

Cover: The cover photo is of the statue of Christopher Columbus which stands outside the City Hall of Columbus, Ohio. This photo illustrates the first paper in the Journal, but also represents the focus of this year's Journal: the assessment of the individual's impact throughout history. Cover photo taken by Erin Purdy.

# **THE WITTENBERG HISTORY JOURNAL**

**Wittenberg University • Springfield, Ohio**

Volume XXI  
Spring 1992

Editor's Note:

A note about a few of the papers in this year's journal: Jim Pierson won the Hartje Award for 1992 with his paper, "The Journey of George Washington." Alison Taylor's paper "Encountering America" was a runner-up for the same award. Matt Theis presented "Nixon's Resignation and Its Effects on World Politics" at the Regional Conference of Phi Alpha Theta, the International History Honorary, this April.

I would like to thank my staff this year for their insights, advice, and effort. I couldn't have asked for a better group of people. Thanks also to the History Department for their assistance. The end result would not have been possible without the patience and hard work of the Publications Department. I would especially like to thank Carol Kneisley and Susan Crown for their help. Finally, I thank Élise deLanglade and Dr. Cynthia Behrman for their guidance. I am lucky to have had such experience and wisdom guiding this year's journal.

Erin Purdy

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## Encountering America

by Alison Taylor

In 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue. In 1992, those admirers of Christopher Columbus still remaining in the world may very well be as blue as the waters he once sailed. A controversy of tremendous proportion currently rages world-wide concerning Columbus and his true place in history. At one time, the U.S. saw Columbus as the man who gave birth to a continent and, in part, to the United States itself. Now, however, Columbus is being seen by many as merely a villain responsible for murdering a continent, her peoples, and her wildlife. With the hoopla mounting as his quincentenary rapidly approaches, it becomes more and more difficult to sort out the man from the myth from the exaggeration.

Traditionally, Columbus was believed to be the harbinger of civilization in the "New World." His exploration led to the massive wave of European immigration which, in turn, brought civilization to two sparsely populated continents and to the "primitive" indigenous peoples found there. This view of Columbus shows him as the first step in a process which turned out to be "a daring experiment in democracy that in turn became a symbol and a haven of individual liberty for people throughout the world": the U.S.<sup>1</sup>

Actually, Columbus received little to no historical recognition in the U.S. until after the War of 1812. At that time, American patriots felt they desperately needed to link the American cause to heroes other than the British. Washington Irving created just the image they desired in his book of 1828, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. In his book, Irving glorified a man who, although he held an Italian name and sailed for the Spanish crown, still displayed virtues and characteristics that all U.S. citizens could identify with and admire.<sup>2</sup> Irving simply brought a hitherto unknown figure out into the open where all could see and admire him. Thus, Christopher Columbus, who actually sailed 336 years earlier, was born as an American hero in 1828.

The above version of Christopher Columbus, that of the valiant discoverer, has served as the truth for most people over the years, yet not everyone has viewed the Italian with the same rose-colored glasses we viewed him with during our elementary school days. Critics of Columbus and his implications for the "New World" began to

speak their minds during his own lifetime. Bartolome de las Casas, a revisionist friar, had written essays of the atrocities committed against the Native Americans under Columbus and his successors before Columbus' adventure had reached its 50th anniversary.<sup>3</sup>

With the upcoming quincentenary in sight, many groups have begun to plan celebrations in honor of the man with whom it all began: Congress is partially funding organizational committees; Spain is planning Expo '92 honoring Christopher Columbus; half a dozen countries and organizations are building full size replicas of the *Nina*, the *Pinta* and the *Santa Maria*; PBS has developed a seven hour miniseries; and museums all over the world are developing displays and commemorations of their own in addition to an out-pouring of books, articles and other writings on the man and his aftermath being published world-wide. Many believe this to be a suitable treatment for a man who made such an important impact on the development of civilization in the American Continents. Yet for the ever-growing number of Americans and people world-wide who believe Columbus to be of the same caliber as Hitler or Attila the Hun, celebrating Columbus' adventure is like celebrating the Holocaust.

These people are looking for new idols and heroes for the U.S. much the same way that American patriots were looking following the War of 1812. This time, however, Columbus is certainly not the answer. Instead, he is part of the old image that needs to be downplayed and removed. Kirpatrick Sale and Hans Koning lead the "Condemnation of Columbus" parade, with their recent publications *The Conquest of Paradise* and *Columbus: His Enterprise*. In *Columbus: His Enterprise*, Koning stated, "It's almost obscene to celebrate Columbus because it's an unmitigated record of horror. We don't have to celebrate a man who was really — from an Indian point of view — worse than Attila the Hun."<sup>4</sup> Many Native American and other groups, including the National Council of Churches (NCC), condemned the "discovery" as "an invasion and colonization with legalized occupation, genocide, economic exploitation and a deep level of institutional racism and moral decadence."<sup>5</sup> One leader within the NCC suggested that 1992 should be "a year of repentance and reflection rather than a year of celebration."<sup>6</sup>

It is easily apparent that the ranks of Christopher Columbus' fan club shrink daily while the ranks of their adversaries grows everyday. Most of those who oppose celebrating Columbus view his first venture into this continent as a precursor of doom. This group "deems Columbus' first footfall in the New World to be fatal to the world he invaded, and even to the rest of the globe."<sup>1</sup> Those who oppose the celebration of Columbus and his adventures have a valid statement to make. We must recognize that Columbus' discovery was a double-edged sword, not a lantern lit in the darkness of nothingness. For thousands of years people had been living in organized societies on the continent Europeans had the audacity to call the "New World." Those people were the ones who were eventually decimated by those who followed Columbus' discovery.

The controversy over Columbus raises one real

question in my mind. If Columbus had not encountered America but had actually made it all the way to China, could this continent have remained untouched by the Europeans? Looking at the planet today, contact between the continents appears inevitable. From this perspective, criticizing Columbus for what followed him merely makes him a scapegoat. Perhaps a better way to recognize the anniversary of the event would be to use it as a stepping stone in the re-examination of ourselves and our society. Finally, ignoring the technological achievement of Columbus' journey is as single-minded as ignoring the importance of the Native American presence here prior to that journey. Before Columbus' voyage, North America may very well have been akin to Eden, as free of all evil as some would claim. Then again, prior to Columbus' voyage, the Earth was also flat.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Paul Gray, "The Trouble with Columbus," *Time*, 7 October 1991, 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Eric Press, "Columbus, Stay Home!" *Newsweek*, 24 June 1991, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Gray, 52.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Krauthammer, "Hail Columbus, Dead White Male," *Time*, 27 May 1991, 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Gray, 52.

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Kehoe, Alice Beck. *North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc, 1981.

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Press, Eric. "Columbus, Stay Home!" *Newsweek*, 24 June 1991, 54-55.



## The Journey of George Washington

by James Pierson

In those days the Monongahela River did not meander its way through the decaying heart of the American steel country. It worked its way through the harsh wilderness towards its junction with the Allegheny River. Here the two rivers formed the Ohio River which served as the gateway to the Ohio Valley and, thus, the vast continent of North America. It was this area which, in the fall of 1753, was beginning to emerge as the point of conflict between the English and French empires. The Ohio Company of Virginia represented the English dreams of expansion and settlement of the Ohio Valley. The vested interests of powerful Virginians in the company, such as Governor Robert Dinwiddie, guaranteed it the economic and military support that its plans demanded. They were plans that were not to go uncontested, however, as the French had plans for the valley as well. These plans had led to the construction of a string of forts intended to surround the English colonies and thus preserve for France the trading empire it had begun to establish along the Ohio Valley and down towards the Mississippi. It was within this setting, a fire waiting for a spark, that the twenty-one year old George Washington was to embark upon his first important mission as a representative of the Governor of Virginia and the King of England.

On the surface, young Washington's mission appeared to be a simple one. He had been commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie to deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio. Through the letter, Dinwiddie sought to warn the French that their erection of fortresses and making settlements along the Ohio was an encroachment upon English land. Dinwiddie stated, "I must desire you to acquaint me, by whose authority and instructions, you have lately marched from Canada, with an armed force, and invaded the King of Great Britain's territories."<sup>1</sup> In addition to delivering Dinwiddie's letter, Washington was to perform two of the major functions of any frontier diplomat: court the friendship of the Indians, and gather information pertaining to the intentions of the French forces in the region.

As he made his way through the bitter cold of the western Pennsylvania countryside, Washington took steps to accomplish each of these tasks. First, he met with the most influential Indian chief of the region, an old ally whom the British referred to as the Half-King. Washington records

that the Half-King "informed me that they (the French) had built two forts, one on Lake Erie, and another on French Creek."<sup>2</sup> Although this was not good news, it was exactly the kind of information Washington was seeking. He made the Half-King the customary gift of a string of wampum and persuaded him to join him in the journey to the home of the French commandant, Fort LeBoeuf.

Washington and his party continued travelling northward to the small settlement at Venango at the head of French Creek (a tributary of the Allegheny River). Here he dined with the commanding officer Captain Joncaire. During the meal, Captain Joncaire, his tongue loosened by wine, revealed France's intentions to Major Washington. "They told me, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by God they would do it."<sup>3</sup> If there was any doubt as to the impending conflict along the Ohio and the urgency of Washington's mission it must have been dispelled by this point.

Four days after leaving Venango, Washington and his party arrived at Fort LeBoeuf where he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter to the commanding officer, Legardeur de St. Pierre. At this point, according to Washington's journal, "the chief officers retired, to hold a Council of War, which gave me the opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort and making what observations I could."<sup>4</sup> The next day, Washington received a reply to return to Governor Dinwiddie. St. Pierre, in his reply, denied the charges of the Virginia governor, stating that the French forces had moved into the region based upon the justifiable order of their commanding general. "As to the Summon you send me to retire," he defiantly stated, "I do not think myself obliged to obey it, whatever may be your instructions."<sup>5</sup>

Washington speedily returned to Williamsburg with the French reply, the entire trip taking two and a half months. The observations he brought with him were not encouraging. According to historian R.E. Banta, "his report of the unhappy state in which he had found matters in the Ohio Valley led to the calling out old volunteers in Virginia within the month."<sup>6</sup> Within the year Washington was to return to the Ohio Valley, this time as a colonel in the Virginia militia, and participate in a skirmish that served as the spark that ignited the French and Indian War. It was a fire that was to spread rapidly to the European continent.

When it was all said and done, England and her colonies were to sweep the French from the North American continent and open the continent for the expansion of the

thirteen colonies that were soon to become the United States of America.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Lois Mulkearn, ed., *George Mercer Papers: Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954, 14 (facsimile insert).

<sup>2</sup> George Washington, *The Journal of Major George Washington* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Inc., 1959, 8 [facsimile copy]).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Mulkearn, 14.

<sup>6</sup> R.E. Banta, *The Ohio* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1949), 84.

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## Edwin McMasters Stanton: For the Benefit of All

by Lynda Roller

Edwin McMasters Stanton served the Federal government as Secretary of War from 1862 to 1868. The means by which he acquired and maintained this position throughout the Civil War raises the controversial issue of what Stanton's incentives were for the actions he took. Historians portray Stanton as a man motivated solely by self-aggrandizement or by altruism. However, basic human nature holds that motives for actions and decisions are more complex. The Civil War enabled Stanton to combine his self-interest with his perceived national interest of the time to the advantage of both. Stanton simultaneously acted to advance his political career in the national government and to contribute to the preservation of the Federal Union. The short-term and long-term benefits of Stanton's actions need to be considered in order to understand that Stanton was driven by both self-aggrandizement and his loyalty to the Union. His twofold motivation is manifested in events such as his communication with Republican congressmen during the Secession Winter of 1860-61, his role in the removal of Simon Cameron as Secretary of War in the Lincoln administration, and his change of political affiliation from Democrat to Republican.

While Stanton's actual reasoning behind certain actions is unknown, educated guesses can be made based on his general history. Stanton's life preceding the sectional crisis and the Civil War was filled with ambition. As a young man he attended Kenyon College until his family's financial straits terminated his formal education. Stanton then served an apprenticeship until he was able to attend the Steubenville bar to become an attorney.<sup>1</sup> An aspiring and successful lawyer, he practiced in Steubenville, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Washington D.C.; and California. He argued cases before the U.S. Supreme Court and earned a national reputation.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, according to one biographer, his goal was to become a Supreme Court Justice. His personal situation in 1860 — age 46, financially sound, a successful lawyer and socially secure — placed him in a position to satisfy any political ambitions.<sup>3</sup>

Along with social status, Stanton also cultivated deep political convictions. Stirred by Andrew Jackson's cry that the Federal Union "must and shall be preserved,"<sup>4</sup> he became a Jacksonian Democrat at age 18, intensely dedicated to the Union.<sup>5</sup> During the Nullification Crisis of

1832 Stanton supported Jackson on the tariff issue, indicating his contrariety to an attack on the Union. On the Kenyon campus, he led the supporters of Jackson and the Union. This marked the beginning of his undying loyalty to the Union, a conviction which, one biographer writes, fixed his political course for the next thirty years.<sup>6</sup>

One political episode that occurred during the Secession Winter of 1860-61 exemplifies both Stanton's loyalty to the Union and his drive for personal gain. During that time, Stanton, a Democrat serving as Attorney General for President Buchanan, began secret communications with Republican leaders in Congress. He revealed the Buchanan administration's proceedings related to the secession crisis, an action which, in the short-term, served the good of the nation.<sup>7</sup>

As Attorney General, Stanton surveyed the current situation in Washington and detected imminent dangers to the Federal government. He believed that secessionists plotted to rebel against the government and establish the Confederate capital in Washington.<sup>8</sup> Also, in Stanton's perception, Buchanan failed to use his power to protect or regain Federal property in seceded states.<sup>9</sup> For Stanton, these predicaments demanded immediate attention. He recognized Buchanan's failure to assert his powers, along with the divided state of the Democratic party due to the slavery issue, left only the Republican leaders to devise a policy to protect the Union government. While he despised the Black Republicans, Stanton cooperated with both the Republicans and the Democrats; he discarded party preference to successfully unblock the exercise of national power.<sup>10</sup>

Some historians dismiss the charge of betrayal, treason, and treachery that arose against Stanton as a result of his cooperation with the Republicans; they claim he acted solely in the interest of preserving the Union.<sup>11</sup> Other historians, such as Burton Hendrick, suggest that when later endeavors are considered (such as Stanton's role in the resignation of Secretary of War Simon Cameron in 1862) Stanton's consorting with Republicans, especially William Seward, was a part of an overall plot to advance himself politically.<sup>12</sup> When both short-term and long-term motivations are considered, however, the two camps of historians overlap. After Lincoln's inauguration, those who knew of

Stanton's proceedings realized that Stanton had succeeded in maintaining the national government. In reference to a dinner with Seward and Stanton, Thurlow Weed, political confidant of Seward, stated, "It was then and there that I learned how large a debt we owed [Stanton] before the Rebellion began."<sup>13</sup>

In the long-term, Stanton's decision to communicate with the most powerful leaders in the Republican Party undoubtedly aided in his appointment as Secretary of War in the Lincoln administration. Although Lincoln's motives for nominating Stanton can only be speculated upon, the support of Republican leaders gave Stanton a double advantage. Stanton solicited the respect and trust of both Salmon Chase and Seward, two men with divergent opinions who became Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State, respectively. When Lincoln inquired about their opinion of Stanton, both held him in high esteem. Lincoln might have taken the agreement between the two men to mean that Stanton could be a necessary counterweight for the differing factions in Congress.<sup>14</sup> Also, Lincoln undoubtedly knew of the intercourse between Stanton and the Republican Party. Therefore, he knew of Stanton's fierce devotion to the Union. Perhaps this dedication influenced Lincoln's choice of Stanton.<sup>15</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the nomination of a new Secretary of War creates another controversy involving Stanton's intentions. He played a large part in the removal of his predecessor, Simon Cameron, at the end of 1861. As Cameron's attorney, Stanton advised him to include in the Secretary of War's annual report a clause calling for the release and arming of slaves in rebel states. Stanton worded the clause in legal terms, strengthening the recommendation. Infuriated by Cameron's proposal, and unaware of Stanton's role in the matter, Lincoln asked for Cameron's resignation and proceeded to nominate Stanton as the new Secretary of War.<sup>16</sup>

Cameron's resignation advanced Stanton's self-interest by bringing him to a powerful position in the War Department. Again, only speculation can be made concerning any acrimonious and self-aggrandizing intentions Stanton might have held when he advised Cameron to include the clause. However, the possibility cannot be eliminated because Stanton had previously practiced some indirection for personal benefits, although throughout his tenure as Secretary of War Stanton portrayed a picture of honesty.<sup>17</sup> For example, while not a criminal lawyer, Stanton once successfully defended a guilty client who protested against the high fees Stanton demanded. "Do you think," Stanton bluntly responded, "I would argue for the wrong side for less?"<sup>18</sup> It was not inconceivable that Stanton deceived Cameron to help himself.

Stanton's self-interest, however, did not obstruct the ultimate gain the Union achieved from his career as Secretary of War. The removal of Cameron was in itself a major benefit. Quite simply, Cameron was corrupt.

When applied to Cameron, the term "honest politician" has commonly been defined as "when bought, stay bought."<sup>19</sup> Personal gain subordinated friends, parties, and principles. Corruption and graft dominated the policies and deals he made.<sup>20</sup> In short, Cameron's priorities lay with himself rather than the Union. Once Stanton took office, he eliminated corruption and turned the department into an efficiently run operation. "As soon as I can get the machinery of the office working," he declared, "the rats cleared out, and the rat holes stopped, we shall move."<sup>21</sup> Stanton tolerated no clandestine deals; he forced all contract seekers to state their business in the presence of others.<sup>22</sup> His objective was not pecuniary gain, but rather to win the war in order to preserve the Union.

The competent manner in which Stanton assisted the Northern victory at Chattanooga demonstrates the advantage he brought to the Union. He brilliantly maneuvered the movement of the 11th and 12th corps over a 1,233-mile trip by railroad from the Rappahannock River to Chattanooga.<sup>23</sup> In just eleven days, the reinforcement troops crossed the Appalachian Mountains and the unbridged Ohio River to arrive near Chattanooga. A telegraph by General Joseph Hooker depicted the enormous importance of Stanton's logistics. "If you projected the movement of the 11th and 12th corps," Hooker wrote, "you may justly claim the merit of having saved Chattanooga to us."<sup>24</sup>

A final example of how the Civil War allowed Stanton to further both the national interest and his self-interest is his gradual change of partisanship from a Democrat to a Radical Republican. The modification of his views on black rights from before the war and during Reconstruction exemplifies the change. Essentially, he progressed through three stages: from antislavery and antiblack rights, to antislavery, to pro-black rights. In this situation, Stanton's political transfiguration appears to derive primarily from his desire to maintain the Union. Nevertheless, the strengthening of the Federal Union through the granting of black rights ultimately offered personal political advantages as well.

Stanton entered and exited the Buchanan administration a Democrat with strong anti-slavery convictions. Notwithstanding, he accepted slavery because he believed that the preservation of the Union depended on the South maintaining its peculiar institution. According to Andrew Carnegie, a former colleague, Stanton placed all issues, as he did with slavery in 1860-1861, secondary to the preservation of the Union.<sup>25</sup> In addition, slavery for Stanton was more a legal question than a moral issue; he appealed to no "higher law"<sup>26</sup> to condemn slavery. As a practitioner of constitutional law, he felt that "all laws constitutionally enacted for the protection of slavery should be rigidly enforced."<sup>27</sup> Therefore, he believed the Dred Scott decision and the Fugitive Slave Law should be upheld. In the presidential election of 1860, he supported the Southern Democratic slave code platform. A Republican victory, he



thought, would ensure an attempt to stop the expansion of slavery into the territories, which he believed would jeopardize the Union.<sup>28</sup>

After Stanton took office as Secretary of War in 1862, however, his opinions changed. Slavery became the primary war issue, and emancipation emerged as a war objective.<sup>29</sup> He recognized that slavery obstructed the attainment and retaining of peace.<sup>30</sup> The maintenance of the Federal Union depended on the elimination of slavery.<sup>31</sup> For this reason, Stanton gradually embraced the Republican policy of a strong central government, which allowed the national government to prohibit the extension of slavery and abolish existing slavery.

In July 1862, Stanton fully championed Lincoln's proposal for an Emancipation Proclamation. By doing so, he indicated a radical view against slavery.<sup>32</sup> He pushed to strengthen the measure and to issue it immediately,<sup>33</sup> a reaction that indicated the end of his stance against black rights. His actions also implied the recognition of the power Congress and the Constitution held to protect the rights of Negroes.<sup>34</sup> By granting freedom to blacks, Stanton argued in his annual report of 1862, the Confederacy would be weakened militarily. "The power of the rebels," he wrote, "rests upon their peculiar system of labor, which keeps laborers on their plantations to support owners who are devoting their time and strength to destroy our armies and destroy our government."<sup>35</sup> Emancipation would benefit the national interest.

Stanton did not stop advocating the release of slaves. He radicalized his stand on civil rights by becoming a protector of Negroes. For instance, in January 1865, General William Tecumseh Sherman drafted Special Field Order No. 15 in an effort to grant property to freedmen. The order designated confiscated land in the South, such as the Sea Islands and coastal South Carolina, for Negro settlement.<sup>36</sup> During Reconstruction in the same year, Stanton endorsed Negro suffrage and congressional control of Reconstruction. In response to Radical Republican Charles Sumner's demand for these occurrences, Stanton stated that he supported "every sentiment, every opinion, and word of it."<sup>37</sup> Working through the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, dominated by Radical Republicans, Congress passed four measures in the interest of blacks in 1867: a new Freedman's Bureau bill, a Civil Rights Act, the Fourteenth

Amendment, and the First Reconstruction Act.<sup>38</sup>

From Stanton's perspective, as well as that of other Radical Republicans, the profusion of civil rights to freedmen would eventually fortify the Union. Because the Republican party conferred these privileges on the blacks, the Republicans believed the Negroes would support the party, leading to Republican victories in elections. Such conquests would block the rebirth of the Democratic party.<sup>39</sup> In addition, beneficial Republican policies would be upheld. For instance, farmers would continue to receive aid through the Homestead Act and appropriations for the completion of a transcontinental railroad would not cease. These laws, among others, would contribute to the progress of the nation.<sup>40</sup>

Stanton's reasons for adhering to the principles of the Republican party may not have included political advantages. However, he profited personally from the same measures that advanced the national interest. In general, in addition to the advantages brought by being a member of the party in control of the government, the Republican principle of a strong central government allowed Stanton to have a greater voice in political matters. In addition, Stanton's actions during the Civil War prolonged his career as Secretary of War. When Andrew Johnson became President in 1865, he asked Stanton to remain as Secretary of War. Johnson's request signifies the importance of Stanton's endeavors. President Grant, in 1868, also recognized Stanton's accomplishments and nominated him as a Supreme Court Justice. Although Stanton died before he heard a case,<sup>41</sup> he had the satisfaction of knowing he had achieved one of his lifelong political dreams.

Stanton's innermost motivations may never be known, but these episodes show that Stanton was driven by two prevailing incentives throughout the Civil War. For the benefit of both his self-interest and the perceived national interest, Stanton engaged himself in the struggle to win the war. Battles were won, blacks were protected, the rebellion was crushed, and the Union was preserved. Credit for these victories goes in part to the man who successfully obtained and maintained the second most powerful position in the Federal government during the Civil War. As Lincoln's right-hand man, Stanton witnessed not only his own political development, but also that of his nation.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 9, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1935 ed., s.v. "Stanton, Edwin McMasters," by A. Howard Mencyly.

<sup>3</sup> Burton F. Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1946), 242, 245.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Carnegie, "Stanton, the Patriot," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, Columbus, Fred Heer, 1906, vol. 15, 292.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Hendrick, 239-240.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas and Hyman, 99.

<sup>8</sup> Hendrick, 253.

<sup>9</sup> Fletcher Pratt, *Stanton: Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1953), 113.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas and Hyman, 99.

<sup>11</sup> Pratt, 113.

<sup>12</sup> Hendrick, 256, 259.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas and Hyman, 99, 118.

<sup>14</sup> Chase believed Stanton would ally himself with the antislavery faction, while Seward thought Stanton would cooperate with the moderates. *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>15</sup> Pratt, 133-134.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>17</sup> Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, vol. 1, Fort Sumter to Perryville (New York: Random House, 1958), 244.

<sup>18</sup> Hendrick, 243.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>20</sup> One example of Cameron's corruption deals with horse contracts he made. Original contracts went to middlemen instead of horse breeders and trainers. Professional traders "rented" the horses and made a profit. Most of the horses the army received carried disease and were unfit for military service. One deal cost the War Department \$58,200. Hendrick, 220-222.

<sup>21</sup> Foote, 1:245.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> General William Rosecrans held Chattanooga beginning in September, 1863. The Union troops, however, were subjected to minimal rations and horses starved to death due to the cutting off of Union supplies by General Braxton Bragg. Rosecrans's failure to effectively respond to the crisis resulted in the activation of Stanton's plan, with General Joseph Hooker in charge of the reinforcement troops. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 675.

<sup>24</sup> Gordon C. Gorham, *Life and Public Services of Edwin M. Stanton* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1899), 2:129.

<sup>25</sup> Carnegie, 297.

<sup>26</sup> Gorham, 1:177.

<sup>27</sup> D.A.B., 518.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> McPherson, 506.

<sup>30</sup> William Johnston, "An Address on the Life and Public Services of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton," (Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll and Co., Publishers, 1870), 13.

<sup>31</sup> Gorham, 1:186.

<sup>32</sup> Hendrick, 354.

<sup>33</sup> Foote, 1:540.

<sup>34</sup> *Dictionary of American History*, rev. ed., s. v. "Emancipation Proclamation," by Hans L. Trefousse.

<sup>35</sup> Gorham, 2:87-88.

<sup>36</sup> Special Field Order No. 15 was issued after Sherman's march through Georgia. Accusations of prejudicial behavior towards freed blacks arose against Sherman. Stanton went to Savannah to investigate the charges and interviewed twenty black men about their interpretation of freedom. This was the first time a government official asked blacks what their people desired. The order was implemented successfully until revoked by President Johnson.

Allen Weinstein and R. Jackson Wilson, *Freedom and Crisis: An American History Volume One - to 1877*, 2nd. ed. (New York: Random House, 1974), 412-416.

<sup>37</sup> D.A.B., 519.

<sup>38</sup> The four acts provided for the following: the new Freedmen's Bureau bill allowed the Bureau to take judicial action in military courts against a violator of Negro civil rights; the Civil Rights Act ensured equal civil rights between blacks and whites; the Fourteenth Amendment extended citizenship to blacks; and the First Reconstruction Act called for universal male suffrage. Weinstein and Wilson, 440.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 442.

<sup>40</sup> *Collier's Encyclopedia*, 1988 ed., s.v. "Republican Party," by George Harmon Knoles.

<sup>41</sup> D.A.B., 519-520.

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## Josephine Butler

by Julie Levensgood

On January 2, 1907, the obituary notice of Mrs. Josephine Butler appeared in the London Times. She was described by a co-worker as:

an almost ideal woman; a devoted wife, exquisitely human and feminine, with no touch in her of the 'woman of the platform,' though with a great gift of pleading speech, with a powerful mind, and a soul purged through fire.<sup>1</sup>

As a champion of the causes of prostitution and venereal disease in Victorian England, Mrs. Butler was faced with the challenge that many people believed women should not interest themselves in political issues at all. In addition, the very causes she chose compelled men like Cavendish Bentwick, a staunch defender of the Contagious Diseases Act, to say that "Josephine Butler and her women were tainted by their meddling in such a subject and were morally worse than the prostitutes they sought to save."<sup>2</sup> However, to fully appreciate her dedication it is first necessary to understand the nature and scope of the problems of prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Act.

The Contagious Diseases Act (CDA) of 1864, 1866, and 1869 were introduced as exceptional legislation to control the spread of venereal disease among enlisted men. Under these acts, plainclothes policemen could identify a woman as a common prostitute and order her to be subjected to an internal examination. If she was then found to show the symptoms of gonorrhoea or syphilis, she would be interned in a lock hospital for up to nine months.

Josephine Butler was deeply opposed to the theory and practice of enforcing any legislation which gave the police special powers of arrest and imprisonment. She believed the Acts "constituted a discrimination in law more grave than anything enacted before, an enshrinement in the statute-book of the iniquitous double-standard."<sup>3</sup> Butler was a major influence on the repeal of the CDA and the problem of prostitution, due not only to her disgust with moral hypocrisy, but also because her quest for justice could not tolerate the revolting conditions, the contradicting evidence, and the attack on the dignity of women that made the Contagious Diseases Act such detestable legislation.

Josephine Butler's early life and experiences prepared her for the long and difficult campaign that was ahead of her. She was born in 1828 on her family's Northumberland

estate at Milfield. Her father, John Grey of Dilston, was a descendant of a clan of border barons. Her mother was born Hannah Annett, part of a prosperous middle-class family of Huguenot descent. From her mother, Josephine received "deep religious conviction and the grace to maintain it with compassion and understanding."<sup>4</sup> Her father was determined that his daughters should be brought up as educated and independent as their brothers. Josephine was the seventh child and was often described as the most intelligent and the most beautiful. She was constantly encouraged to participate in conversations with her father's guests and learned to hold intelligent discussions with adults at an early age. She was never sheltered from social problems of the time, and her father expected her to appreciate and evaluate them with compassion.

Josephine's marriage to George Butler came in 1851, shortly after he had turned 30. At age 18 he had followed the family tradition of going to Cambridge, but his laziness caused him to leave after only a year. Three years later he returned, and in 1848 he was appointed to a Readership at Durham University. He was unsure about entering into religious life, but with support and encouragement from Josephine, he accepted orders soon after their marriage.

George and Josephine had a unique relationship. They were: profoundly suited to one another, to an extent which almost defies belief. They were both in some sense 'beautiful people,' enormously talented, good-looking, and sharing a particular Christian vision which informed all they thought or did.<sup>5</sup>

They had a strong and honest love which helped them through much of the opposition they would experience in working for their cause.

Mrs. Butler's early life did contain several experiences that tested her beliefs, but she was able to overcome and learn from them. They were, in fact, a series of events that drew her to her life's work. The first, occurring when she was seventeen, was described as one of several confrontations with the Deity. Josephine was riding her horse through the woods near her house when he shied and refused to go further. She noticed the body of a dead man who had hung himself and recognized him as the valet of a neighboring gentleman. This event was disturbing to her not



only because it represented her first personal encounter with death but also because she knew that the man had been fired from his job because he had supposedly fathered the child of a servant girl.<sup>6</sup> It represented the social problems of society and the desperation of the poor, and Josephine said she "felt a great burden on my soul about the inequalities, injustice, and cruelties in the world."<sup>7</sup> This experience "brought together into one single experience of mental agony her sense of social guilt and her religious uncertainties."<sup>8</sup> From this point on, she never doubted the presence of God or the effects of prayer, and she believed she was "God's chosen instrument waiting for His guidance."<sup>9</sup>

Josephine was also affected by conversations or meetings with three different people. The first was a discussion of Mrs. Gaskell's novel *Ruth*. The plot concerns a young factory worker who is seduced and then deserted by a rich gentleman. This illustrated her first experience of the double standard and how "a moral lapse in a woman was immensely worse than in a man."<sup>10</sup> She also befriended an acrobat in a traveling circus and a young mother imprisoned for the murder of her illegitimate new-born baby.<sup>11</sup> Acquaintances with these people personally taught her the plight of the poor. It also helped shape her later images of prostitutes as victims of their environments much as these women were victims and could not escape.

As a result of her experiences, Josephine wanted very much to speak on the injustices of the treatment of women, but this was not acceptable in society and women were told that they must be silent on the subject. Josephine responded:

Can the soul of my sister be defiled, and my own soul not be the worse for it? It cannot, unless indeed I rise up in wrath for her redemption, and through the toils and pains and anguish of my life I render back to God my soul for hers.<sup>12</sup>

She said that she felt impelled to defend her beliefs "as a citizen of a free country first, and as a woman secondly," and she found an outlet for her energies in campaigning for the repeal of the CDA.<sup>13</sup>

This type of legislation came from other European systems of licensing prostitution and brothels, although this legislation never occurred in England. It began in France under Napoleon I and created a morals police as a system of state regulation of vice. It was put into practice in England because venereal disease was a major cause of disablement and hospitalization in the army. The statistics between 1860 and 1869 show that half the outpatients at St. Bartholomew's Hospital were victims of venereal disease.<sup>14</sup> However, the military leaders knew that there would most likely be opposition to a policy like the CDA. In July of 1864 Earl deGray, the new War Secretary, pushed for the creation of the Acts. What resulted was that:

without any debate in the House of Commons, at dinner time when there were only about fifty men in the House, the First Contagious Diseases Act was passed in silence, and those few members who heard of it thought it to do with existing

legislation about Contagious Diseases [Animals].<sup>15</sup> The first Act was tentative in 1864 and was repealed when the Act of 1866 was passed. There was verbal amendment in 1868, and it was further extended in 1869. Butler called the CDA and issues like legalization of prostitution "nothing else than the triumph of brute force, the consecration of police despotism over the weaker sex - the protection of white slave trade...in a word, the organization of female slavery."<sup>16</sup>

Such disgust by Butler was also expressed as a result of the threatening and unsanitary procedures of the surgical examinations themselves. Under the second Act, prostitutes in garrison towns "were required to submit to medical examination not less than once every twelve months and not more than once every six months."<sup>17</sup> To bring women to these examinations, the police had to obtain voluntary submission or the order of a magistrate. However, women did not freely submit to the examinations, and an amendment was added that gave a signature of submission the same legal effects of a magistrate's order. The women were now legally required to attend.<sup>18</sup>

The fortnightly surgical examinations were called "the life of the system."<sup>19</sup> They were sometimes held at a hospital, but more often than not were held at a house in a residential area. The sensation in the neighborhood was "a gross public scandal," and adults and children alike would discuss the proceedings in the streets.<sup>20</sup> The conditions of the examinations themselves were appalling. They were conducted on the average from three to five minutes, and there were no common codes or regulations for the examining surgeons. They were simply instructed to "satisfy themselves that the women were properly examined."<sup>21</sup> The specula that they used were capable of causing injury, especially due to rough or improper use by the examiners. Also, the specula were not cleansed and disinfected after each use, and "compulsory examination would mean, as it no doubt did, compulsory infection."<sup>22</sup>

If a woman was found to show the symptoms of venereal disease, the police would take her straight to the lock hospital where she was to be contained. Many women complained about this because "they had no opportunity afforded them of making any arrangements for a prolonged absence from their homes."<sup>23</sup> They were unsure of how long they would be away and often returned to find that their homes had been looted, their possessions sold, and their families scattered. Josephine associated much of this process with the old slave trade, which added to her conviction that she could not be a passive participant in this cause.

There were also many discrepancies in the evidence given by the supporters of the CDA. The fundamental problem was that there was no clear-cut definition of prostitution. The police who were employed "had broad discretionary powers."<sup>24</sup> It was their decision who would and would not be brought before the magistrates, and bribery was prevalent. The double standard was also readily

apparent, since little or no attention was paid to the testing and controlling of venereal disease in men. In 1873 a plan was enacted that would dock the pay of soldiers if they were found to have venereal disease, and the figures for 1873-74 decreased rapidly. However, "it wasn't until 1875 that the repealers discovered...men were dodging medical parades and were cauterizing their sores with mercuric iodide and nitric acid."<sup>25</sup> Other attempts to institute examination among soldiers failed because "officers feared that compulsory examination would lead to demoralization of their men."<sup>26</sup> The same objections did not apply to prostitutes because they had no self-respect and were not entitled to protest. John Astley Bloxan, Consulting Surgeon to the Charing Cross Hospital and Lock Hospital, was quoted as saying he "recommended that the communication of venereal disease be itself a grounds for divorce or nullity."<sup>27</sup> This only applied to infected women, since legislators were unwilling to sanction even less severe penalties against infected men.

Other evidence submitted claims that the Act had diminished prostitution, but they were easily refuted. First, the number of beerhouses operating as houses of assignation may have been reduced, but it was not mentioned that for every house that had its license revoked, two more were opened.<sup>28</sup> In some cases, enforcement of the laws actually encouraged prostitution. The women who were once part-time prostitutes became hardened by the examinations and turned into professionals. Also, these women would recruit innocent young girls who had been suspected by the police and encourage them to become prostitutes. This continued the cycle and contributed to an even worse situation than that which already existed.

Most of Josephine's work was done in conjunction with the Ladies' National Association (LNA), a group which "gave political expression to a supportive female subculture in the mid-Victorian period."<sup>29</sup> The LNA demonstrated the capability of women to organize politically, and "Mrs. Butler gloried in the ability of women to manage a movement such as the LNA without male guidance."<sup>30</sup> The LNA contributed both credibility and

principle to the repeal movement. Its credibility was in the fact that male repealers had not accomplished any great goals before this time, and principle was the foundation of the organization. Upholding a high standard of morality was its goal.<sup>31</sup>

Like Josephine Butler, the LNA operated with much courage and was not simply another group advocating repeal. The members were willing "to trespass upon ground which was anything but proper."<sup>32</sup> They believed that prostitutes were forced into their positions due to unequal social and economic activity, and with a dynamic leader like Josephine Butler "it had a profounder effect than many may have realized."<sup>33</sup>

The first success of the repealers came in 1872 when they forced the government to abandon compulsory examination, and the final goal was reached in 1886 when grants for police and lock hospitals were ended. Even though most of the effects of the CDA were negative, there were several beneficial results. First, they did help diminish juvenile prostitution in ports and garrison towns.<sup>34</sup> They also forced doctors to explore other techniques to control the spread of venereal disease, and most importantly, they "provided later feminists with an important lesson in militancy and with a stirring example of feminist political leadership."<sup>35</sup>

Until her death in 1906, Josephine Butler was one of the great leaders of the late nineteenth-century women's movement. Her only fault was that she sometimes allowed herself to become too emotionally involved with the women she tried to help. She experienced much abuse for supporting her cause, both publicly and privately. In an editorial of the *Daily News*, she and the LNA were described as "so discontented in their own homes that they have to find an outlet at all costs, and take pleasure in a hobby too nasty to mention."<sup>36</sup> However, her strong faith and relationship with her husband helped her to withstand opposition and fight for the repeal of the morally contradicting CDA, and her successes were a lesson for all to come.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Josephine Butler, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*. (London: Horace Marshall, 1898), x.

<sup>2</sup> Barry F. Smith, "Ethics and Disease in the Late 19th Century: the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Historical Studies* 15 (October 1971):128.

<sup>3</sup> Glen Petrie, *A Singular Iniquity*. (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>12</sup> *Free and Ennobled: Source Readings in the Development of Victorian Feminism*, ed. Carol Bauer and Lawrence Ritt (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), 196.

<sup>13</sup> Butler, 42.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, 123.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>16</sup> Butler, 97.

<sup>17</sup> Petrie, 14.

<sup>18</sup> Bauer and Ritt, ed., 198.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.



<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>21</sup> Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 2.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, 131.

<sup>23</sup> Walkowitz, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Gail Savage, "The Willful Communication of a Loathsome Disease: Marital Conflict and Venereal Disease in Victorian England," *Historical Studies* 34 (Autumn 1990): 39.

<sup>25</sup> Petrie, 109.

<sup>26</sup> Walkowitz, 113.

<sup>27</sup> Paul McHugh, *Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 163.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>29</sup> McHugh, 165.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>31</sup> Smith, 126.

<sup>32</sup> Walkowitz, 255.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 5.

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Butler, Josephine. *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*. London: Horace Marshall, 1898.

This was a good source for specific quotes from Mrs. Butler, but most of it consisted of long speeches and letters that had to be read carefully to obtain appropriate information.

*Free and Enobled: Source Readings in the Development of Victorian Feminism* (ed. Carol Bauer and Lawrence Ritt). Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979.

One chapter of this collection of sources dealt specifically with my topic, but it also repeated much of the same information from *Reminiscences...* The advantage to using this was that the editors made comments and it was easy to find relevant quotes.

McHugh, Paul. *Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

This was less helpful than the Walkowitz book of the same topic. It went into great detail describing the tactics and organization of the LNA and the history of the strategies of the repeal movement. It contained more political facts than I needed.

Petrie, Glen. *A Singular Iniquity*. New York: The Viking Press, 1971.

The majority of the biographical information came from this source. It was an excellent story of her life and her involvement with the CDA.

Savage, Gail. "The Willful Communication of a Loathsome Disease: Marital Conflict and Venereal Disease in Victorian England," *Historical Studies* 34 (Autumn 1990): 35-54.

This article discussed more information about marriage and divorce than I needed. It would have been more helpful had I been interested in information on how venereal disease affected marriage.

Smith, Barry F. "Ethics and Disease in the Later 19th Century: the Contagious Disease Acts," *Historical Studies* 15 (October 1971): 118-135.

This was a good article for statistics, figures, and a summary of the cause. It provided good background material as well.

Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

This was one of the best sources I used, especially for background and an overview of the cause. It was also useful in discussing prostitution and venereal disease in terms of society. One section contained information on specific case studies, however, and this I did not use.

## Ellen Terry: Ideal Woman versus Actress

by Amy Dunham

"Do with me as you choose. I am utterly in your power. I am a woman. You are a man," wrote Lady Mary Montagu, keenly expressing the "appropriate" emotion of the ideal Victorian woman.<sup>1</sup> Such an ideal woman, regardless of class, accepted a secondary social, economic, and political role in England's 19th century. Yet she also accepted a self-stereotype as graceful, charming, selfless and pure. Living from 1847 to 1928 as "the actress everybody loved,"<sup>2</sup> Ellen Terry was one such woman. Although she doubtlessly led a fruitful acting career, witnessed by the honor of being the second actress designated Dame Grand Cross of the British Empire in 1925, much of Ellen Terry's success was due not to great artistry but to the fact that she fit into the Victorian concept of the ideal woman, becoming "a beloved epitome of British womanhood."<sup>3</sup>

Ellen Terry definitely encompassed this "womanhood." In her *Memoirs*, she admitted, "I have always been more woman than artist" with "my homely qualities—the love of children, the love of a home, the dislike of solitude."<sup>4</sup> Such qualities were those of the ideal woman, expected to focus her life on family, portray "total sexual innocence,"<sup>5</sup> and nurture the "eternal feminine" virtues called for in the proliferation of 18th- and 19th-century ladies' conduct books: "modesty, gracefulness, purity, delicacy, complacency, reticence, chastity, affability, and politeness."<sup>6</sup> With an instinct to be all things to all people, the ideal woman was called "the angel of the house" but was "seen only as she appeared in each room, according to the nature of the lord of the room. None saw the whole of her."<sup>7</sup> Basically, then, a woman's identity was based upon male perceptions of her; the ideal Victorian woman surrendered her key to self-creation to the men in her life. Accordingly, what women "saw in the mirror was usually a male construct, the 'pure gold baby' of male brains, a glittering and wholly artificial child."<sup>8</sup> Ellen Terry saw this too; she mused, "Myself? Why even I, I often think, know little of myself!"<sup>9</sup>

With a significant part of her career shadowed by Henry Irving, the dominant and powerful actor-manager of the Lyceum, Ellen Terry was definitely molded by men. It is difficult to judge how much of Terry's career Irving created, as the two had a twenty-five-year working relationship, beginning in 1878 when Ellen debuted at the Lyceum. They

acted together in twenty-seven plays but throughout, Ellen was always "Irving's obedient subordinate."<sup>10</sup> Although she advised Irving on matters of art, colors, fabrics, and designs, she said in her *Memoirs* that the final decisions were his only his and that she often had to slow down her quick-clipped pace to accommodate his more deliberate style.<sup>11</sup> Later, from 1892 to 1922, Terry turned to correspondence with George Bernard Shaw for the encouragement, advice, and approval she did not elicit from Irving.

This idea of men in Victorian society "giving birth" to women distinctly expressed itself in the age's symbiotic relationships found in Romantic art, literature, and theatre. Painters' favorite subjects included women ministering to their husbands, courtship, and family life; in each, the painter portrayed women in roles of sweetness and submission. Christina Rossetti remarked that the male artist thus "fed" on the female face "not as she was but as she filled his dreams,"<sup>12</sup> as he created her. In literature, this Victorian ideology manifested itself; William Blake viewed the female as an "emanation of the male creative principle," and Shelley considered her an "epipsyche," a "soul out of the poet's soul." When Honore de Balzac said, "Woman's virtue is man's greatest invention" and Norman O. Brown asserted, "The lady is the poem,"<sup>13</sup> they voiced the values of most Victorian men, as well as those of Victorian society.

In the theatre, too, women conformed to the part men wanted them to play. Beginning in the 17th century, when women began acting on stage, the expected custom of the men of the court was to keep a pretty actress; this practice was "just one of the many expenses in an age of public display."<sup>14</sup> Such visual pomp in the theatre continued into the 19th century, when acting involved appearance more than giving meaning to words. Conventions included brauva displays, distance from real life, handbooks of poses, arrangement, and voice projections, and reviews based on an actress' impact on the audience rather than her acting's representation of real life. The actress herself drew people to the theatre, very visual and pictorial at this time; as she was the object of gaze of the spectator, an actress' roles varied little and held little distinction of personality.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, actresses were not lauded for acting but rather for role-playing, for being statues and reflecting what they were

thought to be. While performance styles were slowly moving toward naturalism, the concepts of what was "natural" were also changing. Actress Sarah Bernhardt, for instance, said that a woman's nature was to be "charming," so "acting" was naturally a feminine art: "It contains in itself all the artifices which belong to the province of woman: the desire to please, facility to express emotions and hide defects, and the faculty of assimilation which is the real essence of woman."<sup>14</sup>

Yet for the actress there existed a paradox in this femininity; the pictorialism and statuesque style of the theatre could make a spectacle of the female body, posing a challenge to a woman's sexual identity. The actress and the prostitute became nearly synonymous at times:

The actress held a marginalized position in the hierarchy of sexual relations; she was independent in terms of her professional activity, something that most other women could never aspire to; she could become rich, famous, and powerful, but at the same time she could only achieve that success by allowing herself to be bought by the public.<sup>17</sup>

Ellen Terry was "bought by her public." As John Stokes stated in *The Actress in Her Time*, "At the very peak of their careers the great actresses Sarah Bernhardt, Ellen Terry, and Eleonora Duse demonstrated that the real strength of their individual style was its cosmopolitan appeal."<sup>18</sup> This "appeal" stemmed from the image of the ideal woman, an image that these actresses, namely Ellen Terry, filled. Throughout Terry's life, not only in her relationships with men, but also in her childhood, personal qualities, and acting itself, the Victorian value of the ideal woman manifested itself.

Born on February 27, 1847 at Coventry in Shakespeare's county of Warwickshire, Ellen Terry was one of nine children, nine of whom survived. Born to a theatre family whose mother, Sarah Ballard, and father, Benjamin Terry, both acted, Ellen seemed to have little say in her future as an actress. In her *Memoirs*, she revealed:

I can't even tell you when it was first decided that I was to go on the stage, but I expect it was when I was born, for in those days theatrical folk did not imagine that their children could do anything but follow their parents' profession.<sup>19</sup>

Throughout her childhood, respect for the stage and for acting was reinforced. The ability to "go on with the next act" was cemented in her during her youth. One night a fire broke out in the family's lodgings. Ellen's mother "rushed out of the theatre and up the street in an agony of terror. She got us [the Terry children] out all right, took us to the theatre, and went on with the next act as if nothing had happened." Ellen's supportive father also greatly influenced her, teaching her to be "useful, alert, and quick" and to pronounce words well. However, when she had her first stage experience at age eight and "yelled lustily and showed more lung-power than aptitude for the stage," he was seriously disappointed in her.<sup>20</sup>

However, Ellen's first real acting engagement soon followed, from 1856 to 1859 at the Princess's Theatre, in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* produced by Charles and Mrs. Kean. The impressions of these rehearsals seemed to remain with her even more than the earlier lessons she had learned. In her *Memoirs*, Terry declared, "I hold very strongly that a child's earliest impressions mold its character perhaps more than either heredity or education. I am sure it is true in my case."<sup>21</sup> The beauty of the productions at the Princess's Theatre, she said, made a great impression on her, and led to her great respect for beauty and aesthetics in life. Such worship of beauty surfaced when she later rejected Ibsen's Hedda and Nora, whom she called "silly ladies" because they were not pretty characters. She said that she did not want to act in Ibsen and considered herself happy and lucky to have acted "very noble, clean characters, since I prefer that kind of part."<sup>22</sup>

The Princess's Theatre's Mrs. Kean, with her "wonderful fire," also helped shape Ellen Terry's opinion of women, an opinion in sync with the Victorian ideal. Terry recalled:

No one ever had...a kinder heart than Mrs. Kean. Beginning with her, I have always loved women in a somewhat hard manner—I have never believed in their hardness and have proved them tender and generous in the extreme.<sup>23</sup>

This view of women surfaced in Ellen's own life and was reflected in others' perceptions of her. British journalists often sentimentalized Ellen Terry's goodness; in the *Tribune*, it was recorded:

Someone once said to Miss Terry with reference to her great popularity...that he did not believe that she had ever uttered an ill-natured word concerning a fellow-creature. To this she replied, "Why should I? All the world seems to say kind things to me. I am happy knowing it and thus I love the world and all who live upon it."<sup>24</sup>

Like other ideal Victorian women, Ellen Terry was the subject of many poems. For one, Herbert Beerbohm Tree, actor-manager of His Majesty's Theatre, wrote:

Britain's pride  
The genius of the stage personified  
Queen-like, pathetic, tragic, tender, merry—  
O rare, O sweet, O wondrous Ellen Terry.

In 1863, Ellen Terry, sixteen, acted in a brief season at the Haymarket Theatre. Clement Scott was one of the painters and poets who went "to worship at the shrine of this new stage goddess," and said, "I never saw a more enchanting and ideal creature. She was a poem that lived and breathed, and suggested to us the girl heroines that we most adored in poetry and the fine arts generally." Henry James, in 1896, agreed that she was "exactly the sort of heroine demanded by an old-time story told round the fire."<sup>25</sup>

In art, Terry was the object of paintings which reflected her personal feminine qualities of beauty, youth, grace, and charm. Especially at the beginning of her career, she assumed the status of an art object. She was admired by the



artist Graham Robertson and sat for at least five of her first husband's, painter G.F. Watts', paintings, which (except for the drawings "Ellen Terry as Ophelia" and "Madness of Ophelia") all portrayed Ellen as beautiful and chaste. After being dismissed from a year-long (1864-5) marriage with Watts, twice her age, in 1868, she lived with the architect E.W. Godwin, who gave her two children, Edith and Gordon Craig. Godwin also gave her a solid place in the Aesthetic movement and directly related her to Pre-Raphaelitism. Even before she had blazed a trail in theatre, then, Ellen Terry was firmly established as an aesthetic cult figure in the worlds of both art and literature.<sup>26</sup> W. Graham Robertson stated: "Her charm held everyone, but I think preeminently those who loved pictures. She was par excellence the Painter's Actress and appealed to the eye before the ear; her gesture and pose were eloquence itself."<sup>27</sup>

Such pictorialism ran through Ellen Terry's acting, too, reflecting the visual nature of 19th century theatre. In the parts Terry played, she very much embodied the Victorian ideal. In 1881, Henry James described her as "something wholesome and English and womanly," while review after review spotlighted her "sweetness, femininity, grace, delicacy, and tenderness."<sup>28</sup> In many of her roles and portraits, Ellen wore white, reflecting the innocence and purity in which she was often cast. In the way she was said to have "floated" rather than walked, Ellen personified grace. In the negative emotions she avoided, such as frenzy, rage, and scorn, she characterized charm. However, her strengths in playing innocence, romantic love, and pathos equalled weaknesses in portraying characters requiring tragic force. Though she played many Shakespearean characters, her portrayal of the cruel Lady Macbeth drew critical reviews instead of the praise that followed her lighthearted Beatrice, beautiful Portia, and pure Ophelia.

Her approaches to these individual characters were those of an ideal woman, too. When she admired the womanly qualities in a character (like Beatrice), she played her more winningly. And in performing, she stressed the values of beauty and imagination. When it was important to her to play a part beautifully, Terry also used her imagination to adapt a part to her personality rather than temporarily assuming the character's. When Ellen found a dramatic character with some of her own qualities, like Portia, Desdemona, Imogen, Beatrice, Hermione, Olivia, or Margaret in *Faust*, she did her best work, not because she was playing that character but because she was playing herself.<sup>29</sup>

With this method, it was difficult to distinguish Ellen Terry the actress from Ellen Terry the woman. "Acting" greatly did not necessarily make her a great actress, it made her popular. As Virginia Woolf observed when Ellen played Shaw's *Lady Cicely*:

When she came on to the stage as Lady Cicely, the stage collapsed like a house of cards and all the limelights were extinguished. When she spoke it was as if someone drew a bow over a ripe, richly seasoned cello....Then she stopped speaking...She had forgotten her part. But did it matter? Speaking or silent, she was Lady Cicely-or was it Ellen Terry? At any rate she filled the stage and all the other actors were put out, as electric lights are put out in the sun.<sup>30</sup>

All this is not to say that Ellen Terry's popularity was undeserved or that Ellen Terry had no merits as an actress, for her apparent artlessness hid much work. Ellen indeed researched her parts,<sup>31</sup> made numerous notes, and thought about her characters, even years after she had performed them. However, in an age when theatre's images of women revolved around the paradoxes of the ideal woman, Terry captured these images and reflected the position of not only the 19th century actress but also the ideal woman. Because of this, the public loved her, and "bought" her. As Michael R. Booth claimed:

In addition to her warmth and her sense of fun, qualities which radiated across the footlights, she had an image more substantial than that of a stage artist alone. She was a work of art and legend in an Aesthetic age, a symbol of femininity and womanhood in a domestic one, a picture of physical and sexual beauty and allure to those who chose to notice such things...her acting was much of this power [over the press and public], but not all of it.<sup>32</sup>

When Ellen Terry, the actress and the ideal woman, died after a long, unnamed illness in 1928, an age of theatre and Victorian ideals perished too.<sup>33</sup> Graham Robertson's "Dream-Lady" finally and fully expressed these ideals, most of all, the Victorian ideal of the perfect lady, that ended with Ellen Terry's life:

Ah, Ellen Terry (name that seems to chime  
Along the echoing glades of Fairyland),  
Fill us again the draught of Beauty. Stand  
Where all the world may see you, and with rhyme  
Low-lilted, and with speech of face and hand  
Give us our Dream, bring back the Golden Time!<sup>34</sup>

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Lynne Agress, *The Feminine Irony: Women and Women in Early 19th Century English Literature* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1978), 21.

<sup>2</sup> Nina Auerbach, *Ellen Terry: Player in Her Time* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ellen Terry, *Ellen Terry's Memoirs*, ed. Edith Craig and Christopher St. John, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1932), 120.

<sup>5</sup> Martha Vicinus, ed., *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1972), 9.

<sup>6</sup> Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the 19th Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1980), 23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Gilbert, *Madwoman*, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Terry, *Memoirs*, 276.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Gilbert, *Madwoman*, 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Auerbach, *Player*, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Terry, *Memoirs*, 118-152.

<sup>14</sup> Lesley Ferris, *Acting Women: Images of Woman in Theatre* (New York: New York UP, 1989), 70.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>16</sup> John Stokes, Michael R. Booth, and Susan Bassnett, Bernhardt, Terry, Duse: *The Actress in Her Time* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1988), 9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>19</sup> Terry, *Memoirs*, 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>22</sup> Stokes, *Actress in Time*, 86.

<sup>23</sup> Terry, *Memoirs*, 18.

<sup>24</sup> Auerbach, *Player*, 6.

<sup>25</sup> Stokes, *Actress in Time*, 68.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>27</sup> Auerbach, *Player*, 19.

<sup>28</sup> Stokes, *Actress in Time*, 69.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>30</sup> Auerbach, *Player*, 16.

<sup>31</sup> For example, before she played Ophelia, Ellen Terry visited a madhouse to study insanity, and with Juliet, she read every criticism she could find on the part. (Stokes, *Actress in Time*), 93.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>33</sup> After her death, Terry's two children intensified the debate over male and female roles in the theatre. Edith Craig had a theatrical career fueled by a dream of woman-centered theatre, while Gordon Craig envisioned a womanless theatre. (Auerbach, *Player*), 10-15.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 458.

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## Secondary Sources

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Agress, Lynne. *The Feminine Irony: Women on Women in Early 19th Century English Literature*. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1978.

This work reveals women's positions in 19th century literature and gives good background applicable to the actress.

Auerbach, Nina. *Ellen Terry: Player in Her Time*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1987.

Auerbach's book, though full of good quotes and references, is bogged down by a flowery, sugary style. It does, however, adequately place Terry in the context of her time.

Ferris, Lesley. *Acting Women: Images of Women in Theatre*. New York: New York UP, 1989.

The book's best feature is its ability to enhance reader understanding of the development of women's acting throughout history.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the 19th Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1980.

Of limited value, it details images of women in men's writing, which likewise reflected the images of Ellen Terry.

Stokes, John, Michael R. Booth, and Susan Bassmet. *Bernhardt, Terry, and Duse: The Actress in Her Time*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

A first-rate source, this work combines history, interesting facts, and criticism, deftly handling these great actress' lives in the context of

their time and that time's values.

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Vicinus' compilation of essays fleshes out understanding of the Victorian concept of the ideal woman, providing important historical information.

## Articles:

Jenkyns, R. "Stagestruck." *New Republic*, 12 October 1987, 42-4.

This review of Auerbach's *Ellen Terry: Player in Her Time* ensures a critical approach to Auerbach's biography and helps to put Ellen Terry's life in perspective after reading Auerbach's sometimes slanted judgements.

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## Books:

St. John, Christopher. *Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1931.

St. John's collection of letters, with notes, reinforces the ideas that Ellen Terry greatly relied on the men in her life, in this case, Shaw. More interesting than anything else, these letters provide insight into Ellen Terry's womanly character.

Terry, Ellen. *Ellen Terry's Memoirs*. Edited by Edith Craig and Christopher St. John. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1932.

This amazing book shames all others by its personal nature, giving the reader a true peek inside Ellen Terry, the woman, and her thoughts, actions, memories, and relationships.



## The Eisenhower Doctrine

by Amy Whitacre

In 1957 Dwight D. Eisenhower went before Congress with a proposal that would later be known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. This proposal outlined the economic and military assistance that the United States would provide at the request of any Middle Eastern nation that felt threatened by Communist domination. In the early 1950's the intensity of foreign relations in the Middle East grew with increasing Western meddling. The West feared that Communism would sweep down into this volatile region and virtually take the place of Western influence. The U.S., in particular, became more and more interested in improving its relations with the Arab nations in hopes of eliminating any chance that Communism could emerge as the region's primary influence. Unfortunately, as Western interference increased, so did the regional instability. After a series of events, some of which were incorrectly linked to a Communist plot, the U.S. came forward with the intention of somehow justifying an American presence in the Middle East.

The first event that helped to kindle the flames of resentment of any outside interference was the West's movement towards the creation of a Jewish nation. Its eventual acknowledgment of an Israeli state infuriated many Arabs. On May 14, 1948, Israel was formally recognized as a nation by the United States. This outraged the people of Palestine in particular, who were expected to graciously leave their homes for the creation of a fabricated Jewish homeland. Their strong Islamic ties and beliefs went against any willing acceptance of Zionism. As a result, threats were made against Israel and it was eventually invaded. The creation of an Israeli state not only started a religious conflict in the region, but also started a conflict among the Arab nations themselves over what should be done with the homeless Palestinian population. Surrounding nations were reluctant to absorb the population for fear of "watering down" their own country with a different people.<sup>1</sup> Even today the Palestinian question goes unanswered.

Another incident that added to the intensity of foreign relations in the Middle East was a conflict over oil profits. After learning that Venezuela had successfully taxed Western oil companies, the Arab nations felt swindled by the companies who helped them extract their vast supplies of oil; they decided to impose the same kind of tax. In order to prevent any further conflicts on the Israeli issue as well as

pacify the Arabs, the American government offered to subsidize American oil companies that would pay the Arab nations a fifty percent tax on the oil received from the extraction process.<sup>2</sup> Regrettably, this failed to enhance the soiled relations between the Middle East and the West.

A third event was the Suez crisis in 1956, which created another opportunity for U.S. involvement in the Middle East prior to the Eisenhower Doctrine. Because General Abdul Nasser was exchanging Egyptian cotton for Soviet-made weapons, the United States withdrew its economic support for Egypt's project on the Aswan High Dam.<sup>3</sup> Infuriated by the U.S.'s response, Nasser captured the Suez Canal and declared that the funds received from his control of the canal would be used solely to finance the Aswan High Dam. This action greatly upset Britain and France, who had a considerable number of holdings in this region. Fearing the repercussion of any U.S. interference, the United States was reluctant to step in and aid either side. With the help of Israel, Great Britain and France decided to attack Egypt and regain control of the Suez Canal.<sup>4</sup> This attack violated the Tripartite Declaration signed by Britain, France, and the United States. Under this declaration, the United States had "pledged to take immediate action to stop any violation of frontiers or armistice lines."<sup>5</sup> By not stepping in to assist Egypt, the U.S. would have risked its standing in the Arab world and most probably invited some form of Soviet involvement.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the U.S. called for an immediate withdrawal of Egypt by France and Great Britain with Israel later following their lead and also withdrawing their troops from Egypt.

The West, particularly the United States, saw Communism and potential Soviet involvement as a stumbling block in its Middle Eastern relations. This resulted from an earlier experience which soured U.S. relations with the Soviet Union. In July 1955 Eisenhower met with Khrushchev, the new Soviet leader. The summit meeting was to have included talks on such issues as nuclear disarmament and atomic weapon prohibition.<sup>7</sup> Everyone placed high hopes on a positive outcome to this much-hyped meeting in Geneva. Unfortunately, no agreements could be reached by either side. The hopes of thawing the Cold War had vanished.

As a result of the disappointing summit in Geneva, the United States concerned itself with Nasser's tremendous

campaign for Arab Nationalism. Soviet-Egyptian relations became more and more friendly. Soon Nasser found himself supported by Khrushchev. This radical change in Soviet policy that had previously frowned upon approval of this type of activity frightened the United States. Consequently, Eisenhower and Allen Dulles, the director of the C.I.A., supported Britain's proposed Baghdad Pact in hopes of smothering both Nasser's growing Arab Nationalism movement and Communism.<sup>8</sup> The Baghdad Pact aligned Great Britain, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Pakistan to form a Northern tier alliance.<sup>9</sup> Their common goal was to keep the Soviet Union from moving into the Middle East. The U.S. was not a formal member of the Baghdad Pact, but it did contribute financially and militarily. Although Nasser was considered a force to be reckoned with, the United States also continued to keep a close eye on Iran.

In 1951, Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh declared nationalization in Iran and then proceeded to take full control of all of Iran's natural resources, which had previously been controlled by Great Britain through the Anglo-Iranian oil company. Insulted by Mossadegh's actions, Great Britain decided to boycott Iranian oil. Despite the fact that this boycott greatly benefited the American oil companies based in Saudi Arabia, the U.S. still attempted to pacify both sides.<sup>10</sup> The boycott created a tremendous economic crisis in Iran. Mossadegh requested help from the American government, and he also warned that he would be forced to seek help from the Soviets if the United States failed to comply. In response to Mossadegh's threat, Eisenhower authorized a C.I.A. coup to rid Iran of both Mossadegh and his anti-Western influence. The coup involved re-establishing the power of the dethroned Shah followed by his appointment of a new prime minister, General Fazollah Zahedi; it was hoped that this would stop the threat of a potential Communist-supported regime.<sup>11</sup> The coup ended in "a new arrangement that brought American companies into the Iranian consortium and expanded American influence in the country."<sup>12</sup>

In order to maintain some semblance of control in the Middle East, the United States vowed that Arab independence was its primary interest, and that its actions would reflect this goal. In fact, the administration went even further by warning the Arab nations that Communism presented a tremendous threat to the achievement of their goal of independence. Regardless of the "warning," the Arabs still maintained that their most powerful threat was not Communism but rather the Jewish state of Israel. However, Western influence and reactions to crises in the Middle East did not seem to deter or lessen the threat of potential Communist control.

It was just such a threat that was perceived as a hindrance to both American national interests and Arab national interests. Communist control of the region not only threatened the free flow of oil, but the political foundations of Communism were clearly not believed to

have America's best interest at heart — that it in fact would counter and/or damage any furthering of U.S./Arab relations. Oil played an important role in these relations in the sense that it was not only a coveted resource but also an effective bargaining chip for whoever had control of it.

Thus, it was necessary for Eisenhower to call on his advisors, whom he depended on greatly, to help him make the best out of the perceived threat in the Middle East. His advisors held diverse political beliefs and Eisenhower depended not only on their honesty but also on the difference of opinions they provided him. In particular, this "staff" included his younger brother Milton, George Humphrey, Sinclair Weeks (Secretary of Commerce), Lewis Strauss (a Cold War conservative), Ezra Taft Benson (Secretary of Agriculture), Staff Secretary Brigadier General Pete Carroll, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and his brother Allen Dulles (C.I.A. director).<sup>13</sup> Eisenhower's relationship with the Dulles' brothers was truly unique and important. In particular, Eisenhower and his Secretary of State were quite close: "...One cannot exaggerate the closeness of their collaboration as for six and a half years, hour by hour, they focused on those very tiny details that eventually decide war or peace."<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, Eisenhower was not quite as fond of Allen Dulles. In fact, throughout his administration, Eisenhower tried to pull the reins in on the C.I.A. and its staff by condemning its policies and methods of operation.

Nevertheless, after lengthy discussions with his advising staff, Eisenhower finally decided that the United States had to take serious action in order to wipe out both Communism and Arab Nationalism in the Middle East. In 1957 he presented his proposed plan of action before Congress for approval. In it, Eisenhower stressed that the "...basic national objective on international affairs remains peace — a world based on justice."<sup>15</sup> The doctrine authorized the U.S. government to give both economic and military support to any nation that requested it for the purpose of developing economic strength, protecting territorial integrity and political independence, or providing protection against Communist aggression.<sup>16</sup> The Doctrine was overwhelmingly approved by Congress by a vote of 72 to 19 in the Senate and 350 to 600 in the House.<sup>17</sup>

The first real test of the Eisenhower Doctrine's actual force as a statement of American foreign policy in the Middle East took place in Lebanon in 1958. The Lebanese president Camille Chamoun, a Maronite Christian, was faced with violent Muslim protests that threatened his power. Chamoun called upon the United States and its Eisenhower Doctrine to help him both calm his population and remain in power. The U.S. had been responsible for his being in office originally, but because there was no Communist threat, the United States could not "legally" interfere. In fact, John Foster Dulles strongly warned Eisenhower that any intervention by the United States could cause unwanted anti-Western sentiment among the Arab population, so Eisenhower did not send any military assistance at



this time.<sup>18</sup> Eventually, the Lebanese army managed to gain some control and "tensions eased."<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, in a few short months, the conflict resurfaced. This time it was more violent.

On July 13, 1958, a successful coup in Iraq ended with the death of the king and his prime minister.<sup>20</sup> The king's regime supported the British-designed Baghdad pact. However, the replacement government appeared to be at least pro-Nasser, if not entirely supported by Nasser and his Arab Nationalism cause. The assassination struck fear in the heart of surrounding countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Jordan. A plotted coup against the leader of Jordan was even uncovered. President Chamoun again requested that the United States intervene and send military assistance immediately to Lebanon. Saudi Arabia's King Saud also appealed to the United States for some type of response. Many believed that if Nasser was indeed responsible in some way for the coup, he might move into Lebanon and attempt to establish a pro-Nasser government there as well.

Against the advice of his advisers, Eisenhower responded by sending 14,000 American troops into Lebanon.<sup>21</sup> Rather than wrap its intentions entirely in the Eisenhower Doctrine, the United States government declared that its intention served two goals.<sup>22</sup> One was to protect American lives in the area of Lebanon. The second was to assist the government of Lebanon in maintaining its territorial integrity and political independence, as stated in the Doctrine. This outlining of the American foreign policy reflected the feeling that it was the threat of Communism and Arab Nationalism that was being fought for the benefit of the Arab nations.

Contrary to Eisenhower's beliefs at the time, the Arab Nationalist and Communist movements were not remotely concerned in any way. In fact, Nasser had even banned the Egyptian Communist party.<sup>23</sup> The Arab nationalists merely used the threat of turning to Communism to gain some sort of leverage over the Western influence that they saw as a

threat to their goals. Thus, the Eisenhower Doctrine fought two very different factions that the United States saw as a unified threat to regional stability.

Several conclusions can be made about the Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East. Although the United States had been in the region for quite some time, diplomatic dealings in this area were relatively new to the U.S. As a result, one sees a great variety in the United States' treatment of the region in the years prior to the doctrine itself. Communist influence was considered a very dangerous threat not only to the United States national interests in the Middle East but to the national interest of the Arab countries themselves. Any crisis was somehow immediately associated with the Communists and their quest for influence over and control of the region's vast oil supply.

Unfortunately, most American interventions at this time in the Middle East were strongly related to deciding who should have control of the oil resources. Needless to say, Communist control of the oil in the Middle East was not seen as a desirable situation for the U.S. and other Western countries. Therefore, one sees these nations aligning themselves with the more conservative Arab forces with the intention of maintaining a dominant Western influence.<sup>24</sup> In the end, the United State toward itself trying to juggle many different Middle Eastern issues and still keep regional stability.

Eisenhower . . . believed that the United States possessed a moral obligation to employ its power in order to contain international communism, strengthen the economic, political, and ethnic bonds within the free world, and protect American political and economic institutions from the chaos of international instability.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the Eisenhower Doctrine was the first major step in the continuing attempt to uphold this obligation as it pertained to the Middle East.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Jerald Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 362.

<sup>3</sup> Herbert S. Parmet, *Eisenhower and the American Crusades* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 478-9.

<sup>4</sup> William Bragg Ewald Jr., *Eisenhower the President: Crucial Days 1951-1960* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 211.

<sup>5</sup> Richard A. Melanson and David Myers, *Reevaluating Eisenhower: American Foreign Policy in the 1950s* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1987), 211.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Parmet, 405.

<sup>8</sup> Melanson and Myers, 200.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>10</sup> Piers Brandon, *Ike: His Life and Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 257.

<sup>11</sup> Melanson and Myers, 203.

<sup>12</sup> Robert F. Burk, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Hero and Politician* (Boston: Twayne, 1986), 142.

<sup>13</sup> Ewald, 65-66.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>15</sup> Department of State, *American Foreign Policy 1957* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957), 783.

<sup>16</sup> Edward W. Chester, *The Scope and Variety of U.S. Diplomatic History: Volume 2* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1990), 420-421.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 420.

<sup>18</sup> Melanson and Myers, 207, 208.



<sup>19</sup> Brendon, 356.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 357.

<sup>22</sup> Chester, 422.

<sup>23</sup> Combs, 364.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Melanson and Myers, 43.

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# Nixon's Resignation and Its Effects on World Politics

by Matthew This

In the weeks after August 9, 1974, historians, researchers, and "instant expert" journalists offered a plethora of opinions regarding the significance of Richard Nixon's resignation as President. As each relied upon his or her unique frame of reference, the natural result was a tremendous variance in interpretation. Ultimately, while Nixon's resignation yielded a variety of responses, it did little to alter the course of world politics.

Before the aftermath of this event can be analyzed, it is essential to understand some of its causes. In late July 1974, the White House position regarding the possible impeachment of Nixon wavered from unconditional confidence of his escaping impeachment to admission that the President had a rough road ahead of him. Nevertheless, even as late as August 3, Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren suggested that Nixon would not resign even if impeached by the House of Representatives, and reiterated the President's faith that the House would fail to approve the articles of impeachment.<sup>1</sup>

Once the debate in the House Judiciary Committee began, many committee members expressed anxiety about impeaching Nixon. Others used the debate to relate to their constituency why impeachment was necessary in spite of the fact that they had elected the president to office by a landslide in 1972. Though the alternatives were clear (to impeach or not to impeach), Representative Walter Flowers (D, Alaska) expressed this underlying ambiguity when he stated, "We do not have a choice that, to me, represents anything desirable. . . This is indeed a terrible choice we have to make."<sup>2</sup>

Midway through the debates, however, Nixon, under judicial pressure, released a number of statements from the infamous Watergate tapes that clearly revealed the extensive nature of his involvement in this scandal. As this evidence proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the President was guilty of political espionage and outright lying, even the most steadfast supporters were convinced that impeachment as well as conviction were foregone conclusions. Realizing that this was no longer a partisan issue, Nixon decided to resign.<sup>3</sup>

The announcement of resignation was delivered on August 8 to more than 110 million television viewers. In his address, Nixon suggested that any wrongdoings over the

past years in office had been performed only in what he believed to be the best interest of the country. In justifying his decision to resign, Nixon alluded to his loss of support in Congress, which he believed would prevent him from successfully performing his duties as president. He hoped that his actions would help heal the country's bitter wounds and admitted that he would have stayed in office had there been a chance that he would not have been impeached and convicted. By noon the following day, Richard Nixon's resignation was official.<sup>4</sup>

Though the former President began his exile in San Clemente, California that same afternoon, experts agreed that Nixon's physical absence would scarcely limit the national debate over his resignation. Hardly surprising was the Republican/conservative reaction that Nixon's resignation was an "act of supreme statesmanship."<sup>5</sup> As a reward for his actions, which spared the nation the problems of a Senate trial as well as a period of "leaderlessness" and resentment, one supporter suggested that Nixon should be pardoned from criminal responsibility. Others commented that his resignation would revitalize a morally crushed Republican Party which could now focus on more germane issues.<sup>6</sup>

Similar to the aforementioned "experts," the American public also embraced the reality of resignation with mixed emotions. Symbolic of many conservative communities, Shelter Island, Long Island, felt betrayed by the news of Nixon's resignation. Though relieved that he was leaving office, citizens explained that his admission of participation in Watergate was unforgivable. Sounding as if they had lost a close friend, the usual phrase was, "We really believed in Mr. Nixon."<sup>7</sup> Nationally, the topic was received with numb and sober sentiment. Understandably, most people "conceded a sense of relief that the long national nightmare was finally over."<sup>8</sup> Focusing their attention on the possibilities of the Ford Administration, many Americans avoided fixating on the problems of Watergate. Yet, some Americans were less than reserved in their criticisms of Nixon. Angered by his deception of Congress and the nation as a whole, they chided the former president's failure to overtly admit his guilt in the text of his resignation speech.<sup>9</sup>

In analyzing these conflicting accounts of public opinion, it is important to keep in mind that Watergate had

received two years of continuous media coverage prior to Nixon's resignation. This fact could account for the seemingly "exhausted" attitude of many citizens polled after August 9, and why they refrained from demanding a further investigation of his participation in Watergate. These citizens were no longer shocked or interested in discovering what Nixon knew, and when he knew it. Their testimony reveals the simple desire to move on and focus on the future.<sup>10</sup>

Democrats, liberals, and religious leaders, on the other hand, were less than restrained in revealing their true feelings. In the weeks following Nixon's departure from office, they centered their attention on three areas of concern: the legal aftermath, the success of the Constitutional system, and the question of guilt. Addressing the legal ramifications of Nixon's resignation, liberal magazines and journals commented that although Nixon had resigned, the impeachment process should not be allowed to continue so that future officials would understand that resignation was not an escape from serious misconduct. They then rhetorically questioned whether Nixon should have been indicted in light of the fact that "the Constitution is explicit in stating that impeachment does not preclude later prosecution."<sup>11</sup> According to one Congressman, it hardly seemed just to allow Nixon to be pardoned while his administration went to prison.<sup>12</sup>

*The New Republic*, on the other hand, interpreted Nixon's "forced" self-removal as obvious proof that the Constitutional system worked. Praising the House Judiciary Committee for their diligence and steadfastness, they suggested that all was not lost. Expressing similar sentiment, moments after Chief Justice Warren Berger has sworn in the new President, he "grabbed the hand of Hugh Scott. . . and said, 'Hugh, it worked. Thank God it worked.'" He was referring to the system.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the editors of *The New Republic* noted that this episode would serve as a reminder to the Presidents and politicians of future generations that political deceit and deception would not be tolerated.<sup>14</sup>

Religious leaders and magazines perceived Nixon's resignation through yet another lens. Concentrating on the farewell address, members of the religious community denounced the President's speech for its lack of "guilt and humiliation."<sup>15</sup> In an interesting comment, James Wall of *The Christian Century*<sup>16</sup> went so far as to suggest that through his resignation, Nixon was merely deceiving the American public once again. Though this author did not expound upon the exact nature of this deception, *The New Republic* offered a possible explanation by commenting that Nixon's resignation would hide other federal offenses committed by the President between 1972 and 1974. Paralleling this event with other examples of Nixonian politics, Wall concluded by calling for a higher political morality so that future Watergates could not be hidden under the disguise of judgements made "in the best interest of the nation."<sup>17</sup>

In analyzing the position of the religious community, it is plausible why it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for these leaders to ask the nation for Nixon's immediate forgiveness. As revealed in a Gallup/*Newsweek* Poll conducted shortly after August 9, 65 percent of the people surveyed believed that "Nixon's actions regarding Watergate were serious enough to warrant his resignation."<sup>18</sup> Thus, it was far easier for these figures and institutions to cast a moral shadow of doubt on the former President than to suggest that his deeds and position were above reproach.

Reflecting upon the popularity of Nixon in 1968 and 1972, it is easy to understand why many Democrats and liberals tried to milk his resignation for all it was worth. Hoping the public would associate the Republican Party with criminals and liars, a wave of Democratic propaganda was unleashed in advance of the presidential campaign of 1976. While this is not to say that Democratic anger over the matters of Watergate were unfounded, it would be naive to assume that at least some didn't weigh Nixon's resignation in purely political terms.

Internationally, Western Europeans commented little on the resignation, but took the opportunity to express their confidence in future good relations with the Ford Administration. Relief, sorrow, and concern were overshadowed by some international leaders' uncertainty about America's future foreign policy. To reassure U.S. allies that policies as well as major cabinet positions would not change, Ford announced that Henry Kissinger would remain as Secretary of State.<sup>19</sup>

Possibly fearing a regression in foreign relations, the Soviet Union surprisingly failed to mention the role of Watergate in President Nixon's decision to resign. In radio broadcasts, Soviet officials claimed that he was the victim of a vicious inner party struggle as well as at odds with Democrats upset over the loss of the 1972 election. Most important, however, was the Soviet news agency's assurances to the public and the world that policies and relations would not change because of Nixon's resignation.<sup>19</sup>

Following the customary international practice of not interfering in the domestic problems of other nations, it is not unusual that most countries refrained from concentrating on Nixon's deeds and chose instead to offer at least token support to the new administration. Even the Soviet Union offered an interesting interpretation of the resignation by suggesting it was the result of a conflict between jealous Democrats and Republicans. Nevertheless, in spite of varying opinions, Nixon's resignation failed to significantly change the course of world politics.

It is evident that this single historical event has symbolized many things to many different people. Yet, less than twenty years later, this event has been, in many ways, conveniently overlooked by much of the American public. Assisted by Ford's pardon of Nixon, which helped impede further inquiry into the matter, as well as the observance



that few of the assumed consequences had come to fruition, the topic of Nixon's resignation eventually fell victim to other matters of national interest. In retrospect, little has changed domestically or internationally in political terms as a direct consequence: the Republican Party has not waned in presidential power, politics are probably as amoral as ever, and world order has not been altered. While this

conclusion persuasively suggests that this episode has been politically negligible in its effects, U.S. acceptance of Nixon's resignation as merely a "slight imperfection" of the American political system suggests something important in itself. Ultimately, this event has served as a powerful reminder that the Constitutional form of government is truly amazing in its ability to handle changes in office.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> "White House Reaction to House Judiciary Committee," *Facts on File*, 3-10 August 1974, 614. *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 613. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 629.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* *Ibid.*, 631. John Herbers, "The 37th President Is First to Quit Post," *New York Times*, 9 August 1974, 1. *Facts on File*, 629.

<sup>5</sup> "Reactions of Relief," *Congressional Quarterly* 10 (August 1974): 2072.

<sup>6</sup> "Exit Nixon," *Time*, 19 August 1974, 14b. James M. Wall, "After the Fall," *Christian Century*, 21-28 August 1974, 787-88. Ernest van den Haag, "Finally, He Was Right to Resign," *National Review*, 30 August 1974, 956. "Time for Healing," *Time*, 19 August 1974, 8-9.

<sup>7</sup> Pranay Gupte, "A Tiny G.O. Bastion Feels Loss and Relief," *New York Times*, 9 August 1974, 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Facts on File*, 632-33.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 633.

<sup>10</sup> "NEWSWEEK/Gallup Poll," *Newsweek*, 19 August 1974, 15.

<sup>11</sup> "Reflections on the Resignation," *National Review*, 30 August 1974, 955-956.

<sup>12</sup> ". . . And Mr. Nixon Resigns," *America*, 24 August 1974, 63. "The Legal Aftermath: Citizen Nixon and the Law," *Time*, 19 August 1974, 39.

<sup>13</sup> "Time for Healing," *Time*, 19 August 1974, 9.

<sup>14</sup> "Impeachment Perspective," *The New Republic*, 10 & 17 August 1974, 5-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Facts on File*, 632.

<sup>16</sup> *The Christian Century* is considered to have a relatively liberal attitude on the political spectrum. Its writers generally possess a Protestant religious background.

<sup>17</sup> Wall, 787-88. Nathan Lewin, "Will We See Him In Court?" *The New Republic*, 24 August 1974, 7-9.

<sup>18</sup> "NEWSWEEK/Gallup Poll," 15.

<sup>19</sup> *Facts on File*, 633.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

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