Cover: Herodotus, a fifth century B.C. historian, is considered the "father of history." He recognized that the present is shaped by the past and sought to share that knowledge in an entertaining way through his masterpiece, The Persian Wars.

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Editor's Note:

Our goal this year was to print a quality journal which represented the wide variety of types, subjects, and styles of undergraduate historical writing. I want to thank the 1990 staff for all their hard work and the faculty of the History department for their help and support. Special thanks to Dr. Behrman, whose experience, advice, and contributions made this publication possible.

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Marc Bloch and the Comparative Method

This is the final section of a three-part paper written by Virginia Weygandt for Dr. Celms' senior history seminar. The entire work won first prize for Best Paper at the Phi Alpha Theta Regional Meeting in 1988.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The first part of the paper situated Marc Bloch in his family and historical milieu. The second part examined the sources of the comparative method.)

The purpose of this paper is to examine the comparative method as practiced by Marc Bloch, a French medieval historian. It will describe the comparative method as Bloch conceived it and used it in his works, notably *Feudal Society*.

For Marc Bloch the comparative method was a tool for explanatory purposes. Without it, history is unintelligible. The comparative method is based on the logic of hypothesis testing, although Bloch never explicitly stated it in those terms:

> If an historian attributes the appearance of phenomena A in one society to the existence of condition B, he can check this hypothesis by trying to find other societies where A occurs without B or vice versa. If he finds no cases which contradict the hypothesis, his confidence in its validity will increase... If he finds contradictory cases, he will either reject the hypothesis outright or reformulate and refine it... By such a process of testing, reformulating, and retesting, he will construct explanations which satisfy him as convincing and accurate. (1)

This raises the question of whether the comparative method yields explanations as just mentioned. Bloch seemed to think it would, but the comparative method has been called simply a method for gathering and using evidence: "it does not supply us with explanations to be subjected to test: this is a task for the historical imagination." (2) Bloch was known to be rich in insight and imagination, able to make those "linkages" between phenomena that might not occur to others. However, although it could be said, then, that the comparative method is only a tool, there seems to be a sense in which it satisfies the perpetual "why now" of history. As will be seen, by clarifying all the possible factors, straightening out the facts and by illuminating why one hypothesis as opposed to another is patently untenable, in other words, by showing the "how," it also satisfies the "why." Bloch was careful, however, not to call a collection of facts an explanation. "To bring the seed to light is not the same thing as to show the causes for its germination." That would be no different than the historians who concentrate on "events." The collection of facts leads to an explanation, and they are both an integral part of the method.

In the discipline of history, what does comparison mean? For Bloch it consisted of this:

> To choose from one or several social situations, two or more phenomena which appear at first sight to offer certain analogies between them; then to trace their line of evolution, to note the likenesses and the differences, and as far as possible to explain them. Thus two conditions are necessary... there must be a certain similarity between the facts observed... and a certain dissimilarity between the situations in which they have arisen... a difference of environment.

The comparative method is applicable not only to the "final" stage of comparing societies, but it is useful every step of the way. In other words, comparison helps set up the criterion, or the model if you will, upon which the comparison is based. In this sense, the way in which Bloch used the comparative method to gather the criterion of feudalism is analogous to the way Weber constructed his ideal type. Comparison aids in the discovery of phenomena. "When the comparative method is properly used, our first task is not to discuss the significance of contrasts but to discover the facts." It is not enough to merely read documents, they must be scrutinized and questioned like "reluctant witnesses." From the outset, the comparative method helps determine the right questions to ask.

The comparative method helps illuminate the similarities between two or more societies, and it especially clarifies the reason for those similarities. "Many similarities, when closely examined, prove not to be explicable in terms of imitation" but can more properly be attributed to a general phenomenon that occurred over a wide area. Bloch showed that the rise of the Estates General was not unique to France but was indicative of a European-wide trend. By means of the comparative method, the historian can test the typical hypothesis that the rise of the Estates General is a French phenomenon, but the evidence that refutes that hypothesis is drawn from an area much wider than France. What the comparative method accomplished was to widen the historian's geographic field of interest so that he would not fall into the error of attributing local changes to local phenomena.

Bloch called for both the removal of "outmoded topographical compartments" and an investigation of societies within that widened context: "for where has it ever happened that social phenomena, in any period, have obligingly and with one accord stopped their development at the same boundaries, these being precisely the same as those of political rule or nationality?" (3) This is a legacy from the social sciences which gave history new dimensions in its own particular areas of space and time. "No longer would it be a question of time chopped into small segments - the events of histoire evenementielle - but of time fashioned by man whose centuries or ages no longer begin at the date the calendar indicates" nor whose environment is confined within national boundaries. (4) Rather than limiting himself to a geographic area, Bloch constructed his history in terms of a problem as he did in *Feudal Society*, where he attempted to justify the use of the term "feudal."

Bloch firmly maintained that the comparative method did not aim to force similarities on cultures nor invent them but to bring out the "originality" of a society whose differences could be "original" or "due to some divergent development from the same starting point." It was important not only to determine "that two objects are not alike" but also "by what precise characteristics they are distinguishable." Bloch traced the difference between the development of the English villeinage and the the French servage which have often been equated. He then proceeded to compare them with the serf-knights of Germany. He concluded that, though the societies were neighboring and had social classes that appeared similar, "the progress and results of this development reveal such pronounced differences of degree that they are almost equivalent to a difference in kind, and in any case are marked by antithesis characteristic of their respective environments." The comparative method brings the local phenomena into the larger context and brings the larger context to bear upon and help clarify the local context. There is a constant interchange between the two. (5)

To better understand Bloch's use of the comparative method, some examples from *Feudal Society* follow. True to the *Annales* paradigm, Bloch emphasized the economic and the social over the political, and even to some extent, the cultural. But he was also aware that any consideration of economics or social institutions was only a small part of what constituted feudalism:

> The framework of institutions which govern a society can in the last resort be understood only through a knowledge of the whole human environment. . . a society, like a mind, is woven of perpetual interaction. For other researches, differently oriented, the analysis of the economy or the mental climate are culminating points; for the historian of the social structure they are a starting point. (6)

In the beginning of *Feudal Society*, Bloch considered the reasons the Scandinavians renounced their habits of pillage and migration. First he investigated religious motives. "Was it their conversion [to the Catholic Faith] that persuaded the Scandinavians to renounce their habits. . .?" by comparing what was known about the Northmen, that "the history of the voyages and invasion of the Northmen would be unintelligible without the passionate love of war and adventure which, in this society, co-existed with devotion to more peaceful arts," with what was known about Christianity in the Middle Ages, "among the peoples of the West during the feudal era there was apparently no difficulty in reconciling ardent faith in the Christian mysteries with a taste for violence and plunder," Bloch concluded that religion alone was probably not enough of a deterrent to explain the cessation of Scandinavian invasions.

To him, it seemed equally untenable that the Scandinavians would have ceased out of fear of the greatness of the countries they invaded, since the Merovingian state was disintegrating. "Clearly it is by the study of the northern countries themselves that we must seek the key to their destiny." Here is a point where Bloch enlarged the geographic setting. He situated the events of the Carolingian empire, his geographic field of focus, in the wider context of events that occurred in Scandinavia which in turn affected the problem under investigation—feudalism.

In the eleventh century, Doon of Saint-Quentin explained the cause of the migrations as "the over-population of the Scandinavian countries" due to "polygamy." Bloch dismissed Doon's ideas on polygamy: "demographic observations have never proved - far from it - that polygamy is particularly favourable to the growth of population" - but he did explore further the possibility that by the end of approximately the sixth century northern lands that had been depopulated by earlier movements of people were beginning to experience overcrowding. Bloch considered that aspect of Doon's theory worthy of pursuit "partly for the reason that Doon probably took it, not from the tradition of the conquered [which would be the more common], but from that of the conquerors; and especially because it has a certain inherent probability.

If the need for land was the reason for the invasions, to what does Bloch attribute their cessation? We already know he ruled out religious reasons. "If the onset of the Scandinavian invasions cannot be explained by the state of government in the countries invaded, neither can their termination." Again Bloch considered developments in the North as the primary cause:

> In all likelihood the very strength of the Scandinavian kingships, after having at the outset momentarily stimulated the migrations by throwing on to the ocean routes many exiles and disappointed pretenders, had ultimately the effect of drying up the source of them. Henceforward, the levies of men and ships were monopolized by the governments. . . Moreover the kings were not very favourable to the isolated expeditions which kept alive a turbulent spirit and furnished outlaws with too easy a refuge. . . .

From this short example, it can be seen that Bloch investigated religion, literature, and archaeology and the way in which each of them mirrored the culture's mentality; he used geography, economics, demography, and the rise of a socio-political institution, kingship, each individually and in combination, to arrive at his conclusions about the Northmen invasions. He used comparison to arrive at facts and avoided the error of parochialism.

Marc Bloch widened the historian's sense of time and place. He expected historians to look beyond the narrow confines of a region or the limited span of a few years to determine the causes of local phenomena. He enlarged the criterion for what constituted historical documents; no longer would history consist of just political, diplomatic, or military events. The historian was free to use whatever he could find to recreate the past. As Febvre, his good friend and collaborator, one whose views he shared so closely that he could not distinguish them from his own, remarked:

> Undoubtedly history is written through the use of documents. When there are any. But history should, indeed must, be constructed without written documents if there are none. Everything the historian can make his honey from, lacking the usual flowers. In other words, from words. From signs. From countryside and clothing. From the configuration of fields and bitter herbs. Form lunar eclipses. . .. In short, everything which derives from man, expresses man, depends on man, is useful to man. . .." (7)

In Bloch's skillful hands, the comparative method became an apt tool not only of comparison but also a way to formulate questions. Because it could determine how something happened, it answered the "why now" of history. Bloch's rich borrowings from the social sciences changed the way historians think about and write history.

Notes

1. Willian H. Sewell Jr., "Marc Bloch and the Logic of Comparative History," *History and Theory* 6 (1967): 208-9.
2. Ibid., 217.
3. This and all previous quotations not otherwise identified are from Marc Bloch, "A Contribution Towards a Comparative History of European Societies," in *Land and Work in Medieval Europe: Select Papers by Marc Bloch*, with a Foreward by F.R.H. DuBoulay, trans. J.E. Anderson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967). The relevant pages are 45-6, 47, 50, 55, 71.
4. Comite Francais des Sciences Historiques, *La Recherche historique en France de 1940 a 1965*, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, seconde edition (Paris: 1965), xx.

5. See "A Contribution," p. 66 - also see p. 58-67 for complete analysis of these social classes.

6. This and subsequent quotations not otherwise identified are from Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, with a Foreward by M.M. Postan, trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press,1961). The relevent pages are 35-38, 177-179, 181-187.

7. Comite Francais, *La Recherche Historique*, xix.

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Various Interpretations of Peter the Great

A Biology major, senior Kathryn Dawnell Brady wrote this essay in the Fall of 1989 for Dr. O'Connor's History of Russia.

An examination of materials concerning Peter the Great reveals a tremendous amount of variation in the historical representation. Some sources view Peter very positively, whereas other sources present Peter as a complete despot. This inconsistency is due not so much to the lack of available information as it is to the biases of the authors. With all of these differing opinions, how are we to evaluate their works?

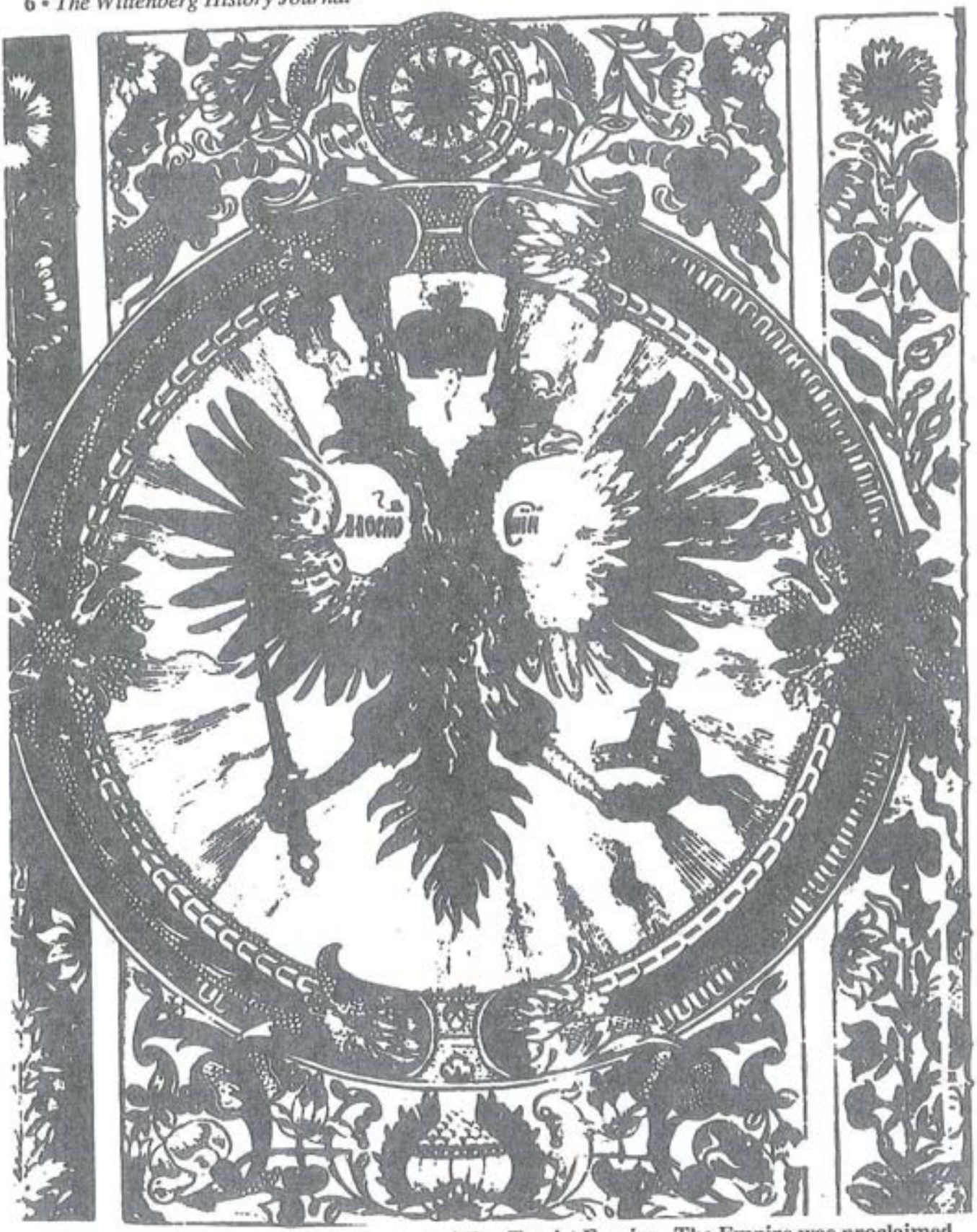
An American television mini-series, *Peter the Great*, depicts Peter as a man trying to do all that is best for Russia. Peter tries to interest his son, Alexis, in war because Peter realizes Alexis will need this knowledge if he is to become tsar. However, Alexis is wholly uninterested in war. Instead of following his father's lead, Alexis allowed himself to be adversely influenced by the priests and by Afrosinia. A priest told Alexis that the armies of three nations were ready to help Alexis seize the throne from Peter. Alexis was a willing conspirator and fled to Vienna, apparently to prepare his forces. Peter learned of Alexis' treachery and had Tolstoy and the captain of the Guard abduct Alexis and return him to Russia. Although Peter wished the incident had never occurred, he realized that, for the good of the state, it was necessary to unveil all of those involved in the conspiracy. Peter promised to pardon Alexis on the condition that Alexis renounce his claim to the throne and reveal all of those involved. Alexis did give some names, but Peter believed that Alexis was withholding information in order to protect the conspirators. Alexis denied any knowledge of a conspiracy. In thinking of Russia, Peter claimed that he could not spare Alexis just because he was his son. Peter turned the case over to the court. Alexis was asked three questions, but he refused to answer. The court sentenced Alexis to death, but Peter hesitated in signing the document. He went to Alexis and asked Alexis to give him a reason to let him live. Alexis remained obstinate, saying only that he wished to confess his sins to God, not to the tsar. Alexis was then executed, but Peter was not implicated in having actually killed him. It had been the courts who had ordered Alexis to be questioned in the prescribed manner, meaning torture. Alexis died before Peter had made a final decision as to whether he would sign the execution order.

The role of Catherine in the American film is that of the loving wife. Realizing that the death of Alexis would deeply affect Peter, Catherine was the one who saw Peter pace the floor all night worrying if he had made the right decisions concerning Poltava and other events. Catherine appealed to both the captain of the Guards and to Menshikov to intervene on Alexis' behalf.

The American film portrays Peter in a very positive light. It emphasizes that his actions were for the good of the state. Peter sacrificed his own health by constantly worrying over his decisions. Peter sacrificed the entire town of Poltava in order to stop the invasion of the Swedes. Indeed, Peter was willing to sacrifice all for the good of the state, including his own son.

A Soviet film, Petrov's *Peter the First*, renders a slightly different picture of Peter. Peter is seen as a very hard worker, a simple man, and a loving father. During the film, Peter is constantly signing decrees and giving orders. He is not ostentatious. He drank in the tavern with the merchants. He also treated men fairly for their services. When a common merchant agreed to sail Russian goods to Europe, Peter ordered the contract drawn up with the man's name written as a noble's would have been. Peter seemingly would do anything for Russia. This was depicted by the scene in which he plays the part of a low-class pilot in order to gain knowledge of foreign invasion.

In this film, Alexis was again a culprit. Alexis was shown trying to undermine Peter by writing letters to Senators, the Metropolitan, and others. After his return from Vienna, Alexis chose to live with the priests. At the priests' suggestion, Alexis agreed to



The double-eagle: The official symbol of The Tsarist Empire. The Empire was proclaimed under Peter The Great.

head an armed rebellion against Peter, and an attempt was made to recruit the Cossacks for this purpose.

Peter was shown as willing to forgive Alexis, but the rebellious son refused to cooperate. Alexis lied about his activities and refused to name those involved in the conspiracy. Peter knew that Alexis was concealing the truth, but he did not wish to pass judgement on his son. Therefore, he turned the trial over to the Senate. Peter was greatly distressed by the behavior of Alexis. Peter seemed to have been on the verge of insanity at the dilemma. Finally, the Senate condemned Alexis to death. Peter went to Alexis, said that he harbored no ill will towards him, and then gave the order that Alexis be killed.

In the Soviet version, the events concerning Alexis reveal to the audience that Peter was just a man. He loved his son dearly, but Alexis had betrayed him to the greatest degree. Nonetheless, Peter would not himself send Alexis to his death. Neither Peter nor Catherine could bear to ask the Senate to read the death sentence. To allow Alexis to be punished as he deserved was obviously the most difficult task Peter ever had to perform.

Both films impart a favorable impression of Peter. Peter is seen as a human being with worries. Also, both films depict Alexis as an unfaithful son who schemed to gain the throne by force. Alexis was at the center of the opposition to Peter's regime, and the leader of the forces which threatened to destroy all of Peter's accomplishments. Upon taking power, Alexis planned to reinstate the church to its former status, reduce the army, and abandon St. Petersburg. This representation of Alexis as an adversary is also set forth by Jacob Abbott. Abbott describes Alexis as being idle and indulgent, (1) unwilling to prepare himself to be the tsar, (2) and willingly heeding the advice of Peter's opponents. (3)

The film's and Abbott's renditions of the story of Peter the Great differ in a number of respects from other written historical accounts. First, the American film leads one to believe that Alexis never participated in any military affairs due to his own distaste for it. Quite to the contrary, Alexis did perform a number of military services for Peter. For instance, Alexis served as a private in 1703 and participated in the Battle of Narva in 1704. (4) Thus, Alexis was not an entirely disobedient child. He did try to please Peter, at least for a time.

Second, a number of written sources claim that there was no conspiracy concerning Alexis. According to Graham, the worst that any of Alexis' alleged accomplices were guilty of was the admission that they would reinstate Alexis to the throne upon the death of Peter since Alexis denounced the throne under duress. (5) Also, the threat of bringing three armies against Peter was fictitious. The Austrian Emperor desired no confrontation with Peter. (6) If Alexis was not guilty of a conspiracy, then was he guilty of any wrong which merited death? Perhaps Alexis was punished because he symbolized all that Peter endeavored to reform. (7)

Third, both the cause for Alexis' flight and the reason for his return are in dispute. According to written sources, Alexis fled to Vienna because Peter had given him an ultimatum: either enter a monastery immediately or join Peter in Copenhagen to help with preparations for war. Alexis did not wish to do either. Instead, he fled to Vienna. (8) Also, there are conflicting stories as to why Alexis returned to Russia. It is claimed that Alexis returned because of the promise of forgiveness extended by Peter to Alexis as well as coercion by the Viceroy Count Daun. (9)

A fourth point of disagreement is the manner of Alexis' death. Florinsky and Graham claim that Peter, Menshikov, and others were present at the last torture session which was responsible for Alexis' death. (10) Abbott claims that Alexis died of an apoplectic fit and that Peter therefore never had to decide if he would sign the death sentence or forgive Alexis. (11) Waliszewski notes that there were a number of contemporary sources which claimed Alexis died from other causes, including poison, decapitation, or opening of Alexis' veins at the order of Catherine. (12) We are left not knowing if Peter intended to eventually release Alexis or if Peter killed him with his own hands.

There is also a discrepancy between the sequence of events as represented in the American film and as documented in history. In the film, Alexis is depicted as being married to Louise (Charlotte) and having begun the affair with Afrosinia prior to the Battle of Poltava. This is not accurate. The battle occurred in 1709; Alexis did not marry until 1711.

All of the sources intended to impart a particular impression of Peter via his treatment of Alexis. Yet, this impression varies from that of benevolent father trapped in a hopeless situation to that of a cruel despot. The reason for this vast gap is that every historian is influenced by the intellectual and social environment of his time. For example, in the early nineteenth century both the Slavophiles and the Westerners championed Peter and his reforms. (13) However, by the second half of that century, Peter was no longer viewed as the great reformer. (14)

Any one piece of evidence can be used to support a variety of theories. For instance, Peter did send a letter to Alexis demanding that he either enter the monastery immediately or else join Peter in Copenhagen. However, the motivations which prompted Peter to send this letter are left to the interpretations of the historian. Abbott claims that Peter wrote this letter in order to threaten Alexis into performing the duties becoming of a future tsar. Abbott claims that Peter would not have actually sent Alexis to a monastery. On the other hand, Graham claims that Peter, who had two possible heirs other than Alexis, planned to disinherit Alexis and this was all part of an elaborate scheme to attach a stigma of unworthiness to Alexis. (15)

Is there any validity to anyone's historical account? The answer is yes. One must study the various aspects represented and then try to detect the biases introduced by the authors. Certain depictions can then be disregarded as being too far beyond possibility. One must keep an open mind and remember that historical truth is relevant to the interpreter's point of view.

Notes

1. Jacob Abbott, *Peter the Great*, (Akron, Ohio: New Werner Co., [n.d.]), 249.
2. Ibid, 257.
3. Ibid, 262.
4. Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia: A History and an Interpretation*, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 330.
5. Stephen Graham, *Peter the Great* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1929), 268.
6. Florinsky, 331.
7. Alain Besancon, "Emperor and Heir - Father and Son," in *Peter the Great Changes Russia*, 2d ed., ed. Marc Raeff (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. and Co., 1972), 160.
8. See Florinsky, 331 and Graham, 248.
9. See Florinsky, 331; Graham, 254; and Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great, His Life and World* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 686.
10. See Florinsky, 333 and Graham, 278.
11. Abbott, 311.
12. Kazimierz Waliszewski, *Peter the Great*, 2d ed., trans. Lady Mary Loyd (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 538.
13. David MacKenzie and Michael W. Curran, *A History of Russia and the Soviet Union* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1987), 274.
14. Ibid, 275.
15. Graham, 224.

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Columbia University Protests: The Building of a New Gym

Eric P. Phelps, a sophomore History major, wrote this paper for Dr. Behrman's Fall 1989 Craft of History course.

Columbia University is located on the outskirts of Harlem in New York City. The administration had been planning to build a new gym on the border of campus and Morningside Park since the late 1950's. Ever since the administration acquired the land in the 1950's there had been resistance from the community to building the $10 million facility. The plan was to build two gymnasiums, one for the students and one for the community. The community facility was valued at $1.6 million. The administration claimed they were trying to help the community, but the students and black community of Harlem felt differently about the situation.

Morningside Park is a 30-acre park, of which the University planned to use 2.1 acres. (1) The tensions around Columbia had been growing for some time and finally broke on April 23, 1968, when protesting students from the radical group Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), led by Mark Rudd, gathered around the sundial in front of Low Library. (2) "From the sundial the demonstrators surged up the steps toward the Low Library to take their protest directly to the administrators." (3) They wanted the administration to stop building the gym, for they saw it as discrimination toward the black community, and that building the gym on public property was wrong.

The protestors were not just white students, but black militant groups showed up to protest as well. The blacks had different goals than the white students, which caused some conflict between the protestors themselves. (4) After the first takeover the black demonstrators ran a different protest.

After the students were turned away from Low Library in their first attempt, they set their aim on the building site of the gym, which was located a few blocks away. At this point the number of student protestors was about two hundred. The students were turned back by the police when they reached Morningside Park. Mark Rudd led his followers back to Hamilton Hall, the main administration building for the undergraduate portion of Columbia University. Here the students took their first "hostage," Dean Henry Coleman, and barricaded the door to his office. (5) The students counted on Coleman to get in touch with other university administrators, preferably President Grayson Kirk, or Vice President David Truman. To these men the students wished to make demands which they felt the university needed to answer before the protesting would end. Coleman claimed there was nothing he could do about the students' demands, which included halting the building of the gym and granting amnesty to protestors already arrested and to those who were still protesting. Rudd then asked, "Is this a demonstration?" to which his followers shouted back, "Yes!" (6) This marked a turning point in the protest, for demonstrations had recently been banned on the university's campus. The protestors at this point, both black and white, sat firmly outside Dean Coleman's door. Soon Coleman appeared and said that Vice President David Truman would meet the protestors to discuss terms in the Wollman Theatre. Rudd and his followers shouted down this offer and continued to sit in Hamilton Hall. Later that evening the black and white protestors began to argue amongst themselves. The blacks wanted to hold Hamilton Hall alone. Rudd then led about sixty of his followers to the Low Library, where the mainstay of the student protest was to take place for the next six days. "The young idealists ransacked President Grayson Kirk's file, drank his sherry, and smoked his cigars." (7)

The students were well on their way to having the protest they were looking for. Not only did the students want to end the building of the gym, but they wanted to close the university as well. The students wanted to prove that when they wanted to gain and hold power, they could. This stemmed from a number of student protests focusing around the Vietnam conflict. (8)

"Columbia University students expanded their protests by invading two more buildings after the Morningside Heights campus was closed following a second day of tumultuous demonstrations." (9) So far white students held Low Library, Fayerweather Hall and Avery Hall, while the black contingent held Hamilton Hall. Later the students would raid the Math building as well. The protests seemed to be unrelated at this point in time. The students turned their respective holdings into "revolutionary communes." Each commune was different from the next and had its own style. (10)

By the time the students had seized the five campus buildings, the campus was split. The protestors were inside the building while students sympathetic to the administration stood outside the building, wanting to oust their rebellious peers physically. One member of the college wrestling team stated, "If this is a barbaric society, then it's survival of the fittest - and we're the fittest." (11) The administration and police held back the athletes, wanting no further violence. The black protestors were now backed by other supporters, too. Stokely Carmichael, the leader of the black Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the most militant of all black protesting groups, came to help "coach" the blacks in Hamilton Hall. Meanwhile the blacks sympathetic to the administration, led by Charles 37X Kenyatta, marched outside Hamilton Hall to protest against their black counterparts. (12) The protest, though not intended to be racial, began to show this form.

As the protest went on the faculty became more and more involved. Along with the black protestors and the students, the faculty were split as well. Some faculty backed the students, while others were appalled by the chaos and backed the administration. The administration closed campus from Friday until Monday in an effort to try and work out some solution. The university agreed to halt work on the gym, but the students were not satisfied. Now they wanted amnesty for their protesting, and here the administration would not budge. There was no way the administration could let the students go without punishing them; thus the protest continued. The faculty tried to step in with some suggestions of their own. The compromise they wanted was to suspend classes until the gym issue was solved, yet the students refused this offer as well. (13) Campus security was tightened with the vow of police action.

Mark Rudd, who had stepped down as president of SDS, resumed his presidency and claimed that the faculty's plan to end the protest was no good. By this point, the police had closed off the campus. Security was so tight that the students themselves were prevented from moving freely around campus. Any protester who left a seized building was not allowed to return to that building. By now the number of demonstrators had reached seven hundred, and the students were still at a stand-off with the administration. (14) By April 28, the administration took a strong stand against the students by saying there would not be any amnesty at all; the administration was backed by some faculty and trustees in making this claim. (15) In the early morning of April 30th, after six days of protest, New York police arrested 698 students on minor charges of felony. (16)

At the end of all this confusion, if anything could be learned, it is that Columbia's administrators had a lot of policy review lying ahead of them. Anthropologist and professor at Columbia, Margaret Mead, blamed both the students and the faculty for what she thought was an unnecessary outbreak. (17) Many bystanders felt that the university was so arrogant toward the students and community that the protests were bound to happen sooner or later.

In looking at the incident at Columbia University very closely, it seems that the students blew their protest out of proportion during the week they held the campus. Their major issue seems to have been the gym. Yet after about three days of protesting the university agreed to quit building the gym, but the students still would not back down. The students were probably out to enjoy the power they so quickly attained, rather than deal with university officials, and the gym issue. At this point in the sixties protesting was a fad, and the students were just carrying on in that fashion. The university had the right to build because they had leased the property earlier. Also, the students conjured up the racist views as the protest continued. The university never saw the gym as a racial issue; they were simply trying to help both the community and the university. The students took the demonstration too far and were rightfully arrested for their actions.

There was more to the protest then just the gym and racism. Vietnam may have played a large part in the students' actions, which also had a lot of racial implications. This definitely helped the students along in their protest but had nothing to do with the gym issue. With regards to the gym, the students should have backed down once construction was stopped and suffered the consequences for their actions. However, since they carried on, in the end the administration did what they had to do.

Notes

1. "Gym Controversy Began in Late '50's," *New York Times*, 26 April 1968, 50.
2. David Bird, "300 Protesting Columbia Students Barricade Office of College," *New York Times*, 24 April 1968, 30.
3. Ibid.
4. William O'Neill, *Coming Apart* (New York: Times Books, 1971), 290.
5. Bird, 30.
6. Ibid.
7. O'Neill, 291.
8. Louis S. Levine, "Why Students Seize Power," *Nation*, 13 May 1968, 622.
9. "Columbia Campus Closes After Disorder," *New York Times*, 25 April 1968, 1.
10. O'Neill, 290.
11. "Students Seige on Morningside Park," *Time*, 3 May 1968, 49.
12. Ibid.
13. "Columbia Agrees to Suspend Work on Gym that Students Protest," *New York Times*, 26 April 1968, 50.
14. "Columbia Faculty Fails to Resolve Dispute with its Plan for Disciplinary Panel," *New York Times*, 27 April 1968, 18.
15. Murray Schumach, "Columbia Board Scores," *New York Times*, 28 April 1968, 1.
16. "Lifting a Seige - And Rethinking a Future," *Time*, 10 May 1968, 77.
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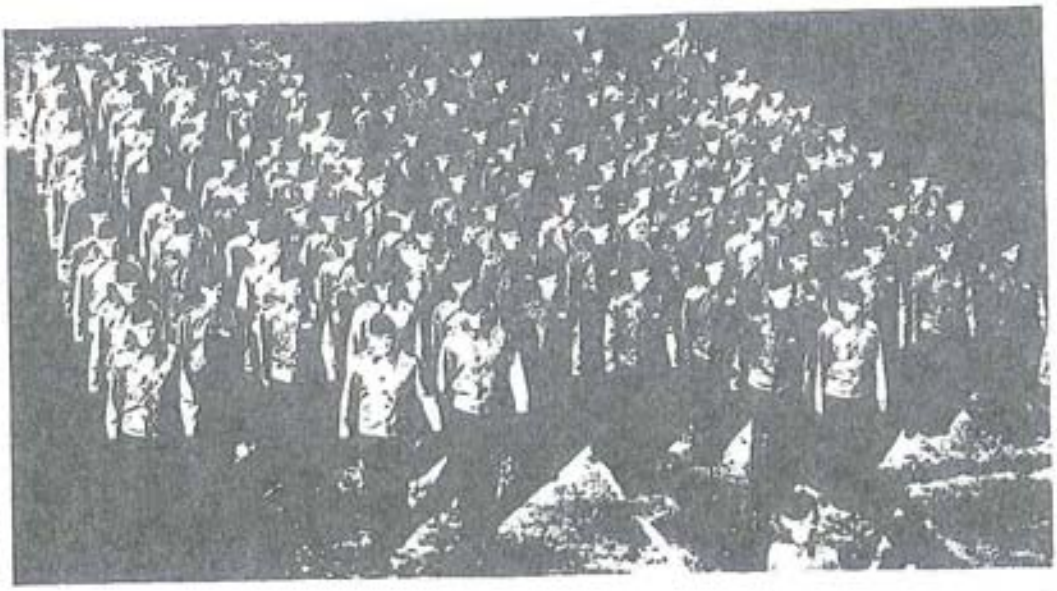

Men, yesterday on the Wittenberg campus, today on the Solomons, New Guinea, or the Anzio Beachhead, the men whom we knew as students and friends—these we salute.

From the gay and light-hearted college life which they knew, they have gone into another world. They have learned to fight, to avenge, to sacrifice, and to kill. They have been taught a grim and a cruel life. They have given much, and much more will be asked of them. But all of them face life gallantly, with courage and faith.

Of these Wittenberg men, our classmates and friends, we are proud. They are serving us and our country.

A page from the 1944 Wittenberger, the school's yearbook, which salutes those students who served our country in W.W. II.

- Courtesy of Wittenberg University

Fear

This fictional essay, by Psychology major Amy Ray, was written for Dr. Celms' and Dr. Ortquist's History of World War II.

"There's nothing to fear but fear itself." With all due respect, Mr. President, sir, you are gravely mistaken. You know that thinking about things you fear only magnifies the fear—but you got to face it—it's human nature. You try to keep it out of your mind, but it always creeps back into your thoughts: wondering if you're going to make it home to see your loved ones again, remembering things left unsaid because you were so confident you were going to come over here, destroy the enemy, and return home to celebate with your buddies, wondering if one of these days you'll slip up and let the enemy catch you with your guard down—you're only eighteen you know. You don't even know what life's about. You haven't even experienced it. You should be worrying about other things—college, girls, making your parents happy. But how are you going to make it out of this hell?

Have you heard what they're doing to the Jews? The Jews never touched the Germans. We're killing the Japanese people. Just thinking about the horror stories of the P.O.W.'s . . . Praying to God in heaven that you won't die in a strange land, but how can you be rescued when the ugly stench of death surrounds you, closes in on you? You've seen the face of death peering at you through the trees. You turn around and it's at your heels, always one step behind, waiting for you to falter, to lose your footing. You've seen death's cruel hand. You've seen the bodies of the innocent children, their smiles frozen—so unknowing, so trusting—their tiny hands clutching a worn out teddy bear for the last time. The pictures never yellow, the memories never fade. The bodies clutter the battlefield, stacked on top of one another in an abandoned pile—nameless faces who died for their country. Did they die in vain? You can't stop to look, but you wonder if they were friends of yours. You wonder if they would have been friends. I remember the first Japanese soldier I killed. He was just like me, but "unlike me he was wearing a tin hat, dressed to kill." (p. 6) You search frantically for a small difference separating you from the enemy—not justifying the murder—just easing your mind that he wasn't really like you, but you know that the only difference is in the color of your uniform, of your enemy. You pretend to be indifferent about death, even joking about it, taunting it because if you don't laugh, you'll cry. It's all around you, surrounding you, closing off your breath. And if you're lucky enough to get snatched from the battlefield, wounded—but not fatally; you still have to worry because men are dying all around you—"Head Wound went first and Chest Wound had gone too" (p. 47)—and maybe you'll be next.

You're terrified to close your eyes at night, afraid the grim reaper will take you as you sleep, and maybe you won't join our father in heaven because of the lives you've taken. You look down into the face of your enemy and it grips you how peaceful he looks in sleep, thinking of how you might have been friends with him if you had gone to school together—if it had been under different circumstances. You beg God's forgiveness, but you're sure you've passed that limit of generosity long ago.

You're no longer that cocky teen-ager who thought he was so invincible—you've been reduced—to a man. You've been hardened. You know you can be destroyed within the tangling arms of the jungle. You learn to hate the jungle and every poisonous creature lurking in the shadows of the darkness, afraid to move, afraid to breathe. The fear of the darkness never goes away because even when you've grown up, childhood fears always remain. But you're not a child anymore. The enemy is always lurking, and not even the daylight can save you. The night is always the worst because the fear manifests itself in your mind and it continues to grow, and it continues until it robs you of your sanity. Men are cracking up all around you—grown men bawling like babies. Maybe you'll be next.

The trails you follow are stained with the blood of men who have gone before you, stumbling along

aimlessly through the jungle in the day, sure that you'll collapse from exhaustion and hunger, miserable beyond belief from the sores covering your body. Keeping watch at night from within deep holes—being in holes so deep that your "greatest worry is of being buried alive." (p. 103)

So afraid they're going to forget you. What if the war ends and they forget to tell you? What if you're here forever? It already seems like forever. When does it end? Will it ever end? Maybe you're dreaming. Maybe you're really in a dream and any minute you'll wake up in a cold sweat, safe and secure in your own bed—in your own country. God, you hope you're dreaming.

So you see Mr. President, sir, there are legitimate fears in life—in war. They come back and seize you in the night—when you're sleeping—except those fears are just very graphic memories, and now what you fear most is being caught in that nightmare again.

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Jeannette Pickering Rankin: A Peaceful Past

Each year, three senior history majors are chosen as finalists for the distinguished Martha and Bob Hartje Award and asked to write an historical paper. The papers are judged by the faculty of the History Department in order to determine the winner. Becky Sittason received the award in 1989 after submitting this paper.

As an historian, I am constantly struggling with the truth of our nation's perceptions of the past. Historical knowledge shapes these perceptions and it is the historian who creates the form of these perceptions. I have chosen to concentrate on Jeannette Pickering Rankin's dedication to peace and the ways she worked to achieve this peace. It is my belief that the social reforms Rankin sought required a lifetime of commitment. As we explore Rankin's life, our knowledge of our nation's past will include a picture of an independent woman who dedicated her life to making the world safe for humanity, a pacifist who firmly maintained a commitment to peace.

Born in Montana in 1880, Rankin became the first female member of the United States House of Representatives and the only member of Congress to oppose our involvement in both world wars. At the age of thirty, she began her career in politics by campaigning in Washington for women's suffrage. In 1913, she became the secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, campaigning for the women's vote in fifteen different states. In her home state she surprised everyone by telling children to "ask your fathers why they won't let your mother vote!"(1) One year later, in 1914, Montana became the twelfth state to grant women the right to vote.

Believing that war was the most menacing example of male aggressiveness, many early twentieth-century feminists were pacifists. Rankin, reflecting the majority opinion in Montana, campaigned for Congress in 1916 on a peace platform which she described as a "preparedness that will make for peace."(2) As the threat of World War I loomed, many friends and colleagues warned that a vote against war would damage her popularity and the women's movement. However, on the House floor, Rankin contended that "war is a stupid and futile way of attempting to settle international disputes."(3) On April 6, 1917, just four days after she was sworn in as the first Congresswoman, she voted along with fifty-six other members against the United States entrance into World War I. Rankin boldly cast her first vote saying, "I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war."(4) Thus, as early as 1917, Rankin was nationally identifed as a pacifist, a role which continued until her death in 1973. Unfortunately, Montanans grew weary of her tireless campaign for peace and she was not elected again for over twenty years.

During this time Rankin developed her idea of the close association of women and peace, insisting that "the work of educating the world to peace is the women's job because men have a natural fear of being classed as cowards if they oppose war."(5) She warned women that working for peace was much more difficult than campaigning for woman's suffrage because the antiwar movement faced monumental disapproval. Celebrating life-giving motherhood, Rankin encouraged women to take action in the belief that the "motherhood of the world must demand that destruction be stopped."(6) Rankin credited women with more heartfelt concern for humanitarian goals than men, claiming that "men have taught women not to trust their emotions, but women have an emotional ideal to contribute."(7)

In 1938 she lobbied in support of the Ludlow Amendment which required a national vote before the country could enter into war. Opposing Franklin Roosevelt's commitment to war for settling international disputes, Rankin ran again for the House of Representatives in 1940. After she was elected, Rankin continued to testify in Congress that America must defend its shores, but avoid foreign wars. Rankin believed that governments, not people, made wars and insisted that Americans had the right to know about those "patriots who are willing to give the life of your son."(8)

On December 8, 1941, Congress declared war on Japan with a vote of 388 to 1, with Jeannette Rankin casting the one dissenting vote. Undoubtedly, her courageous commitment to peace emerged as she sacrificed her political career for her beliefs. One contemporary who disagreed with her vote wrote, "But, Lord, it was a brave thing! And its bravery some way discounted its folly."(9) After voting, Rankin stated unpretentiously, "I voted against it because it was war."(10) She firmly believed that this vote inspired her to continue her campaign for peace.

Over the next thirty-three years, Rankin campaigned for unilateral disarmament and women's rights. In 1968, outraged by the Vietnam war, the eighty-eight year old pacifist led the Jeannette Rankin Brigade, an anti-war demonstration of five thousand women.

The fight that Rankin waged has not yet been won. If our perception of the past is void of pacifism, we will never develop a world of peace. We are at a point in time when we must ask those who dream of peace to unite under a banner of hope. This banner will include the commitment and integrity of Jeannette Rankin, the pacifist, who at the age of ninety told us, her descendants, "You can go on from where I leave off." (11)

Notes

1. Alden Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (New York: Wilson Co., 1985), 6770.
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3. Joan Hoff Wilson, "Jeanette Rankin: American Foreign Policy and the Beginning of Her Pacifism," *Montana Magazine of Western History* 30 (Winter 1980): 38.
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The Two New Deal Thesis: From the Historian's Perspective

A senior History major, Kent Nord wrote this paper in the Fall of 1989 for Dr. Ortquist's Reading Colloquium: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal.

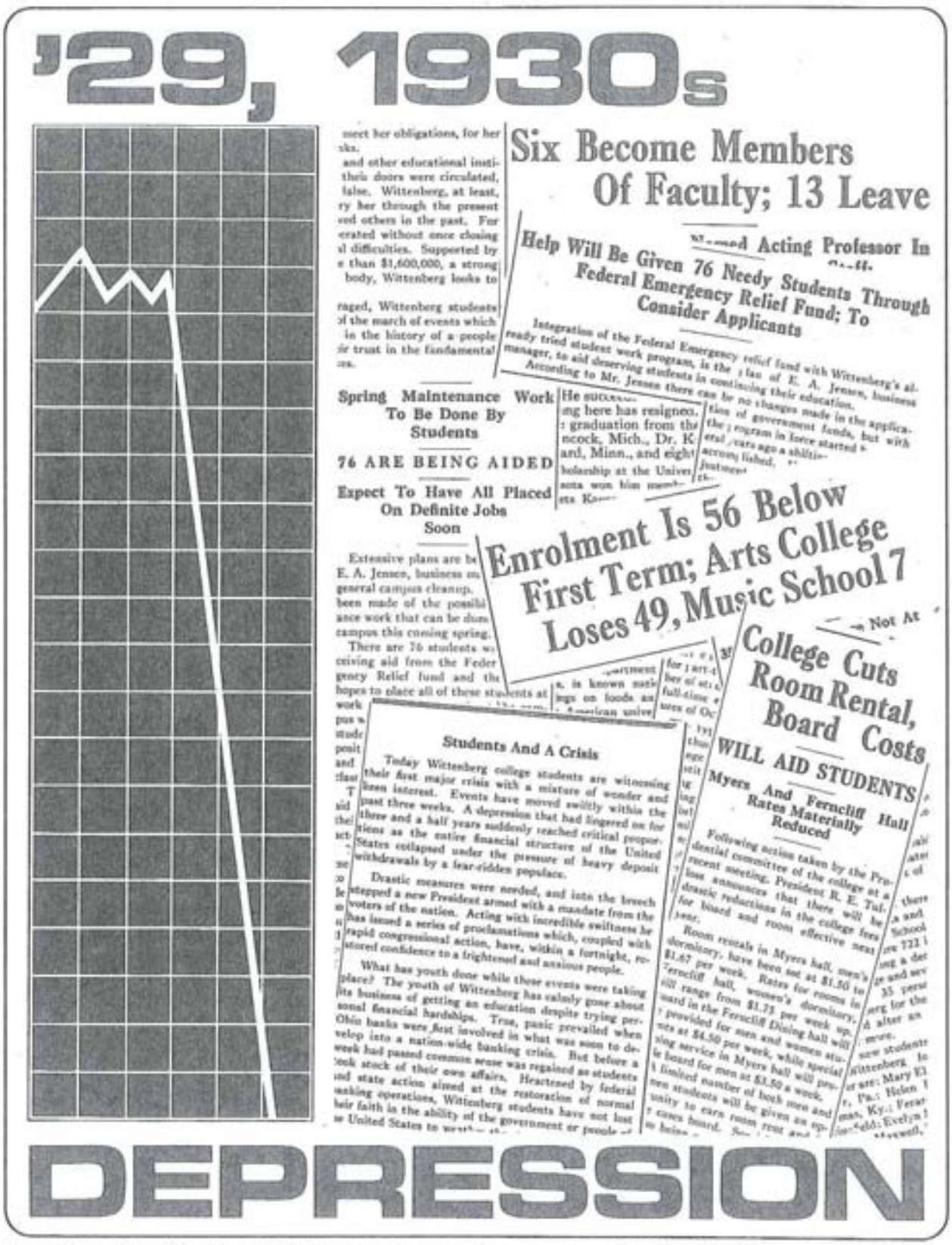
Basil Rauch's pioneer work, *The History of the New Deal*, was the first book which distinctly established that there were not one, but two New Deals. The purpose of the book was to examine the evolution of the Roosevelt Administration's policies from 1933-1938. Rauch strongly believed that there was a drastic change in the political policies of the Roosevelt Administration during 1934. It is on this year, "the year of transition," that Rauch bases his belief of the two New Deals. The original goal of the first New Deal was recovery, and it served big business and the large farmers. The primary goal of the second New Deal was reform, and it benefitted labor and the smaller farmers. With this ideology in mind, Rauch interprets the history of the New Deal from 1933 to 1938 and effectively depicts the evolution of the first New Deal into the second New Deal.

"The chief purpose of the AAA and NIRA was recovery. They dominated the First New Deal, and the administration's first crusades were organized around them." (1) The Agriculture Adjustment Act protected the farmers from surpluses and low prices. The National Industry Recovery Act was based on the assumption that both labor and industry would benefit from recovery. Congress also passed many more bills which were geared toward recovery, the most important being the Emergency Banking Act, the Economy Act, the CCC, FERA, TVA, Truth in Securities Act, and the Glass-Steagall Banking Act. These conservatively-geared measures were intended to "prime the pump" and get the economy back on its feet again.

The decline of farm prices and increasing unemployment were the two major factors which caused a general dissatisfaction with the administration's recovery program. NRA was not providing equal benefits for all groups. Big business was using it to make gains for themselves at the expense of small business, labor, and consumers. The Triple A supported increased mechanization and the concentration of land into larger units. In the long run, this meant that it supported the displacement of tenant farmers and sharecroppers from their only means of production. All of this came to light during the year of transition - 1934. The President and the country realized that the means were not reaching the intended ends. In his Presidential Message, Roosevelt asked Congress "to legislate a new program which would include labor as a beneficiary to recovery." (2)

Along with pressure from such people as Huey Long, Francis Townsend, and Father Coughlin on the left, the basic change from the first New Deal to the second New Deal was the failure of business to cooperate with the administration's previous policies. "The policies of the second New Deal were intended to create recovery primarily by increasing the purchasing power of the mass population." (3) Unemployment would be solved by private enterprise and the NRA. The launching of the security program of 1935 marked the distinction between the two New Deals. "The security of men, women, and children of the nation was the central objective." (4) Both the Wagner-Connery Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act were important in structuring the New Deal.

The invalidation of the NIRA and the increased purchasing power created by the PWA were also important in the realm of recovery. The objectives of the second AAA were in increasing benefits which were to be paid to the poorest farmers and a limit on those paid to the richest farmers. The Fair Labor Standards Act was the last major enactment of the second New Deal and any further advancement was made by changing the already existing laws. The shift



Headlines from the *Torch*, Wittenberg's school newspaper, during the Great Depression and New Deal era.

- Compiled by Ken Dickerson

from the conservative big business policy to the more liberal personal security stance was completed by the F.S.L.A. The liberal program of social and economic reforms had been enacted in an attempt to end the depression once and for all. Besides being the pioneer of the two New Deal thesis, Rauch's work is important because he is the only New Deal historian I found that develops the two New Deal thesis throughout the entirety of his book.

Were there really two New Deals? Basil Rauch would like us to believe so, but other historians have differing viewpoints. In his article, "The Two New Deals: A Valid Concept?" (1966), William Wilson stated that "the two New Deals theory survives less on its ability to explain the New Deal and more because of the service it does historians who have used it to elaborate and defend their own conclusions regarding the nature of the New Deal and of Roosevelt's leadership." (5) If Wilson were correct, the two New Deals would be nothing more than a way of categorizing Roosevelt's policies in a convenient and understandable manner.

This would also mean that no significant shift occurred between 1934 and 1935, and that everything went as Roosevelt and his advisors had planned. This is more closely related to the way Arthur Schlesinger Sr. explained the idea of the two New Deals in his book *The New Deal in Action, 1933-1938* (1939). Schlesinger felt that the New Deal had three goals - relief, recovery, and reform. He believed that the 1937 election "formed the foundation stones of what some observers called the second New Deal. Actually, the proposals represented a logical extension of the principles that underlay the program from the start." (6) There wasn't a major shift in the middle of the New Deal, and continuity existed throughout.

James MacGregor Burns, a sympathetic critic of Roosevelt, accepts the Rauch two New Deal thesis only in broader terms. In his book *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (1956), Burns argues that the shift from the first New Deal was not nearly as clear as Rauch implied. "At a critical point in his first term - the early months of 1935 - Roosevelt still was balanced precariously between right and left. He was still sticking to his idea that he could be leader of all the people." (7) Roosevelt had tried to keep the New Deal on a middle-of-the road path. The only reason it swayed from this path was the desertion of conservatives, both in and out of Congress, who stopped showing support for Roosevelt. This is even more significant because "Roosevelt continued in 1934 to take a more moderate and conservative stand on the policy than did the majority of Congressmen." (8) The shift in Roosevelt's broker leadership was not so drastic because his goals of helping those in need simply shifted to a different means of how to do it. Unlike Schlesinger Sr., Burns does feel that a shift occurred sometime around 1935. However, both historians agree that the goals of Roosevelt's policies did not change throughout the entire New Deal period.

In his book, *The Democratic Roosevelt* (1957), Rexford G. Tugwell states that he doesn't believe that the shift from the first New Deal to the second New Deal came from outside pressures. Roosevelt was simply, "returning to an accepted version of the progressive position." (9) According to the progressives, big business and finance had been responsible for the occurrence of the depression. By supporting these "evils" in such liberal manner as the AAA and the NIRA, Roosevelt had alienated old progressives like Wheeler, Borah, and Cutting. (10) This greatly bothered Roosevelt and he was determined to regain their support, so he shifted his emphasis to more conservative measures "which meant going back to 'an accepted version of the progressive position,' which, 'believed in bearing down on Big Business and encouraging little business.'" (11)

Contrary to his father, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. accepts most of the Rauch thesis. Although Schlesinger is unlike Burns in that he is a fond admirer of Roosevelt, they both agree that the goal of the New Deal was a middle-of-the road path. In his book *The Coming of the New Deal* (1958), Schlesinger states that:

> The tenets of the First New Deal were that the technological revolution had rendered big business inevitable; that competition could no longer be relied on to protect social interest; that larger units were an opportunity to be seized rather than a danger to be fought; and that the formula for stability in a new society must be combination and cooperation under enlarged federal authority. (12)

By 1935 the New Deal was completely different from what it had been earlier. "It had renounced the dream of the national planning through national unity and had become a coalition of the non-business groups mobilized to prevent the domination of the country by the business community." (13) However, in his book *The Politics of Upheaval* (1960), Schlesinger adds that these changes should not be overemphasized because a continuity remained among those in charge and in their central purpose. Most historians claim that the shift to the second New Deal in 1935 occurred because of the relative failure of the

first New Deal and because prosperity had not been restored to the country. "Schlesinger insists that the opposite was the case: the relative success of the first New Deal made a less strenuous economic policy possible." (14) This explanation of the two New Deals separates Schlesinger from most other historians because he claims that the first New Deal was characterized by national planning in areas traditionally not touched by government. The second New Deal was characterized by the restoration of competition and concluded the shift from radicalism to conservatism. Schlesinger's viewpoint is particularly interesting because it is so different from not only his father's, but almost everyone else's as well.

It is in the book *Rendezvous With Destiny* (1952) that Eric Goldman discusses the first and second New Deal thesis by explaining this shift from the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt to the New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson. "The merger of Associational Activities ideas and New Nationalism thinking in a demand for national planning of large-scale economic units was plain in the brain trust." (15) The strength of Roosevelt's New Nationalism rested upon the NRA and the AAA. After the court had declared both of those acts unconstitutional, Roosevelt moved on to the New Freedom thesis. The move was furthered by Roosevelt's new anti-big business stance after he lost their support and because of the leftward push from people like Senator Huey Long. However, Goldman does state that the New Deal never fully passed over to a strict New Freedom pattern - the shift that did occur happened gradually some time after the court began attacking the New Deal programs. (16) During both the New Nationalist and the New Freedom phases of the New Deal, Roosevelt promised and pushed for a greater security for citizens across the country.

Barton J. Bernstein is another historian who feels that too much emphasis has been placed upon the leftward shift of 1935. In his article "The New Deal: The Conservative Achievements of Liberal Reform" (1968) Bernstein states that, "The New Deal was neither a 'third American Revolution,' as Carl Degler suggests, nor even a 'half-way revolution,' as William Leuchtenburg concludes." (17) The New Deal was not a shift from one extreme to another; it was consistent in its goal and consistent in its way of achieving it. Many historians emphasize the powerful role of government in the New Deal but Bernstein feels differently. Although the government served as a mediator with big business and it imposed its will in extreme cases, the government was generally the servant of the powerful groups. Historians place too much emphasis on the supposed shift and fail to see the continuities which existed throughout the New Deal.

"William Leuchtenburg takes issue with the first-second New Deal interpretation, arguing that the New Deal was such a mixed bag, so pragmatic, so consistently inconsistent, that it is futile to try to blue print it." (18) In his book *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (1963), Leuchtenburg explains how he, like Williams, Arthur Schlesinger Sr., Bernstein and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., feels that by dividing the New Deal into two separate sections historians have placed too much emphasis on the shift between 1933 and 1935. "Many of the 1935 measures - social security, utility regulation, progressive taxation - had long been in the works, and it was only a question of time when they would be adopted." (19) Leuchtenburg also states that Roosevelt should not, and could not, be regarded as a radical, socialist, or a creator of a planned economy. "Even the most precedent-breaking New Deal projects reflected capitalist thinking and deferred to business sensibilities." (20) The New Deal consistently sought to end the depression and no major breaking points can be found within it. "According to Leuchtenburg then, the first-second New Deal thesis is largely a myth, 1935 is an artificial dividing line, and the alleged shift in policy was, to use his words, 'confusing shadow with substance.'" (21)

Frances Perkins' book, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (1946), argued similarly to Tugwell that the New Deal represented nothing more than a traditional progressivism. Perkins claimed that Roosevelt, prior to his inauguration, readily agreed to a program of:

> Immediate federal aid to the states for direct unemployment relief, an extensive program of public works, a study and an approach to the establishment by federal law of minimum wages, maximum hours, true unemployment and old age insurance, abolition of child labor, and the creation of a federal employment service. (22)

Since most of these acts were on the books or in process well before 1935, Perkins felt that the shift most historians speak of is non-existent. Unlike Tugwell, Perkins doesn't say that Roosevelt had swayed from the original progressive stance and was moving back to it, nor does she say that the "shift" was Roosevelt's attempt to regain their support.

In his book *The New Deal* (1967), Paul Conkin states that, "Some major changes did occur in 1935, but they overlay continuities in agricultural policy and in resource management." (23) This statement

puts Conkin in agreement with Schlesinger Sr., Burns, Schlesinger Jr., Bernstein, and Leuchtenburg in that too much emphasis has been placed on the shift and not enough attention is paid to the continuity within the New Deal policies. Conkin also comments that if historians have divided the New Deal in 1935, that they might also divide it again in 1937 after the crucial court-packing issue. (24) Once again, Conkin states that the New Deal has been divided into categories simply for their usefulness and serves only that purpose.

Since all the authors (excluding Rauch and Wilson) spend only a few paragraphs to a couple of pages mentioning Rauch's ideas, it is sometimes hard to decipher what themes they had been trying to build throughout their entire book. However two themes seem to run constant between those historians who seem to partially accept Rauch's two New Deal thesis. One common theme that Arthur Schlesinger Sr., James MacGregor Burns, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Barton J. Bernstein, Frances Perkins, and Paul Conkin agree with is that too much emphasis is placed upon the shift of 1935 and not enough attention is paid to the continuity which ran throughout the New Deal. It is also interesting that there is a time span of over thirty-five years between their writings, yet they still seem to draw upon the same ideas. Most of these historians are some of the leading historians in the New Deal field, and it is more than a coincidence that they seem to draw the same conclusions.

Another constant theme that runs among them is the idea that Rauch's two New Deal thesis works better as a way of categorizing and organizing the New Deal, than it does of accurately explaining it. Yet some of these authors criticize it from this aspect, then go on to use it in their own explanations! This is the thesis of Wilson's article and he spends almost twenty pages using other historians' viewpoints to back up his conclusions.

Wilson's remarks sound very convincing, yet so do Rauch's. This is where the controversy surrounding the whole New Deal thesis lies. Although there are many similarities among all the historians' conclusions, there are just as many differences. Very few of them agree whole-heartedly with one another, and some find different reasons for the 1935 shift than do others. Not only do some accept more of Rauch's thesis than others, very few of them agree on what caused the shift to occur in the first place. Tugwell and Perkins like to think that it was the progressives. Goldman likes to think that it was the New Nationalist and New Freedom ideas. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. thinks that the New Deal was succeeding in its goals. Others believed just the opposite - that the New Deal was failing to meet its goals. Still others believe that it was combination of two or more. Not knowing what to expect of the future, it is probably a safe bet to state that the controversy surrounding the thesis Rauch developed, over forty-five years ago, will continue well into many a debate between those discussing the New Deal.

Notes

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2. Ibid., 139.
3. Ibid., 208.
4. Ibid., 152.
5. William H. Wilson, "The Two New Deals: A Valid Concept?" *Historian* 28 (February 1966), 280.
6. Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr., *The New Deal in Action, 1933 - 1938* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), 44.
7. James Macgregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1956), 239.
8. Ibid., 185.
9. Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Democratic Roosevelt* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1957), 326.
10. Ibid., 328.
11. George Wolfskill, *Happy Days are Here Again!* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), 209-210.
12. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), 179.
13. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), 443.
14. Wolfskill, 212.
15. Eric E. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1952), 334.
16. Ibid., 363.
17. Barton J. Bernstein, "The New Deal: The Conservative Achievements of Liberal Reform," *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 281.
18. Wolfskill, 212.

19. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 163.
20. Ibid., 165.
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Church and State in Ireland; The History of an Uneasy Relationship

Douglas Jenks is a junior History major. He wrote this paper for Dr. Taylor's History of Church and State in the fall of 1989.

Although the Roman Catholic church is not the institution which was once established for Ireland, the history of a close church and state relationship is an old one. The Irish Catholic Church today enjoys a close relationship with the government precisely because the establishment of the Anglican Church had lasted so many years. The reaction to British rule has propelled the Irish church to a very influential position in today's society.

It is popularly believed that Christianity first reached Ireland in the 5th century, when St. Patrick arrived in Ireland to convert the Irish tribal people. Born in England, St Patrick was originally enslaved by Irish raiders and brought to Ireland. Upon his escape and return to England, he had a vision that drew him back to introduce Christianity to Ireland, where his mission had tremendous success.

A monastic organization of the church soon developed all over the country. Although many European cities evolved around monasteries, the system in Ireland was different from the Continent, chiefly because Europe was under the powerful influence of Rome, and Ireland was not. Hence the religion developed in Ireland in a vacuum.(1) It was not forced on the people, and its monastic organization assimilated into Irish culture rather easily. Ireland therefore was still much unchanged even with the introduction of the new religion.

Ireland continued to enjoy its independence for the next four centuries. Probably due to its isolation from the Continent, Rome had not extended her influence there. But this distance proved hardly troublesome for the sea-worthy Northmen, Norsemen, or Vikings, as they are popularly called. These Germanic peoples from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark began migrating in the 8th century, settling all over Europe. In Ireland they destroyed nearly every monastery, totally disrupting Irish society and the church.(2,3)

English conquest began in the 12th century. Pope Adrian IV in 1155 pressured England's King Henry II to use his country's strength to bring the Irish Church in line under papal authority. The power of the English proved too much for the militarily backward Irish kings. In 1171, after the English had captured many Irish towns, Henry travelled to Ireland, proclaimed himself ruler, and attempted to reform the church.

Henry also gave many of his own people huge tracts of land and single-handedly started a feudal system in Ireland. The feudal lords, who had many Irish people living on their lands, answered directly to the king. English subjugation of Ireland was a long process. Eventually, suppression of everything associated with Irish culture was needed in light of their stubborn resistance to conquest.(4)

These developments of the 12th century are important for an understanding of the church and state relationship in Ireland today. First, the country lost its independence and autonomy. Never again was the whole island nation to be free from foreign rule. Second, Henry II became actively involved in religious matters. He used governmental power as an arm of the church, at the Pope's request.

As one historian says, "To the ancient Irish hatred of English political and commercial exploitation, the Reformation added the bitter antagonism of religion."(5) The English king Henry VIII in 1534 began moving his forces into Ireland to impose his changes on the Irish church as he had on the English. He confiscated land and asserted his supremacy over the church with the Irish Supremacy Act of 1537.(6) Then, in 1541, he officially became "King of Ireland" by an act of Parliament.(7)

The English ruling class in Ireland accepted the king's new political and religious authority. However, the Irish remained defiantly Roman Catholic. The property confiscated included Irish monasteries, which were sold, with the profits going back to the king. Irish Catholics became outraged as they now had become second class citizens in their own country. Yet they still practiced their religion as they always had. The role of the clergy, however, did change.

The Catholic clergy held the populace together and acted as political leaders.(8) Because the landowners were now all English, and the Protestant English king ruled the country, the Irish had only the clergy to turn to for guidance. Now that they were oppressed religiously as well as politically, it would be only natural that economic oppression would occur as well.

Land confiscation forced the Catholics out of the rich and arable land in the North and into the South. The English Protestants in the North had great economic success because of their geographic closeness to England, their religion that ensured better treatment from the Crown, and the fact that English settlers in the North were wealthy to begin with.

Later, in the 19th century, when famine hit Ireland, many Catholics began returning to the prosperous North. The Protestants were threatened by this new populace because they felt the Catholics would steal their jobs. What resulted was the foundation on which all discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland rests. There was a major effort to ensure that Catholics would not disrupt the life the Crown had carved out for Protestants in the North. Part of this effort was to corral the Catholics into ghettos that still exist today.(9)

The Irish must have been hopeful when the English Civil War broke out in 1649. They supported King Charles I, who would have been more sympathetic to their plight. However, Protestant Oliver Cromwell became the English ruler and was not cordial to the Catholic Irish. Cromwell set up huge plantations in Southern Ireland to be inhabited by English Protestants. This once again uprooted the Irish from their own land. After the victory of William of Orange in the Glorious Revolution of 1689, the "Protestant Ascendancy" severely oppressed Catholics as Protestants came to rule Irish society.(10)

Thus Protestants affirmed their strong hold over Ireland. In 1685, the Protestant-controlled Irish Parliament in Dublin enacted Penal Laws, an attempt to restrict the lives of all Irish Catholics. These laws included: exclusion from the Irish Parliament, from the vote, and from all civil offices; banishment of all Catholic clergymen from the country; and the prohibition of a Catholic's owning a horse valued at over five pounds.(11) Close cooperation between the established (Anglican) church and the government resulted in these oppressive measures on religious grounds alone.

Despite all this, however, things did finally begin to look better for the Irish as the century wore on. Inspired by the American Revolution, the 1770s saw the rise of a political group devoted to Ireland's interests. This group, the Volunteers, had over 40,000 members by the 1780's. Fearing another colonial revolution, England gave the Volunteers some of the things they petitioned for. One was the right of the Irish Parliament to regulate Irish trade and industry. The Volunteers also made possible the enactment of a Catholic relief act in 1778, allowing Catholics the right to inherit land and obtain long-term leases.(12) But any chances the Irish had of securing greater freedom were quickly subdued in the Act of Union of 1800, which joined the two kingdoms politically. The responsibility of ruling Ireland would now rest with the English Parliament.(13)

The Irish were assigned 100 seats in the House of Commons, which was equal to being under-represented by 50%. Most importantly, Catholics were still barred from participation and would be governed completely without direct representation. In 1869, the Liberal Party, led by William Gladstone, disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland, but did little to make up for the years of injustice suffered by the Catholics.(14) The Irish were still not free of English political domination and exploitation. They would devote the rest of the century to trying to gain autonomy, or "Home Rule."

This Parliamentary struggle represented the beginning of the end of foreign domination, at least for Southern Ireland. Home Rule would mark the end of oppression and the beginning of autonomy after 750 years of foreign domination. The rewards for a successful bid for independence were staggering, and the Irish could not let this opportunity slip by.

In 1886, the first Home Rule bill was introduced and defeated in Parliament. But the movement continued to gain support in Ireland as well as other areas. Home Rule was opposed by the Unionist party in the six counties of Ulster in the North, where Protestants predominated. They believed it would be little more than "Rome Rule." This opposition

tended to magnify support for the Sinn Fein party, active supporters of Home Rule. After twenty-six years of political struggle, Home Rule was finally passed by Parliament in 1912.

Execution of the law, however, was delayed indefinitely for the duration of the First World War. An impatient Irish faction refused to depend on the war for Home Rule and started a violent rebellion on Easter 1916. This uprising was quickly suppressed by British forces, and the leaders of the insurrection were tried for treason and executed. Fifteen young men were shot over a ten day period, transforming them into martyrs and intensifying popular support for Sinn Fein and the Home Rule cause.(15)

After 1918, a guerilla war broke out between British forces and the military wing of Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Meanwhile, the Protestants of the North still refused to be governed by the South. Finally, in 1921, Prime Minister Lloyd George went to Ireland to negotiate a settlement for the "Irish Question." The result was a division of the country: the northern six counties (Ulster) would still be connected to England. The South received "dominion status": she would be as free of England as Canada was, and would be known as the Irish Free State.(16) The settlement was not without conditions. One of them prohibited the Free State from establishing Catholicism or favoring it in any way.

Therefore, much to the pleasure of the Irish Protestants in the South, the constitution of 1922 included provisions for the freedom of conscience. It also stated that all schools, regardless of denomination, would receive equal government funding. Thus, because guarantees for religious freedom were a condition for independence, the Irish still were not free to treat their own religion as they might have wished. In fact, the Irish Free State was still officially connected to the English Crown. This would change with the new constitution adopted in 1937.(17)

Not only did the new constitution (approved by popular vote) totally separate the Irish Free State (now Eire) from England for the first time in centuries, it also allotted the Catholic church a "special position in society." Article 44 entitled "Religion" states that "the State recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faiths professed by the great majority of our citizens." But the right to freedom of religion was also guaranteed as strongly as in the constitution of 1922. (18) In fact, the "special position" did not mean an official position in the government; even so, the Catholic Church is not just another interest or lobbying group.

The church does seem to "believe that they have an authority of their own, independent of the State, and which they may use . . . to give guidance to the State."(19) On certain pieces of legislation, for example, the government may wait for the church to give its official "okay" before the given bill is made law. Also, there have been many times when the two have worked closely together. For example, several health acts, intoxicating liquor acts, education acts, and even the constitution itself were written in collaboration with the Catholic Church.(20)

Beyond a doubt, the church has affected some legislation, but there are substantial reasons for suggesting the church has little say in matters of general governmental policy.(21) In fact, there have been many times when the government has flatly ignored the church, for instance,questions about the legality of keeping pubs open on Sunday, which the church opposed. Here the government listened to popular opinion—Sunday is a big drinking day in Ireland.(22) Another example is the recent legislation to make contraception more available. Also it is likely that divorce will soon be legalized, although the church has fought this for years.(23)

These examples indicate a shift from the severe conservatism of the earlier 20th century. As Irish history has been characterized by foreign domination, independence has allowed them freedoms they always wanted. When they gained complete freedom in 1937, they felt a need to prop up Catholicism merely because it had been so repressed. Now that they have done so, the Irish are beginning to discover the advantages of a separate church and state.

Notes

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4. Paul Blanshard, *The Irish and Catholic Power* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953), 18.
5. McKay, 452.
6. Blanshard, 20, 332.
7. *Encyclopedia Americana*, 411.
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9. James Adams, *The Financing of Terror: Behind the PLO, IRA, Red Brigades, and MI9 Stand the Paymasters* (New York:Simon and Schuster, 1986), 132-133.
10.Blanshard, 332.
11. Frank Gallagher, *The Invisible Island: The History of the Partition of Ireland* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1957), 32-33.
12. *Encyclopedia Americana*, 413.
13. Gallagher, 44-45.
14. Harold Orel, ed., *Irish History and Culture: Aspects of a People's Heritage* (Wichita: University Press of Kansas, 1976), 225; and Blanshard, 27.
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16. Ibid., 31-32, 334.
17. Ibid., 50-52.
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19. J.H. Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland: 1923-1970* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, Ltd., 1971), 367.
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Kent State - Who Was Responsible?

Sheri Drew, a sophomore history major, wrote this paper for Dr. Behrman's Craft of History during Fall term 1989.

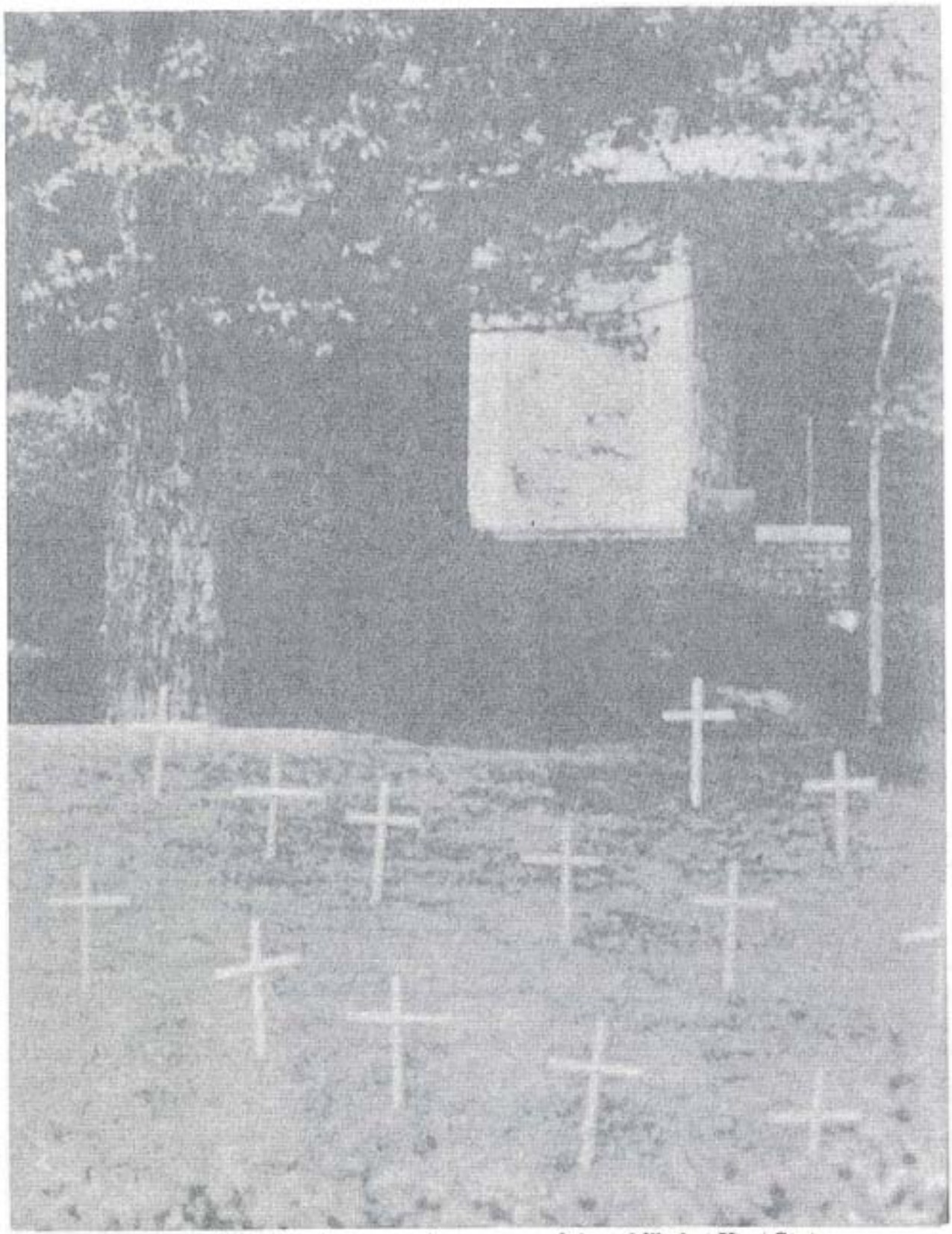
"It's a shame it had to take killing to do it but those kids were some place they shouldn't have been."(1) This statement, made by a Kent resident, expresses one of the reactions to the Kent State incident on May 4, 1970 in which four students were killed and nine were wounded by the 147th Infantry division of the Ohio National Guard. The immediate blame was laid on the student protesters, but as more evidence surfaced, it appeared that the Guard had acted inexcusably. Examinations of testimonies, investigations, and photographs suggest that maybe the members of the Guard, state laws, state officials, and the school administration were also responsible.

There was opposition everywhere in the United States when President Nixon announced that the army was entering Cambodia during the Vietnam Conflict. On Friday, May 1, the students at Kent State planned a peaceful demonstration to protest Nixon's announcement. Later that night as students went downtown to the local bars, more protests began, but this time they were in the form of smashing windows and wrecking cars.(2) When the administration received bomb threats, school and government officials decided to send in the National Guard. Rioting persisted the next two nights with the crowds throwing objects, and on the night of May 3, the ROTC building was burned. By Monday, May 4, the students seemed to have calmed down, but the fatigued Guard still had orders to disperse any crowds. The administration canceled a scheduled demonstration for that afternoon, but many faculty and students did not hear the message, while others simply ignored it. As the crowd began to gather, the Guard approached and ordered people to disperse. In response, the protesters threw rocks and verbally attacked the members of the guard. After tear gas was thrown by the Guard, some students threw the canisters back, while most of the crowd headed towards the parking lot. The Guard then marched to a knoll, followed by some students. Suddenly, the Guard turned and fired. Thirteen students were shot in thirteen seconds.(3)

The reaction of many Americans was that, although it was a shame, the students should not have been behaving so violently. Local residents, who had experienced previous student disruptions, expressed their relief that the students had finally been controlled. Officials for the Guard claimed that there was sniper fire from one of the roofs, and upon hearing shots, the men had fired in self-defense.(4) Although little evidence was found to support this, the officials still stuck to self-defense as a motive. There was a coroner's report that some of the students were hit with non-military bullets(5), but I was unable to find corroboration of this.

An Ohio State Grand Jury conducted an investigation and found the Guard blameless since they honestly believed themselves to be in danger. The students were blamed for failing to disperse. The jury also condemned the people watching and encouraging the crowd, saying they held some responsibility. The Kent State administration was called permissive and lax.(6) As a result the jury indicted 25 people, students and faculty, guilty of various charges. In addition to this, the judge ordered that no witness or juror could say anything outside the courtroom. As one reporter phrased it, "Judge Jones has thus done everything he can do to assure that the finding of his special grand jury will be the only version of what happened." (7)

Other reactions to the verdict were mixed. While students claimed the crowd was not threatning, others pointed to the two photographs of Jeffrey Miller, one of the students killed, throwing a gas canister and then making an obscene gesture at the Guard. In reference to accusations of the by-standers, many claimed that the majority of people were changing classes or were merely curious. Would not most people stop out of curiousity, even just for a



Crosses placed on Wittenberg's campus in memory of those killed at Kent State.
- Courtesy of Wittenberg University

Wittenberg students joined students from all over the state to protest the Kent State killings at a rally and march in Columbus on May 8, 1970.
- Courtesy of Wittenberg University

second? One must consider also, that the jury was made up entirely of middle-aged local residents, who had had previous problems with the students. The age difference also suggests different values and standards, as can be seen in the jury's comment that they had never witnessed such vulgar language. (8)

The Guard reacted predictably, still maintaining that they were only doing their job and had fired in self-defense. They pointed to the official rules of the Ohio Guard which states that at a riot scene, a member carrying a loaded weapon fires when ordered to by an authorized officer, or when his life is endangered. (9) Individual members reacted in a variety of ways—some claiming self- defense, others showing confusion and remorse. Many of the members were college-age men, and some were working through college. Because of this, one sergeant stated that if he had not been in uniform, he would have been in the crowd throwing rocks. (10) Several of the men testified that they did not feel threatened, but simply fired when they heard everyone else shooting. (11)

A Presidential Commission laid responsibility on both parties. "The actions of some students were violent and criminal . . ."(12) However, they also claimed that the shootings were unjustifiable since the Guard was not in danger. The Commission concluded that the Guard was motivated by fear and exhaustion. They also condemned using loaded weapons.

There were some investigations that found the Guard responsible. A thorough investigation was done by the FBI and the results given to a Judicial Board. Their findings concluded that the shootings were not necessary, since no guard member had been hurt or was in danger, and that despite claims, the men had not yet run out of tear gas. The memorandum advised that six Guardsmen could be held criminally responsible.(13) The Justice Department further claimed that the Guard was not surrounded and could have continued in the same direction. There was no initial order to fire and afterwards some men had to be forced to stop firing. (14)

Peter Davis and James Michener both spent months conducting their own individual investigations and came to similiar conclusions. Davis claims that photographs of the event show about 100 yards separating the two groups, and that the Guard was marching then about faced for no apparent reason. He claims only one Guard member sustained any injury, a bruise on the arm which occurred ten minutes before the shootings. Davis' opinions are questionable by themselves, since a large portion of his research was sponsored by the parents of the victims. However, Michener uses photographs and the testimonies from previous investigations to support many of Davis' claims. (15) Michener concludes that there was no reason for the men to fire since they were in no danger and could have continued in the same direction. According to his findings, the closest wounded student fell 71 feet from the guard.(16) This does not mean, though, that this was the closest student even though that is the impression he gives.

Another investigator concludes that at least eight Guardsmen initiated the gunfire and that there is no evidence to prove self-defense. Using more than 100 photographs, he claims that not only was there no reason for the about face, but that the troop then moved about fifteen feet towards the crowd. (17)

Who was to blame? After emotions had calmed down, yet another theory emerged, holding the government responsible for the inefficient running of the Guard. "The murders at Kent State prove, not that it needed proving, that Ohio does not have a well-regulated militia," claimed one member of a different regiment. (18) The Guardsmen were found to be poorly trained, inadequately equipped, and led by officers of questionable judgement. Another previous Guard member wrote that the objective for riot control is to clear out unruly mobs with the minimum amount of force. He claimed that the Guard was never told to fire into crowds as a tactic. "Part of our training deals with the realities of being pelted with objects by the crowd. This by no means should

justify firing back with bullets. I am ashamed to be a member of the National Guard."(19)

In the rules of the National Guard the members are not guilty if the action is necessary or proper to suppress a riot. The only court which ever officially declared the incident at Kent State a riot was the Ohio jury, which was found biased and was overturned.(20) Although 25 convictions were allowed to stand, most were overturned for insufficient evidence. Also, no one had officially determined if the firing was indeed necessary. Because of this, over a year after the case was officially closed by the government, a federal investigation was ordered. This time, using reports from the FBI and the President's interpreted several ways, but it seems that the blame should be shared between all parties involved. The Commission, the jury indicted seven Guard members saying there was no justification and the deaths should not have occurred. (21)

The deaths did occur, though, and someone was responsible. The evidence is confusing and can be interpreted several ways, but it seems that the blame should be shared between all parties involved. The administration was unorganized in notifying students and professors that the rally on May 4 had been cancelled. The students were verbally abusive and did not disperse. However, the Guard did not seem to be surrounded and there was no reason for the about face. Some claim, without proof, that the Guard turned on a prearranged sign. Most simply claim that they fired instinctively upon hearing others fire. Also, the men were over-worked and ill-prepared. This points towards the officials in charge of the Guard. Along with this, the law allowing the men to carry loaded guns leaves the legislative officials partially responsible; there was only one other state at that time that allowed their militia to have live ammunition. Kent State will never be forgotten, partly because we will never be really sure of why and how it happened.

The rally in Columbus on May 8, 1970.
-Courtesy of Wittenberg University.

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