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EDITOR’S NOTE

It is an extreme privilege to announce the third edition of The Forum. When journal co-founders Keith Goodwin and Katrina Chludzinski and faculty advisor Dr. Thomas Trice selected Joycelyn Cheung and I to assume leadership of this exceptional journal in May 2010, we felt honored. Knowing that Keith and Katrina left us tremendous shoes to fill, Joycelyn and I wasted no time in preparing for our roles as executive editors. The publication of this exceptional edition is evidence of the determination, perseverance, and innovation exercised over the past year.

We are committed to the vision that The Forum provides an outlet for historically-relevant student work without regard to an author’s major, level of study, or institutional affiliation. In an attempt to broaden our readership, we solicited submissions from both undergraduate and graduate students attending a number of well-respected universities. While most of this year’s contributors are fellow Cal Poly students, it is with great pleasure to publish a very sophisticated paper from a UC Berkeley alumnus.

Last year, The Forum was awarded first prize in the “electronic journal” category and third prize in the “print” category in the 2010 Gerald D. Nash Journal Award Contest. In this edition of The Forum, however, a few key changes will be noticed. First, to recognize our excellent editorial board, we have included a new section, entitled “About the Editors.” Here, readers can learn more about the hard-working individuals whom made this edition possible. Second, in an attempt to make the journal more personable, we have decided to include photos of the journal staff and all contributing authors next to their respective “About . . .” sections. Lastly, we have included both a historiographical essay and a multi-work book review. We believe that these additions will only strengthen The Forum, and propel it along the upward trajectory established by its founders.

As Joycelyn is graduating this June and I am entering another Cal Poly graduate program next fall, it is with great sadness that we leave this project behind. We know, however, that we will bequeath this project to assiduous scholars, capable of continuing The Forum’s success realized thus far. For we are confident that as we stood on the shoulders of those whom came before us, our successors will endeavor to do the same.

Justin McCollum
Graduate Division Executive Editor
Emily Cassie is a fourth-year history major who enjoys modern European history, the history of gender and sexuality, and all historical knowledge useful in her quest to become the ultimate Jeopardy champion. When she is not busy enriching her life through the study of history, Emily can be found riding her horse, sitting in her spot on the history department lawn, or training for Olympic-level croquet. Upon graduating in June, Emily is moving to the Mississippi Delta to teach social studies with Teach for America and plans on devoting the rest of her life to closing the achievement gap.

Joycelyn Cheung is graduating with honors from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo in June 2011. She majored in History and has minors in Art History and Asian Studies. Her favorite part of history is being able to study different cultures and their influences on today’s society. This summer, Joycelyn is looking forward to interning at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. She is ecstatic for this internship because of her love of museums and artifacts. Joycelyn hopes to one day be a curator at a house museum and work to enhance living history programs as a way to help students find a deeper connection to history. After her internship, Joycelyn will be traveling to Taiwan to teach English and learn more about her family’s culture and origin.

Shawn Greenelsh is currently finishing his thesis for Master of Arts in History at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. He is also a teacher at Lopez High School, in Arroyo Grande, CA, with fifteen years of teaching experience in English, U.S. History, Government, Economics, World History, Video Production, Health, and AVID. Shawn also authored/facilitated Lopez High
School’s WASC application for accreditation, and holds a certificate from the Central Coast Writing Project. Shawn is a former Commissioned Officer, First Lieutenant, Infantry, in the Army National Guard. Shawn’s varied list of hobbies includes creative writing, hiking, biking, and family time. Shawn has earned both a Bachelor of Arts in History, a minor in English, and a teaching credential in English from Cal Poly. Shawn instills a deep love, hope, and faith in Jesus Christ. Shawn has been married for twenty years to his high school sweetheart, and is the father of three beautiful children—two boys and one girl.

Andrew “Sylvan” Levin is currently a high school teacher of Geography, History, and Government and a proud father of two daughters. He received his Bachelor of Arts in African-American Studies with a concentration in History from Wesleyan University in Middletown, CT, and his teaching credential from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, from where he is on track to complete his Master of Arts in History in June, 2011. His interests are in world, environmental, and modern Middle Eastern history. Sylvan was awarded the Richard Spencer Wood Memorial Award in 2011. He has been an Advanced Placement World History exam reader and looks forward to having more time to devote to greening his home, school, and community.

Justin McCollum earned his Bachelor of Arts in History with a minor Anthropology and Geography from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo in 2006. Upon graduation, he concurrently enrolled in both the Single Subject Teaching Credential (social science) and M.A. History programs at Cal Poly. He is most interested in contemporary modern world history, environmental history,
island history, Cuban history, Hawaiian history, and the history of (socialist) philosophy. He has been a full-time high school teacher since 2008, and recently became tenured in the King City Joint Union High School District. Justin was published in the inaugural edition of The Forum, and served as an assistant editor for the journal last year. He resides in Oak Creek Commons, a progressively-minded co-housing community located in Paso Robles, with his wonderful wife, Kaela, and their two cats, Cozy and Bubba. Outside of academia, Justin enjoys cheering on the San Francisco Giants, traveling, playing guitar, practicing martial arts, continuing to “green” his life, and almost anything outdoors.

Michelle Oga, a graduating history major, will take a couple years to gain work experience before attending graduate school. During her four years at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, Michelle has been a violinist in the Cal Poly Symphony while fostering her interest in the history of East Asia and the field of Anthropology. Eventually she would like to participate in Anthropological/Archaeological fieldwork before settling down as a curator of a natural history museum. Michelle gives thanks to her family for all the love and support they have given her, not only during the past four years, but throughout her academic career.

Daniel Slusser specializes in mid to late nineteenth-century American history and has published articles on the caning of Charles Sumner and is currently finishing his thesis on the education of the Wright brothers. His interests within the subject of history are broad and include economic, political, and technical history. Daniel is the father of two children and loves spending time with them and his wife of twelve years. He also enjoys cycling, metalwork, baseball, and bowling. Additionally, Daniel is currently working on a side project designing and marketing cycling apparel.
Kate Triglia is graduating with honors from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo this June with a Bachelor of Arts in History. She was honored to receive the Phi Kappa Phi Scholarship this year and the Jeri Ewy Thiel Memorial Scholarship last year. Kate was the 2009-2010 chapter president of Phi Alpha Theta, and has been an editorial board member for three years. Kate is looking forward to her trip to London this summer, and can not wait to see all the places she has been reading about for so long! Kate especially enjoys American and British political and social history, and hopes to pursue a career in government or international relations.
**Matt DeLaney** spent two months in Yei, Sudan in 2008 researching the causes of civil conflict in Sudan, and assisting local orphanages. His academic interests are pre-colonial and contemporary East African history, especially the Sudan. He also studies 18th-19th century German philosophers such as Kant, Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche. Matt currently holds a Bachelor of Arts in History from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, from where he graduated *cum laude* in 2010.

**Christina George** is pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in History with an Art History minor at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. She especially likes learning about nineteenth and twentieth-century Europe. Christina is from northern California, and in her free time she enjoys family and friends, swimming, and traveling. Her many passions include being involved on Cal Poly’s Open House Committee as well as both her sorority, Chi Omega, and the National History Honors Society, Phi Alpha Theta.

**Hilda Iorga** enjoys reading and writing about history so much so that she is studying for a Master of Arts in History at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. Before this, she received a Bachelor of Arts in History from the University of California, Berkeley. Upon completing the masters program, she intends to work in the museum field or teach high school. She currently volunteers at the History Center of San Luis Obispo County.
Jonathan Leece is currently studying for his Bachelors of Science in Business – Accounting with a minor in History at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. He is a member of Cal Poly’s Phi Alpha Theta chapter. His scholarly interests lay primarily in pre-Industrial Revolution Europe, specifically in both antiquity and the Renaissance. Jonathan will be pursuing a Masters in Accounting – Tax from Cal Poly this fall.

Justin McCollum has been a member of Phi Alpha Theta for over two years and earned his Bachelor of Arts in History with a minor in Anthropology and Geography from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo in 2006. He is currently completing his thesis for his Master of Arts in History. His interest in Cuban history began when he was inspired to learn about Ernesto “Che” Guevara after reading lyrics by the rap-metal band Rage Against the Machine in 2002. After reading John Lee Anderson’s Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life, Justin dove into all history related to Cuba. He traveled there extensively during the summer of 2006, where a major storm delayed his road trip to attend what ended up being Fidel Castro’s last public speech as Cuba’s leader.

Michael Orth is pursuing a Master of Arts in History at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from California State University, Stanislaus in 2008. His academic interests include urbanism, architecture, historic preservation, and theory. He is currently researching the history of Santa Barbara’s El Pueblo Viejo Landmark District.
Christina Samons graduated from University of California, Berkeley in December 2009 with a Bachelor of Arts in Rhetoric, where she primarily focused on twentieth and twenty-first-century American political and legal theory. She is also very interested in international cinema and new media studies. She is currently pursuing a J.D. at the University of Southern California Gould School of Law and hopes to pursue a career in criminal defense or public interest law.

Daniel Slusser has previously published an article in The Forum (Spring 2010) on the circumstances surrounding the caning of Charles Sumner. Daniel’s work on this topic is part of a larger ongoing research project centered on incidents of violence committed by nineteenth-century American politicians. In addition to his work on this subject, Daniel has written his master’s thesis on the education of the Wright brothers. He currently resides in San Luis Obispo, California with his wife and two children.
A Brief Historiography of U.S. Hegemony in the Cuban Sugar Industry | Justin McCollum

This historiographical essay maintains that the historical record of Cuba has been greatly shaped by the Cuban natural environment, specifically the island’s propensity to support sugarcane. The paper will focus on the effects of the U.S. hegemony in the Cuban sugar industry; of particular interest will be the ability of the U.S. sugar hegemony to create an atmosphere that was particularly susceptible to the revolutionary movement led by Fidel Castro. The Cuban scholars analyzed in this paper highlight different historical phenomena and their relationships to Cuba’s natural environment. Regardless of the specifics of the topic each scholar examines, it will become clear that Cuba’s natural environment heavily influenced its history.

Elaborating Images Through Text in The Codex Telleriano-Remensis | Christina Samons

After the Spanish conquest of the Americas in the fifteenth century, wealthy Spaniards commissioned the creation of manuscripts called codices that documented indigenous ways of life in minute detail, relying on the handiwork of mestizo scribes who were able to negotiate between the pre-Conquest and post-Conquest worlds that they simultaneously inhabited. This paper specifically examines Folio 29v of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis to analyze how the Spanish attempted to legitimize their rule over “New Spain” by imposing textual elements onto the codices’ indigenous images instead of violently stamping out indigenous artistic forms of representation.

Twenty-First Century Reflections: A Theoretical Dialectic Of Daniel Boorstin’s The Image | Michael D. Orth

The Image; or, What Happened to the American Dream?, by Daniel Boorstin, is anomalous in the greater “Boorstonian” scholarly catalog. This book differs from his other works because it is not strictly a history,
but rather a social critique on the prevalence of images in American culture. Coupled with this is a case made for the disappearance of the commonly held notion of the American Dream. Released in 1962, *The Image* was met critically by a range of mixed reviews. Most critics opted to read Boorstin, rather than read into the theoretical framework he proposed. This essay interprets *The Image* as both a theoretical text and historical artifact. Although Boorstin’s intent eluded many critics, he diagnosed the condition of the present as an irrepressible impulse; an impetus driven by history that was itself historically puzzling. Nearly fifty years later, this essay reflects on Boorstin’s theoretical framework, entertains the critics, and tests his observations in a vein that recognizes the profundity of his social observations; even if Boorstin himself was unable to successfully diagnose the true origin of America’s image culture.

**An Unexpected Audience: Manner Manuals in Renaissance Europe | Johnathan Leece**

This paper explains the immense popularity of *On Civility in Children*, by Desiderius Erasmus, during the Renaissance through the lens of Thorstein Veblen’s theory of the leisure class. It explores the growth of the merchant class during this time as a possible reason why this treatise was the best-selling piece of literature during the sixteenth century. As merchants acquired more and more power they sought to emulate the ruling class, including developing “civilité,” which would produce nothing of value for society as a whole and thus meets the requirements for Veblen’s concept of conspicuous leisure. The nobility used the idea of civilité as a way to differentiate themselves from the other classes and manners manuals such as Erasmus’s work were written to educate young noble boys in the practice of civilité. When the merchant class began to look for ways to show off their new status in society, these manuals provided the means to learn the ways of the ruling class.

**John Garang and Sudanism: A Peculiar and Resilient Nationalist Ideology | Matthew J. Delaney**

The people of Sudan have suffered immensely from ceaseless conflicts
since Sudan’s independence in 1956. Sudan has struggled to establish its own identity and has been divided and crushed by sectarian nationalist motivations of Arabism, Christianization, Islamization, and Africanism. The dominant form of oppression in the 1980s was Nimeirism, which was an ideology embodied by the dictatorial and exploitative practices of President Jafaar Nimeiri. Dr. John Garang de Mabior, Commander-in-Chief of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M), offered a new nationalist ideology to redefine the Sudanese identity and to destroy Nimeirism in all of its forms. This ideology is called “Sudanism”, and it promised peace through the union of all of Sudan’s many ethnic groups and religions. The hope of Sudan rests on the resolution of its identity and the reconciliation of peoples from different cultures, ethnicities and religions within Sudan. This thesis gives an analysis of Garang’s nationalist ideology according to James L. Gelvin’s model of the development and nature of nationalisms. It sets the stage for understanding Sudan’s current political and economic woes in the context of its unresolved identity.

**Critics Scoffed but Women Bought: Coco Chanel’s Comeback Fashions Reflect the Desires of the 1950s American Woman | Christina George**

This paper delves into famous fashion designer, Gabrielle “Coco” Chanel, and her influence on American women in the 1950s. While a vast amount of historical work focuses on her fashions of the 1920s, I emphasize the importance of studying her 1950s fashions as well. While many fashion critics disliked her new designs, American women still flocked to them. By examining Chanel’s 1950s fashions, we can gain a better understanding of the American woman’s desires to rebel against the societal norms of the postwar era.
A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHY OF U.S. HEGEMONY IN THE CUBAN SUGAR INDUSTRY
By Justin McCollum

In July 1898 the United States entered the Cuban War for Independence, in which Cubans were fighting Spain for autonomy of the island. In December 1898, Spain capitulated to the United States and signed the Treaty of Paris, which transferred sovereignty of Cuba to the United States. The formal military occupation of Cuba by the United States began on 1 January 1899. The ensuing agreements established with Cuba gave the United States a position of hegemony on the island. This dominance manifested itself most thoroughly in Cuba’s sugar industry, which acted as the backbone of its economy.

This historiographical essay maintains that the historical record of Cuba has been greatly shaped by the Cuban natural environment, specifically the island’s propensity to support sugarcane. This paper will focus on the effects of the U.S. hegemony in the Cuban sugar industry; of particular interest will be the ability of the U.S. sugar hegemony to create an atmosphere that was particularly susceptible to the revolutionary movement led by Fidel Castro. The Cuban scholars analyzed in this paper highlight different historical phenomena and their relationships to Cuba’s natural environment. Regardless of the specifics of the topic each scholar examines, it will become clear that Cuba’s natural environment heavily influenced its history.
The general trend of Cuban historiography accentuates the role of U.S. capitalists as they took advantage of the war-torn island, bought up cheap sugar capital, forced peasants from their land, and imposed a heightened level of capitalism on Cuban society. During the period of U.S. hegemony, Cuba witnessed the destruction of peasant communities due to the expansion of sugar plantations (latifundios), and the creation of new social classes which resulted from technological changes that barred Cuban planters access to necessary and expensive capital. Consequently, Cuba’s export-oriented monoculture economy became dependent on both foreign capital and high sugar prices in the global market, and the United States used its position as both Cuba’s primary capital investor and sugar consumer to leverage Cuban politics.

In the late 1960s, after Fidel Castro’s revolution, Cuban scholars Ramiro Guerra Sanchez and Lester D. Langley studied the effects of Cuban sugar on the revolutionary movement and initiated what will be referred to as the “orthodox” view. They agree that the destruction of the Cuban general economy, its sugar-related capital and infrastructure, and the economic ruin of the planter class during the War for Independence necessitated imported capital to revive the country. However, they acknowledge that U.S. investors and corporations were reluctant to pour such capital into the island’s sugar industry until favorable trade agreements were secured and risk was limited.¹

These “favorable trade agreements” caused an immediate surge of U.S. capital into the Cuban sugar industry. The first such agreement, the Platt Amendment, essentially gave the United States carte blanche to interfere in Cuban affairs when it determined that Cuba’s security, political stability, or ability to protect property was at risk. The Platt Amendment essentially allowed the U.S. to control Cuba. United States investment was accelerated by passage of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1903, which reduced tariffs on goods exchanged between the two countries—most specifically, Cuba’s import tariffs (paid to the U.S.) would be credited twenty percent of the sugar it exported to the U.S. Langley argues that other than the guarantee of a sugar market, “Cuban sugar producers benefited little financially by the twenty percent pref-

²Langley, 137.
erential duty, for the preference merely encouraged more capital investment in sugar production.” However, both authors agree that the law originated solely to benefit U.S. interests, as capital imported into Cuba was credited forty percent of the duty fee. Langley also notes that the U.S. rush to profit from the Cuban landscape resembled two persistent themes of U.S. frontier expansion: the paternalistic view that Cubans were incapable of governing their own country; and the notion that Cuban land was underutilized and would only achieve its full God-given potential through the influx of U.S. capital.

Culminating this orthodox view, Guerra Sanchez argues that Cubans were pushed into virtual serfdom as they became vassals of U.S. sugar interests. The majority of Cubans’ displeasure with their socioeconomic predicament resulting from the period of U.S. sugar hegemony, coupled with the long-term degradation of the Cuban environment from extensive crop harvests, allowed Cuban peasants to be easily swayed by Castro’s anti-U.S. and anti-Batista rhetoric during the revolution.

In the 1970s this orthodox view was examined, and more environmentally-related historical contingencies were exposed. Robert B. Hoernel studies the reasons why U.S. sugar barons chose eastern Cuba as the focal point of their investment. His extremely thorough investigation begins by examining the general history of the island. During initial Spanish occupation, Santiago and Havana were separated by 700 miles of thickly vegetated, thinly populated terrain that was bisected by mountain ranges, swamps, and desert-like savannas. Consequently, the only practical communication and transport link between the two regions was the sea. But this route flowed only one-way, from Santiago (east) to Havana (west), due to the combined effects of the Northeast Trades and the Gulf Stream, which made easting along either coast impractical and unreliable until the invention of the steamship. Additionally, Havana’s location near the Florida Straits made it a logical choice as the rendezvous point for Spain’s annual flotillas en route to Seville. Thus, Havana’s population and economy boomed, and the metropolis catalyzed western Cuba’s evolution as an export-oriented agricultural region. During the last century-and-a-half

1 Ibid., 132-4
2 Guerra Sanchez, 67-73.
under the Spanish crown, “western Cuba became a comparatively cosmopolitan an dynamic society facing Europe and the United States, while the eastern population, as a result of geography, remained isolated, homogeneous, and parochial, and it faced the Caribbean.” The relatively isolated and undesirable land of eastern Cuba drove real estate prices down. When U.S. investors looked to initiate large-scale sugar plantations, the price was right in the east.

Hoernel also notes that the biology of sugarcane itself played an important role in the reorganization of the Cuban landscape. The plant requires milling within twenty-four hours of harvesting, as evaporation and enzymatic degradation of the sucrose rapidly diminishes its sugar content. Consequently, U.S. capitalists centrally-located their enormous sugar mills (“centrales”) amongst the cane fields, and sought to control cane production in the surrounding areas. Many cane farmers who previously owned their lands became tenants (“colonos”) and farmed corporate land. As colonos transferred their cane to the centrales, “they lost much of their independence and became bound to the mills” and to the market price of sugar. This system gave U.S. capitalists the means to secure access to cane while transferring some of the risk to the cane farmers.

Hoernel acknowledges that as U.S. investors gained confidence in their nation’s ability to protect their investments, the scale of development in eastern Cuba surged. He argues that, partially due to the Reciprocity Treaty (1903), it was cheaper for U.S. capitalists to buy relatively undeveloped land in eastern Cuba and import new machinery than it was to buy and improve existing mills in western Cuba. The United Fruit Company, for example, bought 200,000 acres in 1902 (for two dollars per acre), and 180,000 acres in 1904 in eastern Cuba. Additionally, U.S. capitalists bought out many Cuban planters whom had previously ground their own cane using older and cheaper machinery. Consequently, the number of small farmers was cut in half, and the sugar latifundias quickly assumed the largest percentage of eastern Cuba’s land. As a result, many small farmers were forced off their land and moved their operations either farther inland or on to mountainsides. In each instance, they

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6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., 221.
would clear existing vegetation and increase the natural pace of erosion. Also, the exodus of small farmers onto steeper land dictated the types of crops these farmers pursued. Many of these farmers turned to the stigmatized crops of the poor and oppressed—coffee and cocoa. Hoernel implies that this new social identification fostered a deep resentment of the U.S. in particular and capitalists in general that made the Castro Revolution more feasible.8

The demand for labor in eastern Cuba during the harvest ("zafra") was greater than the local population could supply. Thus, non-white immigrant workers poured in from all over the Caribbean. Hoernel argues that it was ultimately because of the new labor requirements from the U.S. expansion of the Cuban sugar industry that caused the white, landed Cuban elite to campaign for a ban on non-white immigration. Their efforts came to fruition in 1910 through Military Order No. 155. In 1913, the Cuban government even offered a five dollar stipend for every white person imported from Panama to increase the white population. Eventually, however, the demand for workers outpaced white immigration, and non-whites were permitted entry. Thus, the demographics of eastern Cuba were forever changed due to sugarcane.

It is here that Hoernel blames U.S. capitalists for the degradation of a once rich Afro-Cuban culture in eastern Cuba. The influx of zafra workers made eastern Cuba the most populous part of the island. The rise of U.S. latifundias and the extent of the population increase, a large proportion of which was alien, severely changed the region's society, culture, and economy. In no more than twenty years, a regional society of "largely self-sufficient farmers, was transformed into one of highly dependent farm laborers working for predominately foreign corporations, eating foreign-produced foods, often living in company towns, and buying from company stores."9 The seasonal zafra workers brought with them strange languages, religions, and customs that disrupted eastern Afro-Cuban society. When the price of sugar dropped, many workers were laid off, and native Cubans found themselves competing with immigrants for jobs. As a result, many absconded to relatively isolated and undeveloped regions in search of land upon which to squat, clear, and cultivate.

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8 Ibid., 229-230, 248-249.
9 Ibid., 235.
These actions further disturbed Cuba’s natural environment and left a bitter taste of capitalism behind.\textsuperscript{10}

Conversely, when the price of sugar boomed during World War I and the 1920s, largely a result of the destruction of competition from the European sugar beet industry due to the war, prosperity was to be found in all of Cuba’s sugar regions. However, the rapidly-expanding population strained eastern Cuba’s public services as it caused change and friction among lower socioeconomic groups. The culture that once stressed morality and individuality morphed into an increasingly impersonal and amoral way of life as eastern Cubans converted to consumerism. Additionally, the increase in population due to \textit{zafra} workers was disproportionately male, which led to a situation that fostered vice, violence, rape, and prostitution (Hoernel also lists a disproportionately high level of homosexuality in eastern Cuba as a result of the \textit{zafra} influx). In fact, Hoernel traces Cuba’s contemporary reputation as a land of heightened promiscuity to this “cultural breakdown.”\textsuperscript{11}

Jules Robert Benjamin, writing at the same time as Hoernel, generally agrees with Hoernel, but introduces several different environmentally-related historical contingencies that affected the Cuban sugar industry. Benjamin argues that because Cuba’s independence came at the time when U.S. capitalists were forming large trusts, investment in the industry followed the U.S. pattern of monopolies. This model of investment allowed for a complete domination of the industry, which accelerated both the spread of poverty and the alteration of the natural Cuban landscape.\textsuperscript{12}

Benjamin also agrees with Langley’s and Guerra Sanchez’s interpretation of the Reciprocity Treaty directly benefiting U.S. capitalists more than Cubans, but notes that the Reciprocity Treaty probably would not have passed the U.S. Congress without President Theodore Roosevelt’s insistence. Roosevelt’s experience as a Rough Rider in Cuba’s War for Independence generated a sense of personal attachment to the country. Thus, although Roosevelt generally favored agricultural protection, his connection with Cuba convinced

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 236.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 237.
him that it was a special case, and he supported reciprocity. Benjamin notes that without the Reciprocity Treaty, Cubans would not have had a market for sugar, as the duty-free sugar from Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico would have out-competed Cuban sugar.

Additionally, Benjamin argues that the continued U.S. presence in Cuba created resentment among most elements of the post-independence generation of Cubans, and their frustrations were taken out on a succession of Cuban presidents. He explains that because “each Cuban president had to make his peace with the United States, none of them was able to avoid for very long the accusation of having betrayed the nation.” Hence, pre-Castro Cuban governments never achieved legitimacy, and were easy targets for disenchanted, revolutionary-minded Cubans.

Finally, Benjamin argues that because of sugarcane’s seasonal nature, the Cuban economy ran on credit, which made banks even more influential institutions than usual. As the European sugar beet industry recovered after WWI and the price of sugar dropped, a sugar crash hit Cuba from 1920-1921. The low price of sugar caused inflation to soar, and U.S. banks capitalized on the situation. Fearing economic disaster, U.S. politicians pushed a banking bill through the Cuban Congress, the terms of which most Cuban banks could not meet. As a result, the largest banks in Cuba folded, and only four domestic banks survived. With the sole exception of the Royal Bank of Canada, the vacuum was filled by U.S. banks. In the spirit of Cold War historians, Benjamin ends by implying that such U.S. domination of Cuba, springing from the sugar industry, proffered a negative view of capitalism throughout the island that led to Cuba’s socialist movement and, ultimately, the Cuban Communist Party.

The end of the Cold War prompted a prodigious amount of publications on the Cuban sugar industry. Again, scholars pointed to environmentally-related historical contingencies that severely impacted Cuba’s lively history. Jorge F. Perez-Lopez agrees with previous scholars that the plight of Cubans

13 Ibid., 10-12.
14 Ibid., 6.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 9, 14-17.
17 Ibid., 62-63.
due to the U.S. sugar hegemony fueled Castro’s revolution and provided it with thousands of peasant farmers from eastern Cuba. However, he argues that even though the U.S. essentially abandoned the industry during the Great Depression, the “Cubanization” of the economy did not culminate until after World War II—Cuba’s last real sugar boom. Thus, not only did the Cubans miss out on an exorbitant amount of profits, they remained dependent on U.S. capital, which prolonged the sense of dependency Cubans had felt since 1898. Perez-Lopez argues that this frustration was coupled with a perception of U.S.-stimulated inequities that caused a serious urban-rural divide in Cuban society on which Castro capitalized.18

In a beautiful display of microhistory, Mark Smith presents a case study of the U.S.-owned Central Manati, nearly four hundred miles east of Havana. He suggests that the data from this central can be generally applied to eastern Cuba to better understand its early twentieth-century sugar industry. His study of bateys, villages and towns created for, or directly sustained by, the sugar industry, is fascinating. The scope of bateys were enormous—they contained living quarters for several thousand workers “who would be employed in and around the mill. Plans [also] called for stores, restaurants, a post office, hospital, theater, and school, all completed within a few years.”19 He stresses that the majority of resources used to construct bateys came from the surrounding Cuban landscape. Palm trees were utilized for thatched-roof huts, cedar and mahogany were all harvested for more durable structures, and nearby forests were decimated of trees so that railroad ties could be obtained.20

Smith also argues that U.S. sugar hegemony changed the traditional Cuban land tenure system so that the corporate acquisition of large tracts of land became possible. During the Spanish era, inherited land was held in common by various beneficiaries. Each inheritor held a proportion of the overall ownership. Thus, large tracts of land became subdivided between many family members. Cuban law did not allow this land to be sold unless all owners unanimously voted in favor of a sale. The rarity of such agreement was problematic for land-hungry sugar barons, so the U.S. military stepped in. Military Order

20 Ibid., 38-43.
Number 62 divided the communal estates into privately-owned tracts which could be freely bought and sold. The sugar corporations took full advantage and bought up huge amounts of land.\textsuperscript{21}

Another reason behind U.S. sugar hegemony, argues Richard P. Tucker, is a shift in consumer tastes. Perhaps reflecting racial undertones of the era, people in industrialized countries began to prefer highly refined white sugar. In order to produce such sugar, sugar refiners were forced to “adopt the fundamental [and capital-intensive] changes that were appearing in sugar refining technology, and this transformed the scale and quality of operations.”\textsuperscript{22} If consumer taste did not shift, then Cubans would have likely been able to rebuild their industry without (as much) U.S. capital, and the U.S. might never have gained a position of hegemony in the Cuban sugar industry.

Smith also focuses on the sheer destruction of the Cuban natural environment as a result of U.S. sugar hegemony. He repeatedly laments on instances where U.S. capitalists slashed and burned forests to plant more cane. Sugar tycoons preferred dense forest lands for cane farming because the constant breakdown of plant matter provided the soil with rich nutrients that resulted in faster growing cane. Ultimately, the once vast and seemingly impenetrable forests of Cuba became marginalized and only remained on various hillside patches.\textsuperscript{23}

Alan Dye unearths another ecologically-significant factor of Cuban sugar production. “Ratoons” were plants that had sprouted from previously harvested cane. Cane, being a perennial crop, will grow throughout the year. Thus, it is possible to harvest ratoons in subsequent years, which saves labor by avoiding the need to plant a whole new crop. Generally, ratoons are only harvested in extremely fertile soils, the best of which usually allowed for three consecutive (annual) crops to be harvested from the original plant. In Cuba, however, soil fertility allowed for as many as thirty consecutive harvests to occur before replanting. U.S. sugar tycoons saved a tremendous amount of capital by keeping labor costs down, and this capital could be reinvested in the form of adding more Cuban land to their operations.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 35.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 43-46.
An added ecological determinate in the success of the Cuban sugar industry came in the form of a plant virus—mosaic disease. Stuart McCook argues that although mosaic disease was virtually ignored during the era of U.S. sugar hegemony, it devastated the industry’s future on the island. Researchers discovered mosaic in Cuban sugarcane during the World War I sugar boom, but as immediate losses from the virus are minimal, it was disregarded. The mosaic virus does not immediately kill the Crystalina cane, the predominant variety cultivated in Cuba. However, mosaic does make the cane more susceptible to death from secondary causes, such as more readily succumbing to drought or easily uprooting when exposed to high winds (due to a weaker root system). Finally, mosaic stunted the growth of Crystalina cane and required frequent replanting due to deterioration of the plant. The economic factor of smaller crops and increased labor translated to higher operational costs which proved too much for Cubans to effectively surmount once U.S. sugar hegemony ended. Thus, Cuban production faltered, the economy deteriorated, and a large class of poverty-stricken farmers became ripe for Castro’s picking.

This fascinating historiography exposes the importance of environmentally-related historical contingencies in Cuban history. United States hegemony in Cuban sugar undoubtedly put a permanent mark on the island’s history, and will likely continue to shape its future development. However, although most historians brushed over the effects that sugar had on the development of Cuban railroads, none gave the issue an appropriate amount of attention. As the great environmental historian Willaim Cronon portrays in his work, Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West, railroads have the potential to provoke monumental change of an area’s landscape, and thus its history. A further area of study lacking in this historiography is the relatively sparsely populated southern coast of Cuba around the port of Trinidad. Located in the middle of the island, this region was undoubtedly influenced by both Cuba’s eastern and western sugar culture, and played a hefty role in the industry. A thorough assessment of these topics would sweeten the history of Cuba.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


After the Spanish conquest of the Americas in the fifteenth century, wealthy Spaniards commissioned the creation of groups of manuscripts called codices that documented indigenous ways of life in minute detail, from specific descriptions of counting systems and the storage of grain to extensive dynastic histories. Although the length, form, and purpose of these post-Conquest codices vary depending on their commissioner, they relied on the handiwork of mestizo scribes called tlacuilos who were able to negotiate between the pre-Conquest and post-Conquest worlds that they simultaneously inhabited.\(^1\) The Codex Telleriano-Remensis is one such object.

Although the exact date of origin of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis is unknown, scholars have determined that it was created in the mid-sixteenth century, less than one hundred years after the conquest of Latin America by Spain. The codex contains three sections: a ritual calendar, a divinatory manuscript, and a historical account of nearly three decades of Mexican history, including and leading up to the four decades following the Spanish conquest.\(^2\)

\(^1\) *Mestizo* refers to an individual who is possesses both indigenous and Spanish blood.

In this paper I will be examining *The Image* from folio 29V (Fig. 1), taken from the third section of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, which contains a pictorial history of the dynastic lineages of the Aztec empire. This specific image provides an account of pre-Hispanic Aztec history that is mediated by the incorporation of written Spanish language in conjunction with *The Images* themselves. The Spanish written text, which annotates the pre-Hispanic images in Folio 29V of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, presents an interpretation of historical events that served to legitimate Spanish rule over political and social affairs in Colonial Latin America.

The painted images in Folio 29V simultaneously depict the death of Acamapichtli, a ruler of the Aztecs, and the subsequent election of his son, Huitzilihuitl, who is considered to be the first ruler of the Aztec dynastic empire. Latin American scholar Eloise Quiñones Keber describes *The Image*...
as significant for “showing the dynastic alliances that played a role in early successes of the Aztecs” and paved the way for their domination of the region.\(^4\) Dates for these events are provided on the left side of the page and utilize the pre-Hispanic method of counting days in groups of thirteen (trecena), represented by colored circles within the square year-markers. The Spanish text at the bottom of the page describes in words the historical narrative of *The Images* presented above in order to explain *The Images* to a Spanish reader.

Though a small group of pre-Hispanic codices have survived to this day, most were destroyed by the Spaniards who viewed them as a product of an uncivilized and pagan culture.\(^5\) The destroyed pre-Hispanic codices were soon replaced by codices commissioned by the Spaniards. The illustrators of these new codices still utilized conventional pre-Hispanic forms of representation but also modified the traditional images in order to adapt them to Spanish ideology. Therefore, most post-Conquest codices still in existence are hybrid objects, reflecting the preservation of indigenous cultural forms and values, despite the imposition of Spanish culture into the indigenous culture. However, when considering Folio 29V as a “hybrid” image, it is important that one does not solely delineate which aspects of *The Image* are characteristic of a pre-Hispanic culture and which aspects are identifiable within the vein of a Western European artistic tradition. The hybrid nature of codices like the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* should not be viewed in terms of a homogenized “European form” set “in opposition to similarly homogenized non-European conventions,”\(^6\) as art historians Carolyn Dean and Dana Liebsohn warn against. Instead of searching for perceived representative forms which inherently mark cultural differences within a pictorial space, close analysis of Spanish commissioned codices should focus on highlighting points of cultural continuity in representational forms and techniques over time and how representational forms are altered and adapted by the dominant culture.

Pre-Hispanic conventions are asserted in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* through both the artist’s representation of human forms as well as the types of images painted throughout the codex. The artist of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* was an indigenous Aztec scribe who modeled his images after other

\(^4\) Ibid., 212.
pre-Hispanic codices, such as the *Codex Féjerváry-Mayer* of the Borgia Group (Fig. 2). Following the tradition of pre-Hispanic pictorial conventions, the artist was not preoccupied with portraying human figures in geometrically accurate perspective nor was he concerned with grounding them within delineated pictorial space. Instead, the artist flattened bodies and applied paint in blocks of solid colors inscribed within bold figural outlines. In addition, rather than individualize persons with expression or other defining characteristics, pre-Hispanic codices identify people by their relationship to pictorial symbols or glyphs. Glyphs were able to communicate meaning solely through complex symbolic associations that had been standardized through numerous depictions by indigenous artists over time. Aztec scribes had an extensive knowledge of glyphic symbols and their significances, because the same symbolic markers were used in different pre-Hispanic codices to represent important common figures such as deities or rulers. As Quiñones Keber notes,

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7 Quiñones Keber, 109.
“Because they were intended to convey so much information, pre-Hispanic images must be ‘read’ rather than just looked at.” In the case of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, the human figures in Folio 29v are identified primarily by characteristic glyphs denoting individuality that accompany each figure and are linked to that figure, both pictorially through the use of line and associatively through the knowledge of specific personal glyphs of Aztec scribes.

In addition to the indigenous figural representation, the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* also utilizes representational techniques that have their origin in a written system of language based on the Roman alphabet. The introduction of written text into the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* was completed much later than the completion of the original document by three *mestizo* annotators who were unrelated to the creator of the colored images. The fact that the textual annotations were completed later than the initial images is important to note, since prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in modern-day Mexico, the Aztec language of Nahuatl was an exclusively oral language. When the Spanish arrived, however, they not only brought with them new technologies, diseases, and Christianity, but also a writing system that was used to transliterate the Nahuatl language so that it could be understood by a larger Spanish population. The scribe who annotated the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* included Nahuatl words written using the Roman alphabet, which would be recognizable to the Western world, in order to “convert” *The Images* into a form that could be understood and then used by the conquering Spaniards and future generations of Spaniards. In doing so, the Spanish not only hoped to increase their understanding of the existing indigenous cultures, but also to redefine them in terms that accorded with their own conceptions of time and history.

One way in which text is introduced into the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* is through the imposition of numerical dates into the space of the composition that attempt to correspond with the dates provided by the Aztec *trecena* calendar system for the historical event portrayed. These added numbers have the effect of translating the dates from the Aztec calendar to the Roman-

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9 Quiñones Keber, 124.
12 Quiñones Keber, 175.
based calendar system used in Europe. Preliminary dates had been written to the right of the square date markers but were later crossed out and replaced by more accurate dates on the left side of the folio. One explanation for the annotators’ concern with accurate dating of the events depicted is a religious one, in that they wanted to seamlessly position Aztec dynastic history within the conception of linear time based on the life of Jesus Christ. Jose Rabasa notes that by reducing the two seemingly incompatible historical timelines of the Native Amerindians and the Christian Spaniards, the annotator of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis effectively achieves a “flattening of their [Native] past into homogeneous time” because “they assumed that the history of people… who have been recently incorporated into Christianity can be written by ascribing events anterior to the beginning of history [of Christ] with historical significance.”

The Spaniards’ concern with finding an accurate date in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis shows that they desired to provide the “true” or correct Christian date of the Aztec events presented in accordance with their own worldview. They did not want to completely disregard or invalidate indigenous history but instead conformed indigenous culture and history with Spanish history as an attempt to legitimize their position of power in Latin America by appealing to both parties. Rabasa’s observation supports art historian Thomas Cummins’ discussion of the importance in mestizo artwork for the creation of one “truth” that could be accepted accurate as by both the indigenous Amerindians and the Spanish conquerors. The search for a common truth premised on the idea that “historical knowledge is possible in both cultures so that what...[is] written is true [emphasis added] even though the cultural relationship between symbols and their meaning may be different.”

Although the numerical symbols of Aztec writing and Latin script are different, their juxtaposition creates a common temporal space within which both pre-Hispanic and Hispanic accounts of history and time can coexist.

Reading The Image and text in Folio 29v further reveals that “accurate” dated years on the left of The Image are then linked with the human figures on multiple representational levels. Certain years are linked directly with figures by a single painted line that acts as a connector between the two and implies that a specific historical event occurred to the designated human subject dur-

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13 Rabasa, 526.
14 Cummins, 164.
ing the designated year. Additionally, the close proximity of text and image next to each other within a single page conveys to the reader that they are related concepts. The dynastic chronology is suggested through implied vertical registers created by the year markers on the left and that extend to the right of the folio. Even though *The Images* do not correspond exactly with events occurring within that year, such as in a timeline, the association of figures with a certain linear chronology through their positioning within the space of the page creates the effect of a continuous progression of time and, therefore, of continuous political and religious rule. The technique of conveying relationships associatively between distinct images on one page or panel in pre-Hispanic codices was not used. For example, each section of images in the *Codex Féjerváry-Mayer* (Fig. 2) is self-contained in that it presents one scene or deity, but the relationship of each of the four sections to each other within the space of the page is irrelevant, if not non-existent. Therefore, the relationship between numerical dates and *The Images* in Folio 29V foregrounds the shift from pre-Hispanic temporal representation to one that relies on associative links between images and text introduced by the Spaniards.

The explanatory Spanish text at the bottom of the page is another intervention of written language into the narrative of *The Images*. The text reinforces the story told by *The Images* by telling of Huitzilihuitl’s election following the death of his father. Although, on one hand, the addition of this paragraph acts solely as a means of conveying a historical narrative to a broader audience, the text also works to shape future interpretations of Folio 29V. Unlike pre-Hispanic codices, in which the meaning of images was bound up in symbolic representation through glyphs that are incorporated into *The Image* itself, scribes writing after the conquest of the Americas increasingly began to utilize textual annotations to externally provide the context for interpreting specific images. Furthermore, the novel-like composition of narrative paragraphs on each page on the history of Mexico is reinforced by the shift from the accordion format of the *Codex Féjerváry-Mayer* to bound pages resembling a modern-day book. Pre-Hispanic codices were not formatted into books read from left to right, but in accordion-like screen folds with images on both the

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15 Burland, 28.
16 Quiñones Keber, 122.
recto and verso sides of the object.¹⁷ The Codex Telleriano-Remensis was painted and annotated by indigenous or mestizo authors, but the book itself was printed on European paper and its material composition contributes to the implicit reliance on European writing conventions that underlies this image.

Though more overtly used for a religious than a historical function, the Rhetorica Christiana, written by Friar Diego de Valadés, exemplifies a relationship between image and text that is analogous to the Codex Telleriano-Remensis. Both objects attempt to conjoin the Native and European conceptions of history through the mediation of written language as translated from one “language system,” for example, that of the Aztecs, to Latin text. The text that accompanies and explains The Image helps to render it as a mnemonic device that aids memorization of Christian principles and themes. One image printed in the Rhetorica portrays the floor plan of a typical church in New Spain at a three-quarters “bird’s eye” view (Fig.3). The walls of the church

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¹⁷ Burland, 27.
double as a border for the page that serves to inscribe the scenes and objects portrayed within the space of the church. Each scene contains a caption in Latin that names the ritual and is later elaborated further by additional text that explains the proper observance of that ritual. Valadés intended for his illustrations to be mnemonic aids, in order to help indigenous peoples remember the proper behaviors and practices of a good Christian. Mnemonic visual structures have the ability to condense text by opening up an image to a full explanation of its importance and meaning, which exists outside of the strict pictorial space of The Image. Instead of leaving an image open to interpretation by any viewer, which could vary based on the viewer’s personal background, the collapsing of text into mnemonic images in the Rhetorica Christiana imposes the very specific interpretation that Valadés intended to convey. Therefore, written text enumerates the companion image beyond its literal representation through an interpretation will be relied on and remembered in future generations, much in the same way that the text in Folio 29v of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis works to present an account of history that legitimizes Spanish through apparent endorsement by indigenous peoples.

Through the mediation of a European-based textual system, Folio 29V of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis presents a specific account of the past that furthers Spanish imperialistic goals. Since mestizo artists commissioned by the Spanish were familiar with both European and indigenous cultures, the hybrid codices they created were not viewed as incongruous by either the indigenous peoples or the Spanish. Rather, as Dean and Liebsohn observe, “cultural mixing, even if recognized as such, apparently did not prompt comment from indigenous people. Although objects of disparate cultural origins were used daily, the textual record suggests this facet of life was un-notable.”

Though the imposition of textual elements onto images in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis shows that the Spanish wanted to legitimize their rule over “New Spain,” they did not want to violently stamp out indigenous artistic forms of representation or indigenous culture. Contrary to a strict imperialist idea of conquest, the Spanish consciously chose to adopt and appropriate certain indigenous forms in order to justify their dominance in terms that would be deemed acceptable by both the colonizers and the colonized.

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19 Dean and Liebsohn, 12.


TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY REFLECTIONS: A THEORETICAL DIALECTIC OF DANIEL BOORSTIN’S THE IMAGE

By Michael D. Orth

Introduction

“Almost all new ideas have a certain aspect of foolishness when they are first produced.”
—A.N. Whitehead

For nearly two centuries, the critical effect of images and their significance in American culture has been the subject of debate and scrutiny.¹ The inception and prevalence of mass media outlets at the turn of the twentieth century saw theorists quick to postulate the shifting roles that electronic media took to shape public perceptions.² These media outlets allowed images to flow into the American social consciousness in ways never before imagined. Printed advertisements, film, and later television slowly reshaped the American persona from one of simplicity to blurred ferocity. In 1962, Daniel J. Boorstin’s book, The Image; or, What Happened to the American Dream?, dropped a theoretical

bombshell on the literary community that revealed a growing problem for the modern American. The Image departed stylistically and differed greatly from the historical texts that defined Boorstin’s career. The book alluded to a social quandary centered on the “alienating effects of mass communications.” While some critics saw The Image as a blast, others denounced it as a dud. At any rate, Boorstin produced a text grounded almost entirely on social observation, nearly devoid of concrete historical evidence. The lack of a historical antecedent for his assertions marks a critical factor worth mentioning in this piece. This essay focuses on the author’s main claims in a dialectic manner, with the goal being to expand Boorstin’s ideas rather than arrive at general conclusions.

The production of images by mass media must be clearly contextualized. Mass-media culture, or mass culture for short, disperses images into aspects of American life via various apparatuses. The effect of mass culture is generally accepted as that which blurs classes and cultures into one target group: popular culture. For this assessment, mass culture is defined as: the collective of individuals and/or groups that are directly affected by the production and consumption, of products and byproducts of any mass media outlets, that are the result and target of any and/or all parties with interest in the production or consumption of said products and byproducts. The complexity of this definition will help test Boorstin’s theories.

Images as devices in mass culture are due in part to industrialism and more recently capitalism; however this may be too simplistic. John Dos Passos once said, “Man is an institution-building animal. The shape of his institutions is continually remodeling his life.” Perhaps, the rise of America’s

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8 “Popular culture and the mass media have a symbiotic relationship: each depends on the other in an intimate collaboration”—K. Turner, from Roy Shucker’s Understanding Popular Music (1994), 4.


mass-media culture rose on the impact of a purely visual stimulant. Images for all intents and purposes are simplistic devices that contain any number of charged cues with the potential for accessibility and assimilation by individuals or groups across racial, social, political, or international lines. Images transcend spoken languages because they operate as visual language fit for “consumption.” Although images were once viewed as a means of capitalistic production and consumption, they now carry greater meaning for an ever-expanding world. They substitute in place of traditional linguistic objectifiers and are more easily accessible with the advent of the next great technological process.

Mass-media outlets exist to sell consumers anything and everything because their purpose is to churn out a product for every type of person. Production lies not in itself but in its opposite: consumption, or the desire to consume. Consumption can be explained by Marx’s capitalistic theory, however in order to buy into the consumer culture one must first know what is for sale. To have an identity, one must first know what archetypal molds of identity are available. Personas and identities are directly related to the surrounding image culture, which Boorstin presents and explains throughout the book. He provides an order to The Image culture around him that shows the reader how images have transformed the modern American society into a disillusioned entity. The temptation exists for readers to attempt to separate images from the American Dream. However, one shortfall of Boorstin’s work is that even he fails to synthesize, or even allude to the possibility that they are intrinsically inseparable.

Part I: The “Graphic Revolution”

“Every revolution was first a thought in one man’s mind.”

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

In The Image, Boorstin states his belief that the shift in America’s relationship to images was due to a “graphic revolution.” Critic, Robert E. Spiller

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points out in a 1962 review: “The illusion is that there was in the recent past a “Graphic Revolution” after which the American Dream ceased to be an Ideal and became an Image. This image of the modern American mind is stated as a fact in the opening pages and repeated in a variety of contexts, with dramatic and convincing examples of each until the conquest is complete. Actually there was no such graphic revolution that can be dated and documented, nor was there this dramatic reversal of American character.”

For the most part Spiller is correct because there was no revolution in the generic sense. The graphic revolution did not produce social upheavals, violent calls to action, or a retooling of the status quo. However dramatic this shift, and even the fact that there was a shift, is open to debate. Boorstin probably chose the term revolution because it most aptly described his theory—that is, a “gradual increase in the precipitation of the graphic” would have not yielded same effect. Boorstin charts the potential shift as an observer and a social historian, but the term revolution might be too temporally charged. A more accurate cause of Boorstin’s image culture could be attuned to a graphic revelation, rather than revolution. Spiller dismisses The Image much too quickly because he believes the author’s claims are illusory. If the idea of revolution appears mismatched, perhaps Boorstin’s own view of a revolution may shed light on his choice of terminology. In reference to the American Revolution Boorstin believes, “the most obvious peculiarity…in the modern European sense of the word, it was hardly a revolution at all.” In fact, he simply saw the American Revolution as a rebellion. The problem lies in the fact that revolutions end with a redistribution of wealth and/or power, which in Boorstin’s case may or may not have occurred.

Another problem with the term “revolution” is not with the term per se, but in how it evokes social cues in actual space. Communication signals inhabit environments outside of the realm of visible space, as they often comprise ephemeral environments. The absence of space, and the subsequent difficulties of the concept, requires the reader retool their perceptions to allow for the possibility of invisible environments. Society must account for the invisible environment because, “their ground rules, pervasive structure, and

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13 Boorstin, 13.

overall patterns elude easy perception.” Boorstin’s critics would have been well aware of his historical prowess and accustomed to his traditional methodologies.

Charles Hoban notes in another review:

The book is provocative. It is clever. But its service to the cause to which it is dedicated approaches that of a disservice by its overstatement of the case against the people and the Graphic Revolution, its invalid comparisons, its universalization, its own exaggerations. What a pity. Much of what is said deserves serious contemplation, but how do you seriously and dispassionately contemplate a book which embodies the techniques of persuasion the author abhors in others?26

Hoban’s stance is problematic because *The Image* does not actually show the reader images. In fact, Boorstin surmises that Americans are bombarded by enough of those already, so he conveys concepts of images through ideas rather than through graphic representation. If *The Image* was a picture book, then Hoban’s “foul cry” would certainly have merit. However, Hoban’s critical attack at “techniques of persuasion” indicates a superficial reading of *The Image*. Granted, *The Image* is somewhat vague, yet Boorstin clearly addresses that in the forward: “This is a large subject for a small book. Yet it is too large for a large book.”17 Boorstin’s concepts are vague not because they lack cohesion with one another in a mass culture media critique, but rather because they lack referendum to previous historical periods that exemplify the author’s proposed shift.

Throughout *The Image*, Boorstin critiques *The Image*’s power as it translates to the disappearance of the American Dream. In another review, Harvey Wish says: “Thus, the American Dream, which was a vision or aspiration by which we could compare reality, has been converted to a mere illusion—an


image that we mistake for reality.”¹⁸ Linguistically, Wish paraphrases Boorstin, but uses incomparable terminology because transition from “vision” to “illusion” differs from Boorstin’s word ideal. Visions differ from ideals only in the sense of absolute perfection—i.e. ideals are all visions, but not all visions are ideal. The reader must reassess Boorstin’s graphic revolution and ponder how much revolutionary distance exists linguistically between a vision and an illusion? Could it be the same distance that lies between idea and ideal? If so, then perhaps the ideal has made way for the illusion as a corollary impossible to connect without The Image in the era of late capitalism. Thus, what mass culture provides is more likely a graphic evolution into a feeling of revelation, rather than strictly a revolution.

Part II: What’s in an Image?

“Whoever controls the media; The Images: controls the culture.”
—Allen Ginsburg

One could argue the rise of images in America parallels the rise of the American Dream as a concept. An image is a graphic device, not necessarily electronic in character, which can be distributed in a variety of ways such as print, signs, or billboards. If the source of Boorstin’s revolution eludes perception, then perhaps another possibility for a shift can be synthesized. In the previous section, the idea of revelation might explain Boorstin’s observations. However, Boorstin failed to realize the true source of The Image production. Instead of a revolution or revelation, perhaps his theory can be tested as a critical process of terms of graphic evolution. Boorstin points out, “The making of the illusions which flood our experience has become the business of America, some of its most honest and most necessary and most respectable business.”¹⁹ The flow of images into the social realm creates and sustains the desire for profit, however the premise remains inconclusive that the business of image production originated in America.

¹⁹ Boorstin, The Image, 5.
Images have been utilized much earlier than the mass-media age. Motives for groups to differentiate themselves can be seen as far back as the rebellion of the thirteen colonies, where the colonists wanted to appear different than Britain. This theoretical idea will surely spawn more historical thought on the matter, yet it is interesting to wonder where the motives for an image lie? Or more importantly, where in the temporal nature of history (i.e., “when”) do the motives lie to produce The Image of “the American Dream?”

In this regard, Boorstin did not use his historical prowess as effectively as he could have to reach his conclusions. Instead of the “graphic revolution” as a paradigm shift, it may be more apt to think of it in terms of a graphic evolution of the American social process. In this case, Boorstin’s critique appears disjointed because he picks up the story two-thirds of the way through. He neglects to focus on previous historical events to chart the technological progression of America into the present image culture.

Images are comfortable and society has grown accustomed to their presence. Although Boorstin believes images are “synthetic, believable, passive, vivid & concrete, simplified, and ambiguous,” it is hard for Americans to identify them as something other than what is seen. However, images make one wonder what they tell us and why are they necessary? According to Boorstin, “an image is the kind of ideal which becomes real only when it has become public.” In short, images are “ideals” that can only be sustained in public arenas through public perception.

Images are almost never aggressive so they do not appear threatening. Yet, Boorstin believes images have the power to offer “invitations to conformity” which directs society to fit into images. Boorstin asserts, “An image is something we have claim on. It must serve our purposes. Images are means. If a corporation’s image of itself or a man’s image of himself is not useful, it is discarded. Another may fit better. The Image is made to order, tailored to us.” Individuals ultimately control the accessibility of images and test them through photographs or mirrors. According to the author, society is “more and more accustomed to testing reality by The Image, [that] we find it hard to retrain ourselves so we may once again test The Image by reality.”

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20 See Thomas Paine’s, “Common Sense.”
21 Boorstin, The Image, 185-97
22 Ibid., 189.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., 198.
25 Ibid., 258.
ment would have assuredly drawn criticism in 1962, yet Boorstin’s believes, “the world of our making becomes ever more mirror-like.” This explanation is too simple because it fails to grasp the quantification of mirrors. In fact, modern applicability has only increased the connections and variations available to produce more complex (yet visually simplistic) individuals. Even the concept of individuation clearly presents problems in America’s image culture. Imagine a room full of mirrors at the carnival. Images are everywhere, which show an individual in all shapes and sizes—distorted, morphed, stretched, and dwarfed. Although at some point in the author’s world, a single mirror could test images of individuals against its greater social spheres, there is no longer a single mirror or image that individuals test themselves against.

Increased connections show immense possibilities to test The Image in the twenty-first century. Critic, Christine Rosen claims:

Some of the effects of the Internet appear to undermine Boorstin’s occasionally gloomy predictions. For example, an increasing number of us, instead of being passive viewers of images, are active participants in a new culture of online writing and opinion mongering. We comment on newspaper and magazine articles, post our reviews of books and other products online, write about our feelings on personal blogs, and bombard our friends and acquaintances with status updates on Facebook. As the word migrates from printed page to pixilated screen, so too do more of our daily activities. Online we find news, work, love, social interaction, and an array of entertainment. We have embraced new modes of storytelling, such as the interactive, synthetic world of video games, and found new ways to share our quotidian personal experiences, in hyperkinetic bursts, through microblogging services such as Twitter.

What Rosen doesn’t realize about The Image is that the Internet does not “undermine Boorstin’s occasionally gloomy predictions;” rather it helps reinforce them. Every member of society now actively participates in the realm of

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26 Ibid., 257.
27 Christine Rosen, “In the Beginning was the Word,” Wilson Quarterly 33, No.4 (Oct. 2009), 48-53
the media because the Internet allows a person to extend their presence toward anyone they know or could ever hope to know. Society produces and provides mirrors for everyone else. As a society, the complexity of our connections and the exponential number of media outlets has made imagists out of anyone, anywhere, anytime. People are no longer subjected to a top-down distribution of images from some anonymous agent of control. Boorstin could not calculate that in the future, everyday people would be the means with which society distributes images.

Part III: Pseudo-Event & The Celebrity

“The wisest prophets make sure of the event first.” –Horace Walpole

According to Boorstin occurrences that are “false, or intended to deceive” are called pseudo-events. These events include nearly every aspect of the news, politics, sports, films, art, and advertisements. Pseudo-events are “not spontaneous, planted to be reproduced, ambiguous, and usually . . . self-fulfilling prophecies.” Instead of an exhaustive list of all things that could potentially be pseudo-events, the “counterfeit happenings [that] tend to drive spontaneous happenings out of circulation,” Boorstin briefly describes their relation to spontaneous events.

The author believes spontaneous events differ from pseudo-events because spontaneous events do not garner reports or media attention. The author only mentions two examples of spontaneous events: amateur sports and crime. In today’s world both of Boorstin’s spontaneous examples are extremely problematic. First, amateur sports are spontaneous because they occur for the sake of winning, not notoriety. However, in an era with ESPN’s televised coverage of the Little League World Series and the length the station goes to broadcast the National Spelling Bee, amateur competition is now popular enough to necessitate media coverage. Now that little league baseball is televised, where can one look to find the spontaneity of the amateur?

28 From Jean Baudrillard’s idea that “the sender is now the receiver,” from “The Implosion of the Media,” in *Simulacra and Simulation*, translated by Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994).
30 Ibid., 11-12.
31 Ibid., 40.
32 Ibid., 254-55.
Parents record their children's actions with camcorders to preserve and share memories of the event. In our time, online social media relays every moment in a person's life from childbirth, to “their first _____.” For amateur sports to remain spontaneous, one must look at unorganized pick-up games to find events containing miniscule amounts of aesthetic value worth capturing.

Crime is the other source of spontaneity in America because individuals commit criminal acts hoping to remain anonymous. The popularity of crime shows and the romance associated with “being bad” have almost certainly challenged actual applications of crime. Criminal acts in their own right have become victimized by the media and transformed into a pseudo-event. Boorstin wrote this book before Charles Manson and the notorious serial killers that would follow. The media's role has increased in this regard because the outlets now inform us of crimes and match faces to those who commit criminal acts. Some criminals commit crimes just for the notoriety, while others do it because their psychopathic tendencies are christened as celebrities (in the loosest “Boorstonian” sense of the term).³³ The only criminal acts that are framed as “non-pseudo-events” are those not perceived as criminal, because for whatever reason, they elude public inquiry.

Pseudo-events are not merely restricted to temporal occurrences. Boorstin believes that popular culture has created its own type of character to help perpetuate pseudo-events. Celebrities are considered human pseudo-events because they are “fabricated on purpose to satisfy our exaggerated expectations of human greatness.”³⁴ Cultural heroes are downgraded to celebrities and become ephemeral characters that possess the inability to transcend generations. More importantly, “through the graphic techniques the great man's heroic qualities are dissolved in favor of the purely synthetic 'celebrity' who dies on the vine as soon as the synthesizers desert him.”³⁵ The social force that creates celebrities is ultimately the same force responsible for destroying them. Boorstin asserts celebrities exist as “... new-model “heroes” [that] are receptacles into which we pour our own purposelessness ... they are nothing but ourselves seen in a magnifying mirror ... therefore the lives of entertainer-celebrities cannot extend our horizon.”³⁶ Celebrities never achieve heroic

³⁴ Boorstin, The Image, 57-58.
³⁵ Wish, 216.
³⁶ Ibid., 61.
status because they are not the product of trying times or great deeds. In *The Image*, celebrities are cyclical and their popularity can wax or wane depending on social desirability.

Human pseudo-events occur as long as their existence contains profit potential. Our image-fueled culture needs consumers to see themselves in celebrities in order to continue to buy into those images and sustain production. The celebrity’s visual existence is completely generated by the media as their personas are considered genuine because of the inhabitable portion of the media where they are located. Simply meeting a celebrity carries a different weight than capturing the meeting with a photograph. The photograph proves both the celebrity’s existence as well as the fans, which reconfirms the fan’s existence by showing *The Image* to friends, family, and coworkers. However, in this desire for proof of existence, or the perpetuation of celebrities, it might be worthy to wonder—is everyone in society is in the process of becoming a celebrity?

Boorstin claims, “The world of our making becomes ever more mirror-like.” If the reader accepts the author’s claim that celebrities are “morally neutral” and “highly ambiguous,” and in that neutrality we are each individual reflections of them, then are we as individuals are increasingly morally neutral in a collective society that amplifies this effect. Does society amplify *The Image*’s desire for neutrality? To propose such a question goes against Charles Taylor’s theory of identities being morally rooted. However, pseudo-events, and their celebrity equivalents, have transformed actual events into those that resist simulation. Because of this, “events now have no more significance than their anticipated meaning, their programming and their broadcasting.” Thus, for an event to occur, one must take into account the reaction from the media, often in terms political correctness or as a matter of taste. This means individuals take into account factors which cause the event to occur or not, hindering true spontaneity.

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37 Ibid., 257.
38 Ibid., 58.
Critic, Daniel Bell wonders, “If American life consists of the multiplication of pseudo-events, why has this come to be? What sustains it, what are the reactive forces? Mr. Boorstin does not tell us. One reason, perhaps, is that his key concept is rather vague, and that the frame of reference is inadequate.”\textsuperscript{41} Indeed, one of Boorstin’s pitfalls is his frame of reference, which is unacceptable for a historian of his caliber. However, Boorstin offers a clue that Bell failed to realize. Our eyes are trained to recognize watershed moments or epistemological breaks to reaffirm a sense of historical perspective, and in \textit{The Image}, there is no evidence to historically validate either. It may be preemptive to claim that Boorstin recognized a symptom of postmodernism as early as 1962. However, the inability to think of the present historically, which Boorstin has clearly done, is a benchmark for Fredric Jameson’s, \textit{Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism}. Furthermore, Bell fails to realize that Boorstin does not attempt to answer the question, or even at times define it. What Boorstin presents are a myriad of modernisms to propose a question; perhaps, one beyond the understanding of modernism. For critics and historians, this proposition is hazardous because it fails to fully realize a problem before its explanation is synthesized. Bell furthers his agitation:

In fact, what Mr. Boorstin invites is not an examination of his thesis-as I have been at pains to show, there is no “argument,” in the classic rhetorical sense of the term, or any “propositions,” in the contemporary sociological sense -but a discussion of \textit{The Image} itself as a datum. What does the book actually demonstrate? It shows, for one thing, that Mr. Boorstin has little firsthand acquaintance with popular culture, but has used the traditional methods of a journalist, choosing piquant details from the newspapers and magazines to launch his jeremiad.\textsuperscript{42}

The end of \textit{The Image} offers a vague, but promising solution for society. Where Bell bashed Boorstin for lack of foresight, Richard Pells notes, “Boorstin did not tell his readers how they might accomplish this private emancipation; ap-

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 158.
parently, each citizen could awaken to a higher level of consciousness through an act of will.” A flaw in Boorstin’s thought is that if we as a culture prefer the fantasy of images to reality, the staged event over the spontaneous, and the celebrity over the hero, what incentive exists to change? If this image culture is a socially created and sustained byproduct of an evolution, it begs one to ponder the possibility of reverting back and if anyone so, would anyone want to?

**Part IV: Images and Identity**

“...and who are you?”

“I–I hardly know, sir, just at present--at least I know who I was when I got up this morning, but I think I must have been changed several times since then.” – Alice in Wonderland

It is natural for people to identify themselves in an inherently visual way. That is to say, no matter what differentiation exist between sexes, ethnicities, religions, or morals, they are often seen in relation to one another rather than felt, heard, smelled, or tasted. Images once formulated from social groups are now images realized in the presence of mass-culture. The differentiation of identities lies in the images that we are exposed to. Each person views images in relation to the visual cues from other individuals, but also in how one relates to another’s perception of images.

Despite the fact that Boorstin acknowledges the business of images, he fails to tie together the economic persistence of how images truly impact the individual identity. Historically speaking, prior to the twentieth century images were at best in short supply due to a lack of demand. Identities were simpler because they were more easily constructed and could be maintained with fewer social variables. Images were methodically passive because society was more physically connected and what it meant to be American was simpler because it was not tangled with the abundance of charged images. The American desire for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, however formulated, differed from person to person as it does today. However, the means and ends

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43 Pells, 228.

of an American identity were much less complex because images were not yet an exploitable enterprise. Images, once actively structured and sustained, are now passively exchanged and absorbed.

Boorstin’s graphic revolution (retooled here as an evolution) spawns questions from each American that at one time were inconceivable. For example, questions such as: “How do you see yourself?”; “What do you see yourself doing ten years from now?”; and “Where do you see yourself living when you have completed school?”—are all questionable ideals tied to a form of image production. Our culture has been conditioned to form images and test what is real by those images. It’s much like saying, “Well, this isn’t (who, what, where) I’d picture myself (with, doing, or being) at this point in my life,” because individuals constantly test the reflections of their own image. Now, mass culture accomplishes this feat of image production much more efficiently and effectively in our image-i-nation.

According to Richard Pells, “No matter what shapes mass culture assumed, its unforgivable sin in the eyes of many intellectuals was its encouragement of fantasy and escapism.”\footnote{Pells, 225.} Images are the postmodern equivalent of traveling: people are in a constant state of flux, constantly coming or going but never truly being. All the while society fails to be anything other than purely aesthetic. Pells furthers his point, “As the real world receded from the camera eye, as facts melted into imagery, the spectator found himself even more at the mercy of the media.”\footnote{Ibid., 227.} The greater abundance of more elaborate images challenges each person to test them as authentic. A wider spectrum of finite being is created for the tester and conversely, a narrower range of social acceptability for unique and differentiated identities to inhabit.

In “The Blurred Image: Some Reflections on the Mass Media in the 1960’s,” Thomas Stritch postulates: “What if television is merely pervasive, like basketball and knitting, and like them, not really important at all in things that matter—the formation and development of religious and political beliefs, ethics, philosophical attitudes, family and community living? What if television is more toy than monster?”\footnote{Thomas Stritch, “The Blurred Image: Some Reflections on the Mass Media in the 1960’s,” The Review of Politics, Vol. 34, No. 4, America in Change: Reflections on the 60’s and 70’s (Oct., 1972), 218.} Stritch’s view compels the further expansion of Boorstin’s ideas. However, if the television is not completely re-
sponsible for shaping a given person’s identity, then any influence it contains is partial at best. This means that while the television might not be able to shape a person completely, and even if it does so partially, additional configurations potentially arrive from anyone or anything else individuals relate to in their own personal sphere. This can be represented in the following equation: partial TV/media influence + anyone else’s partial TV/media influences + fragmented, broken, or otherwise intermittent connections of association from any peer group(s) = identity. Thus, any given person confronts images one way or another, directly or indirectly. Even though identities are products of social interactions and peer groups, they ultimately reflect back on and are inherently supported by *The Images* of mass communication.  

The progression of an ideal into a consumable product leads back to the business of *The Image*, and how mass culture has effectively provided a niche for the sustainability of the American Dream. In light of identities being so obviously or inconspicuously reified, one cannot help but think, “What if identities are actually intangibles that defy ownership? Are identities on loan to the world as portfolio fragments of legalistic copyrights?” What mass culture offers a viewer in terms of images, visually appeals much more to a person than what he or she already possesses. Thus, society becomes a cluster of fabricated individuals attempting to find salvation in fabricated endings, promised by a calculated construction of situations and dialogue. People have no choice but to fit into the mold of a character and are subjected to continuous fabrication. This also means that the viewer is at the mercy of an image to provide the real-life ending suitable for them, to which there is no end.

**Part V: The Image and Reality**

*“There are no facts, only interpretations.”* –Friedrich Nietzsche

Modern social connections are often difficult to determine because they are ephemeral, and lack opportunities to solidify. Worse, “the individual’s addiction to mass culture impair[s] his capacity for direct, personal experience.”

Individuals are now in a state of excessive compartmentalization as their peer-
groups decrease in direct social influence, and increase in indirect, electronically-based influence. Under the premise that images are non-threatening, the cyber-realm offers the safest and most simplistic examination arena outside of the real world in which to test images. Because images are consumable products, reality breaks down when those confirming to others lose the ability to find a place in society.\(^{50}\) Images liquidate the real, “but the fact remains, too, that for the first time in human history we can really ‘manipulate’ reality, since we can seek to reorder social relationships rather than to accept social change passively.”\(^{51}\) Though we actively seek to reorder relationships we do so through the passivity of images.

Online activity, social networks, and greater connections demand society to create “more that the world can give us . . . [and] require that something be fabricated to make up for the world’s deficiency.”\(^{52}\) Our identities and personas are continuously refabricated to reify ourselves: constructing, leveling, polishing, imploding, triangulating, detecting, hiding, and surfacing in a constant state of confirmation (or conformation). Author, Stephen Bertman illustrates, “Our identities as individuals, however, are also a function of the roles we play as members of families and society at large. These entities too are being transformed by the power of now, and with them our wider identities as well.”\(^{53}\) The modern implication of social networks is that they exist primarily due to image saturation. The broken connections and live wires of our souls search for others of designed similarity in the visual manner our society knows. Bertman also says: “Social necessity is the mother of invention, for without the existence of others to hear, speak to, or see, there would be no incentive to invent.”\(^{54}\) Regardless of how many images are created, “ultimately these images and sensations, no matter how fraudulent, became more important than reality.”\(^{55}\) However, the distinction between images and reality is theoretically insufficient. The greatest impact of images and the illusionary state they create is that the illusion is no longer seen as such because images and reality have become indistinguishable from one another.

\(^{50}\) Bell, 160.
\(^{51}\) Ibid., 161.
\(^{52}\) Boorstin, \textit{The Image}, 9.
\(^{54}\) Ibid., 96.
\(^{55}\) Pells, 226.
Technology allows the world to increase social proximity, maintain and spur relationships, and remain socially relevant. Apparently, “everywhere socialization is measured by the exposure to media messages.”\textsuperscript{56} Has technological innovation come to the point where society may stay connected via images in a passive way, and feel accomplished in the extent of the passivity? Are these connections only mere representations of social behavior and do we as individuals gravitate toward the appeal of illusory social bonds? Or ultimately, if someone refuses to produce images would they possess an identity or cease to exist at all?

**Part VI: Final Thoughts**

In a later book, Hidden History, Boorstin explained: “The American must go outside his country and hear the voice of America to realize that his is one of the most spectacularly lopsided cultures in all History.”\textsuperscript{57} Our mass media culture harnesses images as a means of communication—voices in a one sided dialogue “without a response.”\textsuperscript{58} Suffice it to say, our nation is one of possibilities, dreams, and excesses, all of which are produced in exponential abundance for the sake of novelty. If the author proposes a dilemma and the American image culture has influenced everyone to fall victim to the passivity of images, then to whom is he writing? Apparently, his book caters to an audience that still values words, or at most one that can discern meaning from them. Fifty years ago, there may have been a clear separation for Boorstin that seemed to puzzle his contemporaries. In retrospect, the prevalence of images in a technologically driven world allows us all to “live in a world where there is more and more information, and less and less meaning.”\textsuperscript{59} Author, Peter Berger believes that “the reality of everyday life is taken for granted as reality,” because “it does not require additional verification over and beyond its simple presence.”\textsuperscript{60} The lack of verifiable requirements may be the neglected byproduct of image’s commanding status everyday life: the visual quagmire that inspired Boorstin’s initial observations.

\textsuperscript{56} Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 80.
\textsuperscript{57} Boorstin, *Hidden History*, 76.
\textsuperscript{58} Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 84.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 79
\textsuperscript{60} Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966), 23
In a sense, one might argue *The Image* is prophetic. Conversely, this text could have fulfilled the destiny of the American mass media culture Boorstin urged others to identify and if possible avoid. Stephen J. Whitfield believes that “the value of *The Image* derives less from the intellectual antecedents that it builds upon than from the pertinent features of American culture that the book describes and anticipates. The changes that the author noticed, and that he weighed against a historical standard, have accelerated in their velocity.”61 If a reader is to believe that “Boorstin lands many more shots than he misses,” then one must realize the claims of the hype-men that stand in both corners.62 Boorstin’s textual exposition teaches us that images are extensive in their assortment, homogeneously simplistic in their representations, and limitless in their ends. Images are more influential in our daily lives than Boorstin could have ever imagined or feared. Individuals are the producers, consumers, and *The Images* personified. Society is braced by images in ways that would be incredibly remarkable if they weren’t so inherently superficial. This survey entertains fragments of Boorstin’s theoretical framework at times proving, disproving, and ultimately advancing his notions into hypothetical possibilities for the twenty-first century. The continuum of images grows into a negative mass—abundance realized in a state of escalating desire and boredom. The American Dream did not die. Though once historically simplistic, it was subjected to an evolutionary upgrade making it a more visually appealing alternative; one that individuals spend a lifetime never able to obtain.

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AN UNEXPECTED AUDIENCE: MANNER MANUALS IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE

By Jonathan Leece

The best-selling book of the entire sixteenth century was not a historical text on the glory of the Roman Empire, or a translation of the work of some great ancient philosopher, or even the Bible itself. That honor belongs to a simple treatise published in 1530, by a Dutch clergyman, on the education of noblemen’s sons in manners. Translated into twenty-two languages within the first decade of publication, On Civility in Children was the cultural phenomenon of the day; it was read by thousands—a seeming contradiction since the book was intended for the nobility, Europe’s minority class.¹ By looking at the changing class structure of Renaissance Europe through the lens of Thorstein Veblen’s theory of the “leisure class,” one can see that there is no contradiction. Instead, the treatise was a logical best seller because the rising merchant class viewed manners as a way to emulate the practices of the ruling class during the early sixteenth century without sacrificing what had provided them with their wealth.

During the late twentieth century, scholarship began to shift towards examining the changing social structure of the Renaissance and exploring the ways classes were distinguished from one another. This is exemplified in Norbert Elias’s work *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* where he claims a major accomplishment of Erasmus’s *On Civility in Children* was the development of the concept of civilité. He describes how the immense popularity of *On Civility in Children* caused much of the importance attributed to the idea today. Norbert’s assertion was a shift from the works of mid-twentieth century scholars, such as Ferdinand Schevil, who claimed the development of individualism, which came from the economic realm, defined the Renaissance. His argument could not pick out differences between the upper classes, since it treated political leaders and the emerging merchant class as the same. However, through careful examination of Erasmus’s work, Elias found differences between the classes of the period. He pointed to Erasmus’s advice to the nobility not to immediately put one’s hands into the food as soon as they are seated, describing it as the actions of “wolves or gluttons.” In addition, Elias made the important insight that Erasmus’s target audience for the treatise was noble boys and the sons of princes.

More recently, Melanie White examined civilité in regard specifically to its importance within the classes of society around the time Erasmus published *On Civility in Children*. She argued that “as social pressures generated by increased literacy rates, heightened urbanization and the rise of capitalism intensified, a new conception of civility and civil society emerged.” Shifting from the previous emphasis on the differences between civil and barbarian, the concept of civility evolved to become a scale to distinguish between individuals within a “civil” society. Civility was “standardized,” with markers such as “politeness, decorum, courtesy or good manners,” which allowed the upper classes to distinguish themselves from other classes based on an examination of each group’s level of civility. However, using civility as a measuring stick

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4 Elias, 57.

5 Ibid., 55.


7 Ibid., 447.
faltered when the manual, written for the few, was acquired by the masses. If the masses could access the means to learn about civility, this conceived notion would fail as an accurate distinguishing factor between the classes.

During the late Medieval period, changes in the balance of power led to the emergence of the noble class, which was the target audience for On Civility in Children. Beginning with Marsilius of Padua’s Defensor Pacis, written in the fourteenth century, an increasing number of assertions held that, within the state, power must be united in one person, the prince. The central claim of Padua’s work is that the interference of papal government in secular life posed a danger to “human happiness, as experienced in the peaceful and self-sufficient community.” This shift in the way intellectuals of the time thought about government allowed secular monarchs to take greater power—moving against the traditional limits that custom had previously imposed upon them. Economic and demographic crises, such as the reduction of the labor market caused by the plague, allowed these secular governments to assume ever-increasing control over their subjects, including the infant merchant class, embodied at that time by the moneylenders. Despised because of their profession, some even viewed these moneylenders as an affront to God. The Church from its earliest days had forbid the practice of usury and many rulers felt they could infringe, with God’s authority, upon these men in order to increase their own power. These intellectual and economic trends began to coalesce as the Medieval period ended and the eventual replacement of religious rulers by secular authorities marked one of the key shifts as Europe entered the Renaissance.

However, throughout the Renaissance, the secular princes themselves slowly began to lose their power to the economic elites who controlled vast fortunes. These merchant elites were capable of controlling thousands of people due to their increasing use of offering loans with required interest payments;

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10 Miskimin, 167.
12 Miskimin, 170.
the social taboos against usury were disintegrating.\textsuperscript{13} With the greater fortunes amassed during the Renaissance and the ability to call upon such wealth at any of the major trade centers of Europe, merchants even had a degree of power over who would rule the nations. No longer could kings demand aid from the despised moneylenders and ignore their obligations if they so desired.\textsuperscript{14} For example, the Hansa family backed the ascension of Edward IV to the throne of England, while two other merchant families, the Fuggers and Welsers, bought, in essence, the electoral votes that made Charles V Holy Roman Emperor. Merchants continued to make loans, but now they had the power to demand trading privileges that princes had to respect. The French historian Lucien Febvre described them as “[men] of swift decision, of unusual physical and moral energy, of an unrivalled boldness and determination.”\textsuperscript{15} In this way, these merchants sound much like the soldiers who made themselves kings during the Middle Ages. In fact, by the sixteenth century, outwardly there was little to distinguish the wealthy merchant class from the ruling class.\textsuperscript{16}

Focusing on the defining elements of the upper classes of society in his 1889 book, \textit{The Theory of the Leisure Class}, Thorstein Veblen offered an early critique of consumerism, which he asserted could be traced back to prehistory. He argued that society’s notions of goods or positions drive economics rather than the utility they offer. This ultimately leads to the development of a ruling—leisure—class who only contributed to society in a small measure, yet held positions of power over the rest. He did not believe the leisure class was devoid of incentive toward action, but claimed it “is so greatly qualified by the secondary demands of pecuniary emulation” the most imperative of which was “the requirement of abstention from productive work.”\textsuperscript{17} In this way, Veblen characterized the leisure class by their actions and the pursuit of things that have no economic value merely to raise their status in society. However, it is not enough for the members of this class to simply possess wealth or power,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[14] Chamberlin, 63.
\item[16] Chamberlin, 63
\item[18] Ibid
\end{footnotes}
but it “must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only in evidence.”

The waste of one’s time in the pursuit of nonproductive actions, which Veblen called “conspicuous leisure,” would include the “need” for education in civility—a concept central to Erasmus’s work.

Desiderius Erasmus was a Dutch humanist, Catholic priest, and theologian who wrote *On Civility in Children* in 1530.19 The book purposed to convince its readers “that chyldren euen straft frō their infancie should be well and gently broughte vp in learnyng.”20 Written specifically for the education of young boys of noble birth, Erasmus intended to bring attention to the need of education for the offspring of the rulers of the time. Erasmus, a man with little tolerance for the merchant class, claimed it was not natural “for money to breed money” and “would accept a usurer sooner than this sordid class of merchants who use tricks and falsehoods, fraud and misrepresentation, in pursuit of profit from any source.”21

In his handbook, Erasmus wrote as though education is something that is not only necessary, but also all but commanded by nature. Writing “nothynge doth better occupy ye whole mynd of man, the studies,” and that the “chyfe of all mans felicitye, [is] to be good instruccion, & right bryngynge vp,” he asserted that training a child to pursue knowledge should be a major part of their upbringing.22 Furthermore, he implied that education is the greatest part of building upon the gift of reason given to mankind. Erasmus compared this gift to those given by nature to other creatures, such as flight, scales, horns, and venom and concludes that a “mynde hable to receiue all discipline” supersedes all these, if a man will use it.23 However, looking back, it seems obvious that Erasmus would have to set this down before his readers as something unquestionably true. His strong convictions about the impor-

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18 Ibid.
19 When reading quotations from Erasmus, keep the following in mind: v and u are interchangeable; the − over a vowel is either −m or −n; ye = the; yt = that; and y’s are very often used instead of i’s
22 Erasmus, *The Education of Children*.
23 Ibid
tance education led him to write *On Civility in Children* and he would have to portray it to his readers as something desirable if he hoped to influence their thoughts on the matter.

Erasmus recognized the argument that the education process should wait until children were older posed the strongest opposition to his push for the development of the mind. The way Erasmus dealt with this argument makes it seem like the method of waiting and only teaching older children was a common practice, probably just as frequently employed as the timetable Erasmus proposed. He urged parents not to squander the first years of their children’s lives by refusing them any form of instruction during that time. If they did, Erasmus warned that when they got around to giving their children an education their “age wyll not so well be handled, and hys wytte shall be more readye to euyll, and peraduenture possessed alreadye w’ the fast hold-yng bryers of vices.”

In this way, Erasmus showed that putting off teaching would only hamper their children’s education when they finally did undertake it. Rather, he argued, education should begin early in order to preempt the development of bad habits.

In addition to the vices that grow as a child ages and is exposed to the world, the observation is made that things are learned more easily by the young than the old. This point seems to be put forward more strongly than the others; “Care not thou for thosefooles wordes which chatter that thys age, partly is not hable inough to receiue discipline, & partlye vnmete to abyde the labours of studies.” By calling those who argue differently than he “fools,” Erasmus used his own status as a renowned scholar and humanist to discredit them and their ideas. In addition to dismissing the opposite point of view, examples are employed to show how the ability for youth to learn is a universal truth. He asks his readers rhetorically about the process of training an animal, knowing that it begins when the animal is still young so that it might remember its training. Erasmus even compares it to horticulture asking, “Do they not teach euen straight way the plãtes whyle they be yet tender, to put awaye theyr wylde nature by graffynge, and wyll not tarye tyll they be waxen byggge and myghtye?” Thus it is made clear to the reader that in all ways it is

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24 Ibid.
25 Erasmus, *The Education of Children*.
26 Ibid.
better to begin the process of teaching at a young age, rather than to wait and put it off for several years.

Despite the probability that *On Civility in Children* was read by more than its intended audience, the methods Erasmus supports severely limited the number of people who could have taken his advice. Although he warns his reader “not to suffer after the judgemente and example of the cõmon people,” the warning is not stated simply because they are commoners, but because of the way they go about raising their children. It is here that the Erasmus meets Thorstein Veblen’s theory of the leisure class and of conspicuous leisure. During this time period, the new ruling families and wealthy merchants of Europe acquired the privileges that were once held only by the nobility of the Middle Ages. One of the best ways to determine the status of a person was whether or not they or their children had to work. One of the unspoken assumptions of *On Civility in Children* is that the parents of the child in question can afford to not only be absent from the house and any jobs they may need to do, but also that the family can pay for someone to instruct their child. The idea that the parents should not “let go any parte of hys [the child’s] tyme vnoccupied” assumes that were their child not given an education, they would otherwise be doing nothing. This is also a physical way of showing off to others that one is wealthy enough not to work. When one knows all the proper etiquette and manners of court, as well as knowledge of other subjects, it is obvious that they have spent time studying—time that would have been spent working were it necessary for the family.

Looking at Erasmus’s work in this manner, it supports Thorstein Veblen’s theory of conspicuous leisure. Although he never writes of how education can be used to show off one’s status to men, he assumes his readers have sufficient time and money to have their children study rather than work to produce something of economic value. This particular ideology is a clear example of Veblen’s theory of conspicuous leisure. Because of this notion, it is obvious that the only people who could afford to follow the guidelines laid out by Erasmus would be the leisure class who proved their status by spending their children’s time on education.

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27 Ibid.
28 Erasmus, *The Education of Children.*
While Erasmus wrote for those already established in the leisure class, the ruling nobles, his audience widened with the growing wealthy merchant class. Veblen’s theory of the leisure class applies even more when the changing nature of the classes is examined from the late Medieval period to the Renaissance. With the early shift towards capitalism during the Renaissance, merchants attained much greater economic power. This marked the rise of a consumer culture where merchants began to take some of the power from the former rulers and, in some cases, took the reigns of governing themselves. 

Although Erasmus makes it clear his purpose is to help the education of the sons of royalty and the nobility, his suggestions can be followed by any who have the means to keep their sons from work during their childhood. “Commonly the rycher that men be, the lesse they care for the bryngyng vp of their chyldren.” Here Erasmus only mentions a man’s wealth as a reason for this attitude. Because of this, the merchants who began to amass great fortunes during the Renaissance could just as easily have taken his advice. Therefore, when looking at Erasmus’s *On Civility in Children*, there is no contradiction between the outstanding number of sales and the relatively small target audience of noblemen for whom Erasmus himself wrote.

Furthermore, as Renaissance merchants, and their sons, began to siphon power for themselves, they fell into the category of rulers that Erasmus was writing for and looked for ways to imitate the established portions of the upper class. Having been under the nobles for so long, they would naturally be inclined to assume the practices they associated with the powerful. In addition, having worked their way up the social ladder, these merchants would be more willing to work to build their power and prestige. Despite Erasmus’s intense dislike of the merchant class in Europe, these men constituted more of his readership since they greatly outnumbered the nobility and saw the manual as an easy way to associate with the noble elite.

The portrait of Georg Giese, painted by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1532, exemplifies the steps the merchant class took to imitate the ruling class.

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29 Chamberlin, 63.
30 Erasmus, *The Education of Children*.
32 Ibid., 68.
The simple fact that this painting, in addition to many others, exists is evidence of the shift in attitude of the merchant class. Portraits gave prestige to those who commissioned them; a concept carried over from a time when only royalty had the capability to have them made. During the Renaissance, however, painters increasingly began painting portraits for wealthy merchants who wished to show off their status. Georg Giese’s portrait showed a well-dressed man surrounded by fine things, including a container filled with gold coins. Books and letters with different seals showed the man was not only educated, but also had contact with various people from different locations.

The commissioning of portraits as proof of their status indicates that wealthy merchants were quickly becoming members of the leisure class. However, they sought to affirm this by mimicking those already in power, evidenced by the sales of pamphlets meant for the nobility, such as *On Civility in Children*.

Despite this desire for association with the rulers of the period, the merchant class would not give up what had given them upward mobility. In 1528, two years before *On Civility in Children* was published, Baldassare Castiglione published *The Book of the Courtier* to instruct his readers on what constituted the perfect courtier. Unlike Erasmus, he wrote his dialogue not just for the nobility, but all the upper classes. This raises an apparent dilemma in that the book written exclusively for the nobility outsold the one meant for a broader audience. However, by looking closer at *The Book of the Courtier*, the explanation for this is clear. Reception for Castiglione’s work was warm, especially from the nobility of Italy. He included things for everyone among the upper class, and referred specifically to individuals he knew personally from his time at the court of Urbino during the first decade of the sixteenth century. However, despite parts that could be applied by the upwardly mobile merchant class, it was less popular among such men. This is probably due to Castiglione’s description of the perfect courtier as a whole; especially the parts

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36 Ibid., 47.
antithetical to the way merchants had become powerful. Specifically, he held fast to the notion that the profession of the perfect courtier should be that of arms. Castiglione affirmed this position again when the discussion in the book moved toward the practice of letters, which better aligns with the merchant’s vocation. In response to the necessity for the courtier to wholly engage in the “ornament of arms,” the speaker jests that in “a contest wherein he who defends the cause of arms is allowed to use arms, just as those who defend letters make use of letters in their defence; for if everyone avails himself of his proper weapons, you shall see that men of letters will be worsted.” These jests at the way of life for merchants would have upset some and probably was one reason The Book of the Courtier was outdone by Erasmus’s work. This shows that while the rising merchant class wished to emulate the rulers of the day, they were less impressed with works that failed to appreciate the means that had raised them to a position of power.

Other instructional manuals written for the nobility during the time also failed to generate the same level of success Erasmus enjoyed. One of the most prominent of these is Niccolò Machiavelli’s The Prince, which was published posthumously in 1532. Initially very popular, the manual quickly fell into disfavor, placed on the Papal Index of Prohibited Books a mere twenty-seven years after its publication. While this is a major reason for the small numbers of copies sold, the subject material would also have affected sales to the merchant class. Seen vaguely in Castiglione’s work, the themes of Machiavelli were specific to those who controlled the government. Despite the fact that merchant families, such as the Medicis of Florence, did rise to the position of ruler, most were not concerned with “the different kinds of militia and mercenary soldiers” or “the way to govern cities or dominions that, previous to being occupied, lived under their own laws.” This explains why some instructional manuals, while written to instruct nobles on issues of the nobil-

38 Ibid., 60.
ity, were not bought in great numbers by the merchant class who wished to imitate the nobility to show their status.

Therefore, the explanation for the great success of Erasmus’s *On Civility in Children* lies in the changing class structure in Renaissance Europe. As the status of merchants and moneylenders grew, they sought to display this by emulating the ways of those who already held power. This included purchasing instructional manuals such as *On Civility in Children* and commissioning portraits such as Hans Holbein the Younger’s painting of Georg Giese. These actions are obviously “qualified by the secondary demands of pecuniary emulation,” with the sole purpose of presenting themselves as above the requirement for productive work. However, they did not forgo that which had given them power and thus disregarded manuals such as *The Book of the Courtier* and *The Prince*. Rather, we see a slight shift in the make-up of the upper class as the emerging merchant class sought to take on many of the trappings of the already established ruling class, such as the manners and etiquette taught by Erasmus’s *On Civility in Children*, but also held fast to their merchant roots, which had brought them to the highest stratum of society.

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41 Veblen, 36.


JOHN GARANG AND SUDANISM: A PECULIAR AND RESILIENT NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY

By Matthew J. Delaney

Perspectives

Dialogue about John Garang and his Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) usually falls into two separate camps. One camp includes many who tend to perceive Garang as a militaristic, power-hungry, dictatorial leader who was not as concerned with democracy as he had claimed. Scholars such as Sarah Hutchinson, Jok Madut Jok, John Young, Claire Metelits, Alex de Waal, and Oystein H. Rolandsen discredit aspects of Garang’s movement and ideology because of his human rights abuses and inability to implement effective civil administrations in southern Sudan.

Mansour Khalid is of the second camp, and he most overtly supports John Garang’s leadership and nationalist agenda. Abel Alier, M.W. Daly, and Douglas Johnson also tend to sympathize with Garang and credit him with having achieved effective civil administrations in the southern Sudan. They perceive his democratic goals as mostly genuine, but they do not deny his human rights abuses. However, they tend to address his autocratic behavior objectively by trying to understand it in the context of the SPLA/M’s violent and propagandistic opposition in Khartoum and among factions in the South.
Francis M. Deng remains relatively neutral with regard to Garang’s success as a politician and as a defender of democracy. Garang plays a small role in Deng’s argument that Sudan’s conflict since independence has been a conflict of identity between the largely Arab north and the mostly African south. Deng claims that long term peace in Sudan will not be realized until the problem of the Sudanese identity is resolved. My exposition of Garang’s nationalist ideology, Sudanism, is in agreement with Deng’s thesis, which is that Sudan’s conflict is identity-driven.¹ The purpose of this paper is to explain Garang’s perspective of the Sudanese identity, which is embodied in his nationalist ideology, “Sudanism.”

Introduction

You, the people, in your popular uprising succeeded in cutting off the monster’s head but the lifeless body continues to deceive you that the monster is still dangerous. No, it is not! Having cut off the monster’s head, it is your sacred duty to push down the monster’s body, not stand in fear of it.²

These are the zealous words of Dr. John Garang de Mabior, Commander-in-Chief of the SPLA/M, in April of 1985. He was addressing the people of Sudan after a recent popular people’s uprising, which overthrew the President of Sudan, Jaafar Nimeiri. Nimeiri was a voracious despot who was the embodiment of the “monster’s head” in the opening quote. Garang did not only necessitate the removal of the monster’s head, but also the destruction of the body. The monster’s body is Nimeirism, which is a term that describes the various policies and dictatorial, exploitative actions of President Nimeiri. Nimeirism is a model of oppression against which John Garang pitted his ef-

¹ Francis M. Deng is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies program at the Brookings Institution and has served as the Sudan’s minister of state for foreign affairs, as its ambassador to Canada, the United States, and Scandinavia. He is currently the Special Advisor to the UN-Secretary General on the Prevention of Genocide.
forts of liberation. In defiance of Nimeirism, Garang offered a new nationalist ideology, which he called Sudanism, and which recognized the ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity of Sudan and called for a new, uniquely Sudanese identity. Garang’s Sudanism was therefore inherently opposed to divisiveness and separatism, and was disposed to unity. This thesis examines the conflicts between Sudanism and Nimeirism, and Sudanism and secessionism in the context of the second civil war in Sudan starting in 1983. In the following pages I will argue that Garang remained consistent and persistent in heralding a new, united Sudan based on Sudanism, which was at heart a nationalist ideology. Using James L. Gelvin’s model of the development and nature of nationalisms I will demonstrate that Garang’s Sudanism was a peculiar form of nationalism. I will describe his nationalist ideology in contrast to Nimeirism and secessionism.

NIMEIRISM VERSUS SUDANISM

John Garang defined Nimeirism as a policy of divide and rule that oppressed the people of Sudan. He said that “the oppressor has divided the Sudanese people into Northerners and Southerners; Westerners and Easterners...Muslims and Christians, and into Arabs and Africans.” According to Garang, separatism, or sentiments among Southerners that called for secession from the North, was a result of oppressive divide-and-rule tactics by the ruling elite. The divisions reflected by the Nimeiri regime were meant to weaken the “just cause” of the Sudanese people. Nimeiri had perpetuated the “neo-colonial system” in which a “few people had amassed great wealth at the expense of the majority;” the “few” being those of the “minority clique regime.”

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4 James L. Gelvin is Associate Professor in History at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is the author of Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire (1998) and The Modern Middle East: A History (2004), and other topics on nationalism and the social and cultural history of the modern Middle East during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid. “Minority clique regime” is a term that Garang used frequently to describe any oppressive Khartoum governments that promoted sectarianism, and that exploited the Sudanese masses for the benefit of the few, ruling elite in Khartoum. This minority clique often comprised Arab elites, and has also been referred to as the Arab hegemony, or the hegemony of the north or “clique-chauvinism.”
formally listed Nimeiri’s offenses against the Sudanese people and condemned him for corruption, bribery, resource exploitation, and other forms of subjugation.⁸ Garang’s cardinal theme was that Nimeiri exploited and neglected all Sudanese outside of the oligarchy of the Arab ruling elite with policies of divide and rule, and by abrogating the Addis Ababa Agreement, which ended the first civil war in Sudan in 1972. He points out that Nimeiri wanted to “deprive the South of mineral rich or prime agricultural land.”⁹ Garang boldly condemned this resource exploitation and said that “natural resources, wherever they are found in the Sudan, belong to the whole Sudanese people.”¹⁰

This is readily applicable to the case of the Jonglei Canal, in which Khartoum wanted to manipulate the canal in order to benefit Northern Sudan, making the rest of Sudan a low priority. Similarly, Garang argued that Nimeiri promoted an Arab nationalism that showed exorbitant partiality to Arab Muslims in Sudan. The full extension of this nationalism is seen in the implementation of the “September Laws” of 1983, which obliged all Sudanese to abide by Islamic Shari’a law.¹¹ Ultimately, in Garang’s perspective Nimeirism is a practice of governance that keeps power in the hands of a few (Arab Northern elites) at the expense of the masses.¹² It is also inherently divisive and does not promote unity among the many different ethnic groups of Sudan, but is exploitive and oppressive.

In following James Gelvin’s argument about nationalism, we can conclude that Garang’s nationalist ideology was formed in response to Arab and Islamic nationalist agendas in Sudan. Gelvin articulates that “all nationalisms arise in opposition to some ‘other’” and that they are “defined by what they oppose.”¹³ Sudanism is defined as the enemy of sectarian nationalisms, of models of dictatorial rule such as Nimeirism, and of secessionism as we will see later. Garang struggled against nationalist ideologies that sought to fetter diverse Sudanese peoples to strictly Arab, African, Christian, or Islamic identi-

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⁸ Ibid., 20-1.
⁹ Ibid., 21.
¹⁰ Ibid.
ties. Sudanism is among the many nationalist ideologies that “defined itself by what it opposed.”

Nimeirism is the face of “sectarian chauvinism” and “religious bigotry.” According to Garang it created and perpetuated the suffering of Sudanese civilians. Sudanism is the antithesis of Nimeirism, and it also contends against separatism and heralds the unity of all Sudanese of every race, gender, religion, and ethnicity. It recognizes that Sudan’s identity can be self-defined and established by the people.

In commenting on the formation of nation-states Garang said that the British went to America and formed a new nation, and although Americans have British origins they do not claim to be British, but American. He also argued that “Argentineans speak Spanish and are Christians, but they are Argentineans not Spaniards and are proud of being Argentineans.” His point was that Sudan can create its own “unique Sudanese civilization” or a “New Sudan.” By asserting that Sudan can found its own national identity, Garang confirms Gelvin’s argument that nationalist movements create nations. Nationalist movements do not bring “preexisting nations to a state of self-awareness,” but they are the authors of their own, “imagined” nation-states.

Garang elaborates on the problems in Sudan that are addressed in Sudanism and says that Sudan has “over 400 different ethnic groups” and that although it is a “multi-nationality country” the Khartoum governments since 1956 have “treated the Sudan as a mono-nationality.” He further expounds that Sudan is a multi-religious country, but Khartoum governments “favor one religion, Islam,” which is fully expressed in the imposition of Shari’a law. According to Garang “nobody is anybody’s minority and nobody is anybody’s

14 Garang, “Statement by John Garang on 26 and 27 May 19,” in Khalid Call for Democracy, 73.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Gelvin, The Israel-Palestine Conflict, 14.
19 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
majority. We are all Sudanese, full stop.”22 He believed that the union of Sudan's numerous ethnicities, cultures, and religions eliminated the concept of a minority. Everyone had equal representation and everyone was a majority. From this perspective there was no “southern problem,” because if there was a problem for anyone in Sudan, no matter what region, then it was the problem of all Sudanese. Garang’s Sudanism arduously struggled to create a New Sudan “in which all nationalities and all religious groups coexisted.” Arabs, Africans, Christians, Muslims, Dinka, and Nuer are all united under Sudanism, and none is valued above the other.24 The unity of diverse people groups is fundamental to Sudanism. Garang could have given his alliance to a southern-Sudanese nationalism, or a Dinka nationalism, or something of the like, but he did not offer such submission. This makes his nationalist ideology peculiar and distinguishable from other ideologies in Sudan.

It is especially peculiar when analyzed in juxtaposition to Gelvin’s argument about Zionism and Jewish nationalism. Gelvin claims that Jews needed their own “homeland” as a result of the anti-Semitism that they faced in Europe and Russia, and that Zionism called for Jews around the world to “embrace the idea that they constitute a single nation, united as in the case of all nations, by the ties and travails of history.”25 Garang was categorized as a black “African” from the Dinka ethnic group. In recent history Africans have been marginalized and categorized as inferior to other ethnic groups such as Arabs and Europeans. Zionism is, in part, formed in response to Jewish marginalization and exclusion. However, unlike Zionism, Garang’s nationalist ideology did not seek to unite all “Africans,” but included all peoples within the Sudanese territory, including Arabs. Zionism does not do this, but instead unites all Jews, observant and nonobservant alike. It does not invite other non-Jewish people groups to be a part of its nation. This is what makes Sudanism distinct from other more universal nationalist ideologies such as Arabism and Zionism. It is very much its own in that it sought to unite many different people

22 Garang, “Response of John Garang to Dr. El-Gizouli, 1 September 1985,” in Khalid Call for Democracy, 92.
25 Gelvin, The Israel-Palestine Conflict, 51.
groups within Sudan, and to include even those of the Arab ruling elites who had historically sought to unite Sudan according to Arabism in a discriminatory way.

ORIGINS OF SUDANISM

In Sudan’s history we can trace the overt progression of the Arab/Islamic identity, and the gradual neglect and exclusion of the south. Garang recognized that the current racial disparities and class distinctions between northern Arabs and southern Africans were a result of historical development. The current divisions between Arabs and everyone else in Sudan took centuries to come to fruition, and have firm historical roots. Francis M. Deng, a former UN Secretary General for internally-displaced persons and an expert on Sudan, suggests that Anglo-Egyptian colonial policy in Sudan exacerbated these divisions, and that ultimately, these divisions led to the first civil war in Sudan in the 1950s. Garang took up arms against an unyielding division between the north and the south with his vision for a united Sudan. He claimed that “since [independence] a small parasitic clique from the pre-independence system of exploitation took over the former instruments of oppression for their own interests and against the wishes of the majority of the Sudanese people.”

Garang points out a “neo-colonialism” at work in Sudan that had adopted the oppressive policies of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule in the form of a “domestic colonialism.” He used Sudanism as an opposing force against the colonial legacy left by the Anglo-Egyptians and against the domestic colonialism of the northern Arabs. The development of the Sudanese identity under the “Arab hegemony” was quite apparent to Garang. He conceded that Sudan’s “major problem was that it had been looking and was still looking for its soul, for its true identity.” Therefore, Garang offered a new identity for Sudan that did not promote the exploitation or discrimina-

26 Deng, 134...
27 “Sudanese Rebel Leader’s Appeal to the People,” Text of appeal, with introduction Radio SPLA in English (1300 gmt 10 Nov 84), BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4 The Middle East, Africa and Latin America; A. THE MIDDLE EAST; ME/7800/A1 (November 14, 1984).
29 Great Britain and Egypt had a joint colonial regime that governed Sudan, and it was referred to as the “Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.”
tion of any races, ethnicities, or religions. Sudanism is adamant about equality because Sudanese history has constantly witnessed the aggrandizement of the Arab race alongside the exploitation and neglect of other races, especially of southern Africans. It is peculiar that Garang should seek to unite two groups of people who had become so blatantly dichotomized. The Arab-African division has grown worse over many centuries, along with the development of the Arab ruling elite in the north who have neglected the southern Sudanese. This should cause us to wonder why Garang did not initially support a nationalist ideology that favored separatism and self-determination for the southern Sudanese.

Garang’s response to this was that “the oppressor,” which represented any ruling party or person in the Sudan that had oppressed and exploited the masses, had “time and again played various politics in order to destroy and weaken the just struggle of our people, including that most historic policy of divide and rule.” It is clear that Garang judged secessionism as a perpetuation of divisiveness in Sudan that had only served to weaken the Sudanese people, not empower them. Garang clearly articulated this view when he said that “it was therefore natural that secessionist movements…developed in different periods in different areas of Sudan thereby jeopardizing the unity of the people and prolonging their suffering and struggle.” Secessionism is a manifestation of the inherent “divide and rule” tactics of the oppressor. It does not help the cause for peace and prosperity of the exploited Sudanese, but actually weakens their struggle and “prolongs their suffering.”

Garang heralded a nationalist ideology that opposed secessionism with the same zeal as it opposed the minority clique regimes. He made this undeniably clear when he said that “if anybody wants to separate even in the north, we will fight him because the Sudan must be one. It should not be allowed to disintegrate or fragment itself.” He describes Sudanese unity as something to be achieved within a piece of real estate that we call Sudan, but that has territorial boundaries delineated by the British. Using Gelvin’s model, clearly

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30 “Sudanese Rebel Leader’s Appeal to the People.”
31 Ibid., 19.
Garang was “inventing the notion that a population used to exist” in Sudan that had a “common interest” and that this united population should not be allowed to “fragment itself.”\(^{34}\) Garang’s commitment to the unity of the invented Sudanese “nation” was ceaseless. Sudanism has absolutely no tolerance for secessionism of any kind. Both minority clique regimes, which are embodied by Nimeirism, and secessionism are enemies of Sudanism.

**SOUTHERN SEPARATISTS VERSUS GARANG AND SUDANISM**

Garang’s unyielding determination for Sudanese unity, and his intolerance of secessionism, galvanized much factionalism among the SPLA leaders and other southern Sudanese. The SPLA-Nasir faction was a prominent, southern rebel faction among others that opposed Garang’s SPLA/M on ideological grounds. The Nasir faction was formed in August of 1991 when two former members of the High Command of the SPLA, Riek Machar and Lam Akol, issued a radio message that called for the removal of Garang from leadership.\(^{35}\) Initially Machar and Akol blamed their defection from the SPLA/M on the dictatorial leadership of Garang,\(^{36}\) and on the accusation that Garang committed countless human rights abuses against SPLA/M members.\(^{37}\) However, on January 24, 1992, the SPLA/M Nasir faction expressed their goals for southern self-determination and the separation of the south from the north.\(^{38}\) The Nasir faction did not endorse Sudanism, and saw the hope for a united Sudan as unrealistic.\(^{39}\) Issues of ideology were fundamental to factional movements against the SPLA/M.

At a delegation between Lam Akol and the Nasir faction with the Nigerian Government, it was proposed that “secession is the will of the Southern people and Garang knows this very well.” It was concluded that Garang’s movement was “doomed” because it did not reflect the goals and “aspirations” of the southern people.\(^{41}\) There was a real fervency against Garang’s mission

\(^{34}\) Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 17.


\(^{36}\) Ibid., 306.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., 312.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 332-3.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., 332.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., 70.

\(^{41}\) Ibid.
for a united Sudan based on Sudanism. We see bold condemnation of Garang’s nationalist ideology, and claims against him that said he was not representing the will of the people, but was instead promoting a self-interested agenda. According to Gelvin, this would invalidate Sudanism because in this instance it would not reflect the “common interest” of the people whom it was attempting to unite.42 Garang faced much opposition from southern separatists, which resulted in manifold human rights violations and the slaughter of innocent civilians by all parties involved. Sudanism could not co-exist with separatist ideologies, and this is reflected in the violent conflict between Garang’s SPLA/M, the Nasir faction and other southern factions.

There are claims against Garang’s unity stance, as mentioned earlier, that posit that the sentiment of the southern people was for secession and self-determination. Therefore, separatists concluded that Garang was not fighting for the “common interest” of the Sudanese people. In the 1990s, there was much pressure put on Garang to renounce his position for a united Sudan, and to concede to self-determination and secession for the South. This would have inevitably forfeited the implementation of Sudanism. Scholars tend to agree that the unity policy was important for causing factionalism.43 Further, there is overwhelming unanimity among scholars regarding the southern sentiment toward secession. Most acknowledge that the majority of southerners favored secession rather than a united Sudan, and that they fought under Garang with this underlying sentiment in their hearts.44 Obviously Lam Akol agreed with scholars and claimed that the “Southern Sudanese received the call for a United Sudan with great skepticism and finally total rejection.”45


45 Akol, 76.
There is a strong case to be made for this reality, because it is hard to understand why there was so much factionalism and internal, violent southern conflict unless Garang was, in fact, not representing the political goals and hopes of the southern Sudanese people. Although Garang claimed to be fighting on behalf of all of Sudan, not just the south, it is important to mention the south because this is the group that has faced much of the historical exploitation by the north. The south comprises many of the oppressed peoples for whose liberation Garang claimed to fight. Therefore, if Garang did not represent the sentiment of the southern people then his movement was not for the “common good” of all. Obviously there were other reasons that fueled and perpetuated southern factional conflict, but ideology played a prominent role.

Ultimately, if Sudanism did not reflect the majority sentiment of the marginalized people of Sudan, then it seems that it was a self-interested nationalist ideology. It was not a valid nationalism according to Gelvin if it did not reflect the “common interest” of the Sudanese populace. Sudanism was not a legitimate movement of liberation if it was only favorable to one ethnic group in Sudan. It was futile and unreflective of southern aspirations if the “excluded” people of Sudan favored secessionism, and not unity.

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT: UNITY OR SECESSION?

It is difficult to attach a specific figure to the southern will for secession during the 1980s and 1990s. However, the true, contemporary southern sentiment regarding secession was recently unveiled in the referendum vote in January 2011. The final count showed that of the 3.8 million registered voters in southern Sudan, 98.83% voted in favor of seceding from the north.46 There is overwhelming unanimity in favor of secession in the south, which causes us to question Garang’s commitment to the “common interests” of the southern Sudanese. Garang was an out-spoken opponent of secession, and in this regard he was in disagreement with most of the people for whom he claimed to fight. The southern sentiment for secession may have been strong during the Garangian era, but at that time it was not a point of enough contention

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to oust Garang from his position of Commander-in-Chief of the SPLA/M. Despite what may have been unanimous secessionist sentiments, Garang remained consistent and persistent with his goals for a united New Sudan, while Riek Machar and Lam Akol seem to have compromised their objectives and the objectives of liberation for the southern Sudanese.

In a radio message to all units of the SPLA on August 28th, 1991, Machar and Akol spoke untruthfully when they claimed that Garang had been “deposed” as the Chairman of the SPLA/M and that Riek Machar would “take over as the interim leader until a National Convention was called to elect the leader of the Movement.”\textsuperscript{47} The reality is that Garang was not deposed and that he remained the leader of the SPLA/M. Machar and Akol’s declaration against Garang did result in the creation of a new southern faction and did have some popularity, but it did not have the restructuring effect for which they had hoped. Secession was not an issue of such importance at that time that it was cause for Garang’s removal. Even though Garang was not deposed, we cannot neglect the fact that Garang did not seem to reflect the “common interest” of the southern people with regard to secession. This further confirms the peculiarity of Sudanism, and causes us to question Garang’s unyielding commitment to unity when so many of his followers advocated separation. Nonetheless, the secessionist will of the Nasir faction was not strong enough to overthrow Garang even though it weakened the movement by resulting in brutal conflict between southern factions and in the wanton slaughter of thousands of civilians.

After unsuccessfully attempting to overthrow Garang, Machar and Akol began to collude with the Khartoum government and received government military support to combat Garang’s SPLA-Torit.\textsuperscript{48} The government also sponsored other anti-Garang groups such as the Anyanya II and Arab militias militarily in order to weaken Garang’s movement.\textsuperscript{49} The Nasir faction, the Anyanya II movement, and the Arab militias such as the Murhallin, all committed inhumane atrocities against Sudanese civilians, especially against the

\textsuperscript{47} Akol, 12.

\textsuperscript{48} SPLA-Torit is another name given to Garang’s faction of the SPLA Movement. Sam Kiley, “Khartoum Supplying Guns to Inflame Rebel Infighting,” \textit{The Times}, September 5, 1994.

\textsuperscript{49} Sudan: In Brief; Government Forces and Anyanya II Launch Assault on SPLA,” Suna in French (1515 gmt 16 Dec 86), BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4 The Middle East, Africa and Latin America; A. THE MIDDLE EAST; ME/8845/A/1 (December 18, 1986).
Dinka. One of the most notorious acts of atrocious violence against civilians by government-sponsored Arab militias was the massacre of approximately 1,500 Dinka civilians in the town of Al-Daein in 1987. Amnesty International accused Machar’s Nasir faction in 1993 of killing approximately 2,000 Dinka.

Garang’s SPLA also had a record of human rights abuses, although it was less egregious than that of the government-funded southern factions and militias. I point out the atrocities of the Nasir faction in order to show that Machar and Akol initially opposed Garang because of his dictatorial and inhumane leadership, and because he did not support the true secessionist goals of the Sudanese masses.

Yet, soon after its origin, the Nasir faction began receiving military support from the government, and then committed heinous human rights abuses against southern Sudanese civilians. The Nasir faction especially targeted Dinka civilians because of their association with Garang, who was also a Dinka and had been accused by some as leading a movement that was seeking Sudanese domination by the Dinka. Dinka civilians were also targeted by the Arab militias employed by the government, as is seen in the Al-Daein massacre of 1987.

Why is it that the Nasir faction claimed to fight on behalf of the secessionist sentiments of southerners and their liberation, but also colluded with an oppressive government and massacred Dinka civilians? Were the Dinka people so unanimously pro-Garang that the Nasir faction felt it necessary to slaughter them in order to accomplish secessionist goals for the suffering Sudanese?

Machar’s Nasir faction was not alone in its human rights abuses. Garang’s SPLA also committed its share of human rights violations against suffering Sudanese civilians and dissenters within the SPLA, which obviously

53 Hutchinson, “A Curse from God,” 308.
perpetuated the conflict between the Nasir faction and Garang.\textsuperscript{54} However, if the oppressed people of Sudan were so anti-Garang and so pro-secession, then the Nasir faction would not have needed to garner abundant military support from the “minority clique regime” and massacre civilians in order to defeat Garang. There may have been substantial pro-secessionist aspirations among the southern Sudanese, but anti-Garang sentiments were not as prominent as Machar and Akol had claimed. This does not mean that Garang reflected the majority sentiment of the marginalized Sudanese, but it does mean that he had enough support to remain the leader of the dominant rebel army in Sudan.

There were two reasons for the collusion of the Nasir faction with the Khartoum government. The first is that the Nasir faction lacked the resources and the popularity to overthrow Garang, and therefore had to acquire government support. Secondly, as is widely accepted, the Khartoum government continually instigated Nasir-Torit conflict and used the Nasir faction to weaken the whole Sudanese rebel movement.\textsuperscript{55} This confirms Garang’s theory that the “oppressor” constantly sought to “divide and rule” the Sudanese people to their demise. The government supported the Nasir faction in order to divide and subjugate the whole rebel cause. Garang must have despised the Nasir faction’s adultery against the Sudanese people as they slept with the enemy in Khartoum.

Ultimately, we can, at the very least, conclude that Garang was fervent and unyielding in his pursuit of Sudanism. While adamant secessionists such as Machar and Akol compromised their own objectives and colluded with the “oppressor” to the detriment of countless civilians, Garang remained consistent about achieving a new, united Sudan that was democratic and that did not discriminate based on race, religion, or culture, and that redefined the Sudanese identity. However, Garang’s hope for a united Sudan could not succeed in the midst of overwhelming support for secession among southerners.

\textsuperscript{54} Human Rights Watch Report/Africa 1994, 3.
\textsuperscript{55} Hutchinson, “A Curse from God,” 310; Hutchinson and Jok Madut Jok, 130; Sam Kiley, “Khartoum Supplying Guns to Inflame Rebel Infighting.” The southern faction led by Riek Machar and Lam Akol was referred to as the “Nasir” faction, and John Garang’s movement was referred to as the “Torit” faction. Khartoum gave military support to the Nasir faction in order to weaken Garang’s movement.
CONCLUSION

Using James L. Gelvin’s argument about nationalist ideologies, which claims that nations are created by nationalists and that nationalisms must promote the “common interest” of the populations of the nations they create, we have traced the development of John Garang’s nationalist ideology, Sudanism. It is defined in opposition to Garang’s idea of Nimeirism, which is an ideology that does not include the “excluded” and that does not unite all of the ethnic groups, religions, and cultures within the territorial boundaries of Sudan. Sudanism also opposes secessionism much in the same way that Zionism opposes dissension among Jews who refute the idea of global Jewish unity. Garang remained consistent and persistent in his pursuit of his nationalist agenda, and hoped for a united Sudan and for a new, distinctly Sudanese identity.

To the great tragedy of those who shared Garang’s optimism, and who trusted in him to implement a viable peace for the “excluded” Sudanese, Garang was killed in a helicopter crash on a flight from Uganda to southern Sudan on the weekend of July 31, 2005.56 The excluded people of Sudan have spoken, and it seems that Sudanism and the hope for a united Sudan has perished with Garang. The true sentiment of the southern Sudanese people is for secession, and in this current era it seems doubtful that Sudanism will ever be realized. Even if Sudanism did not reflect the secessionist interests of the southern peoples, we are still left to wonder if Dr. John Garang de Mabior pushed down the monster’s body, the body of Nimeirism, or if the monster still stands. Is the monster falling down or is it lifting itself up, only to ruin the hope of Sudan? It is the people who removed the monster’s head in the first place, and it will be the people who decide what becomes of its body. Sudanism, in its entirety, will not be the sword with which Nimeirism is permanently slain, but whatever the sword may be, it will be the people who wield it. May they wield this sword in unity and “dig out a mountain with shovels!”57

57 Quote by John Garang on 26 and 27 May 1985 on Second Anniversary of the Bor, Pibor and Fashalla resistance and Ayod revolt. It is meant to signify the power of Sudanese unity. He says “all reactionary and clique regimes in Khartoum must know that when the people are united and resolved they can dig out a mountain with shovels, let alone the May II regime with is much weaker than May I.”; Garang, “Statement by John Garang on 26 and 27 May 1985” in Khalid Call for Democracy, 52.
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CRITICS SCOFFED BUT WOMEN BOUGHT: COCO CHANEL’S COMEBACK FASHIONS REFLECT THE DESIRES OF THE 1950S AMERICAN WOMAN

By Christina George

The date was February 5, 1954. The time—12:00 P.M.¹ The place—Paris, France. The event—world renowned fashion designer Gabriel “Coco” Chanel’s comeback fashion show. Fashion editors, designers, and journalists from England, America and France waited anxiously to document the event.² With such high anticipation, tickets to her show were hard to come by. Some members of the audience even sat on the floor.³ Life magazine reported, “Tickets were ripped off reserved seats, and overwhelmingly important fashion magazine editors were sent to sit on the stairs.”⁴ The first to walk out on the runway was a brunette model wearing “a plain navy suit with a box jacket and white blouse with a little bow tie.”⁵ This first design, and those that followed, disap-

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⁵ “Chanel a La Page? ’But No!’”
pointed onlookers. The next day, newspapers called her fashions outdated. And yet, Chanel’s new designs sold well.

With negative reviews, it comes as a surprise that many American women actually liked Chanel’s latest designs. When studying Chanel, historians tend to focus on her revolutionary fashion designs of the 1920s, which catered to desires for comfortable yet elegant clothing. I emphasize that it is important, if not more important, to study Chanel’s lesser-known 1950s fashions as they complicate the view of American women during that period. After the second world war, Americans tried to return to a sense of normalcy. For men, this meant going back into the workforce, and for women it meant leaving the working world to become domestic housewives. They were expected to channel their increased sexual and economic emancipation into the family. However, many women returned reluctantly to these roles. To further understand this concept, we can focus solely on women’s fashions. Coco Chanel caught onto this trend and chose to rebel against fashion norms by continuing to create clothing styles she knew women would want to wear rather than what they were told to wear. I argue that Chanel’s fashions provided an outlet for women in the 1950s to rebel against structured ideals society set out for them. Instead, these fashions allowed them to embrace their new found liberation from previous constraints as well as reject new, more restrictive trends in 1950s fashion.

To understand why critics judged Chanel’s 1950s designs so harshly, we need to have a better understanding of Chanel’s innovative 1920s designs. Before and during the first world war, the look for women was less simple and highly structured. Scholar Mary Louise Roberts explains that “as the ideal of the voluptuous, curvaceous woman gave way to a sinuous smooth, ‘modernist’ one, the compressed structural lines and highly ornamental fashions of the previous century were radically simplified.” Chanel distinguished the less-structured look as true fashion. Her designs were based off the idea that women did not want to wear tight fitted clothing but rather a style that blended together simple and chic. In that sense, Chanel catered to how women enjoyed dressing. Creating this “sporty” style for women shocked the world,

especially when the look soon became the norm for women’s fashion.

Chanel also embraced what became known as the “modern woman”; a concept created from the first world war. This new style consisted of a less structured look tied in with a more masculine clothing style. Chanel essentially created what was also known as the “poor look,” giving those less wealthy the ability to dress fashionably. Although men were dissatisfied with this new look as they felt women should have more shape, women flocked to her designs. During the war, women chose to stick to a neutral tone of dress by not wearing such a variety of colors. The clothes women started to wear during the war reflected the type of work they had become involved in. In addition, women put away their fashion accessories and jewelry. This particular fashion trend remained after the end of the war. Women continued to wear this “more convenient, minimalist, pared-down look.” Chanel was quick to catch on to women’s new apparel and used it to help create her designs. According to fashion historian, Carline Rennolds Milbank, Chanel had “instinctively grasped the essence of this new epoch.”

Chanel embraced change in women’s fashion by making the waistline a thing of the past and shortening the length of the skirt to well above the ankle—this became known as a “boyish look.” In doing so, she helped down-play the role of superiority between men and women. With a less curvaceous look, there was not any specific female body part that stood out or rather, was more important than the next. In addition, the new style of women’s dress gave way to a feeling of freedom for women; it gave them a “visual fantasy of liberation.” Chanel’s fashion substantiated the idea that women actually enjoyed the clothes they wore while assuming the role of male professions during the war. Her designs not only represented a change in women’s fashion but also offered reassurance that the turn of the century had brought change

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8 Ibid., 67.
10 Roberts, 68.
11 Madsen, 77.
12 Roberts, 68.
13 Ibid.
15 Roberts, 68.
16 Ibid., 84.
to the lives of women as well. With her “modern,” “sporty,” “boyish,” and “emancipated” looks, Chanel had defined the New Woman.

Unfortunately, Chanel’s 1950s fashions did not satisfy critics to the same extent as her 1920s designs had. If Chanel’s two big breaks onto the fashion scene both came at the end of world wars, what would make the viewers like her 1920s designs more than her comeback designs of the 1950s? We have explored the lives of women and their fashion ideals after the first world war, but now we must gain an in-depth understanding of women’s lives in the 1950s to further comprehend how Chanel’s latest fashions reflected their desires. To do this, we can look at historians’ work on the American culture after the Second World War. Scholar Elaine Tyler May argues that the added pressure of keeping men from becoming Communists drove women to assume the role of being quintessential domestic housewives. In the 1950s, it was more favored for women to choose marriage over a career. For those who chose both, they were viewed as being poor wives and mothers. Professionals concluded that men and women should return to their original family roles and counted on the woman to maintain a successful family. Americans put so much focus on women’s roles in the family dynamic that it was hard for them not to conform to what society wanted.

May provides that with the concept that domestic ideals shaped women’s identity in the 1950s, but scholar Joanne Meyerowitz, argues the complete opposite. In fact, Meyerowitz uses evidence from films, articles, and books to show how women were encouraged to become successful in the workforce after the second world war. In reference to postwar magazines, Meyerowitz explains that women who focused less on domesticity and more on their career were glorified. Some articles even “expressed ambivalence about domesticity and presented it as a problem.” Combining the ideas of May and Meyerowitz-

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20 May, 104.
22 Ibid, 251.
itz, it is ever present to see that society held two separate standards for women. Women were being pulled in two different directions: one asking a woman to focus on her family and home, and the other asking her to focus on herself and career. Knowing these contradictions, it is obvious that women were most likely confused with their roles in society and within their own families.

This brings us to the criticisms and eventual praise of Chanel’s 1950s fashions. Her newest designs were not given the outstanding reviews that her 1920s designs had received. But what exactly made critics so opposed to Chanel’s looks of the 1950s? Before being able to understand the critic’s opinions, we have to look at the fashions being introduced prior to Chanel’s comeback. Between 1920 and 1940, women were the top designers in the fashion world.24 At the end of the second world war, men became the top fashion designers. Their designs returned women’s clothing to the structured look that was popular before the first world war. These male fashion designers changed women’s fashion by taking a “look into exaggerated, geometric shapes, bodily asymmetric and stylized directions.”25 Amongst the top designers were Balenciaga, Fath, Piguet, Rochas, and the most famous of them all, Christian Dior.26 Just like the other male designers, Dior chose the complete opposite route of fashion design than the years preceding the war. With a rigid style, he dressed women in “stiffened bodices and constricted waists.”27 Dior was at the forefront of these designs which soon became known as the “New Look.”28 These structured designs became immensely popular, and soon after, were the silhouette that women wore. Consequently, it is these exact looks that played a large role in Chanel’s comeback. She was not thrilled with these clothing designs. Chanel’s goal was to not make women feel as if their dress was a disguise, but rather comfortable, flattering, and timeless.29

Chanel’s competition allows an understanding as to why critics might have thought poorly of her latest designs. With her first fashion show in fifteen years, critics argued that her new designs were not for 1954—they looked

23 Ibid, 232.
24 Madsen, 276.
25 Ibid., 277.
26 Charles-Roux, 356.
27 Ibid, 251.
28 Baillén, 61.
29 Madsen, 282.
outdated.\textsuperscript{30} Some fashion writers even called her new designs “tacky” because of their sharp tailoring.\textsuperscript{31} However, in contrast, some fashion gurus gave her praise for her new designs.\textsuperscript{32} A four page spread of Chanel and her newest designs appeared in the March 1, 1954, issue of Life magazine. The magazine spread showed Chanel’s designs and included a brief article about them. Unlike many before Life magazine, the writers gave her clothing good reviews. Even though these articles had a positive outlook, they still noted the repetition of style over nearly thirty years. The article stated, “Chanel has lost none of her skill. Her styles hark back to her best of the ‘30s—lace evening dresses that have plenty of elegant dash and easy-fitting suits that are refreshing after the ‘poured-on’ look of some styles.”

To examine the consistency of Chanel’s designs, one need only look at specific ensembles from each period. The particular 1920s design we will explore is a printed silk sleeveless dress (Fig. 1).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{chanel_dress.png}
\caption{A piece resembling Chanel’s 1920s design style. (Photograph attributed to Gabriel Chanel (b. 1883, d. 1971), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Friends of the Costume Institute, 2005 (2005.114a, b), http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/all/ensemble_house_of_chanel/objectview_zoom.aspx?page=5\&sort=0\&sortdir=asc\&keyword=coco chanel\&fp=1\&dd1=0\&dd2=0\&cvw=1\&collID=0\&OID=80038147\&cT=1 [accessed June 5, 2010].)\label{fig:chanel_dress}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{31} “Freeneesh?”, 28.
With a square neckline, drop waist, and mid-calf hem, the dress is a simple, yet elegant ensemble. The fabric alone is gorgeous with a large red pattern that has interesting detail but is not overpowering. A large brown bow ties at the side of the waist adding dimension and adornment giving the dress an overall couture feel. The dress also has a matching silk headscarf that gives the outfit a sense of sophistication and completes the outfit.33

Similarly, Chanel’s 1950s ensemble has the same elegance as her 1920s piece. This 1950s design (Fig. 2) is made of an off-white printed silk. It is a shirt waist dress with vertical pin tucking from the yoke down to below the knee hem. A simple leather belt is worn at the waist which hints at the wearer’s waistline but does not make her feel confined. The sleeves of the dress are elbow length and have the same pin tucking as that of the dress. Without a


traditional collar, the neckline has a simple string tie bow in the same gorgeous fabric as the rest of the dress. Chanel compliments this dress with a black wool coat which is lined with the same printed silk. The cuffs of the coat are turned back, revealing the lining which gives off another complete couture look. In addition, the coat is adorned with a small flower pin which gives the coat a sense of sophistication. Both pieces discussed are understated in design and reflect Chanel's signature appeal to women in each period.  

What exactly were audiences expecting to see from Chanel's designs at her comeback show? And, with such high anticipation, why were critics not pleased with her designs? As explained earlier, due to Chanel's unfading name, her 1954 fashion show drew crowds well in advance. It is evident that the world had hoped for something completely unique when it came to Chanel's comeback fashions. They expressed utter disbelief when the designs did not drastically change. A *Los Angeles Times* article, “Chanel a la Page? ‘But No!’” commented on the fact that Chanel's newest designs did not reflect what the world had anticipated. The author writes, “There were absolutely none of the fabulously jeweled gowns that some fashion sleuths had been busily predicting.” What is interesting here is how many people tried to predict the new trends and never took into consideration the fact that she might actually want her fashions to look the same as they had in the past. On the contrary, they hoped that with the end of the second world war, Chanel would again bring a new style to women's fashion. When audiences did not see revolutionary designs like those she introduced in the 1920s, they considered her comeback a failure.

With so much hype about her upcoming fashion show, it seems critics forgot that Chanel would most likely abide by her original outlook on women's fashion—comfortable and chic. It seems fashion audiences around the world expected too much out of Chanel. Although spectators might have


36 “Chanel a La Page? 'But No!'”
seen Chanel’s new collection as taking a step back in fashion, Chanel herself, probably saw it as continuing her legacy and keeping consistent with her ideas. Chanel stayed in the same realm of fashion while critics expected a new inventive style. Critics had set Chanel’s designs on a pedestal because she transformed women’s fashion in the 1920s. Critics seemed to have forgotten that Chanel never conformed to the 1920s fashion ideals. What was to say she would conform to those of the 1950s? Just as she had in the 1920s, Chanel rebelled against fashion norms in the 1950s.

The idea that Chanel’s new designs would be innovative might have stemmed from the fact that she was once again introducing new designs after a world war. It was not that Chanel changed, but rather the world changed and critics thought her designs would reflect that. After the end of the second world war, people expected the same change and forgot the fact that Chanel would maintain her original views on fashion even if the world did not. With the war behind them, people might have felt as if they could finally move forward. I think seeing Chanel’s fashions made critics, designers, and those wanting to purchase or replicate her fashions take a step back and question the degree to which they had actually moved forward. The world looked to Chanel’s designs to reflect the progress in the postwar and used her designs to measure that. Comparing Chanel’s latest fashions to her famous 1920s designs allowed critics to judge and evaluate her fashions much more closely. Incidently, her fashion comeback did not show the unstated agreement the world predicted. This could possibly be the key reason as to why so many criticized Chanel’s 1950s designs. People had to question whether or not they had moved on after the second world war and made progress because her fashions were so similar to her creations of the 1920s.

Although many people throughout the world criticized Chanel’s fashions, Americans took a liking to them. Despite what most thought or said about Chanel’s simple designs, in the United States buyers still purchased her products.\footnote{“Freeneesh?” Time, February 15, 1954, 28.} Scholar Pierre Galante further explains in his writings, “The American woman immediately saw what was eternally modern in the Chanel look: the breasts and hips in their places, a certain elegance, freedom of movement and the look of youth.”\footnote{Galante, 210.} Designers in the United States disregarded what the
press said about her fashions and immediately chose to replicate her designs by encompassing the characteristics of her styles. She even targeted the budget shopper by mass producing her designs in the later 1950s. Chanel understood what women wanted and geared her designs toward them. Making light of what fashion critics had to say, Chanel continued to cater to women's wants and desires. She took into consideration the idea that the modern woman was a professional who wanted comfort in her clothing. Chanel still felt women had to be practical and not be “trapped” in their clothing.

This made her designs popular among women. The September 28, 1957, issue of The New Yorker expresses the idea that woman needed comfort and practicality. The New Yorker writes, “[Chanel’s designs] present a collection of dress and suit designs that have begun to affect women’s styles (and, apparently, women’s minds) every bit as powerfully as her designs of thirty-odd years ago did.” Chanel knew women wanted to work and used her clothing to demonstrate that. If women simply wore the constructed look Dior produced, they would essentially be conforming to what society and men wanted from them. Wearing Chanel’s pared-down look allowed women to make a statement using their clothing. Her fashions expressed the idea that women did not want to be restricted to exaggerated feminine roles; what they wanted was to enter the work force. With Chanel’s look being copied and mass produced, it was easier for women to get their hands on her designs. For instance, the two-piece suit inspired by Chanel’s latest fashions was not out of the reach of an ambitious and professional woman. With Chanel’s style of clothing more accessible, even middle class women were able to express their desire of being less influenced by what men had to say about their dress. Women could listen to their own aspirations regarding their roles in society.

As a result, American women used Chanel’s 1950s designs to show men and the rest of society that they wanted to focus on themselves and their work without fully rejecting femininity and domesticity. Chanel shows she is an iconic figure in the fashion world. Her fashion designs essentially helped free

42 Ibid, 34.
43 A suite inspired by Chanel sold for about $24.95. Galante, 211.
women of conforming to what the male fashion designers wanted to see on
them. Instead of using her voice to help change the political status of women,
Chanel used her clothing designs to give women greater freedom of choice in
what they wore and how they presented themselves. With her designs, Cha-
nel influenced women to stand up for their wants and desires. Her clothing
designs helped encourage American women to not only go against fashion
norms but societal norms as well.
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How critical was Preston Brooks’s attack on Charles Sumner in May of 1856 to the coming of the Civil War just four years later? Was the attack really about the defense of Senator Andrew Butler’s honor, or were there ulterior motives at play? These are some of the questions William James Hull Hoffer seeks to answer in his latest book, *The Caning of Charles Sumner*. This event has been researched by many historians over the years, but the visceral nature of the attack and its proximity to the Civil War continue to capture the imagination of modern historians. Hoffer’s account is a welcome addition to the volumes written on the subject and offers rare insights to the event that only a constitutional and legal scholar can bring to the table.

Hoffer examines the political forces behind the caning of Sumner that raised sectional tensions in the late 1850s. While arguing that sectionalism and cultural divisions were a driving aspect of the matter, Hoffer does not overstate his argument or assert that an overwhelming homogeneity existed among the people within the opposing sections. An important aspect of Hoffer’s study is his examination of the legal battle over slavery beginning in the late eighteenth century, and how this battle could no longer be restrained to
written and spoken words in the 1850s. The fact that Sumner and Brooks were both lawyers speaks to the breakdown of the law during this time (p. 126).

Hoffer’s approach is made clear in the opening of the book: “One of the purposes of this type of book is to enable readers, particularly students, to recapture some of the drama of the past while standing far enough removed from it to examine why they respond to those events as they do.” Hoffer continues, “We must remind ourselves to be historically minded, to see the world as they saw it in their time and place (p. 5).” With this pointed rejection of the postmodern perspective on history, Hoffer gives a careful review of the history of the conflict over slavery in the United States leading up to the 1850s, and how these events shaped opinions of “the peculiar institution” in the North and South.

Hoffer accomplishes his analysis by first reviewing the backgrounds of the specific persons involved in the caning as well as the political and legal conflicts over slavery made by their predecessors. He believes that the legal issues created by ambiguous compromises contained within the Constitution set the stage for the conflict that would follow. Hoffer bluntly describes the Constitution’s weaknesses stating, “poor draftsmanship and the magisterial desire to compromise over vast fissures in the populace about issues such as slavery left behind a minefield for future generations to navigate, particularly with regard to the admission of new areas to the country (p. 37).” These unsettled issues led to the controversial compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act that followed four years later. He explains how each of these compromises only stoked the conflict over slavery and how each failed to settle the issue.

Within this context Hoffer reviews the circumstances surrounding Sumner’s “Bleeding Kansas” speech. He does an outstanding job of explaining the pressures placed on Sumner by the election that loomed just six months into the future. Sumner’s need to secure re-election may have prompted him to political grandstanding in order to gain popularity with his constituents rather than to motivate members of the Senate toward specific actions (pp. 63-65). Based on this speculation, Hoffer concludes that Sumner had no intention of impugning the honor of Senator Andrew Butler. While Hoffer makes a strong point in identifying much of Sumner’s motivations, I feel that attributing Sumner’s rude ad hominem attacks against Butler to politics as usual is a little
off the mark. While we cannot be sure that Sumner intended to challenge Butler's honor, we can be sure that Sumner intended to insult him.

*The Caning of Charles Sumner* also offers some significant insights into the trial of Brooks following the attack. Hoffer's expertise in the law truly shines here and offers a perspective that few historians are qualified to give. His analysis of how the law was carried out as well as an examination of Brooks's interpretation of the law and the Constitution help the reader to better understand Brooks and his Southern comrades. Hoffer also successfully argues that the attack and Brooks's handling of the aftermath was calculated to provide greater political support for Brooks in his reelection campaign (pp. 84-95).

The final two chapters of the book answer the question, “Did the caning of Charles Sumner cause the Civil War (p. 96)?” Hoffer explains that the sectional strife that rocked the nation in the 1850s, and the Civil War that followed, “did not begin with a reaction to the caning of Charles Sumner, but it certainly followed its trajectory and was a natural outgrowth of it (p. 106).” Another significant piece of the war causation question, as it relates to the caning, is Jason Brown's testimony that the Sumner beating motivated his father John Brown’s first slayings of those opposed to abolition in Kansas (p. 111). These murders, and Brown's later attempt to procure the weapons at Harpers Ferry for use in inciting a slave insurrection, ignited stronger feelings both for and against the institution of slavery and brought the nation much closer to war. Hoffer's analysis of this domino effect that traces the Civil War back to the Sumner beating is nuanced and fair. Hoffer makes no wild claims, nor does he take the radical position that there was a single cause of the Civil War. He adroitly examines the probability of the main theories and offers an appropriate amount of hedging against each one.

*The Caning of Charles Sumner* is not without its weaknesses, however. There is no discussion of historiography and there is a dearth of citations throughout the book. Hoffer appears to be aware of this issue and has sought to mitigate it with his inclusion of an “Essay on Sources” that lists his sources divided by subject. While this inclusion can certainly aid a scholar in research on the caning and the setting that influenced it, footnotes or endnotes would make a welcome inclusion in a second edition of the book.

Additionally, Hoffer does not deal with many of the specifics of the attack itself and the events that occurred during the two day period between the time that Sumner made his “Bleeding Kansas” speech and when Brooks
attacked Sumner. Given the title chosen for the book, a discussion of the specifics would seem to be in order. Although David Donald has covered this aspect of the attack in detail, a recounting of it in this monograph would add some interesting background to the book. A more in-depth review of antebellum Southern culture as offered by Bertram Wyatt-Brown would also help the reader to understand how Brooks’s version of the requirements of the Southern Code of Honor applied, or did not apply, in this specific case. Such additions would help to round out an otherwise outstanding study.

My main criticism of Hoffer’s book concerns his conclusion that Sumner was not out of line in making his speech: “Sumner did not provoke the attack. He did not shout epithets directly at Brooks or Butler or South Carolina. In legal terms he did not use ‘fighting words.’ The orations rhetoric was incisive but well within the tradition of classical rhetoric and meant to be (p. 129).” This seems to be a bit of a stretch as I do not believe that the tradition of classical rhetoric sanctioned the use of ad hominem attacks mocking the impairments of stroke victims.¹

Hoffer claims in the epilogue that any indictment of Sumner for his remarks, and any expression of sympathy for Brooks, is proof of the immortality of the “Lost Cause” myth. This also seems to be an overstatement of the case in defense of Sumner. Holding Sumner responsible for his inappropriate remarks is not the same as excusing Brooks. While blaming the victim of a crime is an unsavory proposition, the truth is that Sumner insulted Butler, and Sumner’s Northern friends said as much to Sumner following his speech.² If Sumner had the same presence of mind as his Northern colleagues, he would not have rudely articulated such personal attacks against Butler.

Even so, this does not excuse Brooks. When Brooks improperly decided to place Sumner in a category beneath that of a gentleman, Brooks sought to indefensibly justify a vicious beating in which his victim had no chance to defend himself either verbally or physically, let alone allow a second to represent him. Here lies the proof of Brooks’s guilt even when examined within the context of the cultural norms of the antebellum South. When Brooks bent

¹ Sumner ridiculed Butler’s tendency to spit while speaking as a result of a partial paralysis of his lips likely caused by a stroke.
² David Donald, Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960); 289.
the rules of the code that he claimed to follow in order to gratify his pride, he proved that he was a coward who was unworthy of the gentlemanly title he claimed for himself. In short, Sumner’s speech was out of line and Sumner should have known that such personal attacks would generate retribution; however, when Brooks overreacted and attacked an unarmed Sumner without warning he dishonored himself along with the society that he claimed to defend.

As we review the events of the 1850s, taking into account Sumner’s and Brooks’s roles during that time, we can take comfort that the practice of slavery was brought to an end by the Civil War that began five years after the attack. While we cannot be sure that the assault set off an unstoppable chain of events leading to the Civil War, it seems clear that Sumner’s blood was not shed in vain. Perhaps then Brooks and Sumner can be viewed as the catalysts the nation needed to right the wrong that was “the peculiar institution?”

William James Hoffer has produced an outstanding monograph and I recommend it to readers both inside and outside of the academy. His clear writing and thoughtful analysis combine to create an interesting telling of this tumultuous period in American history that is sure to enrich its readers.
Study of the California missions has come a long way since elementary school curriculum. For most, knowledge of these early Spanish and Native American interactions never exceeds a fourth grade diorama. We might recall the basic introductions and outcomes of Christianity, agriculture, and the early formation of a California society, but few ever question the deeper significance of these interactions. Recent scholarly interpretations of these basic facts help present a more complete picture of the California mission era and its inherent issues beyond the standards we learn as children as well as contextualize the mission system’s role in subsequent history. James Sandos’s *Converting California*, Albert Hurtado’s *Intimate Frontiers*, and Kent Lightfoot’s *Indians, Missions, and Merchants* each emphasize different elements of California mission history, but taken together their works create a fuller illustration of the interactions taking place in eighteenth-century California, present the ef-
fects of those interactions, and show how they might fit into the broader study of borderlands history.¹

The initial encounters of indigenous populations and foreign settlers are commonly perceived negatively—an unquestionable clash between the people that inhabit a common space. California’s earliest phase as a “borderland” certainly encompassed an element of clash, but was also a place of economic, sexual, and cultural exchange between people, whether for better or worse. A common analysis of this period by historians is to measure the success or failure of the mission system. As Sandos suggests, perhaps a more apt analysis would be to examine the Indian-Franciscan past in comparison to the mythologized or demonized past conceptualized by historians today.² Whether connoting a positive or negative history of California’s settlement, there is no denying that a genuine understanding of the era lies in the interactions of the region’s multicultural early residents. From Spanish priests and soldiers to Russian merchants to heterogeneous Indian groups, all of California’s diverse peoples helped shape the events that became California mission history and in the process, their own respective identities.

In Converting California, Sandos offers a comprehensive examination of Franciscan and Indian life in California that together created mission history as we know it today, but that also features less typical elements of this history. Much of scholarly mission history has been reduced to two schools—“Christophilic Triumphalist” (those who view the Franciscans as a positive influence in Native Californian life) and “Christophilic Nihilist” (those who view the Franciscans as committing genocide). In Sandos’s interpretation, however, nothing is as simple as good or bad, indicating that these views are too rigid and that many variations existed concurrently to falsify either of these schools.³ Sandos presents numerous instances that refute both

¹ One of the prominent themes in the history of the West is the notion of a requisite borderland—a region in which two or more disparate cultures/ethnicities/societies come together and how their exchanges create this place. Some general but exemplary works on the early American borderlands include James F. Brooks’s Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands (University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Douglas Monroy’s Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush (University of California Press, 1998); and Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S. – Mexico Borderlands History Samuel Truett and Elliott Young, eds. (Duke University Press, 2004).

the mythology and the demonization of the mission past, instances in which Franciscan priests have pure intentions for their wards and in which Indian neophytes (those new converts to Christianity) honestly want to make mission life a viable option for themselves. Although these are exceptions to the rule, what matters is that they do exist in an era that is often viewed in terms of extremes. As later evidence in this essay will show, his examination suggests that these cultures were indeed at odds with one another from full-on violence to more passive methods of dominance and resistance, but Sandos manages to go beyond the basic facts of these interactions and beyond the assignment of “good” and “bad” and develop the complexities of two disparate cultures coming together in the form of a dialogue rather than sheer contest. In the process, he manages to give agency to Indians while still showing some compassion toward the Franciscans.

Conversely, by emphasizing one aspect of mission history, Albert Hurtado’s *Intimate Frontiers* suggests that mission history is one of dominance and subjection. By looking at sex between the Spanish and Indians in eighteenth-century California, Hurtado claims that the West became more than a geographic frontier, but also one of intimacy—“frontiers of the heart, frontiers of the mind and frontiers of difference”—in which people interacted in discreet ways that complicated the basic religious and economic exchanges associated with the missions. Furthermore, sex was a way to determine power relationships, whether by attempting to reform it in order to “civilize and Hispanicize” native populations as in the Franciscans’ case or by rape due to “stress, anger, and fear” as in the Spanish soldiers’ case. Despite these assertions, Hurtado states that Indians largely maintained their traditional sexual identities, identities that treated marital, premarital and extramarital relationships (as well as male homosexual transvestism) much differently than Spanish expectation, and for this reason, the missionaries’ efforts can be interpreted as unsuccessful in having a lasting, authentic impact.

In a third interpretation, Kent Lightfoot’s *Indians, Missionaries and Merchants* takes a different approach and examines California’s mission system in comparison to the region’s Russian mercantilism. To analyze the native view-

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5 Ibid., 2, 15.
6 Ibid., 4, 19.
point within the colonial context, Lightfoot employs a systematic approach of looking at each colonizer's methods of enculturation, relocation, social hierarchy, labor, interethnic union, demography and chronology. In so doing, Lightfoot argues that Indian societies were (and still are) dynamic and recreated their own identities by incorporating new practices and customs from the colonial culture. He admits that the historical conception is to view the Franciscans as cruel and the Russians as good-natured (and as indicated in this essay later, it is difficult for historians not to agree with this juxtaposition), but that what really matters is native agency despite these colonial frameworks.7

Converging in this sense of agency, all three scholars aim to make all sides involved actors in their narratives and not simply relics of history. Historical treatment of California’s population groups colors subsequent interpretations of how those groups interacted. Under Sandos, Franciscans are presented as both benevolent and cruel, providing for neophytes (albeit in a parental sense) as well as imposing strict regulations and punishments. Lightfoot describes their coercive practices, but also recognizes the fact that Indians were free to leave the missions before baptism. He likens missionaries’ recruiting success to being “excellent salespeople” and not necessarily benevolent or malicious.8 If these representations allow for some compassion toward the Franciscans, Hurtado’s depiction presents them as the antagonists of the narrative. He views the missionaries as the “monsters” in the vein of Christophilic Nihilists, at worst acting unreasonably brutish and at best merely being blinded by cultural misunderstanding. The Spanish soldiers, too, are determined by Hurtado to act beastly, but this notion is common among historians and will be illustrated in a later discussion of their interactions with Indians. How historians treat the Spanish, however, is secondary to the concept of Indian agency.

Each author makes careful note of ways in which Indian groups acted in their own rights and helped shape their own identities in the process. Indians posed a challenge to Franciscans, sometimes unintentionally, from their immense diversity of languages and their “baffling” practices, and sometimes by active forms of resistance. Franciscan efforts of “denaturalization,” their attempt to detach Indians from a community identity and instill an individual

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8 Ibid., 83-84.
identity held accountable to “civilized” behavior, according to Sandos, were complicated by these challenges.⁹ Although there is little discussion of non-mission Indian identity during this period, glimpses into neophyte uprisings offer proof that California Indians were not simply a subjugated people. The biggest revolt, at San Diego in 1769, destroyed the mission and killed most of its inhabitants including its priest. It was an all-out rejection of a Spanish system of cultural dominion and although it did not end the mission system, it was no less a blow to missionary morale and proved the Indians to be a major threat. Other instances of rebellion, despite being subdued quickly were equally significant in illustrating Indian agency against the odds. Something as simple as wearing a crucifix outwardly with a native talisman under a robe demonstrates a type of neophyte passive resistance. Regardless of whether they felt they could obtain power from both symbols or did it out of spite, the significance is that neophytes maintained their traditional customs within the context of imposed customs. In this way, according to Lightfoot, they not only created their own public and private spheres within the missions, but also recreated their identities in the process.¹⁰

All three authors provide a number of ways in which Indians interacted with California’s newcomers beyond the standard narrative of subjugation. Most prominently featured in the discourse of interethnic exchange is that of intimate relationships. Branching from these interactions are the ideas of identity formation and enculturation, and the notions of cultural success and failure. Lightfoot thus introduces a new group to the California mission era that do not receive much attention elsewhere—Russian merchants. Like most merchants throughout history, their primary purpose for settling a new area was to pursue commercial interests (in this case fur trapping), and they are perceived as taking a more hands-off approach to the surrounding peoples not directly involved in trade. Those Indians they did interact with were often their employees and sometimes their wives. Beyond this, Russian merchants maintained cordial, non-invasive relations with Indians and had little to gain from converting or “civilizing” their native neighbors (although this may not have been so had the Russian Orthodox Church played a role in the colony,

⁹ Sandos, 17.
¹⁰ Lightfoot, 112.
In this context, Indians were able to sustain their identity and borrow from the Russian colony as well. This is not so with the secular Spanish. Soldiers committed acts of violence and rape against Indian women, acts that often left physical or psychological marks—be they pregnancy, disease, or traumatism—but were often unpunished beyond verbal reproach, with victims often receiving more questioning than the violators. Few Spanish married Indian women during the mission era. In examining interethnic relationships, it is generally agreed that the missions were unsuccessful in procuring their desired changes through sexual reform and that the unintended consequences of sex between Indians and Spanish at this time brought about failure and misunderstandings between the groups rather than any fruitful exchange.

What makes these authors’ narratives unique is that they take a systematic approach to examining Indian culture within a colonial context, thereby identifying and giving agency to all sides. Although Hurtado provides an honest depiction of California life in the mission era, he fails to provide sources or examples of how Indians acted on their own volition in response to the cruelty they faced rather than simply being continuously acted upon. Sandos shows Indians acting of their own free will as in their insurrections mentioned previously, but he does not go into much detail about their lives after the missions or provide any synthetic analysis of their identities at the end of the mission era. Lightfoot may provide the best synthesis in attributing a dynamic identity to Indians, able to engage with and incorporate new cultures. One criticism is that he consistently hints at a comparison between mission Indians and southern plantation slaves, but he never develops this into a full-fledged argument. This would be an interesting topic for further study, as missionaries were adamant about neophytes not being slaves in any sense of the word.

What appears to be a straightforward history initially turns out to be as complex as the area is diverse. With peoples inhabiting a space for vastly different reasons comes a clash of cultures. But while that is to be expected, the real significance is in how people are able to go beyond a clash and begin engaging with one another. Whether working for Russian merchants or main-

11 Ibid., 129.
12 Hurtado, 13-18.
aining their own customs under a strict mission system, Indians were able to function within a colonial framework—passively or actively, publicly or privately—and create a new sense of identity. Whether this is seen as a success or a failure for the mission system in general is still up for debate. What we see in Sandos’s, Hurtado’s, and Lightfoot’s works is an ability to overcome this debate and present a historical era in ways it may have been conceived by its participants.


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We, the executive editors, would first like to show our immense appreciation to our wonderful and brilliant editing board. With the heavy course loads and other extracurricular activities our editing board was engaged in this year, they still were able to show their dedication to our project and help us produce a phenomenal journal of history.

We would also like to personally acknowledge and thank our contributing authors. Their hard work, patience, and determination has been truly admirable and reflects in the exceptional work they have submitted to our journal.

Furthermore, we want to thank all those who submitted to *The Forum* this year. Although we were not able to select every entry, we appreciate being afforded the opportunity to select papers from diverse historical fields and interests. We recognize the incredible amount of time put into writing and editing papers necessary to meet our requirements. Thank you for your support and we hope you will continue to pursue the opportunity to be published in *The Forum*.

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INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

*The Forum* welcomes submissions from currently enrolled or recently graduated students from all accredited colleges and universities. Submissions must be historical in nature and should be sent electronically to calpolyforum@gmail.com in accordance with the stated requirement and procedures available on our website: http://calpolyforum.wordpress.com. The following summary explains our policies but should not be considered exhaustive.

**Editorial Procedure:** All submissions to *The Forum* are read and evaluated by a panel of three editors using a double-blind review system. All decisions rest with the executive editor(s) and the faculty advisor based upon the needs of the journal. The editors may request revisions and, where appropriate, reserve the right to make adjustments to the text.

**Style:** Excluding book reviews, all submissions should follow the Chicago Manual of Style (Turabian) and cite all sources using footnotes. Papers should also include a complete bibliography of all works cited. Book Reviews should use parenthetical citations, for example: (p. 64).

**Length:** Upon initial submission, book reviews should be between 500 and 800 words. All other submissions should be between 1,500 and 5,500 words, exclusive of footnotes and bibliography.

**Recency:** All papers must have been written within one year of their submission. Therefore, a paper submitted during fall term must have been written no earlier than the previous fall term.

**Recommendation:** All submissions must be accompanied by a recommendation form. Typically, this form must be completed by the professor of a class for which a paper was written. In rare cases, the editors may waive the recommendation requirement. Please see our website for complete information.