

Cover:

One-hundred years ago, the United States effectively ended Spain's reign as a colonial power, as seen by Uncle Sam "kicking" a Spaniard out of a "libre" or free Cuba.

Credit:

From a cartoon by Charles Bartholomew for *Minneapolis Journal*, 1898, from *Cartoons of the Spanish War by Bart*. (Minneapolis: The Journal Printing Co., 1899)

Table of Contents

To the Reader	5
Extremist Protest or Patriotic Acts: The League of Blood Incidents <i>By Elizabeth Vanlier</i> <i>Wittenberg Class of 1998</i> <i>Rockford, Michigan</i>	7
Hatsephut, the Female Pharaoh: How a Female Acquired and Maintained the Rule of a Male-Governed Country <i>By Pari Perkins</i> <i>Wittenberg Class of 1999</i> <i>Sylvania, Ohio</i>	13
James Burke: A Historian? <i>By Kevin Lydy</i> <i>Wittenberg Class of 1998</i> <i>Delaware, Ohio</i>	19
The Woman on the Wall <i>By Susan Hanf</i> <i>Wittenberg Class of 1998</i> <i>Marietta, Ohio</i>	25
Beginnings <i>By Kevin Lydy</i>	27

To The Reader:

A note about a few of the papers in this year's journal: Betsy Vanlier's paper, "Extremist Protest of Patriotic Acts: The League of Blood Incidents," won the award for the Best World History paper at the 1998 Regional Conference of Phi Alpha Theta this April. Kevin Lydy's paper, "Beginnings," and Susan Hanf's paper entitled, "The Woman on the Wall," were both written for the 1998 Hartje Paper Competition. Susan's paper ultimately won the 1998 Hartje Award.

We would like to thank everyone who submitted a paper this year; the quality of the papers was unparalleled, and choosing among them was a difficult task. We would also like to thank Dr. Chatfield for his support and guidance, as well as Margaret Debuty and the rest of the History Department. A very special thank you goes to the staff for their insights, advice, and effort. We hope that you enjoy reading this journal and appreciate the support from the Wittenberg Community.

Sincerely,

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Extremist Protest or Patriotic Acts: The League of Blood Incidents

By Elizabeth Vanlier

On February ninth, 1932, a seemingly random act of violence shook the nation of Japan and many people in the global community. That night, Inoue Junnosuke, a former finance minister, was assassinated outside an elementary schoolhouse by Konuma Tadashi, on his way to a Minseito meeting. Minseito was one of many political parties in Japan created after the establishment of Meiji democracy in 1868. Inoue was shot in the chest four times with a revolver at close range, dying several minutes later.¹ Konuma, who was seized instantly, was described as a shabbily dressed figure that "emerged from the shadows of the schoolhouse gate and fired." As more information emerged about Konuma, he insisted that he acted alone to protest the conditions in the rural communities. He originated in a rural community north of Tokyo, a disgruntled citizen who had problems maintaining employment.² He insisted that Inoue's deflation policy was responsible for rural conditions. While Inoue held no direct power in the government, he arranged candidates for the Minseito party.³

On the fifth of March, a grotesque pattern began to appear. Baron Dan Takuma was assassinated in front of one of the Mitsui banks, part of the financial empire of which he was general manager. He was murdered with a revolver by a man named Hishinuma Goro, from the same Ibaraki district as Konuma.⁴ When Hishinuma committed his act he wore a pair of white underwear with a Nichiren Buddhist Sutra written on it.⁵ He bragged to officials that his actions were patriotic. He wanted to destroy the corrupt party system and those that supported it financially.⁶ Baron Dan, known as Japan's wealthiest employee, accumulated 291,000 dollars annually. Since he had graduated from MIT, he promoted relations with the United States.⁷ The police suspected a conspiracy when the motives for both the events were compared, and this led to the arrest of others.

On the eleventh of March, five members of the League of Blood, an ultra-nationalist group, were arrested. This arrest occurred after much hesitancy which the police attributed to a lack of funds.⁸ Included in this group was the ringleader, Nissho Inoue. In the days following the assassinations, he sought refuge in the home of nationalist activist and ultra-nationalist sympathizer, Toyama Mitsuru. He pledged with his surrender that he would help to capture the rest of those involved in the plot.⁹ According to Nissho, the purpose of the assassinations was the elimination of those "political

leaders with whom they disagreed."¹⁰ Nissho was unhappy with the current situation in government because of the relationship between the political parties and the zaibatsu (government related conglomerates).¹¹ More time passed and seven more were arrested. The trial for their crimes did not occur for some time following the arrest, ending with judgement in 1934.

Popular opinion in Japan at that time determined what happened after the incidents. In the 1920s and 1930s, Japan was following a course of intense industrialization and modernization. The effects of this, the cost of modernization, was the alienation of the lower classes. The difficult road that the poor were forced to take to survive the inequality in distribution of wealth initiated a change from nationalistic behavior to ultra-nationalism. The ultra-nationalist social climate in Japan, as indicated by the actions, ideology, and the trial of the League of Blood, shows that the Japanese did, in fact, accept radical acts of protest as acts of patriotism.

In addition to the plight of the downtrodden, across this decade, the influences of protestors criticizing the treatment of society impacted the shift of the nature of nationalism to ultra-nationalism, a more violent form of protest, and influenced the League of Blood. This shift helped society to sympathize with the League's violent acts. Gondo Seikei, a leading advocate of the rights of the rural community, influenced the Blood Brotherhood's ideology and helped to gather support for the group. Konuma said that he was directly influenced by the ideas of Gondo, who advocated a utopian sense of rural "self sufficiency" and "self rule."¹² While the Blood Brotherhood said as a whole that it was not influenced directly by Gondo's thought, all of those involved in the group had read his ideas. Gondo influenced the masses searching for relief from rural depression by creating an egalitarian base of ideas for the common person to ponder.

Similarly, Kita Ikki, the national socialist, inspired many frustrated patriots in this period with his "Plan for the Reorganization of Japan." This plan called upon the people of Japan to rise up and work together to reorganize their government. To begin this revolution, he asked the emperor to declare martial law and eliminate the capitalist constitution. He wanted to destroy the class barriers in society, advocating universal male suffrage. He wanted to establish government organizations that did not depend on politicians to pass beneficial policies. He did not want to create an undemocratic

institution; he wanted elections upon which the emperor could comment. He also wanted land reform for which even the emperor would have to sacrifice his wealth. He believed that the emperor could achieve true greatness if he could escape from the iron hand of the zaibatsu. He characterizes the zaibatsu as selfish and the politicians as corrupt.¹³ The ideas of Kita Ikki had a socialist ring, giving the majority of the public a larger voice in the affairs of their nation. While giving this larger voice, it did not create a socialist nation. These ideas are comparable to those of the Blood Brotherhood, opening the eyes of the public to the inequalities in the government system. These ideas influenced both the Brotherhood and the public.

Another great patriotic agricultural reformer, Tachibana, had the greatest influence on both society's and the Brotherhood's ideas. He was directly involved in the May fifteenth incident and was a leader in one of the Brotherhood's subgroups. He called for reform in the countryside, as did Gondo, but he was much less of an idealist calling for active reform protest. One his objectives included establishing "a system of mutual self-rule in society."¹⁴ He wanted to construct "people's communities," created nationally and based on the values found in the countryside.¹⁵ He did not denounce urban society, for he knew that it would be impossible to make a total return to agrarian society. However, he called for society to rededicate "itself to these good values stemming from farming."¹⁶ He emphasized the importance of the farm and called for recognition of the farm as the foundation of the state.¹⁷ Direct-action protest and destruction of the ruling class would be needed to establish this type of recognition. After this destruction, he believed that if the country returned to the values of the farm, a government beneficial to society would fall into place.¹⁸ Tachibana's ideas were conducive to nationalistic thought. They opted for a return to the very essence of Japanese society, to the values of the land and the goodness—its Japaneseness. Society could sympathize with the active nationalism he called for, again shifting public sympathy to the ultra-nationalists.

The concerns of these intellectuals were rooted in the changes in the rural areas, which had been underway since the Meiji Restoration. Conscription, or the draft, brought young tenant farmers out from the countryside and revealed to them how Japanese urban society and other parts of the world lived. When they returned to the countryside after their tour of duty, they had much less tolerance of the ill treatment incurred by their landlords on the farms. Military service taught the men new skills and they were no longer content with their standard of living.¹⁹ Along with the higher literacy among the tenants, there was more communication among the people. This gave the people a view of events outside the realm of their village.²⁰ They gained a greater consciousness of how they fit into society. They no longer wanted to be pawns in the chess game of nations.

The feeling that the government ignored the conditions of common people created discontent in society, producing a need for change from the status quo. Nationalism often came from economic discontent, "inner discomforts," and a dislike

of government policies.²¹ Many in the agrarian society felt that the elite used them to gain wealth. In the mid-twenties, times were economically difficult for all people, especially for the poor. Before the world depression, new trade with foreigners and too many people on the farms helped to deflate the farm areas. However, actions were not taken to help the poor, either urban or rural; the government instituted a regressive tax and the landlord system drained the people of their resources.²² As a result, at the commencement of the Great Depression no "material or psychological reserves" were available to help people through tough times.²³ Unemployment in the cities provided no outlet for those farmers looking to improve their plight, because the policy of "industrial rationalization" had been introduced into the depressed Japanese economy, shutting down most companies that were not zaibatsu.²⁴ Government policy helped the elite and hurt the poor, creating resentment among the masses for un-Japanese behavior.

As a result, people had begun to attack institutions such as Mitsui during the gold embargo for dollar speculation.²⁵ These speculations were allowed by the government, for such zaibatsu as Mitsui, as favors in return for campaign fund gifts. In the eyes of the people, this was an act of "treachery."²⁶ While people starved in the country, some in the city prospered. Tachibana said at his trial that, "Inouye threw to the winds 120,000,000 yen in defending the gold standard. Two thirds of the country teachers went unpaid as a result of Inouye's policy. I examined the lunch boxes of one hundred school children. Nine of them had a few salted plums buried in rice, and that was their whole lunch."²⁷ A widening gap was appearing between the rich and the poor. The farmer headed down a road to economic ruin, while those in business benefited from the elitist party government got rich by riding the farmer's backs. The conditions had to change because the nation was going to ruin in the name of the greed of a few men. The result was the use of a few patriotic societies that decided to save Japan in the name of the Emperor, something with which many in the masses could identify. According to historian Richard Storry, "Desperate times seemed to call for desperate remedies."²⁸

Another stimulus to nationalism encompasses a new focus on the emperor that the government had been using as a legitimizing force since the late 1880s. After the Meiji Restoration, the emperor was elevated to divine status in order to create a united front for modernization among society. With this modernization attempt, Japan forged into the imperialist fray with the other powers in the world. The history of the West's unequal treatment of the East magnified the need to reassert the superiority of Japanese traditional values and beliefs. These traditions are at the very core of what it is to be Japanese and the events in the late nineteenth, early-twentieth century shaped what nationalism meant to them at the time of the Blood Brotherhood incidents.

To be more specific, several events in the 1920s and 1930s intensified nationalistic feelings in Japan creating a setting for ultra-nationalism. One incident that influenced the path of ultra-nationalism was the attempted assassination of the

Prime Minister Hamaguchi Osachi who was shot in November 1930 while he prepared to travel to watch the military perform with the Emperor.²⁹ The London Naval Treaty had been accepted by his cabinet, again giving in to the West.³⁰ The Japanese submission to the West was a point of contention with the people. The masses did not believe that they constituted a weak country. Their pride rose dramatically, because of the unequal treatment. The attempted assassination brought into the forefront of national consciousness the tradition of assassination as a means of political protest.

Another influential event occurred in Manchuria, where tensions between the Chinese and Japanese caused by the murder of a civilian named Nakamura erupted. Nakamura had been arrested and shot earlier that summer in Manchuria by Chinese soldiers, while supposedly carrying a Chinese government permit to travel in Mongolia and Manchuria.³¹ Support for a forceful retribution skyrocketed in Japan for the unfair murder of its citizen. On September eighteenth, 1931, there was an explosion of railway tracks at Mukden in the coveted Liaodong peninsula. The explosion occurred that night around 10:30, and by the following morning at 6:30 the Japanese had gained control of the city of Mukden. Seventy to eighty Chinese soldiers were killed in an attack that they claimed to have not resisted.³² It was later discovered that some Japanese officers perpetrated this offense and fabricated a story about Chinese saboteurs to create an excuse for immediate and justifiable military action in Manchuria.³³ The majority of Japanese society, not the governmental elite, supported the force used in Manchuria as a reassurance of Japanese power. They wanted to show the world that no one could treat them unfairly any longer. According to Joseph Grew, the ambassador from the United States at this time, the capitalists wanted to rule Japan solely, with the distinctively western economic system.³⁴ The army planned the incident in order to stop this monopoly.³⁵ As a result of the Manchurian incident, according to Wilfred Fleisher, membership in radical groups like the Blood Brotherhood rose dramatically.³⁶ Nissho stated at his trial that, "The Manchurian issue also had an effect on me. . . . I planned a wholesale killing on February 11, 1932, by shooting."³⁷

From these acts, the increasingly violent climate of society can be seen. Anti-western feeling pervaded the masses, providing not only a target for anger against Japan's unfair situation globally, but a reason to advocate the cultural correctness of Japan. It pressed some to advocate violence as a means of protest, while others simply sympathized with the cause. This is a turning point in the move toward ultranationalism and its acceptance in mainstream society. These people saw capitalism as responsible for the deviation of urban society from the Japanese path. Inoue Junnosuke urged the cooperation between the Americans and the Japanese.³⁸ The assassination of Dan was due to his position as head of Mitsui, which was seen as the "pinnacle of Japanese capitalism," having divisions in foreign countries that "out-number the embassies and consulates of the Japanese empire."³⁹ Dan was also known for his hospitable treatment of foreigners.⁴⁰ The so-called "habit of greed" sent to Japan

from the west was destroying the "essence" of the country.⁴¹ One purpose of the movement was to change the moral standards in Japan back to pre-western times.⁴² As a part of the radical protestors' ideology, they wanted to exorcize the selfishness and corruption they attributed to the west. The magazine, *Asia*, said that the mission of the Brotherhood was to bring about a return to "the ancient and pure spirit of Japan" by the elimination of capitalism.⁴³ Konuma, the assassin of Inouye, said that he killed because he thought his unemployment was "due to the corruption of society."⁴⁴ With western exorcism, the countryside's conditions would improve, and the urbanites would be saved from moral deprivation and commercialism.

The League of Blood was, therefore, an example of a ultranationalist protest group with a following of both radicals and moderates and an ideology shaped by society in the 1930s. It was conceived in 1930, with Nissho as leader, from a consolidation of several other "blood oath" groups such as the Nippon Kokuminto, Tachibana Kosuburo's group the Jichi Nomin Kyogikai, Kesshitai, Seisanto, and the Ketsumeji Gonin Otoko.⁴⁵ Although each group's ideologies were different, together, these groups depict the prevalence of patriotic societies.

The people who followed the Brotherhood originated from less than privileged families. They held occupations, if they had employment at all, as ". . . politicians, soldiers, and sailors."⁴⁶ *Asia* stated that, "The typical patriotic society is a group or gang of intensely nationalistic temper with a preference for direct action."⁴⁷ The movement was made by those forced to follow, without a chance to give their opinion, the rules and policies dictated to them by the elite. The leaders of these groups came from the same background as their followers. Nissho was an excellent example of a typical member of a patriotic society. The head of the Blood Brotherhood was described as a failure at everything he did before he joined the Nichiren priesthood.⁴⁸ The members wanted to fight the same issues and gathered strength in that alliance. Their plight was similar to that of others in the countryside and they gained sympathy for their acts by association with the masses. Military sympathy created another support base for the Blood Brotherhood. Many of the enlisted men of the Navy were from the countryside. While the Navy did not publicly advocate the acts, a Navy man named Fuji, supplied weapons to the cause. According to Fleisher, General Araki in Prime Minister Inukai's cabinet also sympathized with the cause.⁴⁹ The composition of the Blood Brotherhood provided a massive sympathetic support base for the assassination committed in 1932.

The ideology of the Brotherhood was derived from principles of nationalism, but it was magnified by its social and economic situation. The ideology was formed partly from past national experience and partly from the treatment of the poor by the so-called democratic government.

One specific ideology that the masses could sympathize with was the doctrine of Nichiren. Inoue Nissho was a Nichiren priest who openly advocated "violent patriotism" as described by the dogma of his sect of Buddhism.⁵⁰ The Lotus Sutra

basically states that The Lotus is the morally correct sutra and the disciple of this sect must "propagate" its value to others. If he does this he will eventually reincarnate into "Buddhahood."⁵¹ This religious philosophy translates into the moral correctness of Japanese society and traditional beliefs. Konuma, the assassin of Inouye, wrote, "Revolution is the morning dew; what matter if we perish? Buddhism is sensitive to nature. The privileged classes have no sensitiveness to nature and caused me to wish for revolution."⁵² The follower must do anything possible to reach the rest of society with its cause and indoctrinate them to their values. With this indoctrination would come a powerful, moral, Japan. This appealed to both Buddhist and nationalist tendencies.

Another symbol of the movement was the emperor. Loyalty to the emperor was something with which all Japanese could associate. Regardless of class, the people had a common bond with the emperor, built into their education with the Imperial Rescript on Education. According to Fleisher, conscription also added to the loyalty felt toward the emperor.⁵³ The magazine, *The Christian Century*, stated, "Assassination was defended as a patriotic necessity above all law, and the claim made without reservation that the glorious destiny of Japan could never be achieved until the clouds surrounding the throne had been dissipated."⁵⁴ If the act was done in the name of tenno, if the citizen was acting in the best interests of the emperor, the act could be seen as patriotic. Nissho, in answering a question at his trial, stated "... the emperor should give the final word."⁵⁵ Since the act was done for the greater good of the country, many people could accept it as patriotic. The date of the assassination of Inoue was originally planned for the eleventh of February, the 2592d anniversary of the ascension of the first emperor.⁵⁶ The act did not have to be morally correct to be accepted by the people, only justifiably patriotic.

The Brotherhood also identified with the feeling that the government was an elitist institution. This appealed to the idea in society that the public stood outside the scope of a supposedly democratic government. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the process of upward mobility for classes changed from a hereditary, hierarchical society to a merit based society—or did it? Was the government a democracy or a system in which the privileged classes were able to gather and dominate? According to the Blood Brotherhood, it was a place to gather and become a part of or more firmly entrenched in the elite. Nissho said in his trial that "... party politics in Japan are politics of the privileged classes."⁵⁷ The corruption that the League saw in the government created a generalization among the members that the politicians were only interested in pleasing those leaders of the zaibatsu from which they received money.⁵⁸ The policy of the party government led to the establishment of a foreign trade association with the west and this enabled business leaders to make great amounts of money. The relationship between the Brotherhood and the country people helped to form ideas sympathetic to the plight of the countryside. Nissho claimed that the party leaders were "deceiving the public for their private

convenience."⁵⁹ The purpose of the brotherhood was to get rid of capitalists, corrupt political leaders, and the privileged statesmen in order to recreate society.⁶⁰ The list was not created to destroy specific people, but to destroy the institution in general.⁶¹ To do this they believed in using violent means, the only way to remove the elite from society. The resentment by society of elitist activity provided another connection between the Brotherhood and the nationalist views of society.⁶²

The trial itself sheds special light on how the public and judicial system viewed political murders. For the duration, there were many differences between this trial and other murder trials. These murderers were allowed to orate for any amount of time they wanted, creating a public pulpit for ideological sermons. Konuma, Inoue's assassin, spoke in court for three days.⁶³ Since the courtroom was packed with spectators and media, the platform from which the defendants spoke could be broadcast throughout the nation.⁶⁴ This was a legitimate trial because the government had to try these men or lose control of the nation.⁶⁵ However, "the boundary between relevancy and irrelevancy was tacitly thrown open"; the courtroom was turned into a media circus.⁶⁶ It seemed that the victim was forgotten in the oratories of the defendants. In a strange turn of events, Nissho was allowed to yell at the first judge of the trial for being disrespectful to him and his cause; the judge resigned soon after, claiming illness to the press.⁶⁷

At the conclusion of the trial, Nissho, Konuma, and Hishinuma received sentences of life imprisonment. All others tried received less time, fifteen years hard labor for their involvement in the sect. The sentence was lenient in light of their actions, and they were treated as "prisoners of honor."⁶⁸ As historian Robert Butow concluded, "Murder when committed out of sincere motives, was apparently not murder at all, just as the taking of Manchuria had not been aggression because the motives of the Kwantung army had been pure."⁶⁹ In 1940, after the judgement of those indicated in the plot to assassinate Saito Makoto, the defendants walked out of the trial because they did not attain the verdict they wanted to hear; no one followed them. A week later the assassins from the Blood Incident were released in a general amnesty.⁷⁰

After the sentence was handed down, the opinion of the media reflected the mind set of the people: "Political murders are nothing new in Japan and are regarded with astonishing calmness: in the public mind statesmanship is scheduled[sic] as a dangerous occupation."⁷¹ The reaction to the assassination of Inoue by Foreign Minister Yoshizawa was "like the French counselor might have told him it was a fine day."⁷² The press attention given to the trial, as a result of free speech, created more of a focus on the defendant than on the victim. The unsatisfied needs of society resulted in less and less sympathy for the victims, associated with the "bad" government, and increased sympathy for the need for change for which the group seemed to be fighting. The general consensus was that while the act of murder itself was wrong, the patriotic motive for the murder cleansed the person of guilt. The people are likely to praise the act of patriotism but

sympathize with the dead politician at the same time.⁷³ The judge could not let the murderer go free because murder is morally wrong, but he could make the sentence more lenient in the face of patriotism. According to *The Japan Times*, the press opinion was that justice was served by the trial, but again there must be more rational forms of patriotic protest available.⁷⁴ Professors fearing more murders, not more patriotism, said "... it is believed that the fundamental basis of the patriotism of the accomplices is sound, but that the means adopted to attain this end was unwarranted and anti-social."⁷⁵

The 1920s and 1930s in Japan were exciting, yet brutal times. As industrialization took its course, the cost of modernization, the alienation of classes, took effect. The gap between the rich and the poor, the plight of the poor to be more specific, caused the evolution of nationalism into ultra-nationalism. This evolution was based on the principles of nationalism, such as loyalty to the Emperor, culturalism, and an anti-hierarchical tradition among the masses, built up with the creation of the state. These traditions, with the addition of outside ideologies and religious influences, created a large base of support among the poor based on ideas with which they could identify.

The need for social change has been an impetus for protest throughout time. In Japan, the effect on society and its reactionary ideology was similar to that in other nations. The policies of the Meiji democracy (and their treatment of the people provided this type of need.) The need for relief from the elitist government and its debilitating economic policies provided a catalyst for an acceptance of radical ultra-nationalist protest as patriotism.

The unusual circumstances of the trial of the Brotherhood depict how the public thought about the political murders. The trial and the subsequent sentence reflect that the majority of society stood behind the motives of the assassins. Society accepted the argument that the actions were done for a higher purpose. The government ran through the motions of a trial not only to retain control of the nation, but to show that responsibility for murder must be taken. In the case of this unusual trial, the outcome did not simply portray who was responsible for the murders, but where society stood in relation to the murders, acceptance as patriotism or censure as random violence.

Endnotes

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- 3 "Tokyo Leader Slain," *The New York Times*, 1:7.
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- 5 "Leaders pay High Tribute to Dead Mitsui Executive," *The Japan Times*, 7 March 1932, 1:1.
- 6 "Political Murders are Linked in Japan," *The New York Times*, 6 March 1932, 3:6.
- 7 "Baron Dan Is Slain," *The New York Times*, 9:3.
- 8 "Japanese Police Show Hesitancy in Murders," *The New*

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- 25 "Baron Dan Slain," *The New York Times*, 9:3.
- 26 B. Omura, "Dagger and Pistol in the Hand of the Japanese Superpatriot," *Asia*, 32 (December 1932) 634.
- 27 Hugh Byas, *Government by Assassination* (New York: Knopf, 1942), 71.
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- 29 "Premier is Shot by Tokyo Fanatic; Feared to be Dying," *The New York Times*, 14 November 1930, 1:6.
- 30 Wilfred Fleisher, *Volcanic Isle* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1941), 64.
- 31 "Japanese Seize Markden in Battle with Chinese: Rush More Troops to City," *The New York Times*, 19 September 1931, 8:4.
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- 33 Richard Storry, "The Road to War: 1931-1945," 248.
- 34 Joseph C. Grew, *Ten Years in Japan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944), 44-48.
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- 66 Hugh Byas, *Government by Assassination*, 74.
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- 68 O. Tanin and E. Yohan, *Militarism and Fascism*, 227.
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- 70 Wilfred Fleisher, *Volcanic Isle*, 105.
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Hatshepsut, the Female Pharaoh: How a Female Acquired and Maintained the Rule of a Male Governed Country

By *Pari Perkins*

"Hatshepsut has been variously touted as a pacifist, a protofeminist, and a transsexual. . . ."¹ The woman mentioned here, Hatshepsut, may not be familiar to a large majority of people, but it is a name worth knowing. Hatshepsut, "Chieftainess of noble women!"² ruled as Pharaoh during Egypt's eighteenth dynasty, the only female to do so. She worked diligently to first acquire the rule of Egypt and then to maintain it over its rightful heir, Thutmose III. T. G. H. James puts it well when he states, "This queen . . . was presented with the opportunity of seizing supreme royal power in Egypt . . . firstly as royal regent, and secondly by assuming the forms and trappings of divine royalty, she usurped the government of the country and assigned her nephew [Thutmose III] to a position of subservience."³ Hatshepsut took each of these situations and used them to her advantage, trying not to make too many changes at once. It was a delicate balance that she had to maintain, but she did it.

It is important to understand that Hatshepsut could not have done this alone. In her faction of the Thutmosids there was her father, a powerful source himself, her administrative staff, and the military. The question still remains, though: Why would these groups support a female when there was a budding super-pharaoh waiting in the wings? The answer can be found by looking at what was going on in Egypt. At the time that Hatshepsut came to power, three generations had passed since the expulsion of the Hyksos, and Egyptians had been engaged in many military activities in Africa and Asia. These were primarily protective measures so that Egypt would not fall under foreign rule again. However, from this activity, two factions began to grow. The first faction was the one of which Thutmose I and Hatshepsut were a part. They believed in the idea of Egypt the way it always had been, isolated from other countries because it was superior to the others. The other faction, that of Thutmose III and his followers, thought that the best way to assert Egypt's superiority was to become an imperialist nation.⁴ This faction eventually won out after Hatshepsut's death. It was during her twenty-two year reign that she tried to restore *ma'at* (Egypt's natural, god-given order) by turning back the hands of time and focusing on Egypt's internal glories, rather than attempting the new idea of empire building. The actions that Hatshepsut took, the methods that she used to gain the support she needed, and the control that she desired are needed to begin to comprehend how such a breach in Egyp-

tian tradition could occur, without correction, until her death about 1468 B.C., twenty-two years after she began her reign.

Hatshepsut's upbringing, from the very beginning, played a large role in bolstering her confidence and preparing her to rule over Egypt one day. Hatshepsut was born as one of four children by Thutmose I and his Chief Wife, Ahmose. The fact that Hatshepsut was full-blooded royalty was very important because in ancient Egyptian times, the heir to the throne was determined from the maternal side. Ahmose was the surviving heir of Amenhotep I, a past pharaoh; therefore, Thutmose I was married to her to solidify his legitimacy as Pharaoh. Since, after the marriage, both were considered royal, Hatshepsut was considered fully royal and might someday be used as the same connecting link that her mother was. This became especially important when Hatshepsut's three siblings all predeceased her, leaving her as the sole heir to the throne.

It is possible that Hatshepsut's early signs of beauty and intelligence made her the favorite of the palace and its officials. It is known that, from time to time, pharaohs have had their own children murdered for the sake of passing the throne on to the person of their choice, rather than the heir tradition would have dictated. Hatshepsut's brothers' and sister's death were in such close succession that it can be imagined that the palace priests, who were knowledgeable in medicine, might have poisoned the other children in order to ensure that Hatshepsut is left as the surviving heir.⁵ The idea that Hatshepsut was the favorite of her father is further supported by several reliefs that Thutmose I had inscribed after the death of his other royal children. The scenes depicted Thutmose, together with the gods, promising to make Hatshepsut great someday. Thutmose then declared Hatshepsut Crown Prince of Egypt, a title normally reserved for royal male children only.⁶ This was the first sign of Hatshepsut taking on a man's role in the monarchy.

Hatshepsut was Crown Prince for fifteen years. In these years she learned many of the necessary skills it took to run a kingdom and be a Thutmosid. Her father would take her on trips around Egypt where she would watch her father's wonderful building projects and discover the good that could be brought to herself and Egypt through them. After completing his military campaigns, Thutmose had embarked on a mission to beautify Egypt. He planned for many of his projects to be finished or improved upon by Hatshepsut after his death. Given that Thutmose was an intelligent man, histori-

ans can surmise that it was his idea that the internal rebuilding of Egypt would be a better situation for his daughter to rule over than having her take on wars which might hinder her rule.⁷ During these years, Hatshepsut was an adolescent maturing into a woman. However, she continued to wear short kilts that were typical male clothing; indeed, it certainly was not a royal lady's attire. She did this to please her father and work her way into his heart more and more. Hatshepsut realized already that Thutmose had big plans for her someday, but by wearing the clothes that his male heir would have worn, had he survived, she impressed upon him her desire and capability to lead the country as the next Horus.⁸

Thutmose further improved Hatshepsut's position of power by making her his Queen, thus enabling her to sit beside him on the throne of Egypt. This occurred shortly after Thutmose's chief wife Ahmose had passed away, invalidating Thutmose's claim to the throne. Never before in Egyptian history had a king elevated his daughter to the position of Queen. This action serves as further evidence that Thutmose thought highly of his daughter and had grand plans for her as he grew older. Hatshepsut was a mere twenty years of age when she was declared Queen of Egypt.⁹ At this point in her life, Hatshepsut already held thirty-five names and titles!¹⁰ On his death bed Thutmose declared:

This is my daughter Khnum-Amen, Hapshepsut, who liveth, I have appointed her; she is my successor, she is assuredly who shall sit upon my wonderful seat. She shall command the people in every place of the palace; she is who shall lead you; ye shall proclaim her word, ye shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live; he who shall speak evil in blasphemy of Her Majesty shall die.... The dignitaries of the king, the nobles and the chief of the people hear this command of the dignity of his daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara (Hatshepsut), living forever.¹¹

The final action on Thutmose's part to ensure Hatshepsut's sovereignty over Egypt was the last in a series of coronation ceremonies—an appeal to the gods to make her queenship official. It was held at the Great Temple at Thebes on New Year's Day. The temple is where Thutmose made his direct plea to the gods, looking for their approval of Hatshepsut. "The king pleaded. 'I am before you, king of the gods. I prostrate myself. In return for what I have done for thee do thou bestow Egypt and the red land [the Sahara] on my daughter Ramaka [Kamare, child of the sun] living eternally, as thou hast done for me."¹² After Amon nodded his approval, to the relief of Thutmose and Hatshepsut, Thutmose placed the official crown of the Queen on Hatshepsut's head. This would not be the last crown that Hatshepsut would don. The throne name that Hatshepsut was given signals the theme that Thutmose hoped for her rule. Maat-ka-ra, Hatshepsut's throne name, means truth, justice, and harmony.¹³

Thutmose did not leave Hatshepsut with titles and ceremo-

nies to alone guide her way to the throne. He married Hatshepsut to his son, Thutmose II, the son of a minor wife. Hatshepsut profited from this marriage for a couple of reasons. First, Thutmose II would be the father of her children; thus Hatshepsut, the only one of the two with fully royal blood, could produce offspring to carry on the dynasty after her death. It is even believed by some scholars that Hatshepsut was planning on her eldest daughter being named as her successor in a similar fashion as she had been named her father's heir.¹⁴ Hatshepsut failed in this endeavor. Second, a male presence on the throne was useful to fend off any rebellions that might break out in the wake of Thutmose I's demise, as often happened following the death of a great pharaoh.¹⁵ This way, Hatshepsut would not have to face the added difficulties of engaging in military conflict, especially not early on in her reign when her hold over the country was not yet totally secure. Finally, Thutmose I knew of his son's weak personality and frail body. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that Hatshepsut's marriage to Thutmose II was a planned advantage because her strong, outgoing personality would dominate the relationship and, through the guise of him, the country. Consequently, while Thutmose II held the title of Pharaoh for the brief remainder of his life, it was Hatshepsut that ran the government from behind the scenes.

Thutmose II died after a short reign, leaving his son by secondary wife Isis, Thutmose III, as Pharaoh. However, since the youngest Thutmose was still a child, probably around age twelve, tradition dictated that Hatshepsut, the child's aunt, was to rule as regent until he was old enough to take on the responsibilities himself. A mere ten months into Thutmose III's reign,¹⁶ Hatshepsut claimed that "came forth the king of the gods, Amon-Re, from his temple, saying: 'Welcome, my sweet daughter, my favorite, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, Hatshepsut. Thou art the king, taking possession of the Two Lands."¹⁷ Hatshepsut made this message of the god Amon public at the festival of Opet where she, as current ruler after the death of her husband and in the youth of her nephew, took on the role the king would normally take.¹⁸ It was at this festival that she had the double crown of the king of Egypt placed on her head for everyone to see. There was no way to dispute her rights to the crown. The message came directly from the god Amon, and nobody could argue with divinity. It was a shrewd move on the part of Hatshepsut. Thutmose III could only sit back and watch this happen. He was the heir Pharaoh, chosen by Thutmose II, but Amon had spoken to Hatshepsut personally. From this time until Hatshepsut's death, he would have to share the title of Pharaoh with a woman! Hatshepsut most likely had her faithful supporters to thank for making this oracle happen.

In order to stay at the top she had to accumulate a powerful group of supporters, keep the military happy, and continually reassure these groups that she was the rightful ruler and the best man for the job. How did Hatshepsut gain the willing support of these groups? The answer is clearly her manipulative use of propaganda. She used various forms of propaganda over and over again to reach her various audi-

ences. This became an especially important weapon once Thutmose III launched a counter-propaganda war against Hatshepsut.

Although as Pharaoh Hatshepsut was considered divine, she had to continuously impress this fact upon the people since she was female, and a female Horus was a hard thing for them to grasp. Therefore, she began a huge propaganda campaign that can be seen through inscriptions on her various reliefs throughout the land. In the stone carvings, Hatshepsut used a blend of politics, mythology, and personal beliefs to convince people that her rightful position was Pharaoh.

For example, Hatshepsut mentioned her father often and with great adulation in her inscriptions. This could be partly because she recognized the huge role that he played in getting her into her position of high power, but mostly to place further emphasis on the idea that she is the female Horus to the preceding ruler's Osiris. Other pharaohs did not place as much attention on matters like this, but Hatshepsut's position was shaky due to the fact that she was a woman. Therefore, the written word was a way of drilling her legitimacy into people's heads and making them believe what was otherwise hard to fathom. Hatshepsut had a sarcophagus for Thutmose I placed next to hers to highlight the closeness of their relationship and the legitimacy of her as his successor. Included in her mortuary temple, Deir el-Bahri, are separate chapels for the cults of Thutmose I. All of these depictions of her father and herself, Hatshepsut believed, were important to her control over Egypt because they validated her position as a female king to a country that had never known such a thing before her. Another piece of propaganda that Hatshepsut relied heavily on was her origin through divine birth. The walls of Deir el-Bahri tell the story of how "the god Amun himself desired to create his living image on earth, to reveal his greatness and to carry out his plans. He disguised himself as Thutmose I, went one day to see the queen, and the result, in due course, was Hatshepsut. Amun did not mind that his image was female, so why should anyone else?"²⁰ At Karnak, Hatshepsut spoke of herself, claiming, "I am the Aten who created all being, who shaped the earth, who completed its creation."²⁰ The two previously mentioned pieces of propaganda may seem to contradict themselves. How could she have been born the child of Amun, chosen from birth, yet selected as heir to the throne by her father? This is easily solved. There are many things in Egyptian life and mythology that are contradictions. Egyptians had a unique way of ignoring contradiction or at least not seeing things as contradictory. Therefore, it was possible for Hatshepsut to make the claims that she was picked by both her heavenly father and her earthly father without anyone questioning otherwise.

Within her reliefs, it is evident that the masculine form which Hatshepsut took on as a child continued on into her adulthood. Words referring to Hatshepsut often appear in the masculine form. This is partly due to the fact there were no feminine titles for king. Due to this grammatical stumbling block, the feminine pronoun was often used before the mas-

culine word. An example would be, her majesty, the King. Barbara Mertz has an explanation for this in her book, *Red Land, Black Land*: "Hatshepsut is, of course, the great female usurper. Her violation of tradition lay not only in the fact that she ruled, but that she ruled as a king. Obviously the reigning monarch of Egypt had to be male; the titles, laudatory inscriptions, and ceremonies were all designed for men, and they were so deeply rooted in tradition and dogma that it was easier for woman to change her sex — ritually speaking — than change the titles."²¹ Beyond the fact that it was easier to change her sex than the language, the use of masculine titles probably had the effect of making people believe that she could perform the job of ruling a country just as well as any man. Basically, it served as yet another form of propaganda to convince people that she was meant to be their pharaoh.

Hatshepsut does not appear masculine in writing only. Mertz adds in another book, "In her assumption of the king's role. . . she cast off the trailing skirts of a woman and put on the kilt and crown of a king."²² From this quote, it is evident that Hatshepsut continued to dress like a man. She occasionally appears female in sculptures, but in important pictures where her role as Pharaoh needs to be emphasized, she appears with the braided beard that kings wear along with the typical Thutmosid face and profile. Once again, this was an effort to show that she was Pharaoh, even though she was a female. Hatshepsut may have also realized that she had already overstepped her bounds extensively and that preserving some of the tradition would be important to her stability, lest people would think that she was trying to change everything and attempt to overthrow her.

Without the support of her advisors and administrators, Hatshepsut would not have been able to achieve any success. The common people of Egypt were not a factor that Hatshepsut was too concerned with impressing: ". . . they were a negligible force, illiterate and unorganized."²³ Hatshepsut needed the help of the more powerful groups instead. These groups possibly included the priests, bureaucracy, military, and landed gentry. Although these Egyptians were not important to her reign, it most likely did not hurt Hatshepsut's popularity any that the background of her staff was so diverse; it even included a commoner, Senenmut, Hatshepsut's personal favorite. Hatshepsut had begun to develop personal friendships and relationships with these men shortly after she was declared Crown Prince of Egypt because she was then placed in a separate dwelling with a staff all her own. Evelyn Wells, the author of *Hatshepsut*, says, "A capacity for friendship was evidently one of Hatshepsut's most invaluable attributes. During these post-adolescent years she was developing a social-political following that could be depended upon to help defend her against potential enemies."²⁴ A large number of Hatshepsut's advisors were also her father's most trusted men. Ineni, Thutmose I's chief advisor and architect, had been faithful to the family for generations. Hapuseneb, another advisor who was close to Thutmose I, filled the role of vizier and high priest of Amun. Taken together, his top two positions played

a significant role in tying the civil bureaucracy and the priesthood together.²⁵ Hapuseneb, being in the temple around other priests, also could have been an asset to Hatshepsut because he had the opportunity to listen in and catch any treasonous efforts before they got very far. This was especially important since the festering Thutmose III was positioned in the priesthood and might try to use it to his advantage.²⁶

Hatshepsut had more help from the priesthood than just Hapuseneb. It is most likely that the priests were the persons in charge of maneuvering Amon to turn toward Hatshepsut in a nod of approval of her as Pharaoh. Why, however, would the priests want to help a female out in this manner since they could have just as easily made the statue of Amon turn toward Thutmose III? The priests, like many of the other advisors, probably came to the carefully thought out conclusion that they would make more personal gain with Hatshepsut on the throne. Hatshepsut was known to reward her administrators more than any other pharaoh in the past had done. She gave them many gifts and also gave them permission to engrave the words of praise she offered to them on their own graves.²⁷ Ineni writes, "Her majesty praised me, . . . she loved me, she recognized my worth at the court, she presented me with things, she magnified me, she filled my house with silver and gold, with all beautiful stuffs of the royal house."²⁸ Without permission, nobody would ever even consider doing such a thing. This was a chance for them to receive a little bit of personal fame.

Propaganda was even used as a method of earning the support of the priesthood. It was her personal belief that the whole reason Amon created her was to rebuild Egypt and restore the purity of the temples. She tells the story in her reliefs. "[She shall build] your chapels and sanctify [your] houses," Amon had prophesied to the gods concerning the child Hatshepsut; and the gods themselves had addressed [sic] the princess with the words "you shall refound it (the land), you shall repair what is in ruins in it, you shall make your chapels your monument. . . ." ²⁹ Later, after she had climbed to the top and proclaimed herself Pharaoh, she made the following declaration: "The Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land, roving hordes in the midst of them overturning what had been made, and they ruled without Re, and he acted not with divine command down to the time of My Majesty."³⁰ In other words, Hatshepsut claimed to be the first person to legitimately rule with the god Re since the Hyksos had been expelled almost a century before. How could the priests reject the authority of a god? Yet another building project taken on in the name of Amon to gain the favor of the priests was the raising of two giant obelisks during her Jubilee festival. Normally, this festival was celebrated thirty years into a pharaoh's reign, but Hatshepsut was not Egypt's traditional pharaoh. John Ray points out in his article in *History Today* that, "Since her position as Pharaoh was unorthodox, an appeal to fundamentalism was necessary to correct the balance."³¹ She was in constant need of some form of propaganda to keep her in the favor of the high classes. This is why she chose to have her Jubilee festival only fifteen years into her rule. Once again, Hatshepsut claimed that the obe-

lisks were in honor Amon, her heavenly father who made her. A few of Hatshepsut's many other architectural works include Deir el-Bahri, temples at Medinet Habu and the Second Cataract, and the eighth Pylon at Karnak. Each of these structures served a dual purpose. They all helped her gain the support of the priesthood because they were built for a god. Also, the stories on them and the fact that they were built by Amon's will served to further impress upon the people that Hatshepsut was divinely destined to rule Egypt.

Although Hatshepsut had the support of her advisors and the religious officials, she still would have been nowhere without the support of the army. After all, how many times in history has a powerful general risen up and overthrown the government of a country? Thutmose I had been a great commander of the army and had made numerous conquests for Egypt. With the death of Thutmose I, to the advantage of Hatshepsut, the army was ready to rest and support the Pharaoh's program of internal efforts, and take on civil service duties.³² Also, Hatshepsut used this time to improve the weapons and chariots that the army had been using.³³ Granted, these were meant to preserve the peace, but the army was grateful to her for these improvements to their field.

Now that the question of how to gain the army's support was settled, Hatshepsut had to determine the best way to use the army to her advantage. She was intelligent enough to realize that if she made any attempts to conquer other lands and failed, the fact that she was female would be a good excuse for the army to blame the defeat on her. Not merely for that reason did she feel it was smart to avoid war, but she also knew that one victory would spark the army to want more victories and eventually a defeat would fall on her. Therefore, it was to her advantage to tie up the remaining business that her father had begun in Syria and Nubia and then to maintain peace by only taking defensive measures. Also, Thutmose III was very military minded, and she knew this very well. Had there been war, she would have had to have him trained in the military as all pharaohs' sons traditionally were. If he were to then rise in status, the army might have left her to support him, bringing her reign to an end.³⁴ Since she opted not to be militarily active, Hatshepsut had to find other ways to keep the army occupied. She did this through her many expeditions to foreign lands and her massive building projects throughout Egypt. These other ventures left very little time for military activity.

Like many of the other things Hatshepsut sponsored during her reign, the expedition to Punt served several purposes. It has already been discussed that this was one of the ways of keeping the army occupied during her rule. Another reason once again goes back to her various forms of propaganda. This time, however, she was fighting a propaganda war against Thutmose III who was finally old enough to take his rightful place on the throne and was gaining supporters to help him out.³⁵ Punt had been visited previously by Egyptians but not in Hatshepsut's lifetime. Embarking on this adventure boosted her reputation by once again opening up an old relationship with the rich, fairy-tale land of Punt and by making Hatshepsut the provider of Punt's exotic trea-

tures to Egypt. Some of the exotic things that were brought back from the expedition were monkeys, gold, ebony, myrrh, and most importantly, incense trees, which were planted at Deir el-Bahri for Amon.

These and other foreign contacts also helped to bolster the economy. A good economy is always helpful to a leader who wants to stay in power. Wilson tells us that, "Through the time of Hat-shepsut, the foreign contacts had been exploited through commercial and cultural penetration, to the material advantage of both parties."³⁶ This indicates that both sides of the trade benefited economically. When both sides benefit economically, good foreign relations are often the result, which in turn lead to continued economic success and continuing power for the monarch. "These associations took definite shape in the embassy of Keftiu (Cretans) to Egypt in the reign of Hatshepsut . . . [sic] What they brought with them the Egyptians naturally called 'tribute,' but what was actually happening was the starting of trade relations through diplomatic channels in the manner characteristic of Hatshepsut's reign."³⁷ Hatshepsut benefited by referring to the products brought to Egypt as tribute because the use of the word tribute made Egypt appear to be superior than the country from which the products originated. Once again, Egypt could see for itself that Hatshepsut was an effective ruler and Egypt benefited by having her on the throne ruling over the land. Detailed scenes of these trips to Punt appear in Hatshepsut's inscriptions where scenes of military success would normally appear. These serve as yet another piece of propaganda touting the glories of Hatshepsut for all to see and realize that she is destined to revive Egypt.

Lastly, it is important to look at some of the ways in which Hatshepsut attempted to appease Thutmose III so that he would not feel the need to rise up against her. Hatshepsut married her youngest daughter, Meryt-ra Hatshepsut to Thutmose III. By taking such an action, Hatshepsut legitimized Thutmose III's right to the throne since being the son of a secondary wife, it was necessary that he marry someone fully royal in order to attain the throne. This action ensured Thutmose III that Hatshepsut had no intentions of preventing him from ever being Pharaoh, and that one day he would indeed have power over all of Egypt. Hatshepsut's thought may have been that this arrangement would make him more willing to wait out her life before gaining control instead of over throwing her. Hatshepsut also let Thutmose III maintain an outward appearance as king by letting the ordinary people refer to him as King and to her as Queen. She even had him pictured in important reliefs with herself, although he appears much smaller and is positioned behind her. This action also was to make Thutmose III feel that he was being treated fairly; after all, he did receive some recognition. As a member of the priesthood, Thutmose III was elevated quickly in the hierarchy of the temple. He was given the seemingly important job of burning incense before Amon in celebration of the return of the Punt expedition.³⁸ It is possible Thutmose III thought that by doing this, he would earn the gods' favor as well as his aunt's and he might eventually gain more power, even though Hatshepsut really had no intention of relin-

quishing power until after her death. Finally, Hatshepsut had chapels for Thutmose III's cults in her mortuary temple. All of these were ways that Hatshepsut tried to make Thutmose III feel important so that he would not try to stage a counter-coup against her government.

Hatshepsut died (it is not known how, but supposedly of natural causes) after ruling over Egypt for approximately twenty-two years. In that time, "She had rebalanced its economy, expanded its trade, stabilized its government, and developed architecture and art. She had built the Deir el-Bahari temple and raised the two obelisks at Karnak. . . the Punt expedition showed her to be a hard-headed business woman as well. . ."³⁹ All of these factors stemmed from Hatshepsut's attempts to legitimize her rule. With Hatshepsut's death, her party fell and Egypt entered into its final era, a time of imperialism. Never before Hatshepsut and never since has a female gone so far as to declare herself Pharaoh of Egypt and be so successful at it. It took the work of her father to prepare her for the position, her administrators to help her along the way, the army to support her internal efforts, and her own will and determination to make Egypt as glorious as it used to be. Her various reliefs, which served as her tool of propaganda, also serve to tell modern historians the story of this magnificent woman-king. Maybe, as she herself believed, it was divine fate that she should be Hatshepsut, the female pharaoh and rebuilders of Egypt.

Endnotes

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- 3 T. G. H. James, *Pharaoh's People: Scenes From Life in Imperial Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 31.
- 4 John A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 174.
- 5 Wells, 80.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 78-9.
- 7 James Baikie, *The Story of the Pharaohs* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), 77.
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- 12 Wells, 142.
- 13 John Ray, "Hatshepsut, the Female Pharaoh," *History Today* (May 1994): 25. *History Today*, May 1994.
- 14 Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 74.
- 15 Wells, 153.
- 16 Redford, 76.
- 17 Barbara Mertz, *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs: The Story of Egyptology* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1964), 167.
- 18 Hermann Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography*; trans. Ian F. D. Morrow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 261.
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- 25 Wilson, 175.
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There is far less evidence remaining from Hatshepsut's reign as Pharaoh than from the reigns of other Eighteenth dynasty pharaohs. After Hatshepsut's death, Thutmose III destroyed many of her inscriptions or covered over them with the names of himself, his father, or his grandfather. Thus, for a long time there were disputes as to the Thutmosid succession. Over time, pieces of Hatshepsut's inscriptions were pieced back together by modern Egyptologists and the coverings of her works were worn away to reveal new information concerning the female pharaoh. It became clear that her name had been carved over and replaced with the names of Thutmose I, II, and III. Once these changes were revealed, the currently-accepted Thutmosid succession (the one used in this paper) became clear. It is not only through these revelations that the following sources derive their notions concerning Hatshepsut's reign, but also through many untouched sources. The obelisks at Karnak reveal many stories about Hatshepsut's reign, as do the hidden areas of her temple at Deir el-Bahari where Senenmut left his mark for the Queen. There was also one of Hatshepsut's officials, Ineni, who was so respected by Thutmose III that his inscriptions were not destroyed like those of most of Hatshepsut's supporters. In fact, it is Ineni's biography that provides the most powerful, presently accepted evidence for the Thutmosid succession. All of these findings have allowed the authors of the sources used in this paper to piece together the highlights and details of Hatshepsut's rule. It is hard to fathom that all of this information was carved into stone, but one must remember that this was the pharaohs' primary way of preserving their names and their stories for posterity.

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James Burke: A Historian?

By Kevin Lydy

The traffic lights turn red, the traffic slows, and you cross the road. In doing so you express a modern confidence in the way society functions that was generated in Western Europe over eight hundred years ago.¹

If you have never heard of him, you have most likely seen him popping in and out of periods in history and explaining how certain inventions came to be. If you have never read any of his books, you have most likely watched him on television linking inventions from different time periods together. James Burke, author, producer, and director is well-known one way or another. His works extensively focus on science and technology, particularly on the development and the connectedness of inventions. This scientific focus gives probable cause to associate Burke with scientists and scientific inquiry. On the contrary, James Burke is very much a historian: his television series and books trace the development of inventions throughout history, linking up seemingly unrelated events, people, and even geographic regions into one cohesive history.

In order to classify Burke as a historian, one must define what it is that a historian actually does. Bernard Bailyn describes the historian as "someone who develops, in one way or another, what [Carl] Becker called the 'artificial extension of social memory'—by recovering, through the evidences of the past, aspects of what happened."² The "artificial extension of social memory" refers to the fact that, due to the vast amount of time that has elapsed in the history of the world, there are many events that have been lost. Thus, the historian acts as society's memory in order to remember what has occurred. Hayden White shares the same belief that "historians seek to refamiliarize us with events which have been forgotten through either accident, neglect, or repression."³ In his books and television series, Burke attempts to illustrate how modern day technology (e.g., television, computers, telephones) came about. Contemporary society takes what it has for granted, oblivious to the origins of modern conveniences. Thus, as a historian, Burke helps society remember how inventions of the past developed into modern conveniences.

James Burke was born in 1936 in the small town of Londonderry, Northern Ireland. He later emigrated to England where he received his Master of the Arts in English from Oxford University. With his degree, Burke decided to travel to Italy where he would teach English at the Universi-

ties of Bologna and Urbino. In addition, he directed the English Schools at both Rome and Bologna. While in Italy, he assisted in the creation of a major Italian-English dictionary (Zanichelli) and edited sections of the Weidenfield and Nicholson Encyclopedia of World Art.⁴

With the connections Burke made in Italy, he landed a job on Italian radio where he served as interpreter to the B'Nai Brith representative at Vatican II. It wasn't until 1965 that Burke finally became exposed to television. He served as a reporter for an expansion station of Britain located in Rome. It was during this time that Burke first "became fascinated with television and its potential to entertain and inform."⁵ In 1966 Burke moved back to England and began his long career with the British Broadcasting Company. During the span of about twelve years, he worked on documentaries, co-hosted a weekly science series, covered the Apollo moon flights, and from 1972-1976 he "produced, wrote, and presented the weekly prime-time one-man science show, 'The Burke Special,' for which he received the Royal Television Society's silver and gold medals for excellence in television."⁶

His experience in broadcasting soon led to Burke's most renowned piece of work: "Connections." The project began as a television series explaining the development of social and technological change, and has evolved into myriad television specials and companion books. The "Connections" series produced Burke's first major book, also called *Connections*; the book serves as a companion to the series and covers the same major topics it. While Burke has written several other wide-ranging books and produced many different television series, with topics that range from the examination of the brain and human perception to the Greenhouse Effect, it is his books and television series covering the development and connectedness of technology that have given him prestige. Since the first installment of "Connections," Burke has written and produced the 20-part series "Connections 2" which resulted in a companion book similar to *Connections* called *The Pinball Effect*. For the last few years Burke has been writing a monthly column for *Scientific American* entitled (what else?) "Connections" and is currently producing the third installment to the "Connections" television series, "Connections 3." The entire "Connections" compilation covers technological development, and as the title insists, attempts to link inventions across the globe and across time. Burke's prestige has landed him on "the U.S. lecture circuit, keynoting for organizations such as IBM, NASA,

MIT, VISA, the United Nations and the European Parliament.⁷

One can easily formulate an argument against the notion of James Burke as a historian by taking a simple trip to the library. Several historical authorities do not even list Burke nor do they contain any information about him. First and foremost, the American Historical Association's *Guide to Historical Literature* contains no reference to James Burke or his "Connections" series. Nor does the American Historical Association's *Historical Review* contain a review of Burke's book *Connections*, a book B. C. Hacker believes "belongs in every general collection."⁸ In addition, Burke is left out of the *Humanities Index and Historiography: An Annotated Bibliography of Journal Articles, Books, and Dissertations*, which leads one to question whether James Burke truly is a historian.

Burke's style of writing and presenting history in the "Connections" series has received mixed reviews among scholars. He attempts to link up inventions with other inventions and connect times and places in history, refuting the notion of labeling history according to ages, such as the Dark Ages or the Middle Ages. "To give any period a specific label is to ignore the overlapping nature of the passage of events."⁹ Burke's attempt to link almost everything together, this overlapping nature, could be seen as his first indiscretion. As David Breeden notes, "one must sometimes surrender all skepticism to accept Dr. Burke's gambols [sic] across three centuries as if they were a day. Across continents and languages as if all the world were a neighborhood."¹⁰ Thus, the way Burke writes and presents history forces the public to assume these changes happened so simply and are easily connected. For example, Burke claims that "it was the automated organ... that was to solve a major problem for the French silk industry in Lyons, set up by Louis XI in 1466."¹¹ The reader is led to believe that the automated organ directly solved a problem for the French. In yet another example, taken from his television series, Burke explains how one can link up the invention of the vacuum pump to the discovery of air, to the discovery of Oxygen, and the functioning of the lungs to modern respiratory medicine. The vacuum pump could also lead to the steam engine and then the locomotive. Even more, the vacuum pump could also be linked up with the investigation of gases, to the experimentation of electric sparks sent through gases, to the cathode ray tube, and to RADAR.¹² One can easily see Breeden's critique--how Burke's connections are almost too trivialized.

Ed Regis criticizes Burke's facts more than his ability to draw connections. Reviewing *The Pinball Effect*, Regis uses the following quotation as an example of Burke's blindness to facts:

It was through the use of this technique that in 1952 Francis Crick and James Watson were able to confirm the three-dimensional structure of a molecule of protein. They saw that it took the form of a double helix, which agreed with what they had already deduced chemically. Their X-ray diffraction pattern confirmed the existence of the discovery of DNA, science is already well on the way to the Biol-

ogical Revolution.¹³

Regis points to several mistakes in this passage:

(1) DNA is not a "molecule of protein" but a molecule of nucleic acid. (2) Mr. Watson and Sir Francis Crick did not discover DNA, nor did they confirm its existence. Nucleic acids were isolated in 1869 by the biochemist Johann Friedrich Miescher; in 1929 Phoebus Levene separated RNA from DNA; in 1944 Oswald Avery showed that DNA was the agent of heredity. (3) The Biological Revolution (Mr. Burke means genetic engineering) is due not to the discovery of DNA but to the use of restriction enzymes and ligases (molecular scissors and glue), techniques that date from the early 1970s.¹⁴

In short, Regis feels that "Mr. Burke either doesn't understand the scientific point at issue or else is content to describe matters so loosely and imprecisely that the truth is lost."¹⁵ Even though Fritz Stern suggests that "in explaining the past there are no hard and fast rules,"¹⁶ one must admit that presenting the facts truthfully has to be a major rule for a historian.

Burke depicts a generally positive picture of history. The stories he presents look at all the successful inventions that paved the way to modern conveniences. A couple of reviewers feel Burke has left out the negative pictures of history from his works. Donald E. Marlowe suggests that "more attention to development failures would be a useful anecdote"¹⁷ to *Connections*. Indeed, as Deborah Fitzgerald points out, in Burke's *The Day the Universe Changed*, "there are few ambiguities, false starts, errors of omission, or losers to progress."¹⁸

Despite all of the negative reviews, Burke has generated several positive reviews concerning his "Connections" series. B.C. Hacker's review disagrees with David Breeden's critique of Burke's ability to connect events and locations. He says "the great merit of [*Connections*] is that it presents the history of technology as a continuing and interconnected process."¹⁹ Indeed, although Breeden criticizes Burke on that particular issue, he insists that "the trip [Burke] invites us to take is worth it."²⁰ An overwhelmingly positive review of *Connections* claims that "history books will soon be rewritten to include these patterns of interconnecting events, inventions and discoveries leading to technological change."²¹

These positive reviews, juxtaposed with the negative reviews, generate two totally opposite opinions of James Burke. On one hand, there are those who feel Burke is unsuccessful in his quest to link up events and inventions across time and across the globe. On the other hand, there are those who believe Burke is highly successful. However, what the negative reviews fail to realize is Burke's attempt to create a kind of history that has been debated for decades: a world history.

Presenting a world history, one that includes every corner of the earth, is no simple task. Connecting two entirely distinct societies from different locations on the globe is extremely difficult. In fact, some historians find it nearly impossible to create such a vast, sweeping history of the world. On

the issue of creating a truly comprehensive history, Bernard Bailyn insists that "I sometimes conclude that it isn't possible. Yet, I like to think that it is."²² James Burke, connecting different times and places, succeeds in creating what Bailyn thinks is possible.

As early as the 1830s historians saw a need for a world or universal history. The great historian Leopold von Ranke believed "the historian must keep his eye on the universal aspect of things"²³ and that historians "must work in two directions: the investigation of the effective factors in historical events and the understanding of their universal relationship."²⁴ This debate has become one of modern historiography's central arguments: can a historian place events into a "universal aspect?" Ernst Breisach, in *Historiography, Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, says that there have been three possible approaches to creating a world history.

In the absence of a generally accepted conceptual scheme which could provide the framework of unity, those attempting to write world history have so far used three approaches: the sequence of cultures model, in which all cultures are subject to the same developmental pattern; the progress models now on a global scale; and the world system model.²⁵

Of the three approaches, the progress model comes closest to the thinking of Burke. The progress model focuses on how industrialization will eventually occur in all societies, giving the world unity. Burke focuses on technology—how one invention led to the invention of another, creating a network of connections that can be traced throughout history. Some may argue that this "unity" resulted from the domination of the West over other cultures and societies, and even that Burke, too, incorporates this "Western dominance" into his works. However, he credits many of the inventions the West developed to non-western lands such as the Islamic East and Southern Asia. In just one example Burke shows that "the major inventions attributed with certainty to the Chinese include paper, silk weaving, clockwork, astronomical instruments, the horizontal loom, the spinning wheel, and the water wheel. These are inventions fundamental in the history of man."²⁶ Thus Burke's web of technology connecting the globe is not necessarily Western dominated.

World history attempts to connect several unrelated events into a comprehensive history. As Hayden White contends, "histories, then, are not only about events but also about the possible sets of relationships that those events can be demonstrated to figure."²⁷ History is often seen as separate spheres of events, each relevant only to the immediate times surrounding them. What world history seeks to accomplish is to shatter those spheres and create a framework that connects periods and places in history. Bernard Bailyn notes: Perceptive historians, immersed in their materials, note gaps in our knowledge that should be filled and anomalies in the data—inconsistencies and discrepancies—which impel them or others to find explanations. In the documentation and in the existing literature they see connections, parallels, and implications that suggest new patterns, whole worlds, large or small, that have not been seen before.²⁸ Indeed, Burke

creates connections that no one had ever thought of before when he mentions how "the making of breakfast at the same time by millions of people across the country is as much a part of the production line as is work at the conveyer belt an hour later."²⁹

The kind of world history that Burke demonstrates is similar to what William H. McNeill practices. Burke illustrates how the invention of one device can affect the way an individual in a different part of the world approaches a problem. Likewise, McNeill remarks:

The ultimate spring of human variability, of course, lies in our capacity to invent new ideas, practices, and institutions. But invention also flourished best when contacts with strangers compelled different ways of thinking and doing to compete for attention, so that choice became conscious, and deliberate tinkering with older practices became easy, and indeed often inevitable. . . . Approaching the conceptualization of world history in this fashion, separate civilizations [become] the main actors in world history.³⁰

McNeill's comment reverts back to Burke's non-West dominated world history. Each society or "civilization" contributes to the creation of world history though the means of technology and invention.

World history is often included as a subject in many high school and university curricula. To be sure, history is not the most popular of subjects as the numerical breakdown of majors of any college will show. Combine those numbers with the amount of information that a solid world history course contains and one will not find many students in line to sign up for the course. These students need some way to filter the information into one enormous outline or, as James Burke does, connect the information in a way that students can see links between various times and places. Indeed, Bailyn utilizes the latter style when he tries to "link America and the rest of the world, because that connection also helps explain. . . how we got where we are. And that, in the largest sense, is what history should do for the general reader and for the beginning student."³¹ Deborah Fitzgerald, who criticized Burke's lack of failed inventions, also sees the potential in Burke's works to educate:

Burke's book would be a useful and entertaining introduction to the field for beginning students or interested laymen. The illustrations are an exceptional collection of paintings, broadsides, mechanical drawings, advertisements, cartoons, and photographs, and Burke's writing style is lively.³²

Aside from Burke's "entertaining" value, the way he presents information proves conducive to student learning. The virtual network of connections eases the burden of committing to memory the many "unrelated" events and facts of history. Mary C. Burke (no relation) sees "Burke's design for

perceiving history as a process of connections culminating in a single object can be used in the classroom to enlighten students to the complexity and chance of history. It can also help them to understand the idea that the present is a composite of the past.³³ Perhaps the most convincing evidence of Burke's educating potential is the fact that some 350 colleges and universities utilize his works in their curriculum,³⁴ one of which happens to be Wittenberg University.

Fitzgerald's comment about Burke's entertainment value conjures yet another topic concerning history—public disinterest. History has already happened; it is over. In today's on-the-go world it seems as though eyes are on the future, especially with the new millennium rapidly approaching. The topics of history do not seem very relevant to this type of setting. In fact, since the reality of today appears so radically different from the realities of the past, "the broad public is simply bored."³⁵ Today's "rush rush rush" society is not interested in the slow motion of history. This can easily be seen in the number of best-selling, multi-volume histories that have hit bookstore shelves in the last couple decades. "Hence the historian, in order to perform the task of his profession, has to compose the narrative of events in such a way that the readers emotions will be stirred by it as if by reality itself."³⁶ James Burke's style of history is able to "stir emotions" in such a way that history looks more and more like the present. In a recent article in *Scientific American*, Burke mentions the advocacy of contraception, a woman who publicly spoke out for the utilization of contraception, and how those who did so were deemed "obscene and likely to pervert morals,"³⁷ all of which took place in the 1830s! Even in many of today's societies, publicly condoning contraception is a rather controversial subject; one that brings out many emotions in people. Burke is able to tap into the emotions of the reader as well as to illustrate the link between the present and the past.

The readdressing of Ed Regis' critique of Burke's facts, in which he claims several of Burke's claims to be false, conjures up one final issue concerning the validity of classifying Burke as a historian. In order to view Burke as a historian, one needs to realize the existence of various levels of historians. A historian is not born; all historians must progress and learn the ways of historiography in order to pursue that profession. There must be a natural curiosity about history which propels the search for more complete knowledge.

The beginning historian is what Carl Becker describes in *Everyman His Own Historian*. This beginner has a lack of excess knowledge, but possesses an intrinsic need or want to do something about it. The beginning historian starts by examining documents in order to learn essential but unknown facts.³⁸ For example, few Americans have heard the story of George Washington chopping down a cherry tree and not believed it to be, at some point in their lifetime, historical fact. The beginning historian takes that information and wonders whether it holds true when juxtaposed with other sources. Success comes when the beginning historian finds the information either true or false.

The novice historian takes this process of discovering his-

torical information one step further. Rather than revel in the success of disclosing the truth, this historian delves into the topic further. The novice historian looks at why events occurred. The facts are not enough; thus there is a desire to discover the motivations and reasoning behind the actions and decisions of the past.

Finally, the professional historian reaches the pinnacle of historiography. This type of historian performs the most extensive work of all three. While the beginner and the novice seek out facts for the reassurance of the information at hand and the reasons that explain the facts, the professional historian seeks to inform others on their findings. The title of "professional" should not be misleading for, as Bailyn suggests, "that does not confine historians to people who teach in colleges and universities. One of the interesting things about the practice of history these days is that history, while largely the domain of academicians, is not entirely so."³⁹ Professional historians publish their findings and even generate the kind of information that beginning historians become interested in. Henceforth, the process begins all over again.

James Burke lends a hand to all three levels of historians. His style of presenting history produces the kind of information that causes a beginning historian to inquire. Commenting on Burke's presentation of history, Deborah Fitzgerald exclaims how she "would rather have students who are entirely ignorant than ones who believe that people in the Middle Ages were morons."⁴⁰ However, a beginning historian must have an intrinsic desire to uncover truths, something that a teacher can only hope to create within a student. Burke is not preaching dogma in his writings; he merely presents information, in a rather entertaining manner, so that a beginner might become interested and pursue that curiosity a bit further. Doris Kerns Goodwin, at a colloquium at Wittenberg University, commented on the benefits of this kind of history. She believes if historical material is presented in such a way that it gets people interested, then it has done a good job.⁴¹ The entire world seems interested in what Burke is doing, as his "Connections" series has been aired in more than fifty countries.

Burke addresses the needs of the novice historian in much the same way as he does the beginning historian. For example, Burke claims that "without the ability to cut metal very precisely the Industrial Revolution could not have taken place."⁴² The novice historian takes this information and seeks out the reasons why this would be.

For the professional historian James Burke provides the greatest assistance. Burke generates history which causes professional historians to revisit their field. Burke keeps them on their toes, constantly creating history, forcing them to check and double-check the information presented. In a sense, he compels historians to keep on learning. To be sure, when Burke narrates a history concerning the Revolutionary War and connects it with sixteenth-century Italy,⁴³ a professional historian might wonder where such a connection exists and hence begins to look for it.

Creating a genuine world history is not easy. Linking different societies and cultures as well as different times to-

gether is a nearly impossible task. In order to do so, one must generate a common denominator: something which the entire world shares. This denominator is the key to connecting those societies and those times together on a giant web of events. James Burke finds a common denominator in the inventions of mankind. He creates one cohesive history while tracing the development of inventions, linking up seemingly unrelated events, people, and geographic regions. His connections allow members of present-day society to remember where they have originated. Revisiting Bernard Bailyn's definition of a historian as "someone who develops, in one way or another, what [Carl] Becker called the 'artificial extension of social memory'-by recovering, through the evidences of the past, aspects of what happened,"⁴⁴ one finds James Burke personifying that description.

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- 30 William H. McNeill, "The Changing Shape of World History," *History and Theory* 34:2 (May 1995): 15. 31Bailyn, 17.
- 32 Fitzgerald, 293.
- 33 Mary C. Burke, "The Object, the Past, and the Social Studies Classroom," *Social Studies* 74 (Spring 1983): 193.
- 34 Taken from <http://members.aol.com/plaszlo/burke/bio/bio2.htm>
- 35 Breisach, 342.
- 36 Wilhelm von Humboldt, "On the Historians Task," *History and Theory* 6:1 (1967): 60.
- 37 James Burke, "Connections," *Scientific American*, January 1997, 117.
- 38 Carl Becker, *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1935).
- 39 Bailyn, 8.
- 40 Fitzgerald, 293.
- 41 Doris Kerns Goodwin, interview by author, 5 November 1997, Springfield, OH, Wittenberg University, Springfield, OH.
- 42 Burke, *Connections*, 145.
- 43 Burke, "Connections," *Scientific American*, March 1997, 130.
- 44 Bailyn, 8.

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The Woman on the Wall

By Susan Harf
1998 Hartje Award Winner

On a wall of a Marietta, Ohio, bar there is a mural advertising the bar's own microbrew, the Gilt Lily. The brew is named after the deceased Miss Lillian E. Cisler, a native of the town. However, Miss Cisler never went to the riverside establishment; it opened after her death. Furthermore, she had no love for alcohol, locally brewed or not. What she did love was Christian theology and the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. It was this love that fueled the Marietta Bach Society, which she presided over for virtually her entire adult life.

The Bach Society was started by Miss Cisler's father, Mr. Thomas Cisler, in 1923.¹ They met in the Cisler home on last Sunday of each month and performed, for themselves, one of Bach's works related to that point in the ecclesiastical year. Then, for several hot afternoon hours on 30 July, the anniversary of Bach's death, the society held their annual Bach Festival. They journeyed through the entire church year via Bach's music.² When Thomas Cisler died in 1950, Miss Lillian Cisler filled his role as the society's chief coordinator and continued its meetings in the Cisler home.³ The structure of the society remained true to its original purpose—the enjoyment of the participants as members of a music-reading society; not a performance group. It was based on the Philadelphia Bach Society, which had no conductor. Because of this, all members had a say in what the society did, although Miss Cisler possessed an unspoken executive power.⁴

When Miss Cisler died in February 1993, The Marietta Bach Society had approximately twenty-five members.⁵ The society was open to anyone who enjoyed Bach's music. Sometimes, Miss Cisler sought out people she thought should be members, even though they did not. Despite their initial reluctance, once involved, most of Miss Cisler's recruits remained in the society. Robert Hill, a retired History Professor at Marietta College, was one of Miss Cisler's recruits. He was acquainted with Miss Cisler because they both sang in the local Messiah Chorus at Christmas. Miss Cisler felt that Dr. Hill should sing with the Bach Society and "kept on [him]" until he agreed to attend a meeting. Joining the Bach society was "the best thing that ever happened to [him]" and he only once missed the Annual July Festival since he first met with the society in the late 1960s.⁶

Barbara Beittel also became a member of the Bach society out of Miss Cisler's initiative. When Beittel and her husband moved to Marietta in 1973, Miss Cisler found out about her background as a pianist and music professor and asked her to join the society. Beittel first went "out of curiosity," but

then continued attending, singing for a while, and then as the piano accompanist.⁷ Miss Cisler chose Beittel to perpetuate to Bach Society when she herself was no longer able to do it. When Miss Cisler moved into the nursing home directly behind her house, she insisted that the Bach Society continue to meet in her home. The Bach festival was also held there. Miss Cisler's physical absence, however, did not prevent her presence; Beittel coordinated the 1991 and 1992 Festivals with Miss Cisler. The society played and sang the same pattern of musical selections that it had for the past fifty years: the reading of the program, a "call to order" by a brass choir, organ music, choral music, organ music again, then the brass choir again, and finally, a closing hymn.⁸

The brass choir necessitated, of course, brass players. Miss Cisler enlisted members of the High School Band. One of those students, Bill Thompson, Jr., described his involvement by saying that "you were involved [with the annual Festival] if you played in the High School band and Lillian had a way to get to you."⁹ When the students would rehearse, they had to play each piece in its entirety; if a song had four verses, they played all four, even though the music was the same for each. Yet Thompson must not have minded having been "got to" because he participated for three years, as did many of the students.¹⁰

The Bach Society's annual Festival "was kind of like the Addams Family; it was kind of an adventure."¹¹ With the society meeting in Miss Cisler's turreted house that stood alone up on the hill and Miss Cisler always dressed in black,¹² that description seems just. However, this easily remembered strangeness nor Miss Cisler's eccentricity should not overshadow her devotion to Bach. No one can say for sure why Miss Cisler ordered special copies of Bach's music from Germany when she could not afford it. It may be a little easier to understand why she would call renowned theologian, missionary, and Bach expert, Albert Schweitzer, in Africa, when she could not pay the phone bill, due to of Schweitzer's knowledge and similar beliefs.¹³ Yet, the music and knowledge that Miss Cisler gathered were a great contribution to the Marietta Bach Society.

Following Miss Cisler's death, most of her music collection went to Marietta College. The Bach Society lingered on for another year, but no one single member was able to devote the time and space that Miss Cisler had.¹⁴ Miss Cisler nurtured something very strong in a section of Marietta society. Beittel and other members hope to revive the Bach Soci-

ety in the near future. Hopefully, now several years after her death, natives of and visitors to Marietta will remember Miss Lillian Cisler for what she loved, rather than what she abhorred.

Endnotes

Authors note: The Gilt Lily and the related mural existed as I have described when I wrote this essay. After I researched for and wrote this, the Marietta Brewing Company announced that they would be discontinuing the Gilt Lily and replacing it with a more appropriate, non-alcoholic drink.

- 1 Roger Kalter, "Bach Comes Alive In Marietta," *The Marietta Times*, 6 August 1981, 12.
- 2 Barbara Beittel of Marietta, Ohio, interview by author, 27 January 1998, tape recording.
- 3 Tom Hrach and Connie Cartmell, "Cisler's Love of Music Remembered," *The Marietta Times*, 6 February 1993, A3.
- 4 Barbara Beittel of Marietta, Ohio, interview by author, 27 January 1998, tape recording.
- 5 Tom Hrach and Connie Cartmell, "Cisler's Love of Music Remembered."
- 6 Dr. Robert Hill of Marietta, Ohio, interview by author, 27 January 1998, tape recording.
- 7 Barbara Beittel of Marietta, Ohio, interview by author, 27 January 1998, tape recording.
- 8 *ibid.*
- 9 William Thompson Jr., interview by author, 27 January 1998, tape recording.
- 10 *ibid.*, and Barbara Beittel interview.
- 11 Barbara Beittel interview.
- 12 The mostly likely reason Miss Cisler always dressed in black is an economic one. Both Beittel and Thompson recall Miss Cisler going to the dry cleaners and exchanging the dress she was wearing for the newly cleaned one, the only other one she owned. After Thomas Cisler died, Miss Lillian Cisler had a limited stipend. However, the choice of black is more obscure. Beittel's understanding is that Miss Cisler always wore black to mourn her father's death. Hill and Thompson recall the always present black, but were never aware of a specific reason for it.
- 13 Barbara Beittel interview and Robert Hill interview.
- 14 Barbara Beittel interview.

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- "Program of Music by J. S. Bach, 1685-1750" from the private collection of Barbara Beittel.
- Apparently written by Miss Lillian Cisler between 1989 and 1992.
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Beginnings

By Kevin Lydy

The woman in youth cannot get the best training for domestic, social, or professional activities through the practice of these activities alone, or with the addition merely of academic or cultural studies, largely sedentary in nature. Wholesome play, vigorous group games of suitable types give a vital part of the best preparation for the more serious work of later life.¹

In 1891, Dr. James Naismith developed the game of basketball as an alternative to existing sports such as lacrosse, football, and baseball. The new game came about as the Springfield, Massachusetts YMCA addressed a "need for a vigorous activity . . .

that could be played indoors during the winter months."² Though originally invented to enhance the physical skills of men, basketball soon seemed an effective opportunity for women as well. As early as 1892, just months after men began playing, several female teachers inquired about the suitability of the new game to women who had

been restricted to less "physical" activities such as cycling, badminton, and tennis. Optimistic about the idea, Dr. Naismith assisted such women as Clara Baer and Senda Berenson in developing a women's basketball program, with rules "suitable" to women's abilities.³ The rules established in the 1890s, which endured into the 1930s, created a sport which vaguely resembled today's game: there were two baskets, a ball, and a court. The court was divided into three sections, not two, and teams positioning two players in each section.⁴ With players restricted to their sections, teams relied more on effective passing than on skillful dribbling of the ball to ensure victory. Women first began playing basketball in colleges and universities all over America; corporations and

businesses also provided women with the opportunity to play the game by way of leagues or tournaments. The game did not filter into America's high schools until the 1920s with the creation of the Midwest Federation of State High School Athletic Associations. It was in this way that Indiana, as one of five states involved, began its long tradition of basketball heritage.⁵

Ft. Wayne, Indiana's options for public gatherings included the occasional traveling circus, the popular Fort Wayne Speedway or the occasional rifle competition, all crowd-pleasing summer attractions.⁶ Once the winter months began, however, the options became scarce. In addition, with no

professional athletic organizations, Fort Wayne relied upon high school athletics for social recreation.⁷ Constructed amid Indiana cornfields and narrow country roads, Arcola High School emerged in 1921 in the small town of Arcola, ten miles northwest of Fort Wayne. The school's first basketball season began in November, 1922, with both the women and the men

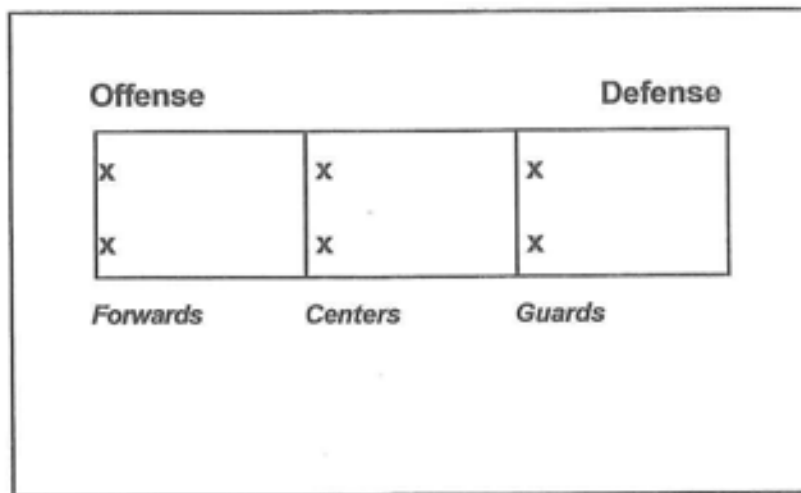


Diagram 1: Layout of the positions for women's basketball circa 1920s. Players from one team are represented by "X's." Players are not permitted to cross over into other players' sections.

playing other high schools in the Ft. Wayne area.⁸ Known as the Arcola Greyhounds, the teams enjoyed relative success, but it was not until the 1930-1931 season that the women's team experienced noteworthy achievement. Coached by Dwight "Pete" Byerly, the lady Greyhounds began their season in October with twelve women on the team. Of the team's six starters, captain Dorothy Corbat had the most experience, playing side-center her freshman and sophomore years until moving to forward her junior and senior years. Joining her in the other forward position was Dorothy Hilger. These girls were the only team members who could score as all other players had to remain in their sections, away from the scoring basket. Eleanor Holloper and Helen

Vaughn filled the jumping-center and side-center positions, respectively. Eleanor's ability to get the tip-off and Helen's penchant for breaking up the opposing team's pass work allowed the Greyhounds to jump ahead early in a game. Velda Bauman and Edna Butler served as the Greyhounds' defensive duo. As guards, their speed and hard work made it

ARCOLA GREYHOUNDS SCHEDULE 1930-1931

October	31st	Jefferson City - <i>Lost</i>
November	7	Hoagland - <i>Won</i>
	14	Coesse - <i>Won</i>
	21	Huntertown - <i>Lost</i>
	28	Lafayette Center - <i>Won</i>
December	5	New Haven - <i>Lost</i>
	6	Churubusco - <i>N/A</i>
	12	New Haven - <i>N/A</i>
	19	Lafayette Center - <i>Won</i>
January	9	Hoagland - <i>Lost</i>
	23	Jefferson Center - <i>Won</i>
	30	County Tourn. - <i>N/A</i>
February	13	Huntertown - <i>Won</i>
	20	Coesse - <i>Won</i>
	28	Churubusco - <i>Won</i>
March	6	Sectional Tournament - <i>Lost in second round to Huntertown</i>

difficult for opposing forwards to score.⁹ Playing an eighteen-game schedule, the team compiled an impressive regular season record of twelve wins and six losses, eclipsing the boys' record of eleven and seven.¹⁰ In the late 1930s Arcola High School took women's basketball off of its list of athletic programs, as did many others across the nation.¹¹ It was not until decades later that schools began reintroducing the sport. When President Richard Nixon signed Title IX of the Educational Amendment stating that no one shall, on the basis of sex, be denied access to any educational program or activity that receives federal aid, women's basketball gained tremendous momentum. In 1975, Madison Square Garden held its first women's college game. The sport made its Olympic debut at the Montreal Games in 1976. Two years later, the Women's Basketball League formed. The NCAA held its first Women's National Championships in 1981. Most recently, the Women's National Basketball Association emerged in October, 1996.¹² With superstars and national recognition, endorsements, multi-million dollar contracts and coed all-star weekends, women's basketball may finally be getting the attention it deserves. Yet one should not recognize the achievements made by today's players without acknowledging the strides made years ago. An appreciation of women's basketball begins with teams like the Arcola Greyhounds.

Endnotes

- 1 Helen Frost and Charles Digby Wardlaw, *Basket Ball and Indoor Baseball for Women* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), xv.
- 2 Francis H. Ebert and Billye Ann Cheatum, *Basketball*, (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, 1977), 1.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 4 The players located nearest their defending basket were called "guards", those in the center "centers," and those attacking the opponent's basket "forwards," thus the origin behind today's position names. See diagram 1.
- 5 Ebert and Cheatum, 9.
- 6 George and Gloria Bojrab, local Arcola historians, interview by author, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, 24 January 1998.
- 7 The Fort Wayne Pistons, an NBA franchise, did not arrive until the late 1940s.
- 8 *Red Pepper*, 1, no. 4 (October 1922): 5.
- 9 *Red Pepper*, 7, no. 7 (March 1931): 5.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 The reason schools took the sport away stems from the "rough" nature the sport began to develop, questioning the "suitability" of the sport to women's needs.
- 12 "The History of Women's Basketball" in WNBA, [Online], Available: <http://www.wnba.com/basics/timeline.html> [31 January 1998].
- 13 The games marked "N/A" may have been canceled, as no record of the outcome is available. However, it is known that the Greyhounds posted five more victories: one each against Coesse, Anthony Wayne, and Hillcrest and two against Harlan.

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