17] Martin Luther, "The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ against the Fanatics," in *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 36, *Word and Sacrament II*, ed. Abdel Ross Wentz, trans. Frederick C. Ahrens (Philadelphia: Muhlenburg Press, 1959), 336, 344; denoted as LW "Sacrament against Fanatics" from here; Gerrish, 378.

Luther considered radical.[18] Following the second Diet of Speyer, Zwingli wanted Philip of Hess's support to spread his religious movement both evangelically and militarily.[19] When Zwingli arrived at Marburg, he submitted his military plan concerning an alliance with Protestant anti-Hapsburg enemies, the French king, and the Turks.[20]

Although Zwingli was enthusiastic about the meeting at Marburg since he thought he could sway Luther to his thinking, it did not happen because he and Luther differed on fellowship and unity. Zwingli thought the doctrinal differences between the Saxons and the Swiss would not affect genuine fellowship among them. After all, he believed that both the Swiss and the Saxons were believers in the same faith and spirit. However, this is not how Luther and his followers saw it.[21]

Luther believed Christian fellowship demanded doctrinal agreement. In a letter he wrote to duke of Saxony in May 1529, Luther compared an alliance with the Swiss to an alliance with the devil's forces because of their doctrinal disagreements.[22] Thus, it was clear that Luther had no intention of forming any alliances with them nor would he even refer to them as Christian brethren. At the preliminary discussions on Oct. 1, 1529 at Marburg, Luther and Philip Melanchthon accused Zwingli and Oecolampadius of teaching against original sin, saying that the Holy Ghost does not come through the Word and Sacrament, denying Christ's divinity, teaching salvation through works, and giving a false view of how a man obtains faith.[23] Thus, it is no surprise that Luther ended the Colloquy by telling Martin Bucer and the others present that the spirit of the Saxons were different than the others and

[18] LW 36: 336,344; Potter, 291, 292.

[19] Snavely, 400, 401.

[20] Stafford, 130.

[21] Ibid; Martin Bucer, another theologian at the Colloquy, thought as Zwingli did on the unity issue.

[22] Martin Luther, "To Elector John, May 22, 1529," *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 49, *Letters II*, ed. Gottfried G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 226.

[23] Hermann Sasse, *This is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959), 217, 224-225, quoted in Stafford, 131, 132.

others needed to repent for their evil beliefs.[24]

Although Luther and Zwingli's views of fellowship and unity was a major contributor to Marburg's failure, the core issue concerned their hermeneutic principles. Specifically, the problem dealt with the literal or figurative meaning of the passage "This is my body." For Luther and Zwingli, this exegetical problem was closely connected to their Christological views and their view towards Scripture in general.[25]

Throughout the 1520's, Luther was thoroughly convicted in the literal interpretation of the "Words of Institution" since he believed the real presence was deeply rooted in the scriptures. This was the center of his theological thought.[26] In 1520, he wrote *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* to theologians and other religious officials. In this work, he constantly referred to the Eucharist in light of his description of the Avignon papacy—a period between 1309 and 1377 when the pope resided in Avignon, France instead of Rome. Also, by this time, he began to emphasize the individual aspect of the Eucharist rather than the social aspect.[27] The next year, he wrote *The Misuse of the Mass* to his fellow Augustinians at Wittenberg in which he criticized the Catholic practice of treating the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Here, he argued that the only sacrifice mentioned in the New Testament was the sacrifice of Christ on the cross and that all the scriptures that directly referred to the Eucharist did not mention it being taken

[24] LW 38: 70-71; here is the quote in full: "I am not your master, not your judge, and not your teacher either. Our spirit is different from yours; it is clear that we do not possess the same spirit, for it cannot be the same spirit when in on place the words of Christ are simply believed and in another place the same faith is censured, resisted, regarded as false and attacked with all kinds of malicious and blasphemous words. Therefore, as I have previously stated, we commend you to the judgment of God. Teach as you can account for it before God."

[25] Stafford, 133.

[26] Ibid., 139; Sasse, 104, quoted in Thomas J. Davis, "The Truth of the Divine Words: Luther's Sermons on the Eucharist, 1521-28, and the Structure of Eucharistic Meaning," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1999), 324.

[27] LW 36 "BC," 14-57; Wandel, 96, 97; Thomas J. Davis, "Discerning the Body: The Eucharist and the Christian Social Body in Sixteenth Century Protestant Exegesis," *Fides et Historia* 37, no. 2/vol. 38, no. 1 (Summer-Fall, 2005/Winter-Spring, 2006), 71; Davis's journal is in a combined issue.

in a sacrificial way.[28]

By March 6, 1522, he returned to Wittenberg after having hidden in Wartburg castle in Eisenach for ten months following his condemnation at the Diet of Worms. The following week, he preached a series of eight sermons in Wittenberg—three of which dealt with the Eucharist. In these sermons, he emphasized the Word of God and said that laypersons taking the cup committed no sin. He also preached against rapid and radical changes that other reformers had introduced to Wittenberg.[29] In 1525, when Luther was in opposition with Carlstadt, his former colleague, for rejecting the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, he wrote a treatise called *Against the Heavenly Prophets*. In this work, he reaffirmed his belief in the bodily presence of Christ at the Eucharist and claimed the literal eating proceeds the spiritual eating.[30] He also stated in the treatise that a person will obtain comfort from the sacrament if they have a bad conscience from their sins because of Christ's sacrifice—thus attaching the Eucharist to salvation.[31] Luther finalized the German Mass the next year in which he preserved much of the medieval Catholic mass, but got rid of its "abuses" and added his own modifications to it in which he moved the "Sign of Peace" to match his beliefs and put greater emphasis on the sermon.[32]

On March 28 and 29, 1526, Luther preached three sermons for Easter Sunday in which two dealt with the Eucharist.[33] In these discussions on the sacrament, he explained the *objectum fidei*, or the object of faith, and the actions that are taken because of faith. He then anonymously described

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[28] Martin Luther, "The Misuse of the Mass," in *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 36, *Word and Sacrament II*, ed. Abdel Ross Wentz, trans. Frederick C. Ahrens (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), 162-198; found in Part II *Concerning the Words of the Mass, which Prove that the Mass is not a Sacrifice*. In this, Luther quotes Heb. 10:10, Matt. 26:26-28, Mark 14:22-24, Luke 22:19,20, and 1 Cor. 11: 23-25; Wandel, 97.

[29] Davis, "The Truth of Divine Words," 326; Wandel, 97.

[30] Gerrish, 377; Gäber, 132.

[31] Wolfgang Simon, "Worship and the Eucharist in Luther Studies," *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 47, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 144.

[32] Wandel, 97, 98; the "Sign of Peace" took place right before the "Breaking of the Bread" and involved the priest asking Christ to grant them peace and then the congregation would show a gesture of peace to one another such a hug, or a handshake.

[33] These sermons were later published under the title *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics* in following October in which Luther did not want them to be published.

the various people who rejected this, namely Zwingli.[34] This was one of the first messages that directly dealt with his opposition to the Swiss. However, the Swiss received these sermons, along with his other writings, as a polemic. Thus, Zwingli and his followers were more intense in their critique of Luther's Eucharist views.[35]

After Zwingli published *A Clear Briefing about Christ's Supper* in February 1526, Luther was furious and thought Zwingli and the Swiss were greater adversaries to him than the Catholic forces. Thus, he published *That These Words of Christ, "This Is My Body," Still Stand Firm* in 1527 in which he claimed that the Swiss were possessed by the devil and were wrong about the figurative interpretation of the Words of Institution while he asserted his literal interpretation was correct.[36] A series of literary attacks between Luther and Zwingli resulted from that point and continued until their face-to-face argument, at the Marburg Colloquy. At Marburg, their arguments did not change; Luther famously wrote *Hoc est corpus meum*—"this is my body"—on the table and he continued to argue his point for three days.[37]

Unlike Luther who was set in his beliefs on the Eucharist, Zwingli did not have a fully developed symbolic view of the Eucharist until 1524. Zwingli also did not consider it essential to salvation.[38] Before he arrived in Zurich in 1519, Zwingli stressed the communal nature of the Eucharist and spiritual eating in John 6:53-56 just as Erasmus had, while rejecting Augustine's view of corporeal eating. Although he still tolerated transubstantiation at the time, he was looking for a more spiritual interpretation.[39] Yet in a response to Bishop Hugo in 1522, Zwingli denied that the mass was a sacrifice. Just like Luther, Zwingli found references in Hebrews that referred to Christ's sacrifice, but could not find any evidence

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[34] LW 36 "Sacrament against Fanatics," 331, 335; Gerrish, 380.

[35] LW "Sacrament against Fanatics," 331-333; Martin Luther, "That These Words of Christ, 'This Is My Body,' etc., Still Stand Firm against the Fanatics," *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 37, *Word and Sacrament III*, ed. and trans. Robert H. Fischer (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1961), 5; denoted as "LW 'These Words of Christ'" from here; this information was found in the introductions to both works.

[36] Gäber, 133-135; Stafford, 139; LW "These Words of Christ," 5-7, 13-150.

[37] Davis, "The Truth of the Divine Words," 323; Gäber, 135; Leppin, 53; Stafford, 139.

[38] Carrie Euler, "Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 2014), 59; Stephens, 218; Gäber, 132.

[39] Gäber, 131; Euler, 58; Stephens, 218; Stafford, 134.

for a sacrifice taking place during the Eucharist.[40] In the eighteenth article of the *Sixty-Seven Articles* he published on January 29, 1523, Zwingli further explained these concepts. Here, he called the Eucharist a memorial instead of a sacrifice. Since they agreed on this point, it seemed that Zwingli and Luther had similar views. However, Zwingli later explained that he had no addressed his different views of the corporeal presence in the Eucharist in order to avoid conflict.[41] In a letter to his former teacher, Thomas Wytenback on June 15, 1523, Zwingli described the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist saying that Christ is present through faith. Yet, he still thought the participants ate Christ even though the Scripture that stated that Christ was seated at the right hand of God confused him.[42]

After reading writings by Cornelius Hoen and Carlstadt in 1524, Zwingli further developed his view of the symbolic interpretation of the Words of Institution. Hoen pointed out that the word *est* (is) was best interpreted *signifies* because of various examples in Scripture. Carlstadt had published five treatises on the Eucharist that November, emphasizing Christ being the subject of the Eucharist. Zwingli approved of that view and added it to his own interpretation of the Eucharist.[43] As a result, Zwingli wrote a letter to Matthew Alber, a minister who was supported by one of Luther's followers, which publically described his new view of the Eucharist. Zwingli defended his figurative view of the Words of Institution and used John 6:63 extensively to support his claims that the Eucharist was symbolic. By the end

[40] Stephens, 218, 219; Gäber, 131; Euler, 58; one of the passages Zwingli used was Heb. 9:12: "he entered once for all into the holy places, not by means of the blood of goats and calves but by means of his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption.

[41] Huldrych Zwingli, "The Eighteenth Article," *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 1, *In Defense of the Reformed Faith*, ed. E.J. Furcha and H. Wayne Pipkin, trans. E.J. Furcha (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1984), 110, 111; Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought: New Perspective* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 1981), 220; Stephens, 119-221; Huldrych Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, ed. and trans. Samuel Macauley Jackson, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC: Labyrinth Press, 1981) 198, quoted in Euler, 58, 59; Stafford, 134.

[42] Stafford, 134; Stephens 223.

[43] Potter, 155, 156; Locher, 221; Euler, 59; Gäber, 132; Stephens 227, 228; Stafford, 135-137.

of 1525, Zwingli had written several treatises on this topic.[44]

After publishing *A Clear Briefing about Christ's Supper* in February 1526, he became involved in heated literary discussions with Luther from this point until the Marburg Colloquy. Throughout the Colloquy, he constantly attempted to argue from John 6 in order to sway Luther's thinking. Yet, the meeting was a failure since neither Luther nor Zwingli were willing to compromise.[45]

In conclusion, the Protestant movement divided over factors such as differing ontologies, political views, emphases of fellowship and unity, and hermeneutical principles. While Luther was traditional and highly emphasized *Sola Scriptura,* Zwingli was more humanistic, realistic and scholarly in in his approach. Since the Saxons and Swiss were prejudiced toward each other, it is no surprise that Luther and Zwingli disliked each other for that reason, and Zwingli's involvement in politics was radical to Luther who refused to be involved in politics. While it did not bother Zwingli to treat others as Christian brethren despite some "minor" different beliefs, Luther was unwilling to fellowship with those who disagreed with him on any theological point.

Yet, perhaps the greatest divider of the two was their arrogance. Luther had established his view of Christ's presence in the Eucharist because of his literal interpretation and the importance of the sacrament itself and refused to change his views despite Scriptures that might have indicated otherwise. Although Zwingli was willing to change his understanding toward the Eucharist and establish the symbolic meaning, he displayed too much confidence in his ability to sway Luther to his mindset. This aspect was evident in their Colloquy arguments since Luther constantly emphasized *Hoc est corpus meum* while Zwingli constantly emphasized John 6:63. Thus, Luther and Zwingli could not have found harmony in their religious ideas and the Marburg Colloquy failed to unite the Protestants for these reasons.[46]

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[44] Huldrych Zwingli, "Letter to Matthew Alber Concerning the Lord's Supper, November 1524," *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, eds. E.J. Furcha and H. Wayne Pipkin, vol. 2, *In Search of True Religion: Reformation, Pastoral and Eucharistic Writings*, ed. H. Wayne Pipkin (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1984), 135-139; Gäber, 132, 133; Stephens, 228, 229; Euler, 60; Potter, 156; Alber preached at Ruetlingen and was supported by Konrad Hermann, one of Luther's followers. The letter was never sent to him nor was it intended for him. Zwingli published it most likely to circulate his new Eucharistic views.

[45] Stafford, 137; Gäber, 135-137.

[46] Potter, 342.

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FROM CIVIL WAR HERO TO INDIAN FIGHTER: THE LEGACY OF PHILIP SHERIDAN

By Rose Thoroughman

General Philip H. Sheridan was once described by Abraham Lincoln as "a brown, chunky little chap, with a long body, short legs, not enough neck to hang him, and such long arms that if his ankles itch he can scratch them without stooping."[1] Despite his unimpressive looks, Philip Sheridan looms large in the history of the United States' military. He is regarded as one of the most impressive generals to come out of the American Civil War, and he proceeded to achieve the rank of a four-star general before the end of his military career. Under the guidance of generals Grant and Sherman, Sheridan promoted and exhibited the military tactic of total warfare. However, he is most well remembered for the role he played as a Union general during the American Civil War and his many years spent afterwards fighting in the Indian wars.

Philip Henry Sheridan was the son of poor Irish immigrants, and it is unknown exactly when and where he was born. He claimed both Albany, New York and Somerset, Ohio as his birthplace on various official documents. In his memoirs, Sheridan clarified the confusion by explaining that he was born in Albany on March 6, 1831 and later spent his childhood in Somerset.[2] Sheridan attended school until he was fourteen, when he became a clerk in a local general store.[3] In 1848, he received an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point. At the academy, Sheridan was a mediocre cadet, and he was suspended for a year after getting into a fistfight with a fellow classmate.[4] After returning to West Point, Sheridan graduated near the bottom of his class, in July of 1853.

According to historian Lance Janda, "although it might seem reasonable to assume the seeds of total war theory were planted during

[1] Paul Andrew Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 2.

[2] Philip Henry Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P.H. Sheridan* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 1992), 1.

[3] Paul Andrew Hutton, "Phil Sheridan's Frontier," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 18.

[4] Joseph Wheelan, *Terrible Swift Sword: the Life of General Philip H. Sheridan* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 2012),4.

[Sheridan's] days at West Point, such was not the case."[5] The academy focused on equipping officers with skills that were applicable during peacetime, and there was little emphasis on the teaching of tactics and strategy. In short, West Point became mostly a school of civil engineering.[6] European ideas influenced the scarce strategic thought taught to the cadets. West Point, in particular, tried to imitate French doctrine and thought. Napoleonic warfare served as the model for all cadets to follow. Cadets studied the strategic ideas of Antoine Henri, Baron de Jomini. He was considered the foremost authority on Napoleonic warfare, and according to military historian Russell Weigley, "Jomini's interpretation of Napoleon became the foundation of the teaching of strategy at West Point."[7] He disliked needless violence, and he disapproved of soldiers living off the land and destroying civilian property.

After graduating from West Point in 1853, Sheridan became part of the First Infantry and became stationed at Fort Duncan in Texas. He soon transferred, however, to the Fourth Infantry and found himself at Fort Reading in California. Sheridan then spent the next ten years on the frontier in the Pacific Northwest. During this time, his assignments mostly involved maintaining peace with the Indian tribes and the American settlers. He accepted leadership roles and gained recognition as an able leader after several skirmishes with the Indians. In the spring of 1861, the American Civil War began, and Sheridan was anxious that the war would end before he returned from the Pacific Northwest.[8] However, in September of 1861, Sheridan was able to make his way east when he was promoted to captain and ordered to join the Thirteenth Infantry. According to historian Paul Andrew Hutton, "patriotism was the guiding principle of [Sheridan's] life."[9] In his personal memoirs, Sheridan writes:

> My patriotism was untainted by politics, nor had it been disturbed by any discussion of the questions out of which the war grew, and I hoped for the success of the Government above all other considerations. I believe I was

[5] Lance Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: the American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880," *The Journal of Military History* 59, no. 1 (January 1995): 7-8.

[6] Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1973), 81.

[7] Ibid., 83.

[8] Hutton, "Phil Sheridan's Frontier," 21.

[9] Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army*, 11.

> also uninfluenced by any thoughts of the promotion that might result to me from the conflict, but out of a sincere desire to contribute as much as I could to the preservation of the Union.[10]

He was first assigned to a desk job at General Henry W. Halleck's Missouri headquarters. Sheridan maintained this position for almost a year until he requested an appointment as a colonel with the Second Michigan Cavalry in the spring of 1862. General Halleck agreed to Sheridan's transfer, and the new colonel soon impressed his superiors by leading several successful raids and performing admirably at the battle of Boonville, Missouri, where his 750 men defeated 4,000 Confederate soldiers.[11] Sheridan was again promoted and this time to that of a brigadier general of volunteers in September of 1862.

A turning point in his military career came after his charge up Missionary Ridge in November 1863. William Tecumseh Sherman led the effort to take Missionary Ridge from the Confederate forces who were already occupying the ridge that overlooked the city of Chattanooga. After four failed attempts, Sherman's men were unable to take the ridge, and it seemed an impossible undertaking. However, Sheridan and the Army of the Cumberland were able to overtake the Confederate forces. Furthermore, unlike other Union commanders, Sheridan and his army did not stop once taking the ridge, but forced the Confederates to retreat all the way to Chickamauga Station.[12] This successful and bold charge had impressed General Ulysses S. Grant who had watched the assault. Grant later said:

> Sheridan showed his genius in that battle, and to him I owe the capture of most of the prisoners that were taken. Although commanding a division only, he saw in the crisis of that engagement that it was necessary to advance beyond the point indicated by his orders. He saw what I could not know, on account of my ignorance of the ground and with the instinct of military genius pushed ahead.[13]

Sheridan had not given up, and Grant gained respect for him after this event. When Grant went east in March 1864 as General in Chief, he offered

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[10] Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P.H. Sheridan*, 66.
[11] Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army*, 12.
[12] Ibid., 14.
[13] Bruce Catton, *Grant Takes Command* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), 90.

Sheridan command of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac. Sheridan accepted, and his role in fighting increased. He went on to defeat the Confederate cavalry commander J.E.B. Stuart and his infamous horsemen at Yellow Tavern. After this victorious effort, Sheridan received command of the Army of the Shenandoah.

The Shenandoah Campaign is considered one of the major highlights in Sheridan's military career. The Shenandoah Valley in Virginia functioned as an important resource for the South throughout the war, and this valley was renowned for its fertile countryside and dense forests.[14] Grant realized that as long as it remained under Confederate control, the Shenandoah Valley would continue to provide raw materials to the Confederacy. Consequently, in order to break Southern resolve, Grant sought to rob the Confederacy of its resources through the destruction of the valley. This would be left up to Sheridan to oversee and complete, and he received his orders in August 1864 to take control of the Shenandoah Valley. Grant sent additional orders stating, "Do all the damage to rail-roads and crops you can. Carry off stock of all descriptions and negroes so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste."[15] Sheridan appears to have shared Grant's belief that to win the war and break the Southern people's resolve required much more than battles. It required destruction of agriculture and railroads. He attempted to sabotage everything of military value in the valley and set fire to fields and mills. In October of 1864, Sheridan wrote to Grant informing him of his accomplishments:

> I have destroyed over 2,000 barns filled with wheat, hay, farming implements; over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over 4,000 head of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops not less than 3,000 sheep…the Valley, from Winchester up to Staunton, ninety two miles, will have but little in it for man or beast.[16]

Clearly, Sheridan approved of and utilized Grant's strategy of total warfare. Grant showed his pleasure at the result of this campaign in a letter to

[14] Lisa M. Brady, *War Upon the Land* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 74.

[15] Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P.H. Sheridan*, 266.

[16] Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: the American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880," 10.

Sherman. He wrote, "Sheridan has made his raid and with splendid success so far as heard…You will see from the papers what Sheridan has done."[17]

By the end of the Civil War in April of 1865, Sheridan was seen as a hero alongside the likes of Grant and Sherman. Hutton stated that "Sheridan emerged from the Civil War as the premier Union combat leader."[18] Several years later in 1867, Sheridan assumed command of the Department of the Missouri. This was composed of Missouri, Kansas, Indian Territory, and the territories of Colorado and New Mexico. As commander of the Department of the Missouri, Sheridan's duties included protecting the newly freed slaves and keeping peace in the southern regions, as well as maintaining frontier forts and escorting westward bound settlers and travelers.[19] Peace between Indians and settlers on the frontier was precarious, and treaties did little to create any lasting peace between settlers and Indians. Though the 1867 Treaty of Medicine Lodge had established reservations for several tribes, including the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Comanche, the tribes refused to settle on the allotted land.[20] Sheridan's strategy for subduing the belligerent tribes paralleled the tactics he exhibited during the Shenandoah Valley Campaign. In a letter to Sherman, who had risen to command the entire army, Sheridan wrote, "The best way for the government is to now make them poor by the destruction of their stock, and then settle them on the lands allotted to them."[21] His plan to destroy the Indians' stock meant ridding the Indians of their horses and buffalo. At the outset of his winter campaign of 1868-1869, Sheridan believed that if the buffalo herds were greatly reduced then the hostile tribes would lose morale and concede to living on the reservations. In addition, he used the harsh winter weather of the Great Plains to his advantage as an ally in the campaign.

Sheridan fully understood the dangers and advantages of campaigning during the winter. He knew that the Indians were encamped in fixed camps for the winter and that their horses were generally weaker at this time as well.[22] To successfully carry out this campaign meant that his own

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[17] Ulysses S. Grant, *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, ed. John Y. Simon (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985), 174.

[18] Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army*, 19.

[19] Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: the American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880," 11.

[20] Hutton, "Phil Sheridan's Frontier," 23.

[21] David D. Smits, "The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 323.

[22] Weigley, *The American Way of War*, 159.

troops had to be able to withstand the bitter winter temperatures of the Great Plains. Sheridan viewed the perils of such a campaign as part of battling the Indians, and he readied his troops for severe weather.[23] During his winter campaign of 1868-1869, Sheridan conducted aggressive attacks on the Indians, and his attacks were mainly focused on the Southern Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Comanche in northern Texas and the western regions of Indian Territory.[24]

In the spring of 1869, Sheridan was promoted to lieutenant general, and he was given command of the Division of the Missouri, an expanse of land that was over one million square miles. The Sioux, Choctaw, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Blackfoot tribes resided in this large portion of American territory. When dealing with these tribes, Sheridan used the same manner of aggression that had proven successful in his previous campaigns. These campaigns, however, were different because he no longer personally led men into battle. The Winter Campaign of 1868-1869 had been his last field command. Now as the U.S. army's second-ranking officer, Sheridan planned and directed troops rather than leading them into actual battle.[25] Regardless of this new position, his strategies remained the same and proved successful in forcing the Indians to surrender and comply with previous treaties by settling on reservations. According to historian Lance Janda, "The key to this success was the high vulnerability of Native-American families and their resources. To a much greater degree than the Confederate Army, Native-American raiding parties depended on tenuous sources of supplies."[26] Sheridan understood this principle and relied ever more heavily on the strategy of total warfare to deal with the Indians.

In 1870, Sheridan accompanied the Prussian Army to observe their tactics while they fought in the Franco-Prussian War. Sheridan was surprised at the limited attacks on supplies and also civilians. He commented to Bismarck:

> The proper strategy consists in the first place in inflicting as telling blows as possible upon the enemy's army, and then

[23] Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army*, 55.

[24] Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: the American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880," 12.

[25] Wheelan, *Terrible Swift Sword: the Life of General Philip H. Sheridan*, 249.

[26] Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: the American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880," 12.

> causing the inhabitants so much suffering that they must long for peace, and force their government to demand it. The people must be left nothing but their eyes to weep with over the war.[27]

When he returned to America, Sheridan once again had to fight the Indians, but this time the focus was a bit different. Since the tribes had at last moved to the reservations, Sheridan now concentrated on how to keep them there. The battles between the army and the Indian fighters became fiercer and more complicated when various tribes began to band together in an effort to drive away the U.S. army. Once again, Sheridan turned to destroying resources, and this time his focus was set on annihilating the southern and northern buffalo herds.

In the 1870s, hunting parties began to arrive by train to hunt the estimated 50 million buffalo that roamed the Great Plains. Sheridan saw these hunters as both helpful and necessary to the efforts of subduing the Indians. Historian Lance Janda stated, in regard to the buffalo, that "Sheridan actively encouraged their extermination."[28] The army provided military escorts to protect the hunters and to aid in hunting down the buffalo. Soon both the northern and southern herds of buffalo were nearly exterminated, and this policy of destroying the animals in order to subjugate the Indians proved successful.[29] Serious Indian resistance and attacks came to an end on the frontier with the army's defeat of the northern Plains Indians in 1877 and with the annihilation of the buffalo.

In 1884, Sheridan became the Commanding General of the Army after Sherman retired. This was the highest position within the army, and Sheridan had been intent on inheriting this position.[30] After receiving this promotion, Sheridan moved to Washington D.C. where he spent the last few years of his life. During this time, he focused on modernizing the army and making the officer corps more professional.[31] Rumors circulated in

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[27] Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: the American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880," 12.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Smits, "The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883," 338.

[30] Roy Morris, Jr., *Sheridan: The Life and Wars of General Phil Sheridan* (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1992), 380.

[31] Wheelan, *Terrible Swift Sword: the Life of General Philip H. Sheridan*, 299.

Washington D.C. reported that Sheridan might run for president, but he had no desire to do so.[32] In May of 1888, Sheridan had a series of heart attacks after returning from a trip to inspect the site for Fort Sheridan in Chicago.[33]When his serious condition was made known, Congress brought back the rank of four-star General of the Army. This rank had been established in 1866 for Ulysses S. Grant, and it combined the positons of general and lieutenant general. William Tecumseh Sherman had inherited this title from Grant, and an act was passed that stated that after Sherman's retirement this rank would cease to exist. However, on June 1, 1888, Sheridan became the fourth General of the Army in U.S. military history. The previous holders of this rank were Washington, Grant, and Sherman.[34] Nearly two months after his most recent promotion, Sheridan suffered a massive heart attack and died at the age of fifty-seven on August 5, 1888.

Philip Sheridan left his mark on U.S. military history through his contributions during the Civil War and Indian Wars. He was aggressive in both strategy and tactics and did not shy away from demonstrating this aggression towards civilians during the Civil War. This was exhibited during the Shenandoah Valley Campaign in 1864 when Sheridan destroyed everything that had military value in the valley in order to prevent further goods being supplied to the Confederacy. Several years after the Civil War ended, Sheridan and his frontier army subdued the Plains Indians using this same kind of warfare. His army campaigned during the winter, burned the Indians' possessions, and used violence to ensure that the Indians stayed on their reservations. Furthermore, Sheridan and his forces aggressively hunted the buffalo herds to near extinction in the hope of depriving the Indians of a food source and lowering their morale. In conclusion, General Philip Sheridan's contributions to the United States and military history include his aggressive strategies and tactics and his role in solidifying the United States during the Civil War and Indian Wars.

[32] Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army*, 370.
[33] Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army*, 371.
[34] Wheelan, *Terrible Swift Sword: the Life of General Philip H. Sheridan*, 308.

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HOWARD HUGHES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CINEMA, AVIATION, AND MEDICAL SCIENCE

By Hunter Freeman Beck

The development of the United States of America has been characterized by innovative men who challenged boundaries and the status quo. From Thomas Edison to Bill Gates, long remembered are the innovators who developed technology superior to what was then available. Few men in the country's history were as innovative as Howard Hughes, who established himself as a household name before turning 30 while triumphantly challenging different fields of research and entertainment. With successful ventures in filmmaking and aviation, as well as establishing a center for ongoing medical research, Hughes established himself as one of the most important men of the American 20th Century by revolutionizing cinema, expanding the boundaries of flight, and propelling medical science.

Howard Hughes Jr. was born in 1905. His father, Howard Hughes Sr., was a successful inventor, having perfected and patented a revolutionary drill bit that allowed oil drills to penetrate surfaces they previously could not.[1] After acquiring patents for the drill, Hughes Sr. co-founded the Sharp-Hughes Tool Company in Houston alongside Walter Sharp, securing financial success by leasing bits rather than selling them.[2] The company's success continued after Sharp's widow sold her half of the company, and the renamed Hughes Tool Company opened a branch in Los Angeles in 1920.[3] By 1922, the success of the Hughes Tool Company was widely known, with rumors suggesting that the company was worth anywhere between seventeen-million and eighty-million dollars.[4]

Hughes' mother Allene fixated on her son's health. As her husband often travelled for business, the responsibility of raising her son fell almost entirely upon her.[5] She pursued this responsibility with vigor. She constantly monitored his appearance, rushing him to the hospital at the sight of any

[1] Purnell W. Choppin, "From a Three-Headed Bit to a Major Philanthropy: The Surprising Legacy of Howard Hughes," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 142, no. 3 (September 1, 1998): 426.

[2] Barlett, 35.

[3] John Keats, *Howard Hughes (New York: Randomhouse, 1966)*, 9.

[4] Ibid, 11.

[5] Barlett, 38.

abnormality, and the two retreated from the city during outbreaks of disease.[6] Hughes was never away from his mother for longer than a day until age ten, when he was sent to summer camp from which she withdrew him early after a polio scare.[7] Hughes often arrived late to school throughout his childhood, as a result of his mother's extensive morning routine that included rigorous examination of his feet, ears, throat, teeth, and bodily waste.[8]

Hughes reciprocated his father's propensity for mechanics at a young age. Between the ages of 10 and 13 he built a ham radio set, as well as a motorcycle he constructed by combining parts from his father's automobile with his own bicycle.[9] At the age of 15, he spent the summer of 1920 studying cars and taking flying lessons that he paid for with his allowance.[10] The tangible inheritance left by his father was just as formational for Hughes as the intangible. When his father died in 1924, Hughes was the major beneficiary of the Hughes estate.[11] At only 18, Hughes inherited $870,000.[12] In addition to this sum, Hughes was set to inherit the majority of the multimillion-dollar business that the Hughes Tool Company had become when he came of age.[13] Hughes quickly replicated the business acumen his father practiced, convincing family members to sell their stakes in the company to him so that he would become its sole owner.[14] Several months later, Hughes successfully petitioned the Texas court to recognize him as an adult at the age of nineteen, and thus responsible for the family company. By 1925, Howard Hughes was the owner and operator of the Hughes Tool Company.

Having acquired full control of his father's company in Houston, Hughes abstained from involving himself in its operations.[15] Instead, he moved to California with dreams of making movies.[16] Hughes expanded the role of Caddo – the company subsidiary in Los Angeles – to making movies.

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[6] Bartlett, 38.

[7] Ibid, 39, 41.

[8] Richard Hack, *Hughes: The Private Diaries Memos and Letters (California: New Millennium Press, 2001), 28.*

[9] Keats, 7.

[10] Keats, 9.

[11] Barlett, 53.

[12] Dennis Karwatka, "Howard Hughes and His Colorful Aircraft Career," *Tech Directions* 72, no. 5(December 1, 2012): 10.

[13] Sauter, 66.

[14] Hack, 52.

[15] Barlett, 56.

[16] Ibid, 60.

Hughes quickly earned moderate critical success and an encouraging profit with the 1927 release of *Everybody's Acting*.[17] In 1928, he produced *Two Arabian Knights*, which garnered over half a million dollars in profit, as well as an Academy Award.[18] While his films had success, Hughes had little involvement further than their financing, and subsequently could not be considered a filmmaker.[19] Hughes did not involve himself seriously with any of his movies until the 1930 production of *Hell's Angels.*

Working for the first time as a director, Hughes worked tirelessly to make *Hell's Angels* perfect, prompting his aunt Annette Lummis to write: "He had thrown himself into the production with a zeal that excluded all else, and it was not uncommon for him to work twenty-four to thirty-six hours at a stretch. He devoted himself to it with a ruthless determination that frightened even him."[20] He wanted several takes of every shot, spending over a week to shoot one scene of a grand ball.[21] He spent hours plotting out dogfights before constructing three-dimensional models of their flight paths, creating flight scenes unlike any seen before.[22] He edited the film for months after shooting, experimenting with different color tints to achieve maximum effect while films were still shown in black and white.[23] The filming began before the inclusion of sound in movies, but the movie was still in production when that practice was introduced. Consequentially, Hughes spent over 1 million dollars adding sound and dialogue to the film.[24] When production was finally complete, Hughes had spent nearly 4 million dollars on the project, making it the most expensive movie at that time.[25]

The immense effort that Hughes put into the making of *Hell's Angels* was returned in full. It garnered praise immediately, with one critic naming the film as "incomparably the greatest air spectacle ever projected" with scenes that had "rarely been rivaled in the whole history of motion picture thrills."[26] The movie received a similar reception in England, with one

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[17] Bartlett, 61.
[18] Hack, 63.
[19] Barlett, 62.
[20] Ibid, 63.
[21] Keats, 32.
[22] Ibid.
[23] George Turner, "Hell's Angels' 60th Birthday," *American Cinematographer* 71 (July, 1990): 96.
[24] "Hell's Angels," *Time* 15, no. 23 (June 9, 1930): 56.
[25] Turner, 96.
[26] "Hell's Angels," 56.

British critic calling the film "the greatest masterpiece the screen has known."[27] The movie's success was lasting, as well, and it continued to be shown in theaters around the world for another twenty years after its release, earning 8 million dollars.[28] The movie received a second world premiere in 1989, hosted by the Smithsonian National Air & Space Museum.[29] With the success of *Hell's Angels*, Hughes finally earned a reputation as a filmmaker, with reports claiming he signed on with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer as a director in 1932.[30] With his first attempt at directing movies, Howard Hughes created one of the most successful films in the history of cinema.

In 1932, in the wake of the Great Depression, Hughes closed Caddo and agreed to stop making motion pictures until 1939 as part of a settlement with his ex-wife.[31] No longer working in the entertainment industry, Hughes began to focus on another passion – flying.[32] In the summer of 1932, Hughes bought a Boeing pursuit plane, and after acquiring an amphibious aircraft the next year, he organized the Hughes Aircraft Corporation.[33] Later that year, Hughes spent eighteen months flying across the country in the amphibian, stopping in cities including Phoenix, Houston, and New Orleans.[34] While he sharpened his ability as a pilot, Hughes assigned two of his engineers to develop the fastest plane in the world.[35]

Hughes flew this plane, called the H-1, at a speed of 352 miles an hour in 1935, setting a world record for speed in a landplane.[36] Having conquered speed in the air, Hughes shifted his focus to distance.[37] One year later, he set another record after flying from California to New York.[38] Upon hearing that the weather was perfect throughout the country, Hughes abandoned his lunch and flew from Burbank to Newark in nine hours and twenty-seven minutes, breaking the transcontinental record.[39] For this feat, Hughes was rewarded by President Roosevelt with the Harmony Trophy,

[27] Keats, 44.
[28] Keats, 44.
[29] Turner, 96.
[30] "Howard Hughes to Direct Films," *New York Times*, July 5, 1932.
[31] Hack, 92.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid, 93.
[34] Keats, 61.
[35] Hack, 95.
[36] Barlett, 88.
[37] Hack, 97.
[38] Ibid, 98.
[39] Ibid, 99.

which honors the best aviator in the United States.[40] Later that year, Hughes challenged a bet that he could not eat lunch in Chicago and make it to Los Angeles in time for dinner.[41] Hughes won the bet, eating lunch in Chicago around noon and dinner in Los Angeles around 7 that evening after an eight hour flight. After the flight, Hughes told the press that he had "learned more in the last eight hours than in the last ten years."[42]

In 1937, Hughes began preparing for his greatest conquest: a flight around the world that would open with the 3,641 mile route between New York and Paris flown by Charles Lindbergh.[43] He and his crew spent the year studying survival techniques and practicing shooting with rifles.[44] In July of 1938, Hughes and his crew embarked from New York on their world flight in a modified Lockheed plane named in honor of the 1939 World Fair.[45] Three days later, Hughes and his crew landed in New York again, met by 25,000 people.[46] The next day, 1,500,000 people flooded the streets of New York in a parade for Hughes.[47] The journey took ninety-one hours, setting the speed record for a world flight.[48] The record stood for nearly fifty years, until a 1987 re-creation of the flight completed the same route in eighty hours.[49]

In addition to his accomplishment as a pilot, Hughes revolutionized aircraft development by designing the largest plane ever built.[50] In 1942, Hughes presented to the government a design for a flying boat called the *Hercules* that would be used for massive transport duty.[51] The government approved the design, largely because it would be made of wood, which led to the nickname of the Spruce Goose.[52] After years of work and criticism over the craft, Hughes planned for its first take-off in 1947.[53] He managed to fly

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[40] Purnell, 427.
[41] "Hughes Sets Mark Chicago to Coast," *New York Times* (May 15, 1936): 27.
[42] Hack, 99.
[43] Barlett, 94.
[44] Keats, 99.
[45] Hack, 111.
[46] Barlett, 97.
[47] Hack, 118.
[48] Choppin, 427.
[49] "Aviation Daredevils Beat Flight Record Set by Howard Hughes," *Lexington Herald-Leader* (June 22, 1987).
[50] Choppin, 427.
[51] Karwatka, 11.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Choppin, 427.

the *Hercules* one mile, keeping it off of the ground for less than one minute.[54] While the test run proved to be the last flight of the *Hercules*, no larger aircraft has flown since, and its 321 foot wingspan greatly outclasses the 224 foot wingspan of the largest Boeing 747.[55] Throughout the 1930's, Howard Hughes shattered the limitations of the aviator, breaking multiple speed records, winning awards such as the Harmon Trophy, and redefining what aircraft were capable of.

While his father left Hughes a fortune and an affinity for invention, his mother left him with an intense awareness and fear of illness and germs.[56] Shortly after his parents died, Hughes wrote a will in which he dedicated many of the Hughes Tool Company's shares to a medical institution that he referred to as the Howard R. Hughes Medical Research Laboratory.[57] The institution was founded in 1953 and ultimately named the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. Former president Purnell Choppin wrote that while this will was later nullified, "it shows that Hughes was serious from an early age about using his fortune to advance medical research."[58] Hughes' interest in medical research grew out of an idiosyncratic dedication to hygiene he developed from his mother's excessive concern over his health. Though he was a successful producer and director, Hughes avoided Hollywood parties out of a neurotic fear of sickliness.[59] Frank McCulloch, the last journalist known to have spoken with Hughes, noted in an article written in 1970 that Hughes was "dreadfully afraid of picking up germs through human contact."[60] As he grew older, he pursued medical knowledge, maintaining contact with physicians that treated him after plane crashes, conferring with them about medical research.[61] The medical researcher who wrote the medical history of Hughes after his death noted that Hughes "knew his pharmacology backwards and forwards."[62]

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[54] Choppin, 427.
[55]Karwatka, 11.
[56] Sauter, 66.
[57] Choppin, 427.
[58] Choppin, 427.
[59] Barlett, 70.
[60] McCulloch, Frank. "A Midnight Ride with Howard Hughes." *Time* 95, no. 25 (December 21, 1970): 68.
[61] Choppin, 428.
[62] "Researcher Says 1946 Plane Crash Gave Hughes 30-Year Drug Habit," *New York Times* (August 30, 1979): 8.

When Hughes created the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, the purported goal of the institution was to "provide millions of dollars for medical research to combat disease and human suffering."[63] In truth, the organization, which received all of the Hughes Aircraft Company stock, originally served mostly to reduce the amount of money Hughes lost in income taxes each year.[64] While the Howard Hughes Medical Institute was made primarily to benefit Hughes himself, critics and skeptics admitted that it still supported and propelled medical research to some degree.[65] Since its inception, the Howard Hughes Medical Institute has funded talented medical scholars, allowing them to devote themselves to research.[66] Within its first two decades, the institute spent nearly twenty-million dollars on medical research.[67]

While initially the Howard Hughes Medical Institute functioned only partly to propel medical study, that changed after his death in 1976. In 1984, a new group of trustees was appointed.[68] Wishing to fulfill the original goal of promoting medical research, the trustees sold Hughes Aircraft for five-billion dollars in 1985.[69] After removing the organization from the defense industry, this group of trustees began to transform the Howard Hughes Medical Institute into an organization dedicated to biomedical research. The organization now represents a collection of scientists from different fields working together with full funding.[70] The organization's research budget rose from less than 80 million dollars in 1984 to 413 million dollars in 1996.[71] The institute continued to expand, opening more research centers across the country.[72] While it has expanded its services and research, the institute continues to support talented scientists, funding over 300 individual researchers a year and allowing them to conduct research in a

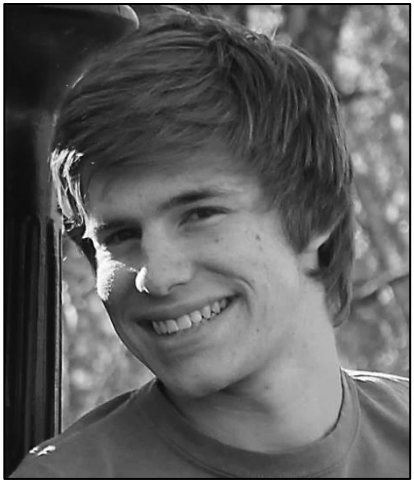
[63] Barlett, 198.
[64] Ibid, 199.
[65] Albert Benjamin Gerber, *Bashful Billionaire: The Story of Howard Hughes* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1968): 345.
[66] Gerber, 346.
[67] Barbara J. Culliton, "Howard Hughes Medical Institute: In the Reclusive Tradition," *Science* 193, no. 4249 (July 16, 1976): 211.
[68] Choppin, 428.
[69] Ibid, 429.
[70] Vicki Browner, "Room of Its Own," *EMBO Reports* 5, no. 9 (2004): 852.
[71] Choppin, 429.
[72] Browner, 851.

variety of medical fields.[73] By 1996, the organization had funded five Nobel Prize winners, as well as over fifty members of the National Academy of Sciences.[74] The Howard Hughes Medical Institute contributed to other research programs, as well, giving 335 million dollars to 220 colleges and universities between 1988 and 1998.[75] By creating the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, Howard Hughes – a man crippled by a desire for supreme health – continues to strengthen the medical community today, nearly forty years after his death.

Throughout his career, Howard Hughes pursued innovation. He explored different fields throughout his career, and he never stopped challenging the status quo. As a director, Hughes worked tirelessly to create unprecedented audial and visual effects such as spoken dialogue and the inclusion of color. By spending hours plotting flight paths, he created flight scenes that featured unseen precision and excitement. Through this, he developed a new, exciting cinematic experience with *Hell's Angels*, which still today is considered a masterpiece in film. As an aviator, Hughes continually demanded more from his aircraft and from himself. He studied and practiced new flying techniques and flight paths to reach longer distances. He and his team developed and tweaked his aircraft to maximize their speed or capacity, building two of the most impressive planes of the 20th Century in the *H-1* and the *Hercules.* By refusing to settle for contemporary limits, he set new standards for aviation. Finally, as an entrepreneur Hughes continues to propel medical science through the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. The institution has funded and continues to support hundreds of talented researchers and schools, ensuring private, well-equipped medical research across the country. By creating this impressive organization and the capital behind it, the medically-driven Hughes ensured his role in the propulsion of medical research. By driving development in cinema, aviation, and medical science, Howard Hughes established himself as one of the most important innovators of the American 20th Century.

[73] Browner, 851.
[74] Choppin, 429.
[75] Ibid.

BOOK REVIEWS



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A WAR LIKE NO OTHER, VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

By Marcus D. McCormick

In *A War Like No Other*, Victor Davis Hanson attempts to answer the age old questions of the Peloponnesian war—Why did the war begin? What is the nature of empire? What caused Athens to fall, and the Peloponnesian coalition to prevail? Hanson posits that the war was revolutionary, and redefined Greek understanding of the world. *A War Like No Other* is topical in nature. Each section describes a certain element in the war, and how that particular element continued to shape the mind of the late 5th century Greeks. However, the true value of *A War Like No Other*, just as Thucydides intended for his history of the war to be, lies in Hanson's grasp of the past as a tool for interpreting and understanding the present. Hanson's comparison of the successes and blunders of the classical archetype to modern iterations enables a more complete appreciation of the *History of the Peloponnesian War.*

Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* has been and is the primary source for knowledge of the conflict of Sparta and imperial Athens in the late 5th century B.C. Thucydides gives some biographical detail through the course of his work, and recounts his experience as the plague ravaged Periclean Athens (430 BC), his commission that he served at Amphipolis (424 BC), and the resulting exile after his he failed in delivering the besieged Athenians and allies there before the counter-attack of Brasidas.[1] From then on, Thucydides wandered through his time in exile, and thereby compiled his work with the purpose of it being "a possession for all time."[2] The *History of the Peloponnesian War* ends abruptly with Thucydides' death (411 BC), but Xenophon resumes the narrative in his *Hellenica*.

A War Like No Other divides easily into two parts—the first part is the intellectual frame of the work, whereas the second is thematic analysis of the war. In the introduction and conclusion to the work, Hanson frames the

[1] In regards to the plague and Thucydides' experience, see Thucydides, *History of The Peloponnesian War*, Finley Jr., John H., ed. (New York: Random House, 1951): 110-113; Thucydides describes his exile and command later on 264-266.

[2] Thucydides, 14-15; "In fine, I have written my work, not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time."

body of his work with his overarching aim of answering the deeper questions about the nature of the Peloponnesian war, why the war occurred, and what outcomes the war provided. Hanson renames the "Peloponnesian War" as the "Great Ancient Greek Civil War," with the reason that the conflict was not merely an Athenian war against the Peloponnesians. Instead, Hanson argues the conflict was an engagement between two differing views for the future of the Hellenic people. The first chapter of the book, entitled "Fear," discusses the reasons for which the Peloponnesians and their allies felt compelled to take up arms, and how Athens, from the end of the Persian wars, had established itself as the antithesis to an older and more conservative mode of Greek thinking. Athens had moved beyond existing as an individual and independent city state—the Peloponnesian ideal of Hellenic existence—and had chosen to "grasp continually after something further", thereby ascertaining dominion over others following the Persian invasions, as well as imperial power.[3] The final chapters review the fatal "Climax" and "Ruin?" and follow the occupation of Athens and the establishment of the Thirty Tyrants—the dissolution of the Athenian empire. Hanson reflects on the final days, and concludes that while the end of the war and the close of the 5th century both were a substantiation of much loss, ruin, and bloodshed, the legacy of the war is the precedent of imperial warfare rather than the end of imperial splendor.

The second part of *A War Like No Other* is a thematic presentation of the Peloponnesian war, describing how the war played out. Hanson describes in seven chapters the elements which he believes to be unique in their manifestation in the war. This method of recounting the war focus less on narrative and instead on the cultural, tactical, and strategic elements which span the course of the conflict. Hanson's first chapters, "Fire," "Disease," and "Terror" recount the war in a more chronological way, similar to the sequence of summer and winter campaigns that one becomes familiar with when reading Thucydides by describing elements that are prominent as the war begins. The later chapters, "Armor," "Walls," "Horses," and "Ships," describe more the ubiquitous characteristics of the war, drawing elements from the early stages and final stages alike. To Hanson, the cataclysmic effect of these elements on the Greeks was akin to the way in which the First World War transformed the nations of the early 20th century. The technology and means of making war in 1914 were not entirely novel, but the already

[3] Thucydides, 118.

familiar means evolved significantly throughout the war. They not only changed the way that the war manifested on the ground, but also the way that the war lasted in the memories of its combatants. The horrible images of trenches and long drawn out sieges and battles, of terrifying ravages of trench-born disease and unconventional weapons, all reflect events such as the plague in Athens, or the quagmire at Potidaea and Amphipolis, or familiarity with mass death during the Peloponnesian War.

This benefit of tangible modern application is the most apparent benefit of *A War Like No Other*. Hanson draws comparisons to the Cold War specifically, for its lessened amount of decisive and conventional warfare, and for the importance of proxies, allies, and extended conflict over strategic points for either side. Hanson's comparison to the Cold War is particularly potent as he underscores the divide between the two political factions in Greece—the oligarchic Spartans and democratic Athenians as compared to the antithetical powers of the Soviet and American states.[4] However, the comparison does not stand true in all cases. Hanson acknowledges that wars like the Second World War are not quite as comparable due to their direct action and decisive battles[5].

Another strength which Hanson uses to his advantage is his understanding of the actual setting of the war. The sites of the battles, sieges, or cities, which Hanson has visited himself imbues his description with greater vibrancy. The chapter entitled "Horses," would be left sorrowfully unsupported if not supplemented with a comparative knowledge of the topography of mainland Greece and the Sicilian plains. Sicily, instead of being a mountainous landscape similar to Boeotia, Epirus, or the Peloponnesus, was an "island whose wide plains and greenery were more like the landscape of Thessaly."[6] As the Athenians embarked on their expedition, their commander, Nicias, understood that horsemen would be needed for the campaign. However, upon arrival in Sicily, the Athenians discovered that it was not enough to field horsemen—mounted supremacy was essential to keeping open lines of communication and conduct a successful siege. In the same way, passages which deal with specific events like Delium and Mantinea are enhanced beyond the detail provided by Thucydides when Hanson compares and contrasts the battlefield with the modern Greek

[4] Victor Davis Hanson, *A War Like No Other* (New York: Random House, 2005), 90-91.

[5] Hanson, 4-6.

[6] Ibid., 208.

landscape. At Mantinea Hanson describes the modern freeway that reflects the importance of the valley as a north-south highway in ancient times.

> Killing fields… surrounded by mountains that provide both defense for the flanks of heavy infantrymen and a refuge after defeat… Mantinea served as a choke point where the grand routes from southern Greece constrict to a mile or so—before opening up again to flatland and various roads that branch out northward to Argos, Corinth, and Athens.[7]

In addition, Hanson's agricultural knowledge enhances especially the chapter entitle "Fire."[8] When the Spartans first marched their grand coalition army into Attica in attempts to resolve the war by conventional means, they burnt and pillaged many of the surrounding estates in order to bring out the Athenians. Alongside telling the narrative, Hanson adds considerable commentary on why the tactic fails by explaining how very difficult it is to obliterate hinterland farms—particularly ones that are primarily devoted to the growing of olive trees, which are known for their regenerative powers—based on his own experience in clearing land.[9]

One of the drawbacks to Hanson's unique style is that, in giving the account of the Peloponnesian war in thematic segments, the chronology of the war becomes convoluted. Each of the chapters tends to run chronologically within themselves, but the cohesion between the events underscored in one chapter are often left unassociated with the others. For example, when in "Terror" numerous occasions of slaughter like after the sieges of Plataea and Mytilene are recorded from the beginning to the end of the war, they are repeated in a different order in chapters like "Walls" which deals with siegecraft. Because of the thematic organization of the work, the situations are sometimes inorganically separated events that follow them chronologically. However, the benefit of depth the thematic view offers outweighs this confusion.

Hanson consults a healthy variety of sources that range from others' chronological histories of the war to works like his own which compare the past to the modern. The works of Herman, McCann, and Strauss deal with the idea of western military tradition and the cycles of empire within Western

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[7] Hanson, 154.

[8] See also Hanson's *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece*, and *Fields Without Dreams: Defending the Agrarian Idea*.

[9] Hanson, 35-37; 55-57.

society, as well as the history of terror and violence in the history of the West. Hanson's strengths lie manly in his gritty and detailed understanding of the warfare of the Greek world and thereby bringing to life the ancient narrative. The list of historiographic and surrounding ancient sources is rather thin, which reviewers like Paul Johnson have commented on and found somewhat distasteful—Hanson mentions this in the beginning portion of this book, stating that "straying from the strict protocols of classical scholarship may bother professional historians."[10]

A War Like No Other also connects the classical age with the post 9/11 world. The chapter entitled "Fear" includes some explicit references to the event, but the true indicator is within the section entitled "Terror."[11] In "Fear," the ways in which the Spartans regarded the Long Walls which Athens had constructed between its acropolis and the port city of Piraeus is similar to the way in which outsiders to the United States view the symbols of wealth and power within it—the World Trade Centers.[12] However, Hanson uses "Terror" to describe the nature of atrocity in an increasingly globalized society. In the Peloponnesian War, Greece had begun a journey towards becoming a civilization with extended influence beyond just their own mainland in the Mediterranean, something that they had watched the Persian Empire stop just short of earlier that century. As the war carried on in earnest, acts of mass murder, looting, and terror became commonplace, and disoriented the Greek mind calmed itself by idealizing more ancient times when disputes were straightforward and settled through an honorable hoplite collision. Not only did these events occur, but they effected nearly all of the Hellenic world, everywhere to the sacred places, the major players, and, in Hanson's terms, the "Greek Third World." This sort of terror, known and heard of across the entire Greek world, reflects the modern situation with acts of terror.

A War Like No Other presents itself well as an alternative thematic interpretation of the Peloponnesian War. The work could be well used in a Western Civilization or World Literature course in order to supplement either selected readings of Thucydides, accompany his work, or stand alone as a substitute. The real value of *A War Like No Other* is that it concerns itself

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[10] Johnson, Paul, "Review: A War Like No Other," *New York Times Book Review* 110, no. 43 (October, 2005): 15; Hanson, XVI.

[11] For the direct reference in "Fear" to the terrorist attacks on America on September 11, see Hanson, 3-4.

[12] Hanson, 26; 267.

with the idea that past history is important to the understanding of the present, and is a solid basis for the tracing of themes of warfare, empire, and politics in the Western world.

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THE DARK DAYS OF DECEMBER

By Nathan W. Dickerson

David Hackett Fischer's book *Washington's Crossing*, published in 2004, focuses on the days leading up to and following the Battle of Trenton and reveals the battle's importance in the creation of the United States. Fischer's goal in writing *Washington's Crossing* is to shine a new light on the revival of the American cause in the days leading up to the battle and to highlight the overall importance this relatively small engagement had on the larger picture of American independence.

Fischer's theory revolves around a belief that the choices and events that had occurred previous to the battle set the stage for it to be a major turning point in the war. In the opening portion of *Washington's Crossing,* Fischer uses the book to show his readers where both armies were, physically and mentally, leading up to the battle in December of 1776. Fischer particularly emphasizes the low morale of Washington's army after the many defeats in the New York campaign. At this stage of the war, it appeared as if Washington's army would not be destroyed by the British, but rather by the New Year and the end of his men's enlistments.[1]

Fischer highlights key points that would come into effect as the Battle of Trenton drew nearer. He alludes to the confusion and lack of organization in the Colonial army in the months leading up to the Battle of Trenton during the New York campaign. He shows how faulty intelligence played a major role in Washington's tactical mistakes in battle. On the other side of the battlefield, Fischer relates General Howe's conservative strategy to the underwhelming success of Washington's army by pointing out that Howe's strategy was preventing Washington from maximizing on the strengths of his army in a manner that would give him the upper hand.[2]

A stirring began amongst the American people in December 1776, as Washington's army sat opposite the British Army on the banks of the Delaware River. This stirring was trigged by the words of a man named Thomas Paine. Thomas Paine, the author of *Common* Sense, the pamphlet

[1] David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 202.

[2] Fischer, 77.

that brought the Continental Congress to the doorstep of declaring independence triggered this stirring by writing another pamphlet. This pamphlet, *American Crisis,* pushed Congress one step closer to freedom.[3] Paine's message in *American Crisis* called for the spirit present at the battles of Lexington and Concord to rise up again and take arms against the British tyrants. This call to arms created a spark that would ignite an impassioned fervor throughout the American movement.

It is here that Fischer reveals the missing piece of American folklore from the winter of 1776. Fischer relates that while the battle on Christmas day become the turning point of the war, it was the revival of the revolutionary spirit in days prior that would allow Washington to seize momentum and charge forward.[4] The Continental Congress saw a need to change of direction of the war. Until this point, Congress intervened in the everyday operations of the war, and by doing so, greatly hindered Washington's ability to control his army. Congress created the concept of civilian oversight with military command to correct this problem.[5] This gave Washington the ability to run the Army in a way that better fit the method in which he was going to command it. It was because of these changes that a new national army was formed.[6] A few months prior to Trenton, Congress gave Washington permission to raise new forces. Now, with the changes made to the structure of the army by Congress and with Americans across the Colonies feeling the urgency presented by Paine, the ranks grew and morale shifted.[7] Washington restructured his army then reformed it in a manner which that provided better organization and stronger leadership then had been present in the New York campaign. Out of the defeat and chaos of the New York campaign rose a desperation that revived the Revolution. Now Washington needed an opportunity to capitalize on this new fervor and solidify the American cause.

In mid-December, Washington began forming a plan. Drawing on the enemy intelligence his spies provided him, Washington chose to attack the Hessian troops at Trenton, the weakest enemy outpost along the Delaware River. On Christmas morning of 1776, Washington's men crossed the Delaware River. Washington's men faced great difficulties. But due to the

[3] Fischer, 140.
[4] Ibid., 142.
[5] Ibid., 143.
[6] Ibid., 151.
[7] Ibid., 151.

better organization and stronger leadership instituted after the New York campaign, Washington's soldiers remained steadfast and pushed through to Trenton where they forced the Hessian troops to retreat and then surrender.

Washington took this victory at Trenton and capitalized on it, turning it into a twelve-week campaign culminating in a victory at Princeton. From these victories rose the new national army as ranks swelled and morale soared. The revival of the revolutionary spirit leading up to Trenton did not open the door for victory it simply gave Washington the opportunity that General Howe had been alluding him, and he capitalized on it.

In this book, David Hackett Fischer takes an old story from the American history books and redefines it. He provides a reason for what has long been seen as simply a miracle, and paints an even greater picture of its importance. Fischer defends his thesis well and backs up his points with solid background information, especially in regard to why the Battle of Trenton played such an important role in the outcome of the war. Fischer goes into detail on the mindset of Washington's army and how the revival of the revolutionary spirit changed the course of the war. By showing the impact that the revival of the revolutionary spirit had on the morale of the colonies, as well as the impact it had on the physical structure of the army, Fischer accomplishes his goal of shining a light on the days leading up to the Battle of Trenton. Fischer effectively answers questions of how a defeated and tired army could dismantle well-trained mercenaries, without making faulty statements about the Hessians' potential drunkenness as others have done. Fischer takes a unique approach to historical writing by adding in a number of paintings based on moments from the Battle of Trenton and Princeton as well as maps. He even provides a lengthy appendix to help his readers better understand his research and theory. This book would be a fascinating read for anyone who enjoys discovering a new twist on an old story, or who loves the adventure of a thrilling historical narrative.

The Editorial Board for this issue

Caroline A. Reed is a senior history major and political science minor from Atlanta, Georgia. She is involved in Phi Alpha Theta and Pi Sigma Alph, and has been an editor for *Tenor of Our Times* for two years. Caroline will graduate from Harding University in May and attend Southern Methodist University's Dedman School of Law in the fall.

Hunter Freeman Beck is a senior from Sherwood, Arkansas. He is pursuing a general studies major with focuses in humanities and social science and minors in history, writing, and broadcast journalism. Hunter served as the treasurer of Phi Alpha Theta for the 2015-16 school year. After graduation, Hunter plans to move to California and co-manage a coffee shop. This is his first year as an editor for *Tenor of Our Times.*

John L. Frizzell is a senior from Memphis, Tennessee. He is majoring in history and leadership and ministry. He served as the president of Phi Alpha Theta for the 2015-16 school year. Upon graduating in May, he plans to enter graduate school to receive a Master of Arts in Teaching. This is his third year to serve as an editor for *Tenor of Our Times*.

In Memoriam:
Raymond L. Muncy