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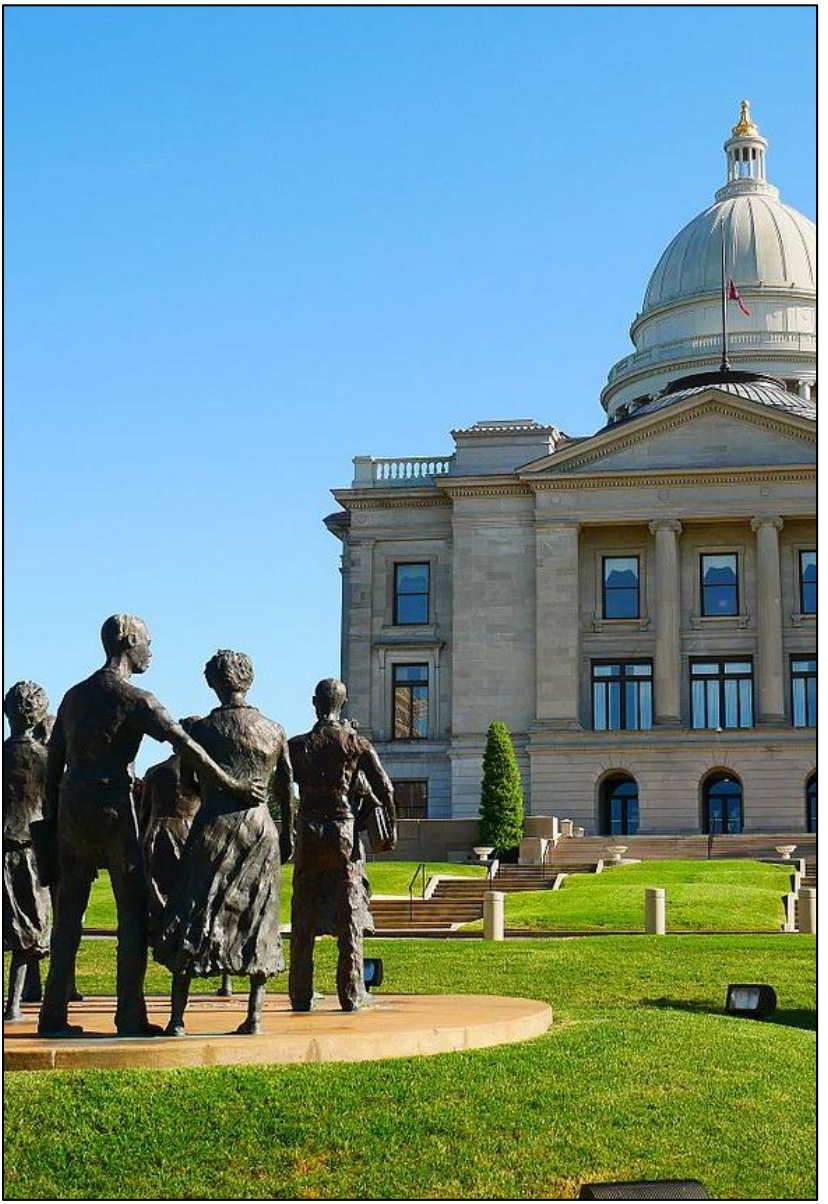

COVER

Little Rock Nine Memorial at the Arkansas Capitol

Little Rock, Arkansas

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TENOR OF OUR TIMES

Volume VII, Spring 2018

Harding University
Searcy, Arkansas

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Tenor of Our Times is available online at scholarworks.harding.edu/tenor/.

Tenor of Our Times is published annually in the spring by the Department of History and Political Science at Harding University, Searcy, Arkansas in conjunction with the Eta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. We are grateful to the contributors, editors, readers, and friends who made this publication possible.

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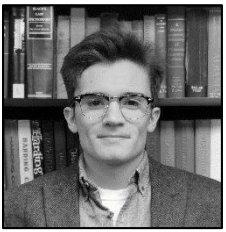

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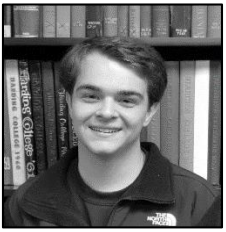

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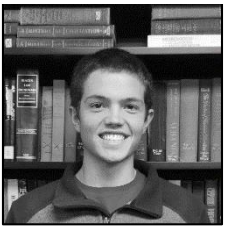

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RAYMOND L. MUNCY SCHOLARSHIP

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.

Primary Award Winner

The Primo de Rivera Dictatorship and the Foundations of Authoritarianism in Spain (1923-30) by Sam Aly

Secondary Award Winner

Douglas MacArthur: America's Five Star Hero by Court Richardson

EDITOR'S NOTE

Memorialization of the past has gained significant relevance this year, and no one has been better prepared to tackle this issue than historians. America asked itself what, why, and how it remembers its history by analyzing examples of its glories and its maladies. The Eta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta at Harding University took on the responsibility to engage with this hot-button issue, choosing its theme as "Memorials and Commemorations."

We enjoyed challenging ourselves with the unique history of our city and state in the backdrop of larger contexts. Eta Phi hosted a panel discussion over the topic of memorials; we asked ourselves difficult questions about the meaning behind these physical manifestations of our history in our hometown of Searcy, Arkansas. The 60 year commemoration of the integration of the Little Rock School district took place only an hour away from our campus, sparking conversation about the progression of race relations and educational equality in our state. We sent a delegation to New Orleans for the Phi Alpha Theta National Conference, where we stretched ourselves as historians by listening to, engaging with, and responding to research done by peers from all over the nation. As a Christian university, we engaged with the 500 year anniversary of the Martin Luther's 95 Theses from a unique perspective which drew equally from our interest in history and theology.

This ambitious seventh volume of *Tenor of Our Times* has been designed to be read as a whole. Through this publication, we start at home and move eastward to explore memories of remarkable human lives which have great influence on the world as we know it, for better or for worse. Our journey has not only taken us through time, but also through space. We have examined the unique history of Arkansas and the city of Searcy itself, but in this edition of *Tenor* our sights move outward to shed new light on history throughout the world. From transatlantic international experiences, we gain better knowledge of our own cultural legacies here in the United States.

We hope to bring some of these perspectives to our readers through this year's issue. Stories such as these need to be told. More than that, though, they need to be heard. Our history provides many answers

which can be guides to our future as much our present circumstances. However, we also strive to ask new questions in light of our constantly changing context.

At the end of the day, what do you deem worthy to remember?

Samuel B. Aly

REMEMBERING LOCAL HISTORY

Articles

Photo Courtesy of: The Library of Congress

Author Bio:

Laren Houstoun is a History major and a Spanish minor at Harding university. After completing her Bachelor's of Arts and Humanities Degree, she plans to further her education by pursuing a Master's Degree in Library and Information Science. Laren thoroughly enjoys volunteering in the communities in which she lives, and plans to continue volunteering for local museums, libraries, and shelters throughout her life. She considers herself a jack of all trades and an expert in none, always dabbling in side projects and new fields of study.

Map Courtesy of: Norma's Mapping

EVANGELIZING FOR THE AMERICAN WAY: THE PROFESSED MISSION OF HARDING COLLEGE UNDER GEORGE S. BENSON'S PRESIDENCY

By Laren Houstoun

At its beginning, Harding College was created from the union of two poor junior colleges, Harper College and Arkansas Christian College. Harding first found its home in Morrilton, Arkansas, in the foothills of the Ozarks, in 1924, and then relocated to a campus in Searcy, Arkansas in 1934 as the student body blossomed.[1] Affiliated with the Restoration churches of Christ, the foundations of the rural Arkansas college were biblical. However, the primordial image of the quaint and humble Harding College Bible school of the twenties and thirties does not align with the following description of Harding's home depicted by the *New York Times* on May 18, 1961: "This small town in central Arkansas is perhaps the most prolific center of aggressive anti-Communist propaganda in the United States."[2] In the decades following its inception, Harding College became heavily associated not only with biblical schooling, but also with Americanism, capitalist ideology, and anti-Communism. The clear display of fervent evangelism for political-economic agendas that developed early on was no accident. Rather, Harding's second president, George S. Benson, deliberately crafted a new reputation for the institution while in office from 1936 until 1965. Though Benson was undoubtedly a devout member of the churches of Christ, the overwhelmingly conservative political and economic agenda he disseminated during his presidency distracted onlookers outside of the churches of Christ from the mission of Christian evangelism and education upon which the school was created.

Many historians have written about Benson and his profound effect on Harding's trajectory. In 1991, John C. Stevens published the seminal biography on Benson, *Before Any Were Willing*, which expands

[1] "History," About Harding, accessed September 18, 2017.

[2] Cabell Phillips, "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas: Dr. George S. Benson, Head of College and 'National Education Program,' Aims to Alert the Common Man," *New York Times*, May 18, 1961, microfilm, p. 26.

over the entirety of Benson's life to reveal both his remarkable character and actions. Having corresponded with and personally interviewed Benson himself, Stevens' work provides credibility and chronology to events mentioned in various other sources. In his dissertation, "George S. Benson: Conservative, Anti-Communist, Pro-Americanism Speaker," Donald P. Garner describes the cultural background of Benson to give light to the circumstantial motivations behind the president's speeches. In another notable work, *Sometimes Wrong But Never in Doubt*, L. Edward Hicks argues that Benson's extensive efforts in the grassroots movement for small government and free market values culminated in the successful presidential election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. In addition to these secondary sources, a wealth of primary documents regarding Benson's presidency is available. Student, regional, and national newspaper articles provide crucial insight into contemporary perspectives on Benson's actions. In particular, the campus news publication, the *Bison*, reported on contemporary developments of and reactions to Benson's presidency. An interview with Clifton L. Ganus, friend and successor of Benson, is utilized to breathe personality into Benson's narrative. Additionally, Benson's own voice is heard through the use of his media productions and autobiographical accounts.

The identification of the institution's origins, purpose, and tribulations is paramount to recounting the development of Harding's marriage with conservative American political-economic ideologies. As previously stated, Harding emerged from the union of two junior bible colleges. A. S. Croom led Arkansas Christian in Morrilton, Arkansas, one of the two junior colleges.[3] Having kept a balanced budget for two years, Croom learned of the major financial difficulties plaguing a neighboring Christian college in Harper, Kansas.[4] Due to conflict between influential locals, Harper College was not receiving the funds for necessary buildings.[5] Harper's president at the time was John Nelson Armstrong, a well-known educator, evangelist, and writer trained by the

[3] George S. Benson, Autobiographical notes typed for a speech, March 27, 1980, B-001, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR, p. 3

[4] Ibid.

[5] Lloyd C. Sears, *For Freedom: The Biography of John Nelson Armstrong* (Austin, Texas: Sweet Publishing, 1969), 192-197.

major church of Christ leaders, David Lipscomb and James A. Harding, at the Nashville Bible School and Potter Bible College.[6] Together, Armstrong and Croom salvaged the mission of Harper College by reemploying nearly the entire faculty of Harper College at Arkansas Christian's Morrilton campus with the vision of creating a senior college out of the two schools in 1924.[7]They modeled their new institution after the example of the Nashville Bible School and the theology of Lipscomb and Harding and named Armstrong its first president. As he presided over the newly formed Harding College, Armstrong set out to create a genuinely Christian atmosphere at Harding, stating, "The greatest gift of a college education should not be knowledge and facts, but enriched character and higher ideals."[8]

Armstrong's presidency was plagued with two critical issues: a lack of local support from churches and a sizable debt. The first issue involved Harding's increasingly damaged standing among the local churches of Christ as a "premillennial" institution due to the reputation of its president.[9] The Premillennial controversy that plagued Harding's early support can be understood through the distinction of two terms, premillenialism and postmillennialism. Premillenialism is the assumption that Christ could return at any moment and socio-political turmoil would be the indication of this imminent arrival, while postmillennialism holds that a spiritual and cultural advancement of approximately one thousand years would precede to the coming of Christ.[10] Closely associated with the more optimistic postmillennialism, the Restoration Movement advocated societal progress in the United States, and so did the contemporary churches of Christ in Arkansas.[11] Unfortunately, Armstrong did not refute regional premillennial leaders loudly enough to convince local churches of his lack of affiliation with the theology. This

[6] Sears, 188-191.

[7] Benson, Autobiographical notes for a speech, 3.

[8] Sears, 235.

[9] L. Edward Hicks, *Sometimes Wrong, But Never in Doubt: George S. Benson and the Education of the New Religious Right* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 19.

[10] Hicks, 17-18.

[11] Ibid., 18.

blacklisted Harding as a "premillennial" institution, caused it to lose financial support, and perpetuated the outstanding debt.[12]

This large outstanding debt was the second critical issue Harding College faced. Stemming from the inability of local donors to meet their promised pledge sums, Harding's indebtedness rose to $45,000.[13] After borrowing $50,000 for a girl's dormitory within the first two years of Harding's , the indebtedness hit $95,000.[14] The college's attorney, Judge Strait, admitted that Harding's full indebtedness most likely was near $175,000 to $200,000 by 1926.[15] For clarity, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics' consumer price index (CPI) inflation calculator indicates that the value of $200,000 in 1926 is equivalent to more than $2,700,000 in 2017.[16] The unpaid debts fell heavily on Armstrong as their bank and insurance company foreclosed on the college.[17] However, the bankruptcy of local banks and insurers due to the harsh economic conditions proved to be a blessing in disguise for Harding, as the college received debt forgiveness and barely survived through this era.[18] The board that was originally responsible for the finances had only paid a fraction of the faculty salaries since 1925.[19] In the 1930s, the college ran an annual deficit of $6,000 to $8,000.[20] Eventually, success in campaigning and frugality allowed Armstrong to absolve the mortgage in the mid-1930s. Yet, the increasing student body was outgrowing its campus at Morrilton.[21] In 1934, Harding College purchased Galloway College, a women's institution in Searcy, Arkansas, from the local Methodist Church for the bargain of $75,000.[22] However, two years later

[12] Hicks, 19.
[13] Sears, 219.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 220.
[16] "CPI Inflation Calculator," Databases, Tables, & Calculators by Subject, accessed November 20, 2017, https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.
[17] Sears, 223.
[18] Ibid., 224.
[19] Ibid., 228.
[20] Sears, 229.
[21] Sears, 240.
[22] George S. Benson, Autobiographical notes typed for an interview with the Oral History Library, B-001, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR, p. 7.

Armstrong had yet to pay a single dollar on the debt's interest, which was amassing at around $4,200 annually.[23]

Remarkably, the critical issues facing the adolescent Bible college did not deter teachers and students from the Christian environment at Harding. Though money was scarce, few teachers from the original faculty dropped, student enrollment continued to increase, and both teachers and students made generous donations to pay off the school's mortgage.[24] Comparatively, the school was in better financial and quality standings in the mid-1930s than it had ever been before. Nevertheless, on April 22, 1936, an aging and weary Armstrong announced that he would resign. [25] Through letters, he offered his position to a missionary in China, hoping this young leader would become the next president of Harding College.

Born to Scotch-Irish parents in Oklahoma's Dewey County in 1898, George S. Benson was reared under the values of thrift and hard work.[26] Benson went to high school in Oklahoma and college at both Harper College, later Harding College, and Oklahoma A&M.[27] He paid for his schooling through various local jobs and teaching and finally received his Bachelor of Science degree with a double major in history and economics.[28] His upbringing and dedication to paying for his own schooling molded his view that if a person was willing to work hard enough they could achieve nearly anything, especially a quality education.[29] After graduating in August 1925, Benson married, travelled to China with his new wife to dedicate their lives to mission work.[30] Unfortunately, the enthusiastic missionary couple encountered a confusing and violent political atmosphere when Communist

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[23] Hicks, 14

[24] Sears, 226-228, 232.

[25] John N. Armstrong to George S. Benson, March 3, 1936, B001, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[26] Benson, Autobiographical notes prepared for an interview with the Oral History Library, 1.

[27] Ibid., 3.

[28] Benson, Autobiographical notes prepared for Interview with Oral History Library, 3.

[29] Benson, Autobiographical notes prepared for Interview with Oral History Library, 3.

[30] Ibid., 4.

Kuomintang soldiers took control of inland China. Benson recalls this tumultuous period in one of his biographical essays:

> In China, my reception was warm and kind, until the Communist propagandists arrived in 1926. Persecution immediately was rough. All missionaries were driven out. None were left. My own life was threatened every day during the six weeks required to reach HongKong.[31]

This early missionary experience with communism reaffirmed Benson's love for American democracy and free enterprise economics.

While in China, Benson had frequently corresponded with President Armstrong, and from March to May of 1936, Benson received a series of pivotal letters from his old friend. In these letters, Armstrong urged "Brother Benson" to accept the invitation of lead the college in the fall of 1936.[32] At first reluctant to leave his dreams as a life-long missionary in China, Benson accepted the offer to become the new president of Harding College on behalf of the request of his old friend.[33] When Benson became president in 1936, Harding College changed. His longtime friend and colleague at Harding, Clifton L. Ganus, spoke of him saying, "Dr. Benson was a very economical man, very strong individual, very dedicated and harder worker," including that he often saw Benson still in his office working at 2:00 in the morning.[34] A man of wild ideas and unrelenting perseverance to realize those ideas, Benson often declared, "This life is for working, and the next one's for resting."[35] Additionally, he was a charismatic speaker, having acquired his persuasive speaking style through collegiate debate and missionary experience.[36] Although the issues that permeated Armstrong's presidency and encouraged his eventual resignation were cumbersome, they

[31] George S. Benson, "The National Education Program," B042, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR, p. 1.

[32] Armstrong to Benson, March 3, 1936.

[33] Benson, Autobiographical notes prepared for an interview with the Oral History Library, 7.

[34] Clifton L. Ganus, interview by author, Searcy, AR, November 13, 2017.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Hicks, 4-5.

provided the necessary backdrop for Benson to materialize his political and economic philosophies during his presidency.

When his presidency began in 1936, Benson inherited the challenge of solving Harding's financial problems. In his letters, Armstrong made it clear that Benson would not inherit any of his precedents.[37] As long as Benson found a way to salvage the Bible school from $67,400 in debt (roughly equivalent to $1.2 million today) he was free to transform Harding into something uniquely his own.[38] Benson established four goals for his presidency: attain regional accreditation, pay off the debt and add to Harding's funds, stabilize and increase salaries for the faculty, and continue forming genuine knowledge and faith in the present student body of 250 young men and women.[39] To meet these goals, Benson established an operating monthly salary schedule and a fundraising drive to foster donations from local churches by October of 1936.[40] Through his fundraising, Benson received donation pledges from students and staff, local churches, and churches in Northeast Arkansas amounting to a enormous $15,000 by November of the same year.[41] But as the shadow of Armstrong's premillennial association persisted, local churches became increasingly reluctant to continue their monetary support for Harding.[42]

Alongside his desire to financially stabilize the Bible school, Benson also felt compelled to advance what he referred to as the "American Way."[43] When Benson returned to the United States from China, he found his country in poor spirits from the economic hardships of the Great Depression. Moreover, United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal had implemented numerous federally-sponsored relief programs for Americans. According to Benson, "This led, for the first time, to the American people believing that the federal government

[37] Armstrong to Benson, March 3, 1936.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Benson, Autobiographical notes prepared for an interview with the Oral History Library, 8.
[40] Ibid., 7.
[41] Hicks, 15.
[42] Hicks, 16.
[43] "Benson Talks to Groups in Little Rock," *Bison*, January 27, 1942.

owed them a living."[44] The polices of the New Deal motivated Benson to become a public speaker upon returning from China.[45] He later reflected on the context of his return and said, "I had gone to China eleven years earlier because I thought I had a message for China... Now, back in America, I felt I had a message for Americans."[46]

The concept of the American Way that Benson sough to vindicate is best elaborated by Garner. In his dissertation, Garner categorizes Benson as a voice of classic conservatism in mid-twentieth century America by listing his political and economic preferences. Benson favored laissez-faire economics, the use of private capital, a balanced budget, and an increase in patriotism, and he opposed the expansion of the federal government, welfare programs, increasing national debt, and heavily progressive taxation.[47] Benson also viewed as a threat and regularly equated communism with socialism.[48] Equally important to Benson's American Way ideal was his view that God himself had established free enterprise economics in the world.[49] These combined beliefs allowed Benson to perceive an education in Americanism as seated upon a Christian worldview.

At the beginning of his role as president, Benson's ultimate ends were twofold: elevate the economic standing of Harding College and revitalize the American perception of free enterprise. Receiving rejection from local coreligionist congregations, Benson turned away from pious generosity and sought capital from regional and national businessmen, who were themselves in deep need of credible and charismatic free-enterprise avocation. Benson first entered into this market through a man named Clinton Davidson. A graduate of Armstrong and James A. Harding's Potter Bible College in Kentucky, Davidson was a prominent insurance salesman, financial counselor, and member of the church of

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[44] Benson, "The National Education Program," 2.

[45] Donald P. Garner, "George S. Benson: Conservative, Anti-Communist, Pro-Americanism Speaker," (PhD diss., Wayne State University, 1963), 87.

[46] George S. Benson, "The Beginning of the National Education Program," B-042, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR, p. 2.

[47] Garner, 102, 104,106, 111-113, 115, 119, 124.

[48] Ibid., 105, 120, 121.

[49] Garner, 127.

Christ who had associates in New York and Washington.[50] Flooded with fond memories of his time under Armstrong's teaching, Davidson felt convicted to help Harding, and in turn donated $10,000 for Benson's campaign efforts.[51] Davidson also secured Benson meetings with executive officers of influential companies such as DuPont Chemical, International Harvester, Quaker Oats, and numerous prominent oil and steel corporations.[52] Furthermore, George Pepperdine, a Kansas native and the recent endower of the George Pepperdine College in Los Angeles, was moved by Davidson to give nearly $25,000 to Benson in order to secure more foundations for Christian education and future missionaries.[53]

According to articles at the time in Harding's student newspaper publication, the *Bison*, Benson's presidency from 1936 to 1939 was consumed with financial campaigns. In search of pledges and donations, the students remained constantly informed about Benson's trips and successes. The *Bison* publication on January 5, 1937 notified students that Benson would "hold rallies all over the southern states" and would "visit a different community each week in behalf of the drive."[54] By April of 1939, the *Bison* recorded that Benson had travelled to cities all over Arkansas, Illinois, New York, California, Florida, Oklahoma, Kansas, Washington, and Montana.[55] Through his growing regional connections, Benson was able to start up a series of lecture programs at Harding in the late 1930s that featured successful Arkansas businessmen. The publicity generated by the success of these speaking series encouraged him to broadcast his ideas beyond the Arkansas borders.[56]

Early opportunities and successes gave Benson the funds to pay off the mortgage. "Mortgage Paid!" read the front page of the December 5, 1939 edition of the *Bison*, with multiple articles following to report the

[50] Hicks, 19.
[51] Sears, 260.
[52] Hicks, 19.
[53] Sears, 261.
[54] "Benson Leaves for Rally in New York City," *Bison*, January 5, 1937.
[55] See *Bison* articles from September of 1936 until April of 1939 for a fuller picture of Benson travels as portrayed in the student newspaper.
[56] Hicks, 31.

enthusiastic moment of debt cancellation.[57] On Thursday afternoon of November 30, 1939, students, alumni, faculty, and friends stood around as the president emeritus, J. N. Armstrong, was given the honor of tossing the Harding mortgage into a giant fire.[58] "All eyes watched the flames envelope the blue paper and no longer it blacked the name of Harding."[59] In an open letter to the president, the *Bison* staff portrayed Benson as the savior of the times stating, "We are anxious to see a financially secure Harding, and we feel that we could never find a better leader in accomplishing that goal."[60] Paying off the mortgage gave Benson, the faculty, and the students much needed confidence in the college's future. All of those associated with Harding now felt that they could move forward in some important way, and Benson was sure to determine what that important next step would be.

Benson's persistent success and plentiful connections inspired him to invent something of his own. In the late 1930s, Benson initiated Harding's "Department of National Education," an entity soon to be renamed the National Education Program (NEP) in 1941.[61] The purpose of this new "non-profit" and "non-partisan" organization was to create a better understanding of the American Way through various mediums.[62] Benson incorporated the already well-received speeches into the NEP, and due to the popularity of these lectures, he was invited to write a newspaper column in the early 1940s. This syndicated column, "Looking Ahead," included the political and economic opinions of Benson, and was eventually featured in about 3,600 different newspapers with millions of weekly readers.[63] These political columns were even included in the college's monthly bulletin.[64] The NEP also sponsored a 15-minute

[57] Buck Harris, "Mortgage Paid!" *Bison*, December 5, 1939.

[58] Harris, "Mortgage Paid: Debt Completely Liquidated Under Benson's Efforts," *Bison*, December 5, 1939.

[59] Buck Harris, "Mortgage Paid: Debt Completely Liquidated Under Benson's Efforts," *Bison*, December 5, 1939.

[60] "An Open Letter to President Benson," *Bison*, December 5, 1939.

[61] Hicks, 22.

[62] George S. Benson, "The Purpose of the National Education Program," Typescript, B042, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR, p. 1-2.

[63] Frank Hughes, "College is Champion of U.S. Way," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 19, 1948.

[64] Ibid.

weekly radio program that was used by 137 various stations in 39 states.[65] Produced in New York by professional speakers, the program called "Land of the Free" dramatized the lives of notable Americans such as Henry Ford, Ted Williams, and Marian Anderson.[66] In later years, the NEP would formulate new methods of delivering their message to the common man. Hicks wrote, "Happily, the need to save Harding coincided with [Benson's] urge to vindicate American private enterprise and its constitutional system."[67] From here on, Harding would be represented by both the gospel message and Americanism education.

With the mortgage cleared, Benson embarked on a new financial campaign to stabilize Harding's finances and grow the campus infrastructure, in addition to pursuing regional accreditation.[68] Benson found a national platform to meet this goal after Wilbur Mills, the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and friend of Benson's, offered him a extraordinary invitation to speak before Congress.[69] On May 15, 1941, Benson achieved national fame for proposing a two million dollar cut from the upcoming tax bill to the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives.[70] The *Bison* was certain to let campus know of this event, and noted that Benson introduced his speech to the Committee as follows:

> My name is George S. Benson. I am president of Harding College of Searcy, Arkansas. I represent a small college, located in a small town, in a small state, but I know of no bigger, nor more important idea than the one to which we wish to add our testimony. Gentlemen, the citizens of Arkansas are interested in economy—individual economy and governmental economy.[71]

Continuing, Benson warned of aggressive future inflation, socialism, and dictatorship if Congress did not take proper action against rising national

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Hughes, "College is Champion of U.S. Way."

[67] Hicks, 21.

[68] Anne French, "Pres. Benson Sets Forth College Financial Program," *Bison*, October 22, 1940.

[69] Ganus, interview by author.

[70] "Benson Delivers Report On Tax Reduction Before House Ways and Means Committee," *Bison*, May 20, 1941.

[71] Ibid.

debt.[72] On May 16, both the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Journal of Commerce* printed Benson's entire speech in their editorial columns.[73] This speech made a poignant statement about Benson's purpose as an American citizen and the president of Harding College. In reflection on this event, Ganus recalled, "... speaking before the House of Representatives in Congress, opened a door, and many businessmen then became interested in what he had to say."[74]

Benson found another speaking opportunity on August 21, 1941. He presented to the Senate Finance Committee about the Tax Bill.[75] In November, Benson made the front-page of the *Arkansas Democrat*'s Sunday Magazine with an article titled, "A One-Man Economy Crusade." Oren Stephens began the article by stating, "How strange that the head of a small Arkansas college should become a national figure overnight by the simple act of pleading for economy in non-defense expenditures!"[76] Stephens continued on to explain how Benson's pioneering background led him to become a man of self-reliance who was able to rescue an indebted school.[77] This magazine assumed, as many others did, that Benson's mission was a patriotic one, and so was the mission of that "small Arkansas college."

The *Bison* informed students that their president's financial philosophy became increasingly popular following his testimony in the House.[78] Business clubs, Civic Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, newspaper alliances, State bank associations, advertising committees, various state Chambers of Commerce, and numerous manufacturing corporations eagerly invited Benson to lecture on the national economy and non-defense expenditures.[79] Benson's travels took him on an

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[72] "Benson Delivers Report on Tax Reduction Before House Ways and Means Committee," *Bison*.

[73] Hicks, 37.

[74] Ganus, interview by author.

[75] "Business, Civic Groups Hear Benson Lecture On National Economy," *Bison*, September 30, 1941.

[76] Oren Stephens, "One-Man Economy Crusade," *Arkansas Democrat*, November 9, 1941.

[77] Ibid.

[78] "Business, Civic Groups Hear Benson Lecture On National Economy," *Bison*, September 30, 1941.

[79] "Business, Civic Groups Hear Benson Lecture On National Economy;" Hicks, 38-39.

"extensive lecture tour" to Missouri, Louisiana, Kansas, Illinois, Ohio, Iowa, Tennessee, and Wisconsin, with future engagements planned for Oklahoma, Alabama, Iowa, Minnesota, and Maryland.[80] In an interview with an Oklahoma Congressmen on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Benson declared that the reason Harding graduates were in such high demand was because "they have learned to economize."[81] Also telling of Harding's budding reputation was a statement from a contemporaneous *Bison* article that read, "Both Dr. Benson and Harding College have gained nationwide attention as a result of the economy program which he advocates."[82] Benson's message for America was quickly becoming synonymous with Harding's message for America.

The awards Benson received also indicated how the nation viewed his efforts. In October of 1941, a group of Michigan citizens sent Benson a gold boxing glove with the engraving "Champion College President of 1941."[83] Dr. Hugh S. Magill, the president of the American Federation of Investors, referred to Benson's speech to the Senate Finance Committee as "one of the most valuable contributions yet made to our national economy and the preservation of our American system."[84] Additionally, the Tax Foundation in New York City presented Benson with a medal in honor of his efforts to create a sound national economic philosophy.[85] In the Special Edition of January 6, 1942, the *Bison* dedicated the majority of the articles in the student newspaper to their president in order to express praise and gratitude for the "Bensonian Doctrine" of American hard work and thrift that had garnered such attention.[86]

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[80] "Business, Civic Groups Hear Benson Lecture On National Economy," *Bison*, September 30, 1941.

[81] "Dr. Benson Talks to Nation in Broadcast: President Interviewed by Member of the House Ways and Means Committee," *Bison*, November 4, 1941.

[82] "Business, Civic Groups Hear Benson Lecture On National Economy," *Bison*, September 30, 1941.

[83] "Dr. Benson Receives Title of 'Champ'," *Bison*, October 7, 1941.

[84] "Benson in Commended For His Contributions to National Economy," *Bison*, October 7, 1941.

[85] "Tax Foundation Gives Plaque to Pres. Benson: Large National Group Praises His Efforts As Educator, Citizen," *Bison*, December 16, 1941.

[86] See articles from the Special Edition of the *Bison* on January 6, 1942.

Another significant publicity opportunity for Harding arrived less than a year later after Harding students made a bold statement to the National Youth Association (NYA), a government organization formally established in 1935 to provide federal grants to students struggling to pay for schooling.[87] A *Bison* article published in 1937 reported that there were 67 Harding students at the time who were receiving a total of $780 dollars each month from the NYA.[88] However, the NYA was considered a wasteful "alphabet agency" by those opposed to President Roosevelt's New Deal programs, such as Benson.[89] Benson's persistence on the dissolution of this organization culminated into student action when, on January 24, 1942, twenty of his students signed a letter to Secretary Henry Morgenthau of the US Treasury Department desiring elimination from NYA payroll because they could "secure employment and make [their] way in college without receiving NYA assistance."[90] Though Aubrey Williams, head of the NYA, issued two press releases to disparage the action, many applauded Harding students for performing such a bold statement of self-reliance.[91] The article ultimately made an economic statement by asserting, "If any youth is not now employed, it is his own fault," by quoting Benson's understanding of alphabet agencies as "extravagant and wasteful," and by concluding with the phrase, "Self-reliance epitomizes the American Way!" Benson applauded the students' action, as he continued to mention this event at conferences as an example of applying his doctrine of American thrift.[92] It appears that both participants at Harding and onlookers saw a college that preached the restoration of traditional American values more strongly than Christian-based higher education.

From this time until the end of the spring semester of 1945, Benson continued to pursue his economic policy preferences in federal

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[87] Harding students to Secretary Henry Morgenthau, January 24, 1942, reprinted in "The Flame That Must Not Die," on p. 11, B0037, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[88] "NYA Funds Are Furnished 67 Local People," *Bison*, April 27, 1937.

[89] "Bensonian Doctrine: 'Thrift and Work'," *Bison*, January 6, 1942.

[90] Harding students to Secretary Henry Morgenthau, January 24, 1942.

[91] Frank Hughes, "$75,000 Debt Just Memory for College: President Leads It to Fame," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 22, 1948.

[92] "Benson Speaks to Citizen Body About Economy: He Is Selected to Serve on Organizing Committee of the New Association," *Bison*, February 3, 1942.

and state administrations while simultaneously visiting cities to fundraise for Harding's endowment. On April 15, 1942, Benson paid a visit to the Senate Labor Committee to urge the abolition of the NYA and other alphabet agencies.[93] Every Friday at 6:30 p.m., Benson spoke through Little Rock's KARK and Memphis's WMC about the importance of corporations and the effects taxes have on them.[94] In May of 1942, Clinton Davidson spoke at Harding on financial investments and industry to satisfy Benson's goal that Harding graduates "depend in large part upon their opportunity to engage in private enterprise and understand it."[95] At the end of 1944, Benson announced a detailed plan for securing the endowment program, elucidating the need of at least $500,000 to reach its goal of accreditation.[96]

After 1945, Benson focused his crusading efforts against federal aid and communist philosophy in the US through radio broadcasts and NEP publications.[97] In January of 1946, Benson gave a speech to a crowd of 20,000 at Madison Square Garden, New York City on his "cure for Communism."[98] His cure was a "return to God," vaguely meaning a return to the harmonious cooperation between agriculture, labor, and industry.[99] In this speech, Benson promoted the idea that the principles of free enterprise are the principles referred to by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount.[100] The "sound reasoning" of this speech and many others continued to espouse much attention, and landed him recognition in the September issues of both the *National Geographic* and the *Reader's*

[93] "Benson Appears Before Senators," *Bison*, April 21, 1942.

[94] "Hear Benson on KARK; WMC," *Bison*, September 29, 1942.

[95] "Economist Talks to Student Body Thursday Night: '1942 Model' Economy Expert, Yale Graduate, Well Known as Business Trends Forecaster," *Bison*, May 5, 1942.

[96] "Benson Announces Program Which Will Endow College: Seek 150 Subscribers to Pledge Hundred Dollars Each Year," *Bison*, December 12, 1944.

[97] Review of *Bison* articles from 1945 to 1947.

[98] "Dr. Benson Gives Cure for Communism: Presents Answer to Ideology of Karl Marx Before Audience of 20,000 in Madison Square Garden," *Bison*, January 15, 1946.

[99] Ibid.

[100] "Dr. Benson Gives Cure for Communism: Presents Answer to Ideology of Karl Marx Before Audience of 20,000 in Madison Square Garden," *Bison*, January 15, 1946.

Digest.[101] These beloved national magazines emphasized his opposition to "free scholarships" from the government and three techniques he claimed would be used by Communists to destroy American freedom.[102] Benson received additional widespread recognition for a booklet he wrote entitled "America In The Valley of Decision," which became so popular that it required a third printing of 143,000 copies.[103] Also, the 1946 edition of the Biographical Encyclopedia of the World included Benson under the section, "Who's Important in Education," elucidating Benson's notable effects on American educational thought.[104]

Additionally, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* released extensive press coverage of Benson's Harding in January of 1948. After studying what the *Tribune* considered "the operations of a small college in Arkansas dedicated to the glorification of Americanism," the paper's staff writer, Frank Hughes, wrote enthusiastic articles about Harding for four consecutive days.[105] In the first article published January 19, Hughes praised Harding's "militant message" for traditional American values, overtly crediting Benson with the feat of reaching reportedly 25 million Americans weekly.[106] He believed the "one man" college's message was most clearly rendered through Benson's four essential factors for American happiness and prosperity: upholding constitutional government, honoring private property, encouraging cooperation between the various industry sectors, and fair taxation.[107] Hughes's interpretation of what Harding stood for reflected the reality of the institution's mission under Benson. Hughes's second article published on January 20 was titled "Work, Profit! It's Credo Of This College."[108] He immediately bragged about how the students at that institution learned about capitalism, asserting that it must be a morally justified cause

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[101] Mary Jean Godwin, "Dr. Benson Widely Quoted in Leading U.S. Journals," *Bison*, October 10, 1946.

[102] Ibid.

[103] "Valley of Decision Booklet by Benson Has Large Response," *Bison*, October 17, 1946.

[104] "Benson Is Included in '46 Edition of World Encyclopedia," *Bison*, February 27, 1947.

[105] Hughes, "College is a Champion of U.S. Way: 25 Million Get Its Message."

[106] Ibid.

[107] Hughes, "College is a Champion of U.S. Way: 25 Million Get Its Message."

[108] Frank Hughes, "Work Profit! It's Credo of this College: Students Live the American Way," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 20, 1948.

because of the students' professed faith in Christ.[109] The third article he presented on January 21 uniquely focused on Harding's spiritual mission; nevertheless, Christianity is merely used as the third bullet point for how to cultivate an effective Americanism education school.[110] Lastly, Hughes's fourth article on January 22 is a biography of Benson, honing in on the former missionary's experience with communism and anti-business attitudes while triumphing over Harding's dire financial conditions.[111] Hughes noticed that, at the beginning of Benson's presidency, very few Americans outside of Searcy, Arkansas' White County were cognizant of the existence of Harding, yet in 1948 the tiny rural school managed to actualize unprecedented fame.[112] How the tiny, rural college managed to make headlines spoke volumes about its professed mission.

Benson vigilantly worked to make the dream of a financially stable Harding come true, and his work with the NEP and other events was paying off, quite literally. Harding College purchased the WHBQ radio station in Memphis for $300,000 in 1946.[113] This purchase would accordingly profit around $60,000 annually for Harding, which initially helped Benson raise teachers' pay.[114] Benson set another financial campaign in motion on the first day of March in 1948 to raise 1.5 million dollars for much needed campus infrastructure.[115] By the end of that same month, the *Bison* reported Benson had already raised $872,570, the equivalent of approximately $9.2 million today.[116] College staff declared this to be the most momentous feat in Harding's history since the

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[109] Hughes, "Work Profit!".

[110] Frank Hughes, "How College Finds Pro-U.S. Instructors: Looks for Truth, Christian Ideals," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1948.

[111] Hughes, "$75,000 Debt Just Memory for College: President Leads It to Fame."

[112] Ibid.

[113] "Harding Buys Memphis Radio Station WHBQ," *Bison*, May 21, 1946.

[114] "Harding Buys Memphis Radio Station WHBQ," *Bison*, May 21, 1946; Frank Hughes, "Work Profit! It's Credo of this College: Students Live the American Way."

[115] "Initial Success of Campaign Celebrated: Dr. George Benson Breaks Ground For First of Proposed Buildings," *Bison*, March 30, 1948.

[116] "Initial Success of Campaign Celebrated: Dr. George Benson Breaks Ground For First of Proposed Buildings;" "CPI Inflation Calculator," Databases, Tables, & Calculators by Subject, accessed November 20, 2017, https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.

mortgage liquidation in 1939.[117] In 1948, Harding also owned and managed 1,500 acres of farmland for profitable livestock, a block plant, and a laundry and dry cleaning plant, all operations that did considerable business for the college.[118] By 1949, the *Bison* laid out the new objectives Benson had for Harding College, namely more buildings, more teachers and maintenance workers, and individual academic guidance for students.[119] The school also continued its presentation for admission into the North Central Accrediting Association.[120]

In the mid-1940s, Benson fashioned a new and groundbreaking product through the NEP. Dreaming of producing quality film for Americanism education, he consulted with the most well-known figure in the cartoon industry, Walt Disney, about the best way to go about making short films.[121] Disney then referred Benson to John Sutherland, a former executive of Disney Studios and then-current film producer in Los Angeles.[122] Sutherland and Benson corresponded throughout 1946 about film possibilities, and Sutherland initially informed Benson that the cost for producing one film would be about $50,000.[123] Both Sutherland and Benson shared the vision of educating viewers on patriotism and free enterprise, but both also lacked the funds to do so.[124] Therefore, the duo sought help from Mr. Alfred Sloan, the former Chairman of the Board of General Motors and the president of the Sloan Foundation.[125] An advocate of Americanism himself, Sloan ended up donating an astonishing one million dollars towards the film production.[126] Though Sutherland's colleagues produced the films rather than the NEP staff, Benson made sure to have the official address for the films be written as

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[117] "Initial Success of Campaign Celebrated: Dr. George Benson Breaks Ground For First of Proposed Buildings."

[118] Hicks, 29.

[119] "Benson Reveals New Objective in College Improvement Program," *Bison*, February 1, 1949.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Hicks, 63.

[122] Ibid.

[123] John Sutherland to George S. Benson, December 26, 1946, B-057, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[124] John Sutherland to George S. Benson, October 2, 1947, B-057, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[125] Hicks, 63.

[126] Ibid.

Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas. More than 30 unique films were eventually produced through the NEP under Benson's direction.[127]

Though the overall themes of the videos were plainly pro-Americanism and anti-Communism, the actual content and storylines were surprisingly creative. In the comical "Albert in Blunderland," an American mechanic named Albert falls into a dream world called "Antrolia."[128] In this world, ant citizens live under a government that has total control and authority in every aspect of public life, including job classification and what films are shown.[129] Albert protests against such destructions of personal liberties and, as a result, is sent to be killed by the "planning board," an assembly that has recently been reelected for its fiftieth consecutive term.[130] He screams, "Get the exterminator, get the DDT," as he wakes up from the dream.[131] Once awake, he uses this insight about communist ruling to spread the truth about Communism.[132] In another film titled "Dear Uncle," Uncle Sam appeals to a bickering farmer, businessman, and laborer.[133] As the Soviet sickle and hammer enlarge on the screen, Uncle Sam says, "Unless your government practices some good old-fashioned American thrift, a bunch of certain sharp operators may be able to pick up our country at a bargain price."[134] In "Make Mine Freedom," the narrator blatantly displays anti-communist attitude by depicting a crooked salesman, named Dr. Utopia, who attempts to sell discouraged Americans a magical elixir called "ism."[135] These NEP films overtly expressed Benson's worries about planned economy, economic illiteracy, and the spread of non-traditional philosophies by the intellectual elites. Benson hoped these films would cause others to worry and take action as well.

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[127] Benson, "The Purpose of the National Education Program," 3.

[128] "Albert in Blunderland," John Sutherland Productions, 1950, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid.

[132] "Albert in Blunderland."

[133] "Dear Uncle," John Sutherland Productions, 1952, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[134] Ibid.

[135] "Make Mine Freedom," John Sutherland Productions, 1948, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

Due to the use of Technicolor's superior color processing and various economic specialists for script writing, the films produced over the next decade were of such high quality that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) voluntarily distributed these productions across 5,000 of their theaters around the nation.[136] MGM later reported that the "Harding cartoons" became the corporation's most popular short subject films.[137] In 1950, *Business Week* applauded the films for being both educational and entertaining.[138] By 1952, 63 out of 107 total national television stations had displayed the film "Going Places."[139] People who had never heard of Harding would now have their first association through visual lessons on the American way.

The NEP hosted another successful program, the Freedom Forums, which annually featured nationally recognized businessmen and anti-communist speakers in a lectureship often on Harding's campus. Occasionally, the Forums were outsourced to different cities to allow for larger audiences.[140] In 1950, the NEP sponsored Freedom Forum VII at Purdue University on the topic "Arming the Home Front," using lectures and then-state-of-the-art flannel board presentations.[141] Americanism and economic education dominated the discussion of Freedom Forum IX, with nationally recognized economists and large corporation executives heading the lectures at Harding in March of 1951.[142] In October 1951, Freedom Forum X invited an especially well-known keynote speaker, Louis Budenz. An economics professor at Fordham University in New York, Louis Budenz was celebrated at the time for being the star witness in a fiery trial that led to the deportation of eleven Communist Party

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[136] See the following sources: Sutherland to Arnold Zurcher, September 2, 1947; Alan Valentine to George S. Benson, May 22, 1947, B-057, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR; Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 166.

[137] Hicks, 63.

[138] Ibid., 64.

[139] Hicks, 64.

[140] "The Story of the National Education Program," *Bison*, April 18, 1963.

[141] "National Education Program to Hold Freedom Forum at Purdue," *Bison*, October 14, 1950.

[142] "Freedom Forum IX to Be Held at Harding March 19 Through 23," *Bison*, January 27, 1951.

members in 1949, and he visited the Harding event to speak on the corruption of America by communist philosophy.[143]

In 1952, Benson successfully married the goal of the NEP with Harding's academic curriculum by the American Studies Program. Benson began seeking funds for this program as early as 1950. A financial report in Benson's personal files show that from December 30, 1950 to August 15, 1951, Benson solicited $96,510 worth of contributions for the "School in American Studies Fund" through NEP connections with large corporations.[144] This allowed for the construction of a new, three-story American Studies building, and a budget of over $500,000 for the first five years.[145] Opening in 1952, Harding's School of American Studies was multi-disciplinary program that offered a four-year degree program with courses in history, political science, economics, and public administration.[146] A two-year involvement in these new courses became a requirement for all students, while some could choose to pursue a full bachelor's or master's degree in the field.[147] Using mediums like lectures, films, research, and discussion groups, the American Studies Program seemed fairly similar to the NEP itself.[148]

Benson's work for the NEP and Harding culminated in 1953 when he again made the front-page after being voted "Arkansan of the Year" in the *Arkansas Democrat* Sunday Magazine's sixth annual statewide poll.[149] This event exemplified the individual fame Benson had acquired for his Americanism mission. Jackie King, student writer for the *Bison*, wrote in commemoration of this event that Benson "raised

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[143] Sarah Longley, "Budenz-Moses Scheduled For Freedom Forum X," *Bison*, October 6, 1951.

[144] George S. Benson, "Contributors to School in American Studies Fund," typescript, B-037, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[145] Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 166.

[146] Hicks, 67.

[147] "American Studies at Harding," in *School of American Studies: Full Scholarship for Teachers of American History and Social Studies*, 1961, pamphlet, B-037, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[148] Ibid.

[149] C. C. Allard, "Dr. Benson Named Arkansas of Year in Democrat's '53 Poll," *Arkansas Democrat*, November 29, 1953.

Harding out of obscurity to national prominence," elevating the value of the school to over $4.5 million.[150] In the same edition of the *Bison*, a tribute was written to Benson honoring his selection as Arkansan of the Year.[151] The author noted in regards to the congratulations, "Perhaps our motives are a little selfish in this respect, for we know that any honors that come his way will necessarily bring commendation on Harding itself."[152] Benson was the face of Harding, and as remarked in the tribute, his engagements and awards were also wedded to Harding.

Despite all the regional and national attention by 1953, Harding College still did not qualify for accreditation. The Chairman of the Board of the North Central Accrediting Association, Norman Burns, had purposefully turned down Harding College's application.[153] According to Stevens, four rumored problems stood in the way of Harding's long-awaited accreditation: first, many educators believed that he purposefully indoctrinated his students; second, many in the accrediting office disagreed with Benson's opposition to federal aid for teachers' salaries; also, many questioned his comfortable relationship with rich, corporate leaders; and lastly, others disliked that Benson criticized schools that did not offer American History and Comparative Economics as required courses.[154] When Benson confronted Burns on the matter, the Chairman confirmed these suspicions, and Burns suggested that Harding and the NEP teach communism and socialism alongside Americanism without making one appear the superior.[155] Unwilling to compromise on the American Way, Benson and the Chairman made a deal. If the NEP officially separated from Harding College, Benson could remain the president of both and Harding could achieve accreditation.[156] In 1954, the conjoined twins were officially separated, as NEP received its own charter and Board of Directors.[157] This event showed that Harding's

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[150] Jackie King, "Dr. Benson Selected Arkansan of the Year," *Bison*, December 5, 1953.

[151] "A Tribute to Our President," *Bison*, December 5, 1953.

[152] Ibid.

[153] George Benson, interview about the NEP, typescript, B-001, Benson Files, Special Collections, Brackett Library, Harding University, Searcy, AR.

[154] Stevens, 165, 168.

[155] George Benson, interview about the NEP.

[156] George Benson, interview about the NEP.

[157] Benson, "The Purpose of the National Education Program," 2.

Americanism message spoke loudly enough that the institution risked its accreditation if it did not separate itself from the NEP.

Although from this point on the NEP and Harding College were nominally divorced, an intimate relationship between the two still existed and never truly disappeared. The National Education Program had already portrayed Harding as a center for conservative economic and political philosophy to 25 million Americans through its versatile mediums. It also inspired the creation of the American Studies Program, a large part of campus curriculum and life. Also, the American Studies Building, created for Harding's American Studies Program, was in large part funded by NEP contributors.[158] For that reason, the NEP headquarters occupied five rooms on the building's third floor, and retained these offices after the split.[159] Yet in a confidential report, Benson asserted the money from the NEP was not used for Harding.[160] Ganus described the bond between Harding and the NEP as a "symbiotic relationship," noting the difficulty in advocating for one without the other.[161] Whether through direct funds or indirect contacts, the fact that the NEP was Harding's most important financial asset during Benson's presidency created difficulty in distinguishing the mission of one organization from the other.

Anti-Communist themes persisted in the NEP and at Harding College, reminding onlookers that Harding itself was anti-Communist, too. In 1950, Benson invited the Hungarian, Frederic Pisky-Schmidt, to explain his experiences in a Hungarian labor camp due to his resistance against Communism. He shared his understanding that World War III had in fact already begun in 1945, yet Americans remained blind to their dire circumstance.[162] Furthermore, Benson aided a textbook investigation in late 1953, where a number of books written by University of Pennsylvania professor, Dr. A. H. Hobbs, had been labeled as overtly collectivist, internationalist, and unfavorable towards traditional tenets of

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[158] Benson, "Contributors to School in American Studies Fund."

[159] Maurice Moore, "Benson Likes Conservative Label, Detests Other Names," *Arkansas Democrat*, March 11, 1962.

[160] Stevens, 150.

[161] Ganus, interview by author.

[162] "Hungarian Speaks on Communism in World Today," *Bison*, December 9, 1950.

the American way.[163] Labeled a "witch-hunt" by one state representative, the textbook scandal was settled when Benson and a few others spoke before the Arkansas Legislative Council with their reviews of four of the allegedly pro-Communist books.[164] In 1956, Freedom Forum XVII was consumed with the threat of communism in the United States, as Benson stressed the importance of selling citizens on the American way of life in light of the current successful communist activities.[165] As a guest speaker for the American Studies program, the former secretary to the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia visited the campus to discuss "Techniques of Communist Conquest" in 1960.[166] On multiple occasions, former under-cover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) appeared on campus to reveal the intentions of the Communists Party members in the country.[167]

Heavy criticism from predominantly liberal crowds soon followed Harding's close association with anti-communism in the last few years of Benson's presidency. Stevens describes the years following 1961 as "the storm" due to a bombardment of criticism in the media against the Benson-NEP-Harding trio.[168] Inspired by some of the NEP's prized films, the *New York Times* writer, Cabell Phillips, wrote an article entitled "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas" in 1961.[169] Disapproving of the Benson, Harding, and NEP trinity, Phillips mocked the inaccuracy and unapologetic right-wing propaganda

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[163] "Textbook Investigation Ends With Book Reviews," *The Arkansas Democrat*, December 13, 1953; Matilda Tuohey, "Textbook Probe Climax Seen in Session Today," *Arkansas Gazette*.

[164] Matilda Tuohey, "Textbook Probe Climax Seen in Session Today," *Arkansas Gazette*.

[165] "Benson Opens Freedom Forum," *Bison*, April 25, 1956.

[166] "Czech to Speak Thursday Evening on Communism," *Bison*, February 11, 1960.

[167] See the following articles from the *Bison*: *Jackie* King, "Freedom Forum XV to Emphasize Youth," *Bison*, April 10, 1954; "Philbrick Tells About Life as Communist," *Bison*, October 5, 1961; "Bales, Philbrick Collaborate on Red's Attack on Religion," *Bison*, November 15, 1962; "FBI Agent to Speak October 1," *Bison*, September 28, 1961; "Philbrick Speaks on Communist Role in Kennedy Assassination," *Bison*, March 11, 1965; "Communist Take-Over Near, Philbrick Informs Audience," *Bison*, May 5, 1965; and more.

[168] Stevens, 184.

[169] Phillips, "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas: Dr. George Benson, Head of College and 'National Education Program,' Aims to Alert the Common Man."

of the 45-minute Technicolor production "Communism on the Map."[170] Correspondingly, Norman Thomas, the Presbyterian American and six-time presidential nominee for the Socialist Party of America, berated the film for being "false or misleading" and for incorrectly equating communism with socialism.[171] *The San Diego Evening Tribune* echoed Phillips' journalism in July of 1961 to inform Californians of that Harding College was a fervent influence in the anti-Communist grassroots movement.[172] At the University of Washington, a collaborative letter from 92 professors avowed that the educators were especially disturbed this film's "irresponsible mingling of fact and falsehood and by its gross distortion of historical events."[173] In response to these criticisms and others referring to Harding as "ultraconservative" or "ultrarightist," Benson said, "Harding College is conservative and it is anticommunist. But standing for these fundamentals doesn't make the college radical, extremist or ultrarightist."[174]

The influence of Benson's presidency at Harding from 1936 to 1965 is astounding to say the least. According to Benson himself, one million dollars a year for 29 years was added to Harding's capital while he served as president.[175] Future presidents have also not been shy in acknowledging his accomplishments. Ganus reflects on Benson's presidency by remarking, "He was the guy for the time."[176] Another former president of Harding, Dr. David B. Burks, considers Benson to be "one of the most unique and significant individuals of the 20th Century."[177] Along with other notable recognitions, Benson received

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[170] Phillips, "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas: Dr. George Benson, Head of College and 'National Education Program,' Aims to Alert the Common Man."

[171] Ibid.

[172] Dick Eby, "Dr. Benson vs. Kremlin: Tiny Arkansas Town Picks Up Red Gauntlet," *San Diego Evening Tribune*, July 19, 1961.

[173] Phillips, "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas: Dr. George Benson, Head of College and 'National Education Program,' Aims to Alert the Common Man."

[174] Moore, "Benson Likes Conservative Label, Detests Other Names," *Arkansas Democrat*, March 11, 1962.

[175] Benson, "The National Education Program," 6.

[176] Ganus, interview by author.

[177] David B. Burks, preface to *Before Any Were Willing: The Story of George S. Benson*, by John C. Stevens (Searcy, Arkansas: Harding University, 1992).

numerous awards at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania from the Freedom Foundation for "helping to bring about a greater appreciation and understanding of the American Way of Life..."[178] The honorary chairman and president of this foundation were President Eisenhower and former President Hoover respectively.[179] Benson explained that he repeatedly received offers for more lucrative and noteworthy positions than serving as president of Harding.[180] After President Eisenhower took office, Benson recalled taking a long distance phone call that inquired if Benson would like to become the new Secretary of Indian Affairs, to which he replied, "I'm sorry but I am in a work I can't leave."[181]

Both Hicks and Stevens propose that Benson's influence far extended the era of his presidency. Hicks's main argument in *Sometimes Wrong, But Never in Doubt* relies on the idea that Benson's sweeping influence on conservative political and economic principles were vital to Reagan's success in 1980.[182] Stevens concurs that Benson merits more credit for fostering the conservative political triumph at the end of the twentieth century.[183] President Reagan himself also had considerations about Harding's second president. In a speech recorded specifically for Benson's birthday in September of 1987, Reagan remarked that Benson began warning of the danger that communism posed for America "before any were willing to accept the warning, or to believe that it could possibly have any bearing on us."[184] Reagan added that he could not even count the number of times he had quoted Benson in his own speeches.[185]

As a strong member of the churches of Christ with missionary aspirations and achievements, Benson strongly believed in Harding's original mission of providing quality Christian education while president. Benson assumed that Christian beliefs formed the foundation of the

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[178] "Benson, Ganus Receive Recognition Awards From Freedom Foundation," the *Bison*, February 25, 1960.

[179] "Benson, Ganus Receive Recognition Awards From Freedom Foundation."

[180] Benson, Autobiographical notes for a speech, 5-6.

[181] Ibid., 6.

[182] Hicks, xxv.

[183] Stevens, foreword to *Before Any Were Willing: The Story of George S. Benson* (Searcy, Arkansas: Harding University, 1992), 3.

[184] Stevens, foreword to *Before Any Were Willing: The Story of George S. Benson* (Searcy, Arkansas: Harding University, 1992), 3.

[185] Ibid.

American Way, and allowed him to advocate simultaneously for the gospel and capitalism. This is evident when Benson responded to harsh criticism over NEP materials by testifying, "My aim is to move public opinion at the grass roots in the direction of godliness and patriotism."[186] This proclamation accurately reflected Benson's dual mission for Harding. Nevertheless, Benson's work while serving at Harding College is regionally and nationally remembered not for selling the common man on Christ, but rather for selling him on the American Way.

[186] Phillips, "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas: Dr. George Benson, Head of College and 'National Education Program,' Aims to Alert the Common Man."

COMMEMORATING INTEGRATION: LITTLE ROCK NINE SIXTY-YEAR ANNIVERSARY

By Taylor Wilkins

In 1957, nine young men and women made the brave decision to be the first African-American students at Little Rock Central High School. The integration drew national attention, especially when Governor Orval Faubus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the integration. By September 25th, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had to order the 101st Airborne to protect the students and ensure the integration would take place. The students became icons for the Civil Rights movement and known at The Little Rock Nine. In fall 2017, Little Rock Central High School commemorated the 60th anniversary of the integration by holding a multi-day event the week of September 25th. The event included speeches from members of the Little Rock Nine and former President Bill Clinton. Adjunct professor of history and Harding Academy social studies teacher Angela Adams attended the commemoration and recounted her experience in an interview with *Tenor of Our Times*.

When asked about her time at the commemoration, Adams replied, "All the events that weekend were special. Saturday provided a chance to hear from some Little Rock Nine members that do not have books, like Gloria Ray. She lives overseas, and I knew less about her than the members that published books. A highlight from Sunday was hearing from their children on what it was like to have parents in history books. On Monday, all of the living Little Rock Nine spoke, as well as historian Henry Louis Gates, Governor Hutchison, and President Clinton. It was truly amazing." The weekend was not only a personal experience; it also inspired Adams' passion for passing down this important part of Arkansas history in her classroom. "It is something I will always remember and will make teaching this topic even more rich from now on."

The most memorable part of the weekend for Adams was hearing President Clinton speak. She loved that "he didn't use notes and weaved together things the other speakers said, current events, and history, bringing everything together in an impressive way." She notes

that she has "never experienced a speaker that held such power over an audience before," and many in the audience were brought to tears.

For Adams, the most important lesson she learned from the event was not to stay neutral in times of injustice, adding "it was a minority of students who committed the most heinous things against the Little Rock Nine. Most people were silent witnesses to the terrible things that happened to [the Nine]. That is applicable to our world. You are not innocent when you watch horrible things happen and stay silent. They teach us to not be silent witnesses to injustice."

Adams also said that the commemoration gave her hope. When she looks "at the past and see the challenges we have faced before," she knows there is hope for the future, and the Little Rock Nine is a great example of that very hope. For Adams, The story of the Little Rock Nine is "a reminder of a brave heritage that I am heir to," and that they give her courage when she faces adversity. For Arkansans, Americans, and others across the globe, the commemoration testified to the resilience of the Nine and the lessons that can be learned from assessing our past to inform the present.

ADDRESSING QUESTIONS OF HOMETOWN HISTORY: ETA PHI PANEL ON MEMORIALS

By Mary Goode

Controversial debates are not a new phenomenon; however, with the rise of personal technology and social media they take on a fierceness and immediacy in everyday life for many modern Americans. The year of 2017 featured such widespread controversial debates—specifically over the thousands of Confederate statues and monuments spread across the South. In August 2017, riots erupted across the contiguous United States. One particular riot in Charlottesville, Virginia, proved once again that debates have the ability to turn violent at an alarming speed. The issue did not bypass Harding's hometown of Searcy; a statue honoring Confederate veterans outside city hall drew controversy in light of the larger arguments across the nation. Instead of ignoring the spirit of violence and division running rampant through its city and country, Harding University's Eta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta elected to face the issue of monuments and how people remember the past head on.

On October 10, 2017, a panel of five faculty members and guests of the university addressed the issue and debate over the existence and preservation of statues and other monuments. The first topic addressed was that of historical preservation and the federal government. This subject was addressed by associate professor of art Dr. Sarah Wilhoit. Dr. Wilhoit explained the history of the national register, what its purpose is, the type of monuments and buildings that are placed on the register, the criteria for being recognized, and the five types of properties that are typically place on the national register. Secondly, a faculty member from the Spanish department, Professor Michelle Coizman, spoke on the issue of remembering Columbus. Professor Coizman noted that different nations have decided to remember Columbus in a variety of ways, but what remains most important is that they had the option to choose.

Dr. Shawn Fisher from the department of history spoke specifically on the confederate statues and monuments placed around the United States and the history of their constructions and their meanings.

Dr. Fisher noted that today's society must remember the time frames and positions (funerary, singular soldiers, battlefield monuments,) in which these types of monuments are placed. Additionally, Dr. Heath Carpenter from the English department discussed the stories behind the monuments. Noting that monuments hold inherently complex narratives, Dr. Carpenter posed two questions: "whose truth is being told?" and "whose story is untold?" Professor Mac Sandlin from the Bible department spoke on the biblical perspective of monuments. Professor Sandlin noted that society must be careful of their use of symbols, to not place admiration where admiration is not due, and that we must continue to be examples of Christ's love—even when the circumstances make it difficult.

This panel, composed of insightful and discerning members, not only discussed and investigated the problems that surround memorials, but also touched on how modern society views them. Such subjects are typically sensitive—often igniting arguments that in some cases lead to violence. However, when they are approached in an academic, respectful, and encouraging manner such conversations are less frightening and more encouraging than once presumed to be. The endeavor proved stimulating, productive, and rewarding for the Eta Phi chapter in its goal to promote open-minded historical awareness in modern contexts.

EXPLORING NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

Articles

Photo Courtesy of: Tim Parkinson, General Jackson Statue, July 7, 2010
https://www.flickr.com/photos/timparkinson/4845401607

Author Bio:

Sam Aly is a senior history major from Pegram, Tennessee. In addition to working on *Tenor of Our Times*, Sam serves as an assistant copy editor for the Petit Jean yearbook and works in the office of the Department of History and Political Science. Sam has plans to teach English in Mito, Japan after graduating in May 2018. His long-term career goals include continuing to write and edit as he pursues his passion for language and storytelling.

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THE GENERAL AND THE DIPLOMAT: COMPARING ANDREW JACKSON AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON THE ISSUE OF FLORIDA AND THE TRANSCONTINENTAL TREATY OF 1821

By Samuel B. Aly

In July 1818, secretary of state John Quincy Adams stood alone in President Monroe's cabinet on an issue of national importance. A seemingly hot-headed general had overstepped his orders to find a more comprehensive answer for Seminole Indian raids on the border between Spanish-held Florida and the southern United States. Secretary of war John C. Calhoun and secretary of the treasury William Crawford both remained vehement over
Andrew Jackson's unauthorized conduct in Spanish Florida after the President had ordered raids specifically targeting the culpable Seminoles. John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson both played critical, contradictory roles in the long, arduous saga of the accession of Florida. The story culminated in 1821 with the Adams-Onís treaty, examining the development of republican sentiment on issues such as slavery, Indian relations, and foreign policy.

The heritage of the two men could not have been more different, and the early periods of their lives would come to shape many of their later beliefs. Jackson spent his formative years in the backcountry of the South Carolina frontier, the son of Scots Irish immigrant parents. The cultural legacy formed by his family and community contributed heavily to his Anglophobic beliefs and distrust of elites. His experience as a fourteen-year old Patriot during the Revolutionary War only cemented these feelings: after Jackson refused to clean a British officer's boots, the Tory struck him with his sword, leaving a scar across young Jackson's face that would still be visible in his presidential portraits decades later.[1]

After serving brief stints in the Tennessee state legislature and Congress, Jackson entered military life as a general of his state's militia.

[1] H.W. Brands, *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times*, (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 26.

A war hawk through and through, "Old Hickory," as he would come to be known, itched for justification to ensure the safety of western settlers by eliminating native or foreign imperial threats.[2] Shifting territorial claims which defined the first two decades of the nineteenth century led to instability and constant threat for western expansionists like Jackson. His volatile tendencies and deeply held sense of honor led to many varied challenges to duel issued to opponents, rivals, and opponents who dared slight him or his wife Rachel. Jackson's most infamous dueling incident came as a young man in 1806 when he shot and killed Edward Dickinson, although the effects of Dickinson's death at Jackson's hands was less significant to the public than his allegations that Rachel Jackson was a bigamist.[3] The enduring legacy of Jackson's early years was that of a hot-blooded Tennessean unafraid to fight for his honor and kin, whether that be in a literal or political sense.

In contrast, John Quincy Adams bore the weight of his heritage every time he signed his name, although not always begrudgingly. The effects of his father's participation in the founding and continuation of the young nation, a bloody struggle which defined Adams' life as he watched the Battle of Bunker Hill as an eight-year-old in 1775, were not without consequence. William Earl Weeks noted that Adams' heritage "stressed achievement but condemned personal aggrandizement," and that his tasks needed to be carried out without any hint of "selfishness or personal ambition."[4] This aspect of his personality, more than any concrete political ideology, was his father's effect on Adams' political style.

The difference between the early lives of Adams and Jackson provides a wonderfully exemplary view of the greater picture of early nineteenth century America. The young nation was in a process of monumental societal change. The political shift from revolutionary

[2] Lynn Hudson Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and the Election of 1828*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 26.

[3] Brands, 136.

[4] William Earl Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire*, (University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 15.

leaders to the second generation will be discussed later, but there were many other critical changes occurring as well.

The War of 1812 had a much more recent, immediate impact on Adams and Jackson's America than did the War of Independence. The conflict proved to be the United States' first real test of sovereignty as a nation and also served to expose sectional tendencies that were beginning to predominate the national identity. As westward expansion changed the political and economic interests of a great deal of Americans, new attitudes on issues like slavery, national improvements, and foreign relations (particularly with Great Britain) began to emerge. Slavery was decisively bound up in the interests of westerners like Jackson. The shift away from tobacco along the Atlantic seaboard towards wheat and cotton in the Deep South led to a massive migration of slave populations.[5] Common estimates place the slave population of the South at 700,000 in 1790 and 1.5 million in 1820. Such a shocking change is only made more surprising when considering that the Atlantic slave trade was abolished in 1808, meaning that the population grew naturally, rather than through the importation of slaves from Africa. In addition, new developments like the cotton gin and steamboat found their success undoubtedly bound up with the development of southern cotton plantations; the inventions and complicit industries were mutually reinforcing.

Even before 1812, much of Jackson's life was linked to the institution of slavery. In 1804, he acquired the land which would become the Hermitage, his plantation and homestead outside of Nashville.[6] Jackson's circumstantial entry into the institution in 1788 and his "relatively modest number [of slaves] indicates that he was a slaveholder rather than a slave trader."[7] The latter profession became increasingly lucrative on the domestic front after the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade due to the changing regional demands for cheap labor across the southwest, but it was one that Jackson never became involved with.

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[5] Up to 100,000 slaves moved from the Chesapeake region, known for tobacco, to the Lower South in the period from 1790 to 1810.

[6] Brands, 148.

[7] Ibid., 73.

Nonetheless, Jackson's opinions on slavery remained unambiguous. He understood the interests of his pro-slavery colleagues through experience and remained a staunch defender of the institution throughout his political career and the rest of his life.

With the onset of a period of strong republican sentiment, the elder John Adams' Federalist Party quickly crumbled under a wave of broad republican support which indubitably left his son's political influences and convictions in doubt. In fact, the younger Adams did as much as he could to distance himself from the partisan politics of the time, having seen its divisive effects through his father's tenure as president and during his time in Europe serving as foreign minister to Russia.[8] As the Republican Party grew and essentially created a one-party system in America, Adams found his place in the party to be quite distinct from other politicians.

Adams' early life and political career impressed a fierce internal desire to serve the public and seek the greater good, a craving which would repeatedly need satisfying over the next few decades. Adams' strong, individualistic attitude only compounded the power of his impressive intellectual capacities and budding foreign relations prowess. Even early in his political career, as a state senator and subsequently a senator for Massachusetts, his nationalist convictions on issues like union, neutrality, and expansion of borders would often leave him crossing party lines and angering partisan allies and constituents.[9] His first major roles in government would be abroad, preparing him for national prominence upon his return in 1817.

While Adams was in Europe, Jackson left his life as a well-known, important figure in Tennessee politics to establish himself on the national stage and earn immense popularity with his military heroics in New Orleans.[10] Before that, though, he played a role in several key events across the southwest which prepared him for future exploits in Florida. Both his duel with Dickinson and accusations of involvement in Aaron Burr's treasonous plot of 1806 landed him in hot water, as it was

[8] Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics*, 21.
[9] Robert V. Remini, *John Quincy Adams*, (New York: Times Books, 2002) , 44.

[10] Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics*, 26.

never publically determined how large of a role he played in the conspiracy.[11]

The most consequential of his adventures in this period before New Orleans was the Creek War, in which Jackson participated as a military leader for the United States. The Creek War developed as part of a larger context which provides clarity for the War of 1812, the development of the Republican party, and the ideology of men like Andrew Jackson. As already noted, Jackson held a deep-rooted hatred for the British. This animosity came to manifest itself in his treatment of the Indians.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Shawnee Indian leaders Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa propagated a native confederacy in the Ohio Territory. Tenskwatawa, meaning "Open Door," served as a shaman, prophet, and religious leader of the confederacy. Their base of operations came to be Prophetstown, named by American visitors after the shaman himself, in present day Indiana. Although one major aspect of the movement was spiritual, Tecumseh served to make it political and create a military presence.

Tecumseh understood the broader scope of the international scene in the early nineteenth century and used it to his full advantage, playing off the tension between the young United States and Great Britain to solidify pan-Indian unity across the western frontier. With the outbreak of the War of 1812, Tecumseh and his confederacy, comprised of many, but not all major Indian groups in the west, allied with the British. As his goals grew grander, Tecumseh's quest took him farther than just his homeland in the Midwest.[12]

When Tecumseh made a tour south, declaring his message boldly with his renowned oratory abilities, a division between Creek tribes created a native civil war which eventually boiled over into a fully-fledged native independence movement in northern Alabama.[13] After a series of retaliatory attacks back and forth, the massacre of over 250

[11] Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics*, 23-24.

[12] George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), 28.

[13] Brands, 192-3.

American settlers, including many women and children, at Fort Mims on August 30, 1813 sparked panic across the southern frontier.[14]

After having several attempts at military glory stymied by orders from higher up and personal injuries, Jackson finally took this opportunity to put his ideology into practice by driving out natives from the south. In a sweeping campaign all the way through Alabama to the Gulf Coast, Jackson dismantled Creek settlements and forts, civilian and military alike, which culminated in the devastating Battle of Horseshoe Bend and ended the Creek struggle altogether.[15] Tecumseh's death at the hands of William Henry Harrison the previous year had foreshadowed the demise of organized Indian resistance in the west, and the Creeks were one of the last significant military groups to be abated.[16]

The general had silenced the Creek threat. The Treaty of Fort Jackson, signed on August 9, 1814, opened up a vast swath of land from Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico for white settlement and advanced the interests of Jackson's allies.[17] For Republicans like Jackson and Adams, Indian populations became a direct hindrance to westward expansion completely incompatible with their interests. Although the fight for Indian removal in Georgia would take another decade to come to a close under Jackson's presidency, its origins lay in the period after the War of 1812. Westerners remembered all too well the immense threat that Tecumseh's confederacy and the Creek War presented. These issues became critical for republican nationalists in the westward expansion movement, and they would later weigh heavily on the decisions made on the federal level under Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, as the executive branch carefully negotiated the unique early nineteenth century blend of Indian relations and foreign policy.

In 1814, after Adams served a prolific five-year term as minister to Czar Alexander I and Russia, President Madison called him to serve as chairman for the nation's delegation to peace negotiations with Britain in Ghent. Adams succeeded in leading the delegation to peace talks, although very little was accomplished in terms of pragmatic change on

[14] Weeks, 27.
[15] Brands, 215-9.
[16] Ibid., 203-4.
[17] Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics*, 29.

American issues prior to the war. The gap between British and American demands was too broad to cross in many cases. Adams would become "especially incensed by the British insistence on granting Indians permanent territorial rights," which would limit westward expansion in a more concrete manner.[18]

Quincy Adams had reported to his father three of his concerns—fishing rights, the western and northern borders between American and British holdings, and Native American relations—although he had ignored two other major issues: impressment and freedom of trade in the Atlantic during wartime.[19] However, the treaty is significant in the broader historical scope.

In the words of Adams biographer, James Traub, the agreement "marked the end of the first, and very fragile, stage of American political history."[20] The treaty was a turning point at which the republic's federal government was, at least pragmatically, free of potent foreign military threats to the east and able to turn its attention to domestic policy and westward expansion. John Quincy Adams stood at the helm of this catalyst of a new period of American affairs, and within five years he would assume a new role as Secretary of State and establish a legacy by his own right. After resolving peace at Ghent, Adams spent almost two years serving as an envoy to Britain. When he finally returned from his eight years of European assignments in August 1817 with a healthy record of diplomatic successes in tow, Adams carried the reputation of being a politician unfettered by politics who had successfully bargained for a surprisingly favorable peace agreement.[21] Simultaneously, Jackson's heroics in New Orleans in 1815 had provided a similar end, that of growing national fame, by entirely opposite means.

This moment of correlation was one of the first, but more were to follow. The two figures found their political origins in a time which came to be known by historians as the Era of Good Feelings. Both

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[18] James Traub, *John Quincy Adams: Militant Spirit*¸ (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 189.

[19] Remini, 46.

[20] Traub, 195.

[21] Weeks, 21. See also: John Kaplan, *John Quincy Adams: American Visionary* (New York: Harper Collins, 2014), 320.

Adams and Jackson had to establish themselves on the national stage by their merits found in a fully-functioning republic.

For decades after the American Revolution, revolutionary leaders had played the major roles national politics. The first four presidents—Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison—had all participated in the leadership of the War of Independence. When James Monroe was inaugurated on March 4, 1817, he would become the final president of revolutionary fame. Quincy Adams and Jackson had been young during the war and it had certainly made lasting impressions on them both; however, they were not active players in the war in a significant way. Experiences such as these informed and motivated Quincy Adams and Jackson's actions in regards to the quickly escalating Florida issue. Quincy Adams had to approach the situation from his newly-appointed position of Secretary of State, which led towards an attitude of moderation and pragmatism. Jackson still held a regional position, therefore he was more concerned with satisfying his southern republican nationalist constituents who despised Spain and feared Indian violence.

Florida had been an enticing prospect for southerners since the beginning of the century. Not only would it appease their seemingly insatiable desire for land, but Florida's position made it critical to national security. George Dangerfield wrote of a common adage from the day:

"whoever possessed the Floridas held a pistol at the heart of the Republic."[22] The fear of Britain using the territory as a base of operations in the Deep South had been prevalent during the War of 1812. These concepts contributed to Jackson's conviction of the necessity of a military solution to the Florida problem.

However, Jackson's invasion of Florida proved to be more complicated than his showdown with the British in New Orleans three years earlier. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun appointed Jackson leader of the campaign against Native Americans on the nation's

[22] Dangerfield, 127.

southern border on Dec 26, 1817.[23] Two factors contributed to the necessity of the mission: the weakness of Spanish authority in Florida and the large number of resettled Creek Indians from the Mississippi Valley (the same group Jackson had been responsible for relocating a few years earlier) who continued to harbor runaway slaves and cross the border to raid American settlers in Georgia. Local independence movements against Spanish imperial forces in South America caused a dilemma for foreign heads of state—a hot topic of debate in American politics in the late 1810s. Because of the turmoil in places like Simon Bolivar's Caracas, Spanish colonial authorities had little time and effort to expend on Florida.[24] By opposing resolutions to send ministers to the newly created and semi-legitimate governments in South America, Adams held onto another bargaining chip in the broader game between Spain and the U.S., one that he would be willing to wield in future negotiations.[25]

The general's actions in Florida were successful from a military perspective, but untenable from a foreign relations standpoint. The Seminole forces along the border of Western Florida were scattered and now posed little threat to Americans on the Georgia side of the border. However, the general had gone even farther. Jackson and his men had captured the Spanish settlements of St. Marks and Pensacola in May 1818, established a U.S. customs house in the larger of the two towns, deposed the Spanish governor, and executed two British citizens accused of colluding with the Seminoles.

In a situation only aggravated by slow, unreliable lines of communication, by June the Monroe administration finally discovered the havoc that Jackson had wreaked in Florida. The campaign accomplished its primary objectives of dispersing natives and breaking their presence in northern Florida, but it also committed various illegal and arguably unwarranted acts which placed Monroe in an untenable position. On June 18, 1818, Adams wrote that, in particular, Jackson's

[23] David S. Heidler, "The Politics of National Aggression: Congress and the First Seminole War," *Journal of the Early Republic* 13, no. 4 (1993): 504.

[24] Dangerfield, 128.

[25] Weeks, 104.

capture of Pensacola "contrary to his orders" caused "many difficulties for the Administration."[26]

These actions were atrocious corruptions of power, at least according to Calhoun, Crawford, and others in the President's cabinet. Adams observed the situation from the opposite perspective, partially out of necessity in his role as Secretary of State. He would be the one responsible for determining how to approach the Spanish ambassador, the American public, and the greater international community, all of whom fixed their eyes on Washington in awaiting a response to what was surely an unconstitutional action made by General Jackson. Upon receiving news in June 1818 of the loss of Pensacola, Don Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister in Washington, desired nothing less than a full reprimand of the general; in fact, he refused to believe that Jackson's actions against his colonial authorities could have been authorized to any degree by Washington.[27]

Other members of the president's cabinet, namely Secretary of War John C. Calhoun and Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford, were outraged at Jackson's disobedience. Adams recorded in his diary on July 15, 1818 that Calhoun seemed "personally offended" at the idea that one of his major generals would exceed his rank by committing actions like Jackson had in Florida.[28] However, for the president and the Secretary of State, the response was not a simple one to formulate.

Part of this process remains blurred to the historian, for it must be noted that Jackson's orders were ambiguous enough to have been left up to interpretation. Whether this was an oversight or an intentional lack of clarity given to a man with a temper and a reputation for vengeance is still debatable.[29] However, on July 21, 1818, Adams listed three reasons in his diary for refusing to side with Onís and the Spanish: the admittance would imply "weakness of confession"; it would serve as a "disclaimer of power in the Executive [which] is of dangerous example and of evil consequences"; and the fact that "there is injustice to the officer

[26] John Quincy Adams, *The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845*, ed. Allan Nevins. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 198.

[27] Weeks, 113.

[28] John Quincy Adams, 199.

[29] Brands, 323-4.

[Jackson] in disavowing him, when in principle he is strictly justifiable."[30]

Adams communicates several key issues in this writing. First of all, he addresses one of his main concerns—which was not only foreign policy but the power of the executive to form military and foreign policy. Any concession made by an apology to the Spanish would surely be brought up in the future as justification for removing powers from the executive branch of government.[31] In the young republic, any federal action set extreme precedent, a fact of political life that Adams was keenly aware of. Additionally, Adams believed Jackson was justified in his actions. During the period between the capture of Pensacola and Onís' demand for punishment to be enacted upon Jackson, neither Adams nor Monroe sent additional orders to the general in Florida.[32] Their response was not as swift and easily formulated as Onís clearly thought it would be.

It was at this point that John Quincy Adams made a stand in defense of the beleaguered general. One possible motivational factor in this was the extreme popularity Jackson had gained across the country, particularly the West. His victories against the Creeks earned him a heroic reputation in the South, and the Battle at New Orleans widened his base of support across the nation.[33] A severe punishment would have been extremely unpopular with the public; this was not a risk the Monroe administration wanted to make as it approached the 1820 election season. After several debates within the Cabinet on how to resolve the issue, Adams mitigated the initially harsh ideas of Monroe and Calhoun into a light reprimand for Jackson and the return of Pensacola to the Spanish.[34] Adams' bold apology proved crucial in the way in which Monroe was to handle the situation.

This situation made the correlation between Jackson and Adams quite clear. The two represented different sides of the same coin—that coin being the Republican party, which dominated the Era of Good

[30] John Quincy Adams, 200.
[31] Weeks, 116.
[32] Weeks, 112.
[33] Ibid., 115.
[34] Traub, 222.

Feelings and played a major part in the development of the antebellum United States. Lynn Parsons wrote, "The Adams-Jackson alliance, if it may be called that, was based partly on genuine admiration and partly on a mutually shared goal. Each man desired to acquire Florida for the United States. Adams hoped to do it by diplomacy and cash, Jackson by force, if necessary."[35] The shared objectives clearly aligned on the Florida issue, a fact which had a significant impact on Adams' defense of Jackson.

However, Adams needed Florida to be acquired legally. Whether that be through force or diplomacy was a later issue, but to set a precedent on the international stage of unconstitutional attacks on foreign powers would have been diplomatic suicide for the young republic. In July 1818, Monroe included in a letter to Jackson that the general's actions authorized by the executive branch alone would have been illegal, that "Congress alone possess the power" to declare war.[36]

Adams and Onís continued their long-winded debates and negotiations. Onís was an experienced minister; he understood the gains he could hope to achieve for his country with its severely limited bargaining power.[37] Although the Spanish minister claimed that Jackson's misconduct "had set back treaty negotiations, [both Onís] and the secretary of state knew that it only gave further emphasis to Spanish vulnerability."[38] The negotiations were long and hard-fought.

Only by conceding that the western border be placed at the Sabine River, rather than the Rio Grande, was the Adams-Onís Treaty finally agreed upon by the Spanish minister.[39] Although the treaty granted Adams all of his demands, most importantly the accession of Florida, it was not without fault for some nationalists. The move was unpopular with westerners dreaming of opportunities for expansion into Texas, but that issue would be solved later.

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[35] Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics*, 54.

[36] James Monroe, *James Monroe to Andrew Jackson, Nashville, July 19, 1818.* Letter, from *The Papers of John C. Calhoun* Vol. 2, ed. W. Edwin Hemphill, (Columbia, SC, University of South Carolina Press, 1963), 401.

[37] Traub, 223.

[38] Kaplan, 337.

[39] Ibid., 337-8.

After the resolution and a brief controversy over land grants, which stalled proceedings and gave Adams a fright over what he thought had been a huge success, the Adams-Onís Treaty was ratified by the Senate in February 1821.[40] The Florida territory was now legally and unequivocally American land. Furthermore, the treaty addressed issues of territory disputes along the western border—an issue which had caused tensions since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The Spanish had disputed the legality of the French sale of Louisiana, and the boundary blurred around Texas and farther west. With the treaty in 1820, the western border was finally agreed upon; it included the land north of the forty-first parallel all the way to the Pacific Ocean. This Transcontinental Treaty, as it came to be known, was a relief for the president and other interested parties, even if the border had not been set to include Texas.
In the meantime, Jackson had been dealing with the political ramifications of his invasion. A Senate committee condemned the executions of the British nationals, as well as the taking of Pensacola and St. Marks.[41] In Jackson, men like Calhoun and Clay saw a potential rival growing in popularity among their constituency; they strove, unsuccessfully, to limit his political growth.[42] Fortunately for Jackson, nothing came of the committee report on his actions.
Ironically, he was soon on his way to become governor of the territory; its capital was Pensacola.[43]

In 1822, Adams wrote, "General Jackson had rendered such services to this nation that it was impossible for me to contemplate his character or conduct without veneration."[44] The two continued to have a cordial relationship until the election of 1824, at least publicly. The split of the Republican party and Adams' deal with Crawford, which would assure him the presidency over Jackson, did little to assuage any personal animosity between the two men. After Jackson's allegations of

[40] Kaplan, 348.
[41] Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics*, 52.
[42] Ibid., 53.
[43] Brands, 356.
[44] John Quincy Adams, 274.

corruption by Adams and Crawford in the election, the relationship between the two men continued to deteriorate for the rest of their lives.[45]

However, it was in the Florida situation that the historical relationship between the two solidified. The two men had entirely different backgrounds and experiences leading up to the affair. Whereas New Englander Adams served as a foreign minister and came to thrive in the minutia of nineteenth century foreign relations, Jackson brought a western war hawk perspective into the Era of Good Feelings with his fiery, forceful attitude. Each addressed issues like slavery, westward expansion, and Indian relations in his own way. John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson often shared similar goals, but the means to those ends varied entirely.

[45] See Lynn Parsons, "In Which the Political Becomes the Personal, and Vice Versa: The Last Ten Years of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson," *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 3 (Autumn 2003).

Author Bio:

Taylor Wilkins is a senior history major and social science minor from Searcy, Arkansas. She is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and Omicron Delta Kappa, and is involved in *Tenor of Our Times*, and Ju Go Ju social club. Taylor will graduate in December 2018 and plans to attend the University of South Carolina's School of Law.

EARLY REPUBLICAN MOTHERHOOD IN THE LIFE OF ELIZA PINCKNEY

By Taylor Wilkins

Elizabeth Lucas Pinckney was the exception to many social norms of the 18th century, and has been praised over the decades for her life's work. She pioneered planting techniques and natural remedies, as well as kept a letter book that detailed her life, and raised children who also played key roles in the formation of the United States. The Enlightenment informed much of the philosophical thought in Pinckney's time. Among the many changes in thought that the Enlightenment inspired, the most influential in Pinckney's life was a drastic social change within women's roles as men began to see more importance in the opposite sex. Philosophers latched on to this new idea and wanted to explore what it meant for the future of society. Charles-Louis de Secondat, known as Montesquieu, was a prominent philosopher of the early 18th century. He related the state of women's rights to the state of a government system. If women had more freedom within society, then the government most likely supported freedom of the people.[1] John Locke, another notable philosopher of the early 18th century, wrote about the woman's role in politics and the economy. He believed women had power within the domestic arena. This involved contributing to their children's lives, owning their own property, and earning respect apart from that of their husband. Locke's work, *Two Treatises of Government*, touches on the subject of women's domestic rights. He writes that "nobody can deny but that the woman hath an equal share, if not the greater," in raising children, as she was the one who gave birth and nurtured them as they grew; however, he comes to the conclusion that the parents should still share equal rights because the child is part of each of them.[2]

[1] Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective," *American Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1976): 190-191.

[2] John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963): 55.

This movement led to the concept of Republican Motherhood. The concept "preserved traditional gender roles at the same time that it carved out a new, political role for women." This meant that women found their political roles indirectly through educating their children. By teaching their children from a woman's perspective, mothers passed on their ideas on politics and society to their children. Their teachings would then raise sons and daughters with the mindset that women can possess knowledge and power, too. Since this indirect political role was located within the home, it was considered acceptable and necessary at the time in order for children to grow up and be strong, educated citizens.[3] Pinckney's letter books, along with accomplishments as a mother and botanist created a lifestyle and mindset that helped advance the idea of Republican Motherhood that flowed throughout the post-revolutionary era in the United States

Elizabeth "Eliza" Lucas was born to English planter George Lucas and his wife, Ann Mildrum, on December 28, 1722, in Antigua, West Indies. The Lucas family owned one of the largest sugar plantations on the island. Pinckney was very close to her father, and he desired for her to be properly educated, so she was sent to boarding school in England. There, her fascination with botany began. Her father encouraged her in her studies and let her tend to their family plantation, starting in 1738, when she was only sixteen. Soon after, her family moved to South Carolina in order to stay out of mounting debt. This move provided more opportunity for her as a woman, because as the American colonies began to grow and improve, women were able to play an increasingly larger role in society.[4] Though colonial women were still expected to stay within their private domain as housewives and mothers, women began to find their place in politics within their domestic sphere.[5]

While Republican Motherhood focused on the power of women, the belief that the man was the leader is maintained. Pinckney demonstrated this through scolding her grandson, Daniel Horry, for poor

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[3] Rosemarie Zagarri, "Moral, Manners, and the Republican Mother," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (June, 1992): 192.

[4] Harriet Simons Williams, "Eliza Lucas and Her Family," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 99. no. 3 (July 1998): 260-262.

[5] Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980): 7.

orthography. She declared that for a woman "to be greatly deficient in this matter is almost inexcusable," but for a man to be deficient is "unpardonable."[6] Her conventional beliefs in education seemed to be that a woman can and should be intelligent and literate; however, the man was still to be the superior of the sexes, outright in the political and educational scene, while the woman stayed within the home

Pinckney's attitude towards women and education stemmed from her family's support throughout her education. In 1744, Pinckney wrote her father of how grateful she was for her education, and that she hoped he would "acknowledge particularly my obligation to you for the pains and money you laid out in my education, which I esteem a more valuable fortune than any you could now have given me."[7] Because she had a father that believed in her abilities and pushed her to pursue her passion in agriculture, Eliza was able to have opportunities that many girls of her age and time did not have.

When she was seventeen, Pinckney's father entrusted her with the family's 5,000 acres of land and eighty-six slaves and employees in the colony.[8] While it was hard work for the young girl, Pinckney succeeded in her new responsibilities. In 1740, she would write to her friend, Mrs. Mary Steer Boddicott, "I think myself happy that can be useful to so good a father," and that it took "rising very early" to be able to "go through much business" about the plantation. Pinckney tells Boddicott that while the work is hard, being able to do the work makes her incredibly happy.[9]

While managing the estate, Pinckney did botanical research and took care farming her silkworms. Her work was highly productive and

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[6] Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America,* 191-192.

[7] Eliza Lucas Pinckney to George Lucas, 2 May 1744, *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2012): http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP0816 (accessed 2 Dec. 2017).

[8] Sam S. Baskett, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney: Portrait of an Eighteenth Century American," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 72, no. 4 (Oct. 1971): 209-210.

[9] Eliza Lucas Pinckney to Mary Steer (Mrs. Richard) Boddicott, 2 May 1740, in *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2012): http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP0152 (accessed 2 Dec. 2017).

so high quality that she was able to produce fine enough silk to be presented to George III and his mother, Princess Augusta.[10] Along with the silkworms, she also tended to a fig orchard and grew ginger, cotton, alfalfa, cassava, and indigo.[11] Pinckney's largest agricultural accomplishment lies in her indigo research and production. While she was not the first to make an attempt, she is credited with being the first to successfully develop a strain of indigo that was able to be grown in the soil of North America. The success was due to Pinckney's extensive research on the indigo seeds, as well as the production methods of indigo. With the help of her slaves, who had experience in the industry, and her neighbor, Andrew Deveaux, she was able to produce seventeen pounds of indigo and enough seeds to give to her neighbors. Her indigo continued to thrive and she was soon shipping it to England, as well as around the colonies. With the French and Indian War creating tensions between the colonies and the European continent, indigo shipments had decreased; however, by developing indigo that not only survived, but thrived in the South Carolinian soil, Pinckney was able to change the economy of the colonies. At the peak production of indigo in 1775, over one million pounds were shipped out of South Carolina, which produced a prosperous economy in South Carolina and gave the colonies a new staple crop.[12]

Pinckney was able to enjoy the pleasure of pursuing her agricultural experiments without making her research a scandal by stepping out of her place as a woman; rather, she did so by simply pursuing her studies and doing her duty as a good daughter. Since Pinckney was within the domain of her home, she seemed to comply along the lines of the social standards expected of her. She never seemed to aim for making a brazen political statement with her work; instead, Pinckney saw what she was doing as an act of her dedication to her

[10] Baskett, 209-210.

[11] Constance B. Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times* (University of Georgia Press, 2009): 85.

[12] Ibid.,, 85-86.

family that was not only within her domain as a woman, but was also her duty as a daughter to her father.[13]

Eliza married Charles Pinckney on May 27, 1744.[14] Like other colonial women, she was under the act of coverture upon marriage. This meant that all of Pinckney's property became her husband's and she had no real political or economic rights. In coverture, the man was to be superior to his wife in every way, though this not seen as a negative practice.[15] Essentially, Pinckney's identity would have been "covered" by her husband's.[16] However, Pinckney's husband had a more republican mindset, and he encouraged her to work hard and do what made her happy.[17]

Once she married, Pinckney became a mother to three children, Charles Cotesworth, Harriott, and Thomas. At this time, her husband also became involved in South Carolinian colonial politics.[18] Once she began to settle into her new role as a wife, began to refer to herself as American instead of British. In 1753, she and Charles moved their family to England. There, they met the future King George III and his family. When introducing herself, she identified herself as an American, and spoke well of life in the colonies. This marked an important change in Pinckney's thought, since she had been born to English plantation owners and had grown up in traditional colonial English fashion. Her decision to refer to herself as an American would eventually come to have a tremendous effect upon her children, as well.[19]

Unfortunately, Charles Sr. fell ill in 1758, and he died shortly after the Pinckney's returned from England. Pinckney was then left to tend to her three children and her husband's estate. She remained strong and stayed socially active, while continuing to maintain her husband's Belmont and Auckland plantations, Pinckney Island, and two 500-acre

[13] Darcy R. Fryer, "The Mind of Eliza Pinckney: An Eighteenth-Century Woman's Construction of Herself," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 99, no. 3 (July 1993): 211.

[14] Baskett, 212-213.

[15] Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, 9.

[16] Kerber, 120.

[17] Fryer, 216.

[18] Baskett, 213.

[19] Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, 91-92.

properties, along with two town houses and various other land holdings.[20] When she arrived at the Belmont plantation, she found it in complete disarray. Named an executor of her husband's will, she dutifully restored the plantation to a lively, productive estate.[21] While it would not have been common for a woman to be in charge of such land on her own, Pinckney's unique situation allowed her to own and oversee the land without issue, and her education and previous experience from running her father's plantation ensured that she was more than capable.[22] Her ability to rise to the occasion and take upon herself such a large undertaking is reminiscent of the Republican Motherhood spirit. She was following the orders of her husband in his will. However, she still went above and beyond to ensure that their estate and family were well taken care of.

Pinckney's legacy does not only affect the colonies through her indigo planting and land holdings. Her perseverance as a mother and determination to raise her children to be educated, prosperous citizens resulted in her children becoming notable individuals of the early American republic. When Charles Cotesworth was born, Pinckney and her husband did all they could to ensure that he would be educated. Pinckney worked so diligently with him that he was able to spell by the time he was two years old. Her dedication as a young mother to her son's education is a prime example of how important she felt education was. As a devout Christian, Pinckney also placed a strong emphasis on reading the Bible and going to worship. Her emphasis on her children's spiritual lives would later make a profound effect on Charles through his adult life as well. After Charles Sr. died, Pinckney also made sure to encourage her son to take upon his role as the man of the family. Pinckney was able to remain strong and take care of her family after her husband's death. Though she had the ability, she encouraged Charles to assume his new role as patriarch of the family.[23]

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[20] Fryer, 216.

[21] Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* 93.

[22] Ibid., 79-81.

[23] Marvin R. Zahniser, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney: Founding Father,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967): 8-11.

Thomas, the youngest brother, was known as "the little rebel" due to his fervor for American independence. When the Revolutionary War broke out, Thomas was quick to join.[24] During his war years, he diligently wrote to his mother and sister. His letters show his devotion to the women, as he promised Harriott that he would continue writing her, even when he had nothing to really write about. The content of his letters is also telling of how he respected his mother and sister as educated women. He enjoyed the women's interest in the war and gave them information on the battles and what he was experiencing. His letters not only display the respect and work ethic he was raised with, but also show that he held his mother and sister in high intellectual regard.[25]

Pinckney's only daughter, Harriott, chose to follow close to her mother's footsteps, and became interested in botany and tending to the plantation. She married a planter, Daniel Horry, and continued to keep detailed letter books like her mother did before her. In correspondence with her daughter's husband, Pinckney discusses how she is happy that the two are well suited for each other. She also notes that Harriott's "management of a dairy is an amusement she has always been fond of, and 'tis a very useful one," and that she "looks well to the ways of her household" and "will not eat the bread of Idleness while she is able to do otherwise," which is very reminiscent of Pinckney herself. [26]

Harriott's life was also very reminiscent of her mother's. Unfortunately, Harriott also became a widow as a young mother. Like her mother, she was then entrusted to look after her late husband's estate. Because she had been educated in agriculture, her plantation thrived. A notable visitor to her plantation was the president, George Washington, when he was on a tour of the South. Pinckney's influence on her daughter undoubtedly shaped Harriott into becoming a strong woman like her. This lead to Harriott becoming a post-revolutionary Republican

[24] Baskett, 217.

[25] Jack L. Cross and Thomas Pinckney, "Letters of Thomas Pinckney, 1775-1780 (Continued)," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 58, no. 2 (April, 1957): 70-71.

[26] Elise Pinckney and Eliza Lucas Pinckney, "Letter of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1768-1782," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 76, no. 3 (1975): 143-144.

Mother who would continue to help shape the social and political atmosphere for women in the young country.[27]

While she made lasting discoveries in agriculture and her children would go on to become prominent citizens of the new American republic, one of Pinckney's most notable contributions to history is through her letter books. She was diligent in keeping records of different transactions, copies of her letters, as well as and other important manuscripts. Because of the letter book, historians are now able to have a detailed look into the life of an elite, well-educated, colonial woman. Her collection spans over two generations, as Harriott continued the practice as well.[28]

Among the papers are travel journals, recipes, and homemade remedies. The recipes touch on everything from boiling rice to how to make a cake. These recipes provide an idea of what meals might be served at the time, as well as what food was available in the colonies at the time. Her home remedies also have a wide range of topics, from making hair grow to healing "gout in the stomack." The home remedies also demonstrate more of her research through botany, but they also provide an interesting insight into what ailments typically plagued people of her time and what medical care was available.[29]

Harriott's cookbook and household information also provides an idea of what a Southern plantation wife might cook. In addition, it provides a contrast to the state of an American household before and after the Revolutionary War by comparing what they ate and needed for medical treatments. The books show how large Pinckney's influence on her daughter was, as she desired to continue the legacy of her mother through writing. Harriott's letter book confirms that her mother was successful in educating her daughter, as well. The volume of letters written and people she corresponded with shows that she was socially active and a well-educated woman who wished to be informed of what was happening in the world around her.[30]

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[27] Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* 81-83.

[28] Constance Schulz, ed., *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry: Digital Edition,* (The University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2012).

[29] Ibid.

[30] Schulz, *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry*.

The letter book also details information from Pinckney's sons during the war. For most of the war, Thomas wrote to Harriott, while Charles wrote to his mother so that they might stay updated on each other. In one letter on May 17, 1779, Pinckney writes to Thomas that "independence is all" she wished for. Her support of her sons in the war is very reflective of a Republican Mother.[31] In letters during the war, Pinckney and Harriott refer to the British as "the enemy," which is further proof that she has separated herself from her English upbringing and taken on the American identity.[32] Though she was not born in the colonies and did not come to South Carolina until she was a teenager, she clearly shows hope for a new country and support for her republican-minded sons who were fighting a war against her native country.

Another way Pinckney demonstrates aspects of Republican Motherhood is through her wartime efforts to help the colonies. In her letter book, she has a record of a notice from the Treasury that they received her loan to the state. This loan, totaling £4,000, would have been a very large sum to give as a widow, especially during the war; however, Pinckney's diligence in her work on the plantation, as well as dedicated sons, would have helped her stay financially secure. The money also shows a more physical example of how she was dedicated to the republican cause of the colonies, desiring to help the young country for her posterity to enjoy the freedoms it would bring.[33]

Shortly after she married, Pinckney made several resolutions to herself. These resolutions all pertain to her friends, family, and God. She "resolved to be a good mother" and to "root out the first appearing and budding of vice, and to instill piety" in her children. She also

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[31] Eliza Lucas Pinckney to Thomas Pinckney, 17 May 1779, *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2012): http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP0967 (accessed 4 Dec. 2017).

[32] Harriott Pinckney Horry to Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 30 December 1778, *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2012): http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP0310 (accessed 6 Dec. 2017).

[33] Eliza Lucas Pinckney, Accounts Audited of Claims Growing out of the Revolution, 8 October 1779, in *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2012): http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP1227 (1 Dec. 2017).

resolves to be mindful of her husband's reputation and interests, and to "study to please him." These resolutions show the more sensitive, motherly side of Pinckney, however, she makes a point to ensure she cultivates her children's minds correctly, because she knows that it is her duty to raise them right. Her language when talking about her husband is also of love. However, Pinckney also realized the importance of a social life and reputation.[34]

After Pinckney's children had grown, she busied herself with her grandchildren, particularly Harriott's son, Daniel Horry. Horry had taken a liking to English life, which Pinckney blatantly disliked. She desired for Horry to take after his uncles and become a prominent citizen and promoter of American liberty. She went as far as to write him a letter in 1787 where she mentions that she sent the new Constitution to him, reminding him of his family in America, most notably, his Uncle Charles Cotesworth, who helped draft the Constitution. While Horry never came back to the United States, Pinckney still always desired for him to have some affection towards his birth country.[35]

Pinckney died on May 26th, 1793 at the age of seventy after a year of fighting breast cancer. At the time, her sons were fulfilling their duties to their country. Thomas was the American minister to Great Britain, and Charles Cotesworth was the minister to France. Both men were highly respected and would later be put on tickets for vice-president and president. While her sons were not able to be with her at the time of her death, they still fulfilled Pinckney's wish for them by being leaders for their country.[36]

Pinckney was hailed in the *Charlestown City Gazette* as an "accomplished lady, possessed, in a most eminent degree, all the amiable and engaging qualities, united to all the virtues and graces which embellish and exalt the female character." She was held so highly as a mother to the new nation that George Washington was a pallbearer at her funeral. It was his request to do so in gratitude for all she accomplished on her estate, making her "the matriarch of one of the first families of the

[34] Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* 89.
[35] Baskett, 218.
[36] Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* 101-102.

new nation," and for raising sons who were faithful leaders of the new nation, as well.[37]

Some historians argue that Pinckney was never a true Republican Mother because she was active mainly before the Revolutionary War. According to Constance B. Schulz in her work *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, several notable historians have tried to characterize Pinckney as almost anything but a Republican Mother. One of these other characterizations is a "Deputy Husband," a woman who took upon the responsibilities of her husband when he was no longer able. While this would apply to Pinckney, she took care of the plantation before her husband died, and even before marriage by helping her father. Another term used is a "Kin Specialist." This refers to an elite colonial woman who found her place in the family by taking upon some type of domestic work. The term is ill-fitting for two reasons. The first reason would be that Pinckney's agricultural work was more than a pastime. Through her dedicated studies and research, she invented a new strain of indigo, which takes more dedication than a simple past time. Second, Pinckney certainly helped take care of her family through her work, but she also made it her goal to cultivate the hearts and minds of her children towards republican ideals, so her job as a mother extended past simply helping out the family estate. Another term applied to Pinckney is a modified example of Republican Motherhood, coined "Republican Womanhood." However, the "Republican Womanhood" seems to play a larger role in the relationship between a husband and wife, rather than a mother and her children. While this term certainly would apply to her as well, Pinckney's husband died while she was young, and her dedication as a mother was overwhelmingly prominent in her life and legacy to be considered anything less than a Republican Mother.[38]

While her intention was not to be remembered for pushing the boundaries social norms, Pinckney's example of Republican Motherhood provided an example for many women that came after her. Her agricultural accomplishments made her family prosperous and well

[37] Baskett, 219.
[38] Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, 82-83.

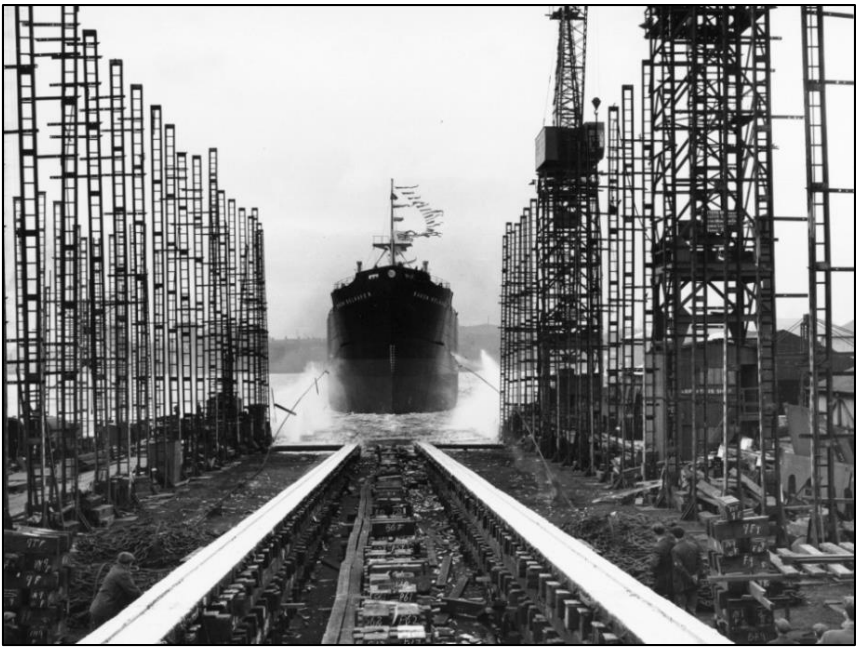
known, while her influence on her children also influenced the young United States of America.[39] Her sons' desires to be leaders and promote the republic no doubt came from having an independent mother who believed in educating her children to be so. Through their political activism, they helped create the young United States into the powerful nation it is today, as well as give her a name for being the mother that taught them their republican values.[40] Pinckney's influence on her daughter's life, not only through promoting an interest in plantation life, but through the encouragement to be an educated mother and wife, led Harriott to keep her very detailed letter books. These letter books continued her mother's steps and provided an interesting insight into the life of a post-revolution woman, as well as a contrast to her mother's life. Pinckney's own letter books provide the best insight to what she thought and how she did all she accomplished.

While some historians wish to categorize Pinckney as a pre-revolutionary woman, excluding her from Republican Motherhood, it is evident that throughout her life, she exuded her confidence, education, and determination to do all she could to make the world a better place. In turn, these values resulted in her raising children who were confident, educated, and willing to bring independence to a new nation. Though she was not raising her children after the Revolution, her legacy makes her a Republican Mother because of how she embodied the spirit of Republican Motherhood on the cusp of the American Revolution.

[39] Fryer, "The Mind of Eliza Pinckney: An Eighteenth-Century Woman's Construction of Herself," 216.

[40] Schulz, *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, 79.

ENCOUNTERING THE OLD WORLD



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Author Bio:

Sam Traughber is a senior Social Science major with minors in Spanish and Bible & Missions from Kernersville, North Carolina. He is a member of Chi Sigma Alpha and Sigma Phi Mu social clubs, Alpha Chi and Phi Alpha Theta honors societies, and the American Studies Institute. After graduation, he will participate in Let's Start Talking and Missions Resource Network's Pathways apprenticeship in Athens, Greece to help spread the good news of Christ to refugees from the Middle East.

Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula Amstelodami (1682)

CREATING A NEW WORLD: A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ATLANTIC WORLD

By Sam Traughber

Atlantic history, a relatively new study, seeks to gain better understanding of the many transatlantic connections that existed in the early modern period. It encompasses the imperial histories of the various Western European nations as well as the regional histories of West Africa and the Americas. The starting and ending dates, like the concept itself, are rather fluid, but can start as early as Portugal's first explorations in the early fifteenth century and end as late as the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade in 1888. A narrower view would cover from 1492 with Christopher Columbus's voyages until the U. S. abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1808. Spanning four continents, this broad frame of study parallels the vastness of the Atlantic itself. The Atlantic Ocean bound the civilizations of these regions together through shared experiences and connections. This set of transatlantic civilizations, then, makes up what is called the Atlantic World.

The Atlantic World brought together peoples of half the globe, along with their economies, societies, religions, ideas, and environments in a major step towards globalization. Following the voyages of Columbus in 1492, the two worlds of Afro-Eurasia and the Americas became inextricably linked following the voyages of Columbus in 1492. One story bound up five continents, a story that took place largely in the setting of the Atlantic Ocean. Silver from an obscure corner of Bolivia drove economic relations between Spain and China.[1] Common European illness devastated Mexico.[2] Europeans shipped millions of Africans across an ocean to grow sugar in the Caribbean. Great Plains culture relied heavily on horses from Spain.[3] Democratic thought from thirteen

[1] Charles C. Mann, *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created* (New York: Random House, 2011), 191.

[2] Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1972), 38.

[3] Crosby, 102

English colonies spurred reform across Europe.[4] Much like the Atlantic World itself, the historiography of the Atlantic has brought together various ideas from myriad sources into one story. No one source can be identified as the primary driver of the study of the Atlantic World. Rather, this essay claims that a complex web of thought coming from political historians, economic historians, social historians, biological historians, historiographers, and geographers, along with contemporary geopolitical circumstances, led to the creation of Atlantic history.

Atlantic history as an academic discipline first appeared in the 1960s with the Atlantic History and Culture program at John Hopkins University.[5] At this time, only a few historians would have considered themselves Atlanticists, studying the entire early modern Atlantic as one civilization. The movement towards an Atlantic perspective, however, had roots earlier in the twentieth century. Historian Bernard Bailyn, in his 2005 historiography *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* traced the origins of the Atlantic World concept not to a historian, but to a journalist. In *The New Republic*, Walter Lippmann argued for the United States to enter the Great War in February 1917 by justifying it in a historical context. "Britain, France, Italy, even Spain, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Pan-America are in the main one community in their deepest needs and their deepest purposes… We cannot betray the Atlantic community."[6] Lippmann argued again in the 1940s for an Atlantic approach to American foreign relations in his book *U. S. War Aims* where he proposed a new postwar world of historically tied regional communities, the first of which would be the Atlantic community.[7] Although not directly calling for the study of Atlantic history, these thoughts demonstrate that contemporary context did play a part in viewing the Atlantic World as a shared heritage. The historical study of the Atlantic World grew out of a context of a transatlantic Cold

[4]R. R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800*, vol. 1, *The Challenge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), 239.

[5] Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

[6] Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 7.

[7] Ibid., 7.

War, which fostered transatlantic connections such as the Marshall Plan and NATO.

In regards to historiography, seeking to understand the history of the early modern period in a wider geographic context did not originate with the Atlantic history movement. Before the idea of the Atlantic World became a subject of interest, Herbert Bolton pioneered the concept of a hemispheric approach to the study of the Americas in the 1930s. Unlike the later Atlantic approach, the geographic unit studied in this approach did not cross the Atlantic, but only spanned the two Americas. A context that keenly fit Bolton's expertise (he studied what became the American West when it was still the Mexican North), this hemispheric approach ultimately failed to gain widespread support among historians. The hemispheric approach emphasized the commonality of experience between North and South America, rather than the transoceanic connections of the later Atlantic approach. Although Bolton argued strongly for this approach in his 1933 *Epic of Greater America*, he was never able to fulfill his dream of a complete history of the Americas, because, even before the end of his life, "the course was going into decline and it was too late for such a book."[8] Although largely a failure, the hemispheric approach provided the groundwork for understanding that the U. S. should be examined within a larger geographical context.

This kind of larger-context history became much more prominent after Fernand Braudel's 1949 *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* In this groundbreaking work, Braudel sought to understand Mediterranean history as a cohesive unit. This book came out of a study on Philip II's Mediterranean policy, but as Braudel continued to learn and write, he "began to ask [him]self finally whether the Mediterranean did not possess… a history and a destiny of its own."[9] Braudel saw the sea itself as a historical unit of study, much more than a simple background to the stories that took place

[8] Wilbur R. Jacobs, John W. Caughey, and Joe B. Frantz, *Turner, Bolton, and Webb: Three Historians of the American Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 64.

[9] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 1:20.

within it and around its shores. This led to his impressive three-part work on the Mediterranean that "divide[d] historical time into geographical time, social time, and individual time."[10]

Part one of this work pulled much more from geography than from history, describing the physical features at play in shaping the history of the region. In the preface to the second edition, Braudel referred to this as "that other, submerged, history, almost silent and always discreet." [11] Historians had neglected this slow history, large-scale and long-term, before Braudel. The second part of the book was a history of social movements such as "economic systems, states, societies, civilizations."[12] Many later Atlanticists modeled themselves after this middle-term history, taking Braudel's concept of a civilization around the Mediterranean Basin and applying it to the greater Atlantic Basin. The third part of this book deals with the small-scale, more traditional history "on the scale not of man, but of individual men."[13]

In *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, Braudel hinted several times at the possibility for a greater Atlantic history without confronting it directly. In his section on the geographical impact of the Atlantic Ocean on the Mediterranean, Braudel wrote: "There is another Atlantic which has been neglected [referring to the particularly challenging Atlantic route which connected the North Sea and the Mediterranean], possibly because it links together these particular sectors, and whose full significance will only become apparent in the comprehensive history of the Atlantic which has yet to be written."[14] Braudel touched on this subject only lightly, describing briefly the interactions between the Atlantic and his Mediterranean World, and the rise of the Atlantic over the Mediterranean.[15]

In his 1998 work *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, Atlanticist and Africanist historian John Thornton traced the roots of Atlantic history back to Braudel, saying "Braudel's approach changed the way regions were defined, introducing the concept of a

[10] Braudel, 21.
[11] Ibid., 2:16.
[12] Ibid., 1:20.
[13] Ibid., 21.
[14] Ibid., 224.
[15] Braudel, 225.

history integrated by the sea."[16] Not long after Braudel, French-trained scholars started approaching the Atlantic in a similar fashion. Three substantial Atlantic works quickly followed Braudel's *The Mediterranean* and acknowledged him as inspiration: Pierre and Hugette Chaunu's 1955-1960 *Séville et l'Atlantinque*, Frédéric Mauro's 1960 *Portugal et l'Atlantique*, and Vitorino Magalhães-Godinho's 1963-1965 *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*. Thornton saw all three of these as falling short of Braudel's example because of their Eurocentric bias, as none gave ample attention to all the peoples around the Atlantic like Braudel had done for the Mediterranean; however, they did greatly contribute to the rise in further scholarship on the subject.[17]

The Chaunus' *Séville et l'Atlantique*, in particular, became a major force propelling Atlantic history forward. In a massive study of the trade conducted between Seville and the Spanish Indies, the Chaunus created a store of information that quickly became "indispensable" to historians of Imperial Spain and the Atlantic.[18] In later volumes, Chaunu followed some of Braudel's methods in describing the geography and economic worlds of the Spanish Atlantic.[19] *Séville* emphasized the importance of silver to the Spanish economy and demonstrated that Spain's power rose and fell with its control of the transatlantic economy.[20] The Chaunus "elevated the subject to an 'infinitely higher level,' and 'in such a way as to make possible; a fresh and immensely rewarding look at reality.'"[21] *Séville et l'Atlantique*, an economic history inspired by a geographic history, effectively opened the door to later Atlanticists.

In 1949 (the same year as Braudel's *The Mediterranean*) Michael Kraus, in his *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century*

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[16] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1.

[17] Thornton, 1.

[18] Roland Dennis Hussey, review of *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504-1650*, by Huguette and Pierre Chaunu, *The American Historical Review* 63, no. 1 (Oct. 1957): 111-112.

[19] Frédéric Mauro, review of *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504-1650*, by Huguette and Pierre Chaunu, *The Economic History Review, New Series* 14, no. 2 (1961): 355-356.

[20] J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 88.

[21] Bailyn, 32.

Origins, asserted "the concept of the Atlantic community is much in evidence in our present-day consciousness."[22] For Kraus, this Atlantic community effectively consisted of only North America and Western Europe; he argued that Europe grew along with the Americas into a new, shared civilization in a way it did not with Asia because Europe and the Americas more fully adopted each other's patterns of life.[23] Kraus sought to show the origins of this Atlantic community by describing interactions across the Atlantic starting in the eighteenth century. He argued that the New World "had a profound effect on Europe" by accelerating the transition to a money economy, by making traditional social classes more fluid, by stimulating the arts and sciences, by creating whole new fields in the social sciences, and by (perhaps most of all) challenging conventional ideas of political science.[24] Thus, by 1949, the idea of a common history and destiny tied together Europe and North America in a fashion that would persist throughout the Cold War era and beyond.

While working on his two volume book *The Age of Democratic Revolution* (1956, 1964), American historian R. R. Palmer met French historian Jacques Godechot. The two historians of the French Revolution together wrote "Le Problème de l'Atlantique du XVIIIe et XXe Siècle"[25] in 1954, a political history of the Atlantic World, which Bernard Bailyn called the "first direct attempt at a comprehensive conceptualization of the idea of Atlantic history."[26] This paper "swept broadly" over any issue that the two thought would belong within the field.[27] They modeled this civilization off of Braudel's ideas of a Mediterranean civilization, but also saw it as malleable, as opposed to "static or monolithic."[28] Historians resisted the paper, arguing the subject did not exist and should not exist, calling Palmer and Godechot "apologists for NATO" despite the fact that the two continued to argue Atlantic civilization existed less

[22] Michael Kraus. *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth-Century Origins* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), vii.

[23] Kraus, 3.

[24] Ibid, 309.

[25] Robert Forster, R. R. Palmer, James Friguglietti, and Emmet Kennedy, "American Historians Remember Jacques Godechot," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 4 (Autumn 1990): 883.

[26] Bailyn, 24.

[27] Ibid., 25.

[28] Bailyn, 26.

in their day than it did in the eighteenth century.[29]

In his *The Age of Democratic Revolution*, (published in two volumes in 1959 and 1964) R. R. Palmer continued his study of the political history of the Atlantic World. Here, rather than study the whole Atlantic as a civilization, Palmer presented a comparative approach to the study of revolutions across the Atlantic in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, looking not only at the American and French Revolutions, but also political reforms and revolutions in Britain and across continental Europe. He also briefly touched on revolutions in Haiti and throughout Latin America, although he regretted not giving them a larger portion of his study.[30] Palmer saw all these revolutions not as isolated events or as one mega-revolution, but as a transatlantic phenomenon, where the ideas and actions of one nation could influence and spur on the ideas and actions of nations an ocean away.

By the 1960s, Atlantic history began to draw more interest. In 1969, J. H. Elliot gave a series of four lectures at The Queen's University of Belfast, later published in the book *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650.* His theme for the lectures, the "impact of the New World of America on sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe," was one that he said should be discussed "either in a very long book, or in a very short one."[31] *The Old World and the New* was, then, the very short book, followed in 2007 by the very long book *Empires of the Atlantic World*. Elliot acknowledged early in the first lecture that he saw the beginnings of Atlantic history as a subject forming, saying "the literature on the discovery of and colonization of the New World is now enormous, but it is also in many respects fragmentary and disconnected, as if it formed a special field of historical study on its own."[32] Taking up ideas from the Chaunus, and drawing off his previous work on imperial Spain, Elliott chose to focus on the Spanish Indies (rather than the English North American colonies) and their impact on the history of Western Europe,

[29] Forster et al., 883.

[30] R. R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800*, vol. 2, *The Struggle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), vi.

[31] Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, ix.

[32] Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 6.

bringing Latin America more fully into the sphere of Atlantic history.

The first of the lectures, titled "The Uncertain Impact" discussed Europe's initial response to the discovery of the Americas. Although met with initial excitement, the process of integrating the Americas into European worldviews was, on the whole, a slow process, due largely to how incredibly different the Americas were from Europe.[33] Elliott described how Europe did eventually incorporate the New World into both its Judeo-Christian worldview and its Greco-Roman classical worldview in the second chapter, "The Process of Assimilation." The Americas strengthened traditional European views that all peoples would eventually become both Christianized and civilized and that Europeans themselves, already both of these, were a superior people.[34] Chapter three "The New Frontier" then discussed how the Americas were incorporated into the economic world of Europe. Elliott discussed how American bullion, trade, and opportunity helped Europe rise to be a global economic powerhouse. He concluded that Europe, in acquiring access to America as a new frontier, gained "room for manoeuvre"[35] which provided opportunities for people to take risks and succeed. Lecture four, titled "The Atlantic World," described the political effects the Americas had on Europe and how the Spanish Empire rose and fell with its control of the Atlantic trade. By 1650, Elliott concluded, "The New World... had been accepted and absorbed"[36] into an arrogant Europe; however, here he also hinted that post-1650, when England gained control of the Atlantic, the Americas would come to represent something different - new dreams and possibilities of freedom, equality, and inquiry.[37] This work, although small, displayed the massive scope of the Atlantic World. Elliott discussed not only political structures and economies that spanned the Atlantic, but also thought, worldview, and culture. This book continued an incredible legacy of integrating many different social science fields into one powerful narrative.

Also tied to the ascent of Atlantic history was a general rise in

[33] Ibid., 17.
[34] Ibid., 52.
[35] Ibid., 77.
[36] Ibid., 103.
[37] Elliot, *The Old World and the New*, 104.

migration studies starting in the 1950s.[38] This movement had come into fruition by 1969, with Philip Curtin's seminal *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* which brought life to the study of transatlantic migrations and the importance of the slave trade to the Atlantic World. Migration and demographic studies clearly linked together the Atlantic world, displaying the personal familial connections that existed across the Atlantic. Works like David Eltis's 1983 *Free and Coerced Transatlantic Migrations*, by comparing the flows and experiences of migrants from Africa and Europe to the Americas, by their very nature, contributed to the idea of a connected Atlantic World.[39]

Taking a much different approach than the other early Atlanticists discussed, Alfred W. Crosby, in his landmark 1972 book *The Columbian Exchange*, explored the biological consequences of the post-1492 Atlantic World. He argued that "the most important changes brought on by the Columbian voyages were biological in nature."[40] To this end Crosby examined food, disease, and demography and how the Atlantic World changed these on both sides of the Atlantic following Columbus. He argued that the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, developing in isolation of each other, became biologically two distinct worlds and that the connection of these worlds, not in natural time but in the rapid pace of human time following the voyage of 1492, proved devastating. Although the spread of Old World animals and New World plants led to overall population growth, Crosby argued the consequences of the exchange have been and will continue to be overwhelmingly negative, due to the incredible loss of biodiversity it has caused. He concluded the book with this pessimistic outlook, saying "We, all the life forms on this planet, are the less for Columbus, and the impoverishment will increase."[41]

The Columbian Exchange came out of Crosby's desire to understand man within its context and although Crosby meant in this case, man's biological context, this sentiment still paralleled Atlanticist

[38] Bailyn, 32.

[39] David Eltis, "Free and Coerced Transatlantic Migrations: Some Comparisons," *The American Historical Review* 88, no. 2 (April 1983): 251.

[40] Crosby, xiv.

[41] Crosby, 219.

goals of understanding the transatlantic societies of the early modern period in their greater context.[42] Although this work lies somewhat out of the mainstream of Atlanticist historiography, arguing more for the Atlantic as an ecosystem rather than as a civilization, it has nevertheless been instrumental in demonstrating transatlantic connection. Its title has since become the widely-used name for this subject, refers to the exchange of life forms between Afro-Eurasia and the Americas that took place because of the post-Columbian connection of the two sides of the Atlantic. Even if Crosby was not their direct inspiration, historians have frequently mentioned his phrase and ideas as an argument for studying the Atlantic World more holistically. Much of the later Atlanticist literature echoes and builds off his concept of a transatlantic exchange, adding biological and environmental history to the mix of the increasingly diverse filed.

Following in the example of Braudel, D. W. Meining published *Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, the first volume to his *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* in 1986. Much like Braudel, Meinig sought to understand how geography influenced history in his study of the United States. In doing this, he hoped to critique standard American history and to create a synthesis of important themes he felt were neglected in its study. This included putting the history of the United States in a greater Atlantic context. In his introduction he stated: "The United States emerges within an Atlantic World and it everafter must share the continent and adjacent seas with other peoples and powers."[43] Meinig traced the human geography of the United States back to an Atlantic World that greatly influenced the peoples, cultures, and systems of the region. He identified two cultural hearths that spread across the Atlantic, an Iberian and a Northwest European (Britain, France, and the Netherlands), which help explain the cultural and historical differences between Latin America and North America. In reviewing his work, historian Don Higginbotham said of Meinig, "I know of no other scholar who has better described how an

[42] Ibid., xii.

[43] D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, vol. 1, *Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), xvi.

interdependence developed between the continents of Europe, Africa, and North and South America."[44] With this work, human geography became another piece in the ever more complex Atlantic World mosaic.

By the 1990s, Atlantic history had grown greatly in popularity, but was still confined largely to Western Europe and the Americas.[45] John Thornton, noticing the absence of Africa and Africans in the story, published his *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* in 1992 "to assess this less well known migration of Africans to the Americas and to place this assessment in the growing field of Atlantic history."[46] In his review of the book, Ira Berlin declared it the first major historical work to "[discuss] the creation of African America from the perspective of African society."[47] Thornton's research relied largely on primary texts, which, along with his view of the Atlantic World, led his book to counter much of the secondary literature at the time, which saw Africans as victims of the Atlantic World, not co-creators in it.[48] Thornton concluded that "Africans were active participants in the Atlantic world, both in African trade with Europeans (including the slave trade) and as slaves in the New World."[49] In two sections, "Africans in Africa" and "Africans in the New World," Thornton explained that Africans were powerful agents in the creation of the Atlantic World, including the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which he saw as an extension of traditional African slave-trading.[50] In doing this, Thornton gave a powerful new voice, previously ignored, to Africans in the story of Atlantic history.

During this time, widening access to computers greatly expanded migration history. New technology allowed historians to create electronic databases from the records they studied and gain access to a host of these

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[44] Don Higginbotham, review of *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, vol. 1, *Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, by D. W. Meinig, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19, no. 1 (Summer 1988): 138.

[45] Thornton, 1.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ira Berlin, review of *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, by John Thornton, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (July 1994): 545.

[48] Thornton, 8.

[49] Thornton, 6.

[50] Berlin, 546.

databases from either side of the Atlantic. Cooperation among scholars in the field, starting with David Eltis and Stephen Behrendt in 1990, led to the creation of the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* database in 1999 and then the creation of Voyages, the online publication of this information, in 2006. This assembled vast amounts of information on the transatlantic slave migrations into one database, which will continue to influence the growth of transatlantic studies.[51]

By the 2000s, Atlantic history had gained enough attention to be the subject of study itself. In 2001, Central Michigan University put together *The Atlantic World in the Age of Empire*, a compilation of Atlanticist essays and book chapters from the 1980s and 1990s. Here, works by aforementioned authors like Alfred W. Crosby, D. W. Meinig, and John Thornton, along with those of nearly twenty other historians, traced the story of the Atlantic, piece by piece, from its origins as a response to the decline of the thirteenth-century world system characterized by the Silk Road to the revolutions of the early nineteenth centuries and the disintegration of the Spanish Empire. The editors of this work saw Atlantic history as a "dramatic departure" from the traditional history of the early modern period because it acknowledges the importance and contributions of native Americans and Africans.[52] As a work created by many perspectives integrated into a whole, *The Atlantic World in the Age of Empire* paralleled the story of the Atlantic itself.

The study of Atlantic history continued in 2005 with Bernard Bailyn's *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours*. Here, Bailyn sought to explain the historiography of the concept of the Atlantic World and explain contemporary views on the subject. Bailyn described Atlantic history not as a static structure, but as a loose, ever-changing process that connected the four continents of the Atlantic and brought them into a similar set of experiences. He argued that Atlantic history was much more than the sum of the various imperial and regional histories of the time. Throughout his book he emphasized the fact that the Atlantic

[51] "History of the Project," Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, accessed November 22, 2017, http://www.slavevoyages.org/about/history.

[52] Thomas Benjamin, Timothy Hall, and David Rutherford eds., *The Atlantic World in the Age of Empire* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), pp.

World pulled together obscure peoples around the Atlantic Basin, previously largely isolated, into an intercontinental system that affected every aspect of daily life. Bailyn saw the general outline of Atlantic history in three stages: the "creation of a vast new marchland of European civilization,"[53] the development an American economy and its integration into a transatlantic system, and an era of revolutions and nationalization. He saw these themes as permeating Atlantic history, affecting every place in different ways and at different times.

In his historiography, Bailyn traced the roots of Atlantic history back as far as he could (to the 1917 article by Walter Lippmann discussed earlier) and followed the story forward to the twenty-first century. He saw Atlantic history as a unique concept, not directly derived from the geographic history of Braudel, traditional imperial history, or the pan-American history of Bolton, but rather created as a response to all of these.[54] He acknowledged a host of factors as having influenced the creation and development of the field, including a general widening of perspective into larger geographic units, the rise in popularity of ethnic and migration histories, and the geopolitical situation of the Cold War.[55] Like others before him, Bailyn saw Atlantic history as incomplete, a subject that had never been studied in its entirety. He ends his book by saying "but the full account of this story… is a tale yet to be told."[56] Through this work, Bailyn added the voice of historiography to the growing choir of Atlanticist sub-fields.

The year 2007 saw the publication of *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in the Americas*, where J. H. Elliott returned to the subject of the Atlantic World in a comparative study of colonial Spain and Britain. Like Braudel's *The Mediterranean,* this work was born out of a study of Habsburg Spain and was intended to provide greater context to that time period. However, rather than study the entire geographic context of the Atlantic, Elliott took a comparative approach, and limited himself to Spain and Britain out of practicality. Elliott saw Spain and England as fluctuating, like an accordion, constantly learning

[53] Bailyn, 62.
[54] Ibid., 4-6.
[55] Ibid., 30.
[56] Bailyn, 111.

from each other, and so his comparison was not of two static structures, but of two interacting processes.[57] Elliott's work relied largely on concepts built up in the Atlanticist tradition: that societies interacted with each other and affected the course of each other's histories and that geography and the larger surrounding political and economic context greatly impacted history. He also adds to the Atlanticist tradition with a strong work of comparative history within the Atlantic context.

Soon after, in 2009, the American Historical Association met to discuss the Atlantic World as a concept. It was an "occasion for a critical appraisal of that increasingly popular subject" with scholars of "varying opinions [presenting] short papers on its merits and utility."[58] Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan afterwards brought these papers, along with a handful of others, together in the book *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* to "assess the impact of the New World of the Atlantic upon the Old Worlds around the Atlantic" and "present alternative or complementary frameworks for analyzing the new Atlantic world."[59] The chapters provided critiques of the Atlantic World from the perspective of the various national histories encompassed in Atlantic history and the impacts of the Atlantic World on the old societies of the Atlantic Basin. Later chapters discussed topics that Atlantic history had neglected, along with alternative approaches to studying them. In their opening chapter, Greene and Morgan called Atlantic history an "analytic construct and an explicit category of historical analysis that historians have devised to help them organize the study of some of the most important developments of the early modern era."[60] With this, the authors separate themselves from older views that call Atlantic history a perspective and contemporary views that saw it as a "full-blown field of study."[61] Much of their chapter outlined and then refuted five substantive objections to Atlantic history. This work further illustrates the idea that Atlantic

[57] J. H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), xvii.

[58] Greene, v.

[59] Ibid..

[60] Greene, 3.

[61] Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, "Introduction: The Present State of Atlantic History," in *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal,* eds. Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4.

history is a broad subject, encompassing a wide variety of topics and perspectives.

In 2011, Charles C. Mann returned to many of Alfred Crosby's ideas in *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created*, where he discussed the post-Columbian world as one of great exchanges. In four sections, Mann described four Atlantic World processes: the transatlantic exchange of tobacco and disease; the transpacific exchange of silver and sweet potatoes; the role of the Columbian Exchange in the food revolution through the potato and the industrial revolution through rubber; and the transatlantic slave trade. The transpacific dimension to Atlantic history was something Mann recognized as a growing area of interest. In his prologue he stated in an aside: "recently a number of Atlanticists have added movements across the Pacific to their purview; the field may have to be renamed."[62] Mann, then, saw the Atlantic World as a major step in the long process of globalization. He also recognized that this new telling of the story was partly due to contemporary circumstances, as he had much easier access to Chinese archives than Crosby did a few decades before.[63] In *1493,* Mann built on a strong Atlanticist legacy of bringing together ideas from many different places (in his case ideas of globalization, the economy, and food) and creating something greater out of them.

The story of Atlantic history parallels that of its subject. The Atlantic World brought together various peoples of disparate backgrounds to create a world none of them could have imagined on their own. Much the same, modern historians of varied backgrounds and specialties have come together, providing a multitude of perspectives and experiences, to create a world none of them could have imagined: the Atlantic World as a historical concept. No one straightforward explanation can suffice for the rise of this diverse and complex study of a diverse and complex world. Rather, the Atlantic World of twenty-first century historical study and the Atlantic World of early modern history were created in much the same way: through the interaction and shared experiences of distinctly different people.

[62] Mann, xxiv.
[63] Ibid.

HANDING DOWN HISTORY ON THE BEACHES OF NORMANDY

By Shawn Fisher

In 1954, Colonel James Rudder made his second landing at Pointe Du Hoc, France. This time he was 44-years old, paunchy, wearing a sports coat, and riding on the shoulders of a French fisherman who carried him ashore in the high tide so Rudder would not get his feet wet. A second fisherman carried Rudder's fourteen-year-old son, Bud. The Frenchmen laughed under the strain of carrying the pair but deposited the two – quite dry – on the beach beneath the 100-foot cliff.

"Can you imagine anybody going up that thing?" Rudder said, mostly to himself.

"It's twice as high as I thought," the boy said. "Do you think we'll be able to climb it?"

"No, son. We won't."

"But you climbed it before."

Rudder was quiet. He paused. "I was younger then, son. And we trained for it."[1]

Ten years earlier, at 7:00 AM on June 6, 1944, he was the first American to set foot on The Pointe, leading then 225 men of the Second Ranger Battalion. The Rangers labored under constant fire up the legendary cliffs, climbing with ropes, with ladders borrowed from the London Fire Department, and with their bare hands. All the way to the top.

In March 2017, I stood atop those cliffs with my wife and two daughters, struggling to explain the meaning of the place which General Omar Bradley had described as "the most difficult assignment he had ever given a soldier." The Pointe was the German stronghold on the Normandy beaches, and the artillery there had to be knocked out or thousands of Allied troops would be killed. Rudder, a Texas high school

[1] The conversation here is paraphrased from the article "D-Day Relived," as found in W.C. Heinz, *When We Were One: Stories Of World War II* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2002), 172.

football coach just a year and a half before, was leading the most important mission of D-day.

Despite losing some men in swamped and misdirected landing craft, the Rangers hit the beach at The Pointe and started climbing immediately. A Ranger made it to the top in five minutes, and within half an hour the whole unit had taken the cliffs. It was a heroic feat of duty, dedication, and hard training, but only 90 men were left in fighting condition.

In 1984, one of those Rangers, Herman Stein, did it again – this time in his sixties. A roofer by trade, he blasted up the cliff and left behind a dozen embarrassed young Green Berets. Shortly after his climb that day, President Ronald Reagan gave the speech of his life, affectionately referring to the Rangers as "The Boys of Pointe Du Hoc." Reagan highlighted the importance of the mission, saying "in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs, they began to seize back the continent of Europe."

As my family and I walked back from the cliffs and around the deep shell holes that still dominate the landscape, I explained how the Germans had removed the guns from the Pointe, leaving the Rangers who finally scaled the cliffs to find the guns missing. Rudder sent two men to find them: Leonard Lomell, of New Jersey, and Jack Kuhn, of Alabama. These two men scouted ahead and quickly found the five 155mm guns under camouflaged nets behind a hedgerow, and as German gunners stood nearby waiting for orders to fire, the two Rangers snuck forward and disabled the guns with thermite grenades. The invasion was saved. The time was 8:30 A.M.

My visit to The Pointe was one of several WWII sites our family visited over the course of four days in Normandy. When historians walk in such places, we are often assaulted with layers of memory. Stories from the past spring to life as if ghosts arose from the very soil to fight again old battles, and make old speeches. We saw the church steeple in Sainte-Mère-Église where American paratrooper Sgt. John Steele hung from his parachute in the early morning hours of June 6. Inside, we saw the stained glass of the church which now depicts Jesus and Mary, flanked by American paratroopers descending in their parachutes. We visited the Airborne Museum next door, which included tanks, jeeps, and

gliders – and the Ronald Reagan Franco American Conference Center. Next we walked the battleground at Brecourt Manor where a handful of men from the famed Easy Company, 506th Parachute Regiment under the command of Capt. Richard Winters captured a German artillery battery. We stopped a short distance farther on to see the monument near the exit of Omaha Beach dedicated to Winters and other small unit leaders of the American army.

There is a living monument, though, in the warm affection our family received from our French host at the twelfth-century Chateau de Flottemanville. Unlike the cold urban setting of Paris, Normandy was cozy, rural, and very welcoming to Americans. American flags were everywhere – in fact, we saw more American flags in Normandy than in Searcy. Our host, Francois de Flottemanville, explained that her father was wounded within minutes of the liberation, but he was treated for his wounds by Allied medics and soon appointed mayor of nearby Valognes (the former mayor had been a German collaborator).

We sat in the ancient chateau's dining room for breakfast each morning near a small sign from the war. The chateau had been occupied by German officers for four years, and the signed warned in German that it was off-limits to enlisted personnel. We listened to Francois explain how her father wept remembering the sight of American paratroopers walking into Valognes on June 6. When I explained that my grandfather had come ashore at Utah Beach on D-day +10, she kissed my hand and hugged me. "Thank you," she said, "We owe so much to your country." We had many experiences at the historical sites during our trip to Normandy, but this living gratitude was the most visceral.

We Americans often forget amid our self-reflection, arguments, and criticisms of our country that we have been a great force for good in the world. The price has been stupendous. Nowhere have I felt this more strongly than while strolling with my family through the Normandy American Cemetery near Colleville-sur-Mer. There are some 10,000 Americans buried there. They came from across the ocean to defeat tyranny. They gave their lives to liberate the people of France. I was reminded there of John 15:13, "There is no greater love than this: that a person would lay down his life for the sake of his friends." We can do no more.

A GERMAN HISTORY EXPERIENCE

By: Rachel Walters

The Martin Luther hymn "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" took on a new meaning for me while in Germany last summer. As a group of us climbed up the forested path to Wartburg castle, we saw firsthand the enormous castle that became a source of solitude and inspiration for Luther. Situated at the top of a hill overlooking the town of Eisenach below, this "mighty fortress" made it easy to imagine that this castle could have been the inspiration behind his well-known hymn. Instances like this when history comes alive and provides a new perspective, demonstrate how beneficial studying abroad is to developing a deeper and richer understanding of history.

In the summer of 2017, Harding's History and Political Science Department offered two classes in Germany, through the help of several departments and the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz, Germany. Dr. John Richard Duke, who spent several years teaching in Mainz, travelled to Germany with four students for a month. He co-taught a History and Literature class with a professor from the university in Mainz. This class gave us the opportunity to immerse ourselves into the German culture by experiencing a German university. The focus of this class was Southern women in American history and literature as we explored works by Kate Chopin and readings on Anne Scott that demonstrate the influence of women in the South. Dr. Duke also taught another class on War and Religion in Germany. This class involved traveling all over Germany, and parts of Poland, to see this history in person. We read and reviewed Martin Marty's *Martin Luther: A Life,* as well as Dr. McLarty's book choice for the campus this year, *The Hiding Place* by Corrie ten Boom. We used these books as our guide across Germany as we sought to bring what we read to life. These different yet complementary classes gave us a unique experience of Germany that allowed us to better understand her history and develop connections with German students while discussing our cultures from different perspectives.

The 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's 95 Theses gave us the opportunity to find Luther nearly everywhere we went. Many times that was our purpose as we visited Eisenach, where Luther was secretly held at Wartburg castle, then on to Wittenberg to see where he nailed the Theses, and later to Worms where Luther was put on trial and refused to recant his writings against the church. As we travelled to these sites of major events in Luther's life, we were able to experience his life outside of the pages of a book and see the impact he had on Germany.

We immersed ourselves in the Cold War when we spent a day in Berlin. Going through the Checkpoint Charlie museum and seeing the remains of the Berlin Wall really made the Cold War a much more tangible piece of history. The remains of the wall scattered throughout the city leave a sobering reminder of the recent past. The Cold War is not the only history preserved in Berlin as there is a whole island devoted to museums, not to mention the Reichstag where you can climb inside the dome while learning the fascinating history of the building and get an amazing view of the city.

We visited Ravensbrück concentration camp where Corrie ten Boom and her sister were held. Not much remains of this camp which is much smaller than Dachau where we visited later. Both of these sites were powerful places of suffering and remembrance.

Our Cold War studies brought us to the shipyards of Gdansk, Poland where the Solidarity Movement was born. The Second World War was also present on our trip to Poland as we visited the site of the first shots of the war at Westerplatte. Poland was a real treat to experience and to learn more about her fascinating history.

Throughout our trip, we were given many opportunities to engage with the people in Germany. Our class through the university in Mainz gave us the opportunity to feel like students of the university as we learned side by side with German students in their classrooms and ate in their cafeterias. We met several people at the church in Wiesbaden, across the Rhine from Mainz, where we were invited to stay at their bible camp, Gemunden, for several days. As we travelled across the country, we worshiped with a church in Leipzig where a few Harding students were interning for the summer. While in Poland, we stayed with a missionary family and were able to meet and worship with their Polish

congregation. By being welcomed in homes and churches, and getting the opportunity to form friendships with these people, we were given a richer experience of the culture of these two countries.

Mainz was our home for the majority of our time in Germany. It has its own rich history as it is the home of Johannes Gutenberg and his creation: the printing press. Staying in Mainz for the majority of our trip, we were well situated to come in contact with some of the most beautiful aspects of Germany. Traveling just a short distance down the Rhine River, which runs alongside Mainz, brought us to a whole host of castles and stunning landscapes. As we travelled throughout this beautiful country and experienced so much of its rich history, I came away with a newfound understanding and appreciation for the people and their homeland.

ILLUSTRATIONS

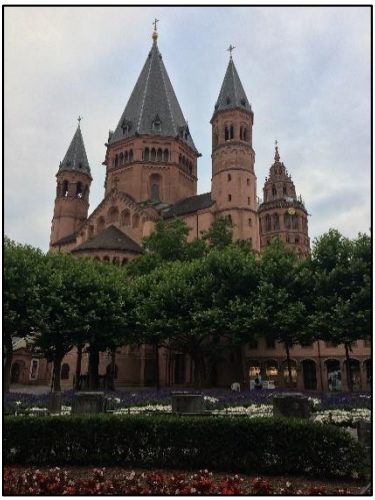
Harding University president, Dr. Bruce McLarty, introduced the panel.

Professor Mac Sandlin discussed the danger of placing admiration where admiration is not due.

Harding University students, faculty, and guests listened to members of the memorial panel discuss the topic of remembrance.

Photos Courtesy of: Dr. Julie Harris

Royal Route located in Gdansk, Poland



Mainz Cathedral located in Mainz, Germany

The Reichstag located in Berlin, Germany

Photos Courtesy of: Rachel Walters

Charting Currents of Western Thought

Articles

Photo Courtesy of: Flickr user The Library of Congress, La Lorraine, 1914
https://www.flickr.com/photos/library_of_congress/5793715990

Author Bio:

Nathan Harkey is a senior from Little Rock, Arkansas pursuing a double major in History and Spanish. While a student at Harding, Nathan has studied for a semester in Florence, Italy, and studied for one month during the summer of 2017 in Mainz, Germany. He has also participated in multiple one month-long mission campaigns to Lima, Peru with Harding's Spanish Department. Nathan enjoys traveling over anything else and learning about the history of other cultures. He will graduate from Harding in May 2018, after which he will pursue a Master of Arts degree in European History at the University of Arkansas.

Map Courtesy of: Flickr user Martinnemo

REMEMBERING AGINCOURT: AN ANALYSIS OF KING HENRY V'S IMPACT ON ENGLISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

By Nathan Harkey

On June 6, 1944, the combined allied forces swarmed the beaches of Normandy in an attempt to break through the Nazi-controlled Atlantic Wall. The future of the free world was at stake, as an allied failure would solidify German control of continental Europe, and effectively kill any allied momentum. An unparalleled amount soldiers were certain to die during the D-Day invasion, and the ensuing bombardment would test the mettle of the most fearless among them. However, a seaborne invasion of France was not an unprecedented approach for military tacticians, especially to those of the British Army. A famous speech sounded over the loudspeakers of many of the landing craft, reminding the soldiers of an English king who, five centuries before launched a daring campaign to win the French crown.[1] "Once more unto the breach dear friends, once more; Or close the wall up with our English dead." These words, taken from Shakespeare's *Henry V*, were used to embolden the terrified soldiers whose duty was to break through the German breach at Normandy, or else become the English dead of the Atlantic Wall.

This paper examines the Agincourt campaign of King Henry V, and the legacy that it has left on the people of England.[2] Henry ascended the throne as the second monarch of the House of Lancaster in 1413, in the middle of the Hundred Years War. Though his reign lasted only nine years, he would be continually celebrated for his accomplishments, both on and off of the field of battle. According to Churchill, Henry "was entirely national in his outlook" as he was the first king to advocate

[1] Charles Carlton, *Royal Warriors: A Military History of the British Monarchy*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 49.

[2] For the sake of this paper, any references to Henry V after 1707 Act of Union will still be treated as English national identity, in the sense that most people who consider themselves British still speak the English language, and the history of England is at the center of British History. From a national and historical point of view, there is no Britain as we know it without England.

exclusively English interests, which included using the English language in official correspondence, and English troops instead of foreign armies.[3] Because of Henry, by the fifteenth century "the English aristocracy [had] to learn the language of their Norman ancestors as a foreign tongue."[4] England and France had been directly connected through the Duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine for hundreds of years, and through their rivalry with each other, both were pushing for more nationalistic states. Henry's Agincourt campaign and the immense success that followed would directly influence the creation of a unified English identity: one that would never again consider itself subordinate to the likes of France, let alone any other European nation. This identity would be further cemented and embellished by influential figures who followed, who used Henry V as a symbol that embodies England as a nation consecrated by God through successful confrontation against a formidable rival.

At the beginning of the Hundred Years War, the English had lost many of their possessions in France, including Normandy. However, they still held Aquitaine and some other provinces as a vassal of the French king, for which they had to reluctantly pay homage.[5] This situation ensured that by the time Henry V ascended the throne, the sentiment of nationalism had enormously increased in both countries.[6] As a brief explanation, the English kings were reluctant to kneel to the French kings, and both sides desired to have their lands back. The fact that the English held French land threatened the national unity of both sides, because France would never be complete without it, and England would always be reminded of how large their holdings once were.

From the outset of Henry's reign, he planned to assert his claim as 'king of France.'[7] His was essentially a continuation of Edward III's claim through the female line to the late Charles IV of France.[8] The

[3] Sir Winston Churchill, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, vol. 2, *The Birth of Britain*, (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1956), 409.

[4] A.L. Rowse, *The Spirit of English History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), 39.

[5] Edward P. Cheyney, *A Short History of England*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1904), 230.

[6] Rowse, *39*.

[7] Cheyney, 230.

[8] Anne Curry, *Agincourt: A New History*. (Stroud, United Kingdom: The History Press, 2005), 17.

House of Commons granted new taxes for him, which "was, in effect, a vote for the continuation of the war in France."[9] Henry sailed with a massive fleet, "the finest task force ever seen in England before the age of the Tudors,"[10] from Portsmouth on August 11, 1415, and landed at the mouth of the Seine two days later.[11] From here, he promptly besieged the town of Harfleur, a drawn out affair which Shakespeare immortalized: "Follow your spirit, and upon this charge [c]ry 'God for Harry, England, and St. George!"[12]

Although Harfleur eventually capitulated to the English forces after six weeks of siege, Henry's army grew smaller each day due to a disease that was spreading among his soldiers. After the losses sustained, and after he sent many of the sick home, Henry was left with around 15,000 men, half the number that he came with.[13] Therefore, Henry decided to leave a garrison in Harfleur and march quickly to Calais, another port town that was controlled by the English.[14] From there, Henry would have established a strong foothold, with control of two northern French ports. He could wait out the time that it took to replenish his army, and then use both Harfleur and Calais as staging points for a renewed invasion.

Whatever plan Henry had for his forces when he reached Calais, he was cut off by the Dauphin of France and his army. When asked by the French heralds to pick a day for the battle and which route he was taking to Calais, "Henry answered 'by the straightest' and that if his enemies sought him it would be at their peril."[15] Such a brisk answer indicates that Henry was determined not to admit that he was in a perilous situation, for the English by all accounts were outnumbered, and the French army was fresh. Whether he was convinced that God

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[9] Juliet Barker, *Agincourt: Henry V and the Battle that Made England*, (New York: Little, Brown and Co), 341.

[10] Christopher Allmand, *Henry V*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 221.

[11] James H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, vol. 2, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1919), 5-7.

[12] William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III.1.33-34.

[13] The Honorable Clive Bigham, *The Kings of England: 1066-1901*. (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co, 1929), 197.

[14] Curry, 119-124.

[15] Bigham, 197.

supported his claim, or that his English soldiers were simply up to the challenge, Henry was prepared to put them into the field of battle. Whatever his motives, the armies met at the field of Agincourt on October 25, 1415; the feast day of Saints Crispin and Crispinian.[16]

One of the most disputed issues of the battle, and one that has the greatest potential to be miscalculated, is the question of the sizes of the two armies that met at Agincourt. Most historians agree with James Wylie in his three-volume work on Henry V, when he asserts that "the chroniclers regard it as a fight between the giant and the dwarf."[17] In Wylie's own reckoning, while some of the numbers are astronomical, such as 200,000 French and 26,000 English, it is instead more prudent to believe the word the author of *Gesta Henrici Quinti (The Deeds of Henry V)*, who would have been an eyewitness of the battle. He claimed to have numbered the English himself at 6,000 effective fighting men, with a French force of "at least ten times their superiors in number."[18]

Most historians agree that the French vastly outnumbered the English. The Honorable Clive Bigham states that while the French had columns that were thirty men deep, the English were but four.[19] Shakespeare's own propagandized version of the battle runs along the same lines, putting the number of French at 60,000, which outnumbered the English five to one.[20] On the other hand, there are historians that reject this disparity in number entirely, likely because they rely less on English sources. For instance, in her new history of the battle, Anne Curry insists that "[t]he English estimates, stretching from 60,000 to 160,000, are completely impossible." Instead, her analysis of primarily French sources puts the French army at a manageable 12,000 men, while Henry's army was "a few hundred either side of 9,000."[21] While Curry's conclusion is much more closely-matched than most other accounts, it is well-reasoned and provides a legitimate opposition to the astonishing reports that came from English chroniclers.

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[16] Bigham, 197.
[17] Wylie, 141.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Bigham, 198.
[20] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV.3.2-4.
[21] Curry, 225-28.

The differences in estimations of army sizes at Agincourt lead to a couple of conclusions regarding the nationalistic tendencies of both sides. Naturally, the English would have reported numbers ranging on the insurmountable to aid Henry's campaign, just as the French chroniclers would have downplayed their actual number in an effort to save face. Regardless of the actual numbers, it is safe to assume that the English were outnumbered from the start, and that on a normal day, the odds were stacked firmly in the favor of the French. According to Churchill, the resulting victory was "the most heroic of all the land battles England has ever fought."[22] On the other hand, the outcome of the battle must have been a slap in the face to the French, whose overconfidence was crushed as thoroughly as their army.[23]

The English had their own advantages that were crucial to their victory. The first of these is the use of the English longbow, which revolutionized medieval warfare.[24] While the French could by all accounts boast more numbers, "the weakness of the whole vast force lay undoubtedly in the paucity of its bowmen."[25] Even if the numbers were as close as Anne Curry suggests, she further explains that of her minimum estimation of 8,732 English, only 1,593 were men-at-arms, and the remaining 7,139 were archers.[26] This statistic, combined with the fact that the French heavily relied on their cavalry and men-at-arms proved a heavy English artillery advantage. Further, the few archers that the French had were merely crossbowmen. While the crossbow bolt had more penetrating power, the English archers "could fire 10 to 12 arrows a minute and had a maximum range of almost 400 yards," a return that the cumbersome crossbow could not equal.[27] Added to their ineffectiveness was the fact that many of the French nobles had pushed their crossbowmen to the back of the battle, or dismissed them entirely, to clear the way for the vanguard.[28] Therefore, the French archers that

[22] Churchill, 404.
[23] Curry, 278-297.
[24] Brian L. Blakeley and Jacquelin Collins, *Documents in English History: Early Times to Present*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), 83.
[25] Wylie, 145.
[26] Curry, 228.
[27] Blakeley, 83.
[28] Curry, 249-250.

actually participated in the battle "were driven out of range by the swift and unerring skill of the English archer who never shot arrow amiss."[29]

With the French archers out of range, the author of *Gesta* explains how the French cavalry, confident in their strength, descended upon the English but, "by God's will, they were forced to fall back under showers of arrows and flee to their rearguard," which effectively killed any momentum that the French hoped to build.[30] At this point, the English gained another advantage. The field had been freshly sown with wheat, and torrents of rain mixed with the trampling of the French cavalry had effectively turned the battlefield into a quagmire.[31] That first division of the attacking French was bogged down and grew tired in the mud, effectively trapping them and even further increasing the deadliness of the English arrows.[32] With between two and four dozen arrows apiece, the archers created an onslaught "so that the air was darkened as with a cloud."[33] Hand-to-hand combat was eventually joined, but the French were so tightly packed that they began to fall upon their own dead, and they were trampled by both their own numbers and the English.[34] The numbers that originally gave the French confidence were now their source of panic, as the initial English success created a mass surrender. According to *Gesta*, "there were some of them, even of their more nobly born, who that day surrendered themselves more than ten times."[35] King Henry had won the day.

Agincourt was similar in some regards to the victories of Crécy and Poitiers,[36] won by Edward III and his son, the Black Prince in the previous century. These three battles are the most famous military

[29] Wylie, 159.

[30] Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell, trans, *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 87.

[31] Curry, 254.

[32] Bigham, 198.

[33] Wylie, 152-153.

[34] Curry, 235.

[35] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 91.

[36] Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356) are generally considered to be two of the most important victories of the first half of the Hundred Years' War.

engagements involving the French armies in the period 1300-1420.[37] Not only did the English win each of these battles, but they did so against considerably larger French forces. The numbers at Poitiers were considerably closer than the wild reports at Agincourt. The French army, at about 16,000 strong, reportedly had at least 10,000 more men-at-arms than the English.[38] All assertions of the numbers at Agincourt indicate a much more outnumbered English force, except for the claim by Anne Curry. Crécy, on the other hand, was more comparable to Agincourt regarding the overwhelming size of the French army. Of note here is the amount of Genoese crossbowmen, a hired mercenary force that amounted to as many as 15,000 according to Jean Froissart's *Chronicles*.[39] The amount of crossbowmen alone outnumbers the reported strength of 14,000 English, and the French still had a host of men-at-arms and infantry.

These three battles were helped to foster a growing hatred between France and England, and are drawn even closer in significance by the effectiveness of the English archers, who reportedly at Crécy "shot their arrows with such force and quickness that it seemed as if it snowed."[40] In each battle, the English longbow was more efficient than the burdensome crossbow. It was crucial in creating confusion and panic among the French forces, enabling the English to win at improbable odds against much larger armies. Even with the technological advancement of methods of artillery, the longbow remained central to England's tactical practice for the next couple of centuries. British army officer Charles Lee, through his correspondence with Benjamin Franklin would even recommend it as the more effective weapon over the flintlock musket as late as 1792.[41] Almost four-hundred years after Agincourt, the longbow

[37] Chris Given-Wilson and Françoise Bériac, "Edward III's Prisoners of War: The Battle of Poitiers and Its Context," *The English Historical Review* 116, no. 468 (Sep 2001): 807.

[38] A.H. Burne, "The Battle of Poitiers," *The English Historical Review* 53, no. 209 (Jan 1938): 45.

[39] Jean Froissart, *The Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*, translated by Thomas Johnes, rev. ed., (New York and London: The Cooperative Publication Society) 1901, pp. 39-41, 42, 44-45.

[41] Thomas Esper, "The Replacement of the Longbow by Firearms in the English Army," *Technology and Culture* 6, no. 3 (1965): 382.

was still considered one of the most efficient methods of artillery to some English tacticians, inextricably linking it to the national identity and military culture of England.

While these similarities between the battles of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt help to demonstrate the strong cultural significance of the English longbow, there are differences in the outcomes that make Agincourt the more decisive victory. According to Curry, the number of French dead at Poitiers was around 2,500, while those at Crécy numbered from between 2,000 and 4,000.[42] The death toll at Agincourt was much more grievous for the French. According to *Gesta*, while the English army hardly exceeded 6,000 men, they had killed at least that many French. Among the slain were "the dukes of Bar, Brabant, and Alençon, five counts, [and] more than ninety barons and bannerets."[43] As Shakespeare poetically describes it, "[h]ere was a royal fellowship of death."[44] The implication of this was catastrophic for the French. While a large chunk of the French nobility had been decimated, Edward, Duke of York and Michael, Earl of Suffolk were the only significant English deaths.[45] In fact, while *Gesta* numbers only nine or ten other English dead, the contemporary ratio of between four to one and five to one French to English dead is more believable.[46] Regardless of the actual number, the important issue is that the French suffered a considerable blow to their leadership, which would take them decades to recover from.[47] The ability for a much smaller country to repeatedly defeat the massive numbers that the French could put on the field exposed the arrogance of the leaders of France, while England developed a reputation of prudence and discipline in warfare.

According to Churchill, "Henry's victory at Agincourt made him the supreme figure in Europe."[48] This attitude made evident the second significant difference between Agincourt and the English victories of the fourteenth century: The Treaty of Troyes in 1420. The Treaty, made

[42] Curry, 295.
[43] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 95.
[44] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV.8.94.
[45] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 97.
[46] Given-Wilson, 806.
[47] Curry, 278-297.
[48] Churchill, 408.

possible by the Agincourt campaign and the subsequent infirmities of the French nobility, named Henry the regent of France, and promised him the crown upon the death of the French king, Charles VI.[49] With this accomplishment, Henry surpassed his ancestor, Edward III. While Edward declared himself king of France in 1340, his assertion was disputed at best. Edward made his way to Reims[50] in 1359 "with a crown in his baggage," but "the following year he came to a treaty with the French king, John II."[51] In contrast, Henry V's claim was made legitimate by the Treaty of Troyes, and although his work would eventually be undone by his untimely death, the English rule of both kingdoms would prove to be the high water-mark of the Anglo-French rivalry.

Involvement in the battle made it possible for any person who fought, no matter the status of their birth, to achieve the aspirations that others could only dream of. After the battle, a new generation of heraldry emerged, almost exclusively comprised of Agincourt veterans. While most knights and esquires were too low-born or of too meager means to achieve higher status, Henry made a special provision for those who served at the battle. He proclaimed that no one should wear a coat of arms "to which he was not entitled either by ancestral right or official grant…[t]he sole exemption to this was for 'those who bore arms with us at the Battle of Agincourt.'"[52] Shakespeare referenced this system of reward, showing a king who made good on his promises to trusty English yeomen: "For he today that sheds his blood with me, shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile, [t]his day shall gentle his condition."[53]

Many of those who fought at Agincourt certainly enjoyed a gentler condition thereafter. For instance, John de Wodehouse developed a coat of arms with a gold chevron, "scattered with drops of blood." He also added the simple motto, "Agincourt," a move imitated by Sir Roland de Lenthale.[54] Further, Richard Waller added the Orléans shield to his coat of arms to commemorate his capture of the Duke of Orleans at

[49] Blakeley, "The Treaty of Troyes," *Documents*, 105-107.
[50] Reims was the traditional place of coronation for French kings.
[51] Curry, 17.
[52] Ibid, 349.
[53] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV.3.61-3.
[54] Barker, 349.

Agincourt.[55] Finally, there was perhaps no greater honor for an Englishman than to be admitted into the Most Noble Order of the Garter, which was founded by Edward III in 1348 to support his claim to the throne of France.[56] In 1420, the year of the Treaty of Troyes, it was only fitting that of the twenty-six members of the Order, at least half were Agincourt veterans.[57] The promotion of English nationalism was central to all of this heraldic development. In a country that had been directly connected, and even subordinate, to France in the recent past, it was a wise move to reward those who had helped to break that yoke.

The lasting importance of the battle of Agincourt is its legacy, remembered both by contemporaries and by those who followed. King Henry V, while well-loved in his time, is most immortalized in the 1599 play by William Shakespeare. Shakespeare's Henry prophetically encourages his soldiers the moments before battle:
"Then shall our names, familiar in their names as household words…be in their flowing cups freshly remembered. This story shall the good man teach his son; and Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by, from this day to the ending of the world, but we in it shall be remembered."[58]
Although the actual Henry may not have anticipated such a remembrance, Shakespeare had the advantage of being almost two centuries removed from the battle. He was a witness to the fact that "Agincourt became a part of the English Church calendar and no one in England or Wales would be allowed to forget the anniversary of the battle or the part that God and his saints had played in securing their victory."[59] Shakespeare would have had this in mind when he wrote that section of his famous "Crispin's Day Speech, as a testament to how successfully the battle had been remembered, or perhaps as a challenge for future generations to honor their English forefathers.

Shakespeare's contribution to the way scholars view Henry V cannot be underestimated from a historical point of view. Shakespeare's

[55] Barker, 349.
[56] College of St George - Windsor Castle - The Order of the Garter.
[57] Barker, 348.
[58] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV.3.51-2,55-9.
[59] Barker, 342-43.

plays are not the factual records that historians usually rely on, but they can be interpreted as a form of creative history. In fact, John Churchill, the famous Duke of Marlborough and hero of the Battle of Blenheim (1704), admitted that "Shakespeare's plays were the only English History I ever read,"[60] which is a testament to the ability of Shakespeare to turn a true story into a thrilling tale. It is also important to realize that Shakespeare had a purpose in mind as an author, and that purpose has greatly affected the overall opinion of the English kings that he chose as subjects. For instance, as he praises Henry V, Shakespeare just as effectively wields his talent to foster a universal hatred of Richard III. However, just because he writes to accomplish an agenda should not take away from the historical significance of his work. The author of *Gesta* also had a purpose when he wrote his chronicle. The account, although written by an eyewitness, is undoubtedly a work of propaganda for King Henry and the English nation. Therefore, while one must not take Shakespeare's writing as entirely factual, it would be impossible to deny that it was historically significant in establishing the popular perception of Henry V and Agincourt today.

In his biography of the king, Christopher Allmand asserts that "Shakespeare was to create a Henry V destined to become part of England's cultural heritage."[61] He did this by invoking God's favor at every turn, a propaganda device that is also found in *Gesta*. Shakespeare's representation is so effective because it is "a remarkable study of how a nation remembers."[62] In his article, "Wars of Memory in *Henry V*," Jonathan Baldo explains that "[c]ontrol over how a nation remembers a momentous event like a war is almost as significant as the outcome of the war itself, given how crucial memory is for the legitimation and exercise of power."[63] While the outcome of Agincourt was crucial in its own right, an extra appreciation of the events is owed to Shakespeare's ability to eloquently tell a story that was designed to present the battle as an essential part of English culture.

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[60] Carlton, 48.

[61] Allmand, 435.

[62] Jonathan Baldo, "Wars of Memory in Henry V," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (1996): 132.

[63] Ibid, 133.

Shakespeare's principal theme in *Henry V*, according to Derek Traversi, "is the establishment in England of an order based on consecrated authority and crowned successfully by action against France."[64] During the religious turmoil that characterized the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), many would have wanted assurance that England had God on her side. Shakespeare's attempt to provide this assurance is addressed in the article "Holy War in *Henry V*" by Stephen Marx, who claims that the victory at Agincourt follows "the model of all of God's interventions in human history." He compares the Agincourt story in Shakespeare's English history cycle with the Red Sea victory in the Bible, likening Henry V as a national hero to Moses, therefore denoting the intervention of God on the side of the English.[65] Textual examples help to demonstrate this form of propaganda. Shakespeare repeatedly invokes St. George, the patron saint of England, as the directly involved mediator between God and the English. Further, in act four of Shakespeare's play, Henry points to God as the victor: "Come, go we in procession to the village. And be it death proclaimed through our host [t]o boast of this or take that praise from God [w]hich is his only.[66] In the corresponding section of *Gesta*, the author expresses the same sentiment after the battle: "[F]ar be it from our people to ascribe the triumph to their own glory or strength; rather let it be ascribed to God alone, from Whom is every victory."[67] In each case, special attention is given to ensure that the reader understands that God was on the side of the English. In the 1590s, when tensions between Protestants and Catholics were certainly high, this language influenced the concept of religious war in England.[68] The Tudors wanted a united England, not bound to any religious or temporal authority of their own, and Shakespeare fulfilled this purpose by creating a memory that Elizabethan

[64] Derek Traversi, *Shakespeare: From Richard II to Henry V*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957), 166.

[65] Steven Marx, "Holy War in Henry Fifth" *Shakespeare Survey* 48 (1995) p. 85-86.

[66] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV.8.107-13.

[67] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 99.

[68] Allmand, 434-35.

England could look to as an example when, like Henry V, they were repeatedly called to arms.[69]

Reaching from the Tudor age, "the heroic view of Henry V has remained constant over the centuries," notably the periods of the Victorian Era and in World War II.[70] The Victorians viewed Henry V as the epitomized Englishman. In the account of Bishop William Stubbs, "Henry was "religious, pure in life, temperate, liberal, careful and yet splendid, merciful, truthful, honourable, direct in word, provident in council, prudent in judgment, modest in looks, magnanimous in acts, a true Englishman."[71] The Victorians aligned Henry to the values of their society. They portrayed him as a national hero who fit the romanticized mold of the perfect Christian gentleman; one who could serve as a role model to English schoolchildren.[72]

On the stage, Shakespeare's *Henry V* was seldom performed in the nineteenth century, but was notably produced by Charles Kean in 1859.[73] At a time when the threat of a French invasion under Napoleon III was likely, Victorian society could identify on multiple levels with the themes of national unity and armed conflict against a rival that were prevalent in *Henry V*. In fact, many of the reviews of Kean's rendition praised the importance that he placed on the battle scenes. The *Saturday Review* considered the Siege of Harfleur "the first genuine battle ever seen on theatrical boards," which Gail Marshall views as a societal awareness of the language of war.[74] While Victorian society viewed Henry V as a true Englishman, the political climate echoed the conflict present during Henry's Agincourt campaign, which made him an example of English national interest and integrity.

Shifting from the Victorian Age to the mid-twentieth century, the portrayal of Henry V changed in characterization from the epitome of virtue to a source of inspiration and national pride during the Second

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[69] Baldo, 133.

[70] Charles Carlton, 48.

[71] Desmond Seward, *Henry V as Warlord,* (London: Sedgewick and Jackson, 1987), xviii.

[72] Carlton, 48.

[73] Gail Marshall, "Patriotism and Charles Kean: Henry V in 1859," *Nineteenth Century Theatre & Film* 36, no. 1 (June 2009): 61.

[74] Ibid, 65.

World War. Winston Churchill most notably used him as way to inspire heroism. A noted nationalist, Churchill labeled the English crown "[as] a sacred, mystical, almost metaphysical institution, which proclaimed the unity and identity of the nation."[75] He believed in the monarchy as a unifying power, made more powerful considering that it had stood the test of over a thousand years, where others had capitulated along the way. His nationalistic tendencies could be further explained by the fact that he wrote a four volume *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*.

As much as he was an anglophile, Churchill was also a devoted Shakespearian to the extent that he almost won a prize as a schoolboy for reciting a thousand of his lines.[76] Especially during the war, he saw the value of Henry V as a patriarchal figure, one that could inspire both soldiers, and common citizens, all of whom were expected to contribute in any necessary way to the war effort. He accomplished this in 1943 by making sure that the few reels of precious technicolor film available in England were used to make Laurence Olivier's version of Shakespeare's play.[77] Olivier's version is still considered one of the most successful renditions of the play, only rivalled in film by Kenneth Branagh's version of 1989. Still to this day, according to Charles Carlton, "[a]sk anyone what they associate with Henry V, and they will most likely answer the Shakespearian view of the heroic warrior king, portrayed by Laurence Olivier…or by Kenneth Branagh.[78] Of these renditions, Olivier's especially was fundamental to the war effort, and would not have been made possible without Churchill's love of Shakespeare. Olivier shared his own opinion on the impact of the movie: "Looking back, I don't think we could have won the war without 'Once more unto the breach…' somewhere in our soldiers' hearts."[79] Through his involvement with Olivier's movie, Churchill made it possible for every English citizen to envision a nation that stood firm in the face of

[75] David Cannadine, "Churchill and the British Monarchy," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11, (2001): 251.

[76] Martin Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life* (New York: Holt, 1991), 21.

[77] Carlton, *Royal Warriors*, 48.

[78] Ibid, 46.

[79] Kevin Ewert, *Henry V: A Guide to the Text and its Theatrical Life* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 118.

fearsome odds without surrender, emboldening them to do the same against the German threat.

There are several connections between Henry V's small "band of brothers" at Agincourt and the British forces in World War II. Some were situational, but most were methodically created to boost morale. Perhaps the most obvious of examples is that both the attacks on D-Day and the Agincourt campaign were launched in Normandy. Churchill was aware of most, if not all of these similarities. For instance, in his re-telling of the Agincourt campaign in *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Churchill says that "[Henry] had to ascend the Somme to above Amiens by Boves and Corbie, and could only cross at the ford of Béthencourt. All of these names are well known to our generation."[80] Here, Churchill hardly made any effort in connecting two English forces that, although only five-hundred years apart, could identify with each other through the trials of war, even in some of the same places. The promotion and success of Olivier's movie ensured that some of the soldiers would have had this significance in mind as they prepared to fight. As Shakespeare's famous "Once more unto the breach" speech sounded throughout the landing craft on D-Day, Churchill's desire to connect the two invasions was actualized, as the memory of Henry V was fresh on the minds of those who invaded Normandy in 1944.

Although many at the time may not have realized it, Shakespeare's dialogue in *Henry V* directly influenced some of Churchill's most important wartime speeches. The parallels are almost eerie, but understandable when one realizes that Churchill, like Henry, had the daunting task of encouraging his people to overcome the fear of death at a time when it was most critical to their survival. That, combined with the excellent knowledge of Shakespeare that Churchill possessed, made him the seemingly perfect candidate for the job. For example, in his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Churchill chooses to highlight Shakespeare's "the fewer men, the greater share of honor."[81] In this instance, while discussing the real Henry and his actions, Churchill uses Shakespeare's Henry to provide dialogue that the

[80] Churchill, 403.
[81] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV.3.22.

real Henry could not provide. He is encouraging his cousin not to wish more people from England, because it would lessen the share of honor that the victors would receive. Churchill echoes this idea when he praises the British airmen in one of his most famous speeches to the House of Commons: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."[82] In both cases, the few were merited more honor than they would have otherwise, due to the gravity of the situations that they faced, and their willingness to put their lives on the line for their nation.

In contrast with many other English kings, history has been kind to Henry V.[83] His reign only lasted nine years, from 1413 to his untimely death in 1422 at the age of thirty-six. In those short nine years, Henry managed to legitimize a claim to the French throne that had eluded his ancestors. Although his kingdom of England and France would not last to outlive his son, Henry V is still remembered as an advocate for English culture over all others. He championed the English language, pursued English dominance through his military, and rewarded those who were loyal to him. He was nothing if not a pious monarch, and contributed to the idea that England was divinely favored over her enemies. He inspired the people who followed as a strong and accomplished ruler, wedged into a period of weakness and imbalance. Because of the way he is remembered, King Henry V will mean something different to each generation, because the identity that he is associated with will change over time. In the Tudor age, he was lauded for his great achievements, while in the Victorian age, he was viewed as the model of integrity. In the time of the most recent World War, he was a patriarchal hero, who could identify with young soldiers looking for the bravery to fight. Henry V and the Battle of Agincourt have a place in the identity of every English generation, and although the way he is remembered may change to suit the mindset at the time, he will always remain a part of England's cultural heritage.

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[82] Sir Winston Churchill, "The Few," 20 August 1940 in *Complete Speeches* VI, 6261.

[83] C.T. Allmand, "Henry V (1386/7-1422)," In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.G.C. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 874.

Author Bio:

Mary Goode is a senior history major and English minor from Nashville, Tennessee. During her time at Harding, Mary has traveled abroad and spent a semester in Florence, Italy. She is a member of Sigma Tau Delta, and currently serves as the president of Phi Alpha Theta. After graduation in May 2018, Mary plans to move to San Antonio, Texas, to become a teacher and instill the love of words and history into future generations.

DRACULA: THE ANTI-VACCINATION MOVEMENT AND URBAN LIFE IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

By Mary Goode

Scholars often analyze Bram Stoker's terrifying yet celebrated gothic novel, *Dracula*, through the lens of hidden sexuality and sexual dangers. Although such research is valid, there is an overlooked concept of the story that begs further scrutiny. *Dracula* was published in Victorian England—an era entrenched in rampant diseases, urbanization, and new scientific marvels. In the seven years that it took Stoker to write and publish his most famous work[1], Victorian England witnessed "The Great Stink," the evolution of scientific thought concerning how disease was spread, the controversy of vaccinations, and the religious uproar that followed the Compulsory Vaccination Act. Throughout *Dracula*, the symbolic use of the vampire furthered the claims of those opposed to compulsory vaccination—later dubbed the anti-vaccinators. The anti-vaccinators' fears of compulsory vaccination included the loss of blood purity, the infliction of bodily harm and loss of innocence; as well as the degradation of religious moral. Stoker's use of words, imagery, and symbols combine to create a commentary of not only urban life in the Victorian era, but also the anti-vaccination campaign.

Published in 1897, *Dracula* became Stoker's legend. *Dracula* centered on the diaries, letters, and dialogue of the novel's characters and brought the anti-vaccinators' vampire to the forefront of Victorian society. Stoker's setting for his macabre tale was that of Transylvania—a far-off and distant place for many of *Dracula's* readers. In Transylvania, the culture was so starkly different that many readers would not immediately connect Stoker's criticism to England. Count Dracula, Stoker's vampire, stated as much:

> We are in Transylvania; and Transylvania is not England. Our ways are not your ways and there shall be to you many strange

[1] Stephanie Moss, "Bram Stoker," *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 178 (1997): 232.

> things. Nay, from what you have told me of your experiences already, you know something of what strange things may be.[2]

Since Transylvania was a removed place from the Victorian setting, Stoker had the ability to critique Victorian England without receiving direct backlash. However, the readers of *Dracula* certainly noticed the similarities between Count Dracula and the vampire imagery used by the anti-vaccination campaign.

Named after Queen Victoria, the Victorian Era of England began in 1837 and lasted until the Queen's death in 1901.[3] As a whole, the English people were better off in 1901 than they were beforehand. They had already survived the societal shift from farming to industry, and from countryside living to town life. In 1840, Thomson, a Lancashire cotton-printer who was "accustomed to travel a good deal on business," spoke of the "superior persevering energy of the English workman, whose untiring, savage industry surpasses that of every other country I have visited, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland not excepted."[4] Victorian England witnessed the implementation of public health reforms under Edwin Chadwick, the spread of democracy among the working class, and the growth of leisurely pursuits. Despite the attempts to systematically clean the state of urban living, the creation of universal suffrage for all men (regardless of their socioeconomic status,) and the economic freedom to vacation with family and friends, some remained discontented. [5]

Contrary to Thomson, a later account by Henry James in 1876, painted a less glowing picture of Victorian England. He found that the city was not a "pleasant place [nor] agreeable, or cheerful, or easy, or exempt from reproach…"[6] The England that James came in contact with

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[2] Stoker, *Dracula* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1897), 20.

[3] George P. Landow, "Victoria and Victorianism," The Victorian Web, last modified August 2, 2009, accessed April 17, 2017, http://www.victorianweb.org/vn/victor4.html.

[4] Reader, 1.

[5] "Victorian Britain: A Brief History," The Historical Association, last modified January 27, 2017, accessed March 23, 2018, https://www.history.org.uk/primary/resource/3871/victorian-britain-a-brief-history.

[6] Henry James, "London," in *Essays in London and Elsewhere,* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1922 [first pub. 1893]) p.27,32, quoted in Judith R. Walkowitz, *City*

was one of strict religious surface values, but with an escapade of unseemly sexual behavior lying below the surface. Such scandalous behavior was flying in the face of highly regarded religious values. Religion was at the center of middle-class lifestyles, and frequently permeated the thoughts and actions of many Victorian citizens. Often, there were two or three services each Sunday, and to not attend them would be "scandalous or bohemian."[7] The ideal Christian family during this time "enshrined piety, chastity, sobriety, filial obedience, and charity, and shunned displays of luxury, sexual transgressions, and all diversions which were not improving or uplifting."[8] The religious Victorian family placed high emphasis on the purity and innocence of their minds and bodies, thus resulting in a major contention upon the arrival of the compulsory vaccination acts.

The fear that vaccinations would corrupt their bodily purity was not the only concern of religious anti-vaccinators. Also known as a "streetwalker," the prostitute embedded a sense of anxiety in the people of Victorian England. To the people of England, "she had become both an object of pity and a dangerous source of contagion."[9] Yet, it was not just the prostitutes that invoked a sense of fear into the populace. The home, where women spent most of their lives, was a breeding ground for bacteria and disease. Women in the Victorian Era were more susceptible to "numer[ous] life-threatening illness, the most dangerous being respiratory diseases, the greatest cause of death."[10] For middle-class children, the most fatal diseases included scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, smallpox, and diphtheria.[11] The spread of viral infections among the lower classes was even more widespread than that of the middle and upper classes.

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of Dreadful Delight: Narrative of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 15.

[7] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900*, (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 251.

[8] Thompson, 251.

[9] Ibid., 22.

[10] Yaffa Draznin, *Victorian London's Middle-Class Housewife: What She Did All Day*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 109.

[11] Draznin, 112.

The spread of such diseases sparked panic, and in 1848, the dispute over how these illnesses spread were vastly divided between the "contagionists" and the "miasmatists."[12] The contagionists believed that cholera and smallpox, for instance, were transferred from person to person. The contagion theory first gained followers when cholera breached British soil in the 1830s. Members of the contagionist clan believed they could "only suppose the existence of a poison which progresses independently of the wind, of the soil, of all conditions of the air, and of the barrier of the sea." However, many physicians and scientists believed that cholera was a "disease spread via poisoned atmosphere, not personal contact"—thus supporting the miasmatists' position. Much to the chagrin of modern scientists and physicians, by the late 1840s the miasma theory had established a wider, more prestigious following. Several members included Edwin Chadwick, the sanitation commissioner; William Farr, the city's main demographer; and several other public officials and members of Parliament. The miasma theory held that disease spread through the atmosphere, and the folklore and the superstition of Victorian England were on the miasmatists' side for "the foul inner-city air was widely believed to be the source of most disease."[13] This particular theory lent its hand to fear. Believing that diseases such as cholera and smallpox were spread through the air meant that the "disease was both invisible and everywhere; seeping out of gulley holes."[14] The fear that the unseen could invoke pain and result in death was terrifying not only to the general Victorian populace, but also to the readers of *Dracula*. Stoker's fisherman, Mr. Swales, oozed the foreshadowing of the novel when he said, "Look! Look! […] There's something in that wind and in the hoast beyond that sounds, and looks, and tastes, and smells like death. It's in the air; I feel it comin."[15] Stoker foreshadowed not only death, but also Count Dracula through language that represented the view of the miasmatists.

However, the strength of the miasmatists could not last forever. In June 1858, an unyielding heat wave constructed a "stench of epic

[12] Steven Johnson, *The Ghost Map*, (New York: Riverhead Books, 2006), 69.
[13] Johnson, 69.
[14] Johnson, 86.
[15] Stoker, 70.

proportions" on the banks of the litter-filled Thames. The stench was quickly dubbed the "Great Stink" by the collective press, and one *City Press* writer observed, "Whoso once inhales the stink can never forget it, and can count himself lucky if he live to remember it."[16] While Stoker did not explicitly mention the Great Stink in *Dracula*, one particular passage exuded the same opinion as the *City Press* writer:

> There was an earthy smell, as of some dry miasma, which came through the fouler air. But as to the odour itself, how shall I describe it? It was not alone that it was composed of all the ills of mortality and with the pungent, acrid smell of blood, but it seemed as though corruption had become itself corrupt. Faugh! it sickens me to think of it. Every breath exhaled by that monster seemed to have clung to the place and intensified its loathsomeness.[17]

Again, Stoker used the vernacular of the miasmatists; however, this time he was describing the dwellings and characteristics of Count Dracula. In doing so, Stoker perpetuated the anti-vaccinators use of the vampire for their campaigns against compulsory vaccination.

Stoker adopted the anti-vaccinators' symbol of the vampire for his novel, *Dracula*. The anti-vaccinators used the vampire to depict pro-vaccinators and the medical officers who performed vaccinations. For the anti-vaccinators, the vampire's teeth were representative of the surgical instruments that were used to vaccinate their children. Stemming back to the early and mid-1800s, the controversy over piercing the skin became first, a religious issue, and secondly, a legal one. The debate over vaccinations is present in a multitude of sources. However, more essential to the thesis of this paper, the footprints of said debates are found within the pages of *Dracula*.

The religious view of the body in relation to vaccinations was a colossal issue in the Victorian Era. By this time in history, the previously believed conception that the child was tainted by original seen was

[16] Johnson, 205.
[17] Stoker, 234.

replaced by the "romantic" notion that the child was inherently innocent."[18] Evangelical writings emphasized both the "fragility of the child" as well as its "redemptive powers."[19] For this reason, the child represented an important symbol of "purity and grace." Anti-vaccinators believed that tampering with a child's body was "doubly transgressive" because it "defiled the individual in its purest state and threatened the soul, forestalling the child's redemptive possibilities."[20] In addition, they also maintained that vaccination was "sacrilege" because it obstructed the body of the child "just after God has given it you."[21] Such anti-vaccinators implied that the "late-night" Parliament session that passed the Compulsory Vaccination Act of 1853 was sinister even comparing it to a black Sabbath:

> [I]n the dark midnight hour, when evil spirits were abroad, when nearly all slept save for a few doctors, who were rather awake, whose dictum or nostrum carried the night, this Act was passed, this deed was done. It was a deed worthy of the night, dark as the night. No light shone on it, the blackness of darkness hovered around it. It was a deed that can but lie in the night; light is fatal to its being.[22]

Many anti-vaccinators were strongly opposed to the Compulsory Vaccination Act of 1853. This particular legislative act made vaccination for infants up to three years old mandatory, and a following vaccination act in 1867 extended the requirement to fourteen years of age.[23] The citizens who demanded control over their bodies, or their children's, faced penalties for refusing vaccination. For instance, Mr. Pearce, a

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[18] Nadja Durbach, *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853-1907*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 118.

[19] Julie Melnyk, *Victorian Religion: Faith and Life in Britain* (London: Praeger, 2008), 1.

[20] Durbach, 118.

[21] Ibid., 118-119.

[22] Halket, *Compulsory Vaccination!*, 13, quoted in Nadja Durbach, *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853-1907*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 118.

[23] The College of Physicians of Philadelphia, "History of Anti-Vaccination Movements," History of Vaccines, last updated March 15, 2017, accessed April 18, 2017, https://www.historyofvaccines.org/content/articles/history-anti-vaccination-movements.

member of the anti-vaccination movement, received twenty-two separate fines for refusal. Supposedly, the Anti-Vaccination Society paid off his fines.[24] Joseph Abel was another victim of the penalties enforced from these acts. He was fined five times because he refused to have his child vaccinated.[25] In both cases it was speculated that the Society paid their fines—suggesting that the Anti-Vaccination Society had enough members paying to cover their penalties.[26]

To emphasize the dangers of vaccination, anti-vaccinators incorporated language from the Book of Revelation. They warned that compulsory vaccination fulfilled "an apocalyptic prophesy." Revelation 16:2 forewarned that "foul and evil sores came upon the men who bore the mark of the beast." Anti-vaccinators believed that vaccination scars were a "mark of the beast" and a symbol "of the damned and a sign of the apocalypse." This type of "spiritual perversion" spread the discourse of "monstrous physical transformation." Both found their roots in the Victorians' anxieties about "bodily violation" and "blood purity."[27] Likewise, their fears of "monstrous physical transformation[s]" and "foul […] evil sores" were epitomized in Stoker's Count Dracula.

The Victorian beliefs about bodily violation and blood purity and the commentary on the body and blood found in Stoker's *Dracula* are almost identical, and due to the overlapping similarities they are extremely hard to dismiss as coincidental. In the 1881 handbill, *The Vaccination Vampire*, James Wilkinson "drew on a number of related metaphors to construct vaccination as vampiric." The vampire's primary concern was with the blood, but Wilkinson maintained that "vaccination disrupted the entire fluid economy of the body. The 'Vaccination Vampire' polluted the 'pure babe' precisely at the point of its 'suckling.'"[28] Wilkinson's *Vaccination Vampire* introduced a "literary

[24] *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, "Questions," HC 25 July 1876, v. 203: col 1883-4. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com.

[25] *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, "Questions," HC 12 August 1876, v. 231: col 1115-6.

[26] *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, "Questions," HC 25 July 1876, v. 203: col 1883-4; and *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, "Questions," HC 12 August 1876, v. 231: col 1115-6.

[27] Durbach, 119.

[28] Durbach, 138.

trope that was not yet a century old, for the vampire was a distinctly nineteenth-century phenomenon."[29] By the time *Dracula* hit the scene in 1897, anti-vaccination pamphlets and handbills already "heavily exploited the symbolic value of the vampire." Published right after the Royal Commission on Vaccination had reached its conclusions, *Dracula* arrived on bookshelves at a high point in the anti-vaccination campaign.

Since *Dracula* took Stoker seven years to scheme, write, and publish, it may be assumed that Stoker was aware of the relationship between vampires and vaccines. While anti-vaccinators never explicitly referred to Stoker's work, *Dracula* cemented many of the perpetuations of the anti-vaccinators' anxieties. *Dracula* sealed the relationship between the vaccinator and the vampire by narrowing its associations with blood, bodily purity, degeneration, and sexual immorality.[30] Specifically, the pressing fear of bodily violation was cloaked with concerns over the purity of the blood. Throughout the Victorian Era, physicians and common folk alike believed that "blood is the life…and pure blood is healthy life."[31] This particular belief is overwhelmingly present in *Dracula*. Count Dracula feasted on the pure and innocent for their blood. Once Dracula's sharp teeth (perhaps symbolic of the surgical equipment that delivered vaccines) pierced the skin, the once virginal qualities of their characters turned into monstrous "marks of the beast"—exactly what the anti-vaccinators believed would happen once their own or their child's, "pure" body was pierced with the needle of vaccination. Dracula's bite punctured his victims' protective shroud of purity much like the doctor's needle pierced the skin of the compelled.

Stoker's 1897 Gothic masterpiece reinforced the claims of the anti-vaccinators. Count Dracula epitomized the anti-vaccinators' concern over the loss of innocence, contamination of blood, and degradation of the body. The similarities of the anti-vaccinators use and portrayal of the vampire are almost identical to the characteristics and mannerism of Count Dracula—once aware of them they are extremely difficult to dismiss as coincidental. Not only did *Dracula* support the anti-vaccination campaign's symbolic use of the vampire, it also furthered the

[29] Durbach, 139.
[30] Ibid., 142.
[31] Ibid., 120.

association between the two. *Dracula* would not have received such attention, such critical acclaim, if a portion of society, the anti-vaccinators, had not previously popularized the trope of the vampire. Within the pages of *Dracula*, a vampire feasted on pure bodies and blood while the victims remained unaware of their compelled fate. Similarly, the anti-vaccinators felt as if their pure bodies and blood were being preyed upon by the legislative acts of Parliament: creating beastly marks on their God-given skin and tainting their innocent blood. While many critics' dissection of *Dracula* aims heavily on the overt sexual themes, it would be unwise to dismiss the underlying themes of hygiene, medicine, and legislation present throughout the captivating pages of *Dracula*.

Author Bio:

Curt Baker is a senior from Vancouver, Washington. He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta History Honors Society, the Honors College, and the Student Association. A lover of words and languages, Curt hopes to use his Spanish major and History minor as avenues to develop truly rich communities in a world desperate for sincere relationships. Homeschooled until college, Curt attributes his love of learning to his mother, the best teacher he has ever had.

THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

by Curt Baker

Victor Davis Hanson adds to his substantial collection of well-respected historical accounts with his 2006 work *A War Like No Other,* which explains the Peloponnesian War in a manner that both reveals the lasting cultural significance of the conflict and also serves as a reminder of the similarity of war across the boundaries of time and geography. Hanson writes in understandable language and organizes the book topically, weaving together strands of Greek life with the details of the war to transport readers into classical Greece during a period of significant change within that society as a result of the clash between Sparta, Athens, and their respective allies. Indeed, the author's statement in the prologue effectively sums his position on the matter: "A better name for our subject, perhaps, would be something like 'the Great Ancient Greek Civil War.'"[1] Hanson's portrayal of the Peloponnesian War reflects his consideration of the conflict as not only military in nature but cultural as well, ushering in the decline of Greek society.

In pursuit of explaining the personal nature of the Peloponnesian War that took place in the fifth century B.C., Hanson arranges his book according to subject rather than chronology, highlighting in ten chapters the significance of the war on various elements of Classical Greek identity that decayed throughout the conflict. Firmly grounded in primary sources, *A War Like No Other* also contains frequent references to other wars and Hanson's personal experience as he strives to minimize the intellectual difference between modern readers and the men, women, and children affected by the Peloponnesian War.

This effort begins with a discussion of the Spartan strategy: to "marshal the Peloponnesian League, invade Attica, destroy farmland, and hope that the Athenians came out to fight."[2] A key element in this strategy was the destruction of crops, not an easy task for Sparta as they

[1] Hanson, Victor Davis, *A War Like No Other* (United States: Random House, 2006) xv.

[2] Hanson, *A War Like No Other,* 35.

invaded an area that contained "more individual olive trees and grapevines than classical Greece did inhabitants."[3] Hanson confirms the difficulty of this from his personal experience attempting to cut down walnut trees inhabiting his farm.[4] However, Hanson also notes that the destruction of crops, although difficult, "was an affront to the spiritual and religious life of the polis, besides a potential threat to its economic livelihood."[5] Here, Hanson provides the first indicator that this war was more than territorial and, as a result, would have impacts beyond the political boundaries of each polis. Sparta, by cutting down sacred olive trees and other precious crops, attacked one of the central elements of classical Greek life.

The Athenian strategy in response to the Spartan attacks also included non-traditional battle tactics. Athenian general Pericles utilized a strategy of attrition, allowing the Spartans to pillage the countryside around Athens unhindered, refusing to meet the fantastic Spartan infantry in its familiar context.[6] Rather, Athenian retaliation took the form of vicious naval raids, where the Athenian forces "plundered…attacked…killed."[7] Hanson draws from primary sources including Thucydides to establish the "barbarity of these raids."[8] This description of Athenian battle tactics as barbaric by a contemporary Greek historian is significant when one considers that a cultural pillar of classical Greece was the ethnocentric consideration of themselves as civilized. This ideological separation from every other culture characterized Greek identity. Again, Hanson supports his thesis that this war was much more than a battle between two city-states; it was truly the onset of decay within Greek society.

This theme is maintained throughout the book as Hanson turns to descriptions of specific elements of classical Greek civilization, effectively summed in his discussion of armor and classicism within the military. According to Hanson:

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[3] Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 35.
[4] Ibid., 36.
[5] Ibid., 37.
[6] Ibid., 43.
[7] Ibid., 97
[8] Ibid., 97.

> One of the peculiarities about Greek warfare at the dawn of the Peloponnesian War was the archaic idea of class, not military efficacy, determining the role of the soldiers. In theory, the landless rowed and threw missiles. The propertied served as hoplites. Only the very wealthy rode horses or outfitted and commanded triremes…This cherished idea was also a casualty of the Peloponnesian War.[9]

For decades, this elite group of warrior citizens served as the backbone of Greek military. Hanson, in order to provide a modern parallel to the importance of hoplites within Greek society, compares the elect infantry to the "majestic dreadnoughts of the First World War, formidable capital assets that likewise 'feared nothing.'"[10] Military prowess, however, was only one element of the significance of hoplites — the position also reflected a specific social rank. The rank of hoplite was one reserved for citizens wealthy enough to supply their own armor, openly placing them in a select social category. Thus, military service operated as a staple of Greek society by establishing an avenue of duty to the polis and civil positions. Military rank clearly delineated social class, a precedent abandoned through the course of the war and lamented by Plato.

The brutal Athenian naval raids characterized this deviation from traditional, hoplite-based warfare. Hanson quotes a disgusted Plato, who rejects the utilization of low-class "naval infantrymen."[11] As already discussed, Athenian battle strategy capitalized on naval superiority, ransacking Spartan territory. However, the warriors carrying out these raids were not exclusively hoplites but also included the lower classes. Simply outfitting the existing navy contributed significantly to Athens' bankruptcy at the end of the war; outfitting each ship with solely hoplite warriors would have cost a staggering amount of money.[12] Plato renounced this divergence from hoplite-based warfare, a position understandable when one considers the social gravity of the hoplite rank. The transition away

[9] Hanson, *A War Like No Other,* 143.
[10] Ibid., 146.
[11] Ibid., 99.
[12] Ibid., 17.

from hoplite warfare signaled a larger move away from the established standard of classical Greek society.

In addition to firmly establishing the idea that the Peloponnesian war ushered in changes in Greek lifestyle, Hanson also subtly reinforces in readers the timeless horrors of war by consistently comparing elements of the conflict between Athens and Sparta to modern conflicts and facts. Indeed, the first paragraph of the first chapter compares the size of various Greek poleis to American states, immediately drawing a comparison in the reader's mind to his or her own, modern context.[13] Similar references in the first chapter are made to the Hundred Years War, the Thirty Years War, Hitler's Germany, Vietnam, the Cold War, and the World Trade Center attacks.[14] Hanson continues this trend in each of the following chapters. For example, he compares the total-war tactics used by Sparta to Ulysses Grant's implementation of the same strategy centuries later and the plague of Athens to the Bubonic Plague in Medieval Europe. Hanson considers the absence of laws regarding warfare comparable to the Beirut crisis in Lebanon, hoplites to dreadnoughts of World War One, and the unfortunate polis of Platea to Poland in the twentieth century. Hanson even draws tactical comparisons, approximating the communication difficulty between Greek forces to Napoleon's failed attempt to take Moscow, Athenian naval tactics to the famous "crossing the T" maneuver, the creation of a Spartan navy to the Japanese imperial fleet near the beginning of the twentieth century, and the military innovations of the Peloponnesian War to advancements made during World War Two.[15] Such intentional and repeated effort to draw comparisons between the Peloponnesian War and recent conflicts is no accident — Hanson deliberately reinforces the consistency of war throughout all time, rejecting the intellectual divide that can result from reading "history."

A War Like No Other undoubtedly confirms Hanson's thesis: the Peloponnesian War was much more than a conflict between various poleis in classical Greece. Indeed, it served as a conduit of change for Greek society as the standards and traditions of that day began to crumble. The topical rather than chronological organization of the book allows Hanson

[13] Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 3.
[14] Ibid., 4, 5.
[15] Ibid., 61, 71, 101, 146, 164, 202, 253, 274, 299.

to draw connections and show how the war affected different areas of Greek life. Hanson also adds his modern perspective on war into the book by consistently reminding readers of the timeless horrors of battle, a powerfully subtle element of the narrative. An engaging read, *A War Like No Other* presents the information of the Peloponnesian War in a way that makes the conflict understandable and personally relatable, a work appropriate for both casual readers and dedicated students of history.

LINGERING ECHOES IN THE EASTERN BLOC

Articles

Photo Courtesy of: Flickr user Sergejf, Mariinksy Theatre, July 6, 2014

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Author Bio:

Hailing from Salem, Oregon, Makyra Williamson is a junior at Harding University, where she is majoring in English and minoring in History and Bible. She is a member of Sigma Tau Delta, Phi Alpha Theta, and Chi Omega Pi, a women's social club. After graduation, Makyra plans to pursue a career in substantive editing.

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SHADES OF GRAY: PERSONAL MORALITY AND TIMOTHY GARTON ASH'S *THE FILE: A PERSONAL HISTORY*

By Makyra Williamson

In the opening chapter of *The File*, Timothy Garton Ash acknowledges that he is not simply investigating a file, but a life.[1] Garton Ash's narrative is a well-written personal history in which he retraces the origins of a file containing the information that the secret police, or Stasi, had collected about him. Throughout the work, Garton Ash examines the motivations of those who participated in the spy network for the Stasi. Ideally, moral fiber is too sturdy to be frayed by stressors, and ideologies are too high for society to scale. In reality, fear produces moral relativity, as evinced by the actions of the informers. The ideas of motivation and moral relativity play key roles in *The File* as Timothy Garton Ash interprets the contents of his own file and the justifications of those who contributed to it. However, Garton Ash's narrative is weakened by the very aspect that strengthens it—personal perspective.

Suspicion reigned rampant during the Cold War, and, considering that approximately one in twenty-five adults in East Germany were directing information to the secret police, those suspicions were well founded.[2] During this reign of suspicion, Timothy Garton Ash lived in Berlin and worked on his doctoral thesis about that city under the Third Reich; he also contributed as a journalist to *The Spectator*, an English publication. Garton Ash began studying in West Berlin in 1978, and traveled in Eastern Europe during the summers of 1978 and 1979. In January 1980, he moved to East Berlin, where he stayed until October of the same year. Between Garton Ash's activities as a journalist and his study of Berlin's history, the East German government found reason to monitor him. *The File* recounts Garton Ash's experience when he returned years later and reviewed the information that the Stasi had compiled about him. Garton Ash compared his personal records with those of the Stasi and took the opportunity to

[1] Timothy Garton Ash, *The File: A Personal History* (New York, NY: Vintage Books), 23.

[2] Ibid., 84.

meet with some of the *Inofizielle Mitarbeiters* (unofficial collaborators), or IMs, who had informed on him.[3] Garton Ash's interactions with a select group of IMs reveal the ways that they justified their choices to participate in the Stasi's network of surveillance.

Garton Ash discovered that not all who were involved with the Stasi had to justify their actions to themselves. Some of them whole-heartedly supported the system. A child of World War II, Major Gerhard Kaulfluss eventually became the head of counterintelligence department II/9 of the German Democratic Republic.[4] When Garton Ash asked Kaulfluss if he remembered working on Garton Ash's case, the former Major said he did not recall it. Garton Ash found Kaulfluss unremorseful; in fact, the former Major professed that the State Security Service had provided exactly what was needed—security for "ordinary people." Despite general recognition of the failings of the GDR, Kaulfluss retained "a sense of quiet satisfaction," resting assured in the idea that he had contributed to the growth of the GDP in East Germany.[5]

Garton Ash paints Kurt Zeiseweis, the man who supervised the Stasi's monitoring of Berlin, as more forthcoming about his role in the government of East Berlin. He grew up with his father away fighting; his communist mother's guidance helped him procure a job in State Security. In Berlin, Zeiseweis spent thirty years promoting the work of Main Department XX, the department that Klaus Risse, a Stasi officer who worked on Garton Ash's file, attributed "bad things" to.[6] During his discussion with Garton Ash, Zeiseweis explained carefully that "he had high standards of conduct and decency."[7] Zeiseweis thought that the morality that prevented him from being unfaithful to his wife, guided him in raising children, and guarded him from the poison of Western television served as the ultimate safeguard against wrongdoing.[8] Garton Ash described him as "a decent man."[9] However, he found Zeiseweis' personal standards almost entertaining when contrasted with the

[3] Ash, 13-14, 28-29.
[4] Ibid., 14, 181.
[5] Ibid., 183-184.
[6] Ibid., 169, 197.
[7] Ibid., 169.
[8] Ibid., 169.
[9] Ibid., 169.

machinations of the government that he had served, and called him "a perfect textbook example of the petty bureaucratic executor of evil."[10]

Other informers were ignorant of the role they played in providing information to the Stasi. Laurenz Demps, a historian at the Humboldt University Berlin, served as an advisor for Garton Ash.[11] According to Garton Ash's file, Demps had viewed Garton Ash as having a "bourgeois-liberal attitude" with, as Demps stated, "no commitment to the working class."[12] The information provided did not negatively affect Garton Ash, but it was surprising that Demps had retained his position at the university when other employees were discharged due to Stasi involvement.[13] When Garton Ash met with Demps, he found Demps shocked by the news of his supposed involvement with the Stasi.[14] As the two historians analyzed the document, Garton Ash saw the evidence as indicating that Demps had not been an IM. However, one of his colleagues in the International Department had passed along Demps' evaluation of Garton Ash's character.[15] The information in the document corroborated Demps' denial of involvement, for Demps did not know that Ash was communicating with Mr. Wildash of the British embassy, a piece of information included in the report.[16]

Others who informed on Garton Ash, such as "Michaela," appeared to be willing recruits of the secret police. For "Michaela," her cooperation with the Stasi originated because she had taken "hard currency out of the country illegally", and becoming an informer provided an opportunity to avoid repercussions for her actions.[17] When Garton Ash told "Michaela" why he had asked to meet with her, she did not hesitate to lay the blame elsewhere, saying that "one was obliged to in my position."[18] As the discussion continued, however, and the woman

[10] Ash, 170.
[11] Ibid., 85.
[12] Ibid., 88.
[13] Ibid., 88
[14] Ibid., 89.
[15] Ibid., 90.
[16] Ibid., 90-91.
[17] Ibid., 119.
[18] Ibid., 112.

realized just how much she had disclosed, she became sickened by the information she had supplied—details about her husband, about Garton Ash, about her stepdaughter, and more. Yet, even then, she placed the blame on her circumstances. As "Michaela" stated, what else could "one" do? According to Garton Ash, "Michaela" never took responsibility by referring to her role in a more personal sense—no, she was just "one." He said that "She seems halfway to seeing herself as an object of Stasi surveillance, almost as a dissident." Garton Ash pieced together fragments of her jumbled thoughts and diagnosed "Michaela" as collaborating with the Stasi due to a "residual belief in the system," her feeling of obligation, and the hope that cooperation could help her leave the GDR. Though in retrospect she was nauseated by her actions, Garton Ash viewed "Michaela" as placing the blame on her position, her duty, and what she called a "shit-scared" fear of the system.[19]

As a primary source, *The File* is limited by the same aspect that lends it intrigue—the personal element. While valuable in analyzing the way that the Stasi monitored a single individual, it is hard to apply it to the greater discussion about espionage in the Cold War. Though Garton Ash attempted to be unbiased, recognition of the potential for bias does not remove it completely. Garton Ash found the idea of surveillance repugnant, and the fact that he met with those who had intruded on his privacy tainted his view of them as people. Much of the information Ash supplies about the informants is subjective; he relates the way that he interpreted body language, words, and expressions. Regarding his conversation with Major Klaus Risse, Ash writes that he took away "the impression of an intelligent, fundamentally decent man", but also acknowledges that, if he had suffered in a more tangible way from Risse's actions, he might not have been so kind.[20] The term "impression" is key—Garton Ash cannot know the exact motives that came into play, and personal historical revisionism may have colored Risse's account. Impressions are not enough. The quotes from former IMs are revealing, but are still placed within the framework of Garton Ash's opinion about the speaker, inevitably coloring the reader's perspective.

[19] Ash, 112-116.
[20] Ibid., 199.

Garton Ash found that the informers had a variety of motivations, and his impression after talking with the IMs led him to categorize them: honest believers in the GDR, innocent bystanders who were drawn into the fray, willing recruits of the secret police. What made some rebel and others conform to the system? Garton Ash concludes that "our conduct is influenced by our circumstances."[21] Sociologically, his statement is accurate. Realistically, it is impossible to be certain that Garton Ash's interpretation of the motivations of the informers is accurate. Nevertheless, *The File* provides a valuable glimpse into the motivations of the IMs and the intricacies of Cold War espionage.

[21] Ash, 252.

A HISTORIAN'S PERSPECTIVE ON A SUMMER IN SAXONY

By Sam Aly

A nightly ten o'clock sun illuminated patches of construction netting over grey apartment buildings along the street I so often walked home during my summer in Leipzig, Germany. Located in the heart of Saxony, the self-proclaimed State of the Arts and home to a rich imperial history, the city's northerly latitude kept the streets bright for almost seventeen hours a day around the summer solstice, encouraging visitors of commemorations like Wave Gotik Treffen (Gothic Fest) and Bachfest to stay out longer and enjoy the atmosphere. Yet for all its transparency, certain aspects of life in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) seemed more obscure than lucid. The enigmatic legacy of the GDR and its machinations in the not-so-distant past left distinct impressions on me as a historian, leading me to ponder on the nature of history and historiography in a modern totalitarian state.

Much of this reflection arose from conversations with men and women who had lived through the period, even those who had been born and raised in the GDR. One discussion in particular stands out, filled with stories of everyday life told to me by a woman who I will refer to as Hannah for sake of anonymity. Hannah was the first woman to undertake and complete her electrician work program, known as being a grueling, physical job for men. Although she admitted that the work was very difficult for a time, I perceived from her tales that it was her adventurous spirit, rather than an inability in her electrician work, that eventually led her away from the career.

Hannah told me that she often stole supplies from her job in order to make improvements at home for herself and neighbors, who soon found out about her electrician skill. This was not out of malicious intent. In the GDR, even minor repair supplies were often in short supply no matter how much money one had, and Hannah told me that it was not uncommon practice for employees of state institutions to steal items unavailable through the market. This led to a culture of low waste and recycling which coupled with Germany's high degree of environmental waste consciousness. Another German man I met reflected on this

consequence of the GDR's socialist policies, saying, "If it belongs to everyone, it belongs to no one."

After Hannah married, she and her new husband had to live with his parents for a period of months before being assigned an apartment by the state. Similarly, when they applied for a washing machine, they waited two years before finally receiving one. Hannah's husband was a schoolteacher, enabling him to get in line for groceries at the grocery store before most other professionals got off work. Stories of the GDR I heard painted a vividly monochromatic portrait: streets of uninspired grey architecture left dilapidated by years of neglect. As one long-time Leipzig resident observed, "Communism needs no war to destroy houses." The constant shortages, delays, and unavailability of even the most basic necessities and repair jobs became a trademark of life in East Germans' lives under the GDR.

Another aspect of GDR life which is simultaneously well-known and mysterious was the Ministry for State Security, better known as the Stasi. Visiting the Stasi's headquarters in Leipzig was a chilling experience, especially after reading Anna Funder's work *Stasiland: Stories from Behind the Berlin Wall*. The book explores the intriguing relationship between the people and state on an individual level from Funder's time spent living in East Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall. But the harrowing tales of neighbor turning on neighbor and subtle indicators of an unwarranted home visits from the Stasi had another side as well. For many former citizens of the GDR still living in places like Brandenburg, Berlin, and Saxony, the system represented security and safety. Crime rates were low. Conservative values, such as respect for elders and thriftiness, thrived. Even today, many recognize the pros and cons of such a system.

Since reunification, East Germans have been forced to address issues of memory on a grand scale. When the dying days of the Nazi regime gave way to the GDR, freedom of information was not radically liberalized. But as the emphasis shifts from journalistic to historical, a new wave of German and international scholars, composed of a generation that never knew the realities of the Cold War, will be forced to deal with the complexities of gaining trustworthy, quantifiable data from a secretive, deceit-based regime. With decreased chronological

proximity and fresh faces in historical scholarship, new perspectives will arise.

I am a part of that generation. We were born after the Wall fell and the World Wide Web arose. We grew up under threat of global terrorism, not the Communist menace. From my summer in Leipzig, I gleaned a new perspective on the concept of modern German history. I saw and heard firsthand examples of the unique complexities of remembering life in the GDR. The regime grew up in the wake of Germany's darkest hour, and it retired in the twilight of the Cold War. It is my hope that the historical scholarship of East Germany will continue to grow both in quantity and variety as we reflect on a uniquely challenging state in modern European history.

Author Bio:

Payden Taylor is a senior Music Education major at Harding University from Arlington, TX. On campus, Payden is an active member in social clubs, musical ensembles, and academic organizations, including the Harding Wind Ensemble, composition studio, Alpha Chi, and ASI. Payden serves as an officer for Chi Sigma Alpha, a club director for the 2018 Spring Sing production, and a musical collaborator for the Uncle Bud Poetry Competition. After graduating, he plans to return to Texas to teach music and to pursue a career writing and arranging music.

SHOSTAKOVICH'S FOURTH AND FIFTH SYMPHONIES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

By: Payden Taylor

Dmitri Shostakovich's Fourth and Fifth Symphonies bear the opus numbers 43 and 47, respectively, and, from the inception of the Fourth to the debut of the Fifth, spanned a time of less than two years. Yet for being roughly contemporaneous, these two symphonies share very little commonality. One is a sprawling, angular experiment, while the other is in Romantic-style symphonic form. One was hidden away for twenty-five years, and even today exists in relative obscurity, while the other was universally praised, quickly becoming Shostakovich's most well-known work. What led Shostakovich to enact such a drastic stylistic change in such a short period of time? Though a definitive answer cannot be certain, the heart of the matter can be more closely understood by looking at the content of the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies, as well as their places in history and in the oeuvre of Shostakovich himself.

During the 1920s, in the wake of civil war, Russian authorities assumed a hands-off approach to the arts. Young composers like Shostakovich were inspired by older Russian modernists such as Igor Stravinsky and Sergei Prokofiev, soaking up the new harmonies of the twentieth century. Alban Berg was also beloved in Russia at this time, with his opera *Wozzeck* (1914-1922) finding a crowd that the composer himself found shocking.[1] However, when Josef Stalin accumulated power and the events of the *Yezhovschina* in the 1930s began, the philosophy of Socialist realism developed as the Party's tool to control the arts. A term coined in 1934, socialist realism in music was ultimately an array of highly subjective benchmarks: it must heroically portray the working-class Soviet "everyman," its melodic and harmonic content must be easy to follow, and its form must be balanced in a manner which the Party deems satisfactory—namely, a conclusive ending.[2] Socialist

[1] Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia 1917-1970* (London: Barrie & Jenkins Ltd., 1972), 45-46.

[2] George G. Weickhardt, "Dictatorship and Music: How Russian Music Survived the Soviet Regime," *Russian History* 31, no. ½ (March 2004): 125-126.

realism essentially ended the overt influence of the Second Viennese School in Russia, rejecting expressionism and even late romanticism as overly emotional or individualistic,[3] and rejecting dodecaphony on the grounds of "formalism"—music using the structures of conventional music without easily digestible content.[4] This policy shift reflects Stalin's growing cult of personality and the USSR's ruthless policing of the intelligentsia, meticulously molding all art into a tool that could be propagandized by the Party.[5] In truth, the ultimate rule was Stalin's taste. If he disliked it, the Party found a way to condemn it.

This is the political climate into which Shostakovich's second opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk District* was born. Written in the early 1930s and premiering in January 1934, the opera follows the adulterous Katerina Ismailova and her womanizing lover Sergei, who repeatedly become entangled further and further into sordid affairs in an attempt to keep their meetings secret. The music famously gives no pretense about Katerina's encounters, earning the label of "pornophony" in the West.[6] This, however, did not halt the success of the opera. In its two-year run, it was performed 200 times between Leningrad and Moscow,[7] as well as many more times abroad. However, this period of success came to an end in January 1936 when Josef Stalin and his highest-ranking advisers—the Politburo—came to see the opera.

Positioned right above the trombone section, the Soviet Union's most powerful politicians were subject to the abrasive brass and percussion in close quarters.[8] Two days later, the official Party newsletter—*Pravda*—ran a review of *Lady Macbeth* with a title that roughly translates as "Muddle Instead of Music."[9] One week later, *Pravda* published the article "Ballet Falsehood," focusing on Shostakovich's ballet *The Limpid Stream*. Both of these articles speak

[3] Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 62.
[4] Weickhardt, "Dictatorship and Music," 135.
[5] Ibid., 128.
[6] Found in Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 121.
[7] Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 122.
[8] Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 103.
[9] Simo Mikkonen, "'Muddle Instead of Music' in 1936: Cataclysm of Musical Administration." In P. Fairclough (Ed.), *Shostakovich Studies* 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). 231.

entirely in negative terms about the works, decrying them both as noisy, unintelligible, formalist messes.[10] It did not matter that *Lady Macbeth* was finished before the doctrine of socialist realism emerged and it did not matter that *The Limpid Stream* glorified the Soviet agricultural ideal: they were, for the purposes of the officials, anti-Soviet and unacceptable.

This denunciation, however, did not come on a whim. Even at his young age, Shostakovich was the leading composer of his time, and the Politburo was aware of it. The *Pravda* articles were an open attack on a man who had become an icon in Soviet music. Party officials knew that they would embolden formalist composers by allowing Shostakovich, the composer that most publicly represented Russia's young musicians, to create raucous, expressionistic music like that of Lady Macbeth. While many similar instances had preceded for political or literary opponents of Soviet ideology during the *Yezhovschina*, Shostakovich's career in 1936 was the first casualty in its implementation concerning music. From the standpoint of Josef Stalin, in sacrificing one popular opera and one decent ballet, he had set a precedent of zero tolerance towards what was considered to be ideologically impure music.[11] The Soviet Government had to make an example of Shostakovich.

The composer lived much of the next year in quiet fear. This denunciation had come while he was approximately halfway through the Fourth Symphony, and Shostakovich focused his energies on finishing the large work in order to win back the favor of the establishment. Shostakovich finished the symphony in mid-1936 and scheduled a debut of the piece for the end of the year. However, after ten rehearsals, Shostakovich reneged on this performance, pulling the Fourth Symphony from the program.[12]

Having decided against using the Fourth Symphony as his triumphant return, the composer sought a way to thoroughly appeal to Socialist Realist expectations. Keeping a low profile until he had a satisfactory "rehabilitated" product, Shostakovich's compositional output decreased in this time; his *Four Romances on Verses by Pushkin* (1937) is the only piece written between the Fourth Symphony and

[10] Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 122-123.
[11] Mikkonen, "'Muddle Instead of Music' in 1936," 233-234.
[12] Hugh Ottoway, "Looking Again at Shostakovich 4." *Tempo* (1975): 16.

Shostakovich's choice to answer his denunciation—the Fifth Symphony in d minor, Op. 47.

Written in mid-1937, the entirety of the Fifth Symphony's conception took place after the events of the *Pravda* articles. With the denunciation fresh in his mind, Shostakovich crafted a symphony with a thoroughly socialist realist aesthetic. The end result was a success, receiving an ovation that lasted nearly as long as the symphony.[13] Proletariat and Politburo alike were elated with the work, and Shostakovich was the preeminent composer of the Soviet Union once more.

The content of the two symphonies is remarkably different. In terms of its basic form, the Fourth Symphony is highly atypical. It consists of three movements: two long structural anomalies approaching a half hour each in length bookending a comparatively concise scherzo. While an argument can be—and has often been—made that the first movement is in sonata form,[14] its form is primarily an exercise in development. The opening movement presents itself in rhapsodic cycles, each linked by the angular, leaping first theme introduced by the opening fanfare. A subservient second theme is given considerable development in the middle sections, but the disparity in use is noticeable, and in terms of analysis this theme serves mainly for variety of familiar material as the movement progresses. An ironic coda —"one of the longest pedal C codas ever dreamed up by a European composer"[15] — fades out to end the first movement. The *landler* of the second movement feels comparatively brisk and palatable in the middle of the symphony. Shostakovich allows the piece to take a break from formal complexity for these seven minutes, with little left to interpretation structurally in the dance. The third movement, however, is nearly unintelligible when analyzed from a conventional perspective. It maintains the guise of a Mahlerian funeral march for approximately a third of the movement. This is followed by a mad waltz, bridged by duple meter into a curious, comic dance. This section toys with themes and meters back and forth for much of the middle part of the movement, before exhausting itself

[13] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 132-134.
[14] Ottaway, "Looking Again at Shostakovich 4," 19.
[15] Found in Ottaway, "Looking Again at Shostakovich 4," 19.

and decaying into silence. Out of this explodes a fanfare recapitulation of themes used in the opening march, and the remainder of the symphony is a decrescendo into a calm, quiet coda, punctuated by a mallet ostinato and a trumpet reiterating the head motif of the recapitulated theme. The constant shifting of style and tone gives the movement the impression of being through-composed, due to the weakness of material receiving consistent attention. Alternatively, this movement can be read as a ternary excursion, but it lacks developed themes in what would be the enormous middle section, heavily flawing this interpretation as well.

The harmonic language of the Fourth Symphony is complex and varied. However, concerning the harmonies themselves, though, there are few points in the symphony where Shostakovich altogether abandons tertian harmony; it is merely the functionality of these harmonies that Shostakovich fluctuates.[16] At points it heavily suggests avant-garde influences, while in others it is reminiscent of early Classicalism. What is puzzling about this diverse language, though, is how swiftly switches are made from one extreme to another, particularly in the middle of the third movement. The shifts in tone that naturally accompany these shifts in musical languages are equally sudden, creating jarring passages and moments that verge on farcical.

While these obfuscate a central tone for the symphony, much musical intrigue stems from Shostakovich shifting the pull of tonic mid-phrase, obscuring the listener's expectations of the next chord. Throughout the third movement Shostakovich steps out of the style of the current passage long enough to establish or disrupt tonic before returning to the prior style. Notably, after the first iteration of a Classicalist dance section, Shostakovich builds to an augmented sixth chord—already an unexpected tonality in the passage—before moving into a few measures over a non-chord pedal tone that sound somewhat Stravinskian. After a few moments, the piece returns to the Classical sound of before. Conversely, in one complex counterpoint section, Shostakovich suddenly inserts a unison diatonic string statement, before immediately sequencing the statement away from tonic and reentering complicated interconnecting lines from before. Whether this technique is

[16] Ottaway, "Looking Again at Shostakovich 4," 18.

successful is debated,[17] but it confirms Shostakovich's attempts to marry palatability with modernity within his music.

Comparatively, the Fifth Symphony is almost a standard Romantic symphony. The first movement is not, strictly speaking, a true sonata-allegro movement, and the dance movement precedes the third, but it is a four-movement piece patterned largely after Brahms or early Mahler in terms of form, with both the first and fourth movements beginning in D minor with a finale in D major, as popularized by Beethoven—and importantly, acceptable to Stalin.[18] No one movement dominates; barring a slightly shorter second movement, each lasts just longer than ten minutes. Opening with an imitative statement of a main theme, the first movement largely focuses on a handful of motifs, passing the ideas through different textures, tempi, and styles, relying more on orchestration for development than the spinning out of one theme on its own for a period of time. It builds to a climax by an increase in tempo and register, peaking with a cymbal crash, a sudden reduction in tempo, and the introduction of the full brass section and a motoric timpani line. This plays out and recedes to completion with several episodes of soli and duets, ending on an A-to-D chromatic scale from the mallets.

The rest of the symphony's movements, though, are structurally conventional. The second is a comic waltz, centered on showcasing a lyrical solo passed between the violin, clarinet, and others, followed by the oboist attempting to join in only to be interrupted by the full orchestra. It ends with the oboe trying one last time in a warped, timid statement of the theme before being rejected once again, this time with an explosive statement from the orchestra and a definitive end to the movement. The third is structured in a basic song format, drawing much of its impact from its expert treatment of melodic and harmonic content. The finale to the symphony is an unquestionable sonata-allegro movement. It opens with a fiery exposition of its themes before settling into a quiet development. At the recapitulation, the symphony slowly swells and pulls back until settling on a coda built around the first theme.

If Shostakovich was experimenting in various ways to express himself harmonically in the Fourth Symphony, he found his language of

[17] Ottaway, "Looking Again at Shostakovich 4," 24.
[18] Ivashkin, "Who's Afraid of Socialist Realism?" 433, 438-439.

choice—the octatonic scale—in the Fifth Symphony. It serves as the unquestionable harmonic basis for the first and third movements, and is the means by which Shostakovich delays tonic in the final melodic statement of the finale. As the scalar flavor of much Eastern European folk music, and having been proliferated by composers such as Stravinsky and Bartok, the octatonic scale brings a much more "Russian" sound to the Fifth Symphony, compared to the more chromatic, triadic, very German sound of the Fourth. This can also be attributed to the simpler harmonization the melodies in the Fifth Symphony receive: Shostakovich wrote long solo passages with little to no accompaniment in many of his pieces throughout his career, but in the Fifth Symphony this is exaggerated, particularly in the first movement. While Shostakovich filled the Fourth Symphony with thick, complex harmonies, there are few passages in the first movement of the Fifth where anything more complicated than a triad is used to harmonize the melody, and many sections use even less—a continuo line in the bass or a single countermelody. This is not true for the entire symphony, though. The full orchestral moments in the third movement involve complex layering of suspensions and traversal of distant tonal areas, and the fourth movement incorporates heavy use of the chromatic scale to harmonize its melodies. This pattern of compromising some complexity with some simplicity defines much of Shostakovich's career between the *Pravda* articles and Stalin's death, and as such the impetus behind the shift in style between the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies was likely at least partially politically motivated.[19] This adds another layer to interpreting the Fifth Symphony and works after it: subtext.

Shostakovich professed that it was almost impossible for him to write an entirely non-programmatic piece;[20] [21] most compositions were imbued with his personality and beliefs, at least to some extent, and a large part of Shostakovich's personality was his humor.[22] In early pieces such as *The Nose* and *Bolt* Shostakovich communicated his energetic wit through satirical themes and material in his dramatic music. After the

[19] Weickhardt, "Dictatorship and Music," 126.
[20] Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 338-339.
[21] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 158-159.
[22] Ibid., 158.

denunciation of *Lady Macbeth*, though, Shostakovich developed a bitterness for the Party and for Stalin.[23] [24] He also composed less music for drama, and through symphonic form Shostakovich came to use sarcasm, aimed at the socialist realism aesthetic that had condemned him, as his primary channel for his sardonic wit.

In the Fifth Symphony, this sarcasm is most evident in the finale. After a full movement and much of the symphony using in a minor tonality, the coda erupts in D major, thickly scored for the full ensemble as if it is trying to make up for lost time: until the end of the piece, the high strings and woodwinds perpetuate a high D while the timpani repeatedly plays a dominant-tonic figure, and the brass play an augmentation of the first theme for the melody. At the given tempo the coda is a lively march in a major key, but Shostakovich was notorious for disregarding his own published tempo markings,[25] and Yevgeny Mravinsky's interpretation—which he painstakingly developed under the personal direction of Shostakovich himself[26] — is at nearly half the written speed, turning the march into a boisterous farce, especially at the climax of the coda, with the clash of the trumpet's sudden non-chord tone—a high C natural—against the ostinato D natural. Shostakovich's analogy for the end of the symphony was that of telling someone to celebrate while beating them with a stick,[27] a fitting metaphor for the relationship between the composer and his socialist realist expectations.

The place these pieces hold in the evolution of Shostakovich's style contribute to the overwhelming differences between symphonies as well. These symphonies are among the first large-scale pieces written after Shostakovich's exposure to the music of Gustav Mahler, who was a significant force in shaping the composer's mature sound. Shostakovich's music from his time at the Leningrad Conservatoire and dramas written in his post-grad years expressed his wit,[28] [29] but much of

[23] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 271-272.
[24] Ibid., 333.
[25] Ibid., 244.
[26] Ibid., 140.
[27] Solomon Volkov, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*. (New York: Limelight Editions, 2004), 183.
[28] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 71-75.
[29] Ibid., 37.

his post-graduate concert pieces concerned themselves with searching for a style in which he could also be serious. Initially, Shostakovich became aligned with the avant-garde movement in Russia.[30] His Second Symphony especially tested limits, boasting a thirteen-voice atonal contrapuntal section and the use of a factory whistle.[31] However, especially as he approached his thirties, Shostakovich began to break away from the avant-garde movement, driven at least in part by his enduring desire to write communicative music that would connect with his audience.[32] He reconciled his experimental and populist aspects through means of a tool with which he familiarized himself in studying Gustav Mahler's music: massive development. Through long strains of development Shostakovich pushes tonal boundaries and asserts an individual style, while still tying himself to a conventional language. The Fourth Symphony stands as Shostakovich's grand experiment in this format, crafting an hour-long symphony from a paucity of themes via a preponderance of development; it is the composer asking the question "How far can I go and stay coherent?" Perhaps, when faced with pressure from the Party to prove adherence to Socialist realism, Shostakovich shelved the Fourth simply because it was such an experimental work. The sonata form movements of the Fifth use a melodic language similar to the Fourth, but are safe and deliberate with their harmonic and developmental directions, wherein Shostakovich takes what he knew would create good music that would also appease his stringent superiors.

Shostakovich would continue to develop the tools first used in the Fourth Symphony, further honing his balance between complexity and simplicity, particularly in later symphonies. Written later in his career, the finale of the "Leningrad" Symphony (1941) is virtually one through-composed development, and has only four clear restatements of earlier themes. Three of these happen in the final strains of the symphony, using material from the very beginning of the movement and also the very first bars of the entire piece. Yet this symphony was an overwhelming success with the establishment, the domestic public, and

[30] Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 124.
[31] Ottaway, "Looking Again at Shostakovich 4," 17-18.
[32] Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, 218.

the international critics.[33] The Tenth Symphony (1953) begins with a movement reminiscent of the first movement of the Fourth symphony in scope and tone, but with a central theme that undergoes various developmental episodes. The Eleventh (1957) is Shostakovich's longest, with each movement taking a collection of themes and song tunes and metamorphosing them to depict Russia on the eve of the 1905 rebellion.[34] "Babi Yar," the Thirteenth Symphony (1962), takes the text of five poems by Russian poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko and sets each of them as a movement in an hour-long symphony reminiscent of Mahler's *Song of the World*. Each of these symphonies develops its themes for extensive periods with more stylistic cohesion between its passages than the Fourth, drawing heavily from the precedent set for it by Shostakovich's first experiment in massive development, and making improvements in the process.

The lore surrounding the Fourth Symphony sparked many imaginations in the mid-twentieth century,[35] but today it is most evident that its legacy in the oeuvre of Shostakovich is that of a proof-of-concept prototype, from which at least one movement of most subsequent Shostakovich symphonies can trace its lineage. The Fifth and the Fourth share such different fates and different tones despite their close temporal proximity because of their very different purposes. The Fourth Symphony is Shostakovich's singular statement of everything that was possible with his matured compositional language; the Fifth, while in part a reaction to pressure from the oppressive Soviet establishment, is also an important statement of success from within Shostakovich's own individual compositional language—among the first of many that would come.

[33] Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 178-179.
[34] Ibid., 339-340
[35] Ottaway, "Looking Again at Shostakovich 4," 14-17.

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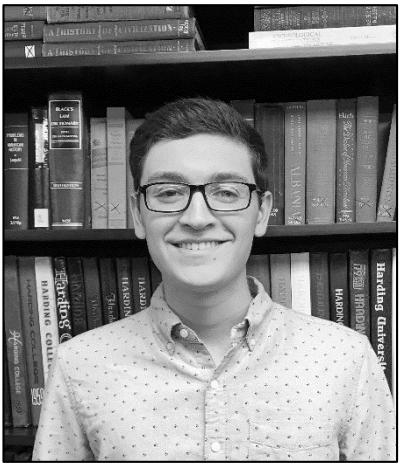

Sam Aly – Managing Editor

Sam Aly is a senior history major from Pegram, Tennessee. In addition to working on *Tenor,* Sam serves as an assistant copy editor for the Petit Jean yearbook and works in the office of the Department of History and Political Science. Sam has plans to teach English in Mito, Japan after graduating in May 2018. His long-term career goals include continuing to write and edit as he pursues his passion for language and storytelling.

Curt Baker – Student Review Coordinator

Curt Baker is a senior from Vancouver, Washington. He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta History Honors Society, the Honors College, and the Student Association. A lover of words and languages, Curt hopes to use his Spanish major and History minor as avenues to develop truly rich communities in a world desperate for sincere relationships. Homeschooled until college, Curt attributes his love of learning to his mother, the best teacher he has ever had.

Taylor Wilkins – Advertising Editor

Taylor Wilkins is a senior history major and social science minor from Searcy, Arkansas. She is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and Omicron Delta Kappa, and is involved in Tenor of Our Times, and Ju Go Ju social club. Taylor will graduate in December 2018 and plans to attend the University of South Carolina's School of Law.

Matthew Frye – Online Editor

Matthew Frye is a senior history major and English minor from Searcy, Arkansas. He has grown up around Harding's Theatre program thanks to his parents, Dr. Steven Frye and Dottie Frye. He joined Phi Alpha Theta in Spring 2017 and currently serves as the online editor for the journal Tenor of Our Times. Planning to graduate in Spring of 2019, Matthew intends to pursue a vocation in voice work or his Masters in Education, aiming to teach higher-level education at other colleges to provide a similar experience Harding's teachers gave him his freshman year.

Mary Goode – Copy Editor

Mary Goode is a senior history major and English minor from Nashville, Tennessee. During her time at Harding, Mary has traveled abroad and spent a semester in Florence, Italy. She is a member of Sigma Tau Delta, and currently serves as the president of Phi Alpha Theta. After graduation in May 2018, Mary plans to move to San Antonio, Texas, to become a teacher and instill the love of words and history into future generations.

FACULTY ADVISOR

Dr. Julie Harris

Julie Harris received her P.D. in British history from the University of Arkansas in 1999. Her passion for history and teaching began very early, leading to her continuing involvement with National History Day. She began teaching at Harding University in Aug. 2000, and teaches Western Civilization, History of England, Renaissance, Western Philosophy, and Asia. She became the Eta Phi chapter advisor in 2003. Her research interests include monarchy as a political, cultural, and spiritual entity, and music as a point of cultural intersection. She lives in Searcy, AR, with her husband, Damon, and son, James.

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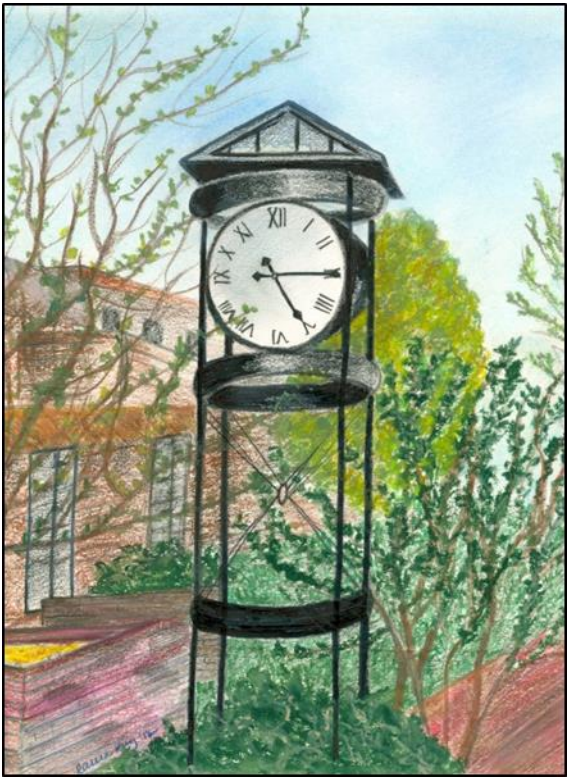

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