

Editor's Note

As the editor for this year's *Chico Historian*, I want to take this opportunity to thank the many people whose hard work made this volume possible. As a novice editor, I would have been absolutely helpless without the help of Frances Morrow who did the lions share of the editing. She was also the only person on the editorial board with any editing experience and her knowledge of the process along with many, many hours of her time, propelled this work to completion. I also want to thank Michael Simonovich who not only submitted a paper but also took time to read and edit many of the included articles. I personally owe Dr. Judith Raftery a debt of gratitude for offering me the opportunity to serve as editor and partake in this valuable learning experience. Dr. Stephen Lewis, who actively serves as Phi Alpha Theta advisor, was instrumental in soliciting papers. I also want to thank Dr. Carl Peterson and his wife Mary for the grant that helps fund our printing. We would all be lost without the help and guidance of our department secretary, Claudia Beaty, none of us can thank her enough. Most importantly, I am grateful to all the students who took the time to compose and submit papers. We received many excellent submissions, the best of which fill this volume. I hope you enjoy reading them as much as I have.

Trevor Haagenson

The Chico Historian

Volume 16

2006

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Published by the
Alpha Delta Omicron Chapter
PHI ALPA THETA
Department of History
California State University, Chico

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Women and the Pursuit of History

Robyn M. Hafer

Within the chronologies of wars and the biographies of great leaders and civilizations, it is difficult to hide the fact that women are barely a footnote in traditional histories, whether as objects of historical study or as writers contributing to the historical narrative. Are women less important to the telling of these stories and have, therefore, been relegated to minor roles? Are female historians simply disinterested in writing these types of histories, thereby ensuring they remain in obscurity? Are men more capable of writing history than women? Who controls the historiographical record that allows some historians in while shutting others out? Bonnie Smith takes on these questions and more in her provocative study, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice*.

Smith's analysis provides a much needed perspective concerning the rise of female historians in an unquestionably male-dominated profession over the past 200 years. Her examination, which focuses primarily on the late 18th to early 20th centuries, contrasts the historical works of early female historians of the 18th and 19th centuries with the rise of professional history that occurred during the same time period. Furthermore, she looks at how these two worlds of history were deliberately kept separate from one another and how this separation clashed with the ideology of the Enlightenment, which influenced all men and women at the time. Finally, she shows the ways women began challenging the "professional" field of history and reveals the, often, self-imposed obstacles these women faced as they attempted to be recognized as equals in a field that was not built to accommodate both sexes.

To demonstrate the importance of her groundbreaking study, we must first look at Smith's thesis, particularly the methods she employs and the ground she covers. By examining her organization of material and sources, we can better understand why Smith's examination of this topic represents a new understanding of both historiography and female scholarship within the historical record. However, to focus solely on Smith would present a one-sided view of a multi-faceted subject. Therefore it is important to examine some critical responses to her book as well as other perspectives and problems the field of "feminist" history presents. Only after we examine both sides of this controversial topic, can we look at where women fit into the broader expanse of historiography, ranging from Herodotus and Thucydides to Ambrose and Zinn. Whether recognized or not, women have always had a place in history both as subjects and writers of history.

Smith's thesis centers on the "amateur" and the "professional" historian and how, from the beginning, the former was, and still is, subordinate to the latter. More importantly, the rise of the professional study of history was "closely tied to evolving definitions of masculinity and femininity."¹ Both the amateur and the professional found themselves competing against each other, which only served to polarize the two further. Women found themselves on the losing end of this competition as their works were deemed "low" history and, thus, discredited.

¹ Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1.

Conversely, these “low” histories were oftentimes best sellers in the marketplace, which led to a further defining of professional standards amongst the amateurs.

While the term amateur has an immediate negative connotation, Smith argues that what is considered amateur was, in reality, market-driven works that dealt with the cultural and societal aspects of everyday living.² More importantly, these works encompassed a wide range of subjects that provided a counter narrative to traditional historical topics. While the recording of great men and their great deeds was used to show progress, the work of female historians, specifically in the form of social and cultural narratives, questioned that progress by showing the effect these great men and deeds wrought on society as a whole.

Germaine de Stael serves as Smith’s prototype “amateur” historian. A self-proclaimed genius, de Stael was a survivor of the French Revolution, a drug addict, and a highly erotic person. His histories became the inspiration for generations of female historians. Smith argues that de Stael deserves a place in Western historiography not only because she is the first female historian to emerge in the 19th century but also because her histories embody the issues and trajectories subsequent female writers would encounter. Excessively rich,, and living most of her life in exile, de Stael viewed the turbulent post-Revolutionary war through a cultural rather than a political lens. Furthermore, her writings, based on extensive travel and cultural observations, are reminiscent of Polybius; moreover, her skilled use of rhetoric aligns her with Roman historians of antiquity. While de Stael decries anyone who mimics either the Greeks or Romans, her histories are inextricably linked to these traditions. The historical novel for which she is most famous, *Corrine*, uses tensions between the sexes and their differing viewpoints as a tool to show multiple interpretations, and as a foreshadowing of the development of male/female interpretations of history and the dominant patterns that would emerge as a result. The heroine of *Corrine* is traveling with her male companion, Oswald, through Italy. As they survey different sites, the reader is presented with the more learned French woman’s , Corrine, view versus the less learned Englishman’s, Oswald, view simultaneously encompasses the gender, national, and cultural viewpoints on any given topic.³ This approach to history became a distinguishing characteristic in the amateur genre.

According to Smith, the concept of trauma, and the subsequent working out of this in one’s writing, is integral to the amateur’s historical works. Trauma, by Smith’s definition, is not meant to “invoke feelings of dismay over victimhood but to suggest a situation, a social, cultural, and political location, from which women wrote.”⁴ The personal lives of these amateurs were far from the wealth and privilege of de Stael. Most amateur women were living outside the norm for the time period; although firmly located in the middle class, they were the sole source of income for their families and wrote in addition to their required domestic duties. Book publishers exploited these authors’ social and legal disabilities, making them work twice as hard for less pay. Some women took advantage of their lessened social status and engaged in highly visible affairs, conceived children out of wedlock, and generally “professed to be estranged from the ideals of nineteenth-century womanhood prescribed by the code of middle-class conduct.”⁵ Writers such as Sarah Taylor Austin, Lydia Maria Child, and Harriet Grote, among others, were known

² Smith, 43.

³ Smith, 29-30.

⁴ Smith, 38.

⁵ Smith, 48.

for their refusal to fit within societal norms; thus, giving them an outsider's perspective on the world in which they wrote.

The amateur historian Sarah Taylor Austin wrote "Society is so much the province of women that it seems as if they were the natural and proper historians."⁶ As Smith points out this is one of three inclinations female historians wrote about that distinguishes their writing in the historical record. Even in the age of "high amateurism" during the 20th century, women tended to write social and cultural history in the form of travel narrative.⁷ Smith attributes this tendency to the authors' incessant traveling; these women traveled to escape abusive homes, social persecution, or dire social conditions. By crossing geographic borders and viewing other lands from an outsider's perspective, these authors "connected history and nationality differently from scientific narratives."⁸ Women often wrote about the lifestyle of the aristocracy. Their writing delved into incredible details of these subjects, such as house decorations, clothing, and conversations on ordinary topics that revealed the subject's character more accurately than an archival document. However, it was the focus on "catty" details that caused the scientific historian to scorn these works and label them low history. Amateurs wrote some political histories, most notably on the American and French Revolutions of which they were witness to. Again, their focus was on the social and cultural changes for the common person, rather than a military or political account. These women, whether born of privilege or not, were writing from a distinct vantage point—one that encompassed the universal equality codes professed by these revolutions. While scientific narrative focused on the idea of progress, amateur histories openly questioned that progress and attempted to define it.

The social status of women becomes even more important when assessing how these female historians acquired their information. Archival sources were not well organized during the 19th century and for the most part were closed to women. Most women relied on eyewitness accounts from their extensive travels and their resourcefulness in creating and maintaining connections to government records and library holdings.⁹ Women had to first master a certain amount of social and political detail before they were allowed into powerful governmental circles where they could observe events up close.¹⁰ The primary sources for these histories consisted of newspapers, letters, diaries, oral sources, pamphlets, as well as any documents they could obtain via libraries and archives when accessible. Constructing histories from this disparate array of sources created "gaps and slippages" that later historians would use to prove their worthlessness as history.¹¹ Most amateur histories contain little to no analysis of any given topic; however, given the circumstances, the histories created by these amateurs gave an accurate picture of the world in which they lived.

Developing simultaneously alongside the amateur historian, which consisted of women writing history, was the professionalization of the discipline of history. This was wholly the realm of men and strictly off limits to females until near the end of the 19th century. The professional historian was identified by his education, dedication to archival sources, and a strict adherence to "truth and objectivity" as it pertained to historical events. Professional

⁶ Smith, 49.

⁷ Smith, 56.

⁸ Smith, 57.

⁹ Smith, 64.

¹⁰ Smith, 64-65.

¹¹ Smith, 65.

historians emerged from schools that concentrated on philology but neglected to tie this to specific histories. Men who attended preparatory schools, prior to the advent of the university, were hazed into a culture dominated by intense competition for high marks in scholarship and physical competition in the form of fighting and duels. These men graduated from school detached from emotional bias or longing, which was considered a sign of weaknesses in their academic career. Over time, this spirit of competition and detachment carried forward into the profession of history as men competed for archival resources and focused their research on political histories.

As Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob point out in *Telling the Truth About History*, to be a professional “meant being certified (through a higher degree) —as having learned the self-discipline necessary to go beyond self-interest, bias, prejudice, and present-day concerns.”¹² To be free of bias and prejudice, historical inquiry was linked to science, a discipline that was seen as inherently impartial. Thus, Leopold von Ranke’s invention of the seminar and subsequent use of archives became “the laboratories of history.”¹³ Women were excluded from these seminars, as opposed to the large lecture halls that they often frequented. The seminar offered the professor and his small group of students the opportunity to scrutinize archival documents, find errors and breakthroughs in interpretations, and gain the skills necessary to become professional historians upon their exit from the university. The strict rules in place for interpreting documents were born of the philological focus that had been practiced for centuries.¹⁴ Furthermore, the spread of the seminar from Germany to the United States “had the effect of making historical methods appear transcendent and universal, removed from the political, religious, and epistemological quarrels of the century.”¹⁵ The seminar revolutionized the teaching of history and served to legitimize the discipline as separate from philosophy or theology.

The profession’s claim to universality and unbiased truth, Smith argues, is based wholly on gendering the language of history in terms of male and female. During the period of professionalization, women were confined almost exclusively to the domestic sphere. Reaching farther back across the centuries, women had long been seen as wicked and inferior, while men had been seen as upright, good citizens. Women had no place in written history, nor could they employ their talents as historians because they could not be participants in establishing facts, researching in archives, or attending seminars. The concept of factuality, according to Smith, is gendered male because a fact can only be established by the professional historian.¹⁶ Archives are the purview of males; however, their obsession to liberate documents gendered them female.¹⁷ Many historians, Ranke among them, referred to archival research in mostly sexual terms, turning them into female bodies that were the historian’s realm to explore. For example, Ranke spoke of one collection thus: “...absolutely a virgin. I long for the moment I have access to her, ...whether she is pretty or not.”¹⁸ Even the word seminar is male by nature, its root being *seminalis*, “pertaining to or consisting of

¹² Joyce Appleby and others, eds. *Telling the Truth About History*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), 75.

¹³ Appleby, 73.

¹⁴ Smith, 118.

¹⁵ Smith, 112.

¹⁶ Smith, 135.

¹⁷ Smith, 119.

¹⁸ Smith, 119.

seed, source, first principle, germinal, originative.”¹⁹ Smith and Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob all point to the emergence of the hero-scholar as the end result of professionalization, “By developing the modern concepts of historical time as standardized and universal and of the role of the historian as master of the facts of everyone’s history.”²⁰ Women were never intended to fit into this model.

The Enlightenment preached universal rights, equality, and freedom to live one’s life based on a rational versus theological world view. Women, however, found their own lives increasingly at odds with these ideals. Towards the end of the 19th century, women began to challenge the men guarding the gates to knowledge on their way to joining the ranks of professional historians. Smith marks this transition as one from high amateur to professional. By the end of the 19th century, women historians had entered a period of high amateurism, which consisted of standardizing data collection and methodology.²¹ It was during this time that new fields of study, feminist histories and investigations into the living conditions of working women’s lives, arose.²² The amateurs of this period provided an alternate account to history as it happened since professional historians often looked at small sections of history and fit facts to their view. Amateur historians presented a world view that highlighted the historical distortions of professional history as both competed for readership in the common market.

Concurrently, women began pushing for acceptance into major universities to obtain professional degrees in history. These women, among them Lucy Maynard Salmon, Mary Ritter Beard, Jane Ellen Harrison, Ricarda Huch, and Eileen Power, combined the works of male professionals and female amateurs to produce new works, which ranged from traditional political histories to studies in social and economic history.²³ Interestingly, when female professionals attempted to professionalize the “amateur impulse” their work was often met with fierce criticism.²⁴ These ventures into “low” history were seen as unworthy of their status as professionals.²⁵ Also notable is the lack of “woman worthy” histories completed by female professionals as they struggled to conform to the professional paradigm.²⁶ They were not, as a group, interested in venerating the worthy woman, nor analyzing women’s collective past. Attempts to do so were seen as unprofessional, a label which female scholars worked hard to avoid.²⁷ As the 20th century progressed, the foremothers of professional history, named above, proved to be iconoclasts who pushed the limits with their historical inquiries into subjects such as ancient fertility rites and the living conditions of domestic workers. Because they were forced to fit their narratives into an established paradigm (where only academic writings were considered legitimate), their works were rendered devoid of historical usefulness during their time. However, these writing have merit with breaking new ground in historical inquiry and topics that could be explored. It was with the onset of the modernist movement in the 1930s that the work of amateur and professional female historians found legitimacy.

¹⁹ Smith, 113.

²⁰ Appleby, 89.

²¹ Smith, 159.

²² Smith, 159.

²³ Smith, 199.

²⁴ Smith, 199-200.

²⁵ Smith, 206.

²⁶ Smith, 200.

²⁷ Smith, 205.

Smith's study has been received as groundbreaking in many circles because her approach of analyzing history and historians from a gender-based perspective is unique in the field. As the author Nina Lerman points out in her review of *The Gender of History*, "Although historians have told this story about other professions, they have been reluctant to tell it about themselves."²⁸ By exposing the explicit way in which the profession of history is gendered, "...the landmarks of Western historiography—from the 'mirror of history' to the archives themselves—take on new meanings."²⁹ Smith's study, however, is not without its faults. As Lerman points out, Smith claims she is grounding her study in Joan Scott's work, which suggested "exploring gender in layers of personal identity, social institutions, social structures, and cultural symbols and representations."³⁰ Yet, Smith relies heavily on psychological approaches to analysis rather than sociological or philosophical approaches. This switches the emphasis of Smith's work from societal theorization to the analysis of the individual.³¹ The early emphasis on trauma as an impetus for female writers and its centrality to Smith's thesis is evidence of her focus on the individual rather than women as a group.

Katherine Lynch agrees with Lerman in her review of Smith's work. By grounding her work in psychological approaches, Lynch feels Smith takes the discussion into the realm of victim psychology.³² Lynch argues Smith is on shaky ground logically when discussing psychological concepts such as trauma, obsession, or fetishism and renders the women in her book less interesting than the men.³³ Subsequently, Smith's thesis suffers from a gender imbalance, implying homogeneity with regard to the treatment and experiences of women without acknowledging the barriers that also stood in the way of men in the profession. Lynch cites Peter Novick's studies on the ways "dominant groups in the profession—social, regional, religious, racial, class, and political—sought to build, defend, and legitimize their institutional power against other men."³⁴ However, Lynch also agrees that Smith's study is groundbreaking for its subject matter; the study of amateurs in the field is difficult due to a lack of sources. Smith's greatest contribution, according to Lynch, is how her book opens a new field of research in the role of women's labor in men's professional development.³⁵

Both of these reviews reveal a problem that has plagued feminist history since its inception. Attempting to write women into the histories that they were left out of, led to a politicization of the field and the tendency to frame women as victims. As Gertrude Himmelfarb points out in her book, *The New History and the Old*, "The new feminist history calls for the 'reconceptualizing' of all history from a 'consciously feminist stance'...so that it may

²⁸ Nina Lerman, "Review of *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice*, by Bonnie Smith." *Isis* 91 (June 2000): 317-318.

²⁹ Lerman, 317-318.

³⁰ Lerman, 317-318.

³¹ Lerman, 317-318.

³² Katherine Lynch, "Review of *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice*, by Bonnie Smith." *History of Education Quarterly* 39 (Autumn, 1999): 374-376.

³³ Lynch, 374-376.

³⁴ Lynch, 374-376.

³⁵ Lynch, 374-376.

be ‘seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define’— the eyes and values of the historian rather than of the women who are the subjects of history.’³⁶

Himmelfarb argues that feminist history was compatible with traditional methodology, but feminist historians, such as Joan Scott, looked to the postmodernist movement for the analytic tools they could apply to their histories. Their reason for doing so is their belief that traditional methodologies are inherently patriarchal and laden with language that is gendered and repressive. However, Himmelfarb brings up a good point in her discussion of feminist historians: the discourse of traditional history is still dependent on logic, reason, and coherence.³⁷

The problems that arise from changing the traditional model to the postmodern or “new” history based on these three fundamentals are elucidated by Himmelfarb:

The analytic approach...fails to capture the dynamic movement of history; the quantitative method narrows and trivializes history by confining inquiry to subjects and sources capable of being quantified; psychoanalytic interpretations derive more from a priori theories than from empirical evidence; sociological models are too abstract to elucidate specific historical situations; the prevalent ideological bias disposes the historian to identify with his subjects and endow them with his own attitudes and values; the populist mode cannot accommodate those notable individuals whose actions and ideas...help shape history; and the genre as a whole...suggests a methodological permissiveness that seems to bear out Carl Becker’s famous dictum, ‘Everyman his own historian.’³⁸

When attempting to create a “total history” that accommodates new history’s specific analytic approach, more often than not, the political aspect is either ignored or skewed to show bias towards women. It imposes the author’s present day thinking and reality onto the subject of the past. On a personal level, it is impossible to eradicate one’s orientation towards the world, based on each individual’s unique life experience. However, a good historian should be able to treat their subjects with objectivity, which means marshalling all evidence relevant to the subject, not just the evidence that makes a specific, preconceived point. This is perhaps what Himmelfarb sees as the most negative factor with regard to postmodernism in general, and the shift to social history specifically: the subjective nature of the questions asked of the past. She feels that many feminist histories ask questions of the past that the past did not ask of itself, and beg answers that are “speculative, subjective, and dubious, at best.”³⁹

Himmelfarb’s criticism seems well-founded when reviewing books discussing feminist approaches to history. In *Liberating Women’s History*, a collection of essays addressing approaches to and recent scholarship in feminist history, many of the essays are loaded with references to the “male dominance” of previous historical works and the need to remove such language and influence when approaching historical subjects. Many of these female authors consider themselves feminists first and historians second, as evidenced by the essay “The Problems of Women’s History,” where the author states that “As feminists, we demand something new, a total reconstitution

³⁶ Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 25.

³⁷ Himmelfarb, 25.

³⁸ Himmelfarb, 33.

³⁹ Himmelfarb, 48.

of social relations in order to overcome the alienation we feel.”⁴⁰ Kathryn Anderson and Dana Jack encourage feminist historians to discard traditional methodology and embrace oral history as a powerful tool and “attend to [the] narrators’ self-evaluative comments, meta-statements, and overall logic of the narrative.”⁴¹ Gisela Bock warns women that “mainstreaming” women’s history into generic gender history runs the risk of making women invisible again and “requires autonomy from male-dominated scholarship, in institutional and particularly in intellectual terms.”⁴² In *Voices of Women Historians*, female historians such as Berenice Carroll, Karen Offen, and Sandi Cooper, discuss their experiences as feminist activists and historians. Their experiences at the birth of the women’s movement influenced their subsequent works in the field. This, in and of itself, is not a negative factor, but it does bias them towards certain historical methodologies in place of traditional methodologies.

The overriding theme of progress, from the Enlightenment onwards, has been dealt with by feminist historians who seem dedicated to showing that women have made little progress historically and seek to remedy that in their writings. Himmelfarb argues that the idea of progress is not an antiquated notion; rather, it is a necessary unifier of history as a whole. Himmelfarb posits that the idea of progress is central to our idea and continuation of society as a whole.⁴³ What postmodernism has done for this idea is to force society into a “deep moral crisis” where the people have become disillusioned with everything from government to individuality.⁴⁴ Feminist historians have actively participated in this disillusionment by framing their subjects in ways that prove no progress has occurred. A theme that is prevalent in the essays contained in *Liberating Women’s History* and *The Gender of History*, which expound upon the continuation of women’s place being relegated to the domestic sphere and the ways women have fought to overcome that role to little or no avail. However, by denying that women have progressed throughout societies intellectually, politically, socially, or economically, these authors again portray their subjects as victims and unconsciously turn women against the societies that are victimizing them. For example, in her essay, “Education and Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America,” Adele Simmons places women as victims of blatant sexual discrimination with regard to education and higher education opportunities.⁴⁵ Hilda Smith concludes in her essay, “Gynecology and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England,” that “Unfortunately, women, both as patients and as medical practitioners and midwives, often were the victims of the physicians’ quest for respectability.”⁴⁶ What these and other feminist historians’ writings do, in Himmelfarb’s view, is undermine the societal framework that holds us together.

Gertrude Himmelfarb is critical of postmodernist thinking and its effect on the pursuit of history. Her critiques of feminist historians’ scholarship are well-founded on many fronts, and feminist historians themselves are aware of the fine line they often walk in their profession. Historian Gerda Lerner recognizes the need to

⁴⁰ Berenice Carroll, ed. *Liberating Women’s History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 85.

⁴¹ Sherna Gluck, and others, eds. *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*. (New York: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, Inc, 1991), 9.

⁴² Karen Offen, and others, eds. *Writing Women’s History: International Perspectives*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), 16-17.

⁴³ Himmelfarb, 196.

⁴⁴ Himmelfarb, 210.

⁴⁵ Carroll, 124.

⁴⁶ Carroll, 113.

“differentiate women into more specifically defined groups...[and] the need to consider the gap between myth and reality with respect to the actual ‘place’ and actual position of women in any given time or location,” but she rejects the feminist frame of reference as too hampered by bias.⁴⁷ On the other end of the spectrum, historian Hilda Smith feels that women should be separated from the study of history as a whole because women have had a unique past.⁴⁸ Historian Joan Scott, upon whose work feminist history emerged, cites these opposing views as debates that are now within the discipline of women’s history and not in the broader field of history itself.⁴⁹ Scott saw the emergence of women’s history as a specific discipline necessarily confrontational at first, “...women can’t just be added on without a fundamental recasting of the terms, standards and assumptions of what has passed for objective, neutral and universal history in the past because that view of history included in its very definition of itself the exclusion of women.”⁵⁰ Indeed, a look at the historiographical record renders this assessment correct.

Beginning with the fathers of history, Thucydides and Herodotus, women were but a footnote in their narratives. Herodotus would have been more inclined to include women, for his view was focused more on the societal and cultural aspect of history, rather than the Thucydidean view of “history as it happened,” which entailed what today is viewed as political history. However, most early histories focused on subjects of state: politics, wars, and ruling powers. The negative status of women, both in society and historically, can be traced back to Aristotle. Aristotle held that women were the subordinates of men not only out of social necessity but because they were mentally and physically inferior to men.⁵¹ Observe the language used by Aristotle in his descriptions of women: “The male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules and the other is ruled...man’s nature is the most rounded off and complete; woman is more compassionate but also more jealous, more querulous, more apt to scold and strike...more void of shame and self-respect, more false of speech, more deceptive.”⁵²

As a founding father of historiography, per historian Donald Kelley, it is no wonder women were automatically excluded from the historical record. The views of Aristotle have been directly linked to the Judeo-Christian tradition via the spread of Athenian and Roman democracy throughout the region. It is therefore not surprising that the only female historian we see from 495 B.C.E. to 1148 C.E is Anna Comnena, who is associated with Eastern historiography as opposed to Western historiography. Her focus on the deeds of her father in her work, the *Alexiad*, places her in the Thucydidean tradition of history as she recounts the First Crusades from an eyewitness vantage point.

The emergence of the Judeo-Christian conception of history fundamentally changed Western thinking. “For Christian and Jews alike history was not merely deeds done, and recorded, according to human ambitions and designs...it was a progression of actions, an ordeal carried on within a providential plan.”⁵³ History now had a purpose, and the task of the historian was to determine God’s will through their interpretation of events, thus,

⁴⁷ Carroll, 347.

⁴⁸ Carroll, 347.

⁴⁹ Peter Burke, ed. *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 64.

⁵⁰ Burke, 58.

⁵¹ Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 29.

⁵² Ahmed, 29.

⁵³ Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of History: From Herodotus to Herder*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 75.

rendering history universal. However, by casting history in terms of God's will meant writing history according to a recognized language as set forth by the church. The problem arises when, upon examination, the misogynistic tendencies of the church, rooted in the Creation story, placed women in an inferior role to men. Furthermore, most writers during this time were men in monasteries or in high societal places where women were excluded.

This is perhaps best highlighted by the 15th century historian Christine de Pizan who was the only other woman to appear in historiography. In her work, *Book of the City of Ladies*, she writes, "I could hardly find a book on morals where, even before I had read in it its [sic] entirety, I did not find several chapters or certain sections attacking women, no matter who the author was."⁵⁴ Her book sought to defend the "historical significance of women" and show there were women of all classes who rivaled men politically, militarily and religiously.⁵⁵ Hers is the only recognized account to place women in a role of equality, if not superiority, in a male-dominated world view.

It is not until the 18th century and the period of Enlightenment when women first began to be recognized, albeit, as consumers rather than producers of history. Philosopher and historian David Hume implored women to read history rather than popular fiction and warned them that empty-headed women are unattractive to the opposite sex.⁵⁶ Again, the language towards and about women is derogatory, but the recognition of women as participants is undoubtedly there. It is at the end of this time period when Smith began her study of amateur historians who began to capitalize on the higher literacy rates of both sexes as a result of the Enlightenment ideals. In fact, the contradiction between the ideals and reality of the Enlightenment, as it pertains to women, inform some of her more interesting arguments. The Enlightenment is another time period when universal ideals applied to men only. As Smith's thesis shows, women were making important contributions to the historical record during this period and continued to do so concurrently with the professionalization of the discipline.

The study of history was a legitimate discipline at the close of the 19th century. No sooner had it joined the ranks of other professions when it was faced with the challenge of modernism in the early 20th century. Led by progressive historians such as Charles Beard and R.G. Collingwood, modernists undermined the belief in a "grand historical narrative" and the discipline began to pull in different directions at once.⁵⁷ Modernist historians began to question what it meant to be a professional historian and, set against a backdrop of rapid social change culminating in World War II, a history emerged that "incorporated the low, the everyday, the feminine, the aesthetic, the statistical, and much more."⁵⁸ Nothing was off limits as worthy of examination in the modernist view, thus, opening up the field to a variety of subjects once scorned by the professional historian. However, this did not automatically mean women were accepted as legitimate practitioners of history. Professional female historians during this time period oftentimes wrote statistically dense works with little or no historical narrative attached and pointedly avoided

⁵⁴ Donald R. Kelley, *Versions of History: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 214.

⁵⁵ Kelley, *Faces*, 128.

⁵⁶ Kelley, *Versions*, 457-459.

⁵⁷ Smith, 213.

⁵⁸ Smith, 215.

feminist interpretations in their works.⁵⁹ It is from the modernist movement, best represented by the formation of the *Annales School* that a “new” or postmodern history emerges.

The “new” or “total” history that postmodernism claims to represent is difficult to define. In the introduction to his collection of essays regarding new history, Peter Burke outlines some of the fundamental concepts incorporated in new history: history is concerned with every human activity, not simply the traditional realm of political history; the philosophical idea behind new history is that reality is socially or culturally constructed, thus, undermining what is central and peripheral in history; rather than traditional history’s focus on “history from above,” new history focuses on “history from below”; historical evidence can be found in a variety of sources, not just government or official documents; and history is not without bias, cultural relativism applies directly to history itself.⁶⁰ It is with the postmodern movement that women have finally emerged as both legitimate scholars of history and worthy of study in historical scholarship. Postmodernist thinking equates language with power; whoever controls the discourse has the power at any given time.⁶¹ The postmodern focus on deconstructing language is an obvious threat to a discipline whose main focus was philology; it undermines the base that professional history was built on. More importantly, as far as women are concerned, it allowed them room to deconstruct accepted professional definitions and fit them into a paradigm that ultimately became inclusive of women. Critics of postmodernist history, particularly of feminist history, claim that women have politicized the study of history and are practicing ideological history rather than professional, unbiased history.

Joan Scott believes that the beginning of the 21st century represents an emerging consensus between traditional historians and feminist historians, when female historians are sharing disciplinary power with their male counterparts.⁶² The main debates now are within the discipline of women’s history and they seek to find a middle ground between historians of women who “endorse disciplinary commitments to recounting the ‘real’ experiences of groups and individuals of the past” and those who seek a radical restructuring of historical categories and the language that informs them.⁶³ Other issues that historians of women are currently debating are women’s history as a separate field of study, if women can be feminist historians and not write about women, and if women and gender should routinely be a part of all historical investigations.⁶⁴

The recent developments in historical methodology are evident in Bonnie Smith’s thesis. Her focus on the language used to describe the professional field of history and the way certain words were gendered from the beginning along lines dating back to the Greeks is classic postmodernism. Her analysis, as Lerman and Lynch point out, relies heavily on psychological interpretations of individuals and their reactions to certain events; again, this is a modern retooling of historical matter. However, her emphasis on trauma and the presentation of her subjects as victims undermines her work. Her use of psychological justifications detracts from the logic that informs her work. Psychology is, by its nature, not rationally based, and to use it in the context Smith does, makes the mistake of trying

⁵⁹ Smith, 228.

⁶⁰ Burke, 4-6.

⁶¹ Lawrence Bryant, History 390, Spring 2005, class notes 4.26.05.

⁶² Burke, 62.

⁶³ Burke, 62.

⁶⁴ Burke, 63.

to peer into the minds of people who lived two centuries ago. There is a fine line between a historian's imagination being used to fill in gaps rationally based on the evidence available, and filling in those gaps using modern reactions as a guide.

Smith's work also falls short in her treatment of women amateurs detailing the lives of the poor in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and how these histories coincided historically with social upheavals like labor reform, suffrage, Temperance campaigns, which attempted to improve the conditions of women and society as a whole. Smith contends that these women were writing purely from a desire to chronicle the conditions of the poor; however, she neglects to balance that argument with the possibility that these women could have been writing from the vantage point of furthering their social goals. In this respect, it doesn't really separate them from Smith's charge that professional historians wrote to further the rise of the nation-state and to meet other political aims. Along these lines, Smith's criticism of archives and the source material available to men and women is not well qualified. She makes the distinction that documents in the archives were "documents about men."⁶⁵ However, these documents were primarily government and private documents of the major players in any given government. It is not valid to say women were excluded because they were women; they were excluded because they were not participants in the government.

Overall, however, Smith's discussion is enlightening and informative. The histories produced by amateur historians during this time period are invaluable under the paradigm of "new" history. They allow for a more complete, nuanced view of history from the point of view of the female in history and the female historian. As the historiographical record shows, the study of history has been biased against women from the beginning. Many of the philosophers esteemed for their enlightened ideals held negative and uninformed views of women that influenced women's status into contemporary times. Feminist historians were right to radically challenge the language and underlying assumptions of the historical record in order to carve out a place for themselves in a field that has long ignored them. Many of the principles that constitute a professional were founded on these false assumptions and have since been discredited. Smith's work is a start in attempting to adjust the historiographical record to reflect the contributions that women made before the 1970s. Postmodernism allowed women to find a place in history that breaks negative stereotypical images of the past and shows everyone that women can be strong and empathetic—that the two are not mutually exclusive.

I think it is time to have a revised definition of the professional historian that incorporates both the traditional and postmodern paradigms. Historical scholarship, no matter what the subject, should be informed by logic and reason. The evidence presented to make an argument should be solid rather than conjecture, and nobody should have to revert to playing the victim to make their case. On the other hand, recognizing the historical value of everyday experiences ties people together rather than tearing society apart. Postmodernism's lasting contribution to historical methodology is that most historians no longer conceive of writing history that excludes social and cultural influences on any given subject.

⁶⁵ Smith, 182

"The Faraway Land Nearby": Mexico, Tourism, and the State, 1939-1968 ?

Patrick O'Connor

Beginning in the late 1930s and continuing through the 1960s, the Mexican government published a considerable body of travel literature in an attempt to convince American consumers to spend their disposable incomes "south of the border." An analysis and overview of the travel literature published by the Mexican government for the consumption of Americans provides an interesting study in persuasion, propaganda, and advertising as well as in the construction of culture, nation, and identity in postrevolutionary Mexico. Given that the travel literature of the Mexican government was intended to persuade Americans, it was also reflective of the ways in which Mexicans viewed America and Americans. While the primary focus of this paper is the travel literature published by the Mexican government between 1939 and 1968, certain passages may allude to other aspects of Mexico's tourism project, which itself was situated within an even larger cultural project aimed at nation-building. In addition, while this paper attempts to encompass the most circumspect view of the literature possible, given the available sources, it would be misleading to state that it presents an exhaustive analysis of the Mexican government's tourist literature.

While American and European travelers had been visiting Mexico since the 19th century, it was not until the 1930s that a true industry of tourism began to develop under the aegis of the Mexican government, which assumed an active and leading role in its development and promotion. Beginning in 1929, various agencies under several different names worked, in tandem or separately, to implement a project of grand scale whose primary aim seems to have been economical.¹ In what Michael Clancy calls an "export push," tourism and tourist-related services assumed a place alongside rubber, oil, and henequen as one of Mexico's chief exports.²

The primary targets of the Mexican government's tourism project were Americans, a group who had disposable income, a penchant for travel, a fascination with the foreign and exotic, an admiration of the modern, a preoccupation with comfort and luxury, a respect for the historical and the ancient, and a love for sport and recreation as well as, for some, a desire to shed the conventions and inhibitions of an urban, industrial society that was still subtly but profoundly influenced by Puritanism. Or so it was thought by the government officials who orchestrated Mexico's "export push." Perhaps the most important factor that rendered Americans the most profitable, and hence most desirable, market was that Mexico's proximity to the U.S. resulted in decreased travel costs and, therefore, it was thought, gave Mexico an advantage over other tourist destinations—all other things being equal. Another factor that made American tourists desirable was their "modernness." By serving as examples of, and hopefully incentives to, modernization and its benefits, American tourists could unwittingly assist the state in its cultural revolution (see below). American tourists could also witness and attest to Mexico's progress and development as it strove to place itself on par with its northern neighbor in terms of global prestige.

¹ Andrea Boardman, *Destination Mexico: "A Foreign Land a Step Away": U.S. tourism to Mexico, 1890s - 1950s* (Dallas: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, 2001), 15.

² Michael Clancy, *Exporting Paradise: Tourism and Development in Mexico*, (New York: Pergammon, 2001), 49.

As encompassing as the Mexican government's tourism project was, it was itself initially situated within the broader context of a "nationalist movement," planned and orchestrated by political, intellectual, and cultural elites, that sought to unify and modernize Mexico's culturally disparate peoples under a single banner of nationhood.³ As this project was embarked upon, immediately following the Mexican Revolution's intensely violent years of 1910-1920, some scholars describe the years 1920-1940 as Mexico's "cultural revolution," (also referred to as Mexico's "cultural project" or "nationalist project") a process that selectively appropriated aspects from Mexico's past in service of consolidating and constructing a secular, modern, "revolutionary" state.⁴ The Mexican government's tourism project was but a tiny facet of this much broader program that sought expression in education, holidays, parades, place names, public health, art, music, film, and radio.⁵ While this process has its origins under the administration of President Alvaro Obregón (1920-24), it reached its most radical and far-reaching expression under President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-40). The centerpiece of the Cárdenas administration's nationalist project was the expropriation and nationalization of Mexico's petroleum industry, which was controlled by American and British interests, in 1938.

The image of Mexico that was projected abroad in the official travel literature influenced and shaped the expectations of those who visited Mexico. By acting upon or otherwise expressing such expectations, American tourists influenced the ways that Mexicans saw themselves both in relation to the U.S. as well as in relation to Mexico and other Mexicans. Thus, by convincing American tourists that indigenous handicrafts and folklore had value as "popular art," the Mexican government's tourist literature offered Mexicans a kind of external validation of their own culture, even though Mexican "culture" was largely defined by Mexican authorities. In this sense, by selecting which themes and discourses to elevate, valorize, and romanticize for foreign consumption, official Mexican tourist literature helped to shape national consciousness and identity. Wendy Waters alludes to this process in her analysis of road construction as part of Mexico's cultural revolution: "Envisioning one's community as a tourist attraction... was part of the process of recognizing the town's place in national and international contexts and seeing it from the viewpoint of an outsider."⁶

The tourist aspect of the Mexican government's cultural project involved developing tourist attractions, accommodations, and other tourist-related facilities; it would also entail developing the means by which tourists, particularly American tourists, would gain access to various attractions and tourist-oriented locations. It was toward these ends that the Mexican government developed tourist attractions by refurbishing and renovating historical sites and establishing monuments and museums. Beginning in the 1950s, the Mexican government began offering loans to the private sector for the building of hotels and resorts, eventually owning and operating hotels, restaurants, and nightclubs itself: As was the case when the National Fund for Tourism Development (FONATUR) purchased the

³ Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, "Introduction," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 1-2.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 9.

⁶ Wendy Waters, "Remapping Identities: Road Construction and Nation Building in Postrevolutionary Mexico," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, 229.

Nacional Hotelera chain in 1973.⁷ The Mexican government improved the national infrastructure by building and improving roads and highways, improving and maintaining the rail system, constructing air and sea ports, and by providing tourist sites with such amenities as running water, electricity, and sewers.⁸ Wendy Waters describes how in the city of Tepoztlán, citizens petitioned their federal government for infrastructure improvements by presenting their locale as tourist attraction that would generate revenue for the state and improve the local economy. While local “modernizers” may have sought to court American tourists, *agaristas* sought access to markets and a higher standard of living.⁹

Having provided potential tourists with places to go and the means by which to get there, the Mexican government then had to persuade them that they should visit Mexico. It was toward this end that the Mexican government launched, in its own words, an “extensive advertising and publicity campaign”¹⁰ aimed at luring American tourists to Mexico. This campaign was supported by the establishment of offices by the Mexican Department of Tourism in New York, Tucson, San Antonio, and Los Angeles.¹¹

The travel literature published by the Mexican government for consumption by Americans is impressive in both volume and scope. While the Mexican government’s ‘official’ interest in tourism began in 1929 with the creation of the Board of Tourism (*Comisión Mixta de Pro-Turismo*), an active print campaign does not seem to have begun until the late 1930s. The bulk of the material seems to have been published during the late 1930s and 1940s and includes such things as pamphlets, guidebooks, brochures, and maps as well as press releases and memos released to travel agencies in the U.S. Another important and closely related source is constituted by the travel Bulletin published by Petroleós Mexicanos, or Pemex, the government-owned petroleum company, from 1940 to 1965.

As primary source materials, Mexican travel literature presents several challenges. The literature itself was produced with the intention of being consumed but not retained since new pamphlets and brochures were being constantly churned out informing potential tourists of the latest developments in the Mexican tourist industry. Their significance as primary historical documents not being immediately apparent, much of the travel literature is today exceedingly difficult to find despite having been originally published in sizable quantities. So rare is the travel literature that today it can only be located in archives and museums.¹²

On a more concrete level, the vast majority of travel literature published by the Mexican government bears little or no publication information. Much of it is undated, leaving the researcher to infer approximate dates of publication based upon such factors as allusions to technological advancements in the text as more and more tourists began to arrive via airplane as opposed to car, train, or steamship. The visual aspects of the literature are also helpful when attempting to determine a possible date of publication, as styles of clothing and automobile design tend to

⁷ Clancy, 62-63.

⁸ Alex Saragoza, “The Selling of Mexico: Tourism and the State, 1929-1952,” in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, eds. Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 102; Clancy, 55.

⁹ Waters, 230-31.

¹⁰ *Boletín de la Asociación Mexicana de Turismo*, vol. 2, no. 18-1, Nov. 5, 1940, 3.

¹¹ Boardman, 92.

¹² Boardman, 4.

change rather rapidly. The general aesthetic of the publication can also prove helpful when attempting to date a particular piece of literature. Another pressing problem is that, with the exception of ‘official’ press releases and some (but not all) of the articles appearing in the *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin*, the literature bears no names of authorship, making it extremely difficult to determine if the body of literature was the product of a few individuals or many different persons. What seems to be clear enough is that the Mexican Tourist Association and the *Pemex Travel Bulletin* operated in close concert. This is evident by the fact that many of the same photos appeared in both the Mexican Tourism Association (MTA) publications and the *Pemex Travel Bulletin*. Senator Coxon’s letter (see below) also appeared in publications by both agencies. Furthermore, a 1940 bulletin from the MTA reveals that both the general manager and the sales manager of Pemex sat on the board of directors of the MTA.¹³

Many of the themes and images of the travel literature published by the Mexican government had its antecedents in the literature published by the private sector. The early travel literature emphasized the lushness of Mexico’s tropical zones, its pre-Columbian monumental architecture, and drew frequent comparisons to Egypt within an overarching discourse of the foreign and the exotic. Prior to the completion of the first leg of the Pan-American Highway from Laredo, Texas to Mexico City in 1935, the majority of tourists traveled to Mexico via train or steamship. In this sense, a market for tourism already existed, as did a foundation for the imaging of a tourist’s Mexico. Similarly, a “vogue” for things Mexican had been developing in the U.S. throughout the 1920s and ‘30s, which was facilitated by a process of “cultural exchange” among artists, writers, anthropologists, and archaeologists as exemplified by the emergence and popularity of *Mexican Folkways* magazine and a touring exhibition of Mexican art in 1930, conceived by U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Dwight Morrow.¹⁴ It can, thus, be argued that the Mexican government made the development of tourism a priority because it recognized tourism as an already thriving industry that still had unrealized potential. If we accept this premise then it also follows that the private sector played a much greater role in Mexico’s “export push” than some scholars have allowed and that the Mexican government did not so much create the basis of a new industry in Mexico as it did assist in the development of an industry.¹⁵ Questions concerning the significance of the Mexican government’s role in the development of the tourism industry will continue to be subject to debate.

While the Mexican government appropriated, refined, altered, and magnified those facets of Mexico that had previously been advertised by the private sector, namely the ancient, the historical, the foreign, and the exotic, to this mélange the Mexican government added the discourse of *indigenismo*, which was crucial to its cultural project (see below). The travel literature of the Mexican government also emphasized an intensified focus upon the heritage and folklore of Mexico and, as previously mentioned, the introduction of a discourse of modernity.

The print campaign of the Mexican government employed a variety of discourses in order to sell Mexico to the American public, attacking the potential tourist from all angles. In this sense the Mexican government presented not one Mexico to the potential American tourist, but many Mexicos: tropical Mexico, historic Mexico, modern Mexico,

¹³ *Boletín de la Asociación Mexicana de Turismo*, vol. 2, no. 18-1, Nov. 5, 1940, 1.

¹⁴ Boardman, 64-66.

¹⁵ Andrea Boardman writes that “the (Mexican) government began using [themes and images that the private sector had been employing] to launch a nationwide effort that would develop into an industry.” (Boardman, 67). Alex Saragoza states that the government launched such an effort, “In concert with segments of the private sector” but adds that “the state’s project served as a vital if not essential catalyst.” (Saragoza, 91, 93).

relaxing Mexico, exciting Mexico, foreign Mexico, familiar Mexico, romantic Mexico, and a cosmopolitan Mexico. They also presented a Mexico unspoiled by progress—one that was portrayed as Mexico “the friendly land,” “the faraway land nearby,” “the land of charm,” “land of fascinating traditions and contrasts,” “the land of riches“, etc. Such a “capacious definition of lo mexicano... proved resilient in the touristic display of Mexican culture and heritage.”¹⁶

In short, in its attempts to appeal to as many potential tourists as possible, the Mexican government took an all-encompassing, “shot-gunning” approach in its print campaign, presenting an image of Mexico as being all things for all people. A 1939 guidebook claimed that “no other territory of similar size in the world... provides such numerous and varied attractions... as does the Republic of Mexico.”¹⁷ Another guidebook, tentatively dated to the early- to mid-1960s, plainly stated: “Everyone who comes to Mexico finds what he desires, for the country has something to intrigue and interest every visitor.”¹⁸ Or, as the much more “hip” 1968 *Mexico Travel Digest* boasted: “Name your pleasures - Mexico’s got ‘em.”¹⁹

The introduction to *Mexico, The faraway land nearby* establishes, or refines, several of the most frequently appearing devices used to attract American tourists. As consumers in a capitalist society, Americans could be counted on to be crafty businessmen who tended to see things quantitatively. Thus, a trip to Mexico is framed in terms of a cost/benefit analysis, providing “maximum returns at a minimum outlay of money and time.”²⁰ Mexico’s proximity to the U.S. is also framed in comparative terms. The literature supplied the potential tourist with a wealth of quantitative facts intended to impress numerically oriented Americans: the elevations of mountains, average temperature and rainfall, square mileage, and average annual hours of sunshine.

During World War Two, Europe ceased to be a viable destination for American tourists (see below). In this situation, the Mexican government seems to have decided to present Mexico as an incredible simulation of Europe. This was achieved by means of offering comparisons between Mexico and a European city or some other popular tourist destination: “The European Cathedrals, the Egyptian Pyramids, the Swiss Lakes, the Italian skies... all have their counterpart in Mexico.”²¹ The comparison that most frequently appeared in the literature was to Egypt: such notions were based upon the presence of the monumental architecture of the Aztecs and Mayans. Indeed, *Mexico, The faraway land nearby* makes this comparison and also likens Mexico, or certain aspects of or places in Mexico, to Switzerland (another popular comparison owing to Mexico’s many high peaks), the Balkans, China, India, Spain, and Italy. An article in the *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin*, “Mexico of a hundred disguises,” shows how Mexico City has something in common with Paris, Vienna, Toledo, Stockholm, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Dallas, Montevideo, Budapest, Los Angeles, Beverly Hills, Hollywood, Cairo, Granada, London, Seville, Madrid, and Rio De Janeiro.²² While Mexico presented itself to Americans as a closer and less expensive version of Europe, for the Mexican

¹⁶ Saragoza, 93.

¹⁷ *Mexico, The Faraway Land Nearby*, (Mexico: Mexican Tourist Association, 1939), 3.

¹⁸ *Answers to Your Travel Questions About Mexico*, (Mexican Government Tourism Department, undated [c.1960]),

¹⁹ Charles and Babette Jacobs, *Mexico Travel Digest*, published for, and with the cooperation of the Mexican National Tourist Council, (Los Angeles: Paul Richmond, 1968), 3.

²⁰ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 3.

²¹ *The Mexico of Today*, (Mexico: Associated Guides travel Bureau, c.1940), 1.

²² Doris Heydn, “Mexico of a hundred disguises,” *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin*, no. 150-A (August 1943).

government's cultural project, such comparisons integrated Mexico into a larger global community by placing itself on par with industrialized Western Europe. In such comparisons one can observe the contradictory ideological currents undergirding Mexico's cultural revolution; at the same time Mexico sought to impress on foreigners and its own citizens a distinct national identity based on the uniqueness of indigenous cultures; it obfuscated that sense of uniqueness by simultaneously presenting Mexico as a homogenized, modern nation that looked, thought, and acted as other modern nations. Put differently, if so much of Mexico was just like Europe, then which part of Mexico was Mexican?

As a result of such an all-encompassing approach, as a whole, the body of tourist literature published by the Mexican government can be characterized by a certain degree of ambiguity and contradiction. Such ambiguity is exemplified by the literature's stress upon the foreign and the exotic: strange and fascinating people and places, customs and folkways, right alongside an emphasis on the familiar: golf and tennis, the prospect of meeting other Americans at country clubs, hotels, and nightspots, and the presence of business establishments that were well-known to Americans so as to make them feel "at home."

Thus, the Mexican government projected an image of Mexico as, among other things, an exotic location close at hand that promised an authentic experience that was truly "other." This sentiment is aptly expressed in the title of the 1939 guidebook, *Mexico, The Faraway Land Nearby*.²³ Indeed, many Americans did seem to conceive of Mexico in such terms. Carl Franz, author of *The People's Guide to Mexico*, described Mexico as "the closest warm, exotic place that you could go to—and the cheapest."²⁴ That many travel accounts from the early 20th century employed a discourse of the exotic in their descriptions of Mexico, suggests that the literature they read shaped their subsequent experiences.²⁵

In the foreign/familiar dichotomy present in the official travel literature, the Mexican government was attempting to find a happy medium between adventure and comfort. A tourist's Mexico was intended to be exciting, but never dangerous: "Mexico is the answer to those in the United States in quest of the atmosphere of foreign lands coupled with the security and comfort of 'Los Estados Unidos.'"²⁶ While the Mexico in the official travel literature was safe for foreign tourists, it was likewise never tedious or bland. Though Mexico presented itself, in its underdeveloped state, in relation to the U.S. as "America's Eden,"²⁷ primal and pristine, anti-Mexican interests would interpret this aspect of Mexico as a sign of backwardness and ignorance (see below).

Related to such a dichotomous image of Mexico is the near-constant tension between the ancient and the modern that pervades the literature. The Mexico presented to American tourists is one steeped in history and shrouded by the mysterious haze of the ancient past, yet one that has simultaneously embarked upon a national path of material and political progress and commercial industrialization. A tourist's Mexico was a place that allowed the visitor to travel back in time, to view "living history": "One of the wonders and delights of traveling in Mexico is the ease of identifying with the past. One doesn't have to read about it... one sees its architecture, culture, and

²³ *Mexico, The Faraway Land Nearby*, 1.

²⁴ Carl Franz, telephone interview with Eric Zolov, 23 August, 1994, quoted in Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 146.

²⁵ Boardman, 69.

²⁶ Press release from Mexican Tourist Association, Nov. 16, 1940.

²⁷ *Cuernavaca, where the importance of doing nothing becomes apparent*, (Mexico: Mexican Tourist Association, 1941), 12.

folkways as they were, or almost so, in the centuries before and after the *conquistadores*... in both Colonial and Pre-Hispanic Mexico.²⁸ Sometimes these opposing discourses were syncretized in the literature. A 1939 guidebook describes how “a primitive handicraft age survives side by side with progressive industrialism.”²⁹ In other cases the two are presented as distinct entities; a guidebook dating to about 1940 describes the town of Cuernavaca in relation to the nearby pyramid of Teopanzolco: “The deep ravine separating the pyramid from the town divides the ancient from the modern culture.”³⁰

Often the imagery contained within the literature attempted to blend the historical and the modern, sometimes in ways that lack subtlety to the point of seeming laughable. A combination that appears more than once is that of a sleek and modern automobile posed in front of a Colonial-era cathedral or mission.³¹ Another brochure depicts a “modern” woman in a tight-fitting dress and high heels posing seductively atop the head of a stone serpent at the pyramids of Teotihuacan. The accompanying text reads: “Sightseeing in Mexico is a pleasure any time of the year.”³² Other combinations are more subtle. The same brochure that features the automobile parked in front of the Spanish mission on its cover features on its back cover an illustration of a farmer tilling his fields. But this farmer is not exerting himself in the hot Mexican sun. Rather, he is driving a tractor complete with a sunshade mounted on top. In the distance the ubiquitous outline of a mission is visible.³³

In general, descriptions of rural areas, small towns, and archaeological sites relied more heavily upon the discourse of the historical, while the literature promoting urban centers, Mexico City in particular, gave more attention to the modern as most obviously manifested in the architecture of high-rise buildings and resort hotels, but also in regard to advances in transportation and communication technology. An article in the *Pemex Travel Bulletin* described how Mexico City was “undergoing a violent change—especially in its physical appearance in which hundreds of new buildings of... modern design are springing up... the tempo of life has quickened to the inexorable call of modernity and quaint provinciality is giving over to sophistication.”³⁴ This having been stated, while descriptions of rural areas invoked the discourse of the historical, ample space, they always remained to accommodate the discourse of modernity. Conversely, while Mexico City is often praised in the literature as a thoroughly modern, industrialized city on par with the great metropolises of the world, much is also made of the Spanish colonial architecture, the nearby Aztec pyramids, and the history of the city itself.³⁵ While both discourses are ever-present in the literature, one would always occupy more space than the other, depending upon when it was published and the specific characteristics of the location or attraction in question. In general, earlier publications privileged the historical while later publications allotted more space to the discourse of modernity.

²⁸ *Mexico Travel Digest*, 4.

²⁹ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 5.

³⁰ *Cuernavaca, where the importance of doing nothing becomes apparent*, 5.

³¹ *The Mexico of Today*, front cover; *Down to Mexico in your own Car*, (Mexico: Dept. of Tourism, undated [c. 1940]), front cover.

³² *Mexico, the Land of Charm*, (Mexico: Dirección general de Turismo, undated [c.1940]), panel 2 of 6-panel fold-out brochure.

³³ *Down to Mexico in your own Car*.

³⁴ “Mexico City – Modern Version,” *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 116-A (October 1940).

³⁵ Patrice Elizabeth Olson, “Revolution in the City Streets: Changing Nomenclature, Changing Form, and the Revision of Public Memory,” in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, 121.

While the expropriation of Mexico's petroleum industry by President Lázaro Cárdenas represented a blow for nationalism against the arrogance of foreign corporations, it disrupted Mexico's economic growth and caused serious repercussions within Mexico's burgeoning tourist industry. The oil expropriation of 1938 angered the Royal Dutch Shell Corporation and Standard Oil, the two largest oil companies who had drilling and refining operations there, inciting them to organize a boycott of Mexican oil and launch a smear campaign in the popular press against Mexico in general and Pemex gasoline in particular. As Michael J. Gonzales writes, "The *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, and the Hearst newspaper chain all editorialized against the Cárdenas administration."³⁶ Aside from disparaging the quality of Pemex gasoline, the anti-Mexican press depicted Mexico as a dangerous nation whose citizens were hostile to Americans and whose federal government was unable to provide a minimum degree of law and order. Such characterizations of Mexico exaggerated and amplified long-standing Anglo stereotypes of Latin America that were "grounded in an ideological presumption of innate Latin American backwardness."³⁷ As a result of the anti-Mexico campaign in the American press, tourism in Mexico declined by one-third between 1938 and 1940.³⁸

While Cárdenas and his ministers negotiated a compensation plan in order to have the oil boycott lifted, the *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* became the primary instrument with which the Mexican government sought to mend and improve its maligned reputation in the American mind. Reasoning that Americans would be more likely to believe fellow Americans as opposed to Mexicans, Pemex published several letters, "received without solicitation"³⁹ and "picked up at random,"⁴⁰ allegedly written by Americans who had traveled to Mexico via automobile and had used Pemex gasoline while there. Persons such as Omer Dynes of Indianapolis, Indiana, E.J. Brick of St. Cloud, Minnesota, and the Arizona State Senator, William Coxon, had letters published in the *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin*. These letters emphasized the quality of Pemex gasoline as indicated by the smoothness with which their vehicles ran while in Mexico. The writers also indicated how they had told their friends and acquaintances about the wonderful time they had in Mexico. Senator Coxon's letter, in contrast to the others appearing in the *Bulletin*, was much more stern, officious, and, as a government representative, contrite. Senator Coxon expressed shame that his country was the source of "PROPAGANDA [that is] TOTALLY UNBECOMMING OF AN AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION."⁴¹ Senator Coxon concluded, stating, "In Mexico there is much to learn and see, THERE IS NOTHING TO FEAR."⁴² Aside from appearing in the *Pemex Travel Bulletin*, Senator Coxon's letter was reprinted by the Mexican Tourist Association in a publication entitled *Is it All True What We Read About Mexico?* An article in the *Pemex Travel Bulletin*, "Mexico Likes America," by Victoria Marshall, who identified herself as an

³⁶ Michael J. Gonzales, *The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1940*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 251.

³⁷ Zolov, "Discovering a Land 'Mysterious and Obvious': The Renarrativizing of Postrevolutionary Mexico," in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, 234.

³⁸ Gonzales, 251.

³⁹ Omer Dynes to J.J. March, Managing Director, Pemex Travel Club, May 20, 1940, in *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 112-A (June, 1940).

⁴⁰ E.J. Brick to J.J. March, Managing Director, Pemex Travel Club, May 27, 1940, in *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 114-A (August, 1940).

⁴¹ Senator William Coxon to J.J. March, Managing Director, Pemex Travel Club, Oct.4, 1940, in *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 117-A (November 1940). Emphasis in the original.

⁴² *Ibid.*

American, characterized the Mexico of the American press as, “a country which... is over-run by bandits and wild-eyed Indians who kill Americans on sight... German Nazis practically dominate the country [and] it is not safe for a woman to travel alone in Mexico... Mexicans hate Americans and stone autos carrying foreign license plates.”⁴³ These “false rumors” are attributed to “a small group of powerful interests.”⁴⁴ Such a conception of Mexico could not be further from the truth, claimed the author, who emphasized the hospitable natures of the Mexican people and the utter falseness of the claims made by the American press:⁴⁵ “[Since I have been in Mexico] I have never seen a bandit, and I’m beginning to think that Mexican bandits are made in Hollywood.” While anti-Mexican elements in the American press most likely overstated the dangerous nature of a trip to Mexico, the Mexican government seems to have equally understated the dangerousness of such a trip, given that many areas of Mexico in the 1940s were still economically, if not politically, unstable.

In an attempt to refute the image of Mexico as a lawless backwater inhabited only by criminals and savages, and convince Americans that they ought to visit Mexico, the outbreak of World War II proved fortuitous in mending Mexico-U.S. relations. Eric Zolov writes: “Through the exigencies of World War Two and the workings of a new Mexican President, [Manuel] Avila Camacho, perceived as pro-American, the terms of an earlier relationship marked by mutual mistrust and prejudice were soon transformed into a celebrated partnership.” The reliance of the U.S. on raw materials from Mexico incited federal negotiators to settle the oil expropriation crisis on Mexico’s terms. One of those raw materials—Mexican workers—was supplied to the U.S. by Mexico via the Bracero program.⁴⁶

Themes of pan-Americanism and hemispheric solidarity were frequently invoked in the early official travel literature, usually in association with FDR’s Good Neighbor policy. In these contexts, American tourists in Mexico were “ambassadors of good will” whose contacts and friendships with Mexicans constituted “ties which bind tighter than any treaties or trade agreements.”⁴⁷ For its own part, Mexico pledged itself to be America’s “Best Neighbor.”⁴⁸ The *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* reported that, “Pan-Americanism is the basis of continental strength, of United States defense, and of resistance to foreign aggression on this side of the Atlantic.”⁴⁹ It was not unusual for the literature to intimate that Mexico was a necessary ally if the U.S. was going to survive the rise of totalitarianism in Europe. Senator Coxon wrote: “America needs the friendship of Mexico... Mexico asks and seeks [the same] relationship.”⁵⁰

On December 5, 1940, American Vice-President Henry A. Wallace was received at MTA headquarters in Mexico City as part of a diplomatic mission, where he was formally addressed by Dr. Aaron Saenz, then president of the MTA. Excerpts of Saenz’ address, and Wallace’s response at this formal occasion were published in an MTA

⁴³ Victoria Marshall, “Mexico Likes America,” *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 114-A.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Boardman, 93.

⁴⁷ *Greetings from Mexico*, (Mexico: Mexican Tourist Association, undated [c. 1940]), “Mexico Sets the Example for Latin America,” *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 134-A (April 1942).

⁴⁸ Press release from Mexican Tourist Association, “To our American and Canadian friends in the cause of Travel - Greetings!,” March 1, 1945.

⁴⁹ Victoria Marshall, “Mexico Likes America,” *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 114-A.

⁵⁰ Letter from Senator William Coxon to J.J. March, Oct.4, 1940, in *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* 114-A.

pamphlet.⁵¹ It is not clear whether the intended audience for this publication was the American public or persons involved in the American tourist industry. Dr. Saenz acknowledged the economic benefits of American tourism. But more important than the economic benefits, according to Saenz, was the role of tourism in promoting “true inter-American solidarity,” which Saenz claimed to be “the guiding light of the Mexican Tourist Association from its very inception.”⁵² In his published response, Wallace was generally supportive of American tourism in Mexico, although perhaps for different reasons than Saenz had outlined. Wallace stressed the need for Mexico to continue to extend the Pan-American Highway “to the Isthmus, Panama, and on down into South America.” Given the importance of the Panama Canal to the American economy, one can begin to detect an imperialist agenda behind Wallace’s comments.

With the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the U.S. in World War II, themes of pan-Americanism assumed tones of jingoism and belligerence. American tourists visiting Mexico were not only goodwill ambassadors, but also now helped to constitute a “united bulwark of democracy” against the Axis powers.⁵³ The Mexican Tourist Association published a pamphlet entitled *History in the Making*, describing the relationship of the two nations: “Like two links in a chain that spans the globe, Mexico and the United States are welded together today in a reassuring unity of interest and purposes.”⁵⁴ The pamphlet went on to describe the Mexican war effort. Although the statement quoted above implied a partnership of equals, in truth, the relationship between the two nations was characterized by “hegemonic assumptions of U.S.-Latin American relations” on the part of Americans.⁵⁵ This view was reciprocated to a degree in *History in the Making*. In a passage that calls to mind a traditional colonial economic model, the pamphlet told how raw materials from Mexico were sent northward “in freight cars that move endlessly across the border,” while in return “[came] the products of industrialization that help[ed] [Mexican workers] turn out more and more goods for the war front.”⁵⁶

Two main conditions resulting from World War II made Mexico more attractive to Americans—and Americans more attractive to Mexico. First, the postwar economy of the U.S. had completely recovered from the Great Depression and was now characterized by low unemployment and high wages for workers. Whereas before, a vacation to a foreign country would have been out of the question for purely economic reasons, now family vacations were not only accessible, but in a postwar consumerist culture, almost mandatory for those families wishing to “keep up with the Joneses.” Second, World War II had left Europe in shambles, effectively negating it as a destination for all but the hardest American tourist. Such a situation was only temporary, however. As more and more European tourist destinations came back on line, the Mexican government had to renew its efforts at attracting American tourists if it wished to keep its market share.⁵⁷

⁵¹ *Vice-President Elect Wallace Appointed Champion of Inter-American Travel Upon His Visit to MTA Headquarters, on December 5th 1940*, (Mexico: Mexican Tourist Association, 1940).

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Greetings from Mexico*.

⁵⁴ *History in the Making*, (Mexico: Mexican Tourist Association, undated [c. 1942]).

⁵⁵ Zolov, “Discovering a Land ‘Mysterious and Obvious’: The Renarrativizing of Postrevolutionary Mexico,” 252.

⁵⁶ *History in the Making*.

⁵⁷ Boardman, 92.

A major aspect of the Mexican government's cultural revolution, which was reflected in official travel literature, was its emphasis on native Indian cultures and folkways as an important pillar of national identity. During the Porfiriato (the name traditionally attributed to the reign of Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1911), pre-conquest civilizations were venerated while indigenous cultures were held in low esteem.⁵⁸ Under the guidance of Dr. Atl (Gerardo Murillo) and other intellectuals, the Mexican government popularized the view that "living indigenous cultures, despite centuries of disparagement, seemed to offer a source for a new national culture that might unite the nation while propelling Mexico into the highest ranks of cultural modernity."⁵⁹

The discourse of *indigenismo* dovetailed nicely with economic interests in the official travel literature's emphasis on local and regional markets where handcrafts could be purchased. For American tourists in 1939, "a trip to Mexico without a visit to the markets is as incomplete as a Martini cocktail with the olive left out."⁶⁰ According to a 1941 guidebook, visitors to the market in Cuernavaca could observe Indians arriving from the surrounding territory: "Bearing their heavy cargoes of hand-fashioned products, the Indians [came] to market on burro and on foot, emerging from the mountains as though from Mexico's pre-historic past."⁶¹ Under the direction of elites such as Dr. Atl, pottery, blankets, and *hurraches* (sandals) became "unsigned works of art "crafted by "humble" Indians who "fascinated" Americans with their "colorful, almost poetic way of living, so different from the American tradition."⁶² Apparently the hope was that staid, modern, urbanized Americans would appreciate the individuality and uniqueness of the rural, premodern lifestyle of the peasantry, whose handcrafts served as proof that "the machine... can never replace the human hand and brain."⁶³

An early guidebook, *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, established much of this discourse that would characterize the early official travel literature. The cover depicts one of the most frequently appearing motifs, the peasant girl in the traditional garb of the *china poblana* (Figure 1). While this girl is dark-complected, many of such women who appear in brochures, guidebooks, and on the cover of *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* are extremely light-skinned, almost Caucasian. Like those women, however, our peasant girl has smooth, pleasing features, and is wearing make up and gold earrings. Her perfect smile and straight teeth reveal no signs of disease, decay, or malnutrition; she is a picture of health and hygiene. While some of the women that appear in the literature seem to exude a feeling of amorousness, the female on the cover of *Mexico, The faraway land nearby* seems modest yet friendly. In this image we are able to observe two processes at

⁵⁸ Rick A. López, "The Noche Mexicana and the Exhibition of Popular Arts: Two Ways of Exalting Indianness," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, 27.

⁵⁹ López, 23.

⁶⁰ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 31-32.

⁶¹ *Cuernavaca, where the importance of doing nothing becomes apparent*, 13.

⁶² *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 33.

⁶³ *Ibid.*



Figure 1: *Mexico, The Faraway Land Nearby*, (Mexico: Mexican Tourist Association, 1939), front cover.

work. A romanticization of the countryside and the rural lifestyle can be observed as part of the Mexican government's cultural project, with its emphasis on indigenous folkways, customs, and traditions. Julio Moreno writes: "[T]he celebration of folk culture and the romanticized image of the Mexico's indigenous and peasant heritage (as portrayed in art, music, archaeology, and other cultural expressions) elevated peasant lifestyle to the status of a national cultural icon."⁶⁴

The other observable process is the transformation of local and regional customs and traditions into national ones and the emergence of "stock" images intended to be representative of Mexico. Alex Saragoza writes: "Despite the attention to specific, localized forms of Mexican cultural expression, certain images gradually assumed primacy in the representation of mexicanidad."⁶⁵ This process was not unintentional. Rather, "Mexican writers and artists contributed to this forging of popular archetypes."⁶⁶ Thus, while the female peasant dressed in the *china poblana* came to represent the Mexican woman, the *charro* horseman, "attired in typical Mexican costume," became the standard Mexican male that American tourists could expect to encounter.⁶⁷ Similarly, the travel literature identified the Jalisco dance of *jarabe tapatío* as "the national folkdance of Mexico."⁶⁸ Other frequently appearing motifs include the Aztec calendar, the ziggurat pyramid, the Spanish mission/cathedral, palm trees, cacti, bulls and bullfighting, and *mariachis*. Such images were always "[s]anitized and stripped of context and squalor" for their presentation in the official travel literature.⁶⁹ Alluding to the Mexican government's focus on *indigenismo*, Eric Zolov argues that in the 1960s an "interpretive framework" was developed by the state "that located these decidedly unmodern images within a discourse of the folkloric" in order to make such images more palatable to foreigners.⁷⁰ In fact, this process can be observed at work in the earliest official travel literature of the late 1930s. What once may have been viewed as crude, savage, or primitive, became "quaint,"⁷¹ "colorful,"⁷² or "picturesque."⁷³

Like many aspects of Mexico's cultural revolution, the issue of race was treated somewhat ambiguously despite the elevation of *indigenismo* in the travel literature. Notions of *mestizaje* (racial and cultural mixing) were also being linked to national identity. José Vasconcelos, Minister of Education in the 1920s, articulated a kind of hybrid theory by arguing that the indigenous Mexican race required the infusion of European (i.e., Spanish) blood in order to become truly modernized.⁷⁴ Thus, in some of the travel literature, the Mestizo race itself was transformed into a kind of tourist attraction. *Mexico, The faraway land nearby* noted the emergence of a "new racial complex," while the *Mexico Travel Digest* told how, after the end of the Spanish colonial era, "a new nation and a new race

⁶⁴ Julio Moreno, *Yankee Don't Go Home!: Mexican nationalism, American business culture, and the shaping of modern Mexico, 1920-1950*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 115.

⁶⁵ Saragoza, 100.

⁶⁶ Vaughan and Lewis, 5.

⁶⁷ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 20.

⁶⁸ *Mexico's Western Highways, Including the Cities of Toluca, Morella, Patzcuaro, Uruapan, Guadalajara*, (Mexico City: Pemex Travel Club, undated [c. 1940]), 105.

⁶⁹ Vaughan and Lewis, 5.

⁷⁰ Zolov, "Discovering a Land 'Mysterious and Obvious': The Renarrativizing of Postrevolutionary Mexico," 240.

⁷¹ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 32.

⁷² *Answers to Your Travel Questions About Mexico*, 4.

⁷³ "Mexico City – Modern Version."

⁷⁴ López, 29-30.

emerged... it is this fusion which makes Mexico such a unique and interesting attraction.”⁷⁵ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby* also attributed Mexico’s “Modern Art Renaissance,” as manifested in the murals of Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco, to “the fusion of two bloods.”⁷⁶ In this same guidebook, Mexico’s cultural revolution was also presented as worthy of the interest of American tourists. The guidebook claimed that “to behold at close sight the enormous human drama of [Mexico’s] renaissance, to view the remarkable course of its actual transformation, should prove for the observant visitor a deeply absorbing added attraction.”⁷⁷ According to the Mexican government, American tourists visiting Mexico had an opportunity to witness history in the making.

Most guidebooks published by the Mexican government devoted a significant portion of their contents to the history of Mexico. During Mexico’s cultural revolution, the national narrative was “revised”⁷⁸ and the revolution presented as an uprising of peasants and workers who reasserted themselves as the basis of Mexican sovereignty against a dictatorial government that was supported by foreign capital. A Pemex travel guide dating from about 1940 offers a good example of revolutionary historiography:

Here was the seat of a mighty pagan empire, where a strange but enlightened civilization lived out its days in work, in order and in happiness until it was destroyed by the conquering armies from Spain. Yet the direct descendants of this noble indigenous race still till the lands of their ancient ancestors, albeit they have lost their independence through four centuries of oppression. But today the panorama is changing: the social reforms instituted by a progressive government are restoring the birthright to these splendid Indian peoples; slowly they are forging ahead, aided by modern education and the practical benefits of modern culture.⁷⁹

These histories typically emphasized the greatness of pre-Columbian civilizations, in particular that of the Aztecs, but also to a lesser degree, that of the Mayans, Toltecs, Olmecs, and Zapotecs. Descriptions of Aztec culture in the literature emphasized the size and population of Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City) as well as the Aztecs’ engineering skill and apparent knowledge of astronomy. No mention was made of some of the less savory aspects of Aztec civilization (e.g., human sacrifices). As part of the Mexican government’s cultural project, mention was made of the indigenous population’s contribution of introducing agriculture and the various food crops developed before the arrival of the Spanish. Aside from pointing out the grandeur of pre-Columbian civilizations, the travel literature also pointed out that the U.S. lacked such a monumental heritage, and compared “mighty” Aztec and Mayan civilizations with that of native North Americans, who were “primitive.”⁸⁰ The 1968 *Mexico Travel Digest* notes: “No backwoods, nomadic civilization greeted the Spanish explorers as it did the English, French, and Dutch to the north.”⁸¹ Many Mexicans tended to view the U.S. as a country lacking a substantive historical or cultural heritage, and most likely felt that Americans were hungry for the historical.⁸² While the history of Mexico and its historic

⁷⁵ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 3., *Mexico Travel Digest*, 6.

⁷⁶ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 38.

⁷⁷ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 12.

⁷⁸ Vaughan and Lewis, 8.

⁷⁹ *Mexico’s Western Highways, Including the Cities of Toluca, Morella, Patzcuaro, Uruapan, Guadalajara*, 7.

⁸⁰ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 6.

⁸¹ *Mexico Travel Digest*, 6.

⁸² U.S. Dept. of Commerce, U.S. Travel Service, Office of Research and Analysis, *A Study of Mexican Travel Habits and Patterns: results of an exploratory study assimilating secondary data and personal interviews with*

features occupied a considerable amount of space in the Mexican government's construction of a tourist's Mexico during the 1930s and 1940s, such emphasis began to recede in the 1950s as it became clear that Americans were somewhat more attracted to sun, sand, and surf than to history, folklore, and architecture (see below).

While Cortez himself received a more or less neutral treatment in the literature, the Spanish colonial era was typically depicted as an oppressive and violent occupation that "ruthlessly demolished" Aztec civilization.⁸³ Simultaneously mentioned, however, were contributions that the Spanish made to Mexico: "The conquerors introduced Christianity, colonial architecture, sugar cane, silk worms, new handcraft techniques, and new ways of mastering the land."⁸⁴ The influence of the Spaniards upon Mexico's culture also served to confuse the presentation of race in the travel literature (see above). That the Spanish occupation is portrayed in negative terms while Spanish colonial architecture is presented as a tourist attraction worthy of praise and admiration, illustrates another aspect of the Mexican government's contradictory imaging of a tourist's Mexico.

Another issue closely associated with the Spanish occupation was the influence of the Catholic Church. The accession of Benito Juárez to the Presidency in 1858 signified the political triumph of Mexican Liberals over their Conservative opponents. Juárez sought to secularize the state and "curtail... the temporal power of the church, which up to that time actually owned more than two thirds of all national wealth."⁸⁵ Though politically and economically emasculated, Catholicism remained a strong force of social and cultural cohesion for millions of Mexican peasants, many of whom participated in the violence of the revolution. In the end, it was the faction of Liberal "Constitutionists" who drew up the Constitution of 1917. Believing the Catholic Church "retard[ed] Mexico's entry into the modern world," the Mexican government embarked on a campaign of anticlericalism that was also incorporated into Mexico's cultural revolution.⁸⁶ The vigorous persecution of the church by the government would eventually result in the Cristero Rebellion of 1926-29, which ended in a stalemate and a "return to the status quo ante bellum."⁸⁷ While the institution of the Catholic Church declined in power, the religion itself remained strong among certain groups of peasants and workers, and eventually the federal government was forced to reconcile its secularism with the faith of its citizens. As many potential American tourists would have also been Catholic, criticism of the church is generally muted in the official travel literature. In fact, religious edifices such as missions, churches, and cathedrals are presented as tourist attractions in the official literature. Nevertheless, in its close associations with the Spanish conquest, a critical stance against Catholicism can be detected in the official travel literature. Though profusely offered as tourist attractions in the official literature, Catholic cathedrals and missions were interesting for their historic and aesthetic, not religious, value.

While emphasizing Mexico's ancient civilizations as something lacking in the history of the U.S., the Mexican government's travel literature simultaneously sought to draw parallels between the history of Mexico and that of the U.S. To this end, Benito Juárez became Mexico's "great emancipator," a person "whose personality, in many

individuals representing organizations of the Mexican travel trade, vol. 2, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1975), 6.

⁸³ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 9.

⁸⁴ *Cuernavaca, where the importance of doing nothing becomes apparent*, 8.

⁸⁵ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 11.

⁸⁶ Gonzales, 268.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

respects, bears a resemblance to that of Abraham Lincoln.”⁸⁸ Similarly, the description of a monument to Alvaro Obregón in the 1968 *Mexico Travel Digest* makes explicit mention that the former president of Mexico was assassinated.⁸⁹ Given that 1968 was the year that Robert Kennedy was assassinated, and the national memory of John Kennedy was still an extremely fond one, such an explicit reference can be viewed as an attempt to make Mexico more appealing to Americans by linking its history to that of the U.S. While the history of Mexico in the travel literature compares Juárez to Lincoln, Porfirio Díaz is portrayed as “a mailfisted dictator [who] betray[ed] the liberal tenets of Juárez.”⁹⁰ Just as often, however, Mexican histories in the travel literature glide silently past the Porfiriato, as the *Mexico Travel Digest* does.

While the earlier literature gave more attention to the Mexican Revolution than that published in the 1950s and 60s, in general, the revolution is portrayed as a national struggle to overcome social and political inequality in the name of democratic principles of freedom and justice toward a goal of industrialism and modernity. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis write: “The revolution became a revolution of *el pueblo*—the peasants, workers, and middle classes—for national self-determination, freedom, and material, well-being to be achieved through alliance with the postrevolutionary state.”⁹¹ The 1939 guidebook *Mexico, the faraway land nearby* divided the revolution into phases. The first phase, lasting from 1910 to 1917, was one of “continuous civil strife” as Mexico “sought a crystallization of its national hopes and ideals.”⁹² While the idea that there was a unifying, “national” ideology behind the conflict was in keeping with the Mexican government’s cultural project, it was not actually reflective of a conflict that was to a significant degree fragmentary and localized. Following the establishment of the Constitution of 1917, Mexico entered into a “new era of revolutionary reconstruction” characterized by “a peaceful and orderly process of social and economic transformation.”⁹³ This process, of course, was romanticized, politicized, and propagandized by the Mexican government who sought to project the image of an idyllic, progressive Mexico to the potential American tourist: “There is no unemployment in the Republic... Everyone is at work—everyone is contributing his or her part in the building of a new, strong, and prosperous democracy on the North American Continent.”⁹⁴ Segueing into the 1950s and ‘60s, the cultural and state-building aspects of the Mexican government’s tourism program (i.e., the focus on national memory, *indigenismo*, and *folklórico*) receded to the background, as did themes of pan-American solidarity. As the revenue-generating aspect of the program became dominant, the Mexican government placed increasing stress upon coastal resorts, which emphasized the tropical and the romantic (i.e., sexual) aspects of Mexico. Beginning with the emergence of Acapulco as a beach resort in the late 1940s, a shift in the literature can be detected, emphasizing the modern, luxurious beach resorts that offered a menu of recreational activities, comfort, luxury, and convenience over a more “authentic” experience, which stressed Mexican culture, history, and folklore; having originally compared itself to Egypt, by 1965 Mexico sought to resemble Hawaii or Jamaica.

⁸⁸ *Mexico Travel Digest*, 6; *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 11.

⁸⁹ *Mexico Travel Digest*, 14.

⁹⁰ *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 11.

⁹¹ Vaughan and Lewis, 8.

⁹² *Mexico, The faraway land nearby*, 12.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

This is not to say that notions of “old Mexico” disappeared from the literature, as they had been somewhat effective as an advertising device. Rather, such notions no longer assumed a place of prominence in the overarching complex of images, themes, set pieces, and motifs that constituted a tourists’ Mexico. Take, for example, the cover of the 1968 *Mexico Travel Digest*, which features four separate images. The largest image features Spanish Colonial architecture, signifying Mexico’s historical pedigree and its European influences. However, also featured are a female gymnast, representing the 1968 Olympics held in Mexico City (progress and modernity), a group of *mariachis* (*indigenismo* and *folklorico*), and a Caucasian couple embracing on a beach at sunset (exoticness and romance).⁹⁵ On the other hand, in other publications dating from the 1960s, the Mexican government gave only superficial attention to the historical, favoring the portrayal of a modern vacation experience instead. The brochure *Father Kino’s Route*, tentatively dating to the mid-1960s, bears on its cover a stylized rendering of a barefooted monk walking alone under a blazing sun. The interior of the pamphlet, however, is primarily a photo collage that privileges recreational activities such as golfing, sportfishing, and sunbathing, with a single photo of the Mission of Caborca. The accompanying text makes only passing reference to Kino, instead emphasizing the “attractions of which the venturesome missionary could hardly have dreamed.”⁹⁶ In this case, the historical was selectively deployed in service of promoting a modern Mexico. Similarly, the table of contents of the *Mexico Travel Digest* contains sections on Mexico City, “Yucatan... Land of the Maya,” “Mexico’s Colonial Empire,” and (note the emphasis) “Resorts... Where the ACTION is.”⁹⁷ By this time few traces of revolutionary Mexico’s cultural project remained in the literature, which seems by the 1960s to have served purely economic interests. While Colonial and pre-Columbian art and architecture were still presented as tourist attractions in the 1968 *Mexico Travel Digest*, indigenous cultures were to be found in the Museum of Anthropology or in “modernized” forms presented in sanitized settings such as the *Ballet Folklórico*.

The Mexican government launched more than one tourism-related project. At the same time the Mexican government sought to court Olympic tourists in the late 1960s, while simultaneously waging a much more coercive campaign to dissuade American “hippies,” whose drug use and political radicalism were perceived as subversive to the state, from visiting Mexico.⁹⁸ In the early 1970s, a promotional campaign was launched within Mexico that sought to persuade its own citizens to vacation in Mexico as opposed to a foreign destination. This campaign seems to have utilized many of the discourses evident in the English-language literature, placing emphasis on “the scenic beauty of Mexico, its cities and its history and culture.”⁹⁹ In the 1970s the Mexican government would also begin a capital-intensive campaign to exploit Mexico’s semi-tropical beaches by planning and developing facilities specifically for tourists. Known as “poles,” these facilities were all beach resorts in locations such as Ixtapa, Los Cabos, and Cancún.¹⁰⁰ During the 1970s through the 1980s, “sun and sand”-type destinations continued to supplant

⁹⁵ *Mexico Travel Digest*, front cover.

⁹⁶ *Father Kino’s Route*, (Mexico: Department of Tourism, undated [c. 1965]).

⁹⁷ *Mexico Travel Digest*, 4.

⁹⁸ Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 141-43.

⁹⁹ U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Clancy, 50.

more traditional tourist destinations, and in 1989 Cancún surpassed Mexico City as the most popular destination in Mexico for international tourists.¹⁰¹

While it is difficult to assess the precise economic impact of the Mexican government's tourism project, given that the role of the private sector is subject to debate, in this regard it seems to have been successful. A significant increase in the volume of foreign tourism occurred from 1930 to 1980, as indicated in Table 1, below.

Table 1: Volume of Foreign Tourism in Mexico, 1930-1980

Year	Foreign Tourists
1930	33,000
1940	135,000
1950	384,000
1960	631,000
1970	1,986,000
1980	4,100,000

Compiled from Andrea Boardman, *Destination Mexico: "A Foreign Land a Step Away": U.S. tourism to Mexico, 1890s - 1950s* (Dallas: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, 2001); Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, "The Evolution of Tourism in Twentieth-Century Mexico," *Journal of the West* 27 (October 1988): 14-25.

The nation-building aspects of the Mexican government's tourism project are more difficult to evaluate. Overall, Mexico's cultural revolution, not unlike the travel literature that it produced, was characterized by "political and cultural inconsistency and pragmatism that was the inevitable consequence of having a comparatively weak state."¹⁰² The official travel literature attempted to balance seemingly oppositional discourses that sought to entice Americans with an image of a Mexico that was exotic yet familiar, relaxing yet interesting, adventurous but not dangerous, modern yet historical, and foreign yet friendly. At the same time the official travel literature helped to improve Mexico's economy; moreover, it served a political function as a channel for the dissemination of symbols of national identity and revised historical narratives. As far as Americans were concerned, it seems reasonable to assume that the increasing volume of tourism from 1930 to 1980 is at least partially attributable to a significant degree of verisimilitude between the expectations tourists formed, based on their reading of the travel literature, and their actual experiences. In his analysis of the foreign impact of Mexico's "cosmopolitan-*folklórico* discursive framework," that the official travel literature helped to articulate, Eric Zolov writes: "By the 1960s it appeared that this dynamic had indeed succeeded. Foreign observers came to see and, more importantly, *believe* a narrative of Mexican progress, one that they read about and observed through the mass media, if not also experienced directly by tourists."¹⁰³ The decision by the International Olympic Committee to allow Mexico City to host the 1968 Olympics seems to confirm this view.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁰² Claudio Lomnitz, "Final Reflections: What Was Mexico's Cultural Revolution?" in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, 335.

¹⁰³ Zolov, "Discovering a Land 'Mysterious and Obvious': The Renarrativizing of Postrevolutionary Mexico," 262.

It is more difficult to assess the impact of the official travel literature on notions of national memory and identity within Mexico, if for no other reason than any effects would by nature be “indirect” in their method of operation. Invoking the principle of supply and demand, it stands to reason that if American tourists in Mexico produced a demand for certain kinds of cultural expression, Mexicans acting in their own economic interests would strive to meet those demands. Over time, such forms of cultural expression could become internalized and assume a meaning beyond that as a mere source of economic sustenance. Any such demand on the part of American tourists would likely have been informed at least in part by the official travel literature.

While certain aspects of the Mexican government’s tourism project, such as the planning of roads and the establishment of monuments and tourist sites, were subject to negotiation between the government and the citizenry on the local and regional levels, the manner in which Mexico was presented to foreigners as a tourist destination seems to largely have been a “top-down” process that circumvented the majority of the citizenry in its interpretation and articulation of “Mexicanness” and was, thus, not subject to contestation or negotiation. If anything, it was Americans with their preference for a tropical, aquatic vacation experience and relative disinterest in the historic and folkloric aspects of Mexico that shaped, not just the content and aesthetic of the Mexican government’s tourist literature, but also the location and development of tourist facilities.

The Significance of the Taming of California Water

Michael Simonovich

In 1801 President Thomas Jefferson inaugurated the opening of Western lands to settlement by the United States. He predicted that the tremendous volume of land made available by the Louisiana Purchase would fulfill America's needs for land and independence for one hundred generations. At that time, the European population of Alta California was roughly 7,000 people. Approximately 200 years later, California has a population of 33.8 million people and has become the breadbasket of the world. The state has experienced a myriad of changes: demographic, linguistic, economic, ecological and technical. The greatest single change has occurred in the state's hydrology, evolving from the humble *zanjas*¹ of the Spanish Missions, via the diversion dams of the Argonauts, resulting in the most elaborate network of canals, dams, dikes, and water districts ever conceived. Many historians have explored this changing waterscape with a broad range of interpretive approaches.

This paper will explore the varied interpretations of three eminent historians. Donald Worster, of Brandeis University, argues in his book, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*², that California is the beating heart at the center of a new type of global empire. Robert Kelley, of the University of California, Santa Barbara, implements an approach to the history of public policy and draws upon his experiences to provide expert testimony in many cases of water law disputes. In his book, *Battling the Inland Sea: American Political Culture, Public Policy, & the Sacramento Valley, 1850-1986*,³ Kelley explores the workings of American political culture through the development of the Sacramento Flood Control Project, which he places soundly in the Progressive tradition of American political culture. Norris Hundley, Jr., of the University of California, Los Angeles, charts the course of California water management from before the arrival of Europeans through the close of the 20th century in his book, *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s-1990s*. He dispels the myth of a monolithic water empire in the thrall of a tyrannical elite; instead, he argues that the management of California's water supply has been driven by the complex interplay of changing political alliances and compromises.⁴ Each historian utilizes a unique approach to the topic and, as such, comes to radically different conclusions.

Worster provides a basic history of irrigation, not only exploring the techno-social arrangements of the water management cultures of the Indus, Tigris and Nile rivers, but also looking at a number of indigenous technical arrangements in the pre-Columbian Southwest and the Valley of Mexico. He concludes this discussion by elucidating the origins of Spanish/Mexican⁵ Mission irrigation practices, as well as the elaborate waterworks of the

¹ *Zanja* is Spanish for aqueduct.

² Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).

³ Robert Kelly, *Battling the Inland Sea: American Political Culture, Public Policy, & the Sacramento Valley, 1850-1986*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

⁴ Norris Hundley Jr, *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s-1990s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁵ The Spanish Missions devolved to Mexican control starting in 1821.

Mormons, whom he characterizes as beavers rather than bees, due to their intensive management of water in the arid lands of Utah.⁶

Drawing upon a broad survey of Western thought, Worster mines the writings of sociologists, philosophers, archaeologists, economists and political scientists for a wide range of interpretive tools. As a responsible historian, he also utilizes many primary and secondary historical sources. Worster provides several maps, not only of the topography of the arid American West, but also of the elaborate, human modified hydrology of the ‘Western Empire.’

In Worster’s formulation of a hydraulic civilization, centralizing forces (bureaucracies and chieftains) ensured the success of local farmers by providing reliable water control. Flood control and the expansion of desert reclamation, which was enabled by elaborate systems of ditches, dams and reservoirs, allowed the elites in China, Egypt and Mesopotamia to ultimately cement their power and extract labor from subject populations by offering the carrot of reliable water and the stick of denying it in an unambiguously coercive show of force.

Having established basic patterns, models and terminology, Worster moves to examples in the American West. He shows how the Latter-Day Saints became the first Anglo-Americans to intensively reshape the American West, and rapidly falling into the pattern of bureaucratic control. This was buttressed by religious authority and provided by a priestly class in the form of a hierarchy that stretched from the local ward bishop all the way to the President/Prophet of the LDS Church in a manner which the United States Supreme court characterized, in Monroe v. Ivri (1880), as “engines of oppression.”⁷ Worster argues that in the ferocious Utah desert, only a strong centralized authority could sustain the intensive labor required to tame the annual floodwaters and create a flourishing center of irrigated civilization. In the relatively wet climate of Indiana and Illinois, the yeoman ethic did prevail. Had the Church not been forced west, it would never have evolved into the rigid hierarchical juggernaut that it eventually became.⁸

Worster charts the changing legal framework that was controlling water from a usufructory⁹ riparian ethic which was inherited from British Common Law and adopted in the rain-rich East. This legal framework developed from a culture whose agricultural practices depended on heavy rainfall during the growing season and assumed a minimum impact upon the riparian system. Worster argues that riparianism was incompatible with a settled American West due to extremely low rainfall.

Starting with the Union Colony (now Greeley, Colorado) and continuing into the California Gold Rush, American legal scholars generated a new corpus of Western water law. This new framework was based around the appropriation and conversion of water into a commodity that could be transferred as a form of private property. Simultaneously, the new laws eliminated the threat of legal damages associated with appropriated water use and manipulation (flooding of private land above a dam, for example). This “Colorado Doctrine” of appropriation, which converted water to a commodity, created a situation whereby profit maximization became not just the

⁶ Worster, p. 74.

⁷ Worster, p 79.

⁸ Worster, pp. 80-81

⁹ Usufruct is the legal right to glean the advantages of something belonging to another *as long as the property is not damaged or altered in any way*. The usufruct principle applied to water dictates that the resource (water) is a community possession. It is a legal use right, not ownership, which is vested in society at large.

primary, but the sole determiner of water use. This led to a water grab for whoever claimed that they could get the 'highest use' (largest profit) had the right to use it.¹⁰ Some managing body had to be put in place to weigh competing claims and adjudicate them.

In 1879, Colorado implemented a system of water divisions presided over by a relatively powerless Commissioner. In 1881, this system was changed, creating a State Engineer's Office that could more effectively manage the competing claims. As in Common Law, Western rivers were communal property, but the rights to their use would be privately owned under a system of rationalized central control.

According to Worster, in ancient hydraulic civilizations, control and intensification of water management was a slow process, responding to gradually increasing pressure on the food supply. In contrast, the experience in the American West was not driven by a "genuine national shortage of basic nutrition,"¹¹ but rather by a perception of necessity—that is the *idea* of need, not need itself.

Worster refutes the claims of 'welfare statist', arguing that they ignore the undeniable fact that while an empowered state has greater potential to do good, it also has greater potential to do harm. He also attacks orthodoxy, convincingly arguing that the myth of the rugged, independent, self-made Westerner is just that: a myth. According to Worster, the prosperity of the West is the work of American society as a whole and those that have profited have done so only with the support of others. "The West, more than any other American region," argues Worster, "was built by state power, state expertise, state technology, and state bureaucracy," making it the most quintessentially modern part of the country.¹²

Worster's book is an excellent primer in the law, technology, and chronology of irrigation. He makes a compelling argument for California's cultural, political, and economic domination of the rest of the country and, by extension, the rest of the world. Worster chillingly points out our dependence on, and underlying faith in, a complex, brittle and hubristic system of water controls. Comparing our elaborate attempts to constrain nature, Worster points out that if the Colorado River has been able to tear asunder every rock, boulder, plateau and mountain that nature has seen fit to place in its way, it surely will destroy any dam, ditch or channel that we feebly attempt to deploy. Utilizing clever and playful language,¹³ Worster makes for an entertaining, thought-provoking, and informative read. However at the end of the book, Worster fails to prove the existence of a 'hydraulic Empire' since he defined away the key characteristic of an Empire—a single individual who serves as a hub for all power relations—the Emperor. Worster's Empire is "a condition of absolute sway, supreme command, undisputed control over nature that would give front rank, not to any one individual, but to an entire people, their values, and their institutions."¹⁴ Having convinced the reader that a major program of hydraulic manipulation requires a massive

¹⁰ Worster, pp. 87-92.

¹¹ Worster, p. 125.

¹² Worster, pp. 130-131

¹³ For example: "This chapter will undertake to tap some of that ecological work, lying as it does for the historian like a great hidden, unutilized aquifer, concealing in its depth many important suggestions for understanding the relationship humans have worked out with nature...The man who first began pumping in earnest from that aquifer was...Karl Wittfogel..." Worster, p. 21. Another example is: "There was another kind of drought that plagued the West...a lack of enough private capital...In 1893 an international depression began, and investors suddenly turned off the flood of dollars, with no warning, leaving many hopeful settlers stranded and dry." Worster, p. 131.

¹⁴ Worster, pp. 260-261.

consolidation of power and expertise, he weakly defends his basic thesis that the Western United States is an oriental-style hydraulic empire, because he failed to demonstrate the presence of the key traits of an empire— a highly centralized bureaucracy organized around a single individual who is the locus of control and power. Furthermore, his conclusion naively calls for a future program of counter development. In this plan, Westerners would cease to feed the world, and would focus only on local, low-intensity food and fiber crop production for local domestic consumption. Those who wish to intensively grow water-hungry crops like maize would retreat behind the 100th meridian along with the majority of the population, leaving those few who remain to rediscover indigenous floodplain agriculture techniques and, in the quiet hush of the arid west, learn to live with less, like the overlanders who abandoned fine china, elaborate furniture and glassware on the Bonneville Flats, in favor of tools, animals and seed grain. *Rivers of Empire* is an enjoyable book, however, Worster’s program—humans adapting themselves to an environment of constrained scarcity, rather than adapting the scarce environment to our human needs— seems to fly in the face of his case about resource intensification. After all, manipulating and managing resources is what humans, Americans, and most especially, Westerners do. Having amassed a large body of data and mustered strong arguments, bolstered with fine prose, Worster succeeds in illustrating the frailty of our elaborate water control system, but ultimately fails in his attempt to correlate the story of the American West with that of Old World hydraulic Empires. While proving to be a good introductory text for the history of irrigation and agriculture, Worster’s book illustrates the fact that good research and interesting arguments do not necessarily lead to sound conclusions.

In his book, *Battling the Inland Sea*,¹⁵ Robert Kelley launches a radically different trajectory from Worster. Largely ignoring the history of irrigation outside the United States, Kelley places his analysis in the traditions of American political culture. Kelley elects to peer through the lens of public policy to understand California (the Holland of North America) with one thousand miles of levee protecting a “carefully drained and cultivated garden.”¹⁶ Where Worster looked at California and saw Imperial China— a centralized elite Empire, managed by hydraulic mandarins— Kelley looks at California and sees a double image. On one side he sees a network of competing and conflicting Medieval European “city states” or “principalities.”¹⁷ On the other, he sees the Progressive tradition of liberty being facilitated by internal improvements stretching forward in time all the way to World War II.

Kelley includes both historical and some newly illustrated maps of the irrigation districts in the early 1980s. In addition to the maps, there is a selection of old prints and photos. These images serve to illustrate the regular flooding of the Central Valley, providing a sense of scope. Among the sources that Kelley selected for his research are an assortment of newspaper articles, court transcripts, his own expert testimony, government documents, and a long list of secondary sources.

In performing his analysis, Kelley uses the tools of policy analysis including game theory, system theory, cost-benefit analysis and incrementalism (exploring the limiting influence of ‘sunk costs’ on decision making). However, while paying tribute to an assortment of policy analysts, Kelley asserts that these assessment tools, based

¹⁵ Kelly.

¹⁶ Kelley, p. 319.

¹⁷ Kelley, pp. 325-326.

on assumptions of rational motivations, often fail to accurately explain irrational activity. As an antidote to this, Kelley supports a multi-disciplinary, clinical approach, which he characterizes as the ‘policy sciences approach.’ As a major component of his policy analysis, Kelley stresses the importance of values and ideologies, the worldviews and ideas that motivate people’s actions.¹⁸

Kelley acknowledges that the environment has been damaged, the largest fresh-water wetland in the lower forty-eight has been destroyed, and that corporations dominate California agriculture. However, he blithely and optimistically points out that when people began to settle¹⁹ in the flood-prone (exacerbated by the slag of hydraulic mining operations) Central Valley, it was inevitable that a major flood-control system would be put in place.²⁰

Mapping out the political history of the United States, Kelley argues that the Republicans of Lincoln are the heirs of the Whig party of old, with its strong religious roots and an emphasis on entrepreneurial ideas. The Republicans of the 19th century were the torchbearers of Yankee industriousness. However, this emphasis on industry and entrepreneurship were not, in Kelley’s view, an endorsement of chaotic and unrestrained *laissez-faire* capitalism. These Whig-Republicans were not defenders of profit as a sovereign good, but rather believed that the social pendulum had swung too far towards individualism. They desired a paternalistic management system for the “national family.”²¹ In essence, the Whig-Republicans believed that the general government could encourage economic development through the construction of internal improvements and encourage entrepreneurship with the aim of enriching society as a whole. In the 1890s, Progressive Republicans championed an interventionist and activist federal government that would encourage investment and entrepreneurship, enriching the common man.²² In effect, Kelley argues that the Whig-Republicans were pre-figuring trickle down economics. Kelley sees the full fluorescence²³ of this Whig-Republican-Progressive impulse in the achievement of the Sacramento Flood Control Project, “the ‘Whig Moment in twentieth century American life.’”²⁴ Kelley places the key political event in the development of this Progressive success at the 1893 economic collapse that lost the Democrats the government and allowed the Republicans to run into the gap, ready to implement Progressive policies, greatly benefiting the West and California more than any other state.²⁵

In Kelley’s conception of the Whig-Republican-Progressive model, federal water projects do not place small landholders under the thumb of technocrats, as Worster argued. Instead, the projects saved the small holders and middling farmers from the depredations of nature, relieving them of the risk from fragile, locally managed water

¹⁸ Kelley, p. 322.

¹⁹ As nomads, the Amerindians were better able to avoid the flooding,.

²⁰ Kelley, pp. XVI-XVII.

²¹ Kelley, pp. 325-326.

²² Kelley, p. 250

²³ Kelley explains the reversal in political orientation of the two American parties, Democrats and Republicans, by asserting that the Democrats took a plank from the Republican’s platform during the Great Depression, when they realized that a big, strong government had the capacity to rein in powerful business interests and adopt and implement European style social welfare policies. Naturally, once the Democrats had stolen the Republican’s thunder, the most progressive of the Progressive Republicans jumped ship and went over to the Democratic party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, creating a more or less permanent rift between the 20th century Republican party and it’s Whiggish forbears, resulting in the contemporary anti-Government Republican party. Kelley, pp. 331-332.

²⁴ Kelley, p. 324.

²⁵ Kelley, p. 338.

projects, by replacing them with large, rational and robust projects that would never be built without the support of the federal government.

Kelley argues that the weak yeoman's republic that Jefferson envisioned (with its minimalist structure), and the fractious republic of Madison (with its divided and hostile bureaucracies) were given their death knell at the beginning of the 20th century. This was accomplished by the rise of large, centralized, Whiggish, elitist bureaucracies that were enabled to achieve good ends for the people. Kelley and Worster manage to describe virtually the same mechanisms and systems at work while applying radically different interpretations—one is oppressing the people of California and the other uplifting them. *Battling the Inland Sea* would make an excellent textbook for a class themed around American national politics in the 19th century. Though he barely touched on the Know-nothings and the Workingmen's party and makes no mention at all of the Free Soil party, his incisive analysis of the major parties is quite valuable.

Norris Hundley, Jr.'s *The Great Thirst* is a comprehensive text on the topic of California water. Hundley draws from a tremendous range of sources, from primary Spanish imperial archive sources, to every major work on California water, positive and negative, scholarly and polemical. In addition to his clear mastery of the sources, Hundley includes over fifty photographs, including aerial photographs of elaborate waterworks and many before and after images featuring the springing-up of metropolitan Los Angeles out of a wasteland of desert. In addition to the fine photographs, Hundley included eighteen maps, detailing precipitation in California, underground aquifers and elaborate networks of canals and ditches.

Hundley's work stands in stark contrast to the pessimism of Worster who focuses on the harm that centralized power can wreak, which is also in contrast to the optimism of Kelley, who focuses on the benevolence of Whiggish centralized control. Hundley argues from a realist perspective, implying that there is no centralized control in California. In fact, he boldly asserts that on every level, California is thirsty, extending siphons to her neighbors to draw away their available water. The issue is full of conflict: the well-watered north versus the dry, urban south; the Army Corps of Engineers versus the Bureau of Reclamation; Los Angeles versus the Owen's Valley; San Francisco versus Hetch-Hetchy and the preservationists. The list goes on and on with municipalities, private-interest groups, and local, state and federal bureaucracies pushing and pulling against each other, forming alliances and realigning as circumstances change.²⁶ It is truly "a war of fragmented authorities."²⁷ California is an exemplar of Lord Acton's axiom that there are no permanent allies, only permanent interests.

Not only was Worster unable to prove that there was a monolithic central authority calling the shots and disenfranchising the poor, he also failed to show the upwelling of wrath and resentment that such an entity would presumably engender. In contrast, Hundley argues that until the 1970s Westerners in general, and Californians in particular, have consistently, and vigorously, supported the system as it stands, sometimes enthusiastically encouraging further expansion.²⁸ Further undermining Worster's Imperial thesis, Hundley cites the 1963 Supreme Court ruling in *Arizona v. California*, mandating that California yield a rightful share of water to Arizona.²⁹

²⁶ Hundley, p. 407.

²⁷ Hundley, p. 410.

²⁸ Hundley, pp. 412-413.

²⁹ Hundley, p. 300.

Hundley calls for a program of popular education and a shift in our values, but not one so radical as that proposed by Worster. This shift would entail moving away from dependence on heavily subsidized surplus vegetable crops and the abandonment of lawns in California. Additional steps would include such water conservation measures as the adoption of wastewater reclamation programs, coastal desalinization plants, and low-flow toilets.³⁰ He argues that by carefully managing consumption and minimizing waste, California will continue to prosper while rolling back the environmental problems of the 20th century.

In the past two centuries, California has experienced radical growth and change unparalleled in its scope and rapidity. The driving forces and organizational principles of this growth, whether centrally controlled or broadly spread, benign or malignant, are hotly debated among environmental and political historians alike. Worster's overwhelming pessimism and Kelley's overwhelming boosterism miss the mark. Norris Hundley Jr., with a broad and deep understanding of the literature provides a sound explanation of water control in arid California. Where Worster saw a scheming mandarin bogey-man, Hundley accurately depicts a complex system with many competing sources of influence driving change.

³⁰ Hundley, pp. 419-421.

The Separate South: A Study of the Central Theme in Southern History, 1607-1850

Joshua Harmon

The Southern colonies, eventually to become the Southern United States, were distinctly different from other regions of the North American continent. The South's sense of separateness has come to be the central theme in Southern history. This difference is deeply entwined with the creation of an agricultural based economy supported by the institution of slavery. Slavery permeated all facets of Southern society and eventually came to define it. Slavery, as an economic necessity to the South, created a region that was clearly divergent from the North in its cultural, political, and religious development.

In 1607 the British established their first permanent colony in Jamestown, Virginia. Economic development of agricultural commodities, such as tobacco and later cotton, dictated the need for slavery in and around Jamestown, thus, affecting the entire future of southern economic development. Production of agricultural commodities was not the original intent of the Virginia Company. Even when it became the only profitable practice in Virginia, the company's government placed limitations to discourage the cultivation of tobacco.¹ The company wanted their colonization to operate on the Spanish model whereby all the material wealth of the country was extracted and shipped back to the mother country.² Since Virginia lacked the gold and silver of Spanish North America, settlers developed other ways of extracting wealth from the land, which initially came in the form of tobacco cultivation. The abundance of land and the need to attract new investors and settlers prompted the Company to offer land tracts to those who would pay their own way from England.³

This step facilitated the growth of an agriculturally based economy. Large landholders and even small farmers thirsted for labor to plant and tend their crops.⁴ Tobacco directly contributed to the increased need for servants in Virginia. As tobacco prices rose, Southern landowners began planting the new cash crop and importing more servants to supply labor.⁵ Even though the initial practice of indentured servitude was quite different from slavery, several cultural elements of slavery took shape during the tobacco boom of the 1620s. The planters needed to extract all the labor they could from their servants during their term of servitude in order to make the practice profitable.⁶ It was widely reported that planters would oppress and abuse their servants to obtain labor from them.⁷ Later, a similar but more brutal pattern was established to extract labor from unmotivated slaves. Moreover, the practice of buying and selling white indentured servants as commodities seems to be a direct precursor to the way in which slaves were handled in later years. The subsequent "tightening of labor discipline" during the tobacco boom

¹ Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1975), 85.

² *Ibid.*, 85.

³ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 126.

appears to have influenced the ritual abuse of slaves in order to extract their labor.⁸ The death of the indentured servitude system left a hole in the market for labor. As men outlived their service contracts, they came into competition with large planters.⁹ Consequently, planters turned to African slaves to replace their white indentured servants.¹⁰

However, the establishment of slavery was not a racial decision. Like the founding of Virginia itself, the transition to slavery was adopted to maximize the profitability of the established agricultural commodity system. Slaves, who by definition would never become free, would also never create a separate class of small farmers to further depress the price of tobacco.¹¹ The impetus for bringing slavery into the American colonies was the maximization of agricultural profits. The survival of tobacco production in the Chesapeake colonies depended on this cheap and abundant labor supply. However, the presence of a guaranteed labor source, which required a greater initial investment, seemed to benefit planters in the long term, and ensured the continued existence of slavery in the South for over 200 years.¹²

This slave labor system was particularly suited to the South for a number of reasons: the high demand for labor and the established subjugation of laborers made for a perfect transition from servitude to slavery.¹³ While slavery appeared in other places in the “New World,” Virginia and subsequent Southern colonies were the only ones to adopt and violently defend the institution until the Civil War. The Southern work ethic also contributed to the development of slavery. Edmund S. Morgan, in *American Slavery, American Freedom*, frequently wrote about the “lazy Englishmen” and the lack of the “religious zeal” in Virginia, which inspired the Protestant work ethic in New England.¹⁴ Historian David Fischer argues that slavery did not take hold in the New England colonies because it was “fundamentally hostile to the Puritan ethos.” This was in addition to a harsh climate that contributed to a high mortality rate among African slaves.¹⁵ However, these hurdles did not exist in Virginia. The immigrant only came to Virginia to make a better *material* life for himself, not to realize a religious vision like many of his New England counterparts. Therefore, it can be surmised that the initial difference in the South grew out of the economic system; moreover, the establishment of slavery, as part of their economic system, came to exacerbate an already present cultural difference between the subsistence agriculture of the North and the commodity agriculture of the South.

While preexisting negative racial attitudes toward black Africans prevailed among English settlers,¹⁶ slavery made them a cultural bulwark of the South. The different treatment of slaves, versus that of indentured servants, provides evidence of the initial attitudes toward black slaves. The suggestion that Africans were a “brutish sort of people” was used as justification for particularly harsh treatment.¹⁷ The ideology of racism grew out of this

⁸ Ibid., 129.

⁹ Ibid., 215

¹⁰ Ibid., 297

¹¹ Ibid., 215

¹² Ibid., 299.

¹³ Ibid., 297.

¹⁴ Ibid., 296.

¹⁵ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed, Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press., 1989), 53.

¹⁶ Morgan, 315.

¹⁷ Morgan, 314.

belief and became an increasingly important tool in maintaining the volatile labor pool of the Southern colonies.¹⁸ The hierarchy that developed in the South, as a result of the plantation system, placed the large plantation owner on top and the laborer at the bottom— whether black slave or white servant. The fear that social instability would occur among this large disenfranchised class left plantation owners seeking a way to distinguish between poor whites and black slaves. According to Morgan, elite Virginians used racism as a way of keeping these two impotent classes in their place.¹⁹ This danger was uniquely Southern because of the large number of poor whites that came over as indentured servants, and the racial dichotomy that was created after the transition to African slavery.

Based on racism, slavery as social policy and law came into full legislative effect in 1682. Only non-whites could be enslaved, thereby elevating one race over many others.²⁰ Further, legislative action served not only to solidify racial slavery, but also to lift the status of white servants in order to create a perception of their superiority over black slaves.²¹ The legal binding of slavery with race constituted the first step to creating a distinctly racist culture in the South. While racism is still a popular ideology nationwide, only in the colonial South was it absolutely necessary for the maintenance of social order. Without the incitement of racial hatred, the plantation system could have been forced into continued reliance on indentured servants. This fear motivated Southern power brokers, whose interests were inseparable from the profitability of the plantation, to infuse racism with their regional culture. The establishment of racism, as a social practice, had a profound impact on the political and religious development of the South until the Civil War. Since the patterns of economic development did not dictate or necessitate racism in other Colonies, nor in many of the subsequent United States, the culture that grew out of this racial stratification could be called uniquely Southern. The perceived need for slavery became just as important socially and culturally by the 1850s as it had been economically in the early years of colonial Virginia.

The vehemence with which slavery was defended, whenever it came under attack, provides substantial evidence as to how important it was to the culture of the South. Ardent supporters of slavery sought justification for their enslavement of an entire race. This process began in colonial Virginia and the ideas cultivated there, like tobacco, spread to the entire South.

Large planters in colonial Virginia recognized the need to draw sharp distinctions between whites and blacks as early as the 1680s. In 1691, and later in 1705, the colonial government passed acts that restricted the intimate relationships between white women and black men.²² This seemed very important to the protection of the institution of slavery since the status of the child was determined by the race of the mother.²³ A child born of a white mother was free although still a “mulatto.” These people would most likely look black but not be a slave, leaving the potential for the creation of an “intermediate class” that might blur “the distinction between slave and free.”²⁴ This created a dangerous situation for southern planters. A large class of free nonwhites might have found common cause with the men and women held in bondage and potentially threaten the plantation system. The harsh legislation

¹⁸ Ibid., 328.

¹⁹ Ibid., 328.

²⁰ Ibid., 329.

²¹ Ibid., 331.

²² Morgan, 335.

²³ Morgan, 336.

²⁴ Morgan, 336.

associated with intermarrying was only one of many steps taken to dehumanize black slaves. Colonial governments in Virginia also made it illegal for a slave to own property, and indeed allowed for local officials to take the fruits of slave labor and give them to poor whites.²⁵ It is difficult to imagine that poor whites were troubled by the dispossession of slave property when they directly benefited from the practice. Instead, as Morgan has said, it was actually a “highly effective device for dissociating the two.”²⁶ Authorities brought the poor whites economically above the slaves by giving them slaves’ property, while simultaneously fostering a sense of superiority by granting entitlement to the whites by dispossessing blacks. It is clear that this process is not natural. Instead, large economic interests, whose futures were integrally linked with slavery, intentionally diluted racial preconceptions to establish and preserve their system.

By the time the American colonies had won their independence from the British, slavery had been an inseparable part of the Southern economy for over 100 years. At the Constitutional Convention, the issue of slavery prompted contentious debate, which demonstrated the clear sectional differences that were already present. The only reason that special considerations for slavery had to be included in the Constitution was to guarantee the economic and social security of the South. In order to form the United States, and to guarantee the ratification of the Constitution by the Southern states, the Northern states had to compromise on the issue of slavery.

Important concessions were made to the Southern states in the areas of congressional representation, the African slave trade, fugitive slave recovery, and protection from constitutional amendments. The three-fifths clause counted a slave as three-fifths of a person for purposes of congressional representation. Without extending any kind of political power to blacks, the three-fifths clause greatly increased the power of whites in the South. The continuation of the African slave trade was also a significant victory for the South. By continuing the slave trade for an additional twenty years, the ratifying states ensured the survival of slavery for at least that long. The fugitive slave clause affirmed the status of slaves as nothing more than property and it guaranteed the security of that property at the federal level. Article V of the constitution protected the South from constitutional amendments that would endanger the three-fifths clause or the African slave trade for twenty years. This constitutional appeasement elucidates the already distinct cultural and economic separateness of the South. The amendments also set the stage for the political turmoil that would plague the nation until the Civil War.

By constitutionally protecting the institution of slavery, while binding the slave-holding southern states to the non-slave-holding Northern states, the framers effectively spawned the rise of reactionary justifications to slavery. Again, while white supremacy was by no means a uniquely Southern phenomenon, the extent to which it dominated the intellectual and political culture of the South is evidence of its cultural and economic importance, and it is visible in many of the writings of political leaders.

Thomas Jefferson, in his book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, described why it was beneficial and necessary for blacks to be held in bondage. As a slaveholder and plantation owner, it was certainly in Jefferson’s best interest to protect the institution that was so vital to him and his state. Out of necessity, he argued, that blacks

²⁵ Morgan, 333.

²⁶ Morgan, 333.

must remain a separate part of society.²⁷ He concluded that their incorporation into society would incite a race war.²⁸ To justify the maintenance of the slaves' impotent position, Jefferson cited their lust for women, lack of "forethought," and lack of creative ability.²⁹ The cultural importance of these beliefs cannot be understated. By establishing the myth that blacks were naturally inferior, Jefferson concluded that their actions were justified. Jefferson goes on to defend Southern slavery as an institution. By comparing contemporary slavery to ancient slavery, Jefferson argued for the superiority of Southern slavery by revealing the legislative protection offered to Southern slaves.³⁰ Where slaves of antiquity could be killed at will, in the Southern U.S. the law forbade such treatment of slaves.³¹

John C. Calhoun, a senator from South Carolina, repeated and expanded on many of the ideas offered by Jefferson. In a speech to the U.S. Senate in 1837, Calhoun discussed many of the regional differences that were already dividing the North and South a quarter of a century before the Civil War. Calhoun connected the institution of slavery with the people, Southern culture, and the economic survival of the Southern States. Responding to petitions received by Congress that Calhoun perceived to "pronounce [slavery] to be sinful and odious," Calhoun concluded that this began a process of "rendering us [slave holders] hateful in the eyes of the world."³² He recognized that the South and the act of slaveholding were inseparable in the eyes of the outside world. Calhoun also talked about the potential for conflict between "two great sections of the Union" if the South were not protected from abolitionists.³³ Calhoun articulated a sectional consciousness with the slave-holding states of the South, and the non-slave-holding states in the North. In fatalistic terms, Calhoun stated that the South's "institutions" were so "interwoven" with society "that to destroy [slavery] would be [to] destroy us as a people." Calhoun's level of commitment to slavery transcends economic dependence and moves into social necessity. His conclusion that only a war between fellow Americans could decide the issue is also evidence of the scope of the cultural and economic importance of slavery. The "conflict between labor and capital" that Calhoun describes as being a Northern phenomenon did not exist in the South at his time. It was his conclusion that this lack of conflict granted the South economic stability that did not exist in the North.³⁴ Without any means by which the labor pool (slaves) of the South could challenge their owners— tobacco, rice, and cotton growers circumvented common problems associated with wage labor, such as strikes and wage disputes. In this context, the South's attachment to their labor system makes sense. Calhoun believed the "condition of society in the South" precluded anything, such as class conflict, from occurring. The initial separation of poor whites from slaves and the subsequent establishment of racist ideology in the South were directly responsible for creating the "condition" Calhoun described. That is to say, that the social hierarchy in the South appeared as a result of the economic development and establishment of slavery.

²⁷ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003) , 49.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

³² John C. Calhoun, "Speech in the U.S. Senate" in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003) , 55.

³³ *Ibid.*, 56.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

Other justifications for slavery focused more on the benefits that slavery offered to Africans. Juxtaposing the cruel capitalist system of the North with the caring slave system of the South was a common theme in antebellum proslavery thought. This became another method for Southerners to differentiate themselves from the North. Edmund Ruffin saw the Southern institution of slavery as being “an improvement of the condition and wealth and well-being of the community in general, and also of the comfort of the enslaved class.”³⁵ He is careful to distinguish this from the “pauper slavery” resulting from competition in a free labor system, which he sees as being crueler than slavery since idle wage laborers will starve if they cannot work, whereas slaves were taken care of regardless. James Henry Hammond’s argument follows a similar line. He also criticizes the labor system of the North by arguing that Northerners enslaved whites—a greater offence than enslaving blacks. Since blacks were inferior, he argued, “They are elevated from the condition in Which God first created them, by being made our slaves.”³⁶ These political attitudes are representative of a society that had been completely dominated by a slave-based agricultural economy for over two centuries.

Religious division, which had a profound impact on Southern society, also came as a result of these political differences.³⁷ Another reaction to this economically stratified society was the rise of Evangelical Christianity in the South during the late 18th century. At first, the working class people formed the bulk of the Evangelical community.³⁸ Their goal was not to reorganize society, but to change definitions of success within it.³⁹ However, the presence of slavery was too deeply entrenched in Southern society for the Evangelicals to have a significant impact.⁴⁰ Evangelical ties with slavery brought them into conflict with their Northern counterparts, which eventually led to the split of the Methodist and Baptist denominations into Northern and Southern organizations in the mid 1840s.⁴¹ Even their universal religious experiences could not prevent sectional differences from tearing them apart. Southern Evangelicals recognized this problem. However, realizing the importance of slavery in the South, Evangelicals chose to work within the established social system, not change it. Northern abolitionist sentiment within the Evangelical church fueled the development of a distinctly Southern religious ideology that exonerated slave holders from judgment before God.⁴² Southern Evangelicals felt as though Northerners had a condescending attitude toward them.⁴³ The perceived “pity” on the part of their Northern brethren was, in fact, received as condescension.⁴⁴ In response to this attitude, Southern Evangelicals developed a “slave-holding ethic,” establishing a “moral slavery” that protected the South and its institutions from judgment before God.⁴⁵ Even though

³⁵ Edmund Ruffin, *The Political Economy of Slavery*” in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2003), 64.

³⁶ James Henry Hammond, “The Mudsill Speech” in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2003), 87.

³⁷ G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press., 1977), 154.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 156.

Evangelical Christianity was widespread in both the North and the South, it contributed to a distinct Southern culture by respecting the South's relationship with slavery.

The particular circumstances that existed in the South gave rise to an economy particularly suited to slavery. The cultivation of labor-intensive crops, such as rice, tobacco, and cotton for market consumption, necessitated a large, cheap labor pool. This need, initially met with indentured servants, eventually became completely dominated by slave labor. As slavery took hold, it came to be the distinguishing mark between the Northern and Southern parts of the nation, which gave rise to a sectional consciousness where one part was participating in human bondage and the other, to a certain extent, trying to end it. Cultural and, eventually, armed conflict was inevitable. An understanding of Southern history must begin with the region's economic development, which dictated the structure of the entire society. The established hierarchy placed black slaves on the bottom with whites above. A social hierarchy, and surely one based on slavery, demanded justification in a society based on natural rights and freedom. By inventing the racial inferiority of blacks, white plantation owners both absolved themselves from guilt, and quelled a potentially dangerous social situation by separating poor whites from blacks. This intentional separation moved slavery from a wholly economic tool, into one incorporating social and cultural values. Subsequent intellectual development in the South reacted to growing Northern pressure to abolish a uniquely Southern institution. These attacks also assisted in creating a sectional consciousness that persists even today.

Print Culture:
A Study of the Royal Society of London, the Philosophical Transactions, and the Printing Press

Philip W. Clements

In her work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein claimed that the effect of print on science was largely unexamined. She believes that the history of science has failed to take into account the way that print transformed the views of natural philosophers.¹ What she does not address is how the views of natural philosophers changed the role of print for the sciences. The scientific community was created through printed correspondence, and the success of this correspondence fostered for the publisher and the printing press a permanent place in science. The value of print to the development of Western science can be clearly seen in the late 17th century, after Bacon's empiricism had taken hold in England and societies dedicated to stimulating and supporting science appeared throughout. These societies, especially the Royal Society of London, normalized certain methods and practices that created a new scientific paradigm. The Royal Society had a superior impact upon the course of natural science because it utilized the printing press. Through its non-printed correspondence it cultivated the early scientific community. Soon after its rise to prominence, the Society would capitalize on its fame and authority by printing its monthly actions in the first purely scientific journal, the *Philosophical Transactions*. The *Transactions* changed many things: the nature of scientific inquiry, the way science was conducted and communicated throughout Europe, and it has shaped the way science is published today. It also standardized scientific methodology and technique due to its consistency and its large audience and was widely read due to being printed. Finally, it popularized the Royal Society and science.

“The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge” was founded in 1660 and received a Royal Charter from Charles II's (r. 1660-1685) newly restored monarchy in 1662. The fact that the Society was endorsed by the new monarchy, while other institutions that were founded during the “usurpation” were being dissolved, is noteworthy. At the time of its recognition by the monarchy, the Society embodied a new philosophy and a new scientific attitude. That Charles II endorsed its endeavors while he simultaneously worked to repudiate most of the work of Oliver Cromwell, including canceling the legislation of the “interregnum” and repurging the universities, shows both the influence and position that the Society had established for itself. In addition, the patronage of scientific research by the Stuart monarchy was unprecedented, and it indicates that the monarchy shared the Society's enthusiasm for its enterprise.²

By 1667, Thomas Sprat (1635-1713), then a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, had penned a history of the Society. Sprat was a *protégé* of John Wilkins, who was the brother-in-law of Oliver Cromwell and one of the founders of the Society. Sprat's history was aptly titled *History of the Royal Society*, and its frontispiece duly

¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 488.

² Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1967), xi.

thanked Charles II for his patronage.³ In the center of the engraving is a bust of Charles II being crowned with a laurel wreath by Fame and surmounted by the coat-of-arms granted to the Society by him.⁴ Because of this frontispiece, any contemporary historian or scientist reading Sprat's *History* would have recognized the King of England as a benefactor of science. This helped substantiate the belief that England was a forward-thinking nation of natural philosophy and progress.⁵ The *History* itself helped substantiate the Society's apparent contemporary importance as both an innovator and unique manifestation in the history of science. This belief was advanced by Sprat in his *History*, "They have contriv'd in their thoughts, and courageously begun an *Attempt*, which all *Ages* had despair'd of."⁶ It was also accepted by other Fellows of the Royal Society. When the Royal Charter was received by the Society in 1662, the President's speech of thanks to Charles II emphasized that the Society was "the first foundation of the greatest Improvement of Learning and Arts...which hath never heretofore been attempted by any," and that "this Society is already taken notice of and famous throughout all the learned parts of Europe."⁷ Indeed, by 1669 Sprat's *History* had already been translated into French, and by 1670 it had been printed in Paris. At the outset of his project, Sprat's *History* was no doubt an effort to put the Society on the map. However, the Society was successful enough so that, regardless of Sprat's efforts, it was renowned throughout Europe.

In her essay, "The Royal Society's Role in the Diffusion of Information in the Seventeenth Century," Marie Boas Hall examines the Society's early success. She attributes this success to multiple things, including the Society's adherence to principles of experimental science, its bringing together of diverse kinds of men and encouragement of virtuosi throughout Europe, and the social climate in which the Society was born. In spite of these reasons, her essay focuses on what she calls a "minor but nevertheless important factor,"⁸ which was the role that the Society took in diffusing information throughout the world of learning, encouraging Fellows and non-Fellows to communicate to the scientific world information they possessed and discoveries they had made. She believed that, in both diffusing information and through extensive correspondence, the Society successfully fostered, encouraged, and honored the best scientific brains of a seminal period in science.⁹

Hall identified a significant change in the Society's aims that allowed it to become a force of sponsorship in the scientific community. At its inception, the Society's aim was simply the acquisition of new information. According to Sprat's *History*, the purpose of the Society was "to make faithful *Records*, of all the Works of *Nature*, or *Art*, which can come within their reach: so that the present Age, and posterity, may be able to put a mark on the Errors, which have been strengthened by long prescription."¹⁰ The aim of the early Society was based on two existing models for the advancement of natural philosophy. According to Hall, the first was that of the informal

³ See Appendix I.

⁴ See Appendix II.

⁵ Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society: Facsimile of the London Edition of 1667* (St. Louis: Washington University Studies, 1959), ii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 318.

⁷ Purver, 21.

⁸ Marie Boas Hall, "The Royal Society's Role in the Diffusion of Information in the Seventeenth Century." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1975): 173.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Sprat, 61.

societies established abroad. These coherent groups of intellectuals met and discussed natural philosophy, but there was “no formal organization, no fixed membership, and no rules or even customs for regulating the proceedings.”¹¹

The second model was based on the precedent of Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Bacon is traditionally regarded as the first important figure in the history of British empiricism and in the development of the modern scientific worldview. According to Margery Purver, in her work *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation*, Bacon’s contribution to the early Society and science were underappreciated. She claims that part of the reason for this was because Bacon’s critics were examining his science instead of his method. Purver claims that Bacon should be considered a philosopher, not a scientist. By doing so, historians can better appreciate his role in the development of modern science.¹² In Bacon’s work, *Novum Organum* (1620), he insinuated that the predominant Aristotelian worldview ought to be superseded. He claimed science should aim at collecting empirical data and use it for inductive generalizations, instead of seeking explanations in terms of final causes. In a simile, he likened an ideal scientific method to that of bees, which collect systematically and erect a structure. Bacon believed that the aim of inquiry should be practical and that knowledge of nature gives humans power over it.¹³

In addition to Bacon, Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) was also associated with the type of science the Society would later pursue. In her chapter on the Copernican Revolution, Eisenstein cites Bishop Sprat’s *History* as claiming that Brahe was the forerunner of a new breed of astronomer that “studied to make it not onely an enterprise of one season or of some lucky opportunity; but a business of time; a steady, a lasting, a popular, an uninterrupted work.”¹⁴ Brahe’s method of data collection was careful observation and attention to detail. He intended to collect fresh empirical data instead of relying on the word and works of classical astronomers. Collecting data in this way was not unprecedented, but the effort to record and confirm new data was; that was something the Society would later pursue.¹⁵

On top of inquiry, the Society brought another unique addition to science. The method of inquiry was not just empirical, it was communal. In order to accumulate knowledge, the Society encouraged two-way traffic of information. According to Hall, “the advancement of natural philosophy demanded communication of knowledge as well as reception of it, that societies would, as much as individuals, thrive on imparting information instead of merely gathering it in.”¹⁶ This idea was an essential reason why the Society was successful; the Society and its publications became a nexus for European scientists to pursue the latest problems, successes, and publications in their fields. Up to the inception of the Society, European scientists had difficulty discovering what their colleagues in other parts of the world were up to. In order to obtain necessary information about what was occurring elsewhere in a respective field, a scientist had to instigate and maintain an exchange of letters with other learned men. However, it can easily be seen how this kind of correspondence was both random and haphazard. Occasionally, enterprising writers would publish local scientific activity. However, this too reached a random audience, and many of those who read it could not profit from it. Even worse, many of those who could profit from it, or would have

¹¹ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 174.

¹² Purver, 235-236.

¹³ Mautner, 59.

¹⁴ Eisenstein, 601.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 602.

¹⁶ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 175.

been keenly interested, failed to come across it.¹⁷ The advantage of a society dedicated to diffusing information to the right people and places during this time was enormous. Especially once it began releasing publications to do so.

However, the *Philosophical Transactions* did not begin publication until 1665. The Society began its first Letter Book in 1661. The contents of letters received by the Society and the Society's replies were to be entered into the Society's Letter Books. The Letter Book system implied not just a gathering of information, but also an exchange of letters and information; the Society was dedicated to transmitting information as well as receiving it.¹⁸ Fellows of the Society that corresponded in this way did so for nearly four years prior to the publication of the *Transactions*. This correspondence not only set the stage for the *Transactions*, but it also oriented the rest of Europe to the Society's purpose and inflated the Society's reputation.

The first Secretary of the Society was really the person responsible for the Society's success through correspondence. Henry Oldenburg (1619-1677) contributed more to the reputation and regard that the European scientific community held for the Society than any other individual. Oldenburg had the experience and the gumption to make the Society's diffusion of information a successful enterprise. Before joining the Society, Oldenburg already had connections throughout the scientific community due to his travels on the Continent and by being a tutor to Robert Boyle's nephew.¹⁹ He was in contact and correspondence with the self-exiled Thomas Hobbes as early as 1646. In his letters with Hobbes, Oldenburg developed his rhetorical information extracting techniques for the benefit of his friend, chemist Robert Boyle.²⁰ They would later be relied upon by the Society. Also, while traveling through France, Oldenburg encountered the informal French scientific societies and accumulated information about their doings, which he dispatched to Boyle. His experience with these far-flung professional and amateur scientists and natural philosophers helped him to "establish the art of epistolary commerce, of obtaining information in exchange for imparting it, of maintaining a complex network of interchange and of securing new...correspondents."²¹ These skills left him better prepared for his job as Secretary to the Society. As early as 1661, when he received interesting letters from abroad, he would report their contents at meetings and deposit the originals in the registry. He also worked to expand his international and domestic correspondence.

The Society gradually developed and adopted this form of communication. Henry Oldenburg led the front to develop the new philosophy of the Society. In a letter to Monsieur Hevelius of Danstuck he explained the Society's plan, "It is now our business...to attract to the same purpose men from all parts of the world who are famous for their learning, to exhort [them] to unwearied efforts. Indeed, friendship among learned men is a great aid to the investigation and elucidation of the truth."²² The Society introduced something that European science lacked; a clear method from which to form a community. The Society's networking efforts are largely responsible for the development of the European scientific community. The Society's correspondence prior to the publication of the *Transactions* gave enterprising scientists, who worked in an information vacuum, the opportunity to familiarize

¹⁷ Ibid., 176.

¹⁸ Ibid., 178.

¹⁹ Ibid., 179.

²⁰ Marie Boas Hall, *Henry Oldenburg: Shaping the Royal Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 20-21.

²¹ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 179.

²² A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg, Vol II* (Madison and London, 1966) 25-28. Cited in Hall, *Notes and Records*, 180.

themselves with the work of their colleagues. This would eventually lead to controversy and rudimentary peer review once the *Transactions* began publication. Until that time, European scientists corresponded directly with the Society and Oldenburg. Even before the *Transactions* began to be published, natural philosophers abroad all considered the Society as the “ultimate tribunal for arbitration in matters of scientific achievement and the coordinator of all news in the world of science.”²³ The Society’s reputation had grown to such an extent that scientists began to initiate contact with it in hopes of becoming a correspondent. A young Leibniz wrote to Oldenburg in 1670 hoping for news regarding English mathematics. At the time, the Society was considered the expert on mathematics. In addition to accommodating Leibniz, Oldenburg was responsible for publishing and extracting from Sir Isaac Newton’s early work on optics.²⁴ Being affiliated with the Society was advantageous, “to maintain correspondence with the Royal Society, to exchange information with it, or, indeed, to become a Member, were soon important objectives for most scientists: letters, reports, books, and natural history curiosities would arrive in London from all over Europe.”²⁵ In 1679, Hobbes expressed what had become an omnipresent sentiment among the Republic of Letters; that the Society had taken over the traditional leadership of the universities in the natural sciences, and that the *Transactions* had “superseded traditional academic textbooks in the study of natural phenomena.”²⁶

Many of the contributions sent to the Society were from scientists that didn’t have access to other means of disseminating their findings. The Society fostered and endorsed natural philosophers in nations where it was hard to find sponsorship. For instance, since the Catholic Church’s condemnation of Galileo in 1633, Italian science had been weakened. In some cases, this religious issue aroused feelings of suspicion in Italy’s Protestant neighbors towards their scientific contributions. Also, in many cases, English natural philosophers disparaged the Italians’ work. However, Italian scientists, like those in other parts of Europe, considered the Society to be the envied model to follow. It was a structure that represented the ideal of liberty and scientific progress. The Society also encouraged natural philosophers to remain up-to-date with the activities and publications of the Society. Many Italian scientists visited England and the Society. However, not many were accepted as Fellows to the Society, partly because of English indifference to Italian contributions. Many Fellows thought that Italian science was falling behind the rest of Europe. Indeed, the *Saggi di Naturali Esperienze*, which was published in 1668 after ten years of research, was regarded as a collection of less than innovative experiments supporting passé advancements.²⁷ Despite the apparent disdain for much of Italian science on the part of English natural philosophers, Italian scientists continued to send their material to the Society. Italy lacked an institutional organization that would allow Italian scientists to export their works, and so they were forced to keep in contact with the Society, receive its criticism, and aspire to have their articles published in the *Transactions*. This was the means by which post-Galilean scientists integrated themselves into the European scientific community.²⁸ On the censorship of science in Italy Eisenstein remarks that “One might be better advised to think less of science ‘rising’ among Galileo’s compatriots than of its going

²³ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 184.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 182-183.

²⁵ Susana Gómez López “The Royal Society and Post-Galilean Science in Italy.” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (1997): 35.

²⁶ Purver, 72.

²⁷ López, 36-38.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

underground. At least it was able to go abroad, thanks to the help provided by the Royal Society.”²⁹ For example, every major work of Marcello Malpighi, undertaken after 1669, was published by the Royal Society. Both Oldenburg and Robert Hooke, the Secretary after Oldenburg, supplied Malpighi with the most recent technical literature because, by then, it was easier to wait for books from England than to turn to local Italian booksellers. The Society provided a service to Malpighi that fostered and encouraged his studies. The Society was working to build a community of natural philosophers and virtuosi.³⁰ It was a community of the Society’s creating, and it was largely due to the efforts of one man and his publication.

The *Transactions* transformed the nature of Western science. Though the *Transactions* met the needs of the Society, they were not a product of it; the *Transactions* are still considered to be the principal publication associated with the Society, but they were not a project of the Society at all. The *Transactions* were, instead, initially the undertaking of Oldenburg, who “had long complained of the very natural tendency of foreigners to regard the *Transactions* as an official publication of the Royal Society.” In 1666, Oldenburg “placed a firm ‘Advertisement’ at the end of the issue insisting that the journal was composed and published by him alone” to combat this false belief.³¹ The first publication of the *Transactions* was in 1665, and it was published on the first Monday of every month thereafter. The *Transactions* have since become the world’s oldest continuous scientific journal, which attests to its success. After Oldenburg’s death in 1677, subsequent secretaries continued the *Transactions* until the Royal Society officially became the proprietor of the *Transactions* in 1759. The *Transactions* only furthered the Society’s reputation, “The *Transactions* were an immediate success. They were naturally especially popular with those who could not regularly attend the Society’s meetings, who welcomed the ‘monthly tracts’ as an invaluable source of scientific and bibliographical news, and of intellectual stimulation.”³² The printing of the *Transactions* was paramount to the development of European science. It is important to remember that before the publication of the *Transactions* European scientists had to struggle to discover their peers’ work, and that a “cutting edge” in science did not exist because the scientific community did not have a communicative network to support it. In Hall’s words,

The diffusion of information through the *Philosophical Transactions* when coordinated with the maintenance of a wide correspondence with the learned world accounted in no small measure for the immensely high reputation of English science. For however eminent scientists may be, only in so far as their work becomes known can it contribute to the advancement of learning, that ‘Grand Design of improving Natural knowledge, and perfecting all Philosophical Arts, and Sciences’ to which the seventeenth-century Royal Society was dedicated.³³

The *Transactions* purpose can be discerned from its subtitle, which described it as “Giving some Account of the Present Undertakings, Studies, and Labours of the Ingenious in many Considerable Parts of the World.”³⁴ The *Transactions* were not the first scientific journal, the first publication of the *Transactions* came a month after that of another journal of natural philosophy in France called “*Journal des Sçavans*.” However, the *Transactions* were a

²⁹ Eisenstein, 664.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 664-665.

³¹ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 187.

³² *Ibid.*, 186.

³³ *Ibid.*, 190.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 185.

step above any other. The major differences between the *Transactions* and other journals of its time set the *Transactions* apart since they dealt exclusively with matters related to natural philosophy; whereas, the *Journal des Sçavans* also reviewed books, legal, and ecclesiastical matters. The *Journal des Sçavans* was unsystematic with an erratic publication pattern, while the *Transactions* were published monthly using the same format.

Compared to another contemporary society, the *Cimento* in Italy, the Royal Society and the *Transactions* again stand apart. The chief publication of the *Cimento* was the aforementioned *Saggi*. The *Transactions* were a continuous series that reached across all of Europe, while the *Saggi* was a single compendium that could not be locally bought or sold. Also the *Transactions* encouraged contributions and attracted authors with the lure of fame; this was bolstered by the Society's measures to ensure protection of intellectual property and priority. In contrast, contributors to the *Saggi* remained anonymous in order to protect themselves from persecution; this practice deprived them the incentive of fame to make contributions.³⁵ Of course, contributing to these publications for fame would have mattered little were it not for the printing press; the draw of ascertaining fame and glory through science was greatly assisted by the printing press. In addition, the motivation to contribute to publications encouraged natural philosophers to continue using the printing press as an agent of science.

The Society and its publications played an important role during the Scientific Revolution. The Society promoted a scientific method of studying nature rather than books, with which the experiments, articles, and essays published in the *Transactions* are consistent. The Society's influence and authority spread this scientific philosophy throughout Europe. Until the Scientific Revolution, it was common practice to rely on the works of Classical philosophers like Aristotle and Ptolemy to resolve scientific problems. However, with the Scientific Revolution that practice was abandoned in favor of collecting empirical data to support scientific arguments, especially since the discoveries of Columbus, Copernicus, and Galileo had refuted much of the ancient wisdom.

However, the Society did not just promote empirical observation. By publishing discoveries found through direct experience and observation, the Society aimed also at getting more of nature into their publications.³⁶ According to Hall, "The journal was welcomed abroad, and scientists everywhere begged to have copies sent by sailors, merchants, the diplomatic bag, or chance travelers."³⁷ By distributing those publications throughout Europe, the Society impressed its values upon all of European natural philosophy. Bacon's methodology, and, thus, the Society's methodology, was spread and science was standardized. Science began to be done in an English way, especially since the Society was held in such high regard; the prestige of being published in the *Transactions* was reason enough to use a scientific method that would yield this result.

Also, the *Transactions* was an outlet for virtuosi to get their work published. Securing the services of printers was strenuous work, and local printers were reluctant to publish scientific works because they were, by nature, accessible to a small audience. A local printer could not expect much profit from printing an esoteric scientific tract. Even the *Transactions* only netted Oldenburg about £50 annually. However, do to the *Transactions'* wide-ranging audience, many natural philosophers sent their work directly to the Society in hopes of it being

³⁵ Eisenstein, 666-667.

³⁶ Ibid., 476.

³⁷ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 186.

printed. This only furthered the centralization of science and scientific standards of the Society.³⁸ For these reasons, many scientific works, including mathematical treatises, tables and charts, and papers on natural philosophy appeared for the first time in print in the *Transactions*. “Fairly rapidly scientists adopted the practice of sending Oldenburg what were in fact papers designed either to be read at a meeting of the Society or published in *Phil. Trans.*”³⁹ This practice was not restricted to lesser known scientists who could not find printers to sponsor their work; it became common even for notable natural philosophers to send their newest findings to the Society for publication, “Scientists like Wallis, Boyle, Beale and Lister all wrote letters [to the Society] which were thinly disguised papers.”⁴⁰

Publishing the *Transactions* was not painless, however. Oldenburg encountered multiple difficulties in keeping up with his work and dealing with the Society’s printers. The appointed “Printers to the Society” were booksellers and publishers. John Martyn and James Allestry were the first two Printers, and their appointment during November 1663 was carried out with considerable formality.⁴¹ They had both done work for Fellows prior to their appointment, and they published Volume I of the *Transactions* in 1665 and 1666. Even when the plague hit London in 1665, *Transaction*’s numbers 8 and 9 were published by Richard Davies of Oxford.⁴² This continued printing of the *Transactions*, in spite of difficulties, indicates how important the journal had become within a year of its founding. However, the Great Fire of London burned both Martyn’s and Allestry’s shops, and the printing of the *Transactions* was disrupted until 1667.⁴³ After the Printers reestablished their shops, they continued publishing the *Transactions* uninterrupted until 1678, after Oldenburg’s death; the *Transactions* took a four year hiatus but resumed printing in 1682 under the auspices of a new Secretary. In 1681, after the death of Martyn, the Society chose a new Printer. The commission given to the new Printer, Richard Chiswell, offered powers less disadvantageous to the Society than the patent given to Martyn and Allestry.⁴⁴ The Society had learned from its experience with Martyn and Allestry that, in order to retain some publishing autonomy, the new Printer to the Society must not have a monopoly on Society publications. In spite of the restrictive patent that the Society gave to their Printers, the *Transactions* were always the prerogative of the Secretary; this was based on the Oldenburg’s precedent. For instance, Volume 15 for 1685 was printed at Oxford University Press. This was probably because the Secretary of the Society at the time was Dr. Robert Plot, who was based in Oxford.⁴⁵ While the *Transactions* included papers and letters read at the Society’s meetings, it was the job of the Secretary to compile and publish them. It was also the Secretary’s job to edit them; that was something Oldenburg did frequently. Oldenburg translated foreign pieces into Latin and English. He also edited letters sent to him in Latin and English prior to publication.⁴⁶ In this way, those articles that were printed in the *Transactions* were not only filtered through

³⁸ Eisenstein, 461.

³⁹ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 186.

⁴⁰ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 186.

⁴¹ Charles Rivington, “Addendum: Early Printers to the Royal Society 1663-1708.” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 40, No 2 (1986): 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁶ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 186.

Oldenburg's selectiveness, but also through his editing. He ultimately decided what would be published and in what manner it would appear.

During the first thirteen volumes of the *Transactions*, Henry Oldenburg provided a service that saved hundreds of European scientists the difficulty of publishing their own works. Oldenburg's efforts brought prestige to the *Transactions*' printers. The Royal Society connection brought Martyn much profitable business apart from the books actually sponsored by the Society. For instance, in 1672 Thomas Hobbes requested that Oldenburg have Martyn print any papers on "Physiques and Mathematiques" that Hobbes sent him. Hobbes believed it would be cheaper for a Fellow to print through the Society's Printer than it would be for him to secure and pay for publishing himself.⁴⁷

The printing of a journal like the *Transactions* spread information and stimulated science and learning. However, it also provided a means for establishing priority. On this issue, Hall cited an article by Flamsteed that was printed in the *Transactions* in 1675.⁴⁸ In the article, he had "found it frequently the subject of the *Transactions*, to vindicate good Inventions to their proper Authors."⁴⁹ Oldenburg built the communicative network that could support and allow for controversy and competition in science. Competing theories could be identified, shared, and debated; these things are a necessary component of science. Scientific work is incomplete until the report has been written, published, and presented to the scientific forum. Eisenstein goes on, "The irreducible 'fact,' the direct observation and any kind of raw data must be processed by being written down and available for checking and confirmation by other eyes."⁵⁰ That was exactly what the *Transactions* did. It allowed for scientists to review treatises in their field, which, according to Eisenstein, is a necessary attribute for being a scientist: "it is not only his command of technical literature—but also his capacity to put his findings in a form where they can be correlated with prior work—where they can be accepted or rejected by consensual validation—that helps distinguish the scientist from the shrewd observer."⁵¹ Eisenstein believes that this kind of peer review and background was essential to science, and that being versed in the literature of one's field "is so indispensable that an illiterate scientist is close to being a contradiction in terms."⁵²

In this way the printing press and the Society encouraged literacy. The Society constructed a paradigm based on the influences of Bacon and the power of the printing press. By restricting publication in the *Transactions* to works that conformed to certain standards that Oldenburg and the Society valued, the Society commanded the technique and empirical methodology of the new science. By attaining fame, respect, and authority through correspondence and printing, the Society both created and enforced familiarity with the required literature to be a new scientist. With the printing of the *Transactions*, a scientist was expected to operate under the new paradigm; he would be literate in the progress of his field. This expectation, fostered by the early Society, has remained a part of the paradigm of Western science. Since the primary form of communication among the scientific community is

⁴⁷ Rivington, 9.

⁴⁸ Hall, *Notes and Records*, 192.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁵⁰ Eisenstein, 477.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

through printed journals, science has become an instrument of the printing press, making the printing press important in history, just as the printing press was instrumental to fostering scientific progress in the 17th century.

Appendix I



Print of the frontispiece engraved for Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

Appendix II



The Coat of Arms given to the Society by Charles II, located at the beginning of Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

The Problematic Historian: Quintus Curtius on Alexander the Great and his World

Bryce Havens

Historian, writer, compiler of facts, exaggerator, witty satirist; these are some of the many ways that one can view Quintus Curtius Rufus by his masterwork *The History of Alexander*. In the true style of the popular Roman “vulgate,” Curtius portrays Alexander the Great in a faithfully Homeric fashion: a leader of men, a king, a conqueror, and a military genius, the Alexander of Curtius’ history was also ruthless, ill-tempered, a drunkard, and a man who ultimately destroyed himself by his own poor character. In order to appreciate Curtius’ prejudices and general conception of Alexander and his world, one must understand Curtius himself.

Briefly, Curtius lived in the Roman Empire sometime during the first century of the Common Era, probably during the reign of the Emperor Claudius.¹ Most scholars agree that Curtius drew stories of Alexander from the historian Cleitarchus, another ancient source.² Neither a contemporary of Alexander nor a participant in the events of his reign, Cleitarchus most likely wrote during the end of the Fourth Century B.C.E.³ Bibliographic in nature and more rhetorical than critical of the facts, modern historians question the accuracy of Cleitarchus’ information.⁴ Overall, Curtius’ critical history of Alexander tends to exaggerate and to sensationalize the facts, but contains several essential details about the conqueror’s life. This is why modern scholars categorize his work as part of a “vulgate,” or a popular representation of Alexander the Great. In short, Curtius’ perspective of Alexander provides modern readers with some useful data, but must be read with caution.

Curtius sums up Alexander’s character very simply: “his strengths were attributable to his nature and weaknesses to fortune or his youth.”⁵ The invocation of “Fortune” appears so often in Curtius’ history that it is practically a character that guides Alexander. As fortune has much to do with the conception of Alexander in the eyes of Curtius, the concept must be discussed in detail.

The first time Curtius writes of the fortune of Alexander is after the great man became ill from bathing in the Cydnus River.⁶ After a long day of marching in the summer heat, Alexander decided to wash off in the water of the river. Alexander entered the stream and “he suddenly felt his limbs shiver and stiffen.”⁷ Having fallen ill, Alexander’s physician, Philip, treated him with a remedy and Alexander recovered.⁸ According to Curtius, in the eyes of his soldiers, Alexander “had divine aid” and that “Fortune was with him at every turn.”⁹ Merely the first example of fortune in Curtius’ history, this illustration does not directly attribute Alexander’s recovery to fortune, but alludes to some mystical assistance.

¹ Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, John Yardley translation (1984) 2.

² Curtius Rufus, 5.

³ Curtius Rufus, 5.

⁴ Lecture notes, *History 402*, CSU, Chico, C.E. Minor, Sept. 22, 2005.

⁵ Curtius Rufus, 247.

⁶ Curtius Rufus, 33.

⁷ Curtius Rufus, 33.

⁸ Curtius Rufus, 35.

⁹ Curtius Rufus, 36.

Fortune repeatedly aids Alexander during battle. This can be seen in Curtius' description of the siege of Gaza. While in the midst of battle, Alexander was attacked by a soldier who "attempted an exploit too great for his fortune."¹⁰ Curtius implies that the soldier, in contrast to the victorious Alexander, acted beyond his own limited supply of divine aid, and the great man easily dispatched those with weaker cosmic protection. Interestingly, Curtius then claims that "fate cannot be circumvented" because Alexander "fought courageously," but was wounded in the shoulder by an arrow.¹¹ For once, fate as overarching destiny overwhelms the scales of fortune that favor Alexander, and reveal fortune to be a lesser power. Or perhaps fortune simply abandoned Alexander in this particular instance.

Many other examples illustrate the role of good fortune in Alexander's successes. Alexander and his troops cross the Tigris River with the aid of fortune. Curtius describes the water as being, in certain areas, up to the necks of the horses.¹² Alexander and his army eventually cross the river, but Curtius then claims that if anyone had the courage to attack Alexander's soldiers, the enemy could have wiped out Alexander's forces during the crossing.¹³ According to Curtius, the only reason they were not attacked was due, once again, to "the king's unceasing good fortune." Curtius attributes Alexander's crossing of the Granicus River and his defeat of "an enemy of massive numerical superiority in the narrow passes of Cilicia" to positive fortune as well.¹⁴

Bad fortune also influences Alexander's life. Curtius particularly attributes all the negative aspects of Alexander's character to fortune. Curtius ascribes Alexander's self-deification, his poor use of oracles, his destructive anger, and his adoption of foreign dress and customs to fortune.¹⁵ However, Curtius concludes his evaluation by claiming that, although Alexander owed much to "his own virtues, he owed more to Fortune, which he alone...had under his control."¹⁶ Accordingly, and despite its negative effect, Alexander's fortune allowed him to achieve "everything of which a mortal was capable."¹⁷ Curtius provides many examples of Alexander's good fortune, so it remains a mystery—or an irony—that a man with such cosmic kismet would ultimately be destroyed by bad fortune, that is, until one examines Curtius' explanation of how Alexander's public successes impacted his private life.

Fortune aside, the significance of Alexander's successful military career justifies the historical inquiry into his conquests. Largely an account of Alexander's military achievements, Curtius describes how such martial skill brought about one of the greatest empires ever known, but also chronicles the foibles of the private man. Despite his role as a conqueror of vast amounts of land and of many people, Curtius depicts Alexander as deeply troubled.

The best account of Curtius' description of Alexander, as a physically and emotionally charismatic military leader, can be seen in Curtius' description of the Battle of Gaugamela. According to Curtius, before the actual battle began, Alexander energetically rallied his men and offered them words of support. He reminded the army of their

¹⁰ Curtius Rufus, 65.

¹¹ Curtius Rufus, 65.

¹² Curtius Rufus, 72.

¹³ Curtius Rufus, 72.

¹⁴ Curtius Rufus, 72.

¹⁵ Curtius Rufus, 248.

¹⁶ Curtius Rufus, 248.

¹⁷ Curtius Rufus, 248.

previous victories and spoke ill of the Persian army.¹⁸ Interestingly, Curtius' physical description of Alexander addressing the men includes a short description of Alexander's scars as a "testimony to his courage, every one of them a decoration for his body."¹⁹

Curtius goes on to detail Alexander's feats during the battle. The conqueror cut down numerous foes in his attempt to kill Darius.²⁰ Curtius attributes the Greek victory to Alexander's individual heroism and courage because the man "fought with great valour" during the battle.²¹ Curtius also mentions Alexander's skilful ability in deploying his troops, and, for the first time in his history, Curtius refers to Alexander as a "conqueror."²² Up to this point, Curtius usually describes Alexander by naming him or referring to the man simply as "the king." Curtius begins to use the term "conqueror" because the Battle of Gaugamela concluded Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire. Alexander never again fought Darius, who was killed by his own men after the battle.²³

Curtius provides such heroic descriptions of Alexander throughout the conqueror's Asian campaign, especially at the Battle of Issus²⁴ and at the Battle of the Hydaspes.²⁵ However, considerable faults further burden Curtius' myopic biography of the great Macedonian. While Curtius carefully draws attention to Alexander's glorious achievements in battle, he fails to include how the conquered peoples reacted to Alexander. One may readily attribute this omission to source-based limitations and contemporary prejudices. Curtius did not have any testimony written by non-Greeks, and Curtius would have considered the people Alexander conquered "barbarians." To the ancient Greeks and Romans, such "uncultured" individuals would not be worthy of serious consideration as sources, but Curtius' bigotry offers intriguing interpretive possibilities for the modern researcher, particularly in contextualizing the personality of one of the most famous conquerors of all time.

One of Curtius' great biases in his history is his opinion of those whom were not Greek or Macedonian. Curtius usually refers to Persians and other foreigners as barbarians. During the Battle of Issus, as the Persian line was broken and the troops began to flee, Curtius claims "the Persians were driven on like cattle by a mere handful of men."²⁶ Curtius' description could be a metaphor for dramatic effect, but could also be Curtius' actual view of Persians. One finds Curtius' general disrespect for barbarians in his descriptions of the Scythians. Curtius indicates that "[Scythians] differ from other barbarians... in not being intellectually backwards and unrefined."²⁷ The statement clearly demonstrates the logic: Curtius generalizes that all foreigners are barbarians, and that all barbarians are uncivilized and ignorant people. Curtius' descriptions of the people of India also reflect his negative attitude toward people that are unlike him. Curtius describes Indians as unkempt people who neither cut their hair nor shave their beards.²⁸ He wonders with sarcasm, "Who would believe that an interest in philosophy was to be

¹⁸ Curtius Rufus, 83.

¹⁹ Curtius Rufus, 83.

²⁰ Curtius Rufus, 88.

²¹ Curtius Rufus, 90.

²² Curtius Rufus, 90-91.

²³ Curtius Rufus, 116.

²⁴ Curtius Rufus, 41-44.

²⁵ Curtius Rufus, 207-210.

²⁶ Curtius Rufus, 43.

²⁷ Curtius Rufus, 168.

²⁸ Curtius Rufus, 197.

found amid such degeneracy?”²⁹ In contrast to Curtius’ bias against those whom he deemed barbarians, the historian reserves no such contempt for the weaknesses of Alexander, except when foreign customs and mores influenced the behavior of the conqueror.

Curtius criticized Alexander the Great harshly for his excessive drinking and his bad temper. Alexander’s alcoholism caused many terrible incidents, one of the most famous being the destruction of Persepolis. Alexander had conquered the immensely beautiful and rich city, and his military forces used the city as a place of rest and relaxation. During a party, an intoxicated Alexander ordered the city to be burned.³⁰ Curtius admits that Alexander “regretted his actions” when he became sober, but the historian mentions nothing of the Persian reaction to the incident.³¹ The death of Clitus illustrates Alexander’s tragically fierce temper. Alexander killed Clitus, his close friend and a commander of the cavalry,³² during a drunken argument in which Clitus made remarks that Alexander found insulting.³³ The horrific incident demonstrates Alexander’s drinking problem as well as his inability to contain his anger. However, Curtius does mention that when “[Alexander’s] anger had subsided and he had shaken off his intoxication,” the conqueror deeply regretted his actions.³⁴ Alexander felt so much guilt that he attempted suicide.³⁵ Curtius mentions other examples of such behavior and Alexander’s sadly belated contrition. However, Curtius evaluates such mistakes, no matter how catastrophic, to Alexander’s essential character, while foreign influences created the most irredeemably unsavory aspects of Alexander’s private life.

Curtius criticizes Alexander’s sexual escapades with the Amazon queen Thalestris. While campaigning in Hyrcania, Alexander met a tribe of “Amazons.”³⁶ The queen persuaded him to rest for a while with her people. Curtius alleges, “Thirteen days were devoted to serving her passion.”³⁷ Curtius speaks ill of Alexander’s little adventure with aphoristic simplicity: “supreme qualities at the height of good fortune, degenerated into arrogance and dissipation.”³⁸ Curtius draws an unfavorable portrait of a conqueror “gone native” because Alexander dismissed the cultural “demeanor of Macedonian kings” as being “beneath his eminent position”³⁹ and adopted Persian dress and customs.⁴⁰ Alexander becomes corrupted in his contact with the Amazons.

In contrast to Curtius’ portrayal of Alexander’s drunkenness and violence, the historian reserves his most vitriolic remarks for the conqueror’s denial of his own culture, which is much a reflection of Curtius’ evaluation of those deemed “barbarians.” While in Mesopotamia, Alexander marched his army through a rather hazardous desert area, causing the death of some of his men.⁴¹ Curtius offers a very harsh evaluation of the decision, characterizing Alexander as a tyrant and a madman: “The blood of thousands was paying for the grandiose plans of one man who

²⁹ Curtius Rufus, 197-198.

³⁰ Curtius Rufus, 107.

³¹ Curtius Rufus, 108.

³² Curtius Rufus, 312.

³³ Curtius Rufus, 177-180.

³⁴ Curtius Rufus, 180.

³⁵ Curtius Rufus, 180.

³⁶ Curtius Rufus, 127.

³⁷ Curtius Rufus, 128.

³⁸ Curtius Rufus, 128.

³⁹ Curtius Rufus, 128.

⁴⁰ Curtius Rufus, 128.

⁴¹ Curtius Rufus, 73.

despised his country, disowned his father Philip, and had deluded ideas about aspiring to heaven.”⁴² Curtius mentioned nothing of Alexander openly insulting his father or despising his own country until Alexander began to base his decisions on foreign influences. Alexander adopted Persian dress and customs, particularly aspiring to deity. Alexander subsequently ordered his men to address him as “Jupiter’s son” after a meeting with the oracle at Siwah.⁴³ The conqueror began to risk his army for ever more grandiose imperial plans. In a note on the subject, Waldemar Heckel observes that Curtius merely inserts the “blood of thousands” comment for “dramatic embellishment,” but that real “resentment” existed toward Alexander for his pretentiousness and presumed divinity.⁴⁴

Despite such depth of description, the nature of Curtius’ work and its usefulness as a historical source for studying Alexander remains problematic. How much of Curtius’ history of Alexander criticizes or satirizes events of Roman politics during Curtius’ lifetime? Curtius’s remarks show that he was definitely sought to do so. After the death of Alexander, Curtius describes the problems of Alexander’s top officers and advisors in their quest to find a successor to the throne of Macedon and to prevent a civil war.⁴⁵ Curtius abruptly launches an angry tirade about contemporary Roman political fortunes in the midst of this explanation. Curtius ends his rant on a calmer, apologetic note: “let me return to my narrative from which my reflections on our national prosperity diverted me.”⁴⁶ For modern historians, this outburst almost completely undermines the reliability of Curtius’ work because it raises the question of how much of the history was written for ulterior political motives.

The next problem in Curtius’ work is a lack of source citation. Curtius usually adapts information in a manner that gives no accurate reference, such as in the phrase “according to the sources.”⁴⁷ The sources of the evidence remain frustratingly vague; Curtius simply notes, “it is recorded.”⁴⁸ However, Curtius mentions a brief list of authors from whom he drew information. Curtius reveals Cleitarchus, Timagenes, and Ptolemy as sources in a section of the history that describes the siege of a fort in India and the wounding of Alexander.⁴⁹ These authors disagree with one another; Curtius sarcastically attributes their differences to “the carelessness of the compilers of old histories.”⁵⁰ Curtius mentions his sources again on only one minor occasion: “According to Cleitarchus, 80,000 Indians were slaughtered...and many captives auctioned off as slaves [during Alexander’s campaign against Indian tribes].”⁵¹

The nature of the original manuscripts also concerns modern historical study and troubles the careful researcher. Although Curtius’ history is nearly complete, two large *lacunas* or holes puncture the original text; the extant document is very old. The first *lacuna* interrupts the end of Book Five, immediately after the death of

⁴² Curtius Rufus, 73.

⁴³ Curtius Rufus, 68-69.

⁴⁴ Curtius Rufus, 277.

⁴⁵ Curtius Rufus, 254.

⁴⁶ Curtius Rufus, 254.

⁴⁷ Curtius Rufus, 168.

⁴⁸ Curtius Rufus, 185.

⁴⁹ Curtius Rufus, 224.

⁵⁰ Curtius Rufus, 224.

⁵¹ Curtius Rufus, 231.

Darius.⁵² In his notes, Heckel attempts to reconstruct what Curtius might have said based on speculation and information from other sources.⁵³ However, despite Heckel's valiant effort to reconstruct Curtius' history, no certain way exists to find out what Curtius actually wrote in the missing sections. The other *lacuna* sadly excerpts much important information at the end of the history, particularly the illness that led to Alexander's death.⁵⁴ Again, Heckel tries to reconstruct what Curtius might have written, but we will never certainly know the complete chronicle.⁵⁵

Even if Curtius sensationalized events or portrayed them inaccurately, his work as a whole serves as a useful source for modern historians in their endless struggle to reconstruct the past. As Heckel notes, Curtius provides interesting details and context not available elsewhere, such as the death of Parmenion's son Hector⁵⁶ and Alexander giving knitting wool to Sisigambis.⁵⁷ Despite the biased and incomplete nature of Curtius' work, Heckel claims that many other ancient sources share similar problems, particularly in the "apologetic tradition represented by Arrian."⁵⁸ In the end, it matters not that Curtius' work is of the "vulgate" tradition, or that his history contains several difficulties for modern researchers. Curtius' account of Alexander and his world has survived for centuries as a significant resource worth revisiting amongst the many volumes of history for its insight into the ancient prejudices of the Greco-Roman tradition.

⁵² Curtius Rufus, 117.

⁵³ Curtius Rufus, 282-283.

⁵⁴ Curtius Rufus, 245.

⁵⁵ Curtius Rufus, 298.

⁵⁶ Curtius Rufus, 70, 276.

⁵⁷ Curtius Rufus, 97, 280.

⁵⁸ Curtius Rufus, 15

More than Music: American Hardcore, Punk's Forgotten Movement, 1979-1985

Drew Traulsen

In 1991, with the major label acquisition of *Sonic Youth* and the unprecedented success of Nirvana's *Nevermind* album, punk rock reluctantly broke into the mainstream. Within months, every major label was trolling the underground scene in hopes of scoring the next big thing. In the wake of this signing frenzy, acts such as The Smashing Pumpkins, Green Day, The Offspring, Rancid, and Blink-182 found comfortable homes not only on major labels, but on the pop and rock charts as well. Equally significant was the diverse array of artists, including Neil Young, Jane's Addiction, Pearl Jam, Rage Against the Machine, Run DMC, Metallica, Red Hot Chili Peppers, and Slayer (to name but only a few), who were paying homage to or citing, in both song or interview, punk's influence on their careers.

Almost overnight, punk, which had been branded as both nihilistic and violent (not to mention commercially unviable and therefore insignificant by both the music industry and the mainstream media) had become hip—the next big thing. Given punk rock's almost meteoric rise to mainstream acceptance and the recent widespread interest in its history, one might conclude that the time has come for a detailed and carefully researched history of the genre. As a matter of fact, given the swath of recent works dedicated to punk rock and its richly complex history, such an examination has obviously begun. Unfortunately though, the overwhelming majority of historical works on punk rock and its legacy are severely marred by one glaring omission—most either gloss over or completely ignore the impact, significance, and legacy of the American hardcore movement that took root within the punk rock community between 1979 and 1985.¹

The study that follows is by no means an attempt at providing a complete history of the punk rock genre. Instead, it will begin with a brief discussion of punk rock through 1979, which includes a short discussion of the word 'punk' and the several claims to its origination, and then conclude with a more detailed account of three hardcore bands (Black Flag, Bad Brains, Minor Threat) that provided not only the template for hardcore music, but whose endeavors facilitated the larger alternative scene that developed in the 1980s. The purpose of such a study is to allow the reader a more inclusive look at punk rock music in an attempt to balance the seemingly exclusive accounts presented in recent historical works on the subject.

It should be noted that the discussion of hardcore music which follows is by no means definitive. Such an analysis would require many chapters and countless hours of research. Instead, this study is designed to both educate the laymen and, hopefully, be the impetus which inspires more significant research and writing on this important yet almost forgotten aspect of punk's proud history.

Punk rock is old. Few would disagree with the fact that punk has had a long and influential history, yet many seem to disagree on the genre's exact birthplace. Musicians, critics, and fans have debated, argued, and sometimes fought over the exact moment in time that the genre began, and this author will offer no definitive

answer. Instead, I will intertwine the different schools of thought that have dominated this lingering debate as I discuss punk's history. In the end, it will be up to readers to decide for themselves.

Some believe that the contemporary punk rock movement traces its roots back to the mid-1960s. Following the unprecedented success of the British Invasion, many aspiring American musicians took to garages across the United States with a desire to create and the hope of being heard.² Unfortunately, most never were. Nonetheless, these groups persevered and multiplied in localized and regional scenes across America. Bands such as The Electric Prunes, The Vagrants, Mouse, The Remains, The Thirteenth Floor Elevators, Count Five, The Goliwogs, and countless others set out to create music, regardless of whether or not they ever made it big. It was this spirit of "do it yourself" creation, seemingly without a care for critical opinion or monetary reward, that many cite as the origin of what would become the punk ethos.

Although use of the term 'punk' to describe a musical style was not *en vogue* during the 1960s, most musicians, critics, and music historians consider this fertile era to be punk's birthplace. As a matter of fact, the earliest known use of the word 'punk,' to describe a musical style, came in 1972. When asked to provide liner notes for an album of the mid 1960s "no hit wonder" bands from America's underground rock scene, Lenny Kaye (guitarist from the Patti Smith Group and rock historian/writer) and Greg Shaw (*Rolling Stone* co-founder and *Cream* writer), concluded that such acts were "punk-rock...because they exemplified the berserk pleasure that comes with being onstage outrageous...[with a] relentless middle-finger drive and determination offered only by rock-n-roll at its finest."³ For many then, including myself, this mid-sixties garage band era and the underground groups that comprised it, as described by Kaye and Shaw, could easily be considered punk's "first phase."

Unfortunately, discerning the origins of punk in absolute terms is an often convoluted task. Another school of thought maintains that punk began in the late 1960s and was dominated by three seminal American outfits: The Velvet Underground from New York City, Motor City 5 (MC5), and *The Stooges* from Ann Arbor, Michigan. Each of these artists encompassed the best of rock-n-roll's traditions while simultaneously rejecting the worst of the state of music at the time.⁴ Equally as important, each band pushed the standard rock-n-roll boundaries through musical, lyrical, thematic, and aesthetic exploration. Without a doubt, this musical triumvirate would have an incalculable effect on the future of punk rock.

The most well-known of the three groups was The Velvet Underground, who initially operated out of Andy Warhol's New York "Factory" with Warhol acting as art director, stylist, and manager. The Velvet's penchant for fusing art and musical performance, not to mention their lyrical content, covering such topics as heroin addiction, sadomasochism, dark themes, and dark imagery, made the chart topping Beatles pale by comparison. As guitarist/singer Lou Reed recalled, "To my mind nobody in music was doing anything that even approximated the

² For a detailed overview of the 1960s garage phenomenon see Rhino Record's *Nuggets* anthologies.

³ Lenny Kaye, "The Hemi-headed, Deeked-and-Stoked, Highly Combustible Juggernaut of the New (aka the Original *Nuggets* Notes," reprinted in Rhino Record's *Nuggets: Original Artyfacts from the First Psychedelic Era, 1965-1968*, 1998.

⁴ Gary Stewart, "It was the worst of Times It was the Best of Times," Rhino Record's *No Thanks: The 70s Punk Rock Rebellion*, 2003.

real thing, with the exception of us...It wasn't slick or a lie in any conceivable way."⁵ For Lou Reed and many of his followers then, rock-n-roll was supposed to be gritty and experimental, as opposed to clean and formulaic. Coupled with almost minimalist production values and an arty aesthetic, not to mention a non-traditional ensemble (consisting of both a female drummer and a viola player), many consider *The Velvets* to be the first real punk band—a group of individuals who did whatever they wanted with little or no serious consideration of critical or monetary success.

Equally as significant as The Velvet Underground were two bands from Middle America: The Motor City 5 (MC5) and The Stooges. The MC5 fused traditional rock-n-roll with an overtly aggressive liberal political ideology. Calling themselves the White Panther Party, claiming an obvious solidarity with the Black Panther Party, and openly working with other late-60's counter cultural groups, MC5 adopted a radical political platform and even included John Sinclair within the band, a non-instrument playing "Minister of Information." As noted in their 1968 White Panther Statement and Platform, the MC5 believed that "Money sucks! Leaders suck! School sucks! We don't want it! Our program of rock-n-roll, dope, and fucking in the streets is a program of total freedom for everyone...We are totally committed to carrying out our platform. We breathe revolution!"⁶ For many, this "fuck you" political ideology, coupled with an almost comical rebelliousness, would ultimately have an incalculable effect on what would become punk rock. Obviously, MC5 considered themselves the vanguard of an organic guerilla rock-n-roll movement whose political message was pushed through their music. This notion of extreme, almost anarchic, rebellion would not be lost on future bands within or outside the punk rock community.

The last of the three progenitors of modern punk rock were The Stooges. Fronted by Iggy Pop, The Stooges were an almost sophomoric attempt at rock-n-roll. What set them apart from other bands of the era, though, was their live performances. On stage, Iggy would oscillate between complete artistic control and utter physical abandon. Not only was he known for spreading peanut butter all over his body and walking or jumping on the heads of audience members, rolling in broken glass, contorting his wiry frame into all sorts of unnatural poses, but also for (on more than one occasion) throwing up on audience members. Iggy maintained that he was simply doing an exaggerated Jim Morrison impersonation. As he once noted, "I loved the antagonism; I loved that he was pissing them off...not only was Morrison pissing them off, but he was mesmerizing them at the same time...It made a big impression on me."⁷ For Iggy, the live performance was geared toward both antagonizing and entralling audiences at the same time. He not only believed that this dichotomy was the basis of the perfect live aesthetic, he also thought that such antics were a necessary and natural extension of rock-n-roll's inherent rebellion—a rebellion that was currently lacking in rock music. The Stooges' minimalist musical proficiency and penchant for shocking and self-destructive live performances would, without a doubt, provide a blueprint for future punk rockers.

Although The Velvet Underground, MC5, and The Stooges did not consider themselves anything but rock-n-roll bands, aspects of their personas can easily be linked to the contemporary punk rock movement. Whether it

⁵ Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 7.

⁶ John Sinclair, *White Panther Statement and 10-Point Platform*, MC5, Alive Records, 1994.

⁷ Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 40.

was The Velvet's artistic experimentation, MC5's militant political rebellion, or The Stooges outrageous and confrontational live performances, each of these bands provided key elements to what would later become punk rock. This is coupled with the fact that each band made little or no money in the mainstream music industry yet forged ahead regardless, and it is easy to see how the reverberations each band left are still being felt today. As a matter of fact, many consider these three bands to be the "second phase" of what would later become known as the punk rock movement.

Although The Velvets, MC5, and The Stooges fought on into the early 1970s, their lack of mainstream commercial viability would be their death knell. Rock-n-roll during this period was plagued by an overindulgence, hedonism, and pretension on the part of many major label artists. Bands such as Led Zeppelin, Yes, Boston, Chicago, Pink Floyd, and countless others, worked long and hard (sometimes totaling several years) to craft the perfect album, and their live performances had degenerated into large scale arena tours, where the emphasis was more on the show (via lights, lasers, theatrical backdrops, and extended solos) rather than the music. For numerous rock fans, the division between band and audience was too pronounced in these large venues, and many believed that the true spirit of rock-n-roll had been corrupted. Once again, as if history were repeating itself, small regional and localized scenes began to develop across the United States as musicians moved to reclaim the music. To prove this point, one must look no further than the underground music scenes that developed, first in New York City and later in Los Angeles, during the 1970s. These scenes would be responsible for initiating what many believe is the "third phase" of the punk rock movement.

New York, during the early 1970s, was a melting pot of musical styles and influences. Amateur musicians of all stripes and abilities, looking for venues to try their wares, began congregating around a small club on the Bowery called CBGB's. Within this relatively unknown bohemian underground, such influential acts as The New York Dolls, Richard Hell and the Voidoids, The Heartbreakers, Television, Patti Smith, Talking Heads, and Blondie, developed. Taking its cue from the New York scene, Los Angeles was developing a similar movement with such bands as The Runaways, Weirdos, The Screaming, and later, the Go-Gos and X. In each case, regardless of location, the primary impetus was twofold: first the overriding need to reclaim rock-n-roll's musical and performance rebellion from the arena sized monsters of rock, and secondly, to push the parameters of musical experimentation and performance aesthetics.

As far as the future of punk was concerned though, one New York band stood head and shoulders above the rest: The Ramones. Comprised of four high school dropouts from the Queens, New York neighborhood of Forrest Hills, each member was an avid rock-n-roll fan, an appreciation which included many of the previously discussed mid-60's no hit wonder groups, not to mention the *Velvet* Underground, MC5, and The Stooges. With these influences in mind and minimal musical dexterity, Johnny, Dee Dee, Joey, and Ritchie Ramone would redefine music as a "sparse, intense, three-minute buzzsaw blast dominated by eighth-note unanimity from strummed, distorted guitar, bass, and drums."⁸ Add the fact that each member sported a leather jacket, bowl haircut, and juvenile delinquent attitude to their very limited, yet aggressive musical assault, and you have the quintessential punk rock band. During their 1976 tour of Great Britain, The Ramones would perform for, meet, and, without a

⁸ Paul Friedlander, *Rock-n-Roll: A Social History* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 250.

doubt, have an immense impact on, members of the burgeoning pub rock scene that was developing there. As a matter of fact, seminal English punk bands, such as the Sex Pistols, The Clash, The Damned, and Sham 69, all credit The Ramones with being the impetus for their musical careers.⁹

It should also be noted that within the same *avant-garde* underground musical environment that spawned The Ramones, developed the second claim to the origins of the term ‘punk’ to describe a musical style. Realizing that no mainstream media publication would be interested in covering this underground music, three New Yorkers, John Holstrom, Legs McNeil, and Ged Dunn, decided to start their own magazine.¹⁰ As Legs McNeil notes:

Holstrom wanted the magazine to be a combination of everything we were into—television reruns, drinking beer, getting laid, cheeseburgers, comics, grade-B movies, and this weird rock-n-roll nobody but us seemed to like...So I said, ‘Why don’t we call it *Punk*?’ The word seemed to sum up the thread that connected everything we liked—drunk, obnoxious, smart but not pretentious, absurd, funny, ironic, and things that appealed to the darker side.¹¹

With the choice of moniker agreed upon, Holstrom, McNeil, and Dunn became the first American journalists to cover this developing underground music scene. Consequently, the label ‘punk’ was adopted by many underground groups. Although initial use of the term ‘punk’ to describe a musical form (offered by Lenny Kaye and Greg Shaw two years earlier) was less refined or precise. Legs McNeil has continually claimed right of ownership over the term as it is used today. Regardless of the argument though, punk rock music has become synonymous with shocking, rude, and obscene behavior, confrontational dress, minimalist music, and confrontational lyrical attacks.¹² As the underground punk scenes in New York and Los Angeles began to percolate, other scenes began to develop across the United States. Oddly though, it would be an English import that sparked the punk phenomenon.

There are several arguments as to why the punk phenomenon took hold in England during the 1970s. The first maintains that the English economy was deteriorating, along with the economic and educational opportunities. Working class youth were looking at a bleak future of subsistence living and government handouts. This sense of desperation could have emerged in music through reactive lyrics and the anti-authoritarian nature of their stance.¹³ The second rationale states that English punk directly resulted from the art school backgrounds of punk mentors and band members. Art school concepts such as shock value, performance art, fashion, and situationist theories of subversion would all surface in the punk movement and, as a matter of fact, members of the Sex Pistols, The Clash,

⁹ “End of the Century: The Story Of The Ramones” (Film), produced by Danny Fields, 100 minutes, *Rhino Video*, 2005 DVD.

¹⁰ “Magazine” is a misnomer. In actuality, Holstrom, McNeil and Dunn started a “fanzine.” The term “fanzine” is a combination of two words; “fan” and “magazine” (also called “zines”). They are noncommercial, nonprofessional, small circulation publications, often produced, published, and distributed by a single individual. The fact that they are privately funded, have irregular publication schedules, and are privately distributed, sets them apart from professionally published magazines. They are generated and sold by independent individuals who operate without the editorial and publishing controls placed on the major media outlets and are usually produced for fun and the sheer will to be heard rather than for profit. Fanzine topics vary and include almost anything imaginable. Obviously, Holstrom, McNeil, and Dunn were interested in covering much more than the New York underground music scene.

¹¹ Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 203-4.

¹² Paul Friedlander, *Rock-n-Roll: A Social History* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 258.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 250

and Siouxsie and the Banshees all had art school backgrounds.¹⁴ Perhaps a more relevant discussion as to the origins of English punk would include elements of both arguments. Add to this the fact that these bands, much like their American counterparts, were reacting to the overindulgent, hedonistic, pretension of contemporary rock music at the time, and the evolution of the punk movement becomes clear.

Arguments aside, it would be the Sex Pistols who would ultimately push punk rock into the open. The Sex Pistols were the product of Malcolm McLaren, a former art school student, avant-garde clothes designer, and music impresario. McLaren had lived in New York and witnessed the birth of the punk underground there and, at one point, even managed The Heartbreakers. Returning to England, McLaren was set on fomenting an English equivalent to the New York scene. He states,

By the dawn of the seventies, the philosophy was that you couldn't do anything without a lot of money. So my philosophy was back to, 'Fuck you, we don't care if we can't play and don't have very good instruments we're still doing it because we think you are all a bunch of cunts'...I think that's what created the anger –the anger was simply about money, that the culture had become corporate, that we no longer owned it and everybody was desperate to fucking get it back. This was the generation trying to do that.¹⁵

The stage was partially set, as an underground movement of rock-n-roll and R&B was already underway in England. The 1976 tour by The Ramones would ultimately convince many of these bands to reevaluate their performance codes. All McLaren had to do was assemble a band, dress them up, and unleash them on the world. Almost overnight, the Sex Pistols became the poster children for punk rock. Their dress, language, behavior and musical style became synonymous with the term 'punk.'

As the punk phenomenon spread in the late 1970s and began to show even the smallest sign of profitability, major labels began to take an interest in underground music. While there were bands that intentionally avoided corporate advances, choosing instead to release and distribute their music independently, there were others who gave in to pressure and signed record deals. American punk bands such as The Ramones, Blondie, Talking Heads, Devo, Go-Gos, and X would ultimately sign with major labels. Unfortunately, because of the shocking and controversial actions of the Sex Pistols and the bad press they garnered, all punk was being branded as violent, nihilistic, and anti-authoritarian by the main-stream media. Although not all punk bands practiced the Sex Pistols' shock-rock style, the damage was quickly done. Punk shows were soon targeted and shut down by the police. In Los Angeles there were even several police initiated riots.¹⁶

Aside from the negative press, major labels that had signed punk bands were not moving the projected units and, subsequently, were becoming disinterested in the genre. In order to both retain profits and simultaneously distance themselves from punk's controversial side, record executives decided it was time the genre undergo a name change. Suddenly, "new wave" became the standard bearer for bands that retained punk's critical lyrical properties and fashion, but rejected its more shocking and controversial elements. Those bands who opposed tempering their

¹⁴ Paul Friedlander, *Rock-n-Roll: A Social History* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 251.

¹⁵ Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 245.

¹⁶ Spitz, Mark and Brendan Mullen, *We Got the Neutron Bomb: The Untold Story of L.A. Punk* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001) 188-191.

personalities were summarily dropped.¹⁷ Although many artists perceived this as a sell-out-or-get-out environment, many bands such as the Go-Gos, B-52s, Cars, Talking Heads, Blondie, Elvis Costello and the Attractions, The Police, and Billy Idol (formerly of the punk band, Generation X) saw measured success with the majors.

For those bands that chose to stay true to the independent, non-commercially oriented spirit of original punk, it was back to the underground, but the underground was beginning to change. Bands just coming up, resentful of both the pretension of established punk bands and those who had, in their opinion, “sold out,” were about to set off a revolution within the scene. Times were changing and the music was set to change as well. As the new decade dawned, a scene within a scene was developing and this new scene would literally dominate the punk underground for the next five years.

The youth in the United States are no strangers to alienation. and they have consistently reacted to it in a number of ways over the last six decades. One must look no further than the Beat movement and rock-n-roll of the 1950s, the protest and Flower Power movements of the 1960s, or the punk underground of the 1970s for proof of this fact.¹⁸ American youth have established a precedent for movements that have not only challenged the status quo, but also set new cultural strata built on the ashes of previous movements. California in particular has been at the forefront of each of these youth movements and, in the case of punk rock, was once again poised to lead the youth in a new direction. By 1980, the Los Angeles punk scene, like those in both New York and England, had witnessed the co-optation of its music, fashion, and name by the major labels and, slowly but surely, punk artists began to show the same signs of overindulgence and pretension that had destroyed rock-n-roll a decade earlier. Due to this co-optation some punks felt alienated from their own scene.

In the suburbs of Los Angeles, California an underground movement was initiated to take back the scene and return the rebelliousness and anti-authoritarian stance that had been the benchmark, not only for original rock-n-roll, but punk as well. This revivalist movement drew momentum from its contemporaries in New York and England but chose not to repeat their mistakes. It was an extension of punk rock in that it “mimicked or reacted to punk; it appropriated some aspects yet discarded others. It reaffirmed the attitude, and rejected the new wave.”¹⁹ It was deemed “hardcore” by its adherents because it was the extreme: the absolute most punk. Where punk had been a subset of rock-n-roll, hardcore was a subset of punk, and its appeal was both infectious and popular. As one fan aptly concluded, “When punks said ‘hardcore,’ other punks new exactly what they meant.”²⁰

Musically speaking, hardcore was totally unique. Although its guiding philosophy implied “no rules,” the music was neither avant-garde nor experimental, nor did it have unlimited possibilities and, in most cases, it was simply about playing as fast as possible. To clarify:

There was a quantum difference between early punk and hardcore—it was something like the difference between bebop and hardbop in jazz, or the leap from Chuck Berry’s affable rock-n-roll to Jimi Hendix’s freaky electrocution of the blues. It was all about the intensity of the delivery.²¹

¹⁷ Ibid., 178.

¹⁸ One would also have to include the hip-hop and heavy/speed metal movements that started in the mid-1980s and the alternative rock movement that began in the early 1990s.

¹⁹ Steven Blush, *American Hardcore: A Tribal History* (New York, Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001), 13.

²⁰ Ibid., 16.

²¹ Azzerad, 130.

It was a younger, faster, and angrier version of punk rock that embodied all of the pent-up rage and dysfunction of adolescence. One writer summed it up thusly:

Hardcore punk drew a line in the sand between older avant-rock fans and a new bunch of kids who were coming up. On one side were those who considered the music (and its fans) loud, ugly, and incoherent; to the folks on the other side, hardcore was the only music that mattered... Hardcore punks were happy, even determined to limit their appeal. The music was resolutely unmelodic, humbly recorded, and vastly unsexy. It was a point of honor not to reach out beyond their nationwide tribe. It was not only a way to cement a fledgling community, but...it was also a way to feel powerful at a time in life when one can feel particularly powerless.²²

Another commentator surmised that “dispensing with all pretension, these kids boiled the music down to its essence, then revved up the tempos...and called the result ‘hardcore.’”²³

Unfortunately, given the limited scope of this study, a thorough discussion of the hardcore movement and its many bands, scenes, record labels, and zines is impossible. Instead we will examine the three seminal hardcore bands of the early 1980s: Black Flag, Bad Brains, and Minor Threat. Together, these three outfits not only set the standard for the future of both hardcore and underground music, but they are also considered the most influential bands in the history of hardcore punk rock.

Greg Ginn, founding member of Black Flag, was a typical suburban youth from Hermosa Beach, California, a community southwest of Los Angeles. As an avid ham radio enthusiast and UCLA economics major, he met most of the criteria of a geek or nerd. Ginn had taught himself to play guitar not as an artistic venture but, as he put it, “to work off energy and frustration.”²⁴ He was the antithesis of the L.A. pop/singer songwriter; he was into the heavy stuff like Black Sabbath and Led Zeppelin, but he loathed the slick corporate rock of the day. Surprisingly, Ginn’s favorite musical genre was jazz and his favorite band was the Grateful Dead.²⁵ What changed his mind about writing music was reading about the New York punk underground and witnessing an early Ramones gig. The Ramones inspired Ginn to not only form a band, but also to write music that was fast—as he put it, “To turn it up a notch.”²⁶

Formed in 1976 and called Panic, the band initially consisted of Ginn on guitar, Carl McDaniel (a.k.a, Chuck Dukowski) on bass, Brian Migdol on drums, and Keith Morris as vocalist. Interestingly, the band consciously accepted the punk ethos of rebellion and its “do it yourself” ethic, but rejected its fashion trends. Panic opted instead to perform in “T-shirts, sneakers, and jeans, a look which flew in the face of the consumptive safety pin and leather jacket pose of the Anglophilic L.A. punks.”²⁷ Coupled with their suburban roots, Panic’s non-punk image initially prevented them from being accepted by the greater Los Angeles scene, and consequently, from playing shows. Undaunted, the band relied on word of mouth and garage gigs in other suburban cities such as

²²Azzerad, 13-14.

²³Ibid., 13.

²⁴Ibid., 16.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Azzerad, 18.

²⁷Ibid.

Orange County's Huntington Beach and Costa Mesa. Building a substantially rabid following, it soon became hard for the L.A. punks to ignore them. A sea of change was coming, not only to the L.A. scene, but to punk as a whole.

In 1978, just prior to recording their first EP, Ginn discovered that another band had been using the name Panic. His younger brother, an artist who went by the name Raymond Pettibon, suggested they use Black Flag instead. The rationale was simple: "If a white flag meant surrender, it was plain what a black one meant; the black flag is also the recognizable symbol for anarchy, not to mention the traditional emblem of pirates, and the fact that Black Flag was also a popular poison, didn't hurt either."²⁸ The name was perfect. Unfortunately, the established L.A. independent labels dragged their feet in releasing the single, and Ginn, drawing on his economics background, opted to found, run, and release it on his own label, SST. Unbeknownst to Ginn at the time, this decision would send shockwaves across the United States.

Released in January of 1979, the *Nervous Breakdown* EP set the mold for the future of hardcore punk. Not only did it contain the sarcasm, angst, and rage of punk rock, it was also both tough, fast, and most significantly, self-released and distributed. Comprised of four songs ("Nervous Breakdown," "Fix Me," "I've Had It," and "Wasted"), *Nervous Breakdown* clocked in at approximately five minutes in length. Sung over fuzzily produced blasts of intensity, the lyrics contained the perfect blend of sardonic humor (I was a hippie / I was a burnout / I was so wasted I was out of my head) and adolescent angst (I'm crazy and I'm hurt / head on my shoulders goin' berserk). The impact that these four songs would have on the future of hardcore punk is immeasurable. In the suburbs of Los Angeles and across the United States, like-minded individuals were quick adherents. Hardcore punk had arrived.

With both a substantial following and an EP under their belts, Black Flag was difficult to ignore, and the previously exclusive L.A. punk scene was hard-pressed to open up shows for the new band. Unfortunately, while the L.A. punks tended to be addicted to drugs and older than average, the suburban element that followed Black Flag tended to be disaffected teenage oddballs, jocks, and surfers. Consequently, the commingling of these disparate groups led to confrontation.²⁹ Black Flag and their fans gained a reputation of being violent sociopaths, and the LAPD was quick to close down any venue the band attempted to play. In response to its banned status in the L.A. area, and a move that would once again send shockwaves across the United States, Black Flag organized its first national tour in 1979.

Ginn and Dukowski served as Black Flag's booking agents. At the time, few, if any, punk bands had even attempted a multiple-date national tour, let alone a seemingly unknown hardcore band. Yet, with their reputation as the vanguard of a new movement and that was spread by word of mouth, Ginn and Dukowski were able to hobble together a series of gigs across the United States and Canada. Although the conditions on tour were rough, with six starving guys crammed in a van, sleeping on floors, and playing shows for little or no money, the fact of the matter was that they were successful.³⁰ Not only did this prove that America's underground punk culture was vast, it also

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Azzerad, 28.

³⁰ For an excellent source on the hardships faced while touring read Henry Rollins, *Get in the Van: On the Road with Black Flag* (Los Angeles: 2.13.61 Publications, 1994).

inspired other hardcore bands not only to form, but to tour as well. In this sense, Black Flag served as the “Lewis and Clarks of the punk touring circuit, blazing a trail across America that bands still follow today.”³¹

Although they were plagued by a series of lineup changes during the early 1980s, their first several releases, including the seminal 1981 hardcore LP, “Damaged” (with Washington D.C. native, Henry Rollins on vocals), would ultimately set the bar against which all other hardcore would be measured.³² The significance of Black Flag’s legacy cannot be overstated. First and foremost they represented the young suburban punk element that was able to wrest the scene away from the older, English influenced American punk and new wave bands. Also, they set a precedent for independent release and distribution of sound recordings that is still practiced today. Lastly, their ceaseless touring opened up venues for countless other bands to follow, which precipitated much of the 1980s underground music scene.

Meanwhile, three thousand miles away from the Los Angeles’ hardcore punk scene, four African-American youth from southeast Washington D.C. were poised to push hardcore in a new direction. Originally formed as a jazz fusion band called Mind Power, Darryl Jennifer, Gary Miller, Paul and Earl Hudson latched on to punk rock’s social and political criticism and injected it with hyper-speed that would ultimately reshape the future of hardcore music. Not only would they influence the burgeoning D.C. punk scene, they would ultimately relocate in New York City and, subsequently, set off a hardcore explosion there as well.

Like Greg Ginn, the members of what would become the Bad Brains, were primarily influenced by jazz music. In 1977, guitarists Gary Miller and Paul Hudson, bassist Darryl Jennifer, and drummer Earl Hudson formed a band that attempted jazz fusion called Mind Power. Their primary influences included the likes of Return to Forever, Lenny White, and The Mahvishnu Orchestra.³³ Although their intentions were true, Miller always maintained they “weren’t really playing fusion, though I guess you could call it that because it was a mixture of whatever came up.”³⁴ In addition to jazz, they were also into the popular black music of the day and the prevalent “doomsday music” of the mid 1970s, including the likes of Black Sabbath, Led Zeppelin, Budgie, and Kiss. Following a disastrous first show in the Hudson basement where Jennifer was too overcome with stage fright to perform, Mind Power did some serious soul searching. As Paul Hudson recalled, “I remember sitting with Gary and Darryl saying that we gotta do something original, we gotta think of some sound here that’s so fresh and innovative that no one else can copy it.”

The next day, Jennifer took Mind Power to meet his friend Sid McCray. McCray had watched a 1977 television news story on British punk and become intrigued. For him the impact of this new music was immediate, dramatic, and galvanizing.³⁵ As he explained it:

³¹ Azzerad, 24.

³² Sadly, due to discrepancies over musical direction and, no doubt both mental and physical exhaustion, Black Flag called it quits in 1986.

³³ Mark Andersen and Mark Jenkins, *Dance of Days: Two Decades of Punk in the Nation’s Capital* (New York: Akashic Books, 2003), 29.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 27.

I always liked the rebellion part of punk. I was feeling angry realizing that the establishment was killing all our leaders –Malcom X, MLK, the Panthers. All the other music then was just ‘party music,’ y’know the old cliché, ‘sex, drugs, and rock-n-roll.’ I guess I felt that it was time to think about things, to question authority. Basically, punk music was telling me, ‘Don’t accept these things as the truth unless you check them out.’ It was time to get rebellious.³⁶

Taken aback by McCray’s outlandish attire—leather jacket, chains, and cropped hair with peroxide streaks—the members of Mind Power were initially skeptical but “when he played his new favorite records by the likes of the Sex Pistols, Damned, The Clash, and Dead Boys, their astonishment grew.”³⁷ Jennifer recalled: “We dug the militancy happening in punk rock. It said, ‘If you have something to say, say it.’ A lot of the things we saw our people falling for made us mad at the kind of illusions society was trying to create.” With the recruitment of McCray as vocalist, Mind Power entered a new phase.

Searching for a new name, Jennifer proposed “Bad Brains.” As Paul remembered, “it had to be something dealing with the mind and it had to be ‘bad’—meaning ‘great,’ in the street sense of the word.”³⁸ Where Mind Power had taken its name from an obscure, Depression Era self-help book, “Bad Brains” was the title of a song from The Ramones’ fourth album, *Road to Ruin*. While The Ramones song had dealt with a negative theme, Jennifer maintained that their use of the title emphasized the power of the mind to transform reality.³⁹ The Bad Brains had arrived.

Several sparsely attended basement shows later, it was obvious that McCray was inept as a vocalist. He would usually get started and wind up off stage arguing with his girlfriend. The decision was made to move Paul (now calling himself H.R., “Human Rights”) from guitar to vocals leaving Miller (now going by “Dr. Know”) the lone guitarist. With its lineup firm, the time had come for the Bad Brains to travel across the Anacostia River to take on the unsuspecting and relatively new D.C. punk scene. With promotional flyers that included both hyperbole and pretentious taunts—such as “World’s fastest,” “Devastating,” or “Are you ready? We are!”—the Bad Brains took their first tentative steps into the overwhelmingly white punk rock scene.

The Bad Brain’s music was a unique amalgamation of punk, hard rock, jazz and funk with one glaring exception: the tempo. They played their songs at a speed not yet attempted by any other punk band. Technically speaking, and no doubt a direct result of their various influences, the band often strayed from the two- and three-chord formula that had defined most punk music. This allowed for both bass and guitar fills and leads to punctuate the music. Add to all of this H.R.’s uncanny ability to vary his vocal delivery, often times sounding as if there were numerous vocalists involved, and you had something fresh, unique, and, most importantly, fast. Lyrically the band dealt with everything from crass consumerism in “Don’t Need It,” to the importance of having a positive attitude in “P.M.A.” The effect that such a combination of characteristics would have on the future of hardcore, not to mention post-punk alternative music, cannot be understated. The Bad Brains definitely took it up a notch.

Of course, the D.C. punk scene was floored when the Bad Brains started making the rounds in late 1979. After one performance a stunned spectator lamented, “It was one of those stupendous shows, an absolute

³⁶ Andersen and Jenkins, 27.

³⁷ Ibid., 30.

³⁸ Ibid., 34.

³⁹ Ibid.

benchmark. I loved the Damned, but the Bad Brains blew them into outer space. There was just no comparison.”⁴⁰ The fact that H.R. was known for doing back flips off the drum riser or diving into the crowd, at least a full year before slam dancing via California had made it into the scene, most likely accounts for some of this adulation. Henry Rollins, future vocalist for Black Flag had this to say: “To us, Bad Brains meant everything. I have never seen anything like [them] before or since. You thought they were going to detonate right before your eyes.”⁴¹ At one performance “the crowd danced so vigorously that the floor...nearly collapsed.”⁴² As a matter of fact, Bad Brains shows were known for such fervent chaos that they soon found themselves banned from most venues—inspiring one of their best known songs, “Banned in D.C.”

By 1980 the Bad Brains had gone through several distinct changes. H.R., having attended a Bob Marley concert in 1979, became a convert to Rastafarianism and the rest of the band soon followed. A radical religious sect, Rastas sought justice for Africans and their descendants along with promoting a “natural lifestyle” free of chemical poisons. For H.R. this, no doubt given his on-again-off-again bout with heroin addiction, provided a spiritual rationale for staying clean.⁴³ Subsequently, starting in 1980, reggae became another key influence of the bands music—enough to allow the inclusion of pure reggae songs intermixed with hardcore punk on each of their albums. Also, due to the number of D.C. area venues who refused to let them perform, they were forced to relocate. Settling in New York, Bad Brains went on to influence countless others in the burgeoning hardcore scene developing there.

Over the next several years the band released a number of influential hardcore recordings including the seminal *Pay to Cum* EP in 1980, the now legendary *ROIR Sessions* LP in 1981, and the Rick Ocasek (of The Cars) produced *Rock for Light* LP in 1983.⁴⁴ As noted earlier, the significance of this band to the history of hardcore punk rock cannot be overstated. They cast a wide shadow that would influence all hardcore bands that followed. Through their varied influences, hyper-speed delivery, social, political and later spiritual lyrics, not to mention their dynamic stage performances, the Bad Brains took hardcore up a notch. Those closest to the experience, notably two D.C. area teenagers named Jeff Nelson and Ian MacKaye, would watch, learn, and eventually perfect what they had observed.

In Washington D.C., a fledgling punk scene had been underway since 1976, including such outfits as Root Boy Slim and the Sex Change Band, The Slickee Boys, Half Japanese, White Boy, and Urban Verbs.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, similar to what had happened in England, New York, and Los Angeles, major labels had co-opted the scene signing bands and repackaging them as “new wave” artists (in particular Root Boy Slim and the Sex Change

⁴⁰ Andersen and Jenkins, 40.

⁴¹ Andersen and Jenkins, 43.

⁴² Ibid., 41-42.

⁴³ Ibid., 58.

⁴⁴ By 1985 their studio work had tempered somewhat with the release of *I Against I* on Greg Ginn’s SST label. Although not a hardcore release, it is considered by many as one of the greatest independent records of that decade. Unfortunately, internal squabbles over musical direction (Miller and Jennifer wanting to both rock and reggae while H.R. and Earl only wanting to reggae) caused the band to fold in 1986. They reformed again in 1989 to release the *Quickness* LP and tour, but soon split again. In 1993, Miller and Jennifer, with two new members, reformed and released the critical and commercial flop, *Rise* LP and quickly disbanded. Finally, in 1995 the original members reunited to release the *God of Love* LP on Madonna’s Maverick label. Several shows into the tour that followed the band imploded once again -not to be heard from since.

⁴⁵ Andersen and Jenkins, 18.

Band, who had been signed by the Warner Brothers label).⁴⁶ Consequently, the scene had degenerated into pretension and posturing on the part of its established local bands. To complicate this situation, younger punks just coming up were either treated as insignificants or barred completely by venues that enforced age restrictions. In response, some young punks initiated a scene within a scene as an attempt to have access to the punk movement. Not only would their endeavors come to overshadow the older scene, but they would also set a precedent which was replicated across the United States in the years that followed.

As seventeen-year-old Wilson High School students, Ian MacKaye and Jeff Nelson were typical mid-1970's adolescents, whose musical tastes included the likes of Ted Nugent, Queen, Aerosmith, and Led Zeppelin. Curious about the relatively new punk rock phenomenon, MacKaye and Nelson attended their first punk show, headlined by The Cramps, in January of 1979. For MacKaye in particular, the experience was galvanizing:

It blew my mind because I saw for the first time this huge, totally invisible community that gathered for this tribal event and it was so dangerous, so scary for me... At that moment I realized here was a community that was politically confrontational, that was theologically confrontational, that was artistically confrontational, that was sexually confrontational, physically confrontational, musically confrontational... Everything was in the room. I thought, "This appeals to me. This is a world I think I can breathe in. This is what I need."⁴⁷

A few days after The Cramps show, MacKaye, who worked with Henry Rollins at a local pet store, shaved his head with a dog trimmer—a major statement in the age of designer jeans.⁴⁸ The following week he saw The Clash, and his transformation was complete. As MacKaye recalled, "It was the greatest shit I'd ever seen. It was everything I thought rock-n-roll should be. I was like, 'This is it, I'm a punk rock motherfucker.'"⁴⁹

Punk's rudimentary requirements had convinced MacKaye that anybody could play it, and recruiting Nelson and two other friends, Geordie Grindle and Mark Sullivan, formed the Slinkees in 1979. Inspired by the hyper-speed delivery of the Bad Brains the Slinkees attempted to play as fast as possible. Nelson summed it up thusly, "Bad Brains influenced us incredibly with their speed and frenzied delivery. We went from sounding like the Sex Pistols to playing every song as fast and hard as we could."⁵⁰ MacKaye noted that, "They were so fast and so good... So we started to play fast too."⁵¹ With MacKaye on bass, Nelson on drums, Grindle on guitar, and Sullivan as vocalist, the Slinkees combined cover material such as "Louie Louie" and "At the Hop," with sardonic originals such as the un-Grateful "Deadhead" (that mocked hippie rock) and the anti-Skynrd, "Dead Bird."⁵² Unfortunately, their first live performance, which was held in a friend's garage, proved to be their last, as Sullivan had to leave for college.

MacKaye and Nelson moved fast to establish a new band. Consisting of three quarters of the Slinkees and a newcomer, Nathan Strejcek, as vocalist, the Teen Idles were a more serious hardcore punk band than their

⁴⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁴⁷ Azzerad, 122.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁹ Andersen and Jenkins, 36.

⁵⁰ Andersen and Jenkins, 55.

⁵¹ Azzerad, 131.

⁵² Andersen and Jenkins, 36.

predecessor had been. As opposed to the older punk bands, the Teen Idles played loud, fast, short, and angry songs that were greeted with scorn by the older scene. Songs such as “Fleeting Fury,” which included the lyric “The clothes you wear have lost their sting / So’s the fury in the songs you sing,” was a reaction to what they perceived as older punk losing its edge.

The Teen Idles, leery of what was happening to the punk bands who had inspired them, started taking cues from the just developing California hardcore scene and bands such as Black Flag, The Germs, Fear, The Avengers, and Dead Kennedys. They went out of their way “to look as daunting as possible, sporting shaved heads, mohawks, and various other punk gear.”⁵³ As MacKaye remembered “We were a new kind of punk rock. We were *hardcore* punk rockers... The kids were younger and they just went to town with it.”⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, the band was so intrigued by what was happening in California that they booked two shows, one in Los Angeles the other in San Francisco, and boarded a Greyhound bus. The impact of this road trip cannot be overemphasized. Although the shows were complete disasters, the experience was eye-opening in a number of ways.

At home, whether by students from Georgetown University, red necks, jocks, military servicemen, or metal heads, the D.C. punks were constantly harassed and often targeted both physically and verbally. Even the older punks had taken to condescendingly calling them “teeny-punks.” In both Los Angeles and San Francisco though, the hardcore kids were fierce—no one messed with them for fear of the retaliatory consequences.⁵⁵ This had a huge impact on the D.C. contingent who returned home, with not only a significant sense of pride and belonging, but also a healthy penchant for retributive violence. Aside from this new found pride, they also experienced an all-ages policy at the Mahbury Gardens in San Francisco, “which entailed marking a big black ‘X’ on the hands of underage kids so their non-drinking status would be obvious to the bartenders.”⁵⁶ MacKaye and his crew believed that such a policy might be enough to force a shift in the balance of power in the D.C. punk scene.

Once home, the Teen Idles recorded what was supposed to be an EP but broke up before it could be released. Between bands, MacKaye set out to convince local club owners of the need for, and possibilities of, an all-ages door policy. Surprisingly, the 9:30 Club acquiesced—the “teeny punks” now had a place to perform. Bandless, MacKaye was itching for the chance to perform in a real club. He and Nelson had bandied about the idea of starting a new band, but MacKaye was adamant: he wanted to be a vocalist. As he remembered: “I just had an idea of how one might sing. I watched *Woodstock* sixteen times, watched Joe Cocker, and I wanted to be a singer.”⁵⁷ MacKaye and Nelson decided the band would be called Minor Threat, because “We were minors—underage, and also just diminutive,” said MacKaye. “Just a small threat, nothing to worry about.”⁵⁸ Unbeknownst to them at the time, Minor Threat would soon become, next to Black Flag and the Bad Brains, not only one of the most immediately recognizable hardcore bands in the history of punk rock music, but easily its most influential as well.

⁵³ Azzerad, 123.

⁵⁴ Azzerad, 130.

⁵⁵ Azzerad, 126.

⁵⁶ Andersen and Jenkins, 65.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 127.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Minor Threat was comprised of MacKaye and Nelson plus a former member of the Extorts, Lyle Preslar, on guitar, and guitar prodigy Brian Baker on bass. Having cut their teeth in other hardcore bands, the new ensemble came together quickly. Gone was the sloppiness of novice musicianship, and in its place was a tight knit musical machine. Minor Threat delivered their songs with the speed, power, and accuracy of a jackhammer in a “series of starts and stops interspersed with flat out sprints that had the band playing as fast as they humanly could.”⁵⁹ The rhythms were delivered in a one-two beat—a pattern that had become hardcore’s trademark, while Preslar played bar chords with a speed and accuracy unimaginable. Most importantly, and “considering he was essentially shouting and within a very narrow range, MacKaye’s vocals were very tuneful.”⁶⁰ Minor Threat was formidable to say the least.

Initially, MacKaye’s lyrics were a combination of adolescent angst and pure rage. As Makaye noted I was very angry. I was nineteen and about to leave the ranks of the teenagers and I was furious—the evolution of punk rock had grown from these silly kids to being embattled silly kids to being embittered silly kids, then embittered kids and then violent embittered kids. It just kept getting ratcheted up...No one took us seriously and it drove us crazy—how much more real could we be? We were kids! We picked up guitars! We taught ourselves to play! We wrote our own songs!⁶¹

This anger was evident in many of the songs on Minor Threat’s 1981 self-titled and self-released, EP, which contained eleven minutes worth of rants against blowhards (“I Don’t Wanna Hear It”), stubborn friends (“Screaming at a Wall”), and Bible freaks (“Filler”). Each song dealt specifically with everyday life: “Bottled Violence” railed against drunken fights at shows, “Minor Threat” warned of growing up to soon, and “Seeing Red” was about being taunted for being a punk.⁶² Most importantly, aside from being self-released, the EP packed a powerful punch that was delivered at extreme tempos and was remarkably easy to sing along with. Little did they know, Minor Threat had delivered a quintessential slab of hardcore history.

Later that same year, the band again self-released its second EP, *In My Eyes*. Although similar to the first in musical structure and lyrical topics, *In My Eyes* contained songs that had slower, more comprehensible verse structures. The result was a clearer understanding of MacKaye’s lyrics. With their third release, the *Out of Step* LP, and final EP, 1983’s *Salad Days*, Minor Threat continued to progress both musically and lyrically. Not only were their songs in the mid-tempo range, but MacKaye’s lyrical messages were now addressing both intra and interpersonal themes. The addition of these two new elements to the hardcore repertoire would ultimately set the tone for the future of the genre.⁶³

Minor Threat was an integral step in the evolution of hardcore punk rock for a number of significant reasons. First and foremost, by taking the raw, rebellious, and angst ridden roots which Black Flag had nurtured and

⁵⁹ Azzerad, 128.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 129.

⁶¹ Ibid., 129-130

⁶² Azzerad, 133.

⁶³ Unfortunately, Minor Threat was unable to sustain itself past 1983. Internal squabbles over musical direction, with Jeff, Brian, and Lyle wanting to progress into slower tempos and alternative rock, as well as constant arguments over MacKaye’s morally strict Straight Edge credo, which railed against the use of drugs and alcohol, would prove too much for the group to bear. With only 26 songs of recorded history, the greatest hardcore band ever was no more.

injecting them with the hyper-fast tempos pioneered by the Bad Brains, Minor Threat was able to deliver a breakneck display of musical precision that would come to define the hardcore genre. As a matter of fact, they were considered by many to be the benchmark with which all future hardcore music was measured. They were able to create a self-sufficient local scene that not only provided bands with access to all ages venues, but also, through the establishment of Dischord Records in 1980, but also provided a vehicle for independent release and distribution of local music. Minor Threat, much like their predecessors, deserve recognition as pioneers, not only of hardcore music, but of punk rock in general.

After 1980 the United States and, later, the world saw a measured increase in the proliferation of both hardcore and punk bands. As a matter of fact, this wave of bands and its followers, by their sheer numbers, eclipsed those of the initial American and British punk scenes of the late mid-to-late 1970s. This increase was facilitated, no doubt, by the incessant touring of Black Flag, the awe inspiring display of controlled chaos presented by the Bad Brains, and by Minor Threat's development of the notion of a self-sustaining local music scene. But while this triumvirate was significant to the development of the hardcore punk community, they were not its only bands.⁶⁴

By 1982, thriving hardcore punk scenes had developed across the United States that offered both touring and local bands not only venues to perform in, but access to alternative college radio stations, fanzines, mom-and-pop record stores, independent record labels, and independent distributors as well. For more than a decade, this independent underground existed and thrived beneath the radar of the corporate behemoths due to the perseverance and dedication of the hardcore community. There would have been no Sonic Youth, R.E.M., Soundgarden, Pearl Jam, or Nirvana had there not been an American hardcore scene. For those involved, as Joe Carducci so aptly surmised in his book, *Rock and the Pop Narcotic*, "In an age of big entertainment conglomerates, big management, and big media, touring the lowest-rent rock clubs of America in an Econoline van was the equivalent of fighting a ground war strategy in an age of nuclear forces." At the forefront of this ground war were the hardcore punk bands that manned the trenches.

Aside from initiating, nurturing, and sustaining a vast alternative underground in the 1980s, hardcore punk would also provide a major impetus and inspiration for the developing speed metal scene just getting underway. One has to hear the tempos on Metallica's fist record, released just prior to the hardcore phenomenon, and compare them to their second and third endeavors, which were released in the wake of hardcore's rise, or the first several albums by crossover bands such as the Cro-Mags, Anthrax, or Prong to prove this point. The fact that both Slayer and Metallica have recently released cover songs written by various American hardcore bands is further affirmation of the genre's significance, not to mention, widespread appeal.

⁶⁴ On the East Coast for example, Washington D.C. gave birth to such greats as Faith, Scream, and Dag Nasty. Boston had Society System Decontrol (SSD) and Department of Youth Services (DYS). Rhode Island gave us *Verbal Assault*. New Jersey saw such greats as *The Misfits* and *Samhain*, and New York tendered forth the likes of *Cause for Alarm* and *Agnostic Front*. In the Midwest, Michigan offered up both *Negative Approach* and the Necros. Minnesota saw the rise of Loud Fast Rules, The Replacements, and Husker Du, and Chicago, Illinois provided the amazing Articles of Faith. In the South, Texas gave rise to both the Big Boys and Millions of Dead Cops/Multi Death Corporations (MDC). The South West was represented by 7 Seconds, while the southern west coast had the Middle Class, FEAR, the Germs, Uniform Choice, *Blast!*, Stalag 13, Aggression, and Youth Brigade—to name but only a precious few. And lastly, Northern California was honorably represented by the likes of the Dead Kennedys.

It seems almost inconceivable, given the recent mainstream success of such bands as Rancid, Blink 182, The Offspring, and Green Day, that the hardcore punk that necessitated most of the 1980s alternative underground has been so shamelessly and disrespectfully overlooked by the recent surge in historical text on the subject. The preceding study is by no means an inclusive and exhaustive attempt at balancing the seemingly lopsided representation provided by contemporary histories of punk. Instead, it was meant as a wake-up call to future authors—a reminder that punk’s long and proud tradition cannot be simply and conveniently book-ended between The Velvet Underground and the Sex Pistols. There was a significant and influential scene that continued well after the Sex Pistol’s demise. It was a scene that would come to shape the future of alternative music in the United States—a scene that was nurtured by the hardcore community.

The Fictional Conquest of the Air: Early British and French Aviation and the Popular Imagination, 1909-1914; Chapter Three

Michael Collins

As European aviators struggled with the hazardous uncertainties of powered flight before the First World War, writers in France and Britain published novels, short stories, magazine articles, postcards, and poetry depicting the new and risky aerial endeavor as a confident “mastery of the air.” Modern conceptualizations of how airplanes could be employed arose within the linguistic and ideological relationship between aviation and the imperial imagination at the genesis of powered flight. Aviation enthusiasts described pioneer ventures into the sky as expeditions into “the jungle of the air,” the establishment of “the empire of the air,” and most frequently, a struggle for “the conquest of the air,” even if these perilous gambles frequently failed. French and English networks of writers, politicians, pilots, and military officers sought to assert a triumphal and competitive spirit of European aviation in the face of imperial instability by establishing such a linguistic dominion over the skies.

Such an expression of unquestionable superiority over the air may have been so attractive precisely because it was an attitude of imperial authority that many among the English and the French feared that they were losing. As European countries threatened Britain’s naval supremacy and economic predominance, the Edwardians and their French counterparts began to question the future of the British Empire. The British military’s protracted struggle during the Boer War and the war’s outcome undermined the confidence of British imperialists in the loyalty of their global domains and the military sustainability of the empire.¹ Widely discussed in public, J.A. Hobson’s economic critique of British imperialism became influential among politicians in the first decade of the 20th century. The white Dominions of the British Empire increasingly expressed their sense of national differentiation, and various radicals and socialists continued to be unsupportive and suspicious of imperial adventures. From Chamberlain to Kipling, significant political and cultural figures expressed their doubts about the continued existence of the British Empire.²

The French also strained to preserve their imperial hegemony at the turn of the century and questioned the future of their overseas authority. The French loss of prestige at Fashoda in 1898, the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, and the Chinese Revolution of 1910 inspired Indo-Chinese nationalists to begin independence movements against the French. The economic and military strain required to conquer and to maintain imperial outposts in Madagascar, since the 1880s and in Morocco since the 1890s, had drained French resources. The Germans had challenged

¹ I.F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War 1763-1984* (London: Panther Books, 1970), 30-161; Richard Faber, *The Vision and the Need: Late Victorian Imperialist Aims* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 65-67; Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), 197; and Bernard Porter, *Britain, Europe, and the World, 1850-1986* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1986), 33-81. Note that I attempt to use the words “Britain” and the “British” when I discuss politics, and the “English” when I discuss culture and general non-political sentiments; no nationalistic statement should be read into this usage.

² Donald Read, *England, 1868-1914* (London and New York: Longman, 1979), 476-477, 480. H.G. Wells openly asked “Will the Empire live? What will hold such an empire as the British together?” From Wells’ *An Englishman Looks at the World* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1914), 33.

French supremacy in Morocco twice in less than ten years, and French anti-imperialists remained skeptical that the empire provided the nation with enough useful resources to offset the massive costs of maintaining colonial outposts.³

Despite these worries, the French and the British remained Great Powers for other reasons. In particular their economic, military, and technological innovations as well as their expansion during the late 19th and early 20th century maintained these nations at the forefront of progress. The Second Industrial Revolution made possible the invention of the light bulb, the telephone, the radio, the motion picture, the automobile, and the airplane, among other creative products. Each modern novelty inspired the public imagination in its turn, and some, like the airplane, created new ways of thinking about the physical world of time and space.⁴ Optimistic hopes for the new flying machines quickly rose as Europeans and Americans realized humanity could navigate with them above the face of the globe.

However, the earliest experiments in aviation came with a great degree of risk; the evidence indicates that aerial trials, exhibitions, and races ended in horrible accidents and fatalities. Victor Loughheed meticulously composed a comprehensive “Tabular History of Flights” for the index of his 1911 book, *Vehicles of the Air*, which illustrated the dangers aviators faced. Loughheed recorded the details of European and American flights in airplanes between December 1903 and June 1911. Dozens of references to broken wings, explosions, and wrecked machines can be found in Loughheed’s extensive lists, as well as notes on the deaths of numerous French and English pilots, including Eugene LeFebvre, Louis Ferber, Daniel Kinet, Charles Rolls, Louis Madiot, and Edmond Poillot.⁵ During his exhibition flight for the United States military in 1908, Orville Wright’s first passenger perished in a crash. Claude Grahame-White’s *The Story of the Aeroplane* chronicled Hubert Latham’s series of ghastly accidents in flying machines.⁶ As a matter of common precaution, men on bicycles carried fire extinguishers and repair tools when Alliott Verdun-Roe, a pioneer English aviator, attempted exhibition flying at Lea Marshes in 1909.⁷

Despite the depressing forecast for the French and the British empires and the common danger of pioneer flying machines, the application of proud imperial rhetoric to the new aeronautical endeavor quickly became conventional, if not cliché. Bold fictions of aerial imperialism filled the pages of popular novels, short stories, and the halfpenny press in Britain. The heroic aviator in H.G. Wells’s pre-World War I short story “The Argonauts of the Air” claimed that he was “trying to conquer a new element.”⁸ The gallant airman, Joyce-Armstrong, in Sir Arthur

³ Robert Aldrich, *Greater France; A History of French Overseas Expansion* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 33, 267-269; Stephen Ellis, *The Rising of the Red Shawls: A Revolt in Madagascar, 1895-1899* (Cambridge: University Press, 1985); John Hargreave’s review essay (“Fashoda: The Galvanic Moment”) of David Levering Lewis *The Race to Fashoda* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987) in the *Journal of African History* provides a good starting point for inquiry into Fashoda (JSTOR).

⁴ See Stephen Kern’s *A History of Time and Space, 1880-1914* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

⁵ Victor Loughheed, *Vehicles of the Air* (Chicago: The Reilly and Britton Co., 1911), 478-491.

⁶ Claude Grahame-White, *The Story of the Aeroplane* (London: Small, Maynard, and Co., 1911), 317-319.

⁷ Andrew Horrall, *Popular Culture in London, c. 1890-1918* (Manchester: University Press, 2001), 88-89.

⁸ Wells, H.G., “The Argonauts of the Air,” *Short Stories of H.G. Wells* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1927 reprint), 394.

Conan Doyle's adventure "The Horror of the Heights" risked death to explore the "jungles of the upper air."⁹ Both *Punch* and the London *Times* called Henri Farman's 1908 circular flight to win the Archdeacon Prize "The Conquest of the Air," and Blériot's pioneer journey across the English Channel was a "Conquest of the air" to Lord Northcliffe's *Daily Mail*.¹⁰ The English clearly thought of the skies as a new space of conquest, and extension of imperialism, though the practicality of such an enterprise remained in doubt. The author of an article on "The Flying Ships of the Future" discussed new airplane designs whose use would culminate in the "subjugation of the wide realms of the air," even as many of the attempted flights that season never rose from of the ground.¹¹

Many influential British publishers, politicians, and military officers were imperialists who helped to popularize powered flight. Lord Northcliffe offered several significant prizes for the earliest record-making flights through the *Daily Mail*, a pro-imperialist newspaper that he specifically created as a voice for British geopolitical ambitions. Sir Robert Baden-Powell, a leading military officer for the empire, supported political initiatives to create a fleet of British airplanes. Several air-minded optimists formed the Official Aerial League of the British Empire to encourage the use of flying machines in small wars overseas. In 1910 The French used some light aircraft for reconnaissance in their effort to "pacify" the ongoing rebellions in Morocco, marking the first use of airplanes in war. The English established the Women's Aerial League and the Young Aerial League of the British Empire after Blériot's triumphant flight across the Channel in 1909.¹² Britain's Empire Day exhibition in 1912 featured a performance of "air power," and the combined aerial leagues published the short-lived *Aerial Observer* between 1910 and 1911.¹³ These individuals and organizations optimistically hoped that the public, following the initial popularity of airplanes in British and French races and "aerial derbies," would endorse their military use.

The ideas of Herbert Spencer, Karl Pearson, Benjamin Kidd, and other English Social Darwinists clearly influenced the vocabulary of aerial conquest, particularly in the literary sources. Conscious race culture provided the theoretically scientific *raison d'être* for imperial competition, particularly among the English, "to raise the

⁹ Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Horror of the Heights," ed. Thomas Collison, *This Winged World: An Anthology of Aviation Fiction* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1943), 138. Originally printed in *Danger and Other Stories* (London: J. Murray, 1913).

¹⁰ *Punch*, August 12, 1908; *Times*, January 14, 1908 - Archdeacon, the man who offered the award Farman won, later wrote of this flight in *L'Aérophile* in May 1908: "C'est Farman qui le premier, a incontestablement conquis la maîtrise de l'air, en aéroplane" (The italics are Archdeacon's); *Daily Mail*, July 26, 1909. A few other notable examples include Gertrude Bacon, who calls Henri Farman and Santos-Dumont's flights "the conquest of the air" in "The Wonders of Flying," *Pearson's*, 466; Alphonse Berget, *The Conquest of the Air; Aeronautics, Aviation; History, Theory, and Practice* (London: Heinemann, 1909); Richard Ferris, *How it Flies, Or The Conquest of the Air* (New York: T. Nelson and Sons, 1910); and A. Lawrence Rotch, *The Conquest of the Air; Or the Advent of Aerial Navigation* (New York: Moffat, Yard, and Co., 1910).

¹¹ Edgar E. Wilson, "Flying Ships of the Future," *The Aeronautical Journal*, July 1908. *The Boy's Own Annual*, *Boys' Realm*, and other juvenile literature familiarized children with the conquest of the air in the context of imperial *oblige*. Harry Harper wrote about "The heroes of the air" in a series of articles for *Boy's Realm* in 1910, and several pilots, including Latham and Grahame-White, offered stories of their "First Actual Flights" as "heroes" of English boyhood. George Wade, *Boy's Own Annual*, "My First Actual Flight," January 13, 1912, p. 235-236 on Dickenson, and Latham; January 20, 1912, p. 253-255 on Robert Loraine and Moore-Barbazon, with pictures of Paulhan; January 27, 1912, p. 295-297 on Frank Hedges Butler with pictures of J.A. Drexel and Grahame-White.

¹² *The Spectator*, July 31, 1909.

¹³ "Empire Day Book," May 24, 1912.

rivalry of existence to the highest degree of efficiency as a cause of progress.”¹⁴ The French incorporated the conceptual “lutte pour la vie” into political and social discourse, as Clémence-Auguste Royer, Gustave de Molinari, and other influential French philosophers subscribed to Social Darwinism.¹⁵ Some of the earliest and the most enthusiastic European fans of aviation endorsed Social Darwinist philosophy, including novelist Gabriele D’Annunzio and futurist poet F.T. Marinetti.¹⁶ Wells, Doyle, and Northcliffe’s press writers also frequently employed the triumphal diction of Social Darwinists to express their dreams of aerial supremacy.

Literature on each side of the Channel sought to expand the social geometry of empire into the air. The French matched the high-flying British rhetoric with much of their own. The French Aéro-Club was dedicated to “The Grand Cause of the Conquest of the Air by the Human Spirit,” and the president of the Aéro-Club wrote after a French air race victory that “It seems that to the spirit of France is reserved the glorious mission of initiating the world into the conquest of the air.”¹⁷ Following the French victories in the English Channel competition and the London to Manchester race, Roger de la Fresnaye painted himself and his brother watching “The Conquest of the Air” above the French flag, and René Fauchois’ poem, “The Aerial Victory,” celebrated French aviation on the front page of *La Matin*.¹⁸ French postcards from 1911 and 1912 depicted airplane pilots as “Conquerors of the Air” and airplanes soaring among balloons and other aircraft in “The Conquest of the Air.”¹⁹

French authors focused on the sporting accomplishments and the competitive inspiration that Gallic aviators provided for future French warriors; pioneer airmen were to become the first knights of the air in a modernist *chanson de geste* that was meant to tie the public to the aeronautical endeavor in an emotional way. In 1911, academician Edmond Rostand reaffirmed the “vitality” that aviation returned to “decadent” France in his romanticized epic poem “Hymn of the Wing.” In it he exalted the “athletes” and “great heroes” of French aviation like Louis Paulhan and Blériot. Emerging from the shadow of Sedan and the recent imperial setbacks, these airmen were “sons” of Napoleon’s soldiers, destined to carry out “Battles of space! indescribable conquests! Triumphs

¹⁴ Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 165.

¹⁵ Michael Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 128-138.

¹⁶ Linda Clark, “Social Darwinism in France,” *Journal of Modern History* vol. 53, no. 1, March 1981, D1025-D1044; and Linda Clark, *Social Darwinism in France* (Alabama: University Press, 1984). Marinetti’s musings can be found on various sites online; a small summary of the significant literary critics and supporters of early aviation can be found at the Smithsonian web page entitled “The Aerial Age Begins: Flight in Literature.” The page is a link from “Wright Brothers: The Invention of the Aerial Age” at <http://www.nasm.si.edu/wrightbrothers/index.cfm>. Last accessed 4 October 2005.

¹⁷ Translated from “la Grand Cause de la Conquête de l’Air par le Génie humain” and “Il semble que au génie de la France est réservé la mission glorieuse de lancer le monde dans la conquête d’air...,” quoted directly from French in Charles H. Gibbs-Smith’s notes in *The Rebirth of European Aviation*, 8 and 80, consecutively. It should be noted that “génie” can be rendered in English several different ways, depending on the context: genius (as inspiration), enthusiasm, and collective spirit are the most common meanings.

¹⁸ “La Conquête de l’air” and “La Victoire Aîlée” found in Robert Wohl, *A Passion for Wings*, 192-193, and 259; *Le Matin*, August 17, 1910.

¹⁹ *Transportation: Aviation, Pioneer & General*: Set of ten, “Les Conquérants de L’Air 1810-1911.” Includes portrait photo montage of Blériot, Wynmalen, Santos-Dumont, Legagneux, Wilbur Wright, Renaux, Bellenger, Chavez, and Vedrines.

without remorse!”²⁰ Rostand later composed verses with similarly uplifting imagery to commemorate Beaumont’s victory in the Paris to Rome airplane race, calling the pilot the “Conqueror” of the Eternal City.²¹ The title character in the final volume of Romain Rolland’s popular pre-war epic novel sequence *Jean-Christophe* encouraged a young sportsman and patriotic “man-of-action” to become a crusading airman in the language of conquest: “Take possession of the air, submit the elements, penetrate the last redoubts of nature, make space retreat, make death retreat!”²² The language of social Darwinism and French imperial aspirations obviously found expression in the forceful diction Rostand and Rolland used to describe the exploits of pioneer airplane pilots.

By contrast, novelists and storytellers in England highlighted the dangers of not pursuing the conquest of the air and forecast the eventual geopolitical supremacy of those who exploited the new technology. The fictions these writers composed reflected the competitive European and overseas interests of the parliamentary lobby that proposed the development of a British air force. Until the advent of atomic weapons, few topics in the science-fiction genre would inspire European writers like the airplane.²³ A host of predictive science fictions, like Herbert Strang’s *King of the Air* (1910), George Glendon’s *The Emperor of the Air* (1910), and D.W. Horner’s *Their Winged Destiny* (1912), found inspiration in Jules Verne’s *Master of the World* (1904) and H.G. Wells’ *The War in the Air* (1908). The plots usually told of invincible airplanes and airships attacking and subjugating entire continents. Words of competition, conquest, and victory in these tales—words of expansionist power—paralleled the plot of aerial conquest that newspapers and aviation journals sought to create in the imaginations of a mass audience. The invented state of Balkania, a small country with an aerial fleet, defeated all of the Great European Powers in W. Holt-White’s *The Man Who Stole the Earth* (1909). A world government eliminated war and established global authority from the air in Rudyard Kipling’s short stories “With the Night Mail” and “As Easy As ABC.”²⁴ In this context, the literary and artistic “conquest of the air” illustrated the willingness of political and commercial interests, and authors associated with either, to profit from the interests and anxieties of their audiences. The tone and the assumptions of the various sources clearly indicate such substantial differences in how the aviation communities in France and Britain understood the relative potential of powered flight. English fliers and their supporters trumpeted slogans of conquest even when their pilots lost competitions and frequently crashed the machines. It was important for England to minimize the perception of imperial insecurities, attract more public attention to aviation, and acquire government investment in machines that many thought would become a critical

²⁰ Edmond Rostand, *Le Cantique de l’Aile* [the title usually translated as “The Hymn of the Wing,” the first of two poems in a single volume] (Paris: Lafitte, 1911). First two quotes, pages 7 and 11: “Les Héros” and “athletes.” Second two quotes, page 12: “Bonaparte... Les fils de tes soldats qui voleront eux-mêmes/De clocher en clocher!” and “Batailles de l’espace! ineffables conquêtes!/Triomphes sans remords!” My translation.

²¹ André Beaumont, *Trois Grandes Courses*, xi.

²² Romain Rolland, *Jean-Christophe: Journey’s End*, trans. Gilbert Cannan (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1915), 433.

²³ Michael Paris noticed this trend in relation to competitive nationalism, but he avoided associating it with the instability of empires. “Rise of the Airmen,” *Journal of Contemporary History* vol. 28 (1993): 123-141.

²⁴ Rudyard Kipling, “As Easy As ABC,” *The Oxford Book of Science Fiction Stories*, ed. Tom Shippey (Oxford: University Press, 1992) Originally published in 1912; Rudyard Kipling, “With the Night Mail,” *Kipling’s Science Fiction*, ed. John Brunner (New York: Tom Doherty Assoc., 1992) Originally published in 1904.

asset in the next major European conflict. On the other hand, the French applauded the superiority of their airmen as celebrities and advertised the confident and heroic image of fliers as modern mythical heroes; despite the general hazards of the first “speed kings,” French aviators had won most of the early races and French writers imagined that their pilots would be able to defend their country with the new weapon. These networks of aviation enthusiasts in both countries attempted to belie the common fear of international instability as well as the uncertain future of airplanes. When they envisioned the latest technological wonder as a potent symbol of triumph in a new technological era, they fostered a public spirit of air-mindedness through aviation as an imperial endeavor.

**From Covert to Compulsory:
Comparing the Physical Attributes of Early English Translations of the Bible.**

Misha Mazzini Griffith

Many scholars consider the creation of the King James Bible to be an exercise in British nationalism.¹ Yet, it was only a late entry in a line of bibles translated into English since John Wycliffe's manuscript version of the fourteenth century. Each of these books had different reasons for coming into existence, whether as an "authorized" edition to be read from each pulpit, or as a covert *samizdat* version to be smuggled into the country and passed quietly between scholars. Much has been written comparing and contrasting the textual contents of these translations, but what about the physical attributes of these works? The CSU, Chico library has editions of the King James Bible of 1611, and the Bishop's Bible of 1595, along with a facsimile of the Geneva Bible of 1560. Many of the other Bibles have been partially reproduced and discussed at length in books, museum catalogues, and journal articles. Other translations were created at this time, but this paper will only reflect a selection readily available in a visual form.

Taking advantage of these available primary sources, I examined these texts, and found relevant physical attributes and paratextual clues. By comparing size, font styles, frontispieces, marginalia, and included ephemera I hope to find some evidence of the translators' purposes. For example, the Geneva Bible had extensive marginal commentary, maps, and genealogies. The translators of the King James edition were specifically forbidden to include commentary.² That the King James version was, according to the frontispiece, "[a]ppointed to be read in churches," may help to explain not only the large and unencumbered format of this book, but also the paradox put forward by Adam Nicolson that some of the Translators of the King James Bible preferred to use the smaller and more heavily annotated Geneva Bible for their own personal use.³ The formats of each book reflected how they were used.

It seems remarkable that so many partial and full translations of the same book were published within eighty years, and that three of these editions were intended by the reigning monarchs to be the "authorized" text. As the sacred writings of a set of believers, the Bible fostered its own community of readers. With the turbulence of the Reformation and its emphasis on self-interpretation of the Bible, disagreements of interpretation often led to the formation of even more separate communities. Naturally what was doctrine to one group was anathema to another.

Doctrinal divisions help to explain the pro-Episcopalian translation of the Great Bible of Henry VIII, the

¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 358.

² Adam Nicolson, *God's Secretaries: the Making of the King James Bible*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 77.

³ Dan G. Danner, "The Contribution of the Geneva Bible of 1560 to the English Protestant Tradition," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12 (1981): 6. Danner points out the Preface of the King James Version used quotes from the Geneva Bible.

pro-Separatist Geneva Bible, and the pro-Roman Catholic Rheims-Douai version, not to mention the prototype of the English vernacular Bibles, the Tyndale Testaments. But two more English versions were created, the Bishop's Bible and the King James Bible. Elizabeth I and James I ordered these translations as the "official" text to be read from the pulpit. Why create new English translations in 1611 when the Bible had already been translated in 1526? What benefits could these two monarchs hope to gain with the expense of new translations? One explanation would be the strengthening of their community, hence their rule. As a symbol of the monarchy, a new translation of the Bible would provide linguistic and historical associations alongside the already strong religious ties that form the community.

This period of British history saw the beginnings of the Episcopal church, a brief reinstatement of the Roman Catholic Church, the rise of humanism, the birth of the Puritanical Separatists movement, and Britain's early steps toward sea dominance and world-wide empire. Each of these events spawned partisans, or communities. As new communities, they needed to develop methods of communicating and sharing ideas. Unlike the earlier era, where communities were long established around small geographic locations, academic circles, or guilds, these new communities formed around ideas at the discretion of the members. Because many of these new groups chose to gather together as religious communities, they had to decide what form their worship would take and what their basic creeds included or denied. The examination of each groups' writings is the examination of the birth of these movements. This paper is chiefly interested in finding the symbols each community used to circulate ideas.

Within the past five years, Alister McGrath and Adam Nicolson have published popular books on the translation of the King James Bible. McGrath, a professor of Historical Theology at Oxford, gave a grand overview of the multiple English translations of the Bible with *In the Beginning*. The popular author Adam Nicolson, in his book *God's Secretaries*, demonstrated the textual changes made to enhance the sovereignty of James I. McGrath's account favored the historical and technical aspects of printing and translation, while Nicolson focused on the culture of the period and the personalities of the translators. I used these books as basic guides, but since they were written for a general audience they lacked proper citation, making it difficult to find sources for statements. With the use of the primary sources, namely the Bibles themselves and their facsimiles, I hope to find more direct clues to their purposes and their audiences. Ultimately, the evidence disclosed the formation of separate communities of readers and their teachers. I hesitate to call these communities proto-nations because even though they seem to divide along religious lines, the boundaries are extremely blurred. Many of the characters, whether through scholarly interest or threat of death, crossed freely between the Roman Catholic, Separatist, and Episcopalian camps. The Bibles in question frequently shared the bookshelves of many of the intellectual elite of the day. However, we can observe and analyze the symbols and writings they left behind, and attempt to address those issues the authors themselves found important enough to organize and put on paper.

Since this paper deals with several different communities I want to define the identifying terms. The three main communities of faith will be identified as the Roman Catholic Church, the Episcopalian Church, and the Separatists. Members of the Roman Catholic Church honored the supremacy of the Pope in Rome and of the Cardinals and Bishops, as both leaders of the church and interpreters of scripture. Roman Catholics in general accepted canonical laws written by the papacy to be as binding on the congregation as the Bible. The Episcopalian

Church, also known as the Church of England or the Anglican Church, was begun when King Henry VIII of England denied the authority of the Pope. He created a new church with the monarch of England as the titular head, but led by the Archbishop of Canterbury and a group of designated Bishops. The Episcopalian church considered itself a Protestant church in that it followed some of the policies of the Reformation period. It also considers itself “catholic” in that the Church traced its traditions back to St. Augustine and even further back to the Apostles. The final community I label the Separatists was a community made of very divergent Protestant churches, namely the Presbyterians, the Puritans, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists. These groups all had as their basic dogma the concept of *sola scriptura*, that the word of God was to be found solely in the Bible and that it was the duty of every man to read and interpret scriptures for himself. As self-reliant entities, these Protestants had no need of popes, bishops, or canonical law, and to varying degrees tried to strip away the trappings of “official” religions, hence the title Separatists. At certain times I will need to point out divisions within the Separatist communities, but mainly the term is for convenience. These three divisions also reflect, in general, the power structure of Tudor and Stuart Britain—the Roman Catholics had power outside of the Isles, the Episcopalian held the reigns of state, and the Separatists were effectively kept out of the power structure.

The one point each community agreed upon was the primacy of the Bible as the container of holy writ for the communities of faith. In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this book would take several forms. The Old Testament was originally written in Hebrew and Aramaic, while the New Testament was written in Greek. The church father credited with gathering all the books and translating them into Latin was the polyglot Jerome (347-420 C.E.).⁴ His edition of the Bible was called the Vulgate because he wrote it in the common or vulgar language of his time. Ironically, Jerome’s use of a “vulgar tongue” would insure, over the course of a thousand years that only an elite group of scholars could read his translation. Even though the Vulgate held canonical status in the Catholic Church, centuries of copying by scribes produced less than perfect results. Monasteries and libraries throughout Europe and Byzantium held manuscript copies of the Bible in Greek and Hebrew, but these were mostly divided into separate books, of interest to only a few biblical scholars. The Old Testament had been translated into Greek in the third century B.C.E. in a version called the Septuagint. All these source materials were available, but not gathered in centralized locations or indexed in any meaningful way. These sources would become critical to the fields of sacred philology and hermeneutics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Two men of the elite class of scholars came to separate but radical ideas about the church’s relation to the laity and the laity’s relation to the Bible. Both sought to reform the Church and to bring the Scriptures directly to the people. With the end of the fourteenth century came a translation of the Bible into English by Oxford don John Wycliffe and the application of critical analysis of Biblical text by the regent of the Charles University, Jan Hus. One of Wycliffe’s detractors, chronicler Henry Knighton, in summing up the translator’s efforts, recalled “[a]s a result, what was previously known only by learned clerics and those of good understanding has become common, and available to the laity—in fact, even to women who can read. As a result, the pearls of the gospel have been

⁴ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible, the Bible of the Reformation*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 8.

scattered and spread before swine.”⁵ Hus not only translated parts of the Bible into his native Czech, but encouraged his congregation and followers to carefully analyze and seek the truth in scripture.⁶ Their pioneering efforts received the harshest rebuke the Roman Catholic Church could conceive. The books of the already deceased Wycliffe were banned and burned in 1413,⁷ and Hus was condemned to the stake in 1415 for adhering to Wycliffite heresies.⁸ The Catholic Church made it abundantly clear—the Vulgate edition of the Bible would be the only edition allowed and that only priests could interpret scripture.

Two advances of the fifteenth century made Wycliffe’s and Hus’ movements impossible to stop. The first was, of course, the invention of moveable type. The increased speed of production and the freedom from institutional oversight of production made Wycliffe’s impulse to provide the laity with scriptures in their own language a reality. The second advance was the spread of humanism, with its incipient admonition to return to the sources. This encouraged the study of classical languages like Greek and even more exotic languages like Hebrew. Thanks to the printing press, new grammar books and comparative dictionaries spread to intellectuals throughout Europe.⁹ Now scholars could amass sufficient editions in a variety of languages to make careful comparisons of the texts. This was exactly the task Erasmus of Rotterdam set before himself with the publication of his translation of the New Testament from Greek to Latin. Since this was not translating the Vulgate into English and it was primarily meant for scholars, it did not directly violate Vatican injunctions. It did, however, create quite a stir in showing many places where the Vulgate did not agree with the original Greek.¹⁰ Critical analysis of Scripture became less about context and more about accuracy. With reasons to question the accuracy of the Vulgate, was it also reasonable to question the interpretations of the Church?

It is at this time in most writings concerning the Reformation that Martin Luther nails his 95 thesis to the cathedral door. However, tying the Reformation to this pivotal event in Germany denies other reform movements and the existence of Bibles already translated into French, Czech, Italian, Danish, Dutch, Slavonic, Russian, and Swedish.¹¹ The slow erosion of the monolithic power of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe was accomplished by many different scholars questioning established orders and searching for alternative answers. One scholar working on an English translation of the Bible at this time was William Tyndale. A one-time student of Erasmus at Oxford, Tyndale was convinced of the importance of vernacular Bibles, “[b]ecause I had perceived by experyence how that it was impossible to stablysh (establish) the laye people in any truth except ye scripture were playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tonge.”¹² Prohibited from publishing in England, Tyndale moved to Cologne, finished translating the New Testament from Greek into English, and started the printing process in 1525. The printer, Peter Quentell, had another client, Johann Dobneck, who was virulently anti-Protestant. In an episode that proves Elizabeth Eisenstein’s characterization of the printer’s shop as the city’s gathering place for intellectuals, the

⁵ Alistar McGrath, *In The Beginning*, (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 20. Henry Guppy, *William Tyndale and the Earlier Translators of the Bible into English*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), 19.

⁶ Matthew Spinka, *John Hus: A Biography*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 286.

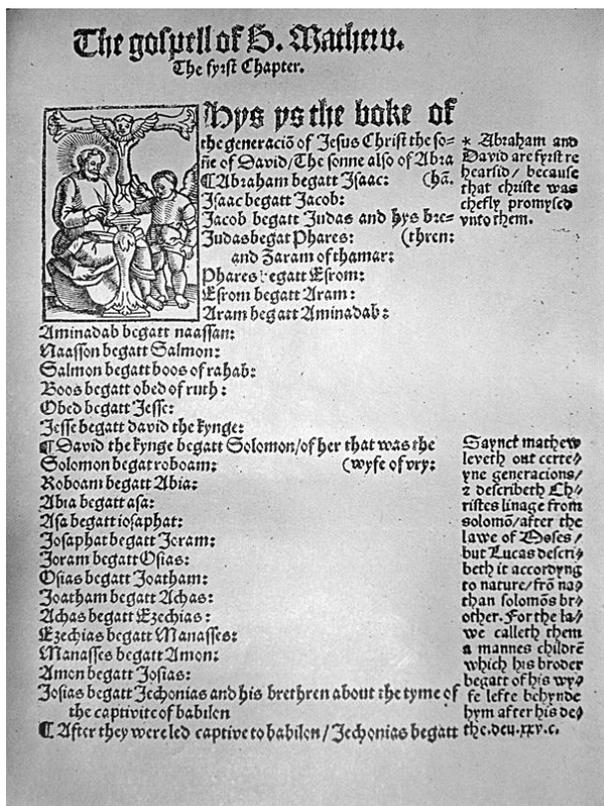
⁹ Pelikan, 9-10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 16; Guppy, 3.

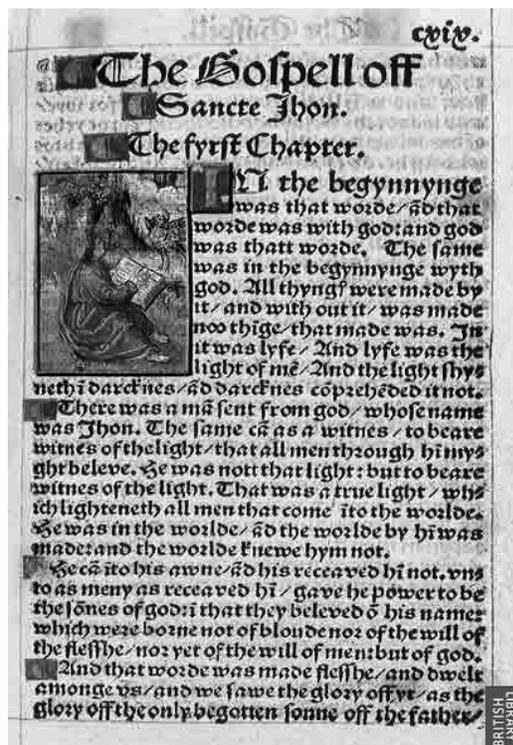
¹¹ Guppy, 22.

¹² Charles C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 56.

printer let slip some information about learned Englishmen who would soon make all of England Lutheran. Before the authorities could descend on the shop, Tyndale and a compatriot gathered as many printed pages as they could carry and raced to the first Protestant-friendly city they could find.¹³ Fortunately, this city was Worms, and Tyndale was able to secure the services of printer Peter Schoeffer—son of Johann Gutenberg’s partner. Two editions of the seven-hundred page New Testament were planned; three thousand copies in quarto size (approximately 8” x 10”) and three thousand copies in octavo size (approximately 5” x 8”).¹⁴ Tyndale also had to plan how to get this large quantity of books into still Catholic England, where they were prohibited. He managed to secure the help of several Protestant merchants, who agreed to smuggle the unbound signatures inside bales of cotton.¹⁵ Illegal as they were, they proved to be popular, and more print runs were set up in Antwerp. Tyndale set to work on a translation of the Old Testament. He never finished it. A coordinated effort of anti-Protestant clerics and officials in England and the Continent succeeded in burning almost every copy of Tyndale’s work, and in 1536 managed to extend this policy to Tyndale himself.



Tyndale's New Testament printed in Cologne, 1525



Tyndale's New Testament printed in Worms, 1526

¹³ Guppy, 31-33.
¹⁴ Butterworth, 57.
¹⁵ Guppy, 33.

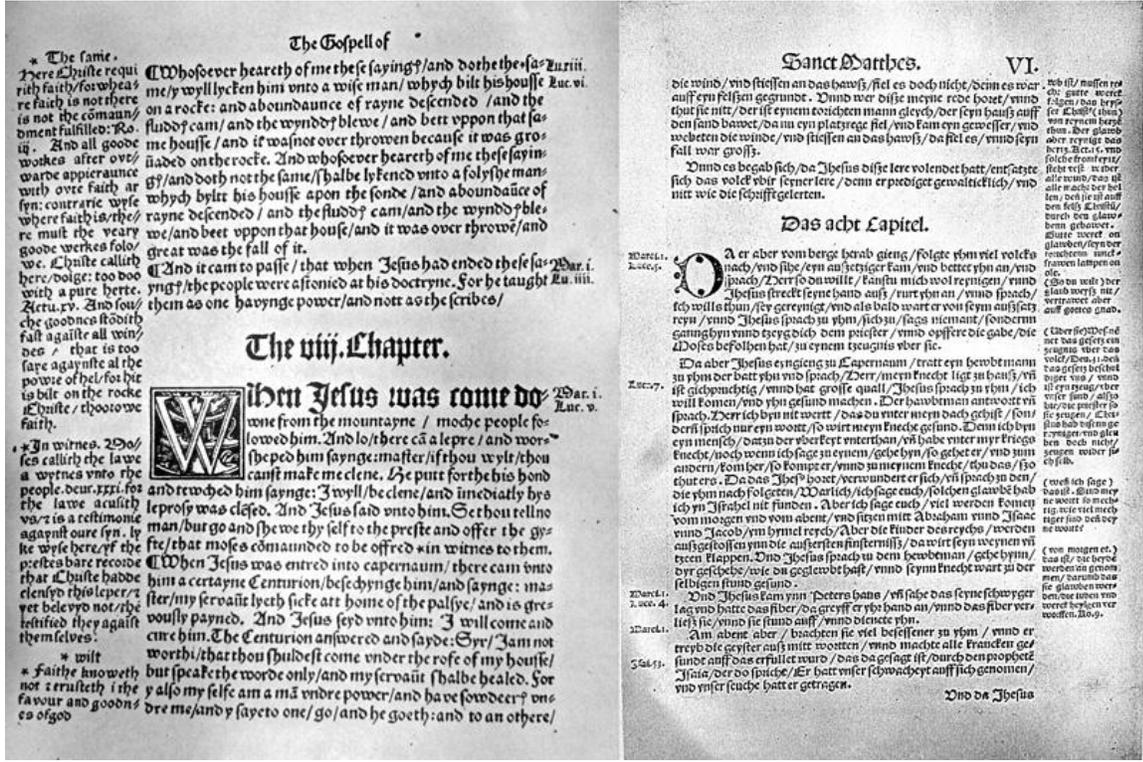
Two octavo copies of the Tyndale New Testament printed in Worms managed to escape the flames. One is missing the title page, the other lacks the first seventy pages. In 1836 some quarto pages of the edition printed in Cologne, which had been considered lost, were found bound into a completely unrelated book.¹⁶ This offers a unique opportunity to compare the works side by side, and the results are quite unexpected. Both works were printed in single columns using black-letter font. The books are broken into chapters, but not numbered verses. The earlier Cologne quarto contains marginal commentary in both margins. The margins on the bound edge contain citations of other appropriate Biblical verses. The opposite margin contains extensive commentary on the verse, or alternative translations of arcane Greek words. Modern historians have noted this format adheres very closely to Luther's German translation of 1522.¹⁷ Both Luther and Tyndale used the same print shop, which may explain the similarities. This illustration from Guppy's book shows the two translations of the same verse side by side. Since none of the quarto edition printed in Worms seems to have survived, it is impossible to say for certain if this format was continued. Letters from the time state the larger edition from Worms contained glosses.¹⁸ The smaller octavo edition is printed in a single column, and one of the two editions is lined along the tops and sides. The author of each book—Matthew, Peter, etc, are pictured at the beginning of the book. This New Testament looks deceptively more like a storybook than a Bible, and Biblical storybooks were legal. The streamline design fulfills Tyndale's commitment to the scripture "playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tonge." The translation is a clear statement in favor of *sola scriptura* and of the nascent Protestant Reformation in England. Conceivably, Tyndale could have designed this smaller and simpler Bible to pass more easily through the hands of illiterate or semi-literate officials.¹⁹ Until the publishing of this work, one could not expect inspectors to be familiar with Bible verses in English or with the basic structure of the New Testament. Until this time, the verses had only been read aloud in Latin.

¹⁶ Guppy, 34. It was only identified as Tyndale's Cologne edition because the woodcut of the initial matched a set of woodcut initials used exclusively at the print shop of Peter Quentell.

¹⁷Ibid., 40; Pelikan, 143.

¹⁸ Guppy, 35.

¹⁹Ibid., 34.



Comparison of Tyndale's New Testament (left) and Luther's New Testament.

The rest of the Bibles examined in this paper owed their literary existence to the Tyndale New Testament—one expert contended a full one third of the 1611 King James Bible was worded just as Tyndale left it.²⁰ However, exactly what the Tyndale editions lacked is what we will be concentrating on next—the title page or frontispiece. These works of art, more than any other part of the books, served as an introduction in a visual language. In the words of Renaissance art experts Margery Corbett and R.W. Lightbown, “in these designs we are confronted with the conceits of the author, represented at the front of his book in visual symbols that he himself has chosen and designed as its most fitting emblems.”²¹ We couldn’t ask for a better representation of self-identity. Corbett and Lightbown identify several different types of frontispieces, and many of the Biblical frontispieces we will examine are prime examples of this art form. This paper will enumerate these styles and their significance where proper.

William Tyndale had several associates who traveled with him in exile and tried to finish his work. A folio edition of the Bible was printed in Antwerp in 1537, the year after Tyndale was executed. Many scholars believe Thomas Matthews, the name listed on the book, was a pseudonym for John Rogers, one of Tyndale’s disciples. The Matthews Bible, as the work became known, seems to be a collection of Tyndale’s translations edited together with

²⁰ Butterworth, 58.

²¹ Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-page in England 1550-1660*, (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1979), 1.

the work of another follower, Miles Coverdale.²² Coverdale himself translated the Bible, according to his frontispiece, “faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe.”²³ Printed in Antwerp in 1535, Coverdale sought and secured King Henry VIII permission to sell this Bible in England. Henry VIII, in an extremely brief description, was attempting to secure his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and in the process had started the Church of England. As a Protestant sect, the Episcopal Church needed scriptures to be read from every pulpit in the vernacular.²⁴ However, the Matthew Bible proved to be too Separatist in its commentary. The Coverdale Bible soon fell out of favor, partly because it was dedicated to Henry VIII and his wife Anne Boleyn, who was executed just months after the Bible was published.²⁵ Henry VIII authorized a new translation that highlighted his concept of a church. Known as the Great Bible of 1539, this was a reworking of the Matthews Bible (minus the commentary) by Miles Coverdale under the direct instructions of Vicar-General Thomas Cromwell.²⁶

The stark differences between the more Lutheran inspired Coverdale Bible and Henry VIII’s Great Bible can be seen through examining the frontispieces side by side. Even though the artistic styles are almost identical, one can quickly grasp the priorities expressed by the design. This style of frontispiece is divided into geometrical compartments, a technique which started in Germany. Both these frontispieces may be the work of the school of Hans Holbein.²⁷ Each compartment can be called an emblem, a specific term for a poem or verse accompanied by an appropriate image. The biblical emblems of the Coverdale Bible are taken from scripture, with the Old Testament figures on the left side and the New Testament on the right. Commanding the top center of the page, surrounded with glowing solar coronas are the Hebrew letters J, H, V, and H. This is the “Tetragrammaton,” a Renaissance symbol for God the Father. This top compartment deals with God revealing himself and speaking directly to humans. To the left a serpent is tempting Adam and Eve. Engraved on a tile at their feet is “Genesis 3” and part of that verse is printed upside down in a banner flowing from the Tetragrammaton: “In what daye so ever thou eateth thereof, thou shalt dye.”²⁸ To the right is the triumphant Jesus revealed to the disciples in Matthew 17:5, “This is my deare Sonne, in whom I delyte, heare him.” In this uppermost compartment the voice of God reminds the viewer of Original sin and Redemption.

²² Pelikan, 53.

²³ Ibid., 144.

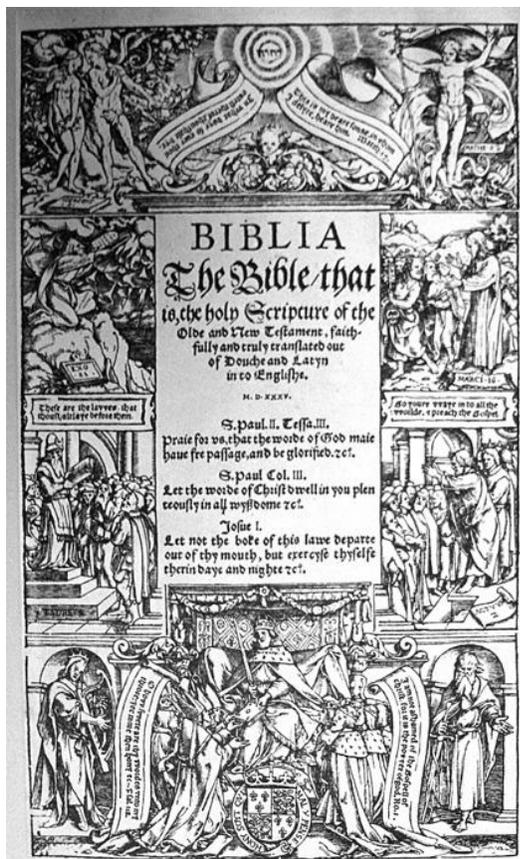
²⁴ Butterworth, 109.

²⁵ Ibid., 96.

²⁶ Ibid., 129.

²⁷ Corbett & Lightbown, 3.

²⁸ Genesis 3:3 KJV. The Verse numbers are from the King James version- the Coverdale only used Book and Chapter identifiers.



The Coverdale Bible, 1535 (Left) and the Great Bible of 1539

The next boxes deal with the spread of the word of God. Moses, on Mount Sinai, receives the Ten Commandments from a dark and threatening cloud while trumpets blare. Opposite of that scene, the Resurrected Jesus encourages his unbelieving Apostles to spread the Gospel. The sky is clear and the clouds are departing over the horizon. Peter, holding his symbolic keys, is caught in mid-stride walking *away* from Jesus. This could be interpreted that Peter, the traditional first Pope, had less faith than the other apostles. The pertinent verses are written just beneath these images. The third compartments from the top do not have their verses written out, but the books and chapters are still listed. The New Testament image illustrates the Apostles preaching to the Jews during Pentecost (Acts 2). The Apostles are robed and barefoot, but the Jews wear more coarse garments and hats. The artist clearly wants to demonstrate a cultural difference between the two groups—the Jews continued to fulfill their ancient covenant, but the Apostles have already overthrown the old prescriptions. On the Old Testament side, the Jews are also listening to a preacher. However, this is the high priest Esdras, whose life was chronicled in the apocryphal book of the same name. Although it is difficult to see in most reproductions, the book listed seems to be I Esdras 9. Verses 19-55 describe how the high priest stood before the assembled men and women and read the law. Interestingly, in this story the Jews are suffering, and Esdras discovers the reason for their suffering is the number of foreign-born wives the Jews have brought into Jerusalem. Esdras finds a law that allows the men to get rid of their wives and make sacrifices to atone for this error. If this was Coverdale's intended verse, it would appeal directly to

Henry VIII with biblical justification for his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. According to Coverdale, what the Pope had denied Henry VIII, scripture allowed.

Across the bottom of the page is a single box mirroring the compartment on top. Sitting on a gorgeously appointed throne is Henry VIII himself. His throne barely fits in an elegantly tapestried and festooned niche. At his feet, in exactly the opposite placement of the Tetragrammaton is his coat of arms. To his right kneels the clergy, dressed in formal regalia including mitres and croziers. Henry's Privy Council kneels in supplication on his left, each with crowns and ermine cloaks. The King is crowned, ermined, and holds an imperial sword in his right hand. With his left hand he gives a bejeweled Bible to the clergy. Behind the bishops, in his own arched niche, stands King David and his lyre. He is reciting Psalm 119, "O how swete are thy words unto my throte...." Opposite David, behind the secular rulers, is the stern figure of St. Paul. Clutching his sword, he reminds the reader, "I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, for it is the power of God."²⁹ Beauty and power is displayed combined in the word of God, but also in the ruler, Henry VIII.

Framed in the center of the page is the title, publishing date (1535), and three more scriptures: Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians 3:1, Colossians 3:16, and Joshua 1:8. Missing from this title page is the name of the translator, the publisher, and the location of the publisher. Coverdale, whether he was trying to evade possible arrest if the King failed to favor this translation, or out of modesty, did not identify himself on the title page. It is the scriptures that take center stage in this work. Coverdale wanted to get his translation into the hands of every Englishman, but he really only needed the approval of one man to accomplish this. The grand portrait of the King, especially when flanked by the great men of the Bible, may seem ostentatious to the modern reader. But when compared to the Great Bible of 1539, the Coverdale frontispiece is understated.

Sir Maurice Powicke characterized the Reformation in England as "an act of State."³⁰ "It would not be going too far to say," claimed Richard Rex, "that Henry's Reformation turned, or began to turn, English religion into a distinctive and coherent version of Christianity, one in which obedience was the paramount virtue or value—as important as faith in Lutheranism or the real presence in Catholicism."³¹ Rex observed the clergy under Henry took the concept of obedience as a good work from the Catholic Church and the supremacy of scripture from the Lutherans to devise a propaganda strategy to bolster the Episcopalian Church.³² Part of that strategy was putting an authorized Bible in every church to be read aloud. That authorized Bible, the Great Bible of 1539, has a title page that reinforces the official message loud and clear.

The Great Bible corrects several errors of protocol Coverdale made. Firstly, the King should be enthroned at the top of the page. This way the deity, here portrayed as Jesus, can look down directly from heaven and speak to the King. Secondly, when in company of the King, all subjects should be bare-headed. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury's mitre waits quietly on the floor. The artist of this frontispiece could convincingly capture an individual's facial characteristics and the highly detailed fashions of the day. Instead of Adam and Eve donning

²⁹ Romans 1:16 KJV.

³⁰ Quoted in Pelikan, 48.

³¹ Richard Rex, "The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation," *Historical Journal* 39, (1996): 894.

³² *Ibid.*, 889-890.

suggestive foliage, or fanciful biblical robes, this very contemporary portrait of Tudor England is loaded with episcopal surplices, tippets, and chimeres, not to mention silks peeping through slashed sleeves and doublets. Dominating the top of the page is Henry VIII, but he is recognizable to modern readers even without his coat of arms. To Henry's right, in their traditional place, is the clergy and to his left are the government officials. Henry hands each of them a book labeled "Verbum Dei"—the word of God. The placement of Henry and Jesus is now clear—the King is receiving inspiration directly from God, and he is giving it to his most important officials.

Swirling through the sky, around men's heads and out of their mouths are white banners with Bible verses in Latin. These are the equivalent of the speech balloons in today's comic strips. They all reflect the overarching theme of obedience to authority. Jesus recites Acts 13:22, "...I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will."³³ Jesus is referring to Henry as not only a second David, but also the one man best able to fulfil the will of God. Henry returns the compliment. He can be seen prayerfully kneeling in the upper right corner, a crown on the ground in front of him, and his banner reads, "... thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."³⁴ Henry is shown in pious prayer, but his humility is displayed away from the eyes of his subjects. Yet while Henry is on his throne, he speaks not with the tones of supplicants, but quotes Moses (Deuteronomy 1:16)³⁵ and King Darius (Daniel 6:26)³⁶ with wise and powerful pronouncements. These banners hold a mystery—if this was the official English translation, why are these specific quotes in Latin? This question calls for more research.

Henry hands the books to the two trusted advisors to deliver the books to their supporters seen in the next compartments. Because they stand behind their coats of arms, we even know who these men are. To the left is the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cramner. He admonishes the preacher "[f]eed the flock of God which is among you."³⁷ The advisor to the right of the title box is Secretary of State Thomas Cromwell. His banner quotes Psalm 34:14, "Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace and pursue it." Cromwell fell out of favor with Henry and was executed. Later editions of this Bible continued to use his likeness, but the coat of arms was obliterated.³⁸

The compartment at the bottom of the page contains two scenes that seem to merge into one. On the left, a priest delivers a homily from First Timothy urging prayers and thanksgiving be made to kings and those in authority.³⁹ The crowds surrounding the pulpit cry out "Vivat Rex"—"Long Live the King." Made up of all strata of English society, the crowd spills into the street shouting "Vivat Rex." Even the two men in prison in the lower right hand corner shout out their praises to the king. Above this last compartment is the title box, surrounded by an architectural frame and supported by a putto. The England depicted in this frontispiece function properly because

³³ This translation is from the Vulgate. Many thanks to Jerry Griffith for devising a system to identify and translate this barely legible text.

³⁴ Psalm 119:105 Vulgate

³⁵ "And I charged your judges at that time, saying, hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him."

³⁶ "I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God, and steadfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end."

³⁷ I Peter 5:2.

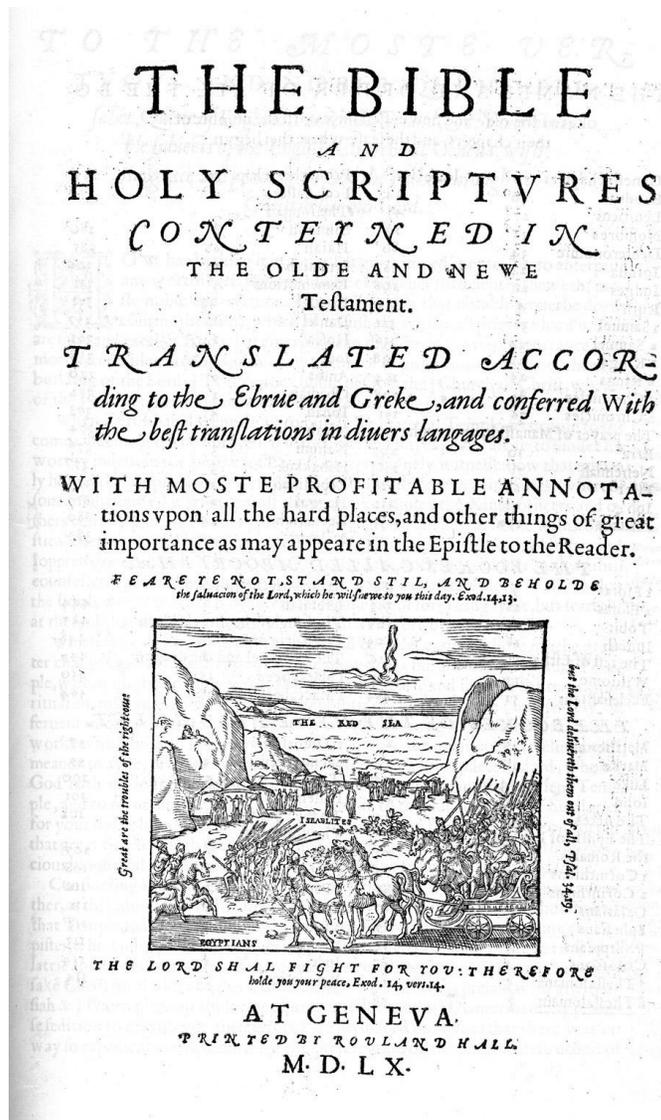
³⁸ Butterworth, 139.

³⁹ I Timothy 2.

everyone is obedient to the King and appreciates the ordered structure of the system. The image is idealistic at best and the rankest sort of propaganda at worst. But kings do not live forever, and the next Bible to be examined was the product of a system turned suddenly upside down.

Separatist intellectuals gradually ascended into positions of power in the universities during the brief reign of Edward VI (1547-53).⁴⁰ His untimely death and the crowning of his deeply Roman Catholic sister Mary Tudor, spelled disaster for the Protestant movement and its intellectual leaders. Many fled to the Continent and found safer havens in Germany and Switzerland.⁴¹ Known to history as the Marian exiles, they mingled with other Protestant exiles like the Huguenots and consulted with the leading Reformation thinker John Calvin.⁴² “Calvin’s Geneva,” explained historian Maurice Betteridge, “in the decade of 1550-1560 was a hive of vigorous and critical biblical scholarship. Some

twenty-one editions of the French Bible were published there at that time as well as Greek and Latin texts.” Of the English community Betteridge commented “...undoubtedly they were infected with this enthusiasm for accurate biblical translation and commentary.”⁴³ “For the exiles the Word of God became a religious textbook,” observed Dan Danner, “and the Bible became the measure of all religious thought and activity.”⁴⁴



Frontispiece of the Geneva Bible, 1560.

⁴⁰ McGrath, 109.

⁴¹ Lloyd E. Berry, ed., *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 4.

⁴² Danner, 5.

⁴³ Maurice S. Betteridge, “The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and Its Annotations,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983): 41.

⁴⁴ Danner, 8.

The Marian exiles, with theological guidance from Calvin and textual help from publisher Robert Estienne, created a new English translation of the Bible for their fellow Protestants left behind in England. It was translated from the Hebrew and from the new scholarly Greek versions of the New Testament Estienne brought from Paris. Estienne's influence also extended to the easily legible Roman typeface and the process of numbering verses, which he had used successfully on French volumes.⁴⁵ Referred to even in the sixteenth century as the Geneva Bible, this work had many qualities that made it the most frequently published edition in Elizabethan and Jacobean times.⁴⁶ Yet some of its best-selling points were also reasons for its critics to condemn it.

The Geneva Bible, more than any bible of its day, has a look and feel that in modern parlance we would call "user-friendly." The quarto size (approximately 8" x 10") is not as unwieldy as the folio bibles read out loud in church. The Roman type is much easier to read. An argument, written in italics, begins each book with an "executive summary" of the main action. At the beginning of each chapter is a paragraph that summarizes the contents and provides verse numbers. Each page is printed in two columns, with marginal commentary on the outside. At the top of the page is the book title, and the pages are numbered only on the right page. Over each column is a name or short sentence that highlights the contents—very much like a modern "key word" search. The commentary in the margins is best explained in the preface to the reader:

And considering how hard a thing it is to understand the holy Scriptures, and what errors, sectes and heresies growe dailie for lacke of the true knollage thereof, and how many are discouraged (as thei pretend) because thei can not atteine to the true and simple meaning of the same, we have also indeavored bothe by the diligent reading of the best commentaries, and also by the conference with the godly and learned brethren, to gather brief annotations upon all the hard places. . .⁴⁷

If the translators meant the "hard places" to be just obscure Greek or Hebrew words, the marginal notes would never have caused Archbishop Matthew Parker to condemn them as "bitter notes" and ban the printing of the Geneva Bible in England.⁴⁸ Instead, the marginal notes became the venue for the Separatists to fight their battles against both Roman Catholic and Episcopalian doctrine. Such Calvinist concepts as double predestination, civil disobedience, and the denial of divine rights of kings were spelled out along side the appropriate Bible verses.⁴⁹ Even the extensive commentaries reinforced the idea that this Bible was meant to be read, examined, and studied in quiet contemplation, not just read aloud to a crowd. The Geneva Bible contained many innovative study aids for its time, mainly there to assist those who could read their own language. Chapter headings and key words were printed to help those who knew *of* the Bible stories to find them in this vast book. It was a Bible for the laity who could not take the time to become real sacred philologists, but did have an interest in learning more.

⁴⁵ McGrath, 118.

⁴⁶ Danner, 5-6.

⁴⁷ Berry, *iiii* recto.

⁴⁸ Betteridge, 41. This is the infamous "nosey Parker."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 54-57.

Unlike its predecessors, this Bible has pictures. Separatists, at the urging of Calvin, condemned idolatry and accused “Papists” of using images “to beautifie their monstrous errors and blasphemies.”⁵⁰ Yet in the Geneva Bible the translators explain “[f]urthermore whereas certeyne places in the bookes of Moses, of the Kings, and Ezekiel semed so darke that by no description thei colde be made easie to the simple reader, we have so set them forthe with figures...”⁵¹ Below is a diagram from the book of Numbers of the Tabernacle enclosure and the placement of the tents for each of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The Israelites are busy bringing offerings and animals to sacrifice. The engraver made an effort to differentiate each tent with decorative tops and flags. Other engravings showed the garments of the High Priest, or the composition of the Ark of the Covenant. There is also a map of the Holy Land, marked with the wanderings of the Israelites. Even though the map is not strictly to scale, the latitudinal measurement is very accurate. Heliopolis was approximately 30 degrees north. The longitude measurement could possibly be taken from the Bull of Demarcation set by Pope Alexander the VI in 1493, since this map predates the establishment of the Greenwich meridian. These drawings display a sophisticated understanding of the text, the ability to convert complicated verbal descriptions into drawings, and a real interest in creating understandable images. They are simple, yet detailed enough to get the point across. Absent is any sense of symbolism, allegory, or decoration for the sake of decoration.

The frontispiece gives only the barest data, yet the Bible verses and the illustration speak volumes about the self-identity of the translators. Taken from Exodus, the drawing shows the Israelites, while attempting to follow the miraculous column of dust to freedom, trapped between the Red Sea and the Pharaoh’s cavalry. Moses, in the center holding aloft his staff, answers them with the words printed just below the drawing: “The Lord shall fight for you: therefore hold you your peace.”⁵² Many English Protestants, according to Dan Danner, viewed their church as “. . . the people of God, part of the New Israel in covenant with Jahweh.” He calls this the “Deuteronomic view of history.”⁵³ To extend this metaphor, England was the New Jerusalem, and God had chosen the English, since the

The ordre of the tentes. Numbers.

41 The number of them *asse* of the tribe of Aſſer was one and foure thousand and five hundred.

42 Of the childre of [N]aphtali, by their generations, by their families, & by the houses of their fathers, according to the number of *their* names, from twentie yere olde and aboue, all that were to the warre.

43 The number of them *asse* of the tribe of Naphtali, was three and fiftie thousand, & foure hundred.

44 These are the fummes which Moyses, & Aarón nombred, and the Princes of Israél the twelve men, which were euerie one for the houſe of their fathers.

45 So this was all the fumme of the fummes of Israél, by the houſes of their fathers, from twentie yere olde and aboue, all that wete to the warre in Israél.

46 And all they were in nóber six hundred & three thousand, five hundred and fiftie.

47 But the Leuites, after the tribes of their fathers were not nombred amonge theſe.

48 For the Lord had ſpoken vnto Moyses, and ſaid,

49 Onely thou shalt not number the tribe of Leui, neither take the fumme of them amonge the children of Israél:

50 But thou shalt appoint the Leuites ouer the Tabernacle of the Testimonie, and ouer all the instruments thereof, and ouer all things that belong to it: they shall beare the Tabernacle, and all the instruments thereof, and shall minifter in it, and shall dwell round about the Tabernacle.

THE FIGURE OF THE TABERNACLE ERECTED, AND OF THE TENTES DITCHED ROUND ABOUT IT.



Diagram of the Tabernacle from the Geneva Bible, 1560.

⁵⁰ Danner, 15.

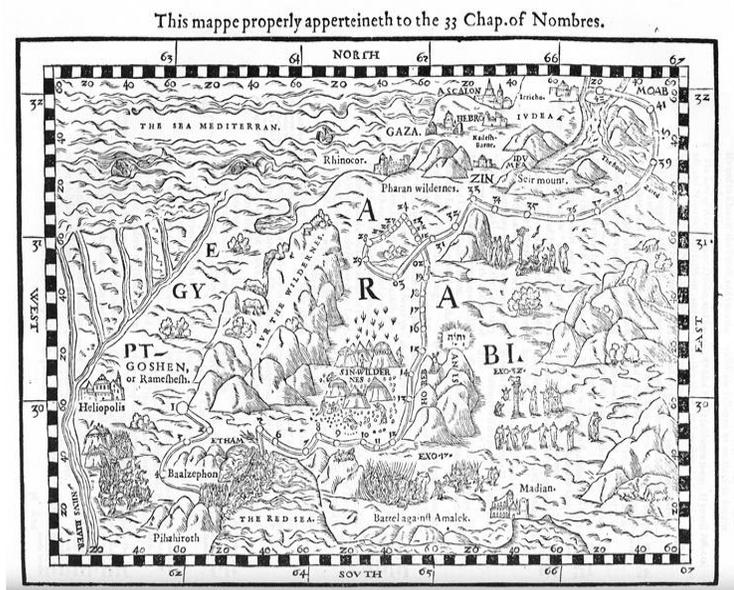
⁵¹ Berry, iiiii recto.

⁵² Exodus 14:14 Geneva Bible.

⁵³ Danner, 11.

Jews had denied Jesus. God’s new covenant with England became a popular sermon theme during the English Reformation.⁵⁴ What more apt image for the Marian exiles than the Hebrews in Egyptian captivity? Yet this is where the publishing date is significant. The exiles started their translation of the Geneva Bible in 1555. Mary Tudor, the reason they had left England, died suddenly in 1558. The young Elizabeth took over the throne, but the exiles remained wary. When Elizabeth supported the reestablishment of the Episcopalian Church and proved to be somewhat tolerant of the Separatists, the exiles started back home. Only a handful stayed in Geneva to see the completion of their work. Just after the table of contents in the Geneva edition is a letter “To the moste vertuous and noble Quene Elisabet,” from “your humble subiects of the English Church at Geneva...,” which outlines the hope of Elizabeth will be a builder of the spiritual temple. As can be seen, the metaphor kept growing.

The Geneva Bible, while popular, never received the status of the official book of scriptures. Elizabeth had another Bible—the Bishop’s Bible—hastily translated and approved in 1568. Biblical scholar Charles Butterworth contended the scholarship of the Great Bible of 1539 seemed out of date when compared with the Geneva.⁵⁵ The Bishop’s Bible became the book read in church on Sundays, but the Geneva Bible was the book studied at home. The Bishop’s Bible did, however, reach the status of “compulsory” in the kingdom of Scotland. Inhabited mainly by Presbyterians who had strong Calvinist leanings, the Scots Parliament ruled in 1579 that every home of substance should own a copy.⁵⁶



Map of Holy Land from The Geneva Bible, 1560

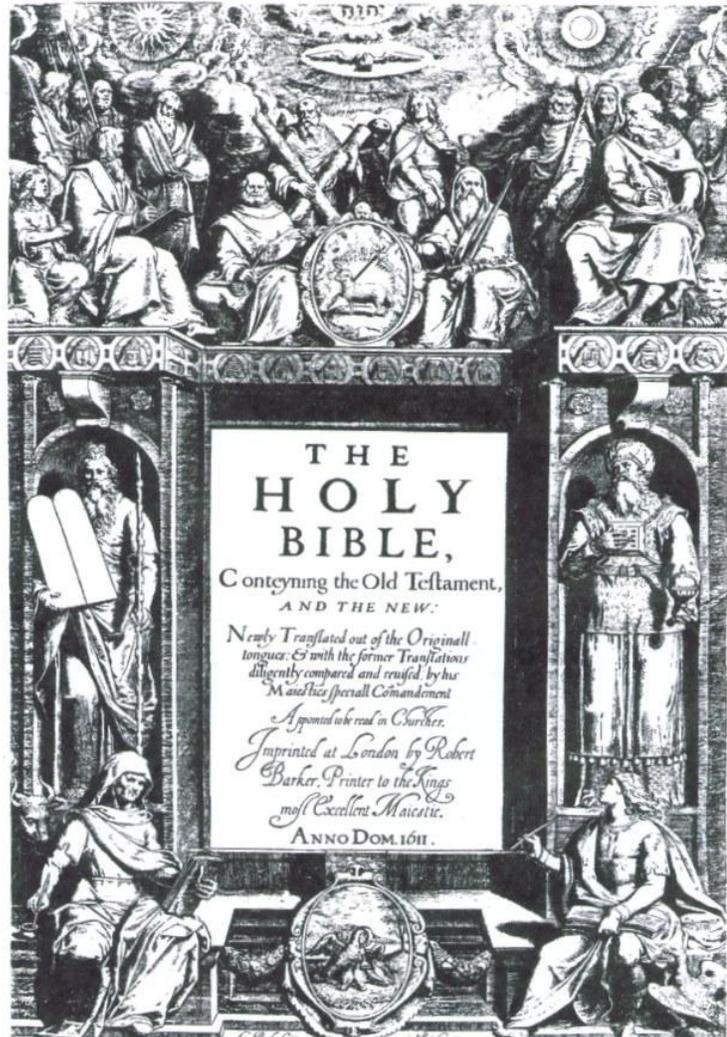
⁵⁴ Michael McGiffert, “God’s Controversy with Jacobean England,” *The American Historical Review* 88 (1983): 1157.

⁵⁵ Butterworth, 173.

⁵⁶ Betteridge, 44.

James the VI of Scotland ascended to the throne of England as James I at the death of Elizabeth I in 1603. The Separatists had high hopes that James I, who had been raised by Presbyterians, would do away with the Episcopal Church and finish for good the true Reformation of England.⁵⁷ In this case, familiarity really did breed contempt, and now that James I had the leadership of the established church, he was not about to turn the vertical structure into a more horizontal one. “The church, for all its abuses,” commented Adam Nicholson, “was a comfortable bed in which to set a monarchy.”⁵⁸ After meeting with bishops and less-radical representatives of the Separatist movement at Hampton Court in 1604, James acted upon a suggestion of the Separatists and authorized a new translation of the Bible.⁵⁹ A committee of Translators was selected from England’s universities and strict guidelines established for the translation. The final product, once it had been approved by the bishops, the Privy Council, and the King, was to be the only version of the Bible read aloud in church. What had started as a Separatist idea was turned into exactly what they feared the most. This new official translation was poised to usurp the popularity of their own beloved Geneva Bible.

The body of the text of the King James Authorized version at first glance looks like a throw-back to the Great Bible of 1539. This folio volume is printed in black-letter and divided into two columns. The perimeters of the lettering are lined, which makes the page easier to read. Many of the innovations of the Geneva Bible were adopted in this version, including summaries before the books, important verses listed at the beginning of each chapter, numbered verses, and key words at the top of the page. Instead of listing the book on the head of each page, the chapter numbers are listed, which speeds up search time. One very obvious difference between this Bible and the Geneva is the absence of marginal commentaries. These were



Frontispiece of the King James Bible, 1611.

⁵⁷ Butterworth, 206.

⁵⁸ Nicolson, 53.

⁵⁹ Butterworth, 206.

strictly forbidden in the sixteen rules given to the translators. Only alternative translations of obscure words or references to other verses were allowed.

The truly striking visual feature of the 1611 printing of the King James Bible is the frontispiece. It is a definitive statement of strength and permanence, created by Cornelis Boel. The basic design is architectural, and it is rendered in single point perspective, giving it a balanced and dense look. The main ingredient is a wall interrupted by an alcove, a window in the alcove holds the title block. The plinth of the wall is just high and deep enough to create seating space. Arched niches occupy the wall on either side of the alcove, with heroic-sized figures in each, the keystones of the niche arches form decorative console brackets which support the decorated frieze. Carved roses flank the consoles. Pilasters support the frieze and act as molding around the niches. The basic look of the wall is clean and simple, very much in the style of the most famous English architect of the time, Inigo Jones. Because the frieze and cornice are interrupted by the alcove and because they do not form a straight line, this design should not be considered a “triumphal arch” but rather a window setting.

The figures depicted are not allegorical; they are characters from the Bible who are displayed with identifiers. The heroic figures in the niches are Moses on the left and his brother Aaron on the right. Moses, wearing robes and sandals, holds the stone tablets in his right hand and a staff in his left. The staff seems to be in bud, perhaps to remind the viewer of the miracles recalled in the book of Exodus. Aaron was the first High Priest and all the priests of the Temple descended from his tribe. In stark contrast to the desert robes of Moses, Aaron wears the regalia for the Temple ceremonies so carefully prescribed in Exodus 28. With these two figures, we see the extremes of the Old Testament experience—the wanderings in the desert and the high ceremony. The figures are also symbolic to the dual aspect of the King of England. He is both the lawgiver and the head of the church and in both roles directly answerable only to God.

Seated on the plinth and just above the niches are the four authors of the Gospels. Each has a pen in hand, book out, looking as if they are ready to take dictation. Matthew in the upper left corner is aided by his winged man, Mark is identified on the right with his lion, Luke and his ox look out at the viewer from the lower left corner, and John’s eagle perches helpfully with a pot of ink in its beak. The eleven Apostles and Paul are on top of the wall, each holding their instruments of martyrdom. The focus of all the New Testament figures is the cartouche on the center top of the wall containing the Paschal Lamb. This was a symbol of the early church representing Jesus as the unblemished sacrificial lamb of Hebrew tradition. All the Apostles are barefoot and most are depicted as older men. We do not see them as the young followers of Jesus, but as the older evangelizers after the Pentecost, spreading the gospel. This was the historical period of the Primitive Church which the Protestant reformers adored and wanted to recreate. It was a time of signs, wonders, martyrs, and miracles long before the advent of doctrines, popes, and canonical law. The Episcopalian Church traced their history directly to this time.

Above the heads of the Apostles is the sky, with the clouds rolling away. The dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, hovers just above the cartouche, while at the very top is the brightly glowing Tetragrammaton. Even the sun and the moon cannot outshine their creator. The religious movement known as the anti-Trinitarians was active during this time. Adherents to this sect denied the tripart nature of God and the divinity of Jesus. Two members of

this sect had been burned at the stake in England the same year the King James Bible was printed.⁶⁰ To avoid any hint of this heresy, many religious artworks used three separate symbols to depict the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Two more symbolic groups should be mentioned. First is the row of circular devices on the frieze. These are tents and shields which depict the twelve tribes of Israel. The tents were drawn in the Geneva Bible but with the names of the tribes spelled out. Here heraldic devices, a product of Renaissance anachronism, demarcate each tribe in a way both Calvinists and perhaps even the ancient Israelites would consider idolatrous. The second cartouche at the very bottom is a curious depiction of a pelican plucking down from its breast to start the blood flowing to feed its brood. This mistaken bit of medieval folklore became a symbol of the blood sacrifice of Jesus.⁶¹

The King James Version, from the very first page, trumpets loudly that this Bible has the backing and blessing of a real, powerful, and majestic hierarchy. The frontispiece, through the skill of the engraver, seems to be made of substantial material, inhabited with flesh and blood heroes, and lit with an ethereal light. It is more edifice than artifice. If, as others have pointed out, the King James Bible was an exercise in nationalism, then it was an extremely exclusionary exercise. There was no hint of welcome or compromise for either the Roman Catholics or the Separatists. With the surety of authority, this frontispiece demonstrated that this is the Church, it was built by leaders larger than life and blessed by God, and we, the Church of England will follow in their footsteps. If one could address each of the men responsible for the various English translations of the Bible, and ask them “who do you think should read your Bible,” the answer would be a resounding “Everyone!” But one translation was not sufficient for everyone, owing to doctrinal differences, advances in scholarship, experiments in the printing process, or just the whims of a ruler. Otherwise this process might have ended with Tyndale’s 1526 edition. So translators set about to create different versions for different audiences. For example, Miles Coverdale helped to translate the entire Bible twice (The 1535 Coverdale and the Great Bible of 1539) and his work was directly used in the 1537 Matthews Bible. Yet the physical evidence showed the Coverdale and the Great Bible, even though they resembled each other, were made with two different audiences in mind. The dividing line runs back to John Wycliffe and Jan Hus—were the bibles meant to be a vehicle of authority or a vessel open to critical analysis? Was the audience for the Bible merely a passive receptacle, or would they be welcome to actively study the text? I contend this was the primary question (perhaps not in this exact form) a translator had to ask at the beginning of his task, and all the rest of the choices he made were based on the answer. Size figured into this equation, and typeface did too. And even though the translator did not necessarily draw the frontispiece, he often had control over what went onto the page. So the translator was shaping his community through his choices. The communities were responding with their own choices, such as smuggling Bibles into England, or purchasing editions they happened to prefer or agree with. The power structures were also busy shaping communities through laws and prohibitions. The wide range of translations allows the observer a small glimpse into the fluid and complex movements of these communities. However, they do reveal part of the building process by exposing some of the structure. Within these translations also lie early experiments in printing, and display the various steps printers attempted to make their work beneficial. The paratextual evidence give scholars more avenues of research into the formative period of Early

⁶⁰ Corbett & Lightbown, 107.

⁶¹ Hans Biedermann, *Dictionary of Symbolism*, trans. James Hulbert (New York: Meridian, 1994), 261.

Modern Europe, where advances in technology affected and were affected by changes in intellectual and sacred thought.