

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA IN WARTIME AMERICA

Martin J. Manning and Clarence R. Wyatt, Editors

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Encyclopedia of Media and Propaganda in Wartime America

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VOLUME ONE

Martin J. Manning and Clarence R. Wyatt, Editors



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
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*For two stalwarts in my life:
My best friend Eugene D. Abbondelo,
for more than forty years of friendship and support;
and for my sister, Margaret M. Manning; she knows why.
This dedication is long overdue.*

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Preface

This volume represents the contributions of at least 14 scholars, with experience in their fields of research. It brings together important scholarship on media and propaganda in wartime America, beginning with the early colonial wars and ending with the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection in 1900, which witnessed the dawn of the 20th century.

The scope of this volume is intentionally broad and its intent is to highlight individuals and events that were noteworthy for the media and propaganda that they generated. Obvious example is the Battle of Little Bighorn.

This book represents a different approach than that usually taken in military histories. For starters, the wordlist chosen reflects heavily those events that were the focus of news coverage and war reporting in U.S. military conflicts. There are subjects that were deliberately left out if they could be better covered in another entry, e.g., “Star Spangled Banner” (see Key, Francis Scott). There are also cross references but they are used sparingly. In addition, there are entries that might not, on first reading, strike the reader as particularly appropriate for inclusion. One famous example is military leader Chief Seattle’s alleged speech at the Point Elliott treaty in January 1855, held near present day Mukilteo, Washington. The controversy arose over an undocumented speech that he allegedly gave that elevated Chief Seattle as an environmental hero. The text of his monologue has frequently appeared in anthologies of American Indian literature and oratory but not in military treatises!

Chronologically, the entries begin with the French and Indian War in the 1750s and the American Revolution 20 years later, through the Barbary Wars and the War of 1812, often considered the “second American Revolution,” followed by the American Indian Wars, which exposed some of the most shameful episodes in American history, specifically the U.S. government’s treatment of Native Americans. The Mexican-American War brought Texas into the Union and saw the development of the telegraph, which changed war reporting forever, bringing casualties and battle reports to the home-front in less than a day, a definite improvement over the long delays when newspapers got the military reports weeks after the actual event. This war also saw the beginning

of photography, a development that really came into its own during the Civil War (War Between the States), which split the country in two, with the North fighting the South. It also saw a more brutal form of warfare, preserved in the photographs of Mathew Brady and other battleline photographers. At issue were states' rights and the slavery issue. At the end of the 19th century, the Spanish-American War broke out with the explosion of the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor. With it, the introduction of the film medium as propaganda and the "yellow journalism" of Joseph Pulitzer and William Hearst, a rivalry that exploited the war news for the American readers.

There is an introduction to each chapter, an essay on the propaganda highlights of the same chapter, a timeline that puts events in perspective for the reader, and an extensive bibliography for each chapter that pulls together the references from each of the entries within the chapter with the addition of newer bibliographical citations.

I am especially indebted to the contributors to this project; I could not have completed it without so many talented scholars. I also want to thank the staffs of the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, and the Ralph Bunche Library, U.S. Department of State, for their resources and their help. Individually, expressions of gratitude are due to colleagues Eugene D. Abbondelo, Vera Au, William E. Burns, Yvonne Condon, Michael J. Friedman, Mary E. Gibbons, Sidney Hart, Merle D. Kellerhals, Anna Manning, Sarah Manning, Chandley McDonald, Miriam Rider, Anthony M. Sammarco, Mark Taplin, and David Ward.

I owe a special note of thanks for the editorial guidance, understanding, and assistance of this volume's Managing Editor, Pat Carlin.

Finally, this volume is intended to inform, spark interest (perhaps for the first time), and provide resources.

Martin J. Manning
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Martin J. Manning is a librarian and archivist in the Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State, where he maintains its public diplomacy archives. He has degrees from Boston College and from Catholic University. He has written and lectured on U.S. propaganda (public diplomacy) and popular culture. Manning is a contributor to reference books and encyclopedias and he is the author of the *Historical Dictionary of American Propaganda* (Greenwood, 2004). He has two daughters.

Clarence R. Wyatt is the Claude D. Pottinger Professor of History at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky. He received his B.A. in history and English at Centre College, and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in U.S. history at the University of Kentucky, where he studied under the eminent scholar of American diplomacy, George C. Herring. Wyatt's particular area of scholarly interest is 20th-century U.S. political, diplomatic, and cultural history, especially as related to American involvement in Vietnam. His doctoral dissertation was published by W.W. Norton as *Paper Soldiers: The American Press and the Vietnam War*. He has written and spoken extensively about various aspects of American involvement in Vietnam, and comments regularly regarding the role of the news media in American politics and military affairs. Wyatt was a member of one of the first groups of American academics to travel to Vietnam as the country began to re-open to the world, participating in a trip sponsored by the Vietnamese Ministry of Education in 1992. Since that time, Wyatt has traveled frequently to Vietnam and Cambodia, including taking groups of students on regular study-abroad trips. In addition to his academic appointment, Wyatt also serves as special assistant to the president and chief planning officer at Centre. He also serves as the dean of the Centre College campus of Kentucky's Governor's Scholars Program and as mentor for the Brown Fellows Program. He is married to Lobie Stone, and has two sons.

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Chronology of Important Events

1675–1905

- 1675–1676** King Philip’s War, last and deadliest general war between Native Americans and English colonists in southern New England, is named for Wampanoag sachem Metacom, known to the colonists as King Philip.
- 1682** Popular captivity narrative, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, by Mary Rowlandson of New England is published. Rowlandson is taken captive during Metacom’s raid on the central Massachusetts town of Lancaster in February 1676 and is ransomed after three months.
- 1689–1697** King William’s War is fought between French and English colonists. American phase of War of League of Augsburg. New England settlements are devastated by French and Indians.
- 1702–1713** Queen Anne’s War. This is American phase of War of Spanish Succession.
- 1707** The second best-selling captivity narrative in the American colonies, John Williams’s memoir, *The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion*, is published but story inaugurates the sub-genre of anti-Catholic captivity narrative, which remains wildly popular until the American Revolution.
- 1720s** Arguments for political liberty put forth in *Cato’s Letters* by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon; they prove highly successful and are widely cited in the pamphlet literature of colonial America.
- 1731, June 10** *An Apology for Printers*, a short defense of printers and freedom of the press by Philadelphia printer Benjamin Franklin, is published in his *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

- 1744–1748** King George’s War is fought between England and France. This is American phase of the War of Austrian Succession, 1740–1748.
- 1754** Political cartoon, *Join or Die*, by Benjamin Franklin, with its symbol of a divided snake, appears in *Pennsylvania Gazette*; it urges British colonies to fight in the French and Indian war.
- 1754–1763** French and Indian War. Europeans call it the Seven Years War.
- 1757–1762, 1765–1775** Benjamin Franklin, the first uncredited Public Affairs Officer (PAO), represents the American colonies in London where he pamphleteers Europe in support of American revolutionary cause. He later goes to France, promoting the American cause at the Court of Louis XVI.
- 1768, October 13–1769** After British troops occupy Boston (October 1, 1768) to defend the Townshend Acts, colonial papers reprint a series of news items that describe Boston’s difficulties under the occupation. Authorship of the articles is anonymous. The articles first appear in *New York Journal* (October 13, 1768) under title: *Journal of Transactions in Boston*. By the fourth issue, the heading becomes *Journal of Occurrences*. The articles are published from 1768 to 1769, chronicling the occupation of Boston, Massachusetts, by the British Army.
- 1770, March 5** Frightened British troops fire on angry crowd in Boston, later popularized in broadsides as the “Boston Massacre.” To ignite American reaction, *Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston*, with its depositions from eyewitnesses, becomes a highly effective propaganda piece in minimizing the affair in British eyes.
- 1770, July 17–1780, December** Highly influential American newspaper, the *Massachusetts Spy, or Thomas’s Boston Journal*, begins publication on July 17, 1770 in Boston, Massachusetts, under publisher Isaiah Thomas. In the beginning, the newspaper supports the Whig policy of conciliation, but as war approaches, it openly advocates independence. The *Massachusetts Spy* soon becomes the most radical newspaper in support of the Patriot cause. Thomas publishes accounts of the Committees of Correspondence and the Sons of Liberty, representations to the governor, town meetings, and essayists critical of British rule. The newspaper ceases publication in December 1780.
- 1772, June 9** British schooner *Gaspée* runs aground on a sand bank at Narragansett Point, Rhode Island, while pursuing a colonial

vessel. Learning of the Gaspée’s grounding, ship captain Abraham Whipple, with a crew, poses as a sheriff and orders the ship evacuated, and when its captain disobeys the order, Whipple badly wounds him and forces the British to abandon ship while Whipple’s men set it ablaze.

1773, December 16

Radicals disguised as Indians protest new parliamentary tax by tossing British imports into harbor in staged event, later known as Boston Tea Party, to publicize colonial grievances.

1775, April 19

Battles of Concord and Lexington and “the shot heard round the world” sparks War of American Independence (American Revolution).

1775, November 7

John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, offers freedom to those slaves and indentured servants willing to leave their rebel American masters and fight on the British side in the American Revolution. The Dunmore decree fundamentally shapes the American revolutionary war, and figures largely in both British and American propaganda.

1775, November 29

Committee of Secret Correspondence is established to fund propaganda activities and conduct covert operations abroad.

1776

Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense*.

1776, July 4

Declaration of Independence is signed in July with its “decent respect for the opinions of mankind.”

1776

Psychological warfare operation, formulated by Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin (Jefferson-Franklin Plan) to cause Hessian desertions, with the promise of free land, through the use of appealing handbills and pamphlets, is distributed by Army of the Revolution.

1777, June 14

The first American flag is established by order of the Continental Congress.

1779, January–December

Publication, *United States Magazine: A Repository of History, Politics and Literature*, a patriotic, pro-revolutionary monthly magazine, is edited by Hugh Henry Brackenridge and is printed by Francis Bailey in Philadelphia in 1779.

1782

Forged copy of a British newspaper, complete with actual advertisements and local news, is used by Franklin to stir up public opinion in England with an article that says the British Royal Governor of Canada is paying his Indian Allies for each American scalp provided to him.

- 1783** Great Britain and France reach accord, thus validating Anglo-American treaty that was signed November 10, 1782. Terms include recognition of U.S. independence, boundary stipulations, and cessation of hostilities with evacuation of British land and naval forces.
- 1787–1788** Publication of series of newspaper articles, the *Federalist Papers*, by “Publius” (John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison) to rally support for the new Constitution.
- 1793, April 8** Edmond Charles Genet, ambassador of revolutionary France, lands in Charleston, South Carolina but spends several weeks in that city rather than present his credentials to President George Washington. Genet hopes to outfit privateers to attack British shipping. Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton hopes that propaganda use of Genet’s defiance of Washington will advance an anti-French policy and make the general outlines of the affair clear in a series of newspaper articles. The publicity of the affair leads to great public controversy, and public meetings are held to support the policy of neutrality and vigorously condemn the idea of foreign diplomats appealing directly to the people.
- 1796, September 19** Washington’s “Farewell Address,” in which he warned against “entangling political alliances,” is published.
- 1798, March 4** Beginning of XYZ Affair that evokes the unofficial Quasi-War between France and the United States. Due to the actions of President John Adams, it stops French attacks on American shipping.
- 1803–1805** Tripolitan War
- 1803** 38-gun U.S. Naval frigate, the *Philadelphia*, runs aground on the rocks in the harbor of the north African city of Tripoli while participating in the blockade of the city during the Tripolitan War. The ship and crew of 307 are captured by the Tripolitans and its captain William Bainbridge surrenders the vessel without a fight. In a highly publicized naval action, Stephen Decatur burns the captured ship.
- 1811, December** Series of debates between freshman South Carolina Congressman John C. Calhoun and Virginia Congressman John Randolph of Roanoke on merits of a war with Great Britain. Randolph denounces those who want war as economically selfish, greedy for territory in Canada, and unthinking of the disasters that war might bring. Calhoun, a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, replies to

- Randolph on December 12, and avows that the raising of troops is a preparation for war.
- 1812, June 18** United States declares war on Great Britain as “Uncle Sam” becomes the symbol of the United States. Its image stirs American feelings against the British.
- 1812, June 22** Just days after the United States declares war, an angry mob of about 35 men and boys, angered by Alexander Contee Hanson’s virulent criticism of the Madison administration, attacks the *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette* newspaper’s printing office. The mob proceeds to dismantle the office brick by brick. During the next week, crowds of demonstrators sporadically continue to destroy the property of those considered pro-British. Specifically targeted are freed blacks, Protestant Irish, Spaniards, and Portuguese accused of being pro-British.
- 1812, August 19** USS *Constitution* earns the moniker, Old Ironsides, in battle with HMS *Guerriere*, off the coast of Nova Scotia. During the battle, a sailor witnesses British cannon balls bouncing off the Constitution’s 25-inch thick oak hull. He remarks that the sides must be made of iron.
- 1814, September 13–14** Francis Scott Key observes the ineffectual British bombardment of Fort McHenry, the city’s principal defensive fortification. Inspired to see the American flag still flying over the fort on the morning of September 14, he composes “The Star Spangled Banner” while returning to shore with his friends.
- 1814, December 15** Group of New England antiwar Federalists meet in Hartford, Connecticut, to address the perceived abuses and unconstitutional acts of the James Madison administration and problems that had emerged as a result of the War of 1812.
- 1815, January 5**
- 1815, January 8** Battle of New Orleans only weeks after Treaty of Ghent ends hostilities; British forces are defeated by American troops led by General Andrew Jackson.
- 1819, June 21** Premiere of *She would Be a Soldier, or, The Plains of Chippewa*, a patriotic play by Mordecai Manuel Noah, set during the War of 1812, which Noah vehemently supports.
- 1827, March 16** *Freedom’s Journal* begins publication with an editorial policy attacking the “return to Africa” colonization program favored by many government leaders.
- 1828, February 21** First issue of *Cherokee Phoenix*, a bi-lingual paper (Cherokee and English) which creates reactions of amazement both in the United States and in Europe. Among the first documents

- published are portions of the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation.
- 1830** Congress passes the Indian Removal Act, undermining Indian land claims in the South.
- 1831** Supreme Court rules that Indian tribes are “domestic dependent nations.”
- 1832, January 6** New England Antislavery Society (soon the American Antislavery Society) is founded; it quickly launches its successful propaganda campaign.
- 1835** Residents of Texas declare their independence from Mexico, citing Santa Anna’s abrogation of the Mexican Constitution of 1824 and greater centralized control over the province, including the abolition of slavery.
- 1836, February–March** Santa Anna leads an army into Texas to regain control over the rebellious province. To counter this, Texas government dispatches Lieutenant Colonel William Barrett Travis and James Bowie to defend the fortress. After a siege of approximately two weeks, Santa Anna’s army of 3,000 to 4,000 men storm the Alamo on March 6, 1836. All 187 defenders of the Alamo perish. Along with a group of Tennessee volunteers, while Mexican losses are numbered at 600 men. Sacrifices made by the defenders of the Alamo are recognized in the rallying cry of “Remember the Alamo.”
- 1838** Final removal of the Cherokee and their forced walk to Indian Territory on the Trail of Tears.
- 1844** First telegraph message is sent from Washington, D.C., to Baltimore; it opens faster method for transmitting propaganda.
- 1845** Phrase “Manifest Destiny” is first used, in the summer of 1845, by John L. Sullivan, a journalist and editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, in an essay supporting the annexation of Texas. He argues for the “fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.”
- 1846, May 11** President Polk war message is sent to Congress. Polk’s message argues that Mexico has invaded U.S. territory and spilled American blood, and therefore a state of war already exists. Playing upon popular patriotic sentiments, the war address holds that nothing less than American honor is at stake and decisive action is imperative.

1846, May 13	Congress declares war on Mexico.
1846, August 8	Wilmot Proviso, an amendment attached to several bills in the U.S. House of Representatives that would have banned slavery in any land acquired from Mexico as a result of the Mexican-American War, is introduced by U.S. Congressman David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, and it is added to a \$2 million military appropriation bill.
1848	United States and Mexico sign the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ending the Mexican-American War and giving the United States 500,000 square miles in the West, including California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Nevada.
1851, January	Series of 12 pictures depicting the battles of the Mexican War, by Carl Nebel, entitled <i>The War between the United States and Mexico Illustrated</i> , is published, accompanied by a text written by George Wilkins Kendall explaining each image.
1851, June 5 and 1852, April 1	Harriet Beecher Stowe's <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> is first serialized in the <i>National Era</i> . It becomes a powerful propaganda novel that attacks slavery. It is a major mouthpiece of the abolitionist movement.
1854, February 28	"Black Warrior" incident in Havana. American naval captain James Bulloch is arrested after his ship docks when Cuban authorities discover his voyage is to "liberate" the country, contributes to anti-Spanish attitude in the United States.
1857, March 6	Dred Scott decision is released by U.S. Supreme Court after intense pro-slavery propaganda campaign.
1860, June 21	U.S. Army Signal Corps is created, when Congress, at the recommendation of the Secretary of War, passes an act that appropriates money to procure equipment and apparatus for a system of signal communication based on a plan devised by Albert J. Myer, an assistant Army surgeon.
1860, November 6	Republican Abraham Lincoln is elected 16th president of the United States.
1860, December 20	South Carolina is seceded from the Union, the first of the Southern states to do so.
1860, December 26	Major Robert Anderson moves his force from Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor to Fort Sumter, which he believes can be more easily defended with a small force. Southerners see this as a hostile move.

- 1861** Transcontinental telegraph line is completed, making the Pony Express obsolete.
- 1861, January 9** Mississippi secedes from Union; South Carolina batteries commit the first act of war by firing on the *Star of the West* to prevent it from bringing reinforcements to Fort Sumter.
- 1861, February 8** Delegates from six seceded states (South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana) form the Confederate Congress in Montgomery and begin work on a provisional Constitution for the newly formed Confederate States of America (CSA).
- 1861, February 15** President Jefferson Davis appoints a peace commission to negotiate with Union leaders but they are unsuccessful.
- 1861, March 4** Lincoln is inaugurated as president.
- 1861, April 12–
1865, May 12** American Civil War (also called the “War between the States” or “The War against Northern Aggression”) is fought; President Lincoln mandates first official U.S. government censorship and heavy propaganda campaigns are initiated by both the North and the South.
- 1861, April 15** Lincoln issues a call for 75,000 volunteers to put down the Southern rebellion.
- 1861, April** With the outbreak of the Civil War, Associated Press reporters are dispatched to the front to observe the war as it transpires. Reports are signed “Dispatched to the Associated Press,” in an effort to avoid federal charges under censorship laws. The service expands again with the formation of the Western Associated Press in 1862.
- 1861, July** First Battle of Bull Run.
- 1861, July 3** Lincoln organizes the Department of the West and places General John C. Fremont in command.
- 1861, November 8** The *Trent* Affair. Charles Wilkes, captain of the USS *San Jacinto*, stops by the British packet *Trent* in the Bahamas and forcibly removes two Confederate representatives who are on their way to England to negotiate for recognition. The action nearly leads to war with Great Britain but American diplomatic efforts smooth out the disagreement.
- 1861, November 14** Henry Hotze arrives in London on October 5, 1861, as commercial agent and propagandist for the Confederacy; he is charged with the task of utilizing his journalistic talents to influence British public opinion to the Southern cause.

- 1861, December 20** The U.S. Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War (War Committee) is established officially by the Thirty-Seventh Congress to counteract a rash of Union military setbacks in the summer and fall of 1861. Armed with the power of subpoena, the committee is given broad discretion to investigate any aspect of Northern military affairs.
- 1862, February 18** Davis and Alexander H. Stephens are inaugurated as president and vice-president, respectively, of the Confederate States of America to serve six-year terms, as specified in the Confederate Constitution.
- 1862, May** Hotze creates *The Index: A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, and News*, which enjoys a circulation of more than 2,000 copies throughout Great Britain and France. Hotze's intentions are to convince Western Europe of the correctness of the Confederate cause and to promote aid to its government. *The Index* ceases operations in August 1865.
- 1862, August 29–30** Second Battle of Bull Run.
- 1862, September 17** Battle of Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, Maryland, becomes single bloodiest day of the Civil War, with more than 2,000 Union soldiers and 2,700 Confederate soldiers dead. Contest has a profoundly bad result for the Confederacy; the French and the British decide to forestall their decisions on official recognition of the Confederacy, and it gives Lincoln the justification to announce his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which announces that all slaves in areas rebelling against the United States will be freed on January 1, 1863.
- 1862, September 22** Lincoln issues preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.
- 1862, December 30** Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation.
- 1863, January 1** Emancipation Proclamation takes effect; it becomes effective propaganda against the slaveholders in the South.
- 1863, March** Confederate Press Association (CPA) is established as a cooperative news service; it provides war news for the South's dailies and weeklies, with 27 permanent correspondents in the field and 6 "occasional" reporters who report on local news for the wire service's 40-plus members who receive a limited amount of copy, usually only 3,500 words of news each week.
- 1863, November 19** At a war memorial dedication in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Lincoln gives his "Gettysburg Address."

- 1864, May 18** Proclamation is signed by President Abraham Lincoln that appears in two New York newspapers, *New York Journal of Commerce* and *New York World* that calls for a day of “fasting, humiliation and prayer” and orders the conscription of an additional 400,000 soldiers to put down the rebellion. The solemn wording of the proclamation implies significant military reverses for the Union on the battlefield.
- 1864, June** The Confederate Manifesto is issued by the Congress of the Confederate States of America to the world community, and specifically the Christian states of Europe; it is delivered to all European governments except Muslim Turkey. It is published in the *Richmond Whig*, dated June 13, and is reprinted in northern papers.
- 1864, June 19** Confederate raider CSS *Alabama* is defeated by the Union screw sloop *Kearsarge*, off the coast of Cherbourg France. The *Alabama*, which inflicts incredible damage on Union property and sinks 1 of its warships, suffers 41 casualties. The ensuing battle is one of the most spectacular of Civil War naval engagements.
- 1865, April 9** Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrenders to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, effectively ending the American Civil War.
- 1865, April 14–15** Lincoln is shot at Ford’s Theater by John Wilkes Booth; Lincoln dies the next day On April 15, Andrew Johnson is sworn in as president.
- 1865, May 29** President Johnson issues his Proclamation of Amnesty, which officially ends the Civil War.
- 1865, June 23** Last Confederate army surrenders.
- 1865, December 18** Thirteenth Amendment, which abolishes slavery, is ratified.
- 1869** First transcontinental railroad is completed.
- 1871, April 30** Camp Grant Massacre. Contingent of Tucson (Arizona) citizens, Mexican-Americans, and Tohono O’odham Indians attack a group of Apaches settled near Camp Grant on the San Pedro River. Seeking revenge, the surprise attack results in one of the most heinous acts committed against Native Americans in the United States. In less than one hour, the attacking forces kill approximately 100 Apaches, raping some women and mutilating many.
- 1871, May 18** Warren Wagon Train Massacre occurs on the Jacksboro-Belknap Road in Texas. Under contract by the U.S.

government, Captain Henry Warren is supplying several forts in the area. While travelling on open prairie land Kiowa Indians led by Satank, Big Tree, and Satanta, ambush the ten supply wagons headed for Fort Griffin. The attack leaves seven teamsters dead, five killed inside the broken corral and two killed on the prairie fleeing.

1871, October 14

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper puts America's "Indian Problem" on its October 14, 1871 cover which, in the anti-Indian spirit of the 19th century, displays an Indian warrior as treacherous and troublesome, someone hostile to American ideals.

1876, June 25–26

Battle of Little Bighorn, an armed engagement between a Sioux-Northern Cheyenne combined force and the 7th Cavalry Regiment of the U.S. Army, occurs near the Little Bighorn River in eastern Montana Territory, close to what is now Crow Agency, Montana. It is now considered one of the most famous Indian-white battles in American history. Five of the Seventh's companies are annihilated; George Armstrong Custer is killed, as are two of his brothers, a nephew, and a brother-in-law.

1877

Sitting Bull and his band escape to Canada. Three years later, he surrenders to U.S. troops. Also seeking refuge in Canada, Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce fight a series of battles in the Northwest.

1877, June–October

The Nez Perce Campaign (War), a major Indian war, is fought; it pits several Nez Perce bands numbering at most 800 people (200 warriors) against a force of 1,000 soldiers of the U.S. Army and hundreds of civilian frontiersmen. It is fought over 1,500 miles and cost over two million dollars.

1881

Helen Hunt Jackson writes *A Century of Dishonor* (1881), which documents U.S. mistreatment of Native Americans.

1883

William Cody forms the Buffalo Bill Wild West show which, for the next 30 years, entertains audiences all over the United States and Europe. Members of the show's cast include Sitting Bull, Annie Oakley, Wild Bill Hickok, and Calamity Jane.

1886

Geronimo surrenders, ending years of Apache resistance in Arizona and in northern Mexico.

1887

Congress passes the Dawes (General Allotment) Act which reverses U.S. Native-American policy, permitting the president to divide up tribal land and parcel out 65 hectares of land to each head of a family.

- 1890** Sitting Bull is killed when shooting erupted during his arrest.
- 1890** Spooked by the Ghost Dance, soldiers attempt to disarm Big Foot's band at Wounded Knee Creek, sparking a massacre of men, women, and children.
- 1897, January 9** Richard Harding Davis and Frederic Remington arrive in Cuba on assignments for the *New York Journal* that give rise to one of American journalism's best-known anecdotes, Hearst's purported instructions to the artist Remington: "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war." Though often repeated, remark is almost certainly not true.
- 1897, January 31** First known published reference to "yellow journalism" appears in the *New York Press*. During the Spanish-American War, this new type of reporting brings the casualties down to the level of the average reader with lurid front-page headlines and pictures of real and supposed Spanish horrors.
- 1897, February 10** Motto "All the News That's Fit to Print" appears for first time on front page of the *New York Times*.
- 1898, January 25** U.S. battleship *Maine* arrives in Havana on a friendly visit.
- 1898, February 9** Letter by Enrique Dupuy de Lome, Spanish minister to the United States, to a friend in Havana, criticizes President McKinley as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." The letter is published in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* (February 9, 1898). The publication of the letter ignites public opinion toward future Cuban intervention.
- 1898, February 15** USS *Maine* is sunk at Havana; war is declared on Spain. "Remember the *Maine*" is introduced as rallying cry to American people along with short films that stir Americans to patriotic fervor for the brief military conflict, such as "The Spanish-American War" and "Tearing Down the American Flag," the first commercial war movie.
- 1898, May 1** U.S. naval vessels under the command of Commodore George Dewey are destroyed by a Spanish squadron in Manila Bay, in the war's first important engagement.
- 1898, June** Mark Twain becomes a leader and founding member of the Anti-Imperialist League, which opposes the annexation of the Philippines by the United States. Twain writes many political pamphlets for the organization. *The Incident in the Philippines*, posthumously published in 1924, is in response to the Moro Crater Massacre, in which 600 Moros were killed.

- 1898, June 15** Anti-Imperialist League is formed in United States.
- 1898, July 17** Surrender ceremony of Spanish governor at Santiago de Cuba to U.S. forces is marred by the New York World's Sylvester Scovel who openly berates and then punches U.S. Army commander Major General Rufus Shafter.
- 1898, October 10** *New York Times* lowers price of its daily edition from three cents to one cent that proves crucial to the newspaper's emergence as the pre-eminent news organization in the United States.
- 1898, November** *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War* comes out. Mr. Dooley is fictitious pen name of Chicago-based Finley Peter Dunne, a political reporter for the *Chicago Evening Post*. During the Spanish-American War, Dunne writes a Dooley essay on the topic of Admiral George Dewey's spectacularly one-sided victory over the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, Philippines. In modern parlance, the essay "went viral," and catapults Dunne's creation to national prominence.
- 1898, November 28** Senior officials at the *New York World* tell staff of plans to back away from sensational treatment of the news.
- 1898, December 10** Treaty of Paris is signed by representatives of the United States and Spain; Spain gives up Cuba, cedes Puerto Rico and Guam to United States, and surrenders sovereignty of the Philippines, in exchange for \$20 million from the United States.
- 1898** Edward Stratemeyer achieves his first success as a novelist during the Spanish-American War with an original story about several young men serving on a battleship. Story is submitted shortly after news of Admiral Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay reaches the United States but the publishers ask Stratemeyer to revise his story to feature Dewey's victory. The result is the very popular *Under Dewey at Manila; or, The War Fortunes of a Castaway*.
- 1899, February 4** Fighting starts between Philippine and American forces near Manila, signaling the start of the Philippine insurgency.
- 1900, November 6** William McKinley is re-elected president, defeating William Jennings Bryan in a re-match of the 1896 election.
- 1901, March 23** Philippine insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo is captured by contingent of American officers and their Philippine allies at his camp in the Philippines. Aguinaldo is brought to Manila and pledges allegiance to United States.

- 1901, September 28** Massacre at Balangiga, on the island of Samar, in which an occupation troop of American soldiers are surprised and murdered in grisly circumstances, with at least 48 deaths and 18 wounded. Graphic reports of the horribly mutilated bodies incites an urge for retribution among American forces on Samar.
- 1902, July 4** President Theodore Roosevelt declares Philippine insurgency at an end.
- 1904–1905** Mark Twain dictates “The War Prayer” in opposition to the Philippine-American War. It is rejected by his publisher, and it is found after his death among his unpublished manuscripts. It is first published in his *Europe and Elsewhere* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1923).

I

North American Colonial Wars and the American Revolution (1775–1783)

INTRODUCTION

North America was the scene of numerous wars between Britain and France, their colonists and their respective Indian allies. These wars were initially the American aspect of European conflicts, but the American theater played a more and more prominent role. They included the War of the League of Augsburg or the Nine Years War, known in America as King William's War (1688–1697), the War of the Spanish Succession, known in America as Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the War of the Austrian Succession, known as King George's War (1744–1748), and the Seven Years War (1754–1763).

Hostilities between Britain and France in the Seven Years War actually began in North America, where the conflict was known as the French and Indian War. The imperial rivalry between Britain and France resonated particularly in many American communities due to Protestant hatred and fear of French Catholicism and the French alliances with several Native American tribes, although the British also had Native allies.

King William's War and King George's War were basically draws, followed by the restoration of the status quo, while Queen Anne's War and the French and Indian War were great successes for the British and the colonists, the French and Indian War being followed by the expulsion of the French from North America.

The French and Indian War also differed from the previous colonial wars in that they had been fought in America primarily by local forces, while the French and Indian War involved large contingents of British regulars, called "redcoats" after their uniforms.

The redcoats' experiences in the war ranged from the humiliation of Edward Braddock's (1695–1755) failure to capture the French Fort Duquesne in 1755 to the

triumph of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec in 1759, which ended French rule in Canada after over a century.

The expulsion of France from North America meant colonists and Britons were no longer bound together with a common fear of the rival Empire. The elaborate military and logistical establishment that Britain had built in North America did not go away after victory, and Britain expected Americans to help pay for it.

The American Revolution began as a struggle between Britain and its 13 rebellious colonies, but grew to include other European powers and Native American communities as well. The causes of the rebellion were complex, but were largely due to American reluctance to be under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Great Britain, in which Americans were not represented. The Declaration of Independence of 1775 defined the colonists' struggle as one not for better terms within the British Empire but for separation from it.

The 13 colonies had different economies, military situations, dominant churches, and overseas connections. Keeping them together was a major challenge for the rebellion's leaders. There was also a substantial "Loyalist" American population that wished to retain the tie with Britain, and the war was virtually a civil war in some areas.

The proportion of "Loyalists" in the population varied by region. In New England, where the war began and the conflict between the colonists and Britain was sharpest, there were relatively few loyalists. After a few early battles, including the battles of Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts that began the conflict on April 18, 1775, New England remained solidly under rebel, or "patriot," control. New York City and the southern colonies, in contrast, had substantial loyalist populations, and stayed under British control much longer.

The overwhelming American victory at the battle of Saratoga in upstate New York in September and October of 1777 inspired France to enter into an alliance with the rebels in February 1778. Spain, France's ally, hoped to win back Gibraltar and Florida, territories lost to Britain in previous wars. Despite British efforts, continental European powers refused to enter the war against France, although the German state of Hesse supplied Britain with mercenary soldiers, the "Hessians." Free of continental enemies, the French were able to devote their entire war effort to the struggle with Britain.

British leadership proved unable to meet the war's strategic challenges. In previous British North American wars, the colonies themselves had served as bases, but now the British had to maintain supply and command control across the Atlantic. The relatively secure communications with Britain enjoyed by British North American commanders in the early phases of the war were lost after the French and Spanish entrance into the war. In America, an undermanned British Army needed to both confront the Continental Army under the leadership of Virginia planter George Washington and maintain control over the vast areas where colonial insurgents challenged British authority.

The American rebels were better led than the British were, but initially faced the challenge of going up against European regulars with raw and untrained troops. Discipline and training improved over the course of the war with help from European officers attracted to the American cause either for ideological reasons or because it offered the possibility of military employment at a time when Europe was at relative peace.

American forces ranged from the Continental Army, drawn from all of the colonies, to various local militias and insurgent forces such as the Vermont “Green Mountain Boys” under Ethan Allen who took the fortress of Ticonderoga from the British on May 10, 1775. Coordinating military operations among such diverse groups was often a challenge, as were relations between military commanders and the Continental Congress, the body of delegates from the colonies that nominally led the rebel cause.

Nowhere was the war more destructive than in “Indian country,” the area of eastern North America still controlled by Native Americans. As in the colonial wars, both British and rebels attempted to recruit Native auxiliaries. Most Native groups tried to remain neutral or supported the British against the land-hungry colonists. Colonists often treated the war as a chance to destroy Native communities in hopes of ending native raids and eventually absorbing their territories. Five of the six nations of the Iroquois confederacy, the most powerful Native American group in Eastern North America, sided with the British, but the American expedition into Iroquois country in 1779 marked the end of the Iroquois (including the Oneida nation, the lone pro-American Iroquois) as an independent force in North American affairs. The British also sought to recruit American slaves with the promise of freedom, often with success.

On the seas, the British Navy attempted to embargo shipping to the rebels and their allies. The Americans conducted some small-scale naval actions, but did not have the ships of the line to take on the British Navy directly. British control of the American coast presented a formidable logistical challenge, forcing Americans to rely on inferior inland communications. France had devoted much effort after the Seven Years War in building a navy to compete with Great Britain’s, and French aid was central to the rebels’ naval strategy. British defeat in North America was sealed by the French admiral the Comte de Grasses’s victory over British Admiral Thomas Graves at the Battle of the Chesapeake fought from September 5 to September 9, 1781. The French success isolated British general Charles Cornwallis’s land forces at Yorktown. Cornwallis’s surrender to Washington on October 19 ended major operations on the North American continent and de facto established American independence, although the war was not ended until the Peace of Paris in 1783.

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PROPAGANDA

During the French and Indian War (1754), Benjamin Franklin drew a political cartoon, “Join, or Die,” a divided snake, that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* urging British colonies to unite in the fighting. For the War of American Independence (1776–1783), both the Americans and the British used pamphlets, slogans, cartoons and, especially newspapers to generate public opinion to their side in what was a mostly ineffective propaganda campaign that was overshadowed by real events, such as the victory at Saratoga or Ethan Allen’s assault on Fort Ticonderoga (1775), which gave an important opening to General Washington’s forces.

The American Revolution was an ideological conflict in which both warring sides were convinced of the rightness of their cause. Not a spontaneous popular uprising, it was in reality the work of a small group of dedicated persuaders who created the first American propaganda and agitation campaign to overthrow a monarchical government. They started as the work of James Otis, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Paine, radical pamphleteers who realized that effective propaganda requires: organization (the Sons of Liberty and Committees of Correspondence acted as propaganda conduits throughout the colonies); creative and identifiable emotive symbols (the Liberty Tree) and slogans (“Don’t tread on me,” and “Taxation without representation is tyranny”) to simplify issues and arouse emotions; utilization of publicity and staged events (Boston Tea Party) to attract media attention and to enlist key supporters (religious leaders whose sermons were widely published and distributed); and exploitation of differences rather than similarities among targeted groups on a sustained, unrelenting basis through control of key public opinion tools (press, pamphlets, broadsides, songs).

The early American patriots became expert at publicizing their grievances to establish a debate agenda while discrediting the Loyalist opposition. Both American and British propagandists were ineffective and largely unsuccessful in trying to convert, to persuade, or to intimidate people who at first seemed vulnerable. Events and real conditions were more persuasive than words. By 1777, most minds were made up despite actions aimed

at such things as subverting the Hessian allies of Britain, fomenting slave insurrection, and winning the support of Indians, most attempts failed. Real events had more impact than propaganda (e.g., Canada was saved by British force, Indians stayed neutral or took sides based on solid economic or political motives, and the provocation of slave insurrection by the British merely embittered and fortified the slaveholders). The greatest impact came not from propagandists, such as Benjamin Franklin, but simply from the news of the war, such as the American victory at Saratoga. Neither persuasive appeals, nor threats, nor tricks could compare in influence with military victory or political and economic factors.

Propaganda events were made of the battle of Lexington and Concord, the battle of Bunker Hill and Paul Revere's ride while Hessian soldiers were encouraged to desert with promises of free land by way of pamphlets distributed among them by the Army of the Revolution (Jefferson-Franklin Plan). Without newspapers, there would have been little chance of a revolution. With a uniformity of news resulting from the regular exchange of newspapers among printers, Americans read the same news and drew similar conclusions. According to R. A. Brown, "Whig leaders . . . were as appreciative of the importance of propaganda, and as adept at its use, as are any political and business leaders of this period."

In Great Britain, the press kept the British public informed of all developments of the war "across the pond," part of their latest ongoing conflict with France. By the time of the American Revolution, publications had become widespread and the reading of newspapers became an important part of British life.

With France in the war, the tone of the British press changed as most journalists and, to a large extent, the readers did not consider the loss of the colonies as important as the failure of France to really benefit from American independence.

The press reflected British public opinion on both the war and the empire as the American Revolution, combined with the continuing war with France, shifted British readers into more involved citizens who questioned actions of British government officials.

It is impossible to measure the effect newspaper propaganda had on readers on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The possibilities of a French-American war, possible peace proposals, war news, rebel cruelty stories, attacks on the currency of the new states, and "what appear to be conscious efforts to create the impression among the rank and file of the Whig adherents that their leaders were self-interested, tyrannical individuals, seeking to gain wealth and position at the expense of their followers" were some of the major types of propaganda. "[W]hether consciously or unconsciously selected they must have had some effect on the people who read them, especially on that large class of Americans who wavered with the changing tide of victory."

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Boston Tea Party; Broad sides; Bunker Hill, Battle of; Committees of Correspondence; Don't Tread on Me; Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson-Franklin Plan; Join, or Die; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Newspapers (Colonial

Wars and American Revolution); Otis, James; Paine, Thomas; Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Revere, Paul; Sons of Liberty

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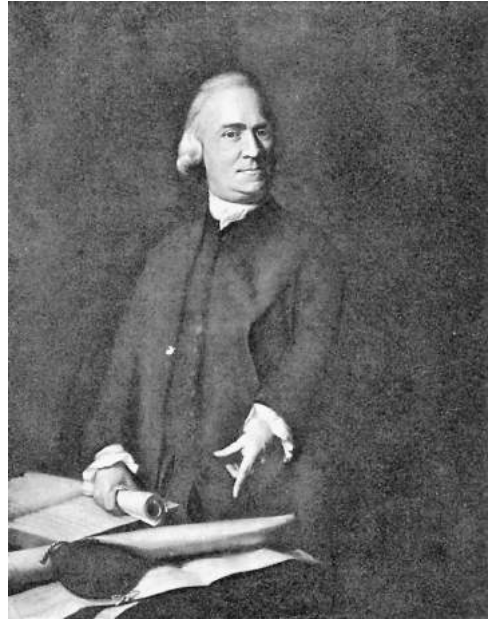
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Adams, Samuel

Samuel Adams was a major propagandist and uncompromising leader of the independence movement, an agitator, mass organizer, and political manipulator. As a radical leader of the common people, he effectively employed mass demonstrations and economic boycotts and created an infrastructure for the revolutionary movement. He capitalized on authorities' errors and blunders to reach his goal. When opponents failed to provide errors, Adams created them and colored the facts. He understood the appeal of the common people. For 20 years, Adams wrote newspaper articles and pamphlets encouraging independence from Great Britain. He believed that no man was the subject of a commonwealth except "by positive engagement and express promise or compact." Under various names (Determinatus, A Layman, A Tory, Populus, An Impartialist, A Son of Liberty, A Chatterer), he contributed to various political weeklies, including *Public Advertiser* that he founded (1748) and continued until 1775. Adams was a propagandist of revolution who started in opposition to restrictive laws and hereditary rights, listed grievances and ended up inciting rebellion. He was cunning, cautious, and able to change his writing style with each pen name.

Adams was born on September 27, 1722, on Purchase Street in Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay colony. He graduated from Harvard College in 1740, read the law for a brief period, then quit to work unsuccessfully for several months in the counting house of Thomas Cushing. He inherited the family brewery and the house on Purchase Street in 1748 when his father died but he showed a distinct interest in politics, became a member of the radical political group, the Whipping Post Club, and began his career at political writing by contributing articles to the club's official organ, the *Independent Advertiser*.

From 1756 to 1764, Adams was a tax collector in Boston. He became a friend of James Otis, president of the Massachusetts Country Party, and eventually Otis's "right-hand man, chief newspaper agitator and ablest abettor," in opposing the Massachusetts Colony's Tory oligarchy. In 1765, riots broke out in Boston over Parliament's actions, and the house of the colony's lieutenant governor, royalist Thomas Hutchinson, was destroyed. A mob also burned the stamp distributor, Hutchinson's brother-in-law, in effigy. Adams was chosen to write Boston's instructions to its colonial representatives and, in 1765, he was elected to fill a vacant seat in the colonial legislature where he



Samuel Adams, political leader during the American Revolution and signer of the Declaration of Independence. (Chaiba Media)

became the leading figure in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He opposed the Townshend Acts, which imposed taxes on glass, lead, tea, and paper imported into the colony, and he published his famous “circular letters,” arguing that Parliament did not have unlimited power to supersede the will of popular assemblies in the colonies. Adams helped organize the Sons of Liberty (1765) in opposition to the Stamp Act and later the Committees of Correspondence; was a delegate to the first Continental Congress; evaded arrest by British troops; and supported immediate independence.

In 1773, he further ignited political tensions when he published a series of Hutchinson’s letters to friends in England that uncovered their author’s royalist sentiment. That same year, Parliament passed the Tea Act, which led in December 1773 to the infamous Boston Tea Party, designed in large part by Adams, and implemented by his Sons of Liberty. The Tea Party, according to Adams’s biographer John C. Miller, “deserves to rank as the masterpiece of Sam Adams’s efforts to create an unbridgeable gap between Great Britain and her American provinces.”

Adams was elected a delegate to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia where he urged his fellow colonists “to provide themselves without Delay with Arms and Ammunitions, get well instructed in the military Art, embody themselves (into militia units) and prepare a complete Set of Rules, that they may be ready . . . to defend themselves against the violent attacks of Despotism.” He also signed the Declaration of Independence; was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention (1788); and served as lieutenant governor of Massachusetts (1789–1794) and then as governor (1794–1797). John Adams was his second cousin. He left office in 1797 and died four years later at the age of 81 (October 2, 1803). John Adams was his second cousin.

According to Cass Canfield, it was primarily Samuel Adams who fanned the flame of rebellion and he was more effective than any other major American leader. Without his spirit, American independence could not have been declared in 1776. He probably did more than any other person to incite a break between Great Britain and the American colonies. Adams has been described as a “born revolutionary” a Puritan whose principles would not allow him to countenance injustice, or a master propagandist.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Boston Tea Party; Committees of Correspondence; Declaration of Independence; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act

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Albany Congress. See Hutchinson, Thomas

An Apology for Printers

An Apology for Printers is a short defense of printers and freedom of the press by Philadelphia printer Benjamin Franklin, published in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* dated June 10, 1731, about three years after Franklin had commenced his printing business. The ambitious Franklin had made many enemies in Philadelphia, and the variety of news, announcements, opinions, and advertisements appearing in his newspaper exposed him to harsh criticism. Whereas some defenses of freedom of the press focused on the freedom of the writer, Franklin concentrated on the printer. Franklin argued that as businesspeople printers printed a variety of opinions, and cannot be held responsible for them. Printers that published only material they agreed would be poor business managers, and would establish an irresponsible dictatorship over public debate. In the struggle between truth and error, the former will always win in an equal contest, hence by publishing all opinions, printers really serve the cause of truth. If printers print silliness or trivialities, they were merely giving the corrupted taste of the public what it wanted. (Franklin pointed out that a book of popular poetry, *Robin Hood's Songs*, was an excellent seller, whereas a good translation of the Psalms of David was virtually unsellable.) If printers limited themselves to the inoffensive, they would not have very much to print.

Franklin portrays popular sentiment, not government censorship, as the chief enemy of printers. Uninformed people falsely attributed to the printer the opinions expressed in the works he or she printed. Although at no point does Franklin endorse government controls over the press, he does mention several categories of material he had refused to publish, often at great financial sacrifice: that tending to vice and immorality and attacks on particular persons for personal or party reasons. He also claimed to have published less material against the Church (presumably the Church of England) and the state than had any earlier Pennsylvania printer.

Franklin put *An Apology for Printers* in the context of an advertisement he had recently ran for a ship sailing to Barbados that some charged insulted the Anglican clergy, a target of much hostility from the laity and members of other Protestant churches, by referring to them as “Black Gowns,” comparing them to “Sea Hens” or guillemots, an annoying shore bird, and refusing to carry them. Franklin disclaimed any malice against the clergy, and asserted that most of the clergy in the area were his customers, and several his friends. He claimed to regret running the advertisement, but pointed out that he had been paid five

shillings for running the advertisement, and no one had offered him anything for not running it. *An Apology for Printers* was frequently reprinted in differing forms, and became viewed as a classic defense of the freedom of the press.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Franklin, Benjamin; *Pennsylvania Gazette*

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Arnold, Benedict

A celebrated general who came to prominence at the siege of Quebec and emerged as a national hero during the Saratoga Campaign, Arnold became the most notorious traitor in American history through his attempt to turn the course of the war by betraying West Point to the British.

Born on January 14, 1741 in Norwich, Connecticut, Arnold volunteered in three campaigns during the French and Indian War but did not make any notable mark. Arnold married Margaret Mansfield in 1767, a marriage that lasted until her death in 1775. He also captained ships that traded goods with Canada and the West Indies. The experiences that he gained as a trader in Canada gave Arnold a familiarity with the territory and its inhabitants that he would later put to use in wartime.

The trading restrictions imposed by the British Empire upon the American colonies threatened Arnold's livelihood and bred an anger that ultimately led him to join the revolutionaries. In 1774, as the imperial crisis intensified, Arnold joined a New Haven militia company, the Governor's Second Company of Foot Guards, which soon elected him captain. Following the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord, Arnold resolved to march his unit to Boston to reinforce the Massachusetts militia. The New Haven Board of Selectmen refused to furnish the troops with gunpowder and advised Arnold that he should not raise arms against the king without first seeking proper authority to do so.

On an earlier visit to Canada, Arnold had noticed that Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain had a small garrison and much artillery. He now persuaded the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to order him to capture the British fort and its guns, which could be employed in the siege of Boston. Empowered to lead 400 men, Arnold rode ahead of his troops and en route met two rival parties, including a large contingent of Green Mountain Boys led by Ethan Allen, who decided to seize Ticonderoga themselves. An infuriated Arnold forced an uncomfortable collaboration, and the rebel forces managed to take

the fort in a brief dawn attack on May 10, 1775. But when his own recruits finally arrived, Arnold used them to seize a schooner, renamed it *Liberty*, and sailed north to attack the British post at St. Jean, where he captured the small garrison and a sloop of war without a single shot fired.

Despite divisions of opinion about him, Congress appointed Arnold in September 1775 as the commander of the Continental Army's Kennebec expedition to take Quebec. His assignment involved conducting more than 1,000 green troops with provisions and equipment nearly 400 miles through poorly mapped and nearly impassable terrain, up the Kennebec River, down the Chaudière River, and into the Canadian city. It was one of the great marches of military history and one of the most brutal. Made miserable by freezing temperatures and reduced to eating their shoe leather, many of the men died and the remainder would never have made it to Quebec except for Arnold's inspiration.

The march made Arnold a hero, but the December 31, 1775 attack on the city failed. Arnold joined with another force under General Richard Montgomery that had invaded Canada from Lake Champlain to lead a night assault against the fortified city. Without the support of the citizenry, the effort was doomed; Montgomery was killed, and Arnold suffered a shot through the calf. When the ice melted in May and British reinforcements sailed up the St. Lawrence River to Quebec, the Americans, ravaged by smallpox, retreated from Quebec to Trois-Rivières, then to Montreal, and finally south across Lake Champlain to Crown Point.

Under General Philip Schuyler's command in 1776, Arnold began building a navy on Lake Champlain to resist the expected British advance from Canada toward Ticonderoga and the upper Hudson Valley. With his fleet complete, Arnold sailed north with ten ships in August 1776 to block a British advance. The far stronger British fleet bested the Continental forces on October 11, 1776 in the Battle of Valcour Island, but Arnold managed to set fire to his vessel and stay with the ship until the flames made it impossible for the enemy to strike its colors on their arrival. He fought his way to Fort Ticonderoga and fired on two ships that approached, thereby forcing a British withdrawal.

When the British invaded across Lake Champlain in June 1777, George Washington requested that Arnold, one of his favorite generals, head the militia reinforcements supporting the Continental Army. When Arnold arrived, Fort Ticonderoga had already fallen, and Generals Schuyler and Gates were vying for chief command. Both men had supported Arnold in the past, but Arnold sided with Schuyler who sent him into the Mohawk Valley in August to block a secondary British advance under Colonel Barry St. Leger. Arnold succeeded in doing so, but when he returned to the main army, a now unfriendly Gates commanded the forces. As the British engaged the Continental forces in the two battles at Saratoga that would turn the tide of war, Arnold commanded part of the left wing of attacking Americans at the Battle of Bemis Heights in October.

Arnold reported to Washington at Valley Forge in May 1778, when the occupying British Army was clearly preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. Washington assigned Arnold to stay in Philadelphia as military commandant after the withdrawal. One of Washington's worst decisions, this move left a city with one of the largest Loyalist

populations in the country in the hands of a man not known for his tact, patience, or sound judgment.

In February 1779, Pennsylvania authorities charged Arnold with eight counts of corruption and abuse of power. In March, a congressional committee exonerated him of some charges but sent two others to Washington for court-martial: appropriating army wagons to transport private goods and imposing menial services upon the sons of free-men of Pennsylvania. In April, Congress added two more charges to the list of Arnold's alleged offenses. In the face of these charges and angered by his nation's ingratitude, Arnold resigned his Philadelphia command. In May 1779, he married Margaret (Peggy) Shippen, the daughter of a family rumored to be strongly Loyalist, and began the process of switching sides.

Through his new wife's family and friends, especially Captain John André, personal aide to the British Commander in Chief Sir Henry Clinton, Arnold had ready channels of communication to British headquarters in New York City. In May 1779, he first employed these channels to determine that the British intended to hold on to the colonies despite the entry of France into the conflict. He then informed Clinton that his services were available to the Crown. Arnold claimed political and ideological motives, explaining that he had lost faith in the Revolutionary cause when the United States allied itself with France. No evidence before May 1779 supports this claim, and Arnold's repeated efforts to obtain status and money from the British suggest less noble motives.

The British cautiously accepted Arnold's offer of information, and that same month Arnold sent his first report in the terms of an ordinary business communication with certain passages in cipher. Arnold informed the British that Congress would abandon Charleston, South Carolina, if challenged; that only 3,000 to 4,000 militia could be mustered to fight any emergency; that the Continental forces lacked arms, ammunition, and soldiers; that no measures had been taken by Congress to prevent depreciation of the currency; that no foreign loan had been obtained; and that Washington and the army would move to the area of the Hudson River as soon as forage could be obtained. In August, André requested an accurate plan of West Point with an account of the various vessels floating on the nearby Hudson River. Its loss would deliver a staggering blow to American morale and strategy. Unfortunately for Arnold, West Point was undergoing extensive alterations according to a plan that Washington kept secret.

As the campaigning season ended, Arnold's postponed court-martial resumed. In January 1780, after listening to his spirited defense, the court acquitted him of fraud but convicted him of improper conduct in the matter of the illegal pass and sentenced him to an official public reprimand, which Washington duly issued several months later. At this point, Arnold extended an offer to the British to arrange the capture of a major Continental prize, identity unspecified, in exchange for £10,000 and command of a battalion in the British Army. He also notified the British of a planned invasion of Canada as well as the details of the summer 1780 campaign after a conference with Washington at his Morristown headquarters. Arnold also began campaigning hard to get command of West Point, which he received in August.

Arnold would serve as commander of West Point for only 52 days. Within hours of his August 5, 1780 arrival at the fort, he obtained inventories of manpower, armaments, and supplies that he transmitted to British headquarters. Clinton made a firm commitment to pay £10,000 for Arnold's defection and £20,000 for the delivery of West Point and its 3,000 rebel troops. While attempting to return to New York City, André was caught in civilian dress with a pass from General Arnold and the plans for West Point in his boots. As Washington arrived at the front door to confront Arnold, the traitor rushed out the back, leaped on his horse, and hurried to a barge on the river that took him to a British ship. André was hanged as a spy.

Arnold's welcome as a failed traitor who had contributed to the execution of the popular André was not an especially warm one. The British made him a brigadier-general and gave him a Loyalist regiment and £6,000 for his troubles, but they never trusted him. Clinton sent Arnold to seize Portsmouth, Virginia, in December 1780. Arnold's troops routed the Virginia militia; burned ships, munitions, and tobacco; and, moving far inland, forced Governor Thomas Jefferson into flight. In 1781, Arnold led a raiding party up the Connecticut coast, sacking and burning New London. In 1782, Arnold went to England in an effort to reinvigorate the war effort by persuading the government to commit more money, ships, and manpower, but the surrender of the British Army at Yorktown the previous fall had effectively ended the British war effort. Arnold would spend his remaining days in exile.

There was much negative reaction to Arnold's treachery. He was a popular commander early in the war, which was one reason why many Americans had trouble understanding his betrayal, which spread quickly, primarily through personal letters sent throughout the country. Many anonymous reports were printed in newspapers, such as "a gentleman in camp" (*Pennsylvania Packet* [Philadelphia], October 3, 1780) who expressed shock over what happened while he tried to explain the events that led to Arnold's flight. Another writer (*Connecticut Courant* [Hartford], also October 3, 1780), assumed that Arnold surrendered his honor in exchange for money.

Patriot printers all over the country reprinted Arnold's correspondence with George Washington; none of them expressed any sympathy for Arnold's explanations for what he did. Some, like Loyalist printer John Wells (*South Carolina and American General Gazette* [Charleston], October 11, 1780), reported Arnold's defection but did not question his actions and appeared to assume that it was the only logical thing for an intelligent person to do.

As a warning to the American army, General Nathaniel Greene urged soldiers (*New York Packet* [Fishkill], October 12, 1780) to stand strong in the face of treason and that the British must be desperate if they would resort to win the war through treachery rather than on the battlefield. Another printer, John Carter, in a series of articles in the *Providence Gazette* (Rhode Island), urged his readers to be virtuous because that was the only way to win the war (October 6, 1781). Overall, most newspapers printed stories that degraded Arnold's reputation in the months after his treason was discovered.

Snubbed by other Loyalist exiles as well as the British for being a traitor, Arnold never established a solid foothold in the peacetime world. In 1785, he sailed alone from

England to St. John, New Brunswick, to open a store in a Loyalist exile community. The business prospered enough for his family to join him, but a 1788 fire wiped him out. Returning to England in 1791, Arnold struggled to make a living. He died on June 14, 1801, mourned only by his family.

Caryn E. Neumann

SEE ALSO Canada; Lexington and Concord, Battle of

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Art (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

The American Revolution gave American artists something new to try to capture in their work: a uniquely American event, with implications for a distinctive American future. Although the Revolution affected all kinds of art, including architecture, furniture, and even domestic samplers and embroidery, it was in painting that a handful of American artists first tried to capture the character of their age.

The training of both painters and artisans in 18th-century America was based upon English artistic traditions. Silversmiths and furniture makers learned their crafts through traditional apprenticeship systems, and an artisan's training was firmly established within colonial society. Members of all trades frequently learned their craft from their fathers or were apprenticed to a successful local member of the profession. Many of these artisans did quietly become fine artists. Paul Revere's contemporary fame and posthumous reputation as a master silversmith and a talented engraver have

been somewhat eclipsed in the popular mind by the legacy of his patriotic ride to Lexington, but his artistic merit remains as well known to historians of politics, because of his patriotic engravings (such as *The Boston Massacre*), as it is to historians of art and culture.

Because America had no art schools, however, aspiring American painters either contented themselves with looking at prints of paintings by Old Masters, journeying hundreds of miles to apprentice with the occasional established painter, or, if they could afford it, sailing to England to study at the Royal Academy in London. Several of America's best painters of the Revolutionary era took this journey, including Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, who remained in England; Charles Willson Peale, who stayed only briefly; John Trumbull, who tarried a little longer; and Gilbert Stuart, who spent years in London but finally returned to America.

West (1738–1820), a Pennsylvania Quaker who went to London in the 1760s, was the father of American painting during the Revolutionary era. There he quickly became an established English painter and ultimately a court painter and he never returned to America or painted any subject from the Revolution. Yet in his role as an established member of the Royal Academy, West taught, encouraged, and influenced talented American painters such as Peale, Copley, Trumbull, and Stuart. West largely worked in the 18th-century's dominant classical style but also fell under the influence of the emerging Romantic movement, which gradually affected all of the arts. He became best known as a history painter, an artist who could create large canvases filled with carefully selected historical figures at a particularly dramatic event.

West's greatest achievement, and the painting that had the greatest impact upon the art of the American Revolution, was his *Death of General Wolfe*, which commemorated Britain's great victory over France at Quebec in 1759. This work showed that the classical tradition of history painting could be equally effective when used to celebrate recent events, with every figure on the canvas in correct period dress rather than clothed in anachronistic classical tunics and togas and with fragments of classical architecture showing in the wings. West was equally innovative in portraying a heroic moment in the early history of America, whose grand events could rival those of Europe. Only five years after the painting was exhibited in London, the Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia, and America soon created a grand opportunity for its own history artists.

Both in England and America, however, portraiture remained a painter's only constant source of income. American painters could also study portrait painting with West, and they did. But 18th-century British artists, notably Thomas Gainsborough and Sir Joshua Reynolds, president of the Royal Academy from its founding in 1768, had already developed a distinctive portrait style that differed from the continental traditions that had dominated this field. Several American painters were greatly influenced by these artists.

The first great American painter to achieve fame was Copley (1738–1815) of Boston, New England's outstanding portrait painter. From about 1760 to 1775, he did his finest portrait work, almost entirely in Boston, where he extensively recorded the Patriot

leaders of that city, notably Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Paul Revere, as well as several Loyalist figures. After moving to England in 1775 with his Loyalist in-laws, Copley continued portraiture but also turned to history painting in the manner of West and finally created innovative dramatic canvases, notably *Watson and the Shark*, that brought the history painting style to events that had little historical significance.

The Maryland-born Peale (1741–1827) began his career shortly after Copley but traveled early to study with West before returning to Philadelphia, where he had a long career as an artist, Revolutionary politician, and pioneering museum curator. Peale was primarily a portrait painter and has the distinction of being the first artist to capture George Washington (1772) as a Virginia planter and militia colonel. Peale returned to paint Washington several times, notably in 1780 when he showed the now General Washington full-length, dressed in full uniform. To his left are gathered Hessian spoils and soldiers of the Continental Army under his command; to the right lie the fields of Trenton where his surprise attack on December 26, 1776 first turned the tide of war in America's favor. Peale also produced many other fine images of the Revolution's leaders, including the remarkable double portrait of Robert and Gouverneur Morris (1783).

Once West and then Copley expanded this form to include a kind of reportage of nearly current events in the 1760s and 1770s, the Connecticut-born Trumbull (1756–1843), one of West's students, set out to record America's recent political and military birth in great detail. Trumbull began with *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill* (1786), an obvious tribute to West's *Death of General Wolfe*, that has the rare distinction of depicting a historical event at which the artist was actually present. Trumbull went on to salute the surrenders at Trenton, Saratoga, and Yorktown. His most famous work, *The Declaration of Independence*, shows Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues presenting the draft document to the full Congress.

The American Revolution as a subject of American history painting did not end with Trumbull. John Vanderlyn (1775–1852), in the painting *The Murder of Jane McCrea* (1804), the first American history painting to be exhibited at a Paris salon, told a highly embellished story from General Burgoyne's 1777 invasion of northern New York in which the colonist Jane McCrea was murdered by two Indians who took her scalp to the British for a reward. Vanderlyn recast this tale in a dramatic reconstruction that based its large-scale figures on late classical sculpture.

The last great artist of the Revolutionary era, the Rhode Island-born Stuart (1755–1828), by portraying virtually all the notable men and women of Federal America, became the court portraitist to the young Republic. He was known to have painted more than 1,100 pictures over five decades in England, Ireland, and the United States, but his major career began with his return to America in the spring of 1793. His immediate intention was to paint President Washington's portrait. The shrewd artist knew that pictures of the celebrated hero would bring him further international recognition, and when he first painted Washington from life in 1795, the president's image was in great demand.

In architecture and sculpture, 18th-century Europe was stirred by two developments that eventually reached America: the rediscovery of Greek art as the original source of the classical style and the excavations of two buried Roman cities, Pompeii and Herculaneum. For the first time Europeans could see much of the daily lives of the ancients and the range of their arts and crafts. This brought about a reappraisal of ancient art and architecture as an inspiration for the late eighteenth and early 19th centuries.

America's fascination with the classical style also extended to sculpture. Soon founders of the United States were depicted as figures from the ancient world. Both Benjamin Franklin and Washington were represented wearing togas like those of Roman senators. The statue of Washington, sculpted by the Frenchman Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) and located in the Virginia state capitol, became only slightly less well known than the portraits of Peale and Stuart. But America also retained a sense that its heroes were men of their own age, and Houdon carved two versions of Washington: one in classical garb, the other in modern costume. Sculptural patronage grew toward the end of the 18th century as Americans began adopting the English custom of creating statues in public places to honor political and cultural heroes, who appeared in contemporary dress.

By the end of the American Revolution, a new national public art and architecture had emerged that was both imitative of England and Europe and distinctive in some of its styles and themes. This high art developed alongside more distinctively American designs and decorations that found their way into local portraiture and architecture, and especially into domestic furniture, fabrics, and other local crafts. Both formal and vernacular art developed distinctive American features in the era of the American Revolution.

Linda Miller

SEE ALSO Trumbull, John

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Bernard, Sir Francis. See Hutchinson, Thomas

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Boston Massacre

The Boston Massacre, a violent clash between British regulars and colonial civilians, was a pivotal event in the coming of the American Revolution. It permanently galvanized opposition to Crown policy in New England, fueled antiarmy sentiment throughout British North America, and pushed rebellious Americans closer to revolution.

Few people would have predicted this event at the beginning of the decade. In 1763, the Anglo-American victory over archrival France in the Seven Years' War suggested a bright



Paul Revere's 1770 engraving is full of errors. The British troops are shown firing into the crowd following orders from their commanding officer and the crowd looks peaceful and defenseless. Neither point is true; the troops did not fire in an organized manner, and the townspeople were shouting and throwing rocks. However, Revere's image has become the commonly accepted one among Americans. (Library of Congress)

future for the British Empire. That triumph removed France from competition for North America, made possible the expansion of British settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains, and bolstered the colonists' estimation of their future prosperity and importance. But the war with France also brought burdens. It saddled the victors with considerable debt, convinced British officials of the need to tighten imperial control, and reinforced the colonists' mistrust of regular soldiers in general and redcoats in particular.

As a consequence of all these factors, the end of the Seven Years' War brought important changes to the American colonies. During the next few years, Britain maintained thousands of expensive troops in North America, imposed a series of colonial taxes to reduce the burden of British taxpayers, and implemented measures to tighten governance throughout the region. These policies effectively ended several decades of so-called benign neglect—a phrase used by historians to describe the considerable autonomy heretofore enjoyed by the colonists. The Stamp Act, the

Townshend Acts, and the presence of the king's troops, among other measures, provoked angry provincials to denounce and even openly defy royal policy. Because Bostonians engaged in a riot over the seizure of John Hancock's *Liberty* and appeared to both local customs officers and the royal governor, Sir Francis Bernard, to be out of control, British officials made the fateful decision to send redcoats into the city in 1768.

Beginning on October 1, the 14th and 29th Regiments, along with soldiers from the 59th Regiment, disembarked in the Massachusetts capital. From the soldiers' first day ashore, they faced a well-organized opposition. The *Journal of the Times*, published by local radicals, regularly reported the various transgressions committed against Bostonians. By the end of October, the *Journal* alleged that British redcoats had abused the townspeople and subverted local government, that they were illegally billeted in the city, and even that they had attempted to incite a slave insurrection. The passage of time did little to alleviate tensions. The ongoing presence of the army provided a daily reminder that soldiers were there to coerce colonists rather than to protect them. Furthermore, morale was low among the troops, and desertion was common. By the winter of 1770, tensions ran high, and confrontations between soldiers and civilians became more common.

The gradual easing of winter brought no relief. On Friday, March 2, fights erupted between Boston ropemakers and British soldiers, some of whom sought part-time employment when not on duty. On Monday, March 5, the crisis that had been brewing finally boiled over. Multiple altercations occurred that snowy day, but the catalyst for the massacre took place in front of the customhouse on King Street (now State Street). There, a lone sentry, Private Hugh White, stood guard. At about 8:00 p.m., he tried to settle an argument with a wig maker's apprentice by striking the young man in the head with his musket. Immediately a crowd gathered and grew larger as a nearby church bell mysteriously tolled and a voice cried "Fire!" Dozens, if not hundreds, of people trudged through snow and ice and joined the angry crowd surrounding White. Captain Thomas Preston, a corporal, and six privates arrived to provide support. The eight soldiers formed an arc next to Preston and eventually loaded their weapons before a throng that threw insults, snowballs, and sticks. Preston and Private Hugh Montgomery received blows, and someone again cried "Fire!" The soldiers discharged their muskets into the crowd. Five townspeople lay dead or mortally wounded: Patrick Carr, Samuel Maverick, Samuel Gray, James Caldwell, and Crispus Attucks, a mulatto of African and Natick Indian descent who was also known as Michael Johnson.

In the wake of the Boston Massacre, as the radicals immediately dubbed it, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson agreed to remove the troops from the city to Castle William in the harbor. Captain Preston, his soldiers, and four civilians were subsequently arrested and jailed until their trials late in 1770. In a fine irony, the moderate Patriot Robert Treat Paine and the conservative Samuel Quincy prosecuted the soldiers, while the more radical John Adams and Josiah Quincy Jr. (Samuel's younger brother) argued on their behalf. The defense prevailed. In the first trial, the jury acquitted Preston, and in the second trial the jury found all but two of the soldiers not guilty. Privates Hugh Montgomery and Matthew Kilroy were convicted of manslaughter. But the court reduced their sentences to branding on their thumbs after the two were able

to plead clergy, a medieval law that gave special consideration to people who demonstrated their literacy—a curious outcome considering that Kilroy appears to have been unable to write his name.

The so-called massacre had a significant impact on the colonies and the Anglo-American relationship. In Boston, which annually commemorated the event, it further galvanized opposition to British imperial policies. For the next 13 years, until Britain finally recognized America's independence, prominent speakers met on the anniversary of the massacre to praise the town's martyrs and denounce British tyranny. To Bostonians, the massacre confirmed the British government's determination to ensure the colonists' subordination, even by force. It also reinforced the antiarmy sentiment that was growing in popularity in many colonies. Annual speakers commonly emphasized the political oppression and moral degradation that invariably accompanied standing armies. That was a powerful message that influenced the Revolutionary generation as it formed its own armies and went to war with Britain in 1775.

Mark Thompson

SEE ALSO Broad sides; Hutchinson, Thomas; Sermons; Stamp Act

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Boston Tea Party

Early on the evening of December 16, 1773, thousands of Bostonians and other colonists from neighboring towns poured out of a large gathering at Old South Meeting House shouting, “Boston Harbor a tea pot tonight,” “the Mohawks are come,” and other rallying cries. When the crowd reached the waterfront, a band of 50 or 60 men, roughly disguised as Indians, climbed aboard the vessels. There they hoisted out 340 chests of tea, most weighing nearly 400 pounds; broke them open with hatchets; and dumped the contents into the waters of Boston Harbor. This event, known as the Boston Tea Party, precipitated consequences that inexorably led to the outbreak of the War for American Independence at Lexington and Concord 16 months later.

At the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the British Parliament adopted a new policy of taxing its American colonies to help defray the costs of their administration and defense. Almost immediately, colonists objected to this innovation, insisting that they should be taxed only by their own provincial legislatures, not by Parliament where they were not represented. After one ministry repealed the unpopular Stamp Act in 1766, Parliament adopted the Townshend Acts, levying duties on tea and a few other commodities imported into America. Again the colonists protested, and this time most of the merchants in the leading seaports agreed not to import any goods from England until Parliament repealed the act. Much of their effort focused on tea, which many Americans stopped drinking altogether, while others switched to tea smuggled in from Holland.

So successful was the boycott of British goods that in the spring of 1770 Parliament was forced to repeal most of the duties, retaining only the one on tea to uphold its power of taxation. In 1773, Parliament permitted the shipping of company tea directly to American ports, bypassing British middlemen and refunding the import tax levied in Britain, enabling the company to compete with smuggled tea.

In the autumn of 1773, word reached America of the East India Company's intention to send more than 2,000 chests of dutied tea to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston whose tea was ultimately impounded at the customhouse. At both Philadelphia and New York, the ships were forced to return to England with their cargoes.

In Boston, the situation was very different. There the royal governor, American-born Thomas Hutchinson, had no intention of giving in to demands that Boston's tea ships be sent back to England. For one thing, the East India Company had appointed two of his sons as consignees, and they stood to profit from the sale of its tea. Second, Hutchinson and the leader of the opposition, Samuel Adams, had been bitter enemies for years, and the governor had old scores to settle. The fact that the Hutchinsons and their fellow consignees were the worst violators of the tea boycott gave the Patriots a score of their own to settle. A showdown in Boston over the East India Company's tea was all but inevitable.

On November 28, the first of the tea vessels, the *Dartmouth*, entered the port of Boston, to be joined a few days later by the *Eleanor* and the *Beaver*, carrying altogether 340 chests of dutied tea. The law required that cargo owners pay all customs duties within 20 days of entering a port or face seizure of their goods. The deadline for payment was December 17. The Patriot leaders called for public meetings on November 29 and 30, which were attended by more than 5,000 people from Boston and its surrounding communities. They demanded that the tea be returned to London without payment of the duties.

In mid-December, the Patriots assembled two more mass meetings. On the afternoon of December 16, the second assemblage, with Samuel Adams presiding, made one final effort to have the tea returned. William Rotch, the young captain of the *Dartmouth*, was dispatched to deliver the demand to the governor at his country estate in Milton. Hutchinson refused to grant a pass by Castle Island, and shortly after dark, the forlorn ship captain returned empty-handed to the Old South Meeting House. It looked as though Hutchinson was on the verge of winning a major victory but suddenly from the gallery came a war

whoop, answered by similar cries from a small group of men standing by the doorway and disguised as Indians. Followed by thousands of ordinary citizens, they rushed to the waterfront, boarded the vessels, and destroyed the tea. At first, no one would admit taking part in this momentous event, but the passage of time has since revealed that among the “Indians” were members of Boston’s Committee of Correspondence, the grand lodge of Masons, the Long Room Club, and other groups of political activists, including residents from outlying towns, some from as far away as Maine. A few were merchants or other prominent citizens such as Paul Revere but most were artisans and apprentices.

By far the most significant consequence of the Boston Tea Party was the reaction it provoked in Great Britain. In the weeks after learning of the tea’s destruction, the British ministry read reports and heard testimony from Governor Hutchinson, General Thomas Gage, and other royal officials who had witnessed the events in Boston. Realizing the difficulty of singling out individual perpetrators for prosecution, the ministry instead decided to punish Bostonians as a whole. Not only was such a policy easier to execute, but it gave vent to Britain’s long-festered anger with Massachusetts Bay. The ministry was determined to distinguish Boston from the other ports, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, that had also rejected dutied tea but by less violent means. In the end, the ministry proposed and Parliament adopted the Boston Port Act, which closed the port of Boston and moved its customhouse affairs to Plymouth, and three additional Coercive Acts, the most important of which altered the charter of Massachusetts Bay to give royal officials more control over the rebellious province.

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SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Committees of Correspondence; Hutchinson, Thomas; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Revere, Paul; Stamp Act

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Broadsides

Broadsides were single-sheet printed documents that were used for poetic declarations, news items, and propaganda. Before 1765, broadsides were used only for proclamations and special news accounts such as election notices and lists of candidates. During the

pre-revolutionary period, they served the interests of the propagandists. The speeches of British leaders in favor of repealing the Stamp Act were put in broadsides in New York, and King George III's speech at the opening of Parliament in November 1768 was published in Boston so that readers might know what he thought of the town.

The Boston selectmen, in turn, issued a broadside calling for the convention of September 22, 1768, and the results were later published in the same fashion, while notice of the meeting of November 29, 1773, at which the people of Boston determined that the tea should not be landed was put in a broadside in both Boston and in New York.

The propagandists found a much more useful purpose for the broadside as a medium of the most violent anti-British propaganda, effectively aimed at the lower classes. There were no identifying marks to disclose author or printer; it reached a larger audience than a pamphlet or a newspaper; and it attracted far more attention. With their wide distribution, broadsides were read to groups who gathered around them and their influence spread beyond the confines of the literate public.

The most violent forms of attack against public enemies were on broadsides, such as a list of names of those who violated the non-importation agreements; these lists were then authorized by local committees of inspection to give as much promotion as possible for possible boycotts, often violent enough to inspire mob uprisings against the victim.

Broadsides were effectively used in the agitation over the Stamp Act, as protestors threatened lives and property on those who issued or received a stamp or interfered with efforts to repeal the act. When a ship carrying a cargo of tea came near the Philadelphia port, warnings were issued to Delaware pilots who would have to bring it into the harbor not to assist in any way. If a pilot did offer to help, such "pilot will be marked for his Treason . . . and be forever recorded as the damned traitorous Pilot, who brought up the Tea Ship." Such broadsides were signed simply "THE PEOPLE." When it was reported that the customs officers were going to permit landing the tea, a warning was quickly posted that ship must "betray an inhuman Thirst for Blood."

More inflammatory material began to appear on broadsides after 1770 and they appeared in large numbers at the time of the Tea Act in 1773 and as early as 1768, Boston broadsides attacked the troops but the propagandists outdid themselves with events such as the Boston Massacre ("A Monumental Inscription on the Fifth of March") in 1772 and the battles at Lexington and Concord ("Bloody Butchery by the British Troops: or the Runaway Fight of the Regulars"), which were further embellished with coffins across the top with the names of the dead under them.

The broadside was used primarily by northern propagandists who used it to address crowds in the large populated centers like Boston, New York and Philadelphia, with their strong working classes, but it had less appeal in the more agrarian South, with the possible exceptions of Charleston and Savannah.

Earlier colonists found broadsides an effective way to spread contemporary accounts of events in the French and Indian War as well as more unusual occurrences and natural disasters. Later, reformers used broadsides in political, antislavery, and temperance campaigns. During the Civil War, they were distributed as song sheets and parodies. They

also have been used for memorials and obituaries, accounts of trials and executions, crude poetry, official proclamations, and posters.

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SEE ALSO Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Stamp Act

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Bunker Hill, Battle of

On June 13, 1775, the leaders of the colonial forces besieging Boston learned that the British planned to send troops out from the city to occupy the unoccupied hills surrounding the city. In response, 1,200 colonial troops under the command of William Prescott occupied Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill and built lightly fortified lines across most of the Charlestown Peninsula.

Four days later, on June 17, General Artemas Ward, in Boston, ordered Bunker Hill, a quarter-mile from Breed's Hill, the actual battle site, to be fortified. There the British launched three frontal attacks. Historians still cannot agree on who actually said "Don't fire 'til you see the whites of their eyes" as British redcoats marched up Breed's Hill but a soldier who misinterpreted the command fired the first shot that started the shooting.

The result was a Pyrrhic victory for the British. They captured the hill but they suffered over 800 wounded and 226 killed, including a notably large number of officers, while the relatively inexperienced American forces were able to retreat and regroup with few casualties.

When news of the battle spread through the colonies, it was seen as a loss for the American side because the British took the ground and there were significant casualties but the battle report, with somewhat inaccurate casualty figures, gave George Washington, who was on his way to Boston as the new commander of the Continental Army, hope that his army might prevail in the conflict.

The Massachusetts Committee of Safety, hoping to repeat the propaganda victory it achieved after the battles at Lexington and Concord, commissioned its own battle report to send to England, but it failed to reach England before General Gage's official account arrived on July 20, 1775. The casualty counts alarmed the British military establishment who were forced to re-evaluate colonial military capability.



Battle of Bunker Hill. In the first and bloodiest battle of the Revolutionary War, British troops crossed Boston Harbor to confront a force of New England militia entrenched on a small peninsula opposite the city. General Howe's men only drove off the defenders after three frontal assaults in which they suffered horrific casualties—almost 40 percent of their force. This painting, John Trumbull's *Death of General Warren*, is the finest image of the Battle of Bunker Hill, and is an important image in the history of American historical and patriotic painting. It was painted several years after the event, but Trumbull was himself a participant at the battle. (National Archives)

The battle was reported on both sides of the Atlantic. London's *Monthly Magazine* published both the American and British reports. In the American version, Breed's Hill became Bunker Hill. However, it was also debated that because someone incorrectly identified the hill of the actual battle, it can logically be argued that there never was either a Battle of Bunker Hill but instead the Battle of Breed's Hill.

The propaganda value of this event in the United States did much to agitate American resistance to the British occupation in New England.

The monument today remains a favorite destination in the Charlestown section of Boston. Situated on the hill, it is quite recognizable from the air, as the visitor approaches Logan Airport, and it is fairly visible from different parts of the city.

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SEE ALSO Lexington and Concord, Battle of

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Canada

Canada's historical background greatly influenced the decision of its people to remain in the British Empire during the American Revolution. The region's relationship to the Revolution grew out of its role in a century of global rivalries between Britain and France. After Britain conquered Canada in 1763, British conciliatory policies toward the French-speaking Canadians and the Roman Catholic Church effectively kept Canada from joining the rebelling thirteen colonies just a dozen years later. As a result of the American Revolution, not only did the United States emerge from those thirteen colonies, but a distinct Canadian identity arose to resist the force of American nationalism.

For nearly a century, the dynastic wars of Europe had extended to North America, under different names, as Britain and France competed for global supremacy. During each of these conflicts, Britain and France enlisted the aid of the indigenous peoples of North America; the French solicited the Algonquians, while the British courted the Iroquois. The settlers of the North American colonies were also subject to the whims of European diplomacy.

In 1763, the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War, transferred control of New France to Britain and greatly increased the size of British North America while the Quebec Act of 1774 openly accommodated the culture and aspirations of the French-speaking inhabitants of Canada. The act protected the seigneurial system and the privileged status of the Roman Catholic Church and recognized the legal system of Quebec instead of imposing English common law. The act effectively protected the status of French Canadians. This did much to ensure their loyalty during the American Revolution, as the thirteen colonies, which had inherited the traditions of English common law and constitutional rule, were breaking away from the mother country.

Yet it was the attempt of the British Parliament to strengthen the Imperial bond in English-speaking North America that sparked the American Revolution. Even before armed conflict between Britain and her colonists broke out at Lexington and Concord in 1775, America's leaders hoped to persuade French-speaking Canada to join them in

resisting British power. The First Continental Congress issued a manifesto to the people of Quebec, urging them to join the American cause and send delegates to the Second Continental Congress at its meeting in Philadelphia in May 1775. The Canadians, however, declined the invitation, and Congress's three-man delegation to Canada, headed by Benjamin Franklin and sent the following spring, had no more success. From the beginning of the rebellion, Canada's habitants were ambivalent about joining the thirteen colonies. And although several hundred French-speaking volunteers did fight with American forces against the British Army during the war, the great majority of Quebec's people remained neutral in the struggle for two reasons: The influential Roman Catholic clergy were beholden to Britain, especially after the passage of the Quebec Act, for their continued dominance in Canada's religious and cultural life, and the French-speaking population feared becoming a linguistic and cultural minority on an overwhelmingly English-speaking continent.

As the American Revolution developed into a full-scale war, Canada became the bastion of British loyalty in North America, and its conquest became a war aim of the Continental Congress. Quebec and Montreal were safe ports where the British could build up large arsenals and from which they could easily strike New York and New England. General George Washington also saw the British presence in Canada as a threat and was concerned that the Britons would inflame Native Americans against the colonies. The first engagements of the war outside eastern Massachusetts took place in northern New York and its border with Canada. On May 10, 1775, three weeks after the Battle of Lexington and Concord, a New England force under Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold launched a surprise attack on Fort Ticonderoga. Their success boosted the morale of the Continental Army, and American forces moved farther north toward Canada by capturing the small garrison at Crown Point shortly thereafter. Canada appeared to be open to an American invasion.

In June 1775, the Continental Congress ordered General Philip Schuyler to march an army into Canada. As Schuyler moved north from Crown Point, Arnold was to advance through Maine to Quebec. General Richard Montgomery, a former British Army officer living in the province of New York, joined Schuyler's force of some 1,500 men in late August, took command in mid-September, and placed Fort St. John, on the Richelieu River, under siege. St. John fell on November 2, 1775, opening the way to Montreal.

The city of Quebec was the Americans' next and greatest target. In December 1775, Arnold's force, marching north from Maine, joined Montgomery's small army west of the city. A desperate New Year's Eve assault by some 900 Americans on the fortified city, defended by at least as many British and French, failed completely, and Montgomery was killed. With its army now beginning to suffer from disease, especially smallpox, as well as the bitter weather, America's invasion of Canada was badly stalled.

In May 1776, the British brought several thousand fresh troops to Quebec and began driving the disease-ridden Americans back up the St. Lawrence River. On June 8, 1776, they defeated General John Sullivan's force at Trois-Rivières, and the Americans

abandoned Montreal and retreated back to Lake Champlain, losing all of their gains of the previous 10 months. Carleton now built small warships to seize control of the lake, while Arnold built other small vessels to oppose him. On October 11, 1776, Carleton's flotilla defeated Arnold off Valcour Island, and the Americans fell back to Fort Ticonderoga at the southern end of the lake. Carleton, deciding not to press on as winter approached, returned to Canada.

In 1777, the British made a grand attempt to conquer America from Canada. General John Burgoyne brought some 8,000 British, German, and Indian warriors down Lake Champlain to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies and link up his force with General William Howe's army in the Hudson River Valley. But the total lack of Howe's cooperation led to Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga and put Britain on the defensive. For the rest of the war, Canada played no important role in British military strategy, and the Americans, after considering another invasion in 1778, left their northern neighbors alone until the conclusion of peace.

As the war came to an end, both British and American leaders faced the question of what to do with the Loyalists in the thirteen colonies. As the colonies declared their independence, those who remained loyal to Britain suffered all kinds of persecution and discrimination, including removal from public office, disfranchisement, punitive taxation, the loss of legal rights, the confiscation of property, imprisonment, and banishment (and in the case of a few spies, even execution). By 1777, every state except South Carolina and Georgia regarded anyone who supported the British as a traitor. In the same year, Congress recommended the confiscation of Loyalist estates, which was already under way in several states.

By the end of the Revolutionary War, the Loyalists had established two large communities in Canada. Nova Scotia, which initially had the larger community, took in about 35,000 Loyalists in 1782 and 1783, mostly from New York City. Carleton, who by then was commander in chief of the British Army in North America, and was stationed in New York until the final evacuation (in November 1783), interceded on the Loyalists' behalf by writing to Governor John Parr of Nova Scotia to secure 500 acres of land for each Loyalist family, 300 acres for each single man, 2,000 acres for each church, and 1,000 acres for each school.

Loyalists settled all along the coasts of the Maritime Provinces, founding communities along the Bay of Fundy, Cape Breton Island, and the Atlantic coast. To ease this massive influx, Britain created the province of New Brunswick, on the Bay of Fundy's unsettled west shore in 1784, as a site for new Loyalist settlements, with Thomas Carleton, Guy's brother, as its first governor.

The second largest group of Loyalists settled in Quebec but the Quebec Act forbade them the representative government and justice under English common law they had enjoyed before the Revolution. Soon they pressured the British government for the same rights they once held in the thirteen colonies, which necessitated the creation of a new colony. The solution was found in the British Parliament's Constitutional Act of 1791, also known as the Canada Act, that divided Quebec into two provinces. The Canada Act prepared the way for the foundation for modern Canada.

Although such an outcome was never intended by the Founding Fathers of the United States of America, the foundations of the modern Canadian state emerged from the years immediately prior to and during the American Revolution. British conciliatory gestures to the French Canadians ensured their loyalty, while Britain's harsher policies alienated its English colonists. The American invasion of Canada during the Revolutionary War and then the massive influx of Loyalist refugees helped to forge a Canadian identity that would have to come to terms with both its French and British heritages. It was from these events that Canada emerged as a culture and nation that remained distinct from its neighbor to the south.

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SEE ALSO Arnold, Benedict; Continental Congress; Franklin, Benjamin; Lexington and Concord, Battle of

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Captivity Narratives

These are one of the most popular literature genres in the colonial period and beyond. Captivity narratives are the sensational accounts of white colonists who were kidnapped by Native Americans, lived with them for a period of time, and then were freed. Part morality tale, part religious and national propaganda, and part gory thrillers, captivity narratives were essentially propagandistic in nature and intent, whether they reinforced prejudice against Native Americans or against the French in Canada. Nevertheless, their popular appeal lay in their more titillating, voyeuristic aspects. The earliest published account of European captivity by Native Americans was that of Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1542, but the popular genre was innovated by Increase Mather and Mary Rowlandson of New England in the publication *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682). In 1681, Mather had suggested that he and his colleagues collect stories of “special providences” concerning New England to be evaluated, sorted, and eventually

anthologized; this effort became *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), but he thought Rowlandson's story too compelling to await later publication. Rowlandson had been taken captive during Metacom's raid on the central Massachusetts town of Lancaster in February 1676 and ransomed after three months. Thus, her harrowing experience seemed to him a perfect allegory for a second-generation New England that—in the opinion of clerical elites—had slipped from its religious moorings. Rowlandson may also have felt a need to write a faithful rendition of her ordeal to quell rumors that she had been sexually abused by her captors. And so, with Mather most likely serving as her editor, she produced *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*.

Rowlandson's narrative became the standard blueprint on which all future captivity narratives were built. A devout, pure woman is ruthlessly captured by "savages," forced to endure all manner of physical and emotional torments for a length of time, and then is finally redeemed to rejoin English society. Although usually exaggerated in the narratives, there is some truth to the methods indigenous peoples typically used to subdue white hostages during their captivity, consisting mainly of forcing them to travel long distances on foot and subsisting on meager rations of whatever could be foraged on the trail. It was a physically exhausting ordeal to people unaccustomed to it, and Rowlandson frequently complained of her aches and pains as she reluctantly accommodated herself to life in Native American society. The "filthy trash" that the Native Americans ate she eventually learned to accept, and along the way she gradually won the respect and honor of her captors, meeting with Metacom himself and being temporarily adopted into his household. This she took as evidence of her racial superiority, when in fact King Philip (Metacom) was merely protecting and humoring his valuable investment. After a total of 20 "removes" that took her throughout western Massachusetts and present-day Vermont, she was redeemed by her husband Joseph in May 1676.

In this regard, captivity narratives can be studied as another form of archetypal story involving a hero's transformation through symbolic death and rebirth. The hero or heroine is somehow separated from the comfortable and familiar and compelled to undertake an extended journey that is multilayered, in that the journey is literal, psychological, and metaphorical. According to Joseph Campbell's interpretation of the "Monomyth," the hero's journey consists of three distinct stages: separation, transformation, and enlightened return. Native American captivity narratives that followed Rowlandson's extremely popular book generally kept to the same monomythic progression that she described, however, much the details varied. Although this suggests that Native American abduction practices and initiation/adoption rites shared similar dynamics, and that white captives' reactions tended to be roughly similar, the formulaic nature of the narratives that gained in popularity in 18th-century British America indicates a high degree of borrowing that belie their essentially propagandistic nature. The second best-selling captivity narrative in the American colonies was John Williams's memoir, *The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion*, published in 1707. Williams, a minister of the Congregational Church in the western Massachusetts town of Deerfield, was captured with a number of his family members and parishioners in the Franco-native

raid on the town in 1704 during Queen Anne's War. The company of white captives were marched north through winter snow to Montreal and the surrounding Kahnawake Mohawk villages over the course of nearly two months from March through April 1704. Following the by-now-conventional model for captivity narratives, Williams recounts the rigors and cruelties of the forced march through the New York wilderness, the fear of starvation and sudden death, and the horror at the witnessing of burdensome children and the wounded being killed or abandoned to die, including his wife Eunice. However, whereas Rowlandson devotes some space in her narrative to a denigration of the Christianized "Praying Indians," whom she suspected as traitors and spies to their white civilizers, Williams's narrative is most concerned with describing the attempts by the French Jesuit missionaries to convert him and his fellow captive parishioners to Catholicism. Williams's *Redeemed Captive* inaugurated the subgenre of anti-Catholic captivity narrative, which remained wildly popular until the American Revolution.

Indeed, this became the basic threefold purpose of captivity narratives: to reinforce prejudice against the native peoples, particularly those allied with the French; to stoke the fires of anti-Catholic bigotry; and to invigorate Francophobic British nationalism and imperialism. Captivity narratives were most popular in New England, where anti-Catholic prejudice was regularly expressed at Pope's Day celebrations every November 5 (Guy Fawkes Day in England). Production and sales of captivity narratives consequently rose with the outbreak of King William's War, Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the French and Indian War. The latter conflict was the most catastrophic of the four, involving as it did colonial militia forces under British Army command. This war took on distinctly religious and even apocalyptic tones, as New England clergymen often described it as the first skirmishes in the foretold War of Armageddon.

John Howard Smith

SEE ALSO King Philip's War

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Cartoons. See Broad sides; Dove, David James; Join, or Die; Royal American Magazine

Cato's Letters

These documents were first printed in the early 1720s as *Cato's Letters: or, Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects*. They were a series of letters, actually written by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, and “first printed weekly in the London and British journals” but issued “without any name, from Bath, as letters to the author of the *London Journal*, who sign'd them Cato, and by that name they afterwards went.” They originally appeared from November 1720 to December 1723. They were later printed in the *British Journal*.

Cato's Letters were treatises on political liberty, representative government, and freedom of expression that are considered a seminal work. They condemned tyranny and advanced the principles of freedom of conscience and freedom of speech, a main vehicle for spreading the concepts that had been developed by the British philosopher John Locke whose contributions to classical republicanism and liberal theory are reflected in the Declaration of Independence.

The essays were reprinted in American newspapers, retaining the pen name “Cato” that was first used with the *Independent Whim* (1720–1721); in 1724, they were published in four volumes. American papers that reprinted them included James Franklin's *New England Courant*, Andrew Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury*, and John Peter Zenger's *New York Weekly Journal*. The letters strongly influenced the movement of the colonies toward revolution and independence and they were widely cited in the pamphleteer literature of colonial America.

Cato was later appropriated as a pseudonym in a series of letters to the *New York Journal* in 1787 and 1788 that opposed James Madison's views as he was drafting the U.S. Constitution and urging its ratification. Many historians attribute these letters to George Clinton, who opposed the new constitution and was later vice-president under Madison, though their authorship has not been definitively proven. These letters are unrelated to the Trenchard and Gordon letters.

The Cato Institute, a Washington, DC, think tank founded by Edward H. Crane in 1977, takes its name from *Cato's Letters*.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Declaration of Independence; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Cobbett, William

England's William Cobbett was a self-educated essayist, journalist, politician, reformer, and agriculturalist. His encouragement of political partisanship in the press is considered by some as revolutionary to the world of journalism in the United States.

Cobbett was born on March 9, 1763 in Farnham, Surrey, England. A stint in the British Army saw him in Nova Scotia for part of his tour. Discharged in 1791, he soon faced prosecution in England for a pamphlet he had written that condemned British Army practices and called for improved conditions. He sought refuge in the United States for an extended stay from October 1792 to January 1800.

Cobbett at best regarded the United States with ambivalence. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, he earned notoriety as a radical journalist and pamphleteer under the nom de plume Peter Porcupine. His style included savage and sarcastic attacks directed both at individual Americans and at U.S. society in general. British émigré Joseph Priestley and the American Dr. Benjamin Rush were favorite targets. When Rush successfully sued Cobbett for libel, the acid-penned pamphleteer returned to England.

Cobbett sometimes receives credit for revolutionizing journalism in the United States by encouraging political partisanship in the press. He could be an occasionally outspoken advocate for U.S. rights, but his only consistent feature was his vehemence. He defended the British right of search in the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair of 1807 but took the side of the United States in the *President-Little Belt* incident of 1811. During the War of 1812, he praised the success of U.S. frigates with such pamphlets as *The Pride of Britannia Humbled*, *The Queen of the Ocean Unqueened*, and *The American Cock Boats*. He returned to Philadelphia in May 1817 during a British crackdown on radicalism and remained until October 1819.

Cobbett's unabated agitation for a variety of causes, including the reform of the English political system, earned him a seat in the Reform Bill Parliament of 1832. He died on June 18, 1835 at Guilford, England.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Committees of Correspondence

The committee of correspondence was an innovative and characteristic institution in the coming of the American Revolution. This new creation, both at the local and provincial levels, played a central role in turning dozens of uncoordinated Revolutionary efforts in cities, towns, and individual colonial legislatures into a unified movement in just two years (November 1772–October 1774) and then helped lead the drive to independence in another 20 months. Understanding this achievement requires careful attention to the changing meanings of the term *committees of correspondence*.

At the local level, primarily in America's port cities, committees that formed to oppose British taxation and legislation, usually by directing non-importation or non-consumption movements, would often designate a few of their number to correspond with committees that were engaged in similar activities in other cities. This happened during both the Stamp Act crisis (1765–1766) and the extended resistance to the Townshend duties (1768–1770). In the latter event, these correspondents played a crucial role in trying to coordinate the nonimportation movement among the major cities, but eventually they and their whole committees failed.

At the provincial level, several colonial assemblies, including some of the most conservative, had created standing committees of correspondence well before the beginning of the imperial crisis. Their main function was to write to the legislature's agent in London, directing him to lobby British officials concerning issues of importance to the lawmakers, and to receive the agent's reports. On one occasion, in Massachusetts in 1768, a standing legislative committee of correspondence wrote not to its agent but to other colonial legislatures to state its grounds for opposing British policy. This circular letter, and the defiance both of the Massachusetts Assembly in refusing to rescind it under orders from the British government and of the South Carolina Assembly in voting over the governor's objection to receive it, became deservedly famous among America's Patriots.

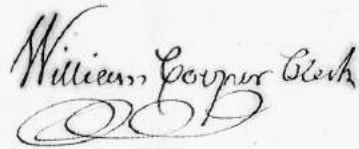
None of these committees, however, were Revolutionary committees of correspondence, because none took it as their goal to create, by correspondence, an alliance of many local communities, whether cities, towns, or whole colonies, into an enduring opposition to British policy. The first committee to attempt this was the Boston Committee of Correspondence, formed in November 1772 at the urging of Samuel Adams.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 1, 1773.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Committee of Correspondence for this Town had just prepared their Letter covering the Proceedings of the Town at their two late Meetings of the 5th and 18th ultimo, when a Ship arrived from London with Part of the East-India Company's Teas : This induced us to forbear sending the Letters until we could procure some further Intelligence. On Monday last this and the neighbouring Towns as one Body convened at Faneuil-Hall, till the Assembly were so numerous as occasion'd an Adjournment to the Old South Meeting-House, where it was computed there was upwards of 5000 Persons, and then came into a Number of Votes and Resolves unanimously ; a Copy of which being handed to us by a Committee of that Body, we now forward to you, and are with great Esteem your Friends and humble Servants.

By Order of the Committee of Boston.



Boston's Committee of Correspondence announces the resolves of Boston and surrounding towns in rejecting the East India Company's shipment of tea. This led to the Boston Tea Party. (Library of Congress)

Alarmed by the British government's recent decision to remove the right of paying the salaries of Massachusetts's governor and superior court judges from the legislature, and instead to pay them directly out of Crown revenues, Adams wanted an institution that would raise the sensitivity of Massachusetts's towns to the whole pattern of growing British power in the province. Over the next 14 months, up until the Boston Tea Party, this committee, by sending out carefully crafted letters, receiving replies, and sending out fresh responses, persuaded nearly 60 Massachusetts towns, and even a few Connecticut towns, to create their own committees of correspondence and endorse Boston's view that Britain was engaged in a vast conspiracy to undermine American liberties.

This had two results. First, when Britain passed its Coercive Acts in the spring of 1774, the Massachusetts countryside was already substantially radicalized and ready to create a provincial government that was not based on British authority. Second, as soon as Britain closed the port of Boston as punishment for the Boston Tea Party, the town's Committee of Correspondence and its neighboring committees were ready to propose the formation of similar committees in communities extending hundreds of miles down

the Atlantic seaboard. By June, in response to the closing of the port of Boston, every major seaport had chosen its committee, and by July, many inland towns and rural counties had created their own committees. These bodies stood ready to endorse two moves: the calling of an inter-colonial congress to determine the best means to meet the crisis and the initiation of a more tightly coordinated nonimportation movement in all of Britain's North American colonies.

Each of these objectives was strongly supported by a second kind of committee of correspondence. In March 1773, Virginia's House of Burgesses became alarmed over reports that a royal commission of inquiry into the burning of the revenue cutter *Gaspée* in Rhode Island in 1772 had the authority to send suspected perpetrators to England for trial. In response, it formed a new committee of correspondence devoted explicitly to communicating with other North American colonies over any challenges to the traditional rights of Americans by the British government. This committee's first act was to write to the legislatures of 12 other British North American colonies, asking that they, too, form fresh committees of correspondence devoted exclusively to the imperial crisis. The new legislative committees, like Massachusetts's local committees, were designed to meet on short notice in any season, even when their legislatures were not in session. The assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut immediately agreed to appoint their committees. Seven other colonies followed suit within the next year. Of the thirteen colonies that rebelled in 1776, only North Carolina and Pennsylvania declined to create this new institution.

Britain's Coercive Acts, by punishing an entire community of thousands for the destructive behavior of certain unidentified persons (the Boston Port Act), by providing that both civil and military officers accused of criminal activity in the course of exercising their authority could be transferred to England for trial (the Administration of Justice Act), and by unilaterally altering a 17th-century provincial charter (the Massachusetts Government Act), raised fears in every colony that the British Parliament believed there were no limits on its powers in America. This was just the catalyst the growing committee movement needed. By July, well over one hundred communities, urban and rural, had their own committees of correspondence, and nearly every legislature's committee of correspondence was calling for an intercolonial congress, whether its full assembly was able to meet or was prevented from doing so by its royal governor.

When delegates chosen by either legal assemblies, or extralegal provincial congresses in a total of 12 colonies, met as the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September 1774, they quickly recognized the value of the new committees in achieving their goals. Their first objective was to generate a declaration of grievances that all the colonists would endorse along with a set of addresses to audiences, principally King George III and the people of Britain, that, they hoped, would help them secure a redress of those grievances. Their second objective was to ensure that their message would be listened to by making it difficult to ignore. Their method was a coordinated non-importation and non-exportation boycott that would not merely cripple but utterly suspend Anglo-American trade until their demands were met.

To achieve both objectives, but especially the second, Congress incorporated committees into its Continental Association of October 1774, labeling these bodies committees of observation, inspection, and correspondence in recognition of the three things they wanted each committee to do: observe both the political speech and the commercial behavior of all persons in their city, town, or county; inspect every ship and boat, every wharf and shed, and every wagon or cart, no matter how small, to ensure that no prohibited goods moved into or out of the colonies; and correspond with any persons, other committees, and Revolutionary provincial officials or congresses about any concerns they had about the exact performance of the Continental Association and the maintenance of patriotic commitment in their communities.

This broad mandate gave the new committees great power, and many colonists, not only Loyalists, had reason at one point or another to resent these thousands of new local rulers. A Virginia dramatist, Robert Munford, even wrote a play satirizing the heavy-handed work of the local committees. But America's committees of observation, inspection, and correspondence made the Continental Association a nearly airtight embargo and helped to prepare the colonists for the greater discipline they would need and the greater sacrifices they would have to make once open warfare began at Lexington and Concord.

Both legislative committees of correspondence and local committees of observation, inspection, and correspondence remained vital Revolutionary institutions until independence. Thereafter, new challenges were met by new local officials and institutions appointed by new state governments operating under new constitutions. And America's trading patterns and laws fundamentally changed as the nation's ports opened wide to new trading partners.

Finally, committees of correspondence, both before and after the First Continental Congress, not only dominated Revolutionary commercial regulation and political mobilization in America but also played the central role in recruiting a new Revolutionary leadership. Even before the creation of Congress, committees of correspondence, beginning in Boston in 1772, extended south to Charleston and in several colonies more than 100 miles inland by July 1774. This process probably brought more than 1,000 men into formal public life for the first time. The new committees extended the leadership far beyond the Sons of Liberty and similar informal groups that had dominated America's Revolutionary movement from 1765 to 1770, when that movement was largely confined to America's port cities.

In the fall of 1774, Congress's new Continental Association further increased the new leadership to more than 7,000 men. Not all, of course, would remain as leaders, either in America's emerging new state governments or in the Continental Army and Navy and the state militias after 1776. But a large proportion of the top leadership in every colony or state, from 1774 to 1781, first rose to power through committee service. In this vital sense, America's committees of correspondence were not merely characteristic of the coming of the American Revolution but absolutely central to the achievement of American independence in 1776.

Richard Alan Ryerson

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Continental Congress; *Gaspée* Incident; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act

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Common Sense

In 1776, Thomas Paine (1737–1809) published a landmark pamphlet that had a profound influence on the nascent Revolutionary War. *Common Sense*, according to historian David Hackett Fischer, reflected Thomas Paine’s ability to express popular feeling already stirring in American hearts (Fischer, 2004). Paine’s writing increased sentiment among Americans toward independence. What is remarkable is that Paine was a recent immigrant to the colonies, arriving in 1774.

The pamphlet was received differently by colonists based upon status and location. Woody Holton noted how Virginia farmers used the ideals of *Common Sense* to advocate for a greater say in their local affairs (Holton, 1999). Unlike Thomas Jefferson, who listed colonial grievances in the Declaration of Independence, Paine used his writing to criticize the patriarchal system behind British monarchy and to argue that the colonies were mature enough to govern themselves. Its wide appeal resulted from Paine using techniques to reach a larger audience, as opposed to previous political writings that targeted the educated elite.

Paine covered several topics within the pamphlet. After a brief introduction, he issued scathing criticism of the monarchical form of government, specifically the British monarchy. He then turned his attention to discussing the current predicament of the colonies, including how Americans were treated as second-class citizens in Britain. Finally, he considered the ability of America to govern herself as an independent nation. He even indicated our benefits, especially with shipbuilding, which hinted the possibility of

America becoming a major power at some future point. Due to its treasonous content, Paine published *Common Sense* anonymously.

The pamphlet's popularity was immense. It sold 12,000 copies in the first three months and over half a million in one year. The pamphlet went through 25 editions. This popularity generated tremendous royalties for Paine, which he donated to the Continental Army in expression of his support for the cause.

Common Sense was a remarkable piece of writing for its day. It presented a strong case against the existing order and advocated American independence, using language that resonated with average colonists and moved many towards supporting the Revolution and independence. Unfortunately, events with the Revolution quickly faded this support and optimism and led Paine to write another pamphlet, *The American Crisis* to motivate Americans, particularly Continental soldiers, to stay behind the Revolutionary cause.

Paine went on to write more, including the *Rights of Man* (1791), which was a guide to Enlightenment thinking. He influenced the French Revolution as well, but later faced criticism for his views on Christianity. Though he died unpopular, *Common Sense* solidified Thomas Paine's place in American history and remains an important document on Revolutionary politics and ideals.

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SEE ALSO Declaration of Independence; Paine, Thomas; Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Concord, Battle of. See Lexington and Concord, Battle of

Continental Congress

In the First Continental Congress (September–October 1774) American colonial representatives discussed grievances against the British government and planned a united response to British policy. Although some delegates were dissatisfied with the

limited action taken by that body, the Congress had set a precedent for joint action, developed common coercive economic action through its Continental Association, and agreed to convene a second congress in May 1775 if Britain had not recognized America's grievances. The First Continental Congress also revealed divisions among the colonists, and Georgia had not even sent a delegation. Some of the members were beginning to favor independence from Great Britain, although they could not say this in public, while more moderate representatives ardently sought reconciliation with London. These divisions carried over into the Second Continental Congress, but events soon shifted the momentum in favor of independence-minded delegates.

The Second Continental Congress convened on May 10, 1775 in Philadelphia, and the Battles of Lexington and Concord in late April soon compelled the delegates to approve strong measures against what they perceived to be British provocations. On May 24, Congress elected John Hancock of Massachusetts as its president. Other delegates included Samuel and John Adams, John Dickinson, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, and George Washington.

Initially the Congress, like its predecessor, had few real powers. It could not pass legislation or levy taxes and had no executive branch or treasury. But as armed conflict with Britain grew, Congress gained increasing power and influence.

The move to arms quickly gained momentum. On May 15, 1775, Congress voted to put the colonies in a state of defense and soon thereafter agreed to raise a standing army of 20,000 men. In turning to armed resistance, Congress was keenly aware of the value of public opinion and directed Jefferson to prepare the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms (July 6, 1775), which was distributed throughout the colonies to rally the public to the cause. But in deference to moderates in Congress, the body authorized Dickinson to draft its Olive Branch Petition (July 5, 1775) to George III, who had refused to receive a similar appeal from the First Continental Congress. In this last address to Britain's king, Congress pledged America's loyalty to the Crown and asked the monarch to end the fighting until solutions could be found to resolve the conflict between the colonies and the mother country.

By the summer of 1775, the governments of several colonies called on Congress to take on more of the functions of a national government. Congress had begun in May to issue paper currency to pay for military expenses and the costs of the national legislature and, over the course of the next year, issued four emissions of continental paper money. To secure private loans, Congress authorized the establishment of loan offices in several of the major states, but relatively few loans were originated through these offices.

Congress's last hope of acquiring additional funding was from foreign sources. In March 1776, Congress dispatched Silas Deane to France to gain French military, political, and economic support. But French and later Spanish sources provided only about \$4 million in loans and subsidies during the early years of the war. Although this figure would increase, it remained a fraction of the money needed to oppose the British Army. For the entire conflict, France, America's only formal ally, provided a total of about \$8 million in loans and subsidies; Spain, which would not ally with the United

States, provided only about \$645,000. In 1779, Congress voted to send Henry Laurens to The Hague to negotiate a loan from the Dutch, but Laurens's capture by the British in 1780 ended his mission. John Adams, however, began the same work in Holland in 1780, and in 1782, with Congress's finances in chaos, he secured the first installment in some \$12 million in loans and a Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the two countries.

More important to Congress than economic aid in the early years of the war were diplomatic recognition and military support. Following Deane's mission, Congress sent several delegations to Europe to garner support for the new nation. The most successful was the commission to France headed by Franklin. He proved immensely popular with the French elite and was able to negotiate the Franco-American Alliance in February 1778 following the British defeat at Saratoga. Missions to various German and Italian states and to Russia from 1777 to 1783 were unsuccessful, and America's mission to Spain was more frustrating than rewarding. Beginning with Adams's mission to Holland, however, several American diplomats were eventually able to negotiate commercial treaties with the Netherlands (1782), Sweden (1783), Prussia (1785), and Morocco (1786).

Congress also hoped to promote insurrection against the British in other colonies, or at least to cultivate public sentiment in these regions, and appointed committees to draft letters to Canada, British West Florida, and the British Caribbean islands to explain and justify its resistance to British rule. Its most important initiative, in the spring of 1776, was to send a delegation to Canada (which the Americans had already invaded in the fall of 1775) to try to persuade French Canadians to join the rebellion. This effort failed, but several hundred Canadians did travel south to join Americans in their armed struggle against Britain. Congress also instructed representatives of the various colonies to begin negotiations with Native American tribes in an attempt to convince them to remain neutral in the conflict. Finally, in defiance of the Navigation Acts, the delegates authorized American ports to be opened to trade with all nations.

The first great test of Congress's leadership was the issue of independence. Beginning early in 1776 and aided by Thomas Paine's advocacy of independence in January in America's first best-seller, the pamphlet *Common Sense*, Lee, Patrick Henry, and John Adams led the campaign in Congress for full separation from Great Britain. A large group of moderates, led by Dickinson, opposed this decision to the last moment. As fighting in New England and in Canada continued through the winter and spring of 1776, the delegates began considering a formal break with Britain. On June 7, Lee, seconded by John Adams, introduced a resolution declaring independence.

The declaration was presented to the full Congress on June 28. On July 2, 12 delegations voted for independence; New York abstained. Congress declared the measure passed, and after final editing, the Declaration of Independence was approved on July 4.

Even as Congress debated the Declaration of Independence, it appointed a committee chaired by Dickinson to develop a plan for a union of the states, the first constitution for the new nation. The committee's proposed draft of the Articles of Confederation for the United States of America was fully debated in Congress and finally approved on November 15, 1777.

Under the *Articles of Confederation*, the national government was composed of a unicameral legislature with no executive branch. Congress's elected president served as a coordinator and advocate for legislation but lacked any real political power.

The Confederation Congress had the power to declare war and make treaties and alliances, but it could not force the states to respect or comply with those treaties. It could request men from the states for the Continental Army but could not establish a standing army in peacetime. Congress also had the power to regulate coinage and to issue bills of credit and borrow money, but it could not levy taxes. Finally, Congress was tasked to oversee relations with Native Americans and to settle disputes between the individual states, areas in which it had some success.

To compound its problems, there were continuing tensions between Congress and the military leadership during the Revolution. Most members of Congress had an abiding mistrust of a standing army. They feared that senior military officers might use their power to undermine Congress or even to establish a dictatorial government. Hence, Congress jealously guarded its control of the military and elected and dismissed most generals and senior officers. Congress also controlled the pay and supply of the Continental Army. It established the Board of War to oversee the procurement and delivery of supplies to the troops, but the board had little power and faced a variety of obstacles in its efforts to support the army.

Of all of the political influences that Congress exerted on the Continental Army, none caused more problems than those involving the issue of pay. The Continental Army was paid differently than the state militias, and state soldiers usually received better and more regular pay. The pay differential was so pronounced that Congress had to pass a special supplemental pay increase for officers in the Continental Army in 1776.

The problems of the Confederation Congress did not cease at the end of the Revolutionary War but instead grew worse as the national government confronted growing questions about its ability to govern. By 1783, there was increasing sentiment to change the *Articles of Confederation*. The inability of Congress to force several states to pay their portions of the national debt they had incurred during the Revolution and its lack of authority to levy taxes constrained its ability to deal with the problems facing the new nation. In October 1781, Congress requested \$8 million from the states, but by the formal end of the war in 1783, the states had paid only \$1.5 million. In September 1786, delegates from five states gathered to discuss the crisis at Annapolis, Maryland, where Alexander Hamilton called for a convention to thoroughly reform the *Articles of Confederation*.

Congress, desperate to receive more power and authority, issued a formal call for a general meeting, and the Philadelphia Convention opened on May 25, 1787. Twelve states sent delegates; only Rhode Island boycotted the convention. Among the delegates, the Federalists, led by Hamilton and Madison, and strongest in several of the larger states advocated a powerful central government.

The Second Continental Congress quickly evolved into the first national government of the United States. For more than 13 years it directed the Revolutionary War to a successful conclusion, framed the nation's first structure of national government, concluded

peace with Britain, established relations with several European nations, directed the early development of the country's western lands, and presided over the troubled post-war economy until the United States decided that it needed a more powerful national government.

Tom Lansford

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Declaration of Independence; Dickinson, John: *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania*; *Federalist Papers*; Franklin, Benjamin; Lexington and Concord, Battle of

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Cooper, James Fenimore

American novelist who treated the colonial experience in many of his novels and glorified Native Americans. James Fenimore Cooper was the first American to support himself completely by writing novels. In doing so, he helped to create a unique American literature, capturing the influences of nature and the frontier experience in his stories. Although he believed it was the duty of the United States to expand across the continent, Cooper also decried the destruction of the wilderness and the Native Americans, whom he viewed as noble.

Born on September 15, 1789, in Burlington, New Jersey, Cooper was the son of a land agent and developer. Cooper was raised as a Federalist gentleman, to support the Republic and protect it from the vagaries of the mob. He studied at Yale during 1803–1805 but was expelled for blowing up another student's door. His father arranged for him to go to sea, which gave him a love of the sea as a place of freedom and adventure. Appointed a midshipman in January 1808, Cooper was assigned to the U.S. Navy warship *Wasp* as a recruiting officer. When his father died in 1809, Cooper inherited \$50,000 and resigned his commission in May 1811. By 1820, Cooper had gone through his inheritance and faced financial ruin. In desperation, he turned to writing as a career.

Cooper's first novels were published anonymously. His first, *Precaution*, about English manners, appeared in 1820 and was a failure. His second, *The Spy* (1821), was a patriotic historical treatment of the American Revolutionary War. It was one of the first

novels written by an American with an American setting and characters. *The Spy* was hugely popular. His next novel, *The Pioneers* (1823), was autobiographical and dealt with the founding of Cooperstown and the conflict between taming the wilderness and preserving it. It also introduced his most memorable character, Natty Bumpo, an aged hunter who became the symbol of the American frontiersman. The character was based on Daniel Boone and other scouts and explorers. Natty Bumpo appeared in four other Cooper novels, including *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), Cooper's most famous work. Known as the Leatherstocking Tales, these five novels are *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841).

Cooper's works were widely read by both Americans and Europeans. His descriptions of the frontier and its effect on the American character were highly influential. His depiction of American expansion as inevitable and correct conformed with the Manifest Destiny philosophy accepted by many Americans of his day. During the 1830s, Cooper's popularity declined. His elitist approach alienated many. Cooper disliked the "tyranny" of popular democracy and favored a republic controlled by the elite. Cooper's later writings were often permeated with polemics against the vulgar crowd. He also became known for his many libel suits against publishers critical of his ideas and writings.

Cooper supported the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), seeing it as part of the mission of the United States to spread liberty around the world. He thought the Mexican people would benefit by fair and honest rule in the U.S. model. He wrote one novel set in the war, *Jack Tier; or the Florida Reefs* (1848). One of the most important themes of the novel was that of a benevolent U.S. government rescuing Mexico from ambitious and dishonest rulers. Among his 52 books is the first scholarly study of the early U.S. Navy, *History of the Navy of the United States of America* (1839). Cooper's health declined in the spring of 1851, and he died at Cooperstown on September 14, 1851.

Tim J. Watts

SEE ALSO Boone, Daniel; *Last of the Mohicans*; Manifest Destiny

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Copley, John Singleton. See Art (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

Correspondents. See Edes, Benjamin; Freneau, Philip Morin; Ramsay, David

Declaration of Independence

On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress endorsed and agreed to publish the Declaration of Independence. This defining document of the American Revolution was the first public announcement that the thirteen British North American colonies had declared themselves totally free from British authority and regarded themselves as constituting a new nation, the United States of America. The core of the Declaration, coming after an introductory statement that included a brief set of constitutional principles that would guide the new nation, was a detailed public justification for this revolutionary action.

Given the nationalistic consequences of the American Revolution for the United States, it is easy to believe that the Declaration of Independence was the culmination of a long movement by colonial Americans to achieve full national independence and self-determination. Yet prior to 1774, the colonists had rarely considered the idea of independence, and even after fighting began in 1775, few openly advocated it before Thomas Paine compellingly declared “ ’tis time to part” in *Common Sense*, published in January 1776. Indeed, many colonial delegates to the Continental Congress remained open to the possibility of a full reconciliation with Great Britain in the fall of 1775. British officials, by contrast, voiced concerns about the possibility of American independence throughout much of the 18th century.

By the early 1770s, few American or British leaders openly advocated the extension of parliamentary representation. Parliament, however, still asserted its authority to govern the American colonies. In the winter and spring of 1774, it enacted the five Coercive (or Intolerable) Acts as a punitive response to the Boston Tea Party of December 1773. Colonial delegates to the First Continental Congress agreed to a broad commercial resistance against efforts to subordinate the American colonies. Most important for the subsequent development of the Declaration of Independence, this Congress commissioned, and on October 14, 1774 endorsed, a Declaration of Rights, which firmly rejected Parliament’s authority to tax the colonies without their consent and demanded the repeal of a list of acts by Parliament that violated American rights to life, liberty, and property as well as, among others, the right to representation in their colonial assemblies and the right to assemble peacefully.

In August 1775, King George III proclaimed in his Privy Council that the American colonies were in open rebellion, effectively withdrawing his protection from them. British troops could now be deployed in any American town and against any American colonials considered to be in rebellion, and Britain began raising additional troops to secure the submission of the colonies. In December 1775, the king signed an act of Parliament prohibiting all trade with the American colonies until their rebellion ended. By April 1776, the Second Continental Congress responded with legislation that

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.
A DECLARATION
 BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
 IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.
 He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inalienable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obnoxious the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us;

For searching them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World;

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent;

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury;

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences;

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

In every Stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

No man have we been wanting in Attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

ATTEST.
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

Declaration of Independence broadside printed by John Dunlap in 1776. (Library of Congress)

defiantly opened American ports to the world, authorized the seizure of British goods, and banned the importation of slaves.

Given its own explicit rejection of Parliament's authority over the colonies in its 1774 Declaration of Rights and its rejection of all royal authority in the American colonies in

May 1776, and given its hopes for foreign (i.e., French) assistance in resisting Britain's army and navy, Congress was coming to recognize the necessity of a public declaration of national independence. On June 7, 1776, Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee proposed that Congress resolve "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved," and Congress promptly appointed a five-member committee to draft a public declaration announcing American independence to the American people and the world. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Robert R. Livingston of New York, and Roger Sherman of Connecticut.

Jefferson chaired this committee, and its members concurred that he should take the lead in writing a draft of the Declaration. On June 28, 1776, the five-member committee submitted the draft of the Declaration of Independence to Congress for debate. The document bore the title "A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress Assembled." Congress debated the committee's work for three days.

On July 4, Congress approved its edited version of the Declaration of Independence. Less than a week later the New York Convention approved the Declaration, and on July 19, after the July 4 text had been published and widely circulated, Congress resolved to have the Declaration engrossed on parchment with the title "The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America." It additionally agreed to permit every member of Congress at the time to sign the document, which most did over the next few months.

Publication of the Declaration of Independence had immediate effects upon its intended domestic and international audiences. Domestically, it first was employed to rally and to give common direction to the efforts of the Continental Army as well as the Revolutionary leaders and armed militia already organized within each state. In many localities, the Declaration was published and read in public ceremonies, a practice widely ritualized by the 1790s into annual local Fourth of July celebrations of the birth of the United States. By contrast, for American Loyalists in 1776, the publication of the Declaration signaled that their lives likely would be disrupted, threatened, and possibly terminated by a disastrous civil war.

Internationally, the Declaration was translated into several languages between 1776 and 1790. In Great Britain, the Declaration must have seemed anticlimactic to some because it confirmed what had long been suspected: namely, that the Americans aspired to independence and that the retention and submission of these rebellious colonies would be costly. To other European powers, such as France and the Netherlands, the Declaration of Independence and the Continental Congress's companion commitment to formulate a plan for an American confederation gave credibility to American agents seeking formal recognition of and financial and military support for the new United States.

Charles A. Kromkowski

SEE ALSO Boston Tea Party; *Common Sense*; Continental Congress; Franklin, Benjamin; Paine, Thomas; Stamp Act

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Dickinson, John: *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*

John Dickinson (1732–1808) was an English-trained lawyer of upper-class Quaker Pennsylvania background who was one of the most skillful and widely read Patriot propagandists in the decade before the American Revolution. As a Pennsylvania politician, he opposed the royalists led by Benjamin Franklin who sought to draw the colony closer to the British crown, asserting that the liberties of colonial Englishmen were best served by existing arrangements. Dickinson’s opposition to the arbitrary practices of the British Parliament led to his selection as a Pennsylvania delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765. His most important political contribution were the twelve *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*. It appeared as a serial in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, a Philadelphia newspaper, beginning late in 1767 and running into the following year. The *Pennsylvania Farmer*, as it was frequently referred to, was one of the first texts setting forth the complaints of the colonists to be published outside New England, and attracted a wider audience throughout the colonies than earlier tracts. The *Letters* were reprinted by newspapers throughout the colonies. They appeared for

the first time in collected form the following March. This first collected edition was published in Boston indicating their popularity in New England and Dickinson's hope of appealing to a pan-colonial audience. Despite his pretense of being a farmer, Dickinson was a learned man who made many references to his reading in classical and modern writers, appealing to the classically educated colonial elite as well as the simple farmers he claimed to be representing. Presenting himself as a farmer, rather than the lawyer and politician he actually was, connected him to the idea of the political virtue of the independent landowner. The collected edition of *Letters from a Farmer* was reprinted several times, in both America and the British Isles and was read in France as well.

Dickinson denounced specific British injustices, notably the suspension of the legislature of New York and the Townsend duties, rather than denouncing the colonies' subjection to the British crown in general. He criticized what he viewed as the illegitimate practice of taxing the colonists without their consent, given either directly or through their representatives, the colonial assemblies. He claimed that those taxed without consent were no better than slaves. Dickinson encouraged colonial resistance without envisioning violence or separation from Britain. He hoped that Britain would return to an idealized earlier time when she had been a benevolent ruler of the colonies. Instead of fighting, he suggested that the colonists petition Parliament, and if that failed, an economic boycott. British officials sponsored the publication of a reply by the colonial administrator William Knox, *The Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies Reviewed* (1769).

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Franklin, Benjamin; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Don't Tread on Me

The first flags in colonial America were often symbolic of the struggles of the young country. There were pictures such as beavers, pine trees, rattlesnakes, anchors, and various other insignia affixed to banners, newspapers, paper money, uniform buttons, drums, and on military and naval flags with or without the warning "Don't Tread on Me." Flags with this slogan and a rattlesnake theme gained increasing prestige in the colonies. Examples were the flag designed by Christopher Gadsden (erroneously called "the flag of the South Carolina navy") that was flown in early 1776 as the rank flag of Commodore

Esek Hopkins of Rhode Island, first commander-in-chief of the American navy; it had a yellow field with a rattlesnake in a spiral coil, poised to strike, in the center with the motto underneath it. There was also the Culpepper flag, the banner of the Minutemen of Culpepper [now Culpeper] County, Virginia, with a rattlesnake on a white field.

The use of the timber rattlesnake as a symbol of the American colonies can be traced back to the publications of Benjamin Franklin beginning in 1751 when he made the first reference to the rattlesnake in a satirical commentary published in his *Pennsylvania Gazette*. It was then established policy for Great Britain to send convicted criminals to America, and Franklin suggested that they thank the British by sending rattlesnakes to England.

Franklin also used the snake in his “Join, or Die” cartoon in 1754, during the French and Indian War, when he published his famous woodcut of a snake cut into eight sections that represented the colonies, with New England joined together as the head and South Carolina as the tail, following their order along the coast, with the message “Join, or Die.” This was the first political cartoon published in an American newspaper.

As the rebellion by the colonies grew more intense, the snake was used more as a symbol of the colonies. In 1774, Paul Revere added it to the title of his paper, *The Massachusetts Spy*, as a snake joined to fight a British dragon and in December 1775, Benjamin Franklin published an essay in the *Pennsylvania Journal* under the pseudonym American Guesser in which he suggested that the rattlesnake was a good symbol for the American spirit.

“Don’t Tread on Me” represented defiance that, when added to the symbolic rattler, added significance to the design of the flags that were first used around 1776. There are at least three of these flags still in existence. One is the red standard of the Fifty-Second Independent Battalion (Westmoreland County or Colonel John Proctor’s Battalion), which was one of the Pennsylvania volunteer units known as Associators. The other two flags are from Rhode Island: the United Company of the Train of Artillery, an independent chartered company from Providence, and the white and blue striped flag carried in 1778 during General Sullivan’s siege at Newport, which is now preserved, in fragmentary form, in the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Through the years, “Don’t Tread on Me” has been displayed as a prop in several movies and TV shows, and on music album covers. Most recently, it has been used by protesters attending the Tea Party protests in 2009.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Franklin, Benjamin; Join, or Die; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Doolittle, Amos

Amos Doolittle was an American engraver who published a series of engravings depicting the battles of Lexington and Concord. He was born in Cheshire, Connecticut, on May 8, 1754, Doolittle worked as a silversmith in nearby New Haven, honing his skills as an engraver of metal. On the outbreak of the rebellion in spring 1775, he helped establish an independent military company of around 40 men known as the Governor's Second Company of Guards, under the command of Captain Benedict Arnold. In late April 1775, the company marched to the American camp at Cambridge to assist in the siege of Boston.

With Doolittle was another young man in his twenties, Ralph Earl (1751–1801), a portrait painter. During their three-week stay in Cambridge, Doolittle and Earl visited the sites of the recent battles at Concord and Lexington to examine the terrain and the surrounding buildings; they also interviewed some of the participants and other eyewitnesses. Earl made on-the-spot sketches of the battlefields often using Doolittle as a model for his figure studies. These sketches were subsequently engraved on copper plates by Doolittle upon his return to New Haven, and on December 13, 1775, the *Connecticut Journal* announced the publication of four plates, each measuring approximately 12 by 18 inches.

The plates were entitled *The Battle of Lexington, April 19th 1775; A View of the Town of Concord; The Engagement at the North Bridge in Concord; and A View of the South Part of Lexington*. The first plate depicts the green at Lexington with the lines of British light infantry arrayed at right angles to the nearby buildings; other British regulars can be seen in the distance. To the left foreground, members of the local militia are fleeing the shots fired from several British soldiers. A number have been hit and are on the ground, but none is shown firing at the redcoats. The caption below reads: "The Party who first fired on the Provincials at Lexington." Here Earl and Doolittle probably wanted to emphasize this fact by showing the Americans vastly outnumbered and the victims.

Another plate also dealt with Lexington, in this case showing a view of the south part of the town. Following the events on the green, three houses were torched so that they could not be used by the militia to snipe at the government troops. This forms the background of the image. In the middle distance, British troops are marching down the lane while the locals shoot at them from behind a wall in the foreground.

The final plates focus on the events in and around the town of Concord on April 19, 1775. Plate II depicts two British officers, Colonel Francis Smith and Major John Pitcairn, standing among the gravestones in the cemetery overlooking the town. Lines of well-regimented British troops march through the town while their comrades throw military stores into the mill pond. Some gun carriages and wooden tools were burnt by the grenadiers, and seeing this, the militia thought the town was being burned and that they had to come to the rescue. This would involve crossing the North Bridge that was lightly defended by a single company of light infantry. The clash of the two sides formed the theme of Plate III. The bridge appears in the center of the engraving while in the

background on a rise are two houses, one of which was owned by John Buttrick, second-in-command of the local militia. The small British contingent is retreating in the wake of the arrival of the militia who appear on the left hand side of the print across the river. It is not clear who fired the first shots but the engraver left nothing to the imagination by adding a key marking the detachment of the British troops “who fired first on the Provincials at the Bridge.”

Following the war, Doolittle returned to New Haven where he settled into his occupation as a silversmith and engraver; he was also did illustrations for books, sheet music, maps, engraved money plates, diplomas, and portraits. He died in New Haven, on February 2, 1832 and he was buried in Grove Street Cemetery.

His crude and somewhat simplistic engravings of the events at Lexington and Concord were an attempt at presenting an honest visual record of April 19, 1775, without any attempt at exaggeration although perpetuating propaganda and controversy. Even though the events at both places were dispersed by time, they were telescoped together in the prints, a common practice among battle painters of the period. These are the only authentic portrayals of the two skirmishes and are therefore important documents.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Art (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Trumbull, John

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Dove, David James

The English immigrant schoolmaster David James Dove (1708–1769) was an outspoken supporter of vigorous attacks on Native Americans by Pennsylvania frontiersmen despite being a resident of the Quaker capital of Philadelphia, whose culture was far more anti-war. Dove taught school in Chichester, England for 16 years. He came to America in 1750, settling in Philadelphia. He acquired the job of English master for the Academy and College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania). Dove also operated a successful girl’s school, teaching English and calligraphy to the daughters of Philadelphia’s elite. Combining the two functions proved impossible, and Dove was discharged from the Academy in 1753 on the grounds that he was spending too much time at the girl’s school—between 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. on teaching days. He responded by opening a

school that taught girls and boys in direct competition with the Academy. Despite the trouble that Dove had with his employers, he seems to have been an effective teacher who was noted for his refusal to use corporal punishment.

Dove was known for his acerbic satires and caricatures on the public events of the day. The principal target of his earlier works in the 1750s was the management of the Academy, and the anti-Quaker “Proprietary Party” with which they were allied. Dove’s pamphlet, *The Lottery. A Dialogue between Mr. Thomas Trueman and Mr. Humphrey Dupe* (1758) was an attack on a scheme to raise money for the Academy by a lottery. In 1761, Dove received the position of English Master at a newly formed school in Germantown for the large Pennsylvania German community, a community allied with the Quakers in many political matters. Dove and the German management of the school quickly fell out over Dove’s use of the school’s resources for personal profit. Dove left the school after some confrontations, opened a competing school in Germantown and switched political sides to attack the Quakers and their German allies as an ally of the Proprietary Party.

Dove’s pamphlet, *The Quaker Unmask’d; or, Plain Truth humbly address’d to the consideration of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania* (1764) was published under the pseudonym of “Philalethes.” It is a defense of the “Paxton Boys,” a group of Scots-Irish Presbyterian frontiersmen who had murdered peaceful Conestoga Indians the preceding year and later marched in arms on Philadelphia. Dove used the Paxton affair to attack the Quaker dominance of Pennsylvania politics, portraying the Quakers as secret allies of dangerous and bloodthirsty Natives. He claimed that the Quakers rejoiced over the decimation of frontier communities and hoped that massacres by the Natives would weaken the party opposed to them. Quakers, Dove charged, ultimately longed for the destruction of all who differed from them in belief. He contrasted the charity with which other Christian denominations had treated the refugees from Native American attacks during the Seven Years War who came to Philadelphia with Quaker stinginess to all who were not of their sect. The Paxton Boys who marched on Philadelphia he praised as “brave, loyal and discreet” who only marched when their petitions to the Pennsylvania government had been prevented from reaching the governor. They contrasted with those hypocritical young Quakers who took up arms to defend the city from the Paxton Boys while they refused to defend their colony from the Natives.

Although the pamphlet literature set off by the Paxton Boys was voluminous, *The Quaker Unmask’d* attracted a great deal of attention. Numerous pamphlet replies were published, including *Remarks on the Quaker unmask’d; or Plain Truth Found to be Plain Falsehood* (1764), *The Quaker vindicated; or, Observations on a late pamphlet, entitled, The Quaker unmask’d, or, Plain truth* (1764), and Isaac Hunt’s *A looking-glass for Presbyterians: Or A brief examination of their loyalty, merit, and other qualifications for government. With some animadversions on the Quaker unmask’d. Humbly address’d to the consideration of the loyal freemen of Pennsylvania* (1764). *The Author of Quaker Unmask’d, Strip’d Start Naked, Or, The Delineated Presbyterian Play’d Hob with* (1764) by “Timothy Wigwagg” charged Benjamin Franklin with having written *The Quaker Unmask’d*.

Dove continued to publish, waging a zealous pamphlet war against Hunt. In 1767, Dove gave up his Germantown school and moved back to Philadelphia, dying two years later.

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SEE ALSO Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Dunmore Decree

On November 7, 1775, in the earliest phase of the American Revolution, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, offered freedom to those slaves and indentured servants willing to leave their rebel American masters and fight on the British side in the American Revolution. The Dunmore decree, a product of Dunmore's immediate military situation, fundamentally shaped the American Revolutionary War, and figured largely in both British and American propaganda.

Dunmore's purpose was military, striking what he hoped would be a crippling blow at Virginian landowner-rebels like George Washington while raising badly needed troops. Like the vast majority of British and American whites, he was not opposed to slavery in principle, and had no interest in liberating the slaves of those Americans loyal to the British crown. But the principal audience for the Decree, enslaved Americans, who heard of it mainly through word of mouth, identified Dunmore with the cause of freedom. The Decree succeeded beyond Dunmore's hopes, or even wishes. Slaves from all over Virginia, and even some from as far north as New York or as far south as Georgia, flocked to Dunmore's banner. Dunmore had wanted adult men who could serve as soldiers or sailors, but women, children, and entire families seeking freedom took up the offer he had made, suffering great privations and running great dangers. Those who could bear arms were formed into "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment" with the words "liberty to slaves" emblazoned on their coats.

For American revolutionary propagandists addressing American slave owners, Dunmore's decree was one in a long line of atrocities indicating that the British were enemies of American society. Dunmore had transformed a civilized war between free men into the most dreadful of conflicts, a servile insurrection like the one that was still rocking Dutch Surinam. As a Scotsman, Dunmore was a particularly juicy target for

Caledonophobe American revolutionaries. He was also ridiculed as an African chief, associated with the ridiculous or contemptible qualities that white Americans identified with Africans. There were also attempts at counterpropaganda to American slaves, as Patriots spread the story that the Dunmore Decree was a ruse and that Dunmore really intended to sell those who fled to him in the Caribbean for his own profit. They also pointed out that Dunmore had slaves himself. On a more practical level, American revolutionaries threatened to immediately hang slaves caught in arms or attempting to flee to the British, and carried out those threats on many occasions.

Dunmore's attempt to regain Virginia for the King with an army of freed black slaves and white loyalists was a dismal military failure, but despite this fact and despite American counterpropaganda, the Dunmore decree associated the British, not the Patriots, with the cause of liberty in the minds of American slaves. This association lasted for the duration of the war and even after.

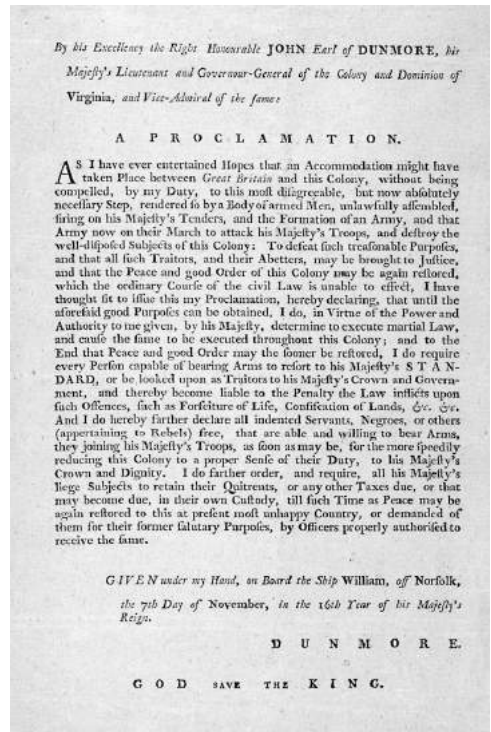
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Edes, Benjamin

A journalist, Edes was one of the most influential and active newspaper editors and political writers of the Revolutionary period. Edes was born in Charlestown (now part of Boston), Massachusetts, on October 14, 1732, the son of Peter and Esther (Hall) Edes, and was modestly educated. He and his partner, John Gill, took over publication



Lord Dunmore's proclamation of November 1775, giving freedom to all Virginia slaves who are willing to take up arms for the British cause. (Library of Congress)

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of the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, the “organ” of the colonial patriots, in 1755, and the third newspaper of that name in the city; its masthead was designed by Paul Revere. Both men were considered of bold and fearless hearts and their paper was relentless in its opposition to British policy; it fought the political battles of the day in its columns, especially those against the Stamp Act, the tea tax, and the Boston Port Bill; and it published editorials and propaganda of some of the leaders of the American Revolution, including John Hancock and Samuel Adams, one of America’s first propagandist. The *Gazette*’s office became the gathering place of leading opponents of George III.

Edes was one of the radical Sons of Liberty, a group called “the Loyal Nine” by Samuel Adams. Contemporary evidence reports that the members of the Boston Tea Party assembled at Edes’s house on the afternoon of December 16, 1773, before moving to the *Gazette* office at the corner of Court Street and Franklin Avenue to dress in their Indian disguises. Edes was probably one of the “Mohawks.” He and Gill were assailed by the British authorities as “those Trumpeters of Sedition” and the *Gazette* was characterized by the governor of the colony, Sir Francis Bernard, as an “infamous weekly paper which has swarmed with Libells of the most atrocious kind.”

Sir Francis tried to obtain a libel indictment against its proprietors but the grand jury refused to indict and the colony’s House of Representatives admonished the governor that “the Liberty of the Press is a great bulwark of the Liberty of the People” and it is the “Duty of those who are constituted the Guardians of the People’s Rights to defend and maintain it.” Andrew Oliver wrote to England (1768) that the *Gazette* represented “the temper of the people,” a fountainhead of patriotic radical propaganda, and the newspaper quickly achieved a circulation of 2000, a record-breaker for its time.

In April 1775, Edes ended his partnership with Gill and fled to Watertown with one old press and a few fonts of type when Boston was besieged by the British. He resumed printing his paper again, with great difficulty, in June 1775 in partnership with his two sons, Benjamin and Peter. Edes returned to Boston in November 1776 when the British finally evacuated the city and continued printing with his sons until 1794 when he continued the paper by himself. However, it did not re-gain its former prominence. Its patriotic mission was over and Edes was unsuccessful in soliciting financial aid from former supporters. The paper bitterly attacked the Federalists who considered it “contemptible by its grossness and vulgarity” and it finally ceased publication on September 17, 1798.

Edes tried to continue his printing business but was unsuccessful. He lost his money in currency depreciations and spent his last years printing in a chamber over a tin-plate worker’s shop. He died in poverty in Boston on December 11, 1803. He married Martha Starr around 1754; besides the two sons, there were several daughters.

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SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Boston Tea Party; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Revere, Paul; Sons of Liberty

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Federalist Papers

A classic of American thought, *The Federalist* is now considered one of the three “basic documents” of the American political tradition, after the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. *The Federalist* was originally a series of 85 newspaper articles, now known collectively as *The Federalist Papers*, that appeared anonymously at regular intervals in the New York press prepared by Publicola (literally, “pleaser of the people”) or Publius (Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay) between October 27, 1787 and August 16, 1788, as part of a promotional campaign to win support for the recently drafted Constitution of the United States, a document that many considered too radical.

The essays proceeded under a general plan set by Hamilton, the moving force who arranged for publication of the essays in four of five New York newspapers, and the editor who later gathered them into book form, but the three authors worked independently on individual assignments.

Historians now estimate that Hamilton composed 51 of the 85 papers, with Madison writing 29, and Jay contributing 5 more. *The Federalist* took its direction and tone from what was then the most vital dispute in American history, the acceptance or rejection of the newly proposed federal Constitution of 1787, amid a rather acrimonious debate. They were written in haste and during a time of great crisis in the new American government.

The essays were effective political propaganda that appeared as an assault upon the country’s first constitution, the *Articles of Federation*, after the American Revolution; one of their main objectives was to persuade the citizens in the 13 states to accept and to ratify the new document. The initial articles were treated as political bluster for the popular press and when they continued to appear and accumulate, they were another dubious distraction, a protracted pamphlet series in an age of obsessive pamphleteering. Opponents found them the most tiresome production they had ever encountered while supporters found the essays to be excellent commentaries on the principles of government.

Most important, *The Federalist* proved to be a powerful instrument among opinion leaders as well as a careful and thoughtful political treatise. Without them, it is quite likely that the Constitution might not have been ratified and the emerging United States might not have survived as a nation.

The essays were still appearing serially when the first collected edition, edited with an introduction by Hamilton, appeared in two volumes (March–May 1788) as *The Federalist: A Collection of Essays written in Favour of the New Constitution, as agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787*, published by J. M’Lean and Company. Since then, there have been a great many American editions as well as several foreign translations of the collected. It was in the French edition (1792) that the authorship of the essays was first formally acknowledged.

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SEE ALSO Declaration of Independence; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Franklin, Benjamin

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1706. He left school early to learn the printing trade from his brother James, who published the *New England Courant*, one of America’s first newspapers. Franklin moved, first to New York, then to Philadelphia, where he published the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and wrote *Poor Richard’s Almanack: Being the choicest Morsels of Wisdom, written during the Years of the Almanack’s Publication. By that well-known Savant, Dr. Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Published in Mount Vernon, New York at the Sign of the Peter Pauper Press, with numerous quaint Cuts by an Unknown Hand, c. 1732–1757). In May 1732, he founded *Philadelphische Zeitung, von Allerhand Auswartig-und Einheimischen Merckwurdigen Sachen*, the first foreign-language newspaper in British North America.

Franklin was one of the first renaissance men in the United States; he was a statesman, scientist, writer, and colonial printer. He experimented with electricity, charted the Gulf Stream, invented the glass armonica, organized America’s first police force, and thought up the fire department, the lending library, and a college that became the University of Pennsylvania. He should also be considered, among his other accomplishments, as the first American public relations man, one who well knew the power of the press. He was also considered “an agent of influence,” with his less publicized secret intelligence

activities; he managed covert French aid to the Americans; and he directed one of the earliest paramilitary campaigns, in American efforts against the British.

Franklin was a strong pamphleteer in Europe in support of the American revolutionary cause but one of his earliest propaganda efforts was the “Join or Die” political cartoon, which urged the colonies to unite. He was in England (1757–1762 and 1765–1775) then was appointed in September 1776 as the first U.S. diplomat. He arrived in Paris on November 29, 1776, as part of a three-man commission charged with gaining French support for American independence; he was, in effect, the first Public Affairs Officer (PAO) and intelligence agent. He stayed until 1784 at the Court of Louis XVI.

In England, Franklin exploited the available media with a mix of materials, such as letters to the editor, books, and tracts that highlighted American grievances, political cartoons, and gray propaganda. In some of his propaganda letters, he used an imaginative, Baron Munchausen type of story. Franklin noticed early on that the British press liked to print misinformation about the colonies to the disadvantage of the Americans. Franklin “attacked” constantly in the English press and with pamphlets from 1757 until the beginning of the American Revolution, mostly with pseudonyms. While he was in France, Franklin set up a printing plant near his Paris home and turned out leaflets and brochures to correct false impressions about his country. One of the best was *Information to Those Who Would Remove to America*, which described the benefits of a country with a “good climate, fertile soil, wholesome air, free government, wise laws, liberty, a good people to live among, and a hearty welcome.”

One of Franklin’s best efforts as a propagandist was the Jefferson-Franklin Plan but another effective one was a 1782 forgery in which he reproduced a facsimile edition of a Boston newspaper, including the advertisements and the local news. Nestled in the paper, there was an “article” that trumpeted the appalling behavior of the British Royal Governor of Canada who was rewarding his Indian allies for their ability to provide him with American scalps. The story further reported that many of these “scalps” belonged to innocent women and children, an action that in itself was bound to arouse anger and revenge in its readers. This disinformation brought results as intended; it incited British public opinion and invited the Whig opposition in Parliament to more vehemently attack the handling of the war over in the colonies.

Franklin was the only one of the Founding Fathers who signed all three of the most important documents in early American history: the Declaration of Independence, the *U.S. Constitution*, and the Treaty of Paris. He died in Philadelphia on April 17, 1790.

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SEE ALSO Declaration of Independence; Join, or Die; Jefferson-Franklin Plan; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Frémont, John Charles. See entry in Chapter 4

Freneau, Philip Morin

Philip Morin Freneau (1752–1832), poet and editor, was born in rural New Jersey on January 2, 1752. He grew up there, eventually attending the College of New Jersey. After stints as a clergyman and a teacher, Freneau took a position as private secretary to a plantation owner in the Danish West Indies to fund his early efforts at poetry.

When the Revolution broke out, Freneau published no fewer than eight pamphlet satires aimed at the British, among them *General Gage's Soliloquy* (1775) and *General Gage's Confession* (1775). However, he was unable to make a living solely by his writings so he accepted a secretaryship in the home of a prominent planter on the Island of Santa Cruz in the West Indies where he wrote some of his most significant poems, *Santa Cruz*, *The Jamaica Funeral*, and *The House of Night*.

Freneau returned to New Jersey in 1778. He joined the militia and published *American Independence*, a fuming indictment of colonial subjection. He was captured by the British in 1780, an experience he later recalled in *The British Prison Ship*. After a farcical trial, he was held in the prison ship, *Scorpion*, in New York Harbor, where he endured starvation and brutal treatment from his captors. He was transferred the hospital ship, *Hunter*, where he found much of the same treatment until he was finally released. He described this experience in *The British Prison-Ship: A Poem, in Four Cantoes* (1781).

Upon his release, he moved to Philadelphia, finding work as a writer for, and sometime coeditor of, the *Freeman's Journal*. He published almost one hundred poems and essays in the journal over the next three years, most of them egalitarian entreaties or satires of imperial pomposity. Widely reprinted, his work soon garnered him the title "Poet of the Revolution."

Never far from poverty in this period, Freneau married the daughter of a wealthy farmer in 1790, allowing him to continue his literary endeavors. He was editor of the New York *Daily Advertiser* when Madison recruited him to launch the *National Gazette* in Philadelphia, the nation's capital. The *Gazette* was designed as a Democratic-Republican antidote to the Federalist sentiments of John Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*. But when in 1793 Freneau's paper overstepped its mark by mocking President George Washington's "monarchical pettiness," his patrons were forced to fire him and discontinue the *Gazette*. Freneau returned to New Jersey, where he established two more short-lived newspapers. In the last years of his life he was estranged from his wife and his creative output dwindled. Virtually impoverished, he died in a blizzard on December 18, 1832.

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SEE ALSO Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Gaspée Incident

On June 9, 1772, the British schooner *Gaspée*, under the command of Lieutenant William Dudington, ran aground on a sand bank at Narragansett Point, Rhode Island, while pursuing a colonial vessel. Dudington and his ship were deeply unpopular because of their enforcement of the Navigation Acts and anti-smuggling regulations of the British government, for overzealously seizing goods and pressing crew members, and for harassing the communities on shore. Two other British ships, HMS *Squirrel* and HMS *St. John*, had further alienated local elite families by confiscating their imported goods as contraband and smuggled items. In 1769, a similar dislike had boiled over in Connecticut as local men burned the beached revenue schooner HMS *Liberty* and attacked the captain, William Read.

Learning of the *Gaspée*'s grounding, the merchant John Brown of Providence, a long-time protester of British naval patrols, gathered men under one of his own ship captains, Abraham Whipple, who led them out to the grounded vessel in longboats. Whipple posed as a sheriff and ordered the ship evacuated, and when Dudington disobeyed the order, Whipple badly wounded him and forced the British to abandon ship while Whipple's men set it ablaze. Under pressure from London, outraged at this incident, Rhode Island's Governor Joseph Wanton offered a £100 reward for information but



American colonists burn the British ship *Gaspée* near Providence, Rhode Island, on June 9, 1772, after it ran aground in pursuit of an alleged smuggler. The ship's commander had angered the citizens of Providence with his stern enforcement of the Navigation Acts that restricted trade between British colonies to British ships. The incident intensified the growing tension between the British government and colonial patriots in the years before the American Revolution. (North Wind Picture Archives)

simultaneously leaked the news of a secret judicial investigation into the attack to the Providence *Gazette* and the colonial assembly.

When the examining board met on January 5, 1773 at Newport, the members of the panel, which included Wanton, Rhode Island Chief Justice Stephen Hopkins, Chief Justice Frederick Smythe of New Jersey (the only British-born member), and Commissioner Daniel Horsemenden of New York, demanded an investigation into the presence of the Royal Navy in Narragansett Bay. Admiral John Montague, a Boston-based Admiralty judge who arrived on January 12, pressed for a trial in England and capital charges for burning a royal ship, but the board refused to arrest anyone and produced two weak witnesses who could offer no information, although both Whipple's and Brown's participation in the attack was well known in the community. Much to Montague's frustration, a further four witnesses claimed to be too busy to attend the hearing, and none were subpoenaed.

In a second meeting of the board in May 1773, Horsemenden issued a vague finding of the investigation, accusing no one and refusing to allow the British government to

pursue the case. The *Gaspée* incident was a violent and destructive reaction to the presence of British sailors and marines enforcing the much-hated tax laws instituted after the French and Indian War, and the failure of both the government of Rhode Island and officials from other colonies to cooperate with British demands to prosecute the offenders signaled a dangerous challenge to the Crown's authority in America.

Margaret Sankey

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Gill, John. See Edes, Benjamin; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

Handbills. See Jefferson-Franklin Plan

History of the American Revolution

The two-volume *The History of the American Revolution* (1789) by the South Carolina physician and legislator David Ramsay (1749–1815) was one of the earliest and most influential histories of the revolution. Ramsay had served the American war effort as a physician and had been a prisoner of the British. He had published a previous work on the revolution, *History of the Revolution of South Carolina* (1785).

Originally from Pennsylvania and educated at the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) and the College of Pennsylvania, Ramsay had become a leader in the very different intellectual society of Charleston. Often serving as intermediary between the Charleston elite and the north, Ramsay was troubled by the vast differences between the regions of America and supported a strong national government. *The History of the American Revolution* set forth a vision of Americans as a people united by republican ideals and the common struggle against the British. Although he condemned the corrupt society of contemporary Britain, he linked American liberty with the history of English freedom that the original colonists had brought with them. These ideals had been transformed by the unique physical circumstances of America and its geographical separation from Britain to create a new kind of society. Ramsay's Colonial America was a nation of independent farmers, without a territorial aristocracy or a powerful

landowning church, and little corrupted by luxury. (His picture of American society draws more from New England and Pennsylvania than it does from South Carolina.) These virtuous Americans were uniquely suited for republican self-government.

Like other American writers, Ramsay laid the blame for the revolution at the door of British policy, which shook a fundamentally contented American population. However, Ramsay was less Anglophobic than many contemporaries, and was even sometimes accused of being pro-British. He was also much less hostile to the Loyalists than were most American writers on the Revolution, ascribing their refusal to join the American cause to laziness and hostility to change rather than malice. Ramsay portrayed George Washington and other revolutionary leaders as heroes. His emphasis on the continuity between pre- and post-revolutionary America well suited a Charleston elite that was largely the same as that which had ruled South Carolina under the British. Ramsay viewed the Revolution as an important moment in the progress of all humanity, hoping that America would provide an example for other nations. *The History of the American Revolution* was a pronounced success, going through six American editions from 1789 to 1865, as well as several European editions, including appearances in French, German, and Dutch.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Ramsay, David

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Hutchinson, Thomas

Thomas Hutchinson, the Massachusetts legislator, lieutenant governor, chief justice, governor, Loyalist exile, and historian, was at the epicenter of events leading to the American Revolution.

Born in Boston in 1711, Hutchinson was the son of a Lincolnshire mercantile clan and the great-great-grandson of Anne Hutchinson. From the age of 25 in 1737, when he was elected a Boston selectman and a member of the colony's House of Representatives, until he stepped down as governor of the province in 1774 at the age of 63, Hutchinson held, sometimes concurrently, virtually every major elective and appointive post in Massachusetts. Elected to the House almost every year to 1749 (and chosen Speaker from 1746 to 1748), Hutchinson lost his seat that year after he narrowly succeeded in pushing through, against strong popular opposition, legislation retiring the province's

depreciated currency and establishing a silver standard, an accomplishment that Hutchinson always considered his greatest.

His judicial career was launched in 1752 with appointments to the Suffolk County bench as a justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas (a position he held until he was commissioned lieutenant governor in 1758) and judge of probate (held until he became acting governor in 1769). Though without formal training in the law, Hutchinson was named chief justice of the Superior Court of Judicature by Governor Francis Bernard in 1760. (Hutchinson did not sit after 1769 and relinquished the office when he became governor in 1771.)

Hutchinson would be at the vortex of virtually every imperial dispute for nearly 15 years, beginning with his ruling as chief justice for the legality of writs of assistance in 1761. He had long been a champion of an emerging British Empire: at the Albany Congress that gathered in 1754 to counter the French threat on the northern and western frontiers, Hutchinson joined with Benjamin Franklin in promoting a plan of union and drafted a representation on the state of the colonies. The Stamp Act he opposed, however, on the practical grounds that it would hurt Anglo-American trade, and in a characteristically respectful essay he sent to England, he lobbied privately for continuation of the colonial privilege of self-taxation, though he felt compelled by conviction, policy, and a placeman's instinct to admit Parliament's sovereign right to tax the colonies. In the riot against the stamp duty on August 26, 1765, a crowd sacked his Boston mansion and scattered his papers and historical manuscripts, forcing Hutchinson to flee for his life in the night.

The violence that Hutchinson experienced convinced him that it was necessary for Parliament to uphold its authority over the colonies and for the colonies to be forced to accept their subordinate status within the British Empire. To explore the meaning of allegiance and the relationship between law and morality within an imperial context, Hutchinson in 1768 composed a dialogue between a European and an American, which, though it lay unpublished for more than 200 years, ranks as one of the most important writings of the Revolutionary era for its clarity and insight. While Hutchinson lamented the Townshend duties, preferring instead to continue the colonies in their customary privileges without conceding them rights, as acting governor after the departure of Bernard in 1769 he strove to enforce the impositions, even in the face of a nonimportation agreement.

Hutchinson had wished for a convincing show of support from London but carefully refrained from calling outright for British troops. The arrival of two regiments in October 1768, however, turned Boston into a tense garrison town and led to the bloody confrontation on March 5, 1770 that became known as the Boston Massacre, which ultimately left five Americans dead from redcoat fire.

After the repeal of all the Townshend duties except that on tea by the government of Lord North, the new British prime minister, and the ensuing collapse of America's non-importation movement, Massachusetts entered a period of relative quiet in 1771 as Hutchinson received his commission as governor. He tried intelligently to capitalize on the respite by wooing moderates and sponsoring *The Censor*, a short-lived Boston

weekly of 1771–1772 that propagated progovernment opinions, but his rule was marred by vexatious challenges to the Whigs that stemmed as much from his obliviousness to the rising aspirations of his countrymen as from dangerous miscalculation and high-handed provocation. The most troublesome of these began in March 1770 when, in an effort to vindicate the royal prerogative through a technical interpretation of discretionary royal instructions, Hutchinson summoned the General Court to meet again at Cambridge, leading to a controversy, punctuated by the exchange of disputatious messages, that lasted for more than two years.

Hutchinson's announcement in 1772 that the British Crown would henceforth pay the salaries of royal governors and judges, thus limiting their dependence on the assemblies, prompted Adams to organize committees of correspondence throughout Massachusetts to protest this latest assault on colonial rights. In response, Hutchinson in January 1773 summoned the House and Council and lectured them on the indivisibility of sovereignty within the empire.

Not long after this disquieting debate came the revelation of Hutchinson's private correspondence with Thomas Whately, a former British undersecretary, during a tense period in 1768–1769 in which the alarmed lieutenant governor had written that there must be “an abridgment of what are called English liberties” if the colonies were to remain within the empire. Surreptitiously obtained and sent to Boston by Benjamin Franklin, now the agent for the Massachusetts assembly, the letters were printed and distributed widely by the House to document Hutchinson's supposed centrality in a long-standing plot by colonial officials to misrepresent the American situation to the British government. Hutchinson's effectiveness as governor was destroyed, and he became the most reviled figure in the colonies, though he received some satisfaction in January 1774 when Solicitor General Alexander Wedderburn publicly humiliated Franklin in London, and the Plantation Committee of the Privy Council dismissed the General Court's petition for Hutchinson's removal. Meanwhile, Hutchinson's refusal in December 1773 to allow the tea ships of the East India Company to leave Boston Harbor unless customs duties were paid sparked the Boston Tea Party, which provoked Parliament into passing the retaliatory Coercive Acts against Massachusetts.

Replaced by a governor with military powers, General Thomas Gage, Hutchinson embarked for England on June 1, 1774, still hoping to mediate the dispute with Massachusetts. Upon his arrival in London, he was ushered by Dartmouth into a private audience with King George III and for two hours answered questions that the king put to him about the crisis in Massachusetts, though each misinterpreted the other's views on the Boston Port Act.

Still a target of his countrymen's wrath, Hutchinson watched helplessly as portions of his letterbooks discovered at his country estate in Milton were published in newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. While he received with undisguised pleasure an honorary doctorate from Oxford University on July 4, 1776, he grew increasingly disillusioned with Britain. The Declaration of Independence elicited his anonymous *Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia, in a Letter to a Noble Lord* (1776), which, as one of only two British pamphlets to respond to the Declaration and comment

on its natural rights arguments, rejected the charges against George III, and therefore the rebellion itself, as groundless.

During his exile, Hutchinson composed three autobiographical accounts of the dispute with Britain in which he attempted to safeguard his historical reputation. First, hearing himself attacked from the galleries in the House of Commons in October 1775 for causing the breach with America, he set down a vindication of his conduct from the time he entered public office and arranged to have it privately printed and presented to George III in January 1776. Later that year Hutchinson began to fill his leisure hours and to take the revenge on his tormentors that he had jokingly threatened years before by continuing his *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*. The first two volumes, published in 1764 and 1767, had carried developments up to 1749 and had been generally well received, though Adams and other Whigs had vexed their author by plundering facts from his text to bolster their own libertarian interpretation of the province's history.

The third volume of his *History*, Hutchinson's most extended personal and historical testament, drew on the colonial office files in Whitehall, he developed the private vindication he sent to the king into a full-blown treatment of the origins of the rebellion. He subsequently revised the chapter on his own governorship to present a more unbiased account, finishing it in September 1778, but the entire volume lay in manuscript form until his grandson published it 50 years later. Also in the late 1770s, for his children and descendants, Hutchinson composed an account of the Hutchinson family in America that included another defense of his political career.

Hutchinson died in London at the age of 69 on June 3, 1780.

John Catanzariti

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Declaration of Independence; Franklin, Benjamin; Otis, James; Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Stamp Act

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Jefferson-Franklin Plan

This psychological warfare, in the form of appealing handbills, was instrumental in causing German mercenaries to desert from the British army during the American Revolution.

In November 1775, King George III approved treaties, first suggested by Lord North, that the British government approach the Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Brunswick to supply troops to serve in America. For the British monarch, this was routine; his relatives on the European continent were used to renting their troops to the British monarch to pay their own debts.

Copies of the contracts were received in the American colonies, as early as January 1776. On May 15, the Virginia Convention resolved to instruct its delegates in Congress to move for independence, including among the causes for its action “the aid of foreign troops engaged to assist [the] destructive purposes” of the British king. One of these delegates was Thomas Jefferson who included among George III’s crimes “transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny.”

When the Continental Congress read the contracts, they ordered them published along with “an adequate reward for the person who brought the intelligence and to prepare an address to the foreign mercenaries who are coming to invade America.” To carry this out, the Congress established a committee (John Adams, William Livingston, Thomas Jefferson, Richard H. Lee, Roger Sherman) that performed two of its assignments but was hindered in its ability to draft the proposed address. One of the committee members, believed to be Jefferson, asked George Wythe, who was not a committee member, to draft this address which he did but it was never used.

On August 12, the British fleet arrived with the long-expected Hessian troops who were immediately posted at Amboy Ferry, across from the American camp, to give the Americans a good view of them.

A message was finally written by the committee, this time believed to be by Thomas Jefferson, since it reflects his writing style, which was approved by the Congress who directed the committee, now augmented by Benjamin Franklin, “to take proper measures to have it communicated to the foreign troops.” Franklin also wanted to supplement the address with handbills bearing “Tobacco Marks” that he thought would be more appealing to the German soldiers.

Copies were sent promptly to General George Washington at New York who reported in August 1776 that the “appealing” handbills addressed to the German troops was instrumental in causing German mercenaries to desert from the British army but the immediate effect was slow to be achieved. The earliest mention of a Hessian deserter was from an extract, dated November 14, 1776, that was printed in the Philadelphia newspapers. This suggests that the British had indoctrinated the mercenary troops against expected American propaganda but this quickly evaporated as the British faced

reverses, especially those that involved the capture of German troops. It is believed that approximately between 5,000 and 6,000 soldiers deserted.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Continental Congress; Franklin, Benjamin; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Join, or Die

Join, or Die, the famous political cartoon that is considered the earliest known pictorial representation of colonial union in America, was created by Benjamin Franklin and first published in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 9, 1754.

The design on the woodcut was quite simple. There was a snake cut into eighths, with each section designated with an initial that symbolized a British American colony or region, with New England considered as only one colony, instead of the four colonies it actually was at that time. Delaware and Georgia were omitted. This presentation of 8 sections to the snake, instead of the actual 13, appeared with Franklin's comments about the "disunited state" of the colonies and served to emphasize his feelings about the necessity for colonial union.

Snake cartoons first appeared in newspapers before the Albany Congress of 1754, in November 1765 before the Stamp Act went into effect, and finally between June 1774 and August 1776 when snake flags were also used. However, the most effective was the one by Franklin who proposed a rattlesnake as the country's first emblem to represent the importance of political solidarity among the colonies.

The rattlesnake was a favorite emblem for Americans even before the Revolution. In fact, it was used by Franklin as early as 1751 in a *Pennsylvania Gazette* article that protested the British practice of sending convicts to America. The author suggested that the colonists return the favor by shipping "a cargo of rattlesnakes, which could be distributed in St. James Park, Spring Garden, and other places of pleasure, and particularly in the noblemen's gardens." Other authors felt the rattlesnake was a good example of



Benjamin Franklin published this illustration in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 9, 1754, to show the Albany Congress the danger of disunity for American colonies in the face of French and Native American interests. (Library of Congress)

America's virtues: individually its rattles produced no sound, united it could be heard by all, it did not attack unless provoked, and it is deadly to step upon one.

Franklin took his symbol from the French, a cut snake with the motto that translated as "Join, or Die," while an Italian source identified snakes as symbols of democracy. However, to counter the snake's negative connotations, Franklin looked for alternative symbols of union, including a circular chain of 13 links and a Liberty Column supported by hands and arms that represented the states.

At that time, the colonists were engaged in political divisions that led to the French and Indian War so Franklin's cartoon acquired more significance in the events that culminated in the American Revolution, when it was freely used by American colonists who protested British rule. It was reprinted in the *Constitutional Courant* to help promote the American cause. After the American Revolution, national political union was embodied in the Great Seal of the United States.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO North American Colonial Wars and the American Revolution (1775–1783) "Propaganda"; Franklin, Benjamin; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Journal of Occurrences

After British troops occupied Boston (October 1, 1768) to defend the Townshend Acts, colonial papers reprinted a series of news items that described, from the American viewpoint, Boston’s difficulties under the occupation.

The writers of the articles remained anonymous but historians now attribute most of them to Samuel Adams, one of the American Revolution’s most active propagandists but at the time, the clerk of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Another author has been identified as William Cooper, the Boston town clerk, and the articles have also been attributed to a possible collaboration.

The articles first appeared in *New York Journal* (October 13, 1768) under the title *Journal of Transactions in Boston*. In the next issue the title was *Journal of the Times*. By the fourth issue the heading became *Journal of Occurrences*. The articles were published from 1768 to 1769, chronicling the occupation of Boston, Massachusetts, by the British Army. Other newspapers quickly printed them as Boston news under the journal’s title and these “news” stories fostered anti-British feeling that culminated in several events, most notably the Boston Massacre.

The occupation of Boston was initially the result of the resistance that the colonists harbored when the British Parliament passed the Townshend Acts in 1767. In opposition to this, the Massachusetts House of Representatives circulated a letter in February 1768 that was mostly the work of Adams. The letter argued that these acts violated the British Constitution because they imposed a tax on British subjects without their consent. In reaction, Lord Hillsborough, the British secretary of state for the colonies, demanded that the letter be revoked; the Massachusetts House of Representatives refused.

At the same time, Hillsborough heard reports from the Board of Customs, which enforced trade regulations, that Boston was in a state of rebellion. To restore order, the British government dispatched four army regiments. The troops started to arrive in October 1768.

In a period when there was little or no professional reporting, the *Journal of Occurrences* represented a change, with its rather descriptive coverage of the shocking events taking place in Boston. For readers outside this part of Massachusetts, these stories revealed the discontent that was starting to spread throughout the rest of the colonies.

Despite constant denials by the authors that their stories were “strictly fact” and British officials persistently declared that events portrayed in the *Journal* were fictitious, the articles were exaggerated for their propaganda effect to stir up support for the American cause by portraying a Boston besieged by uncontrollable British soldiers who assaulted men and raped women with frequency and committed other heinous crimes. This sentiment eventually helped produce the American Revolution.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Boston Massacre

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King Philip's War

Last and deadliest general war between Native Americans and English colonists in southern New England, named for Wampanoag sachem Metacom, known to the colonists as King Philip. Tensions between natives and English colonists in southern New England had been building for years, driven by such incendiary subjects as land rights and the subjugation of natives to colonial law. While the colonies continued to grow in numbers and seize more and more land, the natives, decimated by European diseases, diminished in number with each passing year. By 1660, the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Plymouth, and Rhode Island greatly outnumbered the native tribes remaining in the area.

In the midst of this native decline, Metacom, the son of influential Chief Massasoit, took control of the Wampanoag people on his brother Alexander's death in 1662. Metacom was not nearly as patient with the colonists as his father had been. Taken into court several times for breaking colonial law, he had no great love for colonial authorities.

In January 1675, Metacom's former translator, later turned informant to the colonial authorities in Plymouth, John Sassamon, was found murdered shortly after warning

Plymouth officials of Metacom's plan. In early June, the Plymouth authorities accused, tried, and executed three Wampanoag warriors for the crime. In revenge, on June 20, 1675, Wampanoags attacked the town of Swansea in southwest Plymouth Colony. The conflict spread rapidly thereafter, becoming known to history as King Philip's War.

A number of tribes joined Metacom and the Wampanoags, specifically the Pocasset, Sakonnet, and Nipmuck peoples. But others, such as the powerful Narragansetts, remained neutral while still other tribes, especially many Christian groups, sided with the colonists. Traditional enmities between tribes trumped the natives' common complaints against the English.

In June 1675, militia forces of the United Colonies tried to blockade Metacom and his followers on Rhode Island's Mount Hope peninsula, hoping for a quick end to the fighting. However, Metacom and his followers escaped via boats and into nearby swamps. The colonial forces pursued him throughout July. They were compelled to pull back when their ill-equipped and undertrained militiamen lost a number of skirmishes in the swamps when the thick brush and marshy ground slowed the English and frustrated their efforts to bring the enemy into open battle. By late July, Metacom and his main force headed north to Nipmuck country, where on July 14 the Nipmucks had attacked Mendon, the first, but not nearly the last, Massachusetts Bay town struck.

In the fall of 1675, the fighting shifted to the Connecticut River Valley. By then, Metacom's forces were attacking colonial towns the length and width of the valley. The United Colonies sent troops west to protect the towns, deciding on a strategy that called for defending all the towns. Major John Pynchon, the founder and majority landholder of Springfield, had charge of the western theater of operations. The natives besieged Brookfield in August and quickly devastated Northfield and Deerfield. The militia companies did little better in the woods of western Massachusetts than they had in the swamps of Rhode Island. Natives ambushed Captain Richard Beers' 40-man company in September 1675. In one of the most infamous incidents of the war, Captain Thomas Lathrop and his company of 70 men from Essex County were ambushed while securing a wagon train of food from abandoned Deerfield. On September 19, Lathrop's men, many of whom had placed their muskets in carts to eat wild grapes along their route, were surprised by hundreds of warriors and ambushed alongside the banks of the Muddy Brook, now known as Bloody Brook. At least 60 colonists, including Lathrop, were slain.

The worst blow to the colonial cause came in October, when native forces attacked and destroyed much of the town of Springfield, the main settlement, and military command center for the entire valley. Major Pynchon subsequently resigned his post as western commander to help in the rebuilding of Springfield, and Captain (later Major) Samuel Appleton took over. Appleton and his men soon shifted their attention away from the western theater. In November 1675, the commissioners of the United Colonies, having evidence that the neutral Narragansett tribe was in fact aiding Metacom, decided on a pre-emptive strike against the Narragansett homeland. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut put an army of more than 1,000 men in the field against the Narragansetts, with Gov. Josiah Winslow of Plymouth in overall command. Charged with making the Narragansetts live up to their treaty obligations, the army soon abandoned this goal and

decided simply to stage a preemptive attack on the strong Rhode Island tribe. In place by mid-December 1675, the army based itself at Wickford, Rhode Island, and fought a number of small skirmishes before attacking the Narragansetts' main fortified village in the middle of the Great Swamp.

With the help of a native traitor, the colonial army found and attacked the Narragansett fort on December 19, 1675. The fighting was at first indeterminate. Winslow's order to burn the village, however, with hundreds of people still inside shelters, turned the tide of the battle. Initial casualties were about 20 dead and 200 wounded on the colonial side. Estimates of native dead, largely from the fires, range from 600 to more than 1,000. Having destroyed the fort, the colonial force then limped back to its base in Wickford in the midst of a horrible winter storm in which many of the wounded died. The remainder of the colonial force, along with some fresh troops, tried to pursue the remainder of the escaping Narragansetts in the infamous Hungry March during January–February 1676.

Metacom had hoped to spend the winter months to the west, readying his men for the spring campaign. In order to do this, he needed the cooperation of the mighty Mohawk tribe. However, instead of welcoming their fellow natives, the Mohawks took the opportunity to lash out at a weakened rival. In February, 300 Mohawk warriors attacked a winter camp of 500 of Metacom's men east of Albany and routed them. In the spring, Metacom once again took to attacking colonial towns in the western Connecticut River Valley. Some, such as Sudbury in April 1676, were amazingly close to Boston (within 20 miles). Civilian inhabitants abandoned more than 12 towns as the frontier moved eastward. Yet the two-front fighting in which Metacom was now engaged, along with English superiority in numbers, changes in tactics and militia preparedness, and the increased use of native allies as scouts and guides all began to take their toll. The Fall's Fight of May 1676, when a large group of warriors was ambushed and many perished plunging to their deaths over a high waterfall, demonstrated this fact. In her famous captivity narrative, Mary Rowlandson of Lancaster noted that her captors were tiring of the fight and their food and supplies were dwindling by the late spring of 1676.

By the summer of 1676, with almost no food (most of the native fields and food caches had been destroyed by colonial troops) many Native Americans gave up the fight and surrendered. In July 1676, forces under Captain Benjamin Church captured Metacom's wife and son, who, along with hundreds (if not thousands) of captured natives were sold into slavery in the West Indies. Metacom slipped back to the vicinity of his Mount Hope, Rhode Island, home with his most faithful followers.

On August 12, 1676, a native warrior under the command of Captain Church shot and killed Metacom. By October 1676, the other native leaders and their men had been captured and the war came to an end, except in Maine where intermittent violence continued for a number of years.

King Philip's War was the deadliest war in American history in terms of numbers of casualties for people involved. Colonial losses were between 800 and 1,000, with at least 12 towns totally destroyed, hundreds of houses and barns burned, and thousands of cattle killed. Native American losses were even more severe. Perhaps 3,000 warriors were killed in battle, with hundreds more men, women, and children killed or sold into

slavery after the war. Nor did the native converts to Christianity escape unscathed. Fearing that they might aid Metacom, colonial officials rounded up the native inhabitants of the “praying towns,” and confined them on an island in Boston harbor, where many died of disease and exposure. The tribes of southern New England never recovered from King Philip’s War. Indeed, their ability to resist the colonial onslaught had ended.

Kyle F. Zelner

SEE ALSO Captivity Narratives; Cooper, James Fenimore

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Last of the Mohicans

The Last of the Mohicans is an early American novel written by James Fenimore Cooper. Despite its difficult style it has been one of the most popular novels in English since it was first published in 1826. It is still widely read in American literature courses.

Cooper wrote five books in an American frontier series called the Leatherstocking Tales. In order of the setting of their plots they are: *The Deerslayer* (1744); *The Pathfinder* (1750s); *The Last of the Mohicans* (1757); *The Pioneers* (1793); and *The Prairie* (1804). The white man who has become an Indian by adoption, Nathaniel “Natty” Bumppo, is the main character in each as he moves west with the frontier throughout his life.

Copper’s story of *The Last of the Mohicans* is set in 1757 in upstate New York during the French and Indian War (Seven Years’ War). Much of the action takes place at Fort William Henry on Lake George where the British Army, colonial militia and their Indian allies are fighting a large French force commanded by General Marquis de Montcalm. He is aided by large numbers of Huron and other Indian allies led by the villainous

Huron chief, Magua. Angry with Colonel Monroe, Magua has vowed revenge. After the fort is taken, Montcalm's surrender terms allow its occupants to leave for Albany. However, they are attacked on the march by Magua's Indians. Munro's daughters Cora (dark haired) and Alice (fair haired) are rescued by Natty (Nathaniel) Bumppo, known as "Hawkeye." He is the adopted son of Chingachgook. His natural son Uncas is "last of the Mohicans." As the plot unfolds, Uncas is killed as is Magua.

The sources Cooper used included both the English and American literary traditions. The Waverly novels appear to be an influence for the romantic element. His Indians are either noble savage or ignoble savages. Travel books and other sources were part of the American tradition. He also used American folklore of the frontier and its people as mythic images. It is the romantic element that has allowed his book to be interpreted in different ways by filmmakers.

There were several movie versions made in the 20th century. The 1920 version starring Wallace Beery was a silent film. The 1932 version starring Harry Carey was supplanted in 1936 by Randolph Scott's performance. The 1992 version starred Daniel Day-Lewis. Much of it was filmed in the dramatic scenery near Chimney Rock, North Carolina. In each of these films, the roles and nature of the characters change as do the plot elements. For example in the 1920 version Hawkeye has a minor role compared to Uncas. The 1992 version was filmed with Indian advisors; however, is historically inaccurate and misleading while being obsessively focused on the romance between Hawkeye and Cora.

Andrew J. Waskey

SEE ALSO Cooper, James Fenimore

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Lexington and Concord, Battle of

The Battle of Lexington and Concord, near Boston, Massachusetts, was the first military engagement of the American Revolution. It was used as a propaganda event in stirring up emerging colonial support against the "enemy" British troops. The "shot heard round the world," on April 19, 1775, and who actually fired it, will never be known, but it started when Massachusetts military governor Thomas Cage sent hundreds of British troops to seize hundreds of caches of guns and ammunition rumored to be hidden there. Instead, the British found armed resistance from the minuteman and, in the ensuing conflict,

bloodshed occurred. The resulting media coverage, including broadsides and pamphlets, sparked public opinion against the British while the newspapers reflected the opposing coverage of the battle, with the expected viewpoints, from both the American and the British side.

The British army's infantry had occupied Boston since 1768 and they were later supplemented by naval forces and marines to enforce the Intolerable Acts, which were passed by the British Parliament to punish the Massachusetts colonists for the Boston Tea Party and other acts of protest against the Crown.

The background to the actual engagement involved about 700 British Army regulars, under Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith, who were given secret orders on April 18 to capture and destroy military supplies that were reportedly stored by the Massachusetts militia at Concord. The first shots were fired at dawn but the militia was outnumbered and the regulars proceeded to Concord. At the Old North Bridge in Concord, several hundred militia fought and defeated three companies of the King's troops.

The actual fighting was followed by the public opinion battle as the Massachusetts Provincial Congress collected sworn testimonies from militiamen and from British prisoners. When Gage sent his official report of events to London, the Provincial Congress sent over their own detailed depositions on a faster ship where they were printed by the London newspapers two weeks before Gage's report arrived although his description of events was vague and often questionable about facts.

Newspapers noted a major change in the relationship between Great Britain and her colonies and several attacked the British for initiating the events that caused the conflict but most of the news articles placed the blame on the British.

Up to the 21st century, popular opinion on Lexington and Concord reflected the prevailing political climate of the time, ranging from isolationist anti-war sentiments from the pre-World War I and II periods to the more balanced approaches of the post-Cold War years.

The battle at Lexington and Concord inspired Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's famous poem and Concord Green is the site of the Minute Man Statue, which represents the colonial militia that joined forces against the much stronger British army. Concord is also the site of the 750-acre Minute Man National Historical Park, the land around the Old North Bridge, as well as approximately five miles of the road along with surrounding lands and period buildings.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Boston Tea Party; Broad­sides; Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Loyalists. See Introduction; Hutchinson, Thomas

Massachusetts Spy

The Massachusetts Spy was a highly influential American newspaper, published during 1770–1820. The Revolutionary period in America began with the passage of the Stamp Act of 1765, which imposed a special tax on newspapers, books, and legal documents. Opposition to the tax was widespread and it was accompanied by inflammatory political propaganda, represented by a variety of printed materials, including pamphlets, slogans, cartoons, and especially newspapers, to generate public opinion. Of these, one of the most influential and radical was the *Massachusetts Spy*, or *Thomas's Boston Journal*, a newspaper that began publication on July 17, 1770 in Boston, Massachusetts. Its publisher was Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831), who established the paper with printer Zechariah Fowle. Its motto was “A Weekly Political and Commercial Paper—Open to All Parties, but influenced by None.” In 1772, it had New England’s largest circulation; by April 1775, its circulation was about 3,500 copies.

The paper was first issued three times a week, but when Thomas bought out Fowle in December 1770, he changed the *Spy*’s circulation to once a week (usually Thursday). In the beginning, the newspaper supported the Whig policy of conciliation, but as war approached it openly advocated independence. Until actual hostilities started, Thomas tried to be objective in his reporting but objectivity was not a quality that his readers wanted. The *Massachusetts Spy* soon became the most radical newspaper in support of the Patriot cause. Thomas published accounts of the Committees of Correspondence and the Sons of Liberty, representations to the governor, town meetings, and essayists critical of British rule.

Thomas, who ran afoul of authorities for criticizing the Stamp Act, was an active member of the Sons of Liberty and friends with such American Revolution patriots as John Hancock, Paul Revere, and John Greenleaf. In April 1775, shortly before the battles of Lexington and Concord, Thomas moved his paper to Worcester, where he was more successful than he had been in Boston. He renamed his newspaper *The Massachusetts Spy*, or *American Oracle of Liberty*. His eyewitness account of the Battle of Lexington, which appeared in the May 3, 1775 issue with a masthead designed by Paul Revere,

THE Draffed Spy

A Weekly, Political, and Commercial PAPER; open to ALL Parties, but influenced by None.

OL. I.] THURSDAY, March 7, 1771. [NUMB. I.

TUESDAY, March 5



As a solemn and perpetual Memorial
Of the Tyranny of the British Ad-
ministration of Government in the
Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.
Of the fatal and destructive Con-
sequences of quartering Armies, in Time
of Peace, in populous Cities.
Of the infamous Policy, and in-
human Ministry, of supporting Civil
Government by a Military Force.
Of the great Duty and Necessity of
firmly opposing Despotism in its first
Approaches:
Of the detestable Principles and ar-
bitrary Conduct of those Ministers, in
Britain who advised, and of their
Tools in America who defied, the
Introduction of a Standing Army in-
to this Province in the Year 1768.
Of the unbridgeable Bound which
those Ministers themselves thereby
judged, that the Civil Government
as by them administered, was weak,
wicked, and tyrannical.
Of the vice Ingratitude and abom-
inable Wickedness of every Amer-
ican, who abetted and encouraged,
rather in Thought, Word or Deed,
the Establishment of a Standing Ar-
my among his Countrymen.
Of the unaccountable Conduct of
those Civil Governors, the immediate
Representatives of his Majesty, who,
while the Military were triumphant
in inflicting the whole Legitimate Au-
thority of the State, and while the
Blood of the massacred Inhabi-
tants was flowing in the Streets, per-
fected an repeatedly disclaiming all Au-
thority of relieving the People, by any
the least Removal of the Troop.
And of the savage Cruelty of the
Immediate Perpetrators.
Be it forever Remembered
That this day, the Fifth of March,
is the Anniversary of Preston's Mas-
sacre, in King-Street, Boston, New-
England, 1770; in which Five of
his Majesty's Subjects were slain, and
Six wounded, by the Discharge of a
Number of Muskets from a Party of
Soldiers under the Command of Cap-
t. Thomas Preston.
GOD Save the PEOPLE!
Salem March 5, 1771.

THURSDAY, March 7,
BOSTON.
On Tuesday last the anniversary of
the Boston Massacre, at noon, and after nine
in the evening, all the bells in town tolled; and
at dusk was exhibited in the chamber win-
dows of Mr. Revett, in the Old North square,
a set of transparent paintings, representing
in the fourth window a monumental obelisk,
bearing in front the bust of young Scider;
and on the front of the pedestal, the names of
the nine persons murdered by the soldiery on
the fifth of March, and all interested in this
time gave vent to their grief. On the back ground
of the painting was finely drawn a figure de-
signed for the ghost of Scider, in the attitude
the blood when he received his fatal wounds

from the murderous hands of the infamous
soldier Richard; and under it, this couplet:
Scider's pale ghost fresh bleeding stands,
And vengeance for his death demands.
In the middle window was a view of the mas-
sacre in King Street. In the north window
the genius of America, holding the cap
of liberty erect, and trampling underfoot a
savage hugging serpent, the emblem of a
military tyranny.
An Oration containing a brief account of
the massacre, of the imputations of treason
and rebellion with which the tools of power
endeavored to brand the inhabitants, and a
dispassionate view of the nature of treason,
with some considerations on the threats of the
British Ministry to take away the Massa-
chusetts charter, was also delivered that evening
at the Fidelity-Hall by Dr. Young.
Above a year has now elapsed since poor
little innocent Scider received a murderous
mortal wound, which soon put an end to
that life, which ONE only has a right to
take away. The suppoled murderers have
had a fair trial agreeable to the good laws
of the land, and been found GUILTY;
but not yet punished; and still
Young Scider's blood from its spouting grand
Gates, Justice. Hear the foundi-
dome time ago, two Terrors from ad-
jacent land, coming with such erben on the
spectacles of the reason and lengthening of
the days. AN faith, last one, it is the
pleasantry I ever saw or my life.
Some months of the year is over, the o-
ther for a summer. Ah indeed, fall the other,
it is a much pleasanter now the days are two
months longer.
I shall make no comment in this, for it
is needless.

A flock of an Earthquake was felt in this
town, Marblehead, &c. last Sunday morning.
The shaking was but just perceptible.

For the MASSACHUSETTS SPY
AN ACROSTIC.
A Negroes and L— is in judgement agree!
No wonder that vice with her arms is to free!
Deceit and low cunning do commonly stand!
Rejoice in friendship and join hand in hand!
Experience doth teach us that poor black
and white!
When blended together, as one, will unite!

MR. THOMAS,
WITHOUT freedom of thought, says
Mr. Gordon, there can be no such
thing as wisdom; and no such thing as pub-
lic liberty without freedom of speech. This
is the right of every man, which ought to
know no bounds but the injury of others.
Licentiousness in speech extends to the denial
of the being of a God, his justice or provi-
dence, and our accountability to him for
our actions; our obligations to maintain the
tranquillity and promote the felicity of the
community to which we join ourselves as
members, to do unto every one, as by con-
verse of condition we could reasonably ex-
pect them to do unto us. To make light of
these fundamental principles of the law and
religion of nature, is a public injury, tending
to destroy that reverence for virtue, and ab-
horrence to vice and immorality, which are
indeed the principal securities we have for
the good behavior of mankind. Between
the freedom of speech hereafter mentioned for and
the injurious usurpation, there seems to be evi-
dent marks of discrimination, the former
marking no more than the modest and sen-
sible reasonings of man with man upon equal
terms; the latter an overbearing tyrannical
or domineering intemperance, assuming great wil-

dom in the querist, and putting the sheet of
william on the respondent. There seem in-
deed but two abuses in the world to which
men appeal in matters of debate, Reason and
Authority. Reason is commonly applied
to by parties who would endeavor to settle
matters among themselves. Authority is
rarely whole capacities are confidently re-
solved, to write in refutation that nothing but
the fear of a master can keep them in order.
In which of these classes a man of sense and
spirit would willingly join himself, I will
leave all men to determine. In which least
the proud, ignorant, haughty and self-con-
ceited are to be found, is well known. No-
thing is more preposterous than the usual ma-
ny pretend for the support of civil and relig-
ious liberty, while at the same time their be-
havior burn with indignation against any one
who can take the freedom to call out of
their favourite notions into question. The
spirit of a republic being a spirit of equality
abhors such seditious bigotry. The same
Charles among whole nations and sides was
found. "Touch no man's wife," also prohib-
ited all dissenting about religion. The real
truth is that religion and civil policy are in-
separably connected that whoever attempts to
separate them infallibly destroys both, and
the flame which would otherwise decent in
quits into the foundation, nature and ten-
dencies of either will make very bad, because
very rapid and unaccountable liberty.

God bestowed upon man his reason to
form him of the origin, and design of his be-
ing; of the relation he fulfills to his crea-
tor, and every subordinate superior, equal
and inferior; and the duties which naturally
flow from and accompany these relations.
This being the foundation and scope of all
laws civil and sacred, the systems immediately
deduced from these considerations are call-
ed the systems of natural law, of natural reli-
gion, meaning the law and religion which
force themselves upon the minds of every
household and sober man who seriously feels his
self about a candid and rational equity into
the nature, reason and relation of things.
The same still small voice which renders a
man a true son of liberty in politics will
render him a calm, patient and dispassionate
reasoner upon religious subjects; as well as
ascribe magnitude to the importance of the fact,
with which he impels all his writings.
And though conscious of his aversion to de-
ceive, he warns people to number, weigh
and measure after himself. In this there is
great safety, for none can tell when God
may take away the most important Elijah,
and much will such a one be afflicted at his
departure, if he reflects that any part of his
master's council has been kept back from the
faithful sons of the propheta he leaves behind.
The person who could leave a number of
people in a desert without a pilot, or at sea
without a compass, would act exactly the part
of the pretended patriot, who would willing-
ly forgo any opportunity of infusing all the
members of the commonwealth to which
he belonged in every needed article of pre-
servative knowledge.

An absolute authority, an indispensible
standard, may exist somewhere; otherwise
it would be perpetual. To imagine this
authority reposed in any being subject to er-
ror or sinister design, is too absurd for the su-
perstition of a papist: he therefore clings to
his supreme pontiff with a perfection of which
the superstitious Jew never was worthy. It is
therefore in the nature and constitution of
things, directed by his unerring wisdom, we
are to look for the laws of nature, the abso-
lute, perfect and unchangeable will of God.
The immediate love of ease which banishes
too many of our species, engages them to

trust the determinations of the right, the just,
the honorable to others, whom they place
implicit confidence, and looking to be thought
ignorant of propositions they never under-
stand, and consequently can neither explain
nor defend: The new French their ambition
puts them upon, is to find a sufficient power
in silence a gannet by any means law or
just. It is in this condition of things the
children of wisdom cry out for liberty of
speech, to defend the doctrines of their fa-
therly parent! But from the days of John
his celestial kingdom has suffered violence,
and nothing but violence will ever defend it,
more than force it. Human life is indeed a
warfare, and he who will not oppose an in-
vader, must legue to become a tower of
wood and plaster of water for the whole
congregation.

The security of property and the freedom
of speech, say an eminent writer, always go
together, and in those wretched countries
where a man cannot call his neighbor's wife
he can have call any thing else his own.
Whoever would overthrow the liberty of the
reason, must begin by destroying the freedom
of speech, a thing terrible to public traitors,
i. e. to all the enemies of civil and religious
liberty.
ELETHERIUS.

At the Intelligence-Office,
Opposite to the Court-House, in
King-Street, Boston.
Kept by GRANT WEBSTER.

There is to be sold,
Philadelphia Flour and Iron,
Maryland Flour and Bread, West-In-
dia and New-England Rum, Brandy, Ma-
stera and other Wines, Bristol beer, rice and
ground ginger, French Indigo, Kullia ducks
new and second-hand, Valdes of different
forts, second hand Sails and Anchors, several
complex sets of large Scales and Weights a
general Gent's Houles in town, and several
good Farms in the County (one in particular
about ten miles from this town, very agree-
ably situated for a Gentleman's Seat, with a
good house and barn on it, which will be sold
under the value for ready money) part of
a very valuable Lead Mine in the County of
Suffolk, a few English Goods and sundry o-
ther articles very cheap for the cash.
WANTED, Several Sums of Money for
different persons, who will give good security
for the same, either real or personal. Like-
wise, Bills of Exchange, for which the ready
money will be paid.

N.B. GOODS of any sort are taken in
and sold, Bills of Exchange negotiated, and
any kind of Brokerage done at said Office on
reasonable commissions.

MUSICK, and Musical Instru-
ments, viz. Harpsichord, Spinnet,
Violin, Piano Forte, Guitars, and Ger-
man Flutes; to be sold by Mr. PROBERT,
at Mrs. Holbrook's shop in the Common.

A FEW Casks of Choice new
RICE, and several barrels of South-
Carolina Pitch, to be sold on board the ship
Molly, lying at Green's wharf.

MR. JOAN'S Concert, which
was to be this evening, is postponed
till Thursday the 21st instant.

Some domestic Intelligence, &c. we
are obliged to omit for want of room.
A PROFESSOR shall have a place in
our next.
T. B. Under consideration.

The Massachusetts Spy newspaper, on the first anniversary of the Boston Massacre, 1771. (North Wind Picture Archives)

was not intended to be objective but it was considered an excellent story; in a sense, Thomas was the first war correspondent. On July 17, 1776, he printed the full text of the Declaration of Independence.

The war years were difficult for Thomas, as they were for every printer, but when the war was over, he expanded his activities until he was the leading publisher in the American colonies. Along with the *Spy*, Thomas published three magazines, an almanac, and a distinguished list of more than 400 books. In June 1776, when faced with a growing number of creditors, Thomas leased the *Massachusetts Spy* to William Stearns and Daniel Biglow, but he regained control of the paper in spring 1778 and continued its publication. He printed stories on the progress of the war and on the possibility of peace. In 1786, after the state legislature passed an act taxing newspaper advertisements, instead of a tax on paper, Thomas suspended the *Massachusetts Spy* and turned it into the format of an octavo magazine of twelve to sixteen pages as a “substitute.” Two years later, *Massachusetts Spy* resumed but it finally ceased publication in December 1820.

Isaiah Thomas was considered an outstanding printer, one of the finest of the Revolutionary period, and his newspaper was a model of reporting. Most important, it served the propaganda uses of the Patriots, which it did with distinction.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Revere, Paul; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act

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McCrea, Jane

Perhaps no event in the entire Revolutionary War better epitomizes the effect of propaganda (and the racial stereotyping of Native Americans) than the alleged massacre of Jane McCrea and its supposed impact on the Saratoga Campaign. The traditional version has McCrea being escorted to the British camp by Wyandot warriors in order to marry her fiancé, a Loyalist officer. Two of the warriors (drunk or not, according to

the various narrators' tastes) argued over who would claim the reward for escorting her, during which one of them killed her with a tomahawk and scalped her. Variations on the story have McCrea's fiancé being responsible for sending out the Indian warriors who killed her (or sending a second war party, whose arrival sparked the argument); McCrea being stripped naked and/or wearing a wedding dress; and the victim being beautiful or homely, raven-haired or blonde. Her murder conveniently fulfilled the need for a "Yankee Joan of Arc," a need identified at the time by Thomas Paine, and was said to have motivated thousands of militiamen to join General Horatio Gates' army, enabling him to entrap Burgoyne at Saratoga. Over time, the story became enshrined in prose and pictures, including the famous 1804 painting by John Vanderlyn and a 1784 novelette, *Miss McCrea*, written in French by Michel René Hilliard-d'Auberteuil, that takes enormous liberties with the facts but is said to be the first work of fiction set entirely in America and dealing solely with an important event in American history.

This traditional version was challenged as early as the 1880s by William L. Stone, who used the papers of Judge John Hay of Saratoga Springs, a highly respected writer on local history who had interviewed eyewitnesses, to tell a different story. McCrea appears to have been the second daughter of the Reverend James McCrea and his first wife, Mary Graham, and probably the last of their seven children. Her mother died in 1753 and her father then remarried and had five more children. After the reverend's death in 1769, McCrea left New Jersey to live with her eldest brother John, then an Albany lawyer. In 1773, she accompanied him when he took up farming and acquired land across the Hudson from Fort Edward.

On the morning of Sunday, July 27, 1777, McCrea went to a house near Fort Edward owned by Sarah McNeill (also spelled McNeal and McNeil), usually described as a cousin of Simon Fraser, one of Burgoyne's generals. McNeill was moving her possessions by boat to Fort Miller, and an escort of 20 men, under a Lieutenant Palmer, had arrived from America's Northern Army, then commanded by General Philip Schuyler (this party is sometimes wrongly identified as British). Before the loading was completed, Palmer and his men left to conduct a brief reconnaissance but were gone longer than expected, so the two women decided to ride down to the boat. Before they could leave, however, McNeill heard gunfire and saw one of Palmer's men being pursued by several Indians, who abandoned the chase and made toward the house. McNeill ordered McCrea, a female servant, and her infant son into the cellar, but the Indians caught McNeill on the stairs and then discovered McCrea but not the servant and her baby.

At each volley, the Indians and McNeill threw themselves to the ground, but apparently one volley struck McCrea. Because there would be no reward for rescuing a corpse, Panther scalped McCrea and left her body behind. As McNeill's group had fallen some way behind by this time, she did not directly observe McCrea's death or the scalping. When she was taken to a nearby house, she tried to persuade her guards to return and find McCrea, but they refused. McNeill's party hid until the next day, when she was taken to Burgoyne's camp—though it is not clear if she was stripped naked as is often suggested.

When McCrea's remains were exhumed in the early 1820s and moved to a cemetery at Fort Edward, a local physician, Dr. William Norton, examined the skull and found no signs of a blow. The remains were moved again in 1852 to the Union cemetery between Fort Edward and Sandy Hill to lie beside those of McNeill, and a white marble headstone was erected by McCrea's niece, Sarah Payne, that incorrectly listed her age as seventeen. A tall iron fence was placed around the grave in the 1890s.

Only two witnesses support the traditional version. One was Dr. John Bartlett, a surgeon in the Northern Army, who recorded that McCrea was shot but appears to have automatically attributed the killing to the Indians, which could easily have been based either on confused rumors or on simple hatred of the enemy. He also described a body of British troops standing and watching as the Indians killed this young female Loyalist. The other witness was Samuel Standish, a direct descendant of Miles Standish of the Mayflower, who claimed to have been captured by the warriors escorting McCrea and McNeill and to have witnessed an altercation between two chiefs that ended with one of them shooting McCrea. Apart from the fact that no other eyewitnesses, including McNeill and Panther, mention any other prisoners, Standish made no mention of either woman being on horseback, and it seems unlikely that the Indians would have killed McCrea but spared him.

Brendan D. Morrissey

SEE ALSO Captivity Narratives

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Metacom. See King Philip's War

Music (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

Most music of the era of the American Revolutionary War was the cultural embodiment of the thoughts and reactions of ordinary citizens. A range of songs communicated the emotions and feelings of Loyalists and Patriots, of British redcoats and American minutemen, and of persons from all walks of life in 18th-century America.

Many secular songs that were popular in the 1770s originated during the French and Indian (Seven Years') War (1754–1763). Countless ballads and folk songs were written eulogizing loved ones and military heroes who died doing their duty to God and country, and many of the ballads appeared in widely distributed broadsides. Several ballads also reflected the growing political unrest of the era. In 1765, Peter St. John, a pamphleteer-balladeer and schoolmaster, wrote “American Taxation,” a musical protest against the Stamp Act. “Chester,” by William Billings, who is now regarded as probably the finest composer in 18th-century America, reflected its author’s feelings regarding the siege of Boston and became almost as popular as “Yankee Doodle.” In times of political upheaval, John Dickinson’s “Liberty Song,” written before the war began, was sung in local taverns. With the onset of the American Revolution, the colonies already possessed a rich cache of military, secular, and sacred music.

The primary function of both British and American military music was to motivate and inspire soldiers. It was also used as a signaling device for the soldiers in the field, both as part of many marches and in actual combat, and was played in camp as well. This functional music was played by both fife and drum corps and military bands. The fife was derived originally from the Swiss flute and was used by the English from the early 16th century. The use of the drum in military music can be traced as far back as ancient Rome, and perhaps earlier. The combination of fife and drum first appeared in the British Army by order of the Duke of Cumberland in 1747, and the Continental Army adopted the fife and drum from British troops stationed in the American colonies. Each company had one or two drummers and one fife player, who were positioned at the right flank of the first unit or platoon. Their repertoire included “To Arms,” “The General,” and “Rogue’s March.” Trumpets were added to the Continental Army in 1777 and became associated with cavalry regiments. The military band of this period was a wind band, or *harmoniemusik*, having two each of four common wind instruments of the 18th century: bassoons, clarinets, oboes, and French horns. Hired by the officers, these bands played on the battlefield, for military ceremonies, and at unofficial private functions.

One of the most popular British marching songs of the American Revolution was “Yankee Doodle.” Although its origin is uncertain, one source attributes it to a British Army surgeon, Richard Shuckburgh, who sought to characterize the unorganized colonial militia he encountered during the French and Indian War. American rebel musicians learned “Yankee Doodle” and “The White Cockade” by hearing them played by British and Loyalist musicians. Indeed, “Yankee Doodle” became one of the most famous tunes in history, and both the British and Patriot forces played it during the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775. “The White Cockade” was a lively, immensely popular Jacobite song played on the field at Concord’s North Bridge by the Acton Minutemen’s fifer Luther Blanchard and drummer Francis Barker. Well after the Revolutionary War, a march composed in honor of President George Washington was first titled “The President’s March” but soon became “Hail Columbia,” with lyrics written by Joseph Hopkinson, son of Francis Hopkinson, in 1798. It later rivaled “The Star Spangled Banner” in popularity.

Occasionally, both British and Continental Army musicians would use the same tune but sing strikingly different lyrics. One example of this is the redcoats' "God Save the King." The rebels utilized the same tune but sang the lyrics "God save great Washington." (The present version is the British "God Save the Queen," the tune of which is better known to many Americans as "My Country 'Tis of Thee.") Thus, a cross-fertilization of music occurred, extending from the British Army to the Continental Army and throughout the colonies.

On October 19, 1781, General Charles Cornwallis and 8,000 British soldiers surrendered at Yorktown. Two historical records state that "the British stacked arms while their band played *The World Turned Upside Down*. The Continental Army musicians, not to be outdone, played a joyous rendition of *Yankee Doodle*."

Away from the battlefield, and mostly beyond politics, important American composers of this period wrote participatory choral music and songs for private performances in homes. Billings is considered by many to be the most important composer of early American sacred and secular music. Although physically handicapped and trained as a tanner, he taught himself to sing, play, and write music. Billings's friends included Samuel Adams and Paul Revere, and his *New England Psalm-Singer* (1770), engraved by Revere, is the first published collection of music created entirely by an American. Other important Billings compositions include the canon "When Jesus Wept," the Revolutionary hymn "Chester," and the anthem "David's Lamentation." Francis Hopkinson, a congressman from New Jersey and signer of the Declaration of Independence, composed airs for his own secular songs that included "Beneath a Weeping Willow's Shade," "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free," and "Enraptured I Gaze." James Lyon, a Presbyterian minister and a contemporary of Hopkinson in Philadelphia, published the first English fugue psalm tunes in *Urania* in 1761. Justin Morgan was one of America's most original composers and taught both singing and writing schools. He wrote "Amanda," "Montgomery," and "Weathersfield." This period also saw the creation of some of America's earliest folk music that was originally disseminated by oral tradition. "Johnny's Gone for a Soldier" and "Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes" are two popular examples.

Several important military and political leaders during the American Revolution were avid amateur musicians in their own right. George Washington was an accomplished flutist. Benjamin Franklin played the guitar, wrote musical criticism, and invented the "glassy-chord," or glass harmonica. Thomas Jefferson played the violin, the cittern, and the harpsichord.

Kathleen J. Hitt

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Bunker Hill, Battle of; Franklin, Benjamin; "Hail Columbia"; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Revere, Paul; Yankee Doodle

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Myths and Slogans. See Don't Tread on Me; Join, or Die; Stars and Stripes; Taxation without Representation; Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

Newspapers played a vital role in the events leading up to the opening of hostilities between the American colonists and Britain, and in shaping the debate that finally led to the Declaration of Independence. The taxes on official paper and advertisement enacted by the 1765 Stamp Act imposed a heavy burden on the printers of newspapers, which naturally placed them in common cause with the lawyers and merchants who formed the core of the libertarian Whig elite. As newspapers were among those most threatened by the Stamp Act, they were also in the best position to stir up resentment against it.

For two months beginning in December 1767, the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* published a widely influential series entitled *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*. The farmer, in actuality attorney John Dickinson, attacked British encroachments on colonial liberties from a well-reasoned, legal point of view. In the view of the role of the customs commissioner, the usual targets of mob violence highlighted by the press, Dickinson's appeal became all the more dangerous.

Boston provided the loudest dissident voice in the *Boston Gazette*, published by Benjamin Edes and John Gill. John Adams used its pages in 1765 to charge that the Stamp Act was intended to silence the colonial press, "to strip us in a great measure of the means of knowledge." The paper relentlessly decried the colonial governor, Francis Bernard, and in 1769, it published his private correspondence with the House of Commons, which they had intercepted. In those letters, Bernard referred to the editors of the *Gazette* as "Tavern Politicians" and "News Paper Libellers." Bernard left for

England on August 1, 1769, the same day British troops arrived to garrison Boston, having been given special orders to arrest Edes and Gill, though Edes had already escaped to set up shop in Watertown. As soon as the troops landed, the *Boston Evening Post* began running lurid stories of drunken redcoats affronting local women.

The Quebec Act of 1774 provided the dissident press with further ammunition, as they suspected the British Crown of making alliances with the largely Catholic French Canadians against the American colonists. One paper opined, “We may live to see our churches converted into mass houses and our lands plundered by tythes for the support of the Popish clergy.”

Thirty-eight newspapers were operating in the colonies on the eve of Lexington. Isaiah Thomas, publisher of the *Massachusetts Spy*, moved his press from Boston to Worcester in the middle of the night two days before the battle, and returned to furnish an eyewitness report, in which he claimed that the British had fired the first shots.

With colonial printers dependent on imported paper, ink, and type, publishing became difficult as the war intensified. In Boston and New York, occupied by the British, only Tory papers continued publishing. In Boston, Whig patriots referred to the *Massachusetts Gazette* and *News-Letter* as being published “by permission of ministerial butchers.” After Lexington, the *Gazette* shut down, having been propped up for a time by the new provincial governor, Thomas Gage. When Gage attempted to publish in the Tory *New York Gazette* his own account of the battle at Lexington, identifying the colonists as the aggressors, the paper refused to print it, for fear of reprisals.

Whig papers devoted themselves in large part to exposing and defaming British sympathizers within the community. Persons named in these reports were often understandably eager to clear their names, and the papers would charge exorbitant rates to print their recantations, confessions, and pledges to change their ways. But the partisan press also undertook the important task of arguing the legal and moral case for insurrection: readers needed to be reassured that they were acting according to law to preserve their natural rights.

Even as the war intensified over the spring of 1775, few voices in the press called for independence from England, and those that did met with harsh rebuttal. The separatist cause gained ground from the writings of Thomas Paine, who began to publish in Pennsylvania papers in August 1775, decrying Britain’s “horrid cruelties” against its colonies across the globe, and declaring, “The Almighty will finally separate America from Britain.” Paine originally intended to serially publish his treatise-length expansion on this theme, but thought his like-minded colonists would consider the piece too radical. Instead, he published *Common Sense* in pamphlet form in January 1776. Several newspapers decided to reprint it in whole or in part.

By the spring of 1776, however, independence seemed to many a fait accompli. The *Boston Gazette* wrote in April, “Independence is now become the universal cry; all ranks and conditions of men seem to be waiting in silent and anxious expectation of a formal declaration.” On July 3, the day after the Second Continental Congress unanimously passed Richard Henry Lee’s motion for independence, the *Pennsylvania Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* carried the same simple headline: “the CONTINENTAL

CONGRESS declared the UNITED COLONIES FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.” Over the next 3 weeks, 30 newspapers throughout the colonies printed the full text.

During the war, newspapers often had more fear of offending the patriotic mob than of affronting the Continental or Crown authorities. When George Washington dismissed General Charles Lee from the army after an act of insubordination after the Battle of Monmouth, Goddard’s *Maryland Journal* published an article by Lee, angrily defending his conduct. A mob descended on Goddard’s office, and forced him at gunpoint to write and publish a retraction. Goddard appealed afterward for protection from the Maryland legislature, and having received their assurance, published a retraction of his retraction, defending the responsibility of the press to provide an open forum.

Newspapers provided colonists on both sides of the political conflict with an important method of organizing opinion. Where early colonial papers had served as the intelligencers of elite political interests, by the Yorktown campaign, they had not only become an important expression of popular opinion but an engine for manipulating that opinion.

Sean Taylor

SEE ALSO Continental Congress; Dickinson, John: *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania*; Edes, Benjamin; *Massachusetts Spy*; *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Stamp Act

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Otis, James

The Massachusetts lawyer, orator, and resistance leader James Otis Jr. was born in West Barnstable, Massachusetts, in 1725. His father, James Otis Sr., was the leading political figure of Barnstable County (Cape Cod), and his sister became the prominent historian Mercy Otis Warren. The younger Otis graduated from Harvard College in 1743 and studied law in Boston with Jeremiah Gridley before setting up practice for himself. In 1755,

Otis married the wealthy heiress Ruth Cunningham. She sympathized with the Loyalists during the Revolution, and their three children reflected their parents' political differences: their first daughter married a British Army officer, their son died in a British prisoner of war camp, and their second daughter married the son of Patriot General Benjamin Lincoln.

The elder Otis was one of the leaders of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in the 1750s, and owing to his connections with Governors William Shirley and Thomas Pownall, the younger Otis became deputy advocate general of the vice-admiralty court. He was an impressive lawyer, and both Thomas Hutchinson and John Adams praised him for winning cases on their merits rather than through chicanery or the technical manipulation of legal points.

In 1760, the Otis family switched from the court faction that favored the governor to the Country Party, which opposed him. The elder Otis had been promised the next vacancy on the superior court by Pownall, but Pownall's successor, Francis Bernard, chose Hutchinson instead. The Otises believed that Hutchinson had offered his assistance to them and then double-crossed them. Hutchinson claimed to have accepted the post only when Bernard stated that he would never appoint a politician such as Otis, who did "low, dirty things." Hutchinson also claimed that the younger Otis then swore revenge, saying that he would set the province in a flame or perish in the attempt. Otis denied this charge.

Hutchinson and Otis clashed again in 1761 over writs of assistance. These were search warrants that allowed Boston customs officials to look anywhere for illegal imports, and the writs were considerably hindering the city's trade. When a number of merchants brought suit to have the writs declared illegal, Otis resigned his position at the admiralty court to take up the merchants' cause. He argued before Hutchinson and the other members of the court that the writs were "the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive to English liberty and the fundamental principles of law." At this point, Otis was grasping at straws, because it was difficult to deny that an act of Parliament had binding force. Hutchinson sent a message to England, found out that the courts there issued such writs, and assumed that a like power resided in colonial courts. Ironically, when in 1766 the British attorney general ruled on the issue, he ignored both Hutchinson's and Otis's arguments and simply noted that the act authorizing the writs did not extend to the colonies.

By then, however, the damage had been done. The customs officers continued their seizures, and Otis, according to Adams, who was present at the trial, had raised in the public sphere the question of whether acts of Parliament could violate the fundamental rights of British subjects and thereby be lawfully resisted: "Otis was a flame of fire! . . . American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown."

Two months later, in May 1761, Otis joined his father in the Massachusetts House of Representatives as a member from Boston. He won election each year until 1769 and then again in 1771. Throughout the 1760s, he was noted for his powerful public speaking against British measures. He also wrote a series of important pamphlets. *A Vindication of*

the Conduct of the House of Representatives (1762) strongly criticized Bernard for making a trivial expenditure without the House's consent, insisting that "a House of Representatives here, at least, bears an equal proportion to the governor, as the House of Commons to the King," who could not spend a shilling without their consent. *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764) denied Parliament's right to tax the colonies in any way whatsoever, stating that it "depriv[ed] them of one of their most essential rights as freemen; and if continued, seems to be in effect an entire disfranchisement of every civil right." Otis here advanced one of the main reasons for the Revolution: any British infringement of a colonial right was a foot in the door that signaled an approaching end to all rights. And in *A Vindication of the British Colonies* (1765), written as the Stamp Act was under discussion, Otis denied that Parliament could "virtually" represent colonies that in Britain had "no more share, weight or influence than the Hottentots have in China . . . or the Ethiopians . . . in Great Britain."

Yet while Otis laid out the American case against British policy earlier than any other thinker, he also struggled with the implications of his positions more than almost anyone else. He wrote in *A Vindication* that "God forbid these colonies should ever prove undutiful to their mother country! . . . Were these colonies left to themselves tomorrow, America would be a mere shambles of blood and confusion." His critics also charged that he contradicted himself and from time to time would change sides, along with his father, when the elder Otis received lucrative government offices. In any event, Otis's inconsistent political stances, coupled with a drinking problem and developing insanity, perhaps brought on by a savage beating he received from Customs Commissioner John Robinson in 1769, ensured that by the early 1770s he was finished as a politician. As judge of probate, Hutchinson remanded Otis to the custody of his relatives after he had shot off guns at random and broken the windows of the province house, now Boston's Old State House. He even charged into the midst of the Battle of Bunker Hill but somehow survived. Otis died, as he both predicted and desired, when a bolt of lightning struck him in 1783. Well before his death, however, he was true to his word, as Hutchinson noted in a 1771 letter to General Thomas Gage after Otis's insanity had set in: "He set the province in a flame and perished [politically] in the attempt."

William Pencak

SEE ALSO Hutchinson, Thomas; Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Stamp Act

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Paine, Thomas

Thomas Paine was a Revolutionary leader, patriot propagandist, and author. He was born in Thetford, Norfolk, England on January 29, 1737. He received only a rudimentary education, and enlisted on privateers during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). After several unsuccessful career endeavors, he left England for America in 1774. Paine arrived in Philadelphia and immediately embraced the American revolutionary cause. He soon became associated with other Philadelphia revolutionaries, and on January 10, 1776 he published his electrifying pamphlet *Common Sense*.



Thomas Paine, author of the extremely popular pamphlet *Common Sense*, probably did more to inspire Americans to seek their independence from Britain than any other writer. (Library of Congress)

In the pamphlet, Paine demonstrated the irrationality of monarchy, especially hereditary monarchy. He proclaimed the cause of America to be “the cause of all mankind” and asserted that reconciliation with Britain was impossible. Paine called for a manifesto declaring independence, which would bind the colonies together and promote foreign assistance. Perhaps most importantly, Paine argued that Americans could succeed in the arduous military struggle that was expected.

In July 1776, Paine joined the Continental Army and became aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Nathanael Greene. Paine left the army in December and wrote the first essay of his *American Crisis* series, which was read to Continental Army commander General George Washington’s troops on the banks of the Delaware River on December 23, 1776, two days before their perilous attack on Trenton.

In April 1777, Congress appointed Paine secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, but within two years he was forced to resign because of his public statements acknowledging French assistance to

America before the formal alliance between the two countries had been announced. In November 1779, he became the clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

As the fiscal crisis of the Revolutionary War deepened, Paine repeatedly wrote essays boosting American morale and encouraging the wealthy to contribute financially to the war effort. Throughout most of 1780, Paine formulated a plan for him to return clandestinely to England and undermine its war effort. The American capture and execution of British Major John André in the fall of 1780 for his involvement in Major General Benedict Arnold's treason, however, convinced Paine that such a daring plan might be foolhardy. Instead, he proposed a mission to France to request additional funds from the French court. Congress appointed John Laurens of South Carolina as its official envoy to perform this task, and Paine's enemies were able to prevent his appointment as secretary to the delegation. Paine, however, accompanied Laurens as an unofficial, unpaid advisor. The delegation arrived in France in March 1781. With the assistance of Benjamin Franklin, the delegation obtained French government loans and gifts amounting to 25 million livres.

As the war wound down, Paine returned to America, where he was secretly employed by Congress to write "in support of the measures of Congress and their Ministers." Paid \$800 annually from secret service funds, Paine lobbied for more powers for Congress, prepared the minds of the people for more taxes, and commented favorably on military activities.

When news reached America that a preliminary peace treaty had been signed, Paine readied his last essay of the *American Crisis* series for publication. This treatise was printed on April 19, 1783, the eighth anniversary of the battles at Lexington and Concord. Paine now encouraged Americans to maintain and strengthen the Union and increase the powers of Congress. Throughout the next few years, he wrote similar essays as well as political and economic pieces favoring the establishment of the Bank of North America (1784).

Much of Paine's time after the Revolutionary War, however, was devoted to designing an iron bridge capable of spanning the Schuylkill River and other wide rivers. He left America in April 1787 to seek endorsements for his bridge design from abroad, but his absence turned into a 15-year sojourn, during which time he became embroiled in the politics of the French Revolution. While in England, he wrote his two-volume *Rights of Man* (1791), which denounced Edmund Burke's criticism of the French Revolution. This work provoked a firestorm in Britain, forcing Paine to flee to France.

In August 1792, Paine was made an honorary French citizen and was elected to the French National Convention, one of only two foreigners to serve in that body. He aligned himself with the moderate Girondists, and when the radical Jacobins took control of the convention, they revoked Paine's French citizenship and incarcerated him for almost a year. Only through the private efforts of James Monroe, America's new minister to France, was Paine released. While in prison, Paine also began his last great work, the two-volume *Age of Reason* (1794–1795).

Paine returned to America in 1802. He briefly advised President Thomas Jefferson and then toured the northeast. In New York City, he received a hero's welcome.

During his last years, Paine lived in poverty in New York City, where he died on June 8, 1809.

John P. Kaminski

SEE ALSO *Common Sense*; Franklin, Benjamin; Lexington and Concord, Battle of

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Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

The British governmental policy that increasingly levied import duties and excise taxes on a growing number of goods in the American colonies had significant social, economic, and political implications that became the subject of hot debate in the colonies and in England. As the debate intensified in the 1760s and tipped toward military hostilities in the 1770s, pamphlets became one of the principal means of communicating opinions and ideas about the American condition.

In the decade or so prior to the American Revolution, a number of individuals, in both the colonies and in England, began to write small booklet-length treatises on social and economic issues that were fast being understood in political terms. Some early examples, such as James Otis's *Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764) and John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (1768), questioned the legitimacy and tenability of British policy toward the free-born Englishmen living in the American colonies; at the same time, there was plenty of writing that lent popular support to the continuity of centralized authority within the British Empire. But over time, as the proliferation of British policy created an increasingly sharp divide, pamphlets became devoted to thoughts on whether the colonies might separate from Great Britain and whether there might be some form of reconciliation.

There was no shortage of powerful and serious writing on both sides of the argument, from both sides of the Atlantic. Yet despite the publication of a small but growing number of pamphlets that hinted at independence, the majority of people living in the colonies and in England did not acutely believe that the colonies might ever find it in their best interests to follow-through on such a declaration. This was the case until 1776 and the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*.

The pamphlet, which was published anonymously, openly called on American colonists to contest the authority of the British monarchy. But *Common Sense* was not only revolutionary in terms of its theme; it was also revolutionary in terms of its style. The 46-page pamphlet contained ideas on the basic and fundamental rights of all Mankind, and its simple but articulate language made it accessible as much to the illiterate as to

the highly educated. Having sold by some estimates 150,000 to 200,000 copies, or the equivalent of 10 times the number of copies sold by successful writers of the day, *Common Sense* transformed the majority of colonists from a people who were mildly interested in independence at the beginning of 1776 to a people who vigorously supported the Declaration of Independence that was signed in July of the same year.

The author, it turned out, was Thomas Paine, a British-born ne'er-do-well who left his homeland for Philadelphia in 1774. Since his arrival, Paine had written on a broad range of subjects of interest to Pennsylvania colonists. This chord eventually focused on the tenuous relationship between Britain and the American colonies, which invited *Common Sense* and later writings in support of the American Revolution. Among these was a series of pamphlets entitled *The American Crisis*, which, given its inspirational opening words, George Washington commanded be read to the dispirited Continental Army troops encamped at Valley Forge during the winter of 1776.

If Paine was the representative political thinker of the revolutionary period, it expresses perfectly the influence of Revolutionary-era pamphlets that John Adams said, "Without the pen of Paine, the sword of Washington would have been wielded in vain."

Lee H. Igel

SEE ALSO *Common Sense*; Declaration of Independence; Dickinson, John: *Letters, from a farmer in Pennsylvania*; Otis, James; Paine, Thomas.

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Peale, Charles Willson. See Art (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

Pennsylvania Gazette

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was the leading newspaper in colonial Philadelphia and eventually had the largest circulation of any English-language colonial newspaper. The weekly was founded in 1723 by Samuel Keimer, but the paper's true glory days began in 1729, when it was purchased by Hugh Meredith and Benjamin Franklin, who became

sole proprietor, buying out Meredith in 1730. As the editor of the *Gazette*, Franklin was the most prominent colonial newspaperman, and the *Gazette* was widely copied and imitated throughout the colonies. Many of Franklin's most influential essays, including "An Apology for Printers," were first published in the *Gazette*.

The most important military issue in the first two decades of Franklin's *Gazette* was the Pennsylvania militia. The Quakers, a powerful force in Pennsylvania politics, opposed a militia on religious grounds. Franklin and the *Gazette* supported one for pragmatic reasons. In 1748, Franklin retired from operating the *Gazette* while continuing to write for it. His article "Queries on a Pennsylvania Militia" published in the issue of March 6, 1734 asserted the vulnerability of Philadelphia to a French invasion, painted in horrifying colors as a riot of rape and robbery on the part of French soldiers. The *Gazette* also ran articles attempting to refute Quaker pacifism in religious terms. However, Franklin also supported exemption of Quakers from militia service through a conscientious objector clause. Like other newspapers, the *Gazette* ran stories of the deeds of British and colonial forces in the wars with France. The first American political cartoon, Franklin's famous "Join, or Die" cartoon, was first published in the *Gazette* dated March 9, 1754. It exhorted the colonies to unite in the face of the French menace.

Franklin's business partner and successor as operator of the *Gazette*, David Hall, was initially cautious in the years following the Seven Years War as the rift between Britain and its colonies grew wider. He tried to avoid taking a strong stand on the Stamp Act, which was a target of many American newspapermen, but eventually came down on the "Patriot," anti-tax side of the controversy. The *Gazette* eventually identified itself more strongly with the American cause, denouncing the Tea Act as "tyrannous." The *Gazette* was the second paper to publish John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* which denied the British Parliament's right to tax America from late 1767 to 1768. In 1775, the *Gazette* published a sensational story that Parliament planned to try rebel colonists in Britain itself. It was forced to suspend publication during the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777 and 1778. When American control over the city was restored, the *Gazette* was a zealous supporter of the American war effort, heaping American troops with praise. The *Gazette* ceased publication in 1800.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Dickinson, John: *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*; Franklin, Benjamin: Join, or Die, Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Stamp Act

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Pitcher, Molly. See Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

Publick Occurrences both Forreign and Domestick

Publick Occurrences both Forreign and Domestick was America's first newspaper. Its one and only issue was published in Boston on September 25, 1690 by Benjamin Harris, bookseller and proprietor of the London Coffee House along with the printer Richard Pierce. Harris, the leading spirit of the enterprise, had emigrated from England in 1686. He had been one of the most notorious of the radical opposition London newspaper writers during the reign of Charles II, in frequent trouble with the law. Harris, a Baptist, championed Whig politics and the rights of Protestant Dissenters against the Church of England. In Boston, Harris was a supporter of the political faction led by the Reverend Increase Mather and his son, the Reverend Cotton Mather.

The paper was four pages long (the last page being blank) and contained a statement by Harris setting forth his plans as well as a wide selection of stories, mostly originating from the colonies rather than Europe. Harris's original plan was to publish *Publick Occurrences* monthly or more often when there was a "glut" of news. He set forth the purpose of the paper as setting forth memorable instances of divine providence, so that God's actions would not be forgotten, giving its readers information that would help them in their business, and combating the spread of lying. (Harris offered to publicly shame the spreaders of false reports.) The stories included sensational accounts of the violence of the war with the French and Native Americans, including the torture of some white prisoners by the Mohawks who were allied with England. Harris questioned the English alliance with these "miserable salvages" (sic.) Another atrocity story recounted how an English Captain Mason had killed and mutilated native captives. Harris suggested that this incident, relayed to Natives by French observers, had inspired the massacre of about forty English captives by the Natives. Another sensational story charged the king of France, Louis XIV, with whom England was at war, of incest with his daughter-in-law and goading his son into rebellion. The paper also included a shocking story of a recent suicide, ascribed to both melancholy and the temptations of the devil, and a description of a recent smallpox epidemic in Boston.

Harris had not received the required license to publish from the government of Massachusetts. Four days after it appeared, the Governor and Council suppressed *Publick Occurrences*, claiming that it "contained Reflections of a very High nature," referring primarily to articles on the Mohawks and the King of France. Cotton Mather believed that the suppression of *Publick Occurrences* was a political attack on him. No further issues were published, and it would not be until 1704 when another American newspaper appeared. Harris himself returned to England in 1694.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Ramsay, David

The Pennsylvania-born Charleston physician and legislator David Ramsay was one of the earliest historians of the American Revolution. Brilliant, radical, and eccentric, he was practically the only South Carolina political leader of his generation who favored the emancipation of the province's slaves. Today he is best known for his historical writings, which helped crystallize Americans' understanding of the accomplishments and significance of the American Revolution.

Born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1749, and educated at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and, in medicine, at the College of Philadelphia under Dr. Benjamin Rush, Ramsay moved to Charleston, where he established a medical practice in 1773. He served seven consecutive terms in the South Carolina legislature between 1776 and 1790. His political service, combined with a series of strategic marriages, lifted him to the upper tier of the low-country gentry, though he was too liberal to be universally popular.

Ramsay actively supported the Revolution with his money, his intellect, and his professional knowledge. His *Oration on the Advantages of American Independence*, delivered before an assembly in Charleston on July 4, 1778, was printed as a pamphlet and widely disseminated. The *Oration* laid the groundwork for his literary career. In 1779, he lent the State of South Carolina £2,500. He was also a physician and surgeon in the Charleston Battery of Artillery, serving during the sieges of Savannah (1779) and Charleston (1780). At the fall of Charleston in May 1780, he was arrested by the British and exiled to St. Augustine, Florida, for year. There he began gathering material for his first book, a *History of the Revolution of South Carolina* (1785). In the summer of 1781, he was released and sent to Philadelphia, as Charleston remained in British hands.

While in Philadelphia, Ramsay was elected to the Continental Congress. He served from 1782 to 1786 and was president pro tempore of Congress in 1786. In 1787, he married Martha Laurens, a daughter of the American diplomat Henry Laurens. As a delegate to the South Carolina convention to ratify the U.S. Constitution in 1788, Ramsay supported ratification. He served in the South Carolina Senate from 1791 to 1799 and was president of that body from 1791 to 1797. But strong suspicions that he supported the abolition of slavery espoused by his old teacher, Dr. Rush, a cause that was anathema

to most South Carolina voters, kept him from achieving federal office in the late 1780s and 1790s.

Ramsay's most important contribution to the young United States was a brisk and insightful body of political and historical writing. His renowned *History of the American Revolution* (1789) celebrated the creation of a republican society as a pivotal event in human progress. His most important later work was *History of South Carolina* (1809), a detailed account of both the state's natural history and its civil history, society, and government. Ramsay's life ended suddenly in Charleston at the hands of a deranged former patient, who shot him in the back in 1815.

Darcy R. Fryer

SEE ALSO Continental Congress; *History of the American Revolution*; Pamphlets (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Revere, Paul

Paul Revere was a highly regarded Boston silversmith who became a leader in the town's resistance to British rule. Baptized on December 22, 1734, he was one of 11 children born to Paul Revere and Deborah Hitchborn. His father, a French Huguenot originally named Apollos Rivoire, had emigrated from the Channel Island of Guernsey to Boston in 1715 at the age of 13. Following an apprenticeship to a Boston silversmith, the elder Revere anglicized his birth name. After attending Boston's North Writing School and becoming an apprentice to his father, young Revere took over the family business after his father's death in 1754.

Because of his skill and his father's clientele, Revere rapidly developed a thriving business as a silversmith and goldsmith. His exceptional status as a respected artisan is confirmed in John Singleton Copley's superb 1768 portrait of the craftsman, with his tools in front of him and holding a fine example of his work. By the early 1760s, Revere had also mastered copperplate engraving and had begun to supply illustrations for Boston printers. He even dabbled in dentistry, wiring false teeth. In 1757 he married Sarah Orne, with whom he had eight children. When she died, he married Rachel Walker, and she also had eight children.

In 1765, Revere joined the Sons of Liberty, a group that organized many of the demonstrations against British authorities. In 1768, he engraved a silver punch bowl to commemorate the refusal of Massachusetts's legislators to rescind a letter that they



The midnight ride of Paul Revere, reproduction of a painting by C. H. B. Morse, ca. 1910. (Library of Congress)

had dispatched to other colonies, urging them to resist the Townshend duties on imports recently imposed by Parliament. Among the many engraved drawings and cartoons Revere produced, and by far the most famous, was his depiction of the Boston Massacre (1770), which inaccurately shows British soldiers firing into an orderly crowd of innocent citizens. Because of its wide circulation, the engraving contributed significantly to the image of a British government that too easily resorted to the use of arbitrary power. In December 1773, he helped plan and may have participated in the Boston Tea Party. After the incident, he made the first of more than a dozen rides as a courier carrying news of Boston's resistance to the British, traveling as far south as Philadelphia.

The best known of these missions took place on the night and early morning of April 18–19, 1775. When Boston patriots learned that the British commander in chief in North America, General Thomas Gage, was planning to order several hundred soldiers to seize resistance leaders Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who had fled from Boston to nearby Lexington, and destroy the munitions of the provincial militia stored in Concord, they dispatched Revere and William Dawes to warn Adams, Hancock, and the

countryside. The two riders, joined by Samuel Prescott in Lexington, succeeded in their mission. Adams and Hancock escaped, and the warned militiamen drove the British regulars back to Boston.

Once the war began, Revere lobbied for a field commission. He was a veteran of the French and Indian War, having served as a junior officer of artillery in a failed 1756 campaign to take Crown Point on Lake Champlain from the French. In the first year of the Revolutionary War, however, he was busy making engraved copper plates to print currency for the province and helping design a much-needed gunpowder mill. He did receive a commission as a lieutenant colonel of artillery in 1776 but saw little action in the conflict. He commanded *Castle William* in Boston Harbor for a time, and in 1779, he led Massachusetts troops aboard Captain Dudley Saltonstall's disastrous naval expedition against a British force at Penobscot Bay. Accused of cowardice and insubordination, Revere resigned from the service, although a court-martial three years later cleared him of the charges.

At the war's conclusion, Revere returned to his silver shop and opened a hardware store. In 1788, he built an iron foundry, where he cast church bells and cannon, and 12 years later he built a copper rolling mill. He supplied the copper to resheath the hull of USS *Constitution*, boilers for Robert Fulton's steamboats, and the dome of the Massachusetts statehouse. Revere remained active in politics, rallying Boston artisans to support the ratification of the 1787 U.S. Constitution. Although he served as Suffolk County coroner and as president of Boston's board of health, he held no major political office. He died on May 10, 1818.

Larry Gragg

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Sons of Liberty

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Ross, Betsy. See Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

Rowlandson, Mary. See Captivity Narratives

Royal American Magazine

The *Royal American Magazine or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement* was published in Boston by Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831) beginning with the issue dated February 6, 1774. It was one of the earliest American magazines, issued monthly with about 40 pages. Thomas, a member of the radical “Sons of Liberty,” had an established reputation as a sympathizer with the cause of American patriots, having previously edited the anti-British newspaper *Massachusetts Spy*. Although the *Royal American Magazine* continued Thomas’s support of the American cause, it was aimed at a more cultivated, or “polite,” audience than the scurrilous *Massachusetts Spy*, and one that included women as well as men. Thomas included a variety of material to appeal to diverse readers. Although like other colonial American magazines and newspapers, it reprinted items from the British press, it also attempted to appeal to American identity with articles on American history and industries. Despite Thomas’s loathing for the pro-British governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, the *Royal American Magazine* published Hutchinson’s *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* as a supplement. The magazine also promoted American culture. The first issue suggested the formation of an American Society of Language to perfect the English language as spoken in America.

Thomas and the *Royal American Magazine* were intimately involved in the Boston patriotic movement. It published John Hancock’s oration commemorating the Boston Massacre of protesting Americans by British troops along with a portrait of Hancock, a portrait of Sons of Liberty leader Samuel Adams, and extracts from a sermon by the Reverend John Lathrop justifying rebellion against those rulers who threatened the constitution, among other material promoting the American cause. The coverage of recent news also conveyed a pro-American message. The magazine particularly strongly denounced the closing of the Port of Boston, claiming that the closing had been a disaster for the people of Boston and the surrounding region and proclaiming that the other colonies would support Boston. The *Royal American Magazine* also published copperplate engravings by patriot engraver Paul Revere, including political cartoons.

Nonpolitical material published in the *Royal American Magazine* included fiction, medical advice, and the “Directory of Love” the first continuing feature appearing in an American periodical offering advice to readers on personal issues such as love and marriage.

After June 1774, ownership passed from Thomas to patriot printer and writer Joseph Greenleaf, who continued the magazine’s support of the American cause albeit with inferior type, paper, and ink. (Greenleaf justified the poor quality of his ink by insisting that he had followed the non-importation agreement of American businesspeople barring the purchase of British goods, and American ink was simply inferior.) It ceased publication after March 1775.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Boston Massacre; *Massachusetts Spy*; Revere, Paul; Sons of Liberty

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Sermons

Religion played a major role in the American Revolution by offering a moral sanction for opposition to the British, an assurance to the average American that revolution was justified in the sight of God. At the head of this religious opposition were the preachers who served the American cause in many capacities during the Revolution as military chaplains, note takers for committees of correspondence, members of legislative bodies, soldiers, and propagandists.

Most of the heavy burden of speech making was carried out by these ministers who were expected to apply Christian principles to the present problems as they were the keepers and historians of the Puritan tradition, especially in New England. For this reason alone, sermons or addresses by ministers were excellent instruments of propaganda.

The first appearances of ministers in a major effort were in the celebrations (May and June 1766) for the repeal of the Stamp Act when local committees, which arranged the celebrations, asked the preachers to deliver an address. The theme of most of these sermons was the triumphant resistance to “slavery and her ten thousand chains,” a resistance condoned by Scripture. Many colonists understood political events in terms of familiar Bible stories.

One preacher, the Reverend Mr. Emerson, saw the defeat of the Stamp Act as proof that Americans were born to be free, a triumph and a lesson which parents should pass on to their children.

During the next few years, the clergy in the North were particularly concerned about the establishment of an American episcopate while the merchants were more disturbed about the new trade legislation. As a result, the sermons in the period 1767 to 1774 made a joint appeal for resistance to both civil and religious tyranny.

After the Boston Massacre, many sermons were preached from the text, “The voice of thy brother’s blood cryeth unto me from the ground.” However, it was after the Boston Port Act went into effect that the finest propaganda efforts of the ministers were exerted, and from 1763 until 1783, the ministers achieved some of their best influence as they were in great demand for public addresses, many with startling impact on their congregations.

According to the published sermons, in New England alone ministers disseminated revolutionary propaganda on significant anniversaries, on fast and election days in the spring and on thanksgiving days in the fall, on muster days, and on the days of humiliation

and prayer. Examples include Dr. Charles Chauncy's thanksgiving sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766; Mr. William Gordon's "Fourth of July Orations," printed in the *Continental Journal* on October 31, 1777; and Dr. Samuel Langdon's election sermon at Watertown, Massachusetts, 1775.

Outside of New England, which afforded the greatest opportunity for its use, ministers did not have as many opportunities to make public appeals nor did they have the actual presence of troops or threats of war around them, as happened in Massachusetts in 1774. Much of their effective pulpit propaganda came on carefully designated fast days. In the southern colonies, there was even less revolutionary sentiment from the pulpits but this downplays the active role that many ministers played in stimulating the movement, such as Dr. Percy of Charleston who preached a sermon at the first public reading of the Declaration of Independence in that town or Bishop Robert Smith of South Carolina whose sermon on the February 17, 1775, fast day was attended, as a body, by the colony's House of Commons.

Sermons were most effective with the lower classes, especially with the mechanic classes in the cities, as most ministers proved to be effective propagandists for the American cause but these same ministers also took great risks in pledging their loyalties in this way. The American Revolution seriously undercut the Church of England in America more than any other denomination because the King of England was the head of the church and Anglican priests, at their ordination, swore allegiance to the King. The Book of Common Prayer offered prayers for the monarch, beseeching God "to be his defender and keeper, giving him victory over all his enemies," who by 1776 were American soldiers, friends and neighbors. Loyalty to the church and to its head was very often considered treason to the American cause so Anglican ministers, unwilling to disregard, *The Book of Common Prayer*, instead revised it to conform to the political realities.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Boston Massacre; Declaration of Independence; Stamp Act

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Sons of Liberty

The phrase “Sons of Liberty” began as a tribute of praise for Americans who resisted the Stamp Act and quickly evolved into both the formal name of several small resistance groups in various localities in North America and a general label for the members of all groups involved in resistance activity in the early stages of opposition to Britain. The small, local, and somewhat secretive Sons of Liberty groups, which engaged in only sporadic communication with similar groups in other locations, dominated the earliest local protest activity against British authority from 1765 through 1770. After 1772, however, the larger, more formal, and always publicly identified committees of correspondence, which from their creation were engaged in correspondence with similar committees wherever they could find them, came to dominate America’s resistance to Great Britain, culminating in the calling of the First Continental Congress.

In 1765, Colonel Isaac Barré, a member of Parliament and supporter of William Petty (the Earl of Shelburne) and William Pitt the Elder (soon to be the Earl of Chatham), rose to oppose the Stamp Act and praised those Americans who were resisting the new tax as “Sons of Liberty.” Reports of his speech were immediately published, and when they reached America, colonial resistance leaders gladly accepted his label. Almost immediately, local leaders of the opposition to British policy were known in America, to both their supporters and opponents, as the Sons of Liberty.

The Sons of Liberty, and similar informal organizations bearing other names, first appeared in North America’s port cities, especially Boston, New York, and Charleston, but other bodies soon formed in Newport, Rhode Island; in Philadelphia; and in Maryland and Virginia. Boston’s opposition to Britain’s new imperial policies first coalesced in such clubs as the Loyal Nine, the North End Caucus, and the South End Caucus, which played an active role in sponsoring America’s first public demonstrations against the Stamp Act in August 1765. By December of that year, Boston, New York City, and Charleston all had formal Sons of Liberty groups, although the term also seems to have been used, from the outset, for almost any prominent critics of British policy.

Socially, the Sons of Liberty were an eclectic mix. Urban artisans—craftsmen and small-scale manufacturers, also called mechanics—formed its most numerous component, but a few zealous merchants and professionals joined them, and there were rural, agricultural members as well. There is a distinction, however, between the Sons of Liberty and two kinds of resistance committees that were formally engaged in boycotts against British trade. Both in 1765–1766 and in 1768–1770, the largest import merchants totally dominated new local committees that ran non-importation movements, while artisans often chose their own committees, both to influence and pressure the merchants’ committees and to advance non-consumption boycotts among the entire population. Neither the merchants’ nor the artisans’ committees, in any city, were Sons of Liberty

groups. They were too public, too narrowly based in one occupational class, and too focused toward one immediate objective to merit that label.

The Sons of Liberty were more broadly based than boycott committees, and they embraced a grander vision of English liberty than freedom from any particular tax or law. But their groups or clubs were usually quite small and secretive. Yet the identity of several of the Sons of Liberty was not really secret. Well-informed contemporaries in their communities usually knew who at least some, and often most, of the Sons of Liberty were, just as many Bostonians knew the identities of the Loyal Nine or the North End Caucus, and the residents of Charleston knew the members of the radicalized Charles Town Fire Company. And enough personal letters, diaries, and memoirs of the period have survived to convey that knowledge to posterity. From them we know how important a role the Sons of Liberty organizations played in developing the earliest leadership of the American Revolution.

Prominent among the early Sons of Liberty were Samuel Adams, James Otis Jr., and Paul Revere of Boston; Isaac Sears and Alexander McDougall of New York City; Dr. Thomas Young in Albany; Charles Thomson of Philadelphia; and Christopher Gadsden of Charleston. These and other members, sometimes called “the old revolutionaries,” were a crucial link between the first American resistance, to the Stamp Act, and the final rupture that followed the Boston Tea Party. They were also a crucial link between merchants, artisans, pamphleteers, and politicians, most of whom eventually came together in the 1770s to complete America’s successful Revolutionary movement.

Richard Alan Ryerson

SEE ALSO Adams, Samuel; Boston Tea Party; Committees of Correspondence; Continental Congress; Otis, James; Revere, Paul; Stamp Act

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Stamp Act

The Stamp Act, passed on March 22, 1765 and repealed on March 18, 1766, was the first and only statute passed by the British Parliament that directly taxed the legal, commercial, and cultural activities of many British North Americans, irrespective of whether they imported or consumed goods from other parts of the empire or from abroad. The American rejection of this tax was so broad and, in a few instances, so violent that the act was unenforceable throughout the thirteen colonies that later rebelled from Great Britain. The statute was also the first action by the British government that prompted delegates from several North American colonies to meet, without the authorization of British authorities, in a congress to draft a common declaration of their rights, which they believed were being violated by the Stamp Act. For all these reasons, the Stamp Act of 1765 turned the complex imperial relationship between Britain and America from somewhat uneasy to deeply troubled. Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act in early 1766 defused the crisis but left deep resentments on both sides of the Atlantic that, within a decade, developed into rebellion and American independence.



Masthead from the October 31, 1765, issue of *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, depicting a skull and crossbones representation of the official stamp required by the Stamp Act of 1765. A note below from the publisher says, "I am sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as the STAMP Act, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the First of November ensuing, (the fatal To morrow) the Publisher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to STOP awhile." (Library of Congress)

The Stamp Act, formally introduced in the House of Commons in February 1765, quickly passed both houses of Parliament and received the assent of King George III on March 22, 1765. The statute, designed to go into operation in November 1765, provided that specially stamped paper, or in some cases separately affixed stamps, had to be used for the preparation and sale of virtually all printed materials, including newspapers, almanacs, pamphlets, broadsides, legal documents, insurance policies, licenses, and playing cards. Previous British taxes on the colonies had been levied upon just a few imported goods, mostly molasses, refined sugar, and wine. The import merchants paid these duties and silently passed the costs on to the consumers. Under the Stamp Act, however, each colonist who used a stamped document could readily see exactly what he was paying. And rather than using salaried tax gatherers, as it did in collecting import duties, the British government designated a small number of agents, located in the major port cities, as the exclusive purveyors of the stamped paper or affixed stamps sold to the printers and local government officials who supplied printed materials to the public. This provision for distribution was supposed to create colonial trust and positive feelings. The text of the Stamp Act also declared that its purpose was to raise revenue to support British Army units and royal government in America.

The American response to the Stamp Act was immediately hostile nearly everywhere, and in Boston it was explosive. That town staged two major riots in August and forced the resignation of the local stamp agent. Boston's action probably made it easier for radical leaders and angry crowds in New York and Philadelphia to force the resignation of their agents without violence. Nine colonies named delegates to meet in a congress in New York City in October 1765 to frame a common protest against the Stamp Act. In several of these colonies, the lower houses of assembly selected the delegates to the Stamp Act Congress. Other colonies, whose assemblies had been prorogued by their governors to prevent them from choosing delegates, selected their spokesmen in other ways. On October 19, 1765, the congress produced a Declaration of Rights and Grievances in which its principal author, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, claimed that the colonists held the same rights and liberties as British subjects living in the British Isles. The declaration maintained that the colonists, although loyal subjects of George III, were free from the legislated taxes of Parliament because they were not represented in that body and that only their own elected assemblies could tax them.

By the fall of 1765, the forced resignation of the stamp agents and the organization of non-importation boycotts forced both Parliament and the king to turn to a new policy. In February 1766, the proposed repeal of the Stamp Act sharply divided both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. In the Commons, Grenville opposed repeal and called for the British Army to enforce the act in America. William Pitt the Elder, however, not only favored the repeal of the Stamp Act but also commended American colonists on their opposition to it. And the Whigs brought in Benjamin Franklin to testify that the Americans would not accept direct taxation by Parliament.

On March 18, 1766 the king signed both the repeal of the Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act. Americans in nearly every colony greeted the repeal with an outpouring of celebration and largely ignored the ominous Declaratory Act. The first great crisis in

British North America had passed. New parliamentary taxation the following year, however, would prove that deep problems in the imperial relationship remained unresolved.

Christopher N. Fritsch

SEE ALSO Dickinson, John: *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania*; Franklin, Benjamin

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Stars and Stripes

The first American flag was established by order of the Continental Congress on June 14, 1777. The text of the resolution read “Resolved: that the flag of the United States be made of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new Constellation.” The design seems to have been the work of New Jersey Congressman Frances Hopkinson, drawing on earlier flags used by American troops. The “union” in the upper right-hand corner drew on the British practice of placing the “union,” the vertical and diagonal crosses of the British flag symbolizing the union of England and Scotland, in the corner of a banner used as an “ensign.” An earlier American flag, before the break with Britain was made official with the Declaration of Independence, followed this pattern with the British union in the corner of a red and white striped banner. The red and white stripe pattern itself dated back to flags used by the “Sons of Liberty” movement in the 1860s. The red white and blue color scheme was also identical to the colors of the Union Jack.

Numerous variations on this basic design were used by Americans throughout the war, as well as unrelated designs such as the rattlesnake “Don’t Tread on Me” flags or the Pine Tree flags used by New Englanders. The Congressional resolution left considerable discretion to the individual flagmakers as to whether the odd stripe be red or white and the arrangement of the stars. There are also some revolutionary flags, such as the so-called *Serapis* flag used by naval commander John Paul Jones, which incorporate blue stripes. The design placing the thirteen stars in a circle is commonly seen in illustrations of the revolutionary flag. It is known as the “Betty Ross flag” but the legend that the

first flag was made by Philadelphia seamstress and flagmaker Betsy Ross has little historical support. The stars could also be arranged in alternating 3–2 rows or 4–5–4 rows. The circular design also appeared with 12 stars forming a circle and a single star in the center.

The Stars and Stripes was originally used for military purposes. It was not a prominent symbol of the American nation or a focus of patriotic loyalty during the revolution. Even its military uses were limited, as there is no evidence it was ever used by George Washington's army. It was first officially changed on January 13, 1794, when two new stars and two new stripes were added for the states of Vermont and Kentucky, recently added to the union. The number of stripes was fixed at 13 on April 4, 1818 in an act that also established that a new star was to be added for each state on the Independence Day following that state's admission to the Union.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Continental Congress; Declaration of Independence; Don't Tread on Me

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Taxation without Representation

"No taxation without representation" and "taxation without representation is tyranny" were slogans used by rebellious colonists during the period of the American Revolution. The slogans had the advantage of appealing to the importance of consent to taxation in the English political tradition going back to the 17th century and the Ship Money cases of the 1630s. The result of the English revolutions of the 17th century was that taxation was legitimated only by the consent of the people's representatives in Parliament. Because disputes between the colonies and Britain over taxation had a long history, and many of the issues between American "Patriots" and the British government in the years preceding the American revolution involved Parliamentary taxes, the slogan was particularly powerful.

The origins of the phrases are obscure, although they seem to have originated or first become popular in the "Patriot" hotbed of Massachusetts. The phrase "no taxation without representation" is frequently attributed to the radical Boston Congregational minister

Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1766), in a sermon preached in 1750. However, Mayhew’s famous sermon of that year, *A Discourse concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers* (1750), although it was concerned with justifying the English Revolution of the 17th century, with an implied application to contemporary issues, does not use the phrase nor principally deal with taxation.

The first use of “taxation without representation is tyranny” is attributed to the Massachusetts politician and lawyer James Otis (1725–1783). This attribution is based on John Adams’s later assertion that Otis had urged this position in a speech Adams had heard him give at a trial in 1761 opposing Writs of Assistance, general warrants allowing government officials to search premises on suspicion of smuggling. However, there is no contemporary evidence of Otis’s having used the phrase, nor did the issue at hand have anything to do with taxes. However, Otis leaned heavily on the connection between taxation and representation in his pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764). He recommended American representation in the British Parliament. Regardless of its origin, however, the phrase seems to have been in common use in the years before the Revolution. English writer Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) inverted this slogan in his pamphlet *Taxation no Tyranny* (1775), which set forth the idea that the colonists were virtually represented in the same way as were the majority of British people, who lacked Parliamentary votes. If Americans wished to be represented directly, they were free to move to Britain.

The slogan of “taxation without representation” has reappeared on numerous occasions in American history, being used by women’s suffrage campaigners, by protesters against the District of Columbia’s lack of Congressional representation, and by anti-tax protesters generally.

William E. Burns

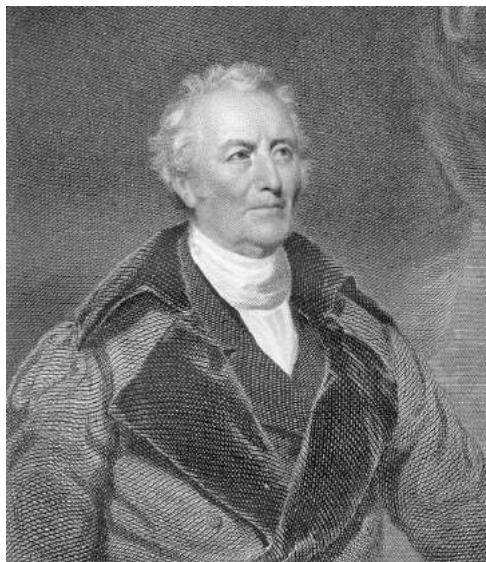
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Trumbull, John

John Trumbull became America’s foremost history painter by capturing celebrated events of the Revolution on large canvases that combined dozens and even scores of painstakingly researched portraits with dramatic poses to produce a new iconic art for



American painter John Trumbull.
(Chaiba Media)

the new republic. He had the foresight to record the persons, places, and events of the young nation while they were still fresh in the minds of the Revolutionary generation. His talent, ambition, and thoughtful wisdom left an immeasurable legacy that lives to this day in the Rotunda of the nation's Capitol and in paintings that survive in galleries and museums as well as in millions of copies used as illustrations in America's textbooks, trade books, and scholarly monographs.

Trumbull was born on June 6, 1756 in Lebanon, Connecticut, the youngest son of Jonathan Trumbull, who served as Connecticut's Patriot governor throughout the Revolution. A graduate of Harvard, young Trumbull became America's first college-educated painter. At Harvard, Trumbull

quickly made the acquaintance of Boston's John Singleton Copley, America's leading portrait painter before the Revolution. Following graduation, Trumbull returned to Lebanon to teach school but continued to study painting, in opposition to his father's wishes.

In 1775, after fighting began at Lexington and Concord, Trumbull marched to eastern Massachusetts as adjutant to the 1st Connecticut Regiment. Stationed at Roxbury, he was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17. Of all the historic events that he later painted, this was the only one he witnessed directly. Trumbull soon earned the notice of General George Washington when he drew a plan of the enemy's installation on Boston Neck, and on July 27, 1775, Trumbull was appointed an aide-de-camp to the commander. In June 1776, he was appointed adjutant to General Horatio Gates, who was in command of Continental Army forces in northern New York. After serving at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, Trumbull resigned on February 22, 1777 but later served briefly as a volunteer aide-de-camp to General John Sullivan in Rhode Island.

In the autumn of 1779, Trumbull traveled to England to study with the celebrated Benjamin West. He arrived in London in July 1780 but his stay in London soon became involuntary. He was arrested on November 18, 1780 as an American spy and was in jeopardy of being hanged. The British seized him in reprisal for the hanging in October of British Major John André, the co-conspirator of Benedict Arnold, and imprisoned him until June 1781, when West and Copley appealed to the king for his release. Trumbull was set free on the condition that he leave Britain.

In 1784, Trumbull returned to London to complete his studies with West and attend classes at the Royal Academy. It was West, Britain's leading history painter, who inspired Trumbull to become the authoritative painter of the dramatic events of the

American Revolution. He completed two of his earliest historical paintings in West's studio, including the celebrated painting *The Battle of Bunker Hill*, finished in 1786.

That same year, Trumbull first met Thomas Jefferson, America's minister to France, in London and later again in Paris, where he presented the completed paintings of *The Battle of Bunker Hill* and *The Death of General Montgomery at Quebec*. Jefferson soon became one of Trumbull's closest artistic associates, and both Jefferson and John Adams, then America's minister to Great Britain, advised Trumbull in choosing 10 additional events of the Revolution for artistic treatment, of which Trumbull completed 8. He made a preliminary sketch for his *The Declaration of Independence* during his 1786 visit to Jefferson's home in Paris. Partly under the guidance of Jefferson himself, Trumbull completed that painting along with *The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis*, *The Battle of Trenton*, and *The Battle of Princeton* after returning to London and continuing his work in West's studio. In *The Declaration of Independence*, however, Trumbull left many of the faces blank, to be filled in as opportunity and participants in the event presented themselves.

From 1789 to 1794, Trumbull lived in New York City, supporting himself by painting portraits, which are considered some of his best works. But after failing to obtain government support for his labors, he returned to London as John Jay's secretary in May 1794 while Jay negotiated the treaty that commonly bears his name. In 1796, Trumbull was appointed one of the American commissioners to carry out the articles of the Jay Treaty and remained for nearly eight years in London to continue this work.

In October 1800, Trumbull married a woman named Sarah Hope Harvey. He returned with his bride to New York in 1804 and sought to rebuild his reputation as a portrait painter. This deterioration of skill is evident in the portraits from the years 1804 to 1810. This period begins a distinct separation between the work of his early years and that of later life. His lack of success in the United States led him yet again to England, where the outbreak of the War of 1812 stranded him until the summer of 1815.

The partial destruction of the Capitol in Washington, DC, by the British Army in 1814 provided an opportunity for Trumbull to paint again on a grand scale. He applied for a commission to decorate the restored Rotunda with enlargements from his original historical paintings of the American Revolution. In 1816, Congress commissioned him to complete four paintings commemorating pivotal events of the American Revolution for permanent display in the Capitol. The choice of the subjects and the size of the paintings were left to the decision of the president, James Madison, who chose *The Surrender of General Burgoyne*, *The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis*, *The Declaration of Independence*, and *The Resignation of Washington*. The work was to be completed for the sum of \$32,000, and the finished paintings were to measure 18 by 12 feet, with life-size figures. The four enlargements were installed in the Rotunda of the Capitol under Trumbull's supervision in 1824.

Trumbull also tried unsuccessfully to convince the president and Congress to commission him to fill the remaining four panels of the Capitol Rotunda. It was his hope to make the Rotunda a tribute to the American Revolution with a complete series of paintings on

the subject. But impaired health and failure to gain further government commissions now brought him to hard times. He sought other means to use his early works to support himself in his declining years but was forced to sell personal possessions to cover basic living expenses. Yet he still hoped to sell his earlier works to the government or possibly to a private institution. He first considered his alma mater, Harvard, but instead chose Yale as his benefactor and exhibitor, and many of his works remain on display at Yale to this day.

Trumbull's paintings of *The Battle of Bunker Hill* and *The Declaration of Independence*, in particular, are the most frequently reproduced images of those historic events. And of all his works, *The Declaration of Independence* is not only one of his finest works but the best known. Although commonly believed to portray the event of July 4, the painting actually depicts the moment on June 28, 1776 when the committee appointed to draft the document presented it to the full Congress. Jefferson, at the center, is surrounded by the drafting committee: John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Franklin. Trumbull consulted with both Jefferson and Adams during the creation of the original to ensure the authenticity and integrity of the subject. As a result of Trumbull's travels to collect portrait likenesses, no other paintings render accurately so many historic figures from the American Revolution. Trumbull's canvases and miniatures include portraits of nearly 250 historical figures.

In 1837, Trumbull began his autobiography. Published in 1841, it is an important narrative of the era of the Revolution. Trumbull died two years later in 1843, at his home in New York City. He was buried, as he had directed, at the foot of his portrait of George Washington in the Yale University Art Gallery, the building that contained many of his important works. The inscription over his tomb ends with these lines: "To his Country he gave his Sword and his Pencil."

Clara Hudson

SEE ALSO Art (Colonial Wars and American Revolution); Bunker Hill, Battle of; Declaration of Independence; Franklin, Benjamin; Lexington and Concord, Battle of

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United States Magazine

The *United States Magazine: A Repository of History, Politics and Literature* was a patriotic, pro-revolutionary monthly magazine edited by Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748–1816) and printed by Francis Bailey in Philadelphia in 1779. Brackenridge had emigrated from Scotland to York County, Pennsylvania with his family as a small child, and after a brief career as a Maryland schoolmaster he had been educated at the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), where he identified as an American patriot. He associated with such patriots as James Madison and Philip Freneau and along with them founded the American Whig Society. Brackenridge and Freneau collaborated on a Commencement day poem titled “The Rising Glory of America.” When the Revolutionary war began, Brackenridge served as a chaplain in George Washington’s army, and published unsuccessful plays lauding the American cause including one on the subject of the Battle of Bunker Hill. He also published *Six Political Discourses Founded on the Scripture* (1778) a series of burning denunciations of all who opposed the revolutionary cause.

The first issue of the *United States Magazine* appeared in January 1779. Most of the *United States Magazine* throughout its run was written by Brackenridge himself, although Freneau contributed a pair of verse satires on George III along with other writings and William Livingston also contributed. The *United States Magazine* fiercely denounced Britain and Lord Cornwallis along with American Tories and neutralists, while hoping for a vast republic covering North America and populated by the oppressed farmers of the world, fleeing their tyrannical rulers. A particularly popular target for the *United States Magazine*’s abuse was the New York Tory newspaper publisher James Rivington (c. 1724–1802). Brackenridge associated the cause of the American Revolution with the virtuous republicans of classical antiquity, and among the stated goals of the *United States Magazine* was the education of those formally uneducated Americans who wished to serve their country as magistrates and representatives. He published news from the campaigns of the Revolution with praise of the bravery of American soldiers and attacked American leaders such as Silas Deane who he believed to be corrupt profiteers.

The *United States Magazine* also included some satire on American themes. Brackenridge mocked the mania for dueling among officers of the American army and of the worthlessness of the Continental currency. (He blamed the weak currency along with the hardships of war for his failure to establish the magazine on a firm footing.) In the last issue, which appeared in December, Brackenridge reiterated his support for the American cause, but suggested that many Americans were too stupid and politically lazy to be virtuous republican citizens. The failure of the *United States Magazine* to be a financial success may have contributed to his embitterment.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Bunker Hill, Battle of; Freneau, Philip Morin

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Vincent, Philip

The pamphlet *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English, and the Salvages: With the present state of things there*, published in London in 1637, is commonly attributed to an obscure English writer named Philip Vincent, on the strength of some introductory Latin verses signed “P. Vincentius.” The pamphlet went through three editions in 1637 and 1638.

The battle described is the “Mystic Massacre” of May 26, 1637 during the War between the Pequot tribe of Native Americans and the colonists of New England along with the colonists’s Native allies from the Narragansett and Mohican communities. A New England army surrounded a Pequot community and massacred over 700 of its inhabitants, appalling their allies. Vincent may have been present at the massacre, or he may have heard about it from one of the participants, either in England or in America. The pamphlet frames the massacre as being justified by the need of the colonists to protect themselves from the Pequot, and also encourages readers to consider emigration to New England.

A True Relation begins with a brief history of the English settlement of New England. In discussing Native Americans, Vincent emphasized the common humanity they shared with the English—both were alike “sons of Adam.” Differences between the English and the Natives were caused by the environment. The most important was that the Natives were politically fragmented. Vincent paints a rosy picture of the interactions between the English and natives immediately surrounding their colonies early in their history. However, the fallen nature of both English and Natives was marked by quickness to anger, and this quality was strong in the New England Natives, particularly the Pequots.

Vincent’s narrative of the war and siege is designed to place the English in a good light. The Pequots are portrayed as vicious and treacherous, the English as quenching any desire to give mercy in the name of strict justice. The narrative also includes set-piece descriptions emphasizing the bloody nature of the conflict and individual English acts of heroism. It concludes with a brief recounting of the heroism of Francis Wainwright who, when his powder and shot was exhausted, drove off a horde of Native attackers by using his weapon as a club, killing two of his enemies. Vincent uses this story to show how even men of the lowest classes (Wainwright was the servant of an innkeeper) could display memorable valor.

Along with justifying the English actions in the war, Vincent strongly emphasizes the bounty and opportunity offered to English people in New England, depicted as a land of

amazing fertility and bountiful fish and game. New England had learned from the mistakes of other colonies such as Virginia and Newfoundland, he claimed, because rather than being solely based on the individual desire for quick profit, it was marked by concern for the public welfare. Thus, the early adventurers looking for deerskin and beaver were replaced by farmers. The colony was further advanced by its war with the Pequots. In addition to eliminating the Pequot threat once and for all, English defeat of the Pequots had made the English so respected that they had nothing to fear from Natives in the future other than perhaps a few scattered murders. Vincent even looked to a time when the English will have made the Natives their servants or slaves.

However, despite the material thriving of the colony, the real reason for establishing New England in Vincent's eyes was religion. English success in war and economic development was a providential gift in return for English piety. Vincent argues that God's blessing of the English could be seen in the remarkable fertility of English women in New England. In particular, the English by their care to protect marriage and punish adulterers had earned the blessing of God. The pamphlet concludes with a strong affirmation of the importance of an aggressive policy towards Native Americans, drawing from the experience of Virginia as well as New England. Friendship with the Natives was a chimera, only war offered safety.

Vincent may also be the author of *The lamentations of Germany, wherein, as in a glasse, we may behold her miserable condition, composed by Dr Vincent, Theo* (London, 1638), a work of anti-Catholic propaganda dealing with the Thirty Years War.

William E. Burns

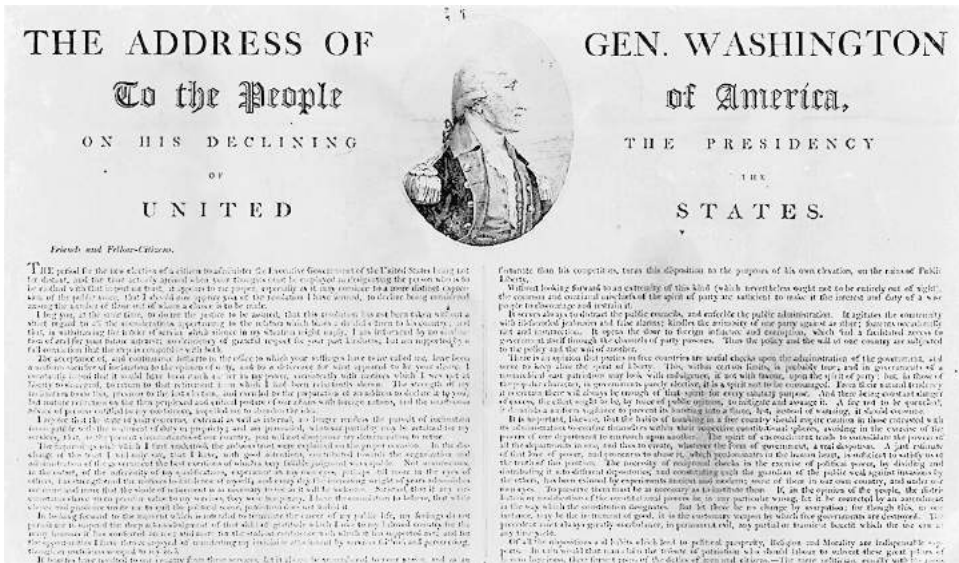
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Washington, George: Farewell Address

President George Washington originally prepared his remarks in 1792 with the help of James Madison, as he prepared to retire after what he thought would only one term as president. Four years later, as he prepared to leave the presidency, Washington revisited the letter and with the help of Alexander Hamilton and James Madison re-worked the



A broadside of George Washington's Farewell Address, which he delivered on September 17, 1796. The Farewell Address outlined ideals for U.S. foreign policy and is regarded as one of the most important documents in the history of U.S. foreign policy. (Library of Congress)

original draft as a political testament to the nation. It was designed to guide future generations, to set forth Washington's defense of his administration's records; and to embody a classic statement of Federalist doctrine that reflected the emerging issues of the American political landscape in 1796.

In his address, Washington highlighted the importance of unity, the danger of petty factionalism, and especially the safety of the U.S. Constitution with its system of checks and balances, separation of powers, and Constitutional amendments; religion, morality, and education, one of the most referenced parts of the address; the importance of credit, and the sparing use of government borrowing; and perhaps the best known part of his address, foreign relations, and the dangers of "permanent alliances with foreign countries," connections that he warned would inevitably be subservice of America's national interest.

Washington did not publicly deliver his Farewell Address, as it was later designated. It was originally published in the Philadelphia *American Daily Advertiser* on September 19, 1796 under the title "The Address of General Washington To The People of The United States on his declining of the Presidency of the United States," but the letter was soon reprinted in papers around the country and later in a pamphlet form.

To this day, Washington's Farewell Address is considered one of the most important documents in American history and certain statements, such as those on the importance of religion and morality in American politics, and his warnings on the dangers of foreign alliances, were often referenced during political debates and diplomatic negotiations well into the 19th century.

In January 1862, during the American Civil War, a thousand citizens of Philadelphia petitioned Congress to commemorate the forthcoming 130th anniversary of Washington's birth by reading his Farewell Address "in one or the other of the Houses of Congress." It was first read in the House of Representatives on February 22, 1862, by Secretary of the Senate John Forney, but it did not become a tradition in legislative sessions until 1888 (in the Senate) and 1899 (in the House). Since 1893, the Senate has observed Washington's birthday by selecting one of its members, alternating between political parties each year, to read the address aloud on the Senate floor.

Martin J. Manning

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Yankee Doodle

The popular song, "Yankee Doodle," of uncertain origin, became the most important rallying tune of the American Revolution.

The origins of "Yankee Doodle" are controversial, but a reference to the "Yankee Doodle tune" appeared in Boston as early as 1769. One version of the lyrics is attributed to Dr. Shuckberg, a surgeon in the British Army who allegedly wrote it in 1775 to mock the American troops he saw outside Boston. The British first used "Yankee" as a term of ridicule. The "Doodle" may have been a derivation of "do little," meaning a fool or simpleton. The British troops initially sang "Yankee Doodle" to mock the unmilitary appearance of the colonial army.

Others, however, have attributed the words of "Yankee Doodle" to Edward Bangs, a Harvard undergraduate (class of 1777). The Yankee minutemen soon adopted the song and used it in April 1775 as they drove the British back from Concord to Boston. And sometime later that year or in early 1776, a 14-stanza poem, "The Yankey's Return from Camp," which mentioned George Washington and used the "Yankee Doodle" refrain, appeared as a broadside.

In the years following the war, “Yankee Doodle” was appreciated as a popular tune to be sung or played for folk dancing and other popular gatherings. Although the number of verses written to this tune is now incalculable, there are at least 190. The song’s refrain is especially well known:

Yankee Doodle keep it up
 Yankee Doodle dandy;
 Mind the music and the step,
 And with the girls be handy.

The first known British printing of “Yankee Doodle” was in Scotland around 1775–1776 by James Aird, a Glasgow music dealer, in volume 1 of his *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs, for the Fife, Violin, or German Flute*. This publication also included “Virginian Airs” and a “Negro Jig.” One version of “Yankee Doodle” was mentioned in the first American opera libretto, Andrew Barton’s *The Disappointment* (1767). An early printing of the tune in America was as one of the themes of Benjamin Carr’s *Federal Overture* (1794).

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2

Wars of the Early Republic and the War of 1812

INTRODUCTION

The war of 1812 was the culmination of years of deteriorating relations between the United States and Great Britain. The issues that immediately precipitated the conflict was the British embargo on American trade with the European continent, then ruled by Britain's foe France under Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, and British impressment of American seamen. Numerous seamen on American ships were deserters from the notoriously harsh conditions on Royal Naval vessels, and the British regarded themselves as within their rights to stop American vessels to retrieve them. However, some Americans also hoped that a war with Great Britain would lead to territorial annexations in Canada, the eagerness of whose population to become Americans was consistently overrated. There was also fear that Britain was stirring up Native American tribes in the Great Lakes region against the Americans, although much Native hostility was directed at land-hungry Americans regardless of British provocation. Military conflict with the Shawnee warrior Tecumseh, leader of a confederation of Native tribes, preceded the outbreak of the war against the British. The war was viewed in many quarters as a war of choice, and opposed by many, particularly in New England. War opponents framed it as "pro-French." The war's champions tended to frame the question as one of avenging the national honor insulted by Britain.

The war itself was fought on the high seas as each side attacked the other's commerce, on the American eastern and southern coasts, subject to British blockade, and on the frontier between the United States and British Canada including naval action on the Great Lakes as well as conflict between land forces. Overall British naval superiority meant little on the Great Lakes, where each side had to build its own ships. American attempts to invade Canada early in the war failed due to the hostility of both English

and French Canadians, better-trained British troops with superior leadership under Major General Isaac Brock (1769–1812), and the difficulties of the terrain.

Native Americans played an important role in the land conflict, mostly on the side of the British. One turning point in the war was the American victory at the battle of the Thames in 1813, when the Americans under future President William Henry Harrison killed Tecumseh. The death of Tecumseh led to the dissolution of the Native American coalition and greatly diminished the importance of Native Americans in the war. As had been the case in the American Revolution, numerous American slaves also flocked to the British banner in return for promises of freedom.

The primary British strategic advantage was the ability of the Royal Navy to blockade much of the American coast. Britain was able to cut off American shipping (with the exception of New England shipping, as New England was basically neutral in the war) and raid American ports.

The primary focus of British military effort for the first two years of the war was the conflict with Napoleon. America was a secondary theater, and the British adopted a fundamentally defensive land strategy for the first two years. Following the defeat of Napoleon at the battle of Leipzig on April 16–19, 1813 and his subsequent exile to Elba, Britain was able to shift more forces, including veteran troops, into the North American conflict. European veterans in the British Army contributed to the low point of the war for the Americans, the disastrous battle of Bladensburg on August 24, 1814 and the entry of the British into Washington, DC, that night. The British under Admiral George Cockburn and Major General Robert Ross burned the public buildings of the city, including the White House and the U.S. Capitol. The British claimed that this was retaliation for the American burning of the Parliament building of York (now Toronto). The destruction of the Library of Congress led Thomas Jefferson to replace the books from his own collection. Ross and Cockburn attempted to follow up their success at Washington with an attack on Baltimore, a key mid-Atlantic port. The successful American defense of the city is now chiefly remembered for the composition of Francis Scott Key's *The Star Spangled Banner*.

Britain's diminished need for sailors and trade restrictions after Napoleon's defeat meant that the British and Americans had less need to fight the war. Negotiations between the two sides culminated in the Treaty of Ghent signed on December 12, 1814 and ratified by the U.S. Senate on February 16, 1815. The treaty ended the war on the basis of the status quo and each side withdrawing from whatever territory of the other it occupied. (Curiously, America did make one territorial gain from the war but not from the British—the Spanish fortress of Mobile was captured early in the war and not returned at its end.) The issues that led to the war—impressment and embargo—were not resolved by its end, although they had lost their salience with the end of the Napoleonic wars. What was arguably the most important battle of the war, the Battle of New Orleans, took place after the conclusion of the peace treaty. American commander Andrew Jackson overwhelmingly defeated a British force and became the greatest American hero of the war and a future American President. Despite the war's inconclusive end, it was widely felt in America to have been a successful “Second War

of Independence.” In Canada, the defeat of American invaders is often put forth as a key moment of national self-definition.

William E. Burns

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PROPAGANDA

News coverage of the events leading up to the War of 1812 probably began as early as the Tripolitan War when the North African Barbary (Berber) states sanctioned sea raiders called the “Barbary pirates,” Muslim seafarers, to attack the ships of other nations in the Mediterranean Sea. Since 1786, the United States had made tribute payments to the Barbary states to protect its shipping from pirate raids, but in 1801, U.S. president Thomas Jefferson refused to pay and the pasha declared war on May 14, 1801 and began seizing American ships. One of these was the U.S. frigate USS *Philadelphia*, which was captured by pirates on the North African coast in October 1803. Its crew and cargo were saved by Lt. Stephen Decatur in February 1804. The event reaped a political windfall for President Thomas Jefferson and generated poems, books, paintings, and statues commemorating the incident.

Another watershed was in 1807 when the British ship HMS *Leopard*, searching for deserters, approached the American frigate, *Chesapeake*, off the coast of Hampton Roads, Virginia, and demanded the right to board it. The *Chesapeake* commander refused, the British fired shots, the Americans submitted, and the British took 4 sailors that they considered British deserters while 3 Americans died and 18 were wounded by the British. The *Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger* provided the nation with the first news of the attack on the USS *Chesapeake* on November 4, 1807. The attack happened off the coast from Norfolk, Virginia. However, on June 29, 1807, it was this same newspaper that ran notice on the death of one the sailors aboard the *Chesapeake* who was originally injured.

The outraged Americans claimed that the sovereignty of the United States was violated and that they were ready to declare war on Great Britain. Jefferson averted “a second American Revolution” but events continued along a similar course as numerous seamen on American ships, who were indeed deserters from the notoriously harsh conditions on Royal Naval vessels, were pulled off American ships by the British who considered it their right to carry out such actions.

There was also fear that the British were stirring up Native American tribes in the Great Lakes region against the Americans, with the fear of negotiating alliances between European powers and Native Americans. Newspaper coverage in many quarters viewed the war as one of choice that avenged the national honor insulted by Britain but it was also opposed by many, particularly in New England, as “pro-French.”

By 1812, newspapers served as the major information source of the United States, especially for political opinion, and an essential part in the operation of government. Noah Webster, editor of the *American Minerva*, understood the significance of newspapers in American life and noted that in no other country, including Great Britain, were newspapers so generally circulated among the body of people. The number of newspapers in the United States grew at astronomical rates in the last 15 years of the 18th century and in the first 10 of the 19th due to the increasingly important events that were taking place. There were 92 newspapers in 1790 and 329 by 1809.

As newspapers evolved, they added editors who wrote and produced news. Another new feature was the masthead, a box that gave basic information about the publication, often including the editor, the location of the newspaper’s office, the cost of a subscription, and basic information about advertisements.

After the declaration of war, newspapers remained the prime source of stirring up public opinion. One of the first instances of civil unrest happened in Baltimore, Maryland, beginning on June 22, 1812, and extending more than five weeks until July 29, a violent backlash by members of the Democratic-Republican Party who viewed opposition to the War of 1812 as virtually synonymous to treason and was carried out against antiwar Federalists through newspapers such as the *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette*, edited by Alexander Contee Hanson, was published in Baltimore. Prior to the War of 1812, pro-administration newspapers such as the *National Intelligencer* had repeatedly warned Hanson that his persistent criticism of the James Madison administration could incite the local populace to violence. Hanson, however, argued that it was his constitutional right to publish his newspaper as he saw fit and he continued to attack the policy of President Madison.

When the Hartford Convention closed on December 15, 1814, the delegates contracted with the *Connecticut Courant* to print the proceedings (January 6, 1815) of the event which, in turn, was used by other newspapers for their own editions.

At the end of the war, which officially ended with the Treaty of Ghent on December 14, 1814, newspapers received the news long after it was signed. For example, it reached New York on February 11, 1815. Several newspapers then had to print several items on this event like the *Salem Gazette*, which included with the story (February 14, 1815), a note appended to the treaty sent to Boston editor Benjamin Russell, information on how the

treaty arrived in America, commentary and a letter from a correspondent. On the same page, there were several items about the Battle of New Orleans, including Andrew Jackson's official report to the Secretary of War John Armstrong.

Perhaps the most lasting propaganda of the War of 1812 was the music, two songs in particular. The tune of *Hail Columbia* was composed by a Philadelphia violinist of German descent, Philip Phile or Pfeil (ca. 1734–1793), for the festivities surrounding the first inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States of America in 1789. It was then known as “The President’s March.” It was initially called “New Federal Song” but quickly acquired the title “Hail Columbia” from the opening words of the first line, “Hail Columbia! Happy Land!”

However, the most famous song from the War of 1812 was “The Star Spangled Banner,” which was written by Francis Scott Key from the deck of the *Minden* on the night of September 13–14 as he observed the British bombardment of Fort McHenry, the city’s principal defensive fortification. Key’s words were soon set to music, and before long, the tune was being played all around the nation.

A final image from the War of 1812 was that of “Uncle Sam,” the symbol of the United States that has been recruited for many causes.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Baltimore Riots; *Federal Republican*; Hanson, Alexander Contee; Hartford Convention; Key, Francis Scott; New Orleans, Battle of; Tripolitan War; Uncle Sam

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Art (Early Republic and War of 1812)

The war that broke out in North America between the new republic and the British in 1812 occurred at the same time that Britain was embroiled in the Napoleonic Wars, particularly in the Peninsular. Although this subject was a popular theme with British artists, the War of 1812 was overshadowed by them with one or two exceptions. Not so with American artists and a number of popular engravings appeared that depicted the various battles and sieges, while smaller images were published in the various histories of the war. Later the conflict came in for further artistic attention at the hands of several historical artists such as Alonzo Chappel and immortalized in popular lithographs published by Nathaniel Currier and D. W. Kellogg.

The events in and around Baltimore in 1814 were portrayed in two paintings by the Irish-born artist, Thomas Ruckle (1776–1853), who served as a soldier in the American forces. In his *Defense of Baltimore: Assembling of the Troops, September 12, 1814*, the artist created a panorama showing the American forces arrayed at the battle of North Point with a view of Baltimore harbor in the distance. The companion piece was a close-up of the same battle viewed from the American position in trees with cavalry, infantry and a few field guns lined up opposite the red-coated British forces in the distance.



In a military career marked by only three major campaigns, Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson broke the resistance of the Southern Indian tribes to U.S. expansion, added Florida to the United States, and secured Louisiana for the republic. (National Archives)

Of all the battles, the events at New Orleans in 1815 came in for the most artistic attention. Several prints were published within a few months of the battle after sketches by various artists including Samuel Seymour, William Edward West, Francisco Scacki, and Jean Hyacinthe Laclotte. The death of British general Pakenham at the battle was the focal point of some of the scenes, while the picture by Laclotte who was an architect and assistant engineer in the Louisiana army provides a bird's eye view of the action. Later artists also painted the battle including a massive painting measuring 15 by 18 feet showing masses of troops in the final moment of victory created in 1838 by the celebrated French military artist, Eugène Louis Lami (1800–1890), and another by an artist named Merritt showing the British troops attacking the American defenses. Portraits of the victorious General Jackson were also popular including a scene of him writing his dispatch after the battle by Thomas Sully (1783–1872).

Beyond the battlefield, the naval events of the war were represented in several engravings and lithographs among which was *Perry's Victory on Lake Erie* painted by the English-born American painter Thomas Birch (1779–1851) and published in Philadelphia in 1815. It showed Commodore Perry leaving the USS *Lawrence* for the *Niagara* during the battle. The artists also painted several other naval action scenes including the duel between the USS *Wasp* and the British frigate, HMS *Frolic* in 1815.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Currier, Nathaniel

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Baltimore Riots

Civil unrest in Baltimore, Maryland, beginning on June 22, 1812, and extending more than five weeks until July 29. The Baltimore Riots were precipitated by the U.S. declaration of war against Great Britain on June 18, 1812. The unrest was a violent backlash by members of the Democratic-Republican Party—who viewed opposition to the War of 1812 as virtually synonymous to treason—and was carried out against antiwar Federalists. The Baltimore Riots were exacerbated by the presence of a large population of working-class Irish, German, and French immigrants who fostered a deep hatred of the British and a strong distrust of elite authority figures.

The *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette*, a vocal antiwar Federalist newspaper, edited by Alexander Contee Hanson, was published in Baltimore. Prior to the War of 1812, pro-administration newspapers such as the *National Intelligencer* had repeatedly warned Hanson that his persistent criticism of the James Madison administration could incite the local populace to violence. Hanson, however, argued that it was his constitutional right to publish his newspaper as he saw fit and he continued to attack the policy of President Madison.

On the evening of June 22, 1812, just days after the United States declared war, an angry mob of about 35 men and boys, angered by Hanson's virulent criticism of the Madison administration, attacked the newspaper's printing office. The mob proceeded

to dismantle the office brick by brick. Demolishing buildings had been a common practice of American mobs during the 18th century. During the American Revolution, anti-British mobs frequently destroyed the printing offices of newspapers that did not support the revolutionary movement. The individuals involved ignored Baltimore's pro-Madison mayor Edward Johnson's call for an end to the violence. Significantly, nobody was injured in the melee. During the next week, crowds of demonstrators sporadically continued to destroy the property of those considered pro-British. Specifically targeted were freed blacks, Protestant Irish, Spaniards, and Portuguese accused of being pro-British.

Hanson, who was not in Baltimore on June 22, 1812, resumed publication of his newspaper in Georgetown, a suburb of Washington, DC, with a large pro-Federalist population. Hanson returned to Baltimore on July 26, 1812. The next day he selected a three-story house on Charles Street in Baltimore as the distribution center for his paper and listed the address on the masthead of the *Federal Republican*.

Hanson and 22 armed Federalist supporters, believing that a show of force would deter the mob, barricaded themselves in the house on Charles Street. The anti-Federalists accepted the challenge and, on the evening of July 28, 1812, rioters began to pelt the house with stones. To dissuade the mob from further violence, the Federalists in the house fired a warning shot. This led the men to storm the house. The attack was repulsed and one member of the mob was killed. As the crisis escalated, local authorities finally intervened. On the morning of July 29, 1812, Hanson and the 22 other Federalists surrendered to the local militia and were taken to the jailhouse. That afternoon, the mob destroyed the house on Charles Street, and looters made off with its bricks, lumber, and furnishings.

On the evening of July 29, 1812, another mob, gathering on rumors that the Federalists might be released on bail, approached the jailhouse. Ignoring the mayor's plea to disband, the mob stormed the jail. In the confusion, 13 of the Federalist prisoners escaped. The others, including Hanson and Revolutionary War heroes Henry Lee III and James McCubbin Lingan, were stripped and beaten for three hours. Lingan, however, was the only fatality. Hanson escaped to Georgetown, where he resumed publication of the *Federal Republican*, which was then subsequently mailed to Federalists in Baltimore. When a mob threatened to attack the post office in protest, the authorities called out the militia to guard the building. The mob retreated. By now, numerous Federalist families, fearful of reprisals, had abandoned Baltimore.

Meanwhile, most pro-administration newspapers across the country expressed outrage over the mob tactics and Lingan's death. In November 1812, Hanson was elected to Congress as a Federalist representing the third district of Maryland. Publication of the *Federal Republican* ceased on December 24, 1813.

Michael R. Hall

SEE ALSO *Federal Republican*; Hanson, Alexander Contee; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Barbary States

The Barbary States described the population of a collection of countries that lay along the Mediterranean coast of North Africa, including areas of present-day Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. The term *Barbary* refers to the *Berbers*, who made up a majority of the region's population.

The Barbary States are defined by the Mediterranean Sea and the Sahara Desert. These two areas, particularly the Mediterranean, allowed the region to influence trade, both positively and negatively. The region made up much of the ancient Carthaginian Empire, and later Roman Empire. It gained prominence during the late 18th and early 19th centuries through its piracy. Many of the states that comprised the region were loosely aligned to the Ottoman Empire.

The region's piracy forced the United States to pay large sums of money from 1795 to 1801 to gain protection from attack of its vessels. However, when Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) became president in 1801, the United States went to war against Tripoli from 1801 to 1805 to put a stop to both the piracy and the payment to the Barbary Pirates. Later, America fought against Algeria in 1815, sending a squadron commanded by Stephen Decatur (1779–1820), which defeated the Algerians. The U.S. Marine Corps was instrumental in achieving victory during the first conflict, storming the stronghold of Derna in Tripoli.

This battle is memorialized in the "Marines' Hymn" line "to the shores of Tripoli." The conflict demonstrated an early example of the United States being able to protect its interests internationally and project its power, despite having relatively limited power at the time.

Unlike its American counterpart, the major European nations regularly paid tribute to the pirates of the Mediterranean in order to conduct uninterrupted trade, a stance that stirred up a different reaction in the United States. One example was the *Centinel of Freedom* (Newark, NJ), June 9, 1801, which editorialized that no money should be paid to the Barbary pirates. This stance was taken by other American newspapers, as well.

Later in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Barbary States were ruled by France, Italy, and Spain, with Algeria becoming a part of France. The region was important

during World War II (1939–1945), as several ports were used by Allied forces. The region then became embroiled in the colonial wars of the 1950s and 1960s, with Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, and finally Algeria all gaining independence. The Algerian war for independence from France was one of the bloodier struggles of this period.

The region of the former Barbary States is still an important one. The present nations of Morocco, Libya, Algeria, and Tunisia are a part of the larger Muslim world that is the center of world political and military events, especially due to the War on Terror. Since the 1980s, the area has been the source of terrorists who perpetrated several violent acts, some of which resulted in retaliation by the United States against Libya.

Daniel C. Sauerwein

SEE ALSO Tripolitan War

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Boone, Daniel

The famed pioneer Daniel Boone served in the North Carolina militia during the French and Indian War (also known as the Seven Years' War), led settlers to the Kentucky frontier just as the American Revolution began, and got caught up in the struggle between settlers and Native Americans during the war.

Born on October 22, 1734 in Berks County, Pennsylvania, Boone was the son of Squire Boone, an English Quaker, and Sarah Morgan. The elder Boone, who was a weaver and tenant farmer, moved the family from the Pennsylvania frontier to the North Carolina backcountry in 1750, settling along the Yadkin River. The younger Boone likely had no formal education, but his brother Samuel's wife Sarah taught him to read and write. By his early teens, Boone had already developed some skill as a hunter and trapper and soon became a highly regarded backwoodsman and an excellent shot. In the process, he quickly came to love both the solitude of the wilderness and the challenge of the hunt.

In 1755, as a member of the North Carolina militia, Boone became a teamster in British General Edward Braddock's army that marched against the French at Fort Duquesne in western Pennsylvania. Boone fled with the other teamsters when the British forces were ambushed and decisively defeated. A year later, back in North Carolina, Boone married Rebecca Bryan, with whom he had 10 children. Besides his hunting and trapping, he sought to make a living as a blacksmith and teamster, but increasing debts persuaded

him to leave North Carolina. When his wife refused to move to Florida in 1765, Boone looked west. He had heard many glowing reports about the Kentucky Country, primarily from John Finley, a scout for Braddock's army. After an initial sojourn, Boone set out in 1769 on a two-year exploring and trapping expedition beyond the Cumberland Gap. Taken with the fertility of the bluegrass country along the Kentucky River, Boone led an abortive attempt to settle the area in 1773. The group of about 50 settlers returned to North Carolina after a force of Delaware, Cherokee, and Shawnee Indians captured and killed two in their party, including Boone's son James.

In 1775, Boone finally succeeded in relocating to Kentucky. Acting as an agent for North Carolina speculator Richard Henderson, Boone marked out the Wilderness Road, helped negotiate the purchase of Kentucky land from the Cherokees, and settled his family in Boonesborough. Once the Revolutionary War began, the British encouraged the trans-Appalachian tribes, who were already concerned with white encroachment, to resist the new settlements. In July 1776, a war party of Shawnees and Cherokees captured Boone's daughter Jemima and two other girls. Boone led a small party of men who rescued the girls three days later, an exploit that James Fenimore Cooper drew upon for his highly successful 1826 novel, *Last of the Mohicans*. In 1778, Boone and 16 other men, who were making salt for the Boonesborough settlement, were captured by Shawnees. The Shawnees adopted into the tribe several of the captives including Boone, whom they renamed Sheltowee, or Big Turtle. Boone ingratiated himself with the Shawnees by persuading them that in the spring of 1779 he would help negotiate the surrender of the remaining Boonesborough settlers. Four months into his captivity, however, Boone learned of a Shawnee plan to attack Boonesborough and escaped. He traveled 160 miles in only four days to reach his settlement. Even though Boonesborough had only 60 able-bodied men, the settlers were prepared to resist an 11-day siege. Some of the settlers were unhappy with Boone's relationship with the Shawnee tribe and charged him with treason in this episode, but a court-martial conducted by the Kentucky militia vindicated him.

Boone remained in the Kentucky Country until 1799. To support his large family, Boone tried surveying, running a tavern and a store, and speculating in land. He filed



Daniel Boone was a pioneer who established a route through the Appalachians and helped establish Kentucky's first white settlement. His battles with Native Americans are legendary. (Library of Congress)

dozens of claims for thousands of acres, but the claims were so poorly drawn that he eventually lost virtually all the land in litigation with other claimants. Whenever circumstances and time permitted, Boone also returned to trapping and hunting. While he had a well-deserved reputation as a pioneer loner, Boone also often stepped forward as a community leader. He served as a deputy surveyor, coroner, and county sheriff. He also won election to several terms in the Virginia state assembly and served as a militia officer. In the latter capacity, Boone participated in several Indian conflicts, including the battle at Blue Licks in 1782 that claimed his son Israel. But as his beloved Kentucky increased in population and he grew ever more frustrated with his lost land claims, Boone decided to accept an offer from the Spanish government to move to Missouri in 1799.

Besides granting him several thousand acres, the Spanish named Boone a syndic, or chief magistrate. His responsibilities included recommending applicants for land grants and supervising the surveys of the land. He settled in the Femme Osage district about 60 miles from St. Louis. Unfortunately for Boone, after the United States purchased the Louisiana territory in 1803, all Spanish land claims were subject to review, and his were not confirmed. Boone appealed to Congress, which in 1814 awarded him 850 acres. In his last years, even though well past 70, Boone continued to hunt, trap, and explore. He even journeyed as far as Fort Osage (near present-day Kansas City), 250 miles west of St. Louis, and may have proceeded up the Missouri and Platte Rivers toward Yellowstone country. When at home, Boone grudgingly granted interviews to numerous inquisitive visitors eager to meet the famed pioneer. His wife Rebecca died in 1813, and Boone, shortly after sitting for the painter Chester Harding, died in the home of his son Nathan in St. Charles County, Missouri, in September 1820.

At his death, Boone was widely considered the nation's premier symbol of frontier independence. This notoriety was largely due to John Filson's best-selling 1784 book, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*, which had an appendix titled "The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon." When Cooper began his successful Leatherstocking series of novels with *The Pioneers* in 1823, most readers understood that the backwoods hero, Nathaniel Bumppo, who kept moving farther west to avoid civilization, was based on the recently deceased Boone. His fame was further enhanced by the many versions of his story in Hollywood, in both films and in TV. Boone remains for many America's most prominent frontier hero.

Larry Gragg

SEE ALSO Cooper, James Fenimore

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Calhoun-Randolph Debate on the Eve of the War of 1812

As America debated entrance into war with Great Britain, there were fierce debates in Congress. One of the most influential was that in December 1811 between freshman South Carolina Congressman John C. Calhoun (1782–1850) and Virginia Congressman John Randolph of Roanoke (1773–1833). While most southern politicians, like Calhoun, favored war with Britain, the contrarian Randolph opposed it. The occasion of his speech delivered on December 10, 1811 was a pro-war report from the Committee on Foreign Relations calling for the raising of a regular army. Randolph distrusted those policies, like war and the raising of troops outside the state militia system, which strengthened the hand of the Federal government against the states.

Randolph denounced those who wanted war as economically selfish, greedy for territory in Canada, and unthinking of the disasters that war might bring. Randolph particularly distrusted the idea that the people of Canada could be appealed to throw off the British yoke through propaganda based on republican principles. Always suspicious of equality, Randolph viewed the egalitarian principles of the French Revolution as a menace to the South's slavery-based society. Randolph painted a picture of innocent white Virginians living in constant fear of slave revolt. Randolph also abominated the French ruler Napoleon Bonaparte who he compared to Tamerlane and Genghis Khan as a scourge of mankind. He contrasted the eagerness of the Democrats to go to war with Britain with their extreme reluctance to support the Federalists in their conflict with France in 1798. He denounced the Anglophobia of American political culture, and pointed out that if the French replaced the British as the rulers of the world's oceans, they would be no more considerate of America's commercial interests.

Calhoun, a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, replied to Randolph on December 12 in his first speech delivered to Congress. He frankly avowed that the raising of troops was a preparation for war. Disavowing the partiality for France with which Randolph charged the "War Hawks," Calhoun listed the offenses of Britain against America, including the impressment of American seamen and the attempts to limit American commerce. The only choice was the complete abandonment of American commerce or war with Britain. Randolph, he insinuated, was implicitly advocating the former by not putting forth any solution to the problem of British restrictions on American shipping. Calhoun mocked Randolph's fear of propaganda based on French Revolutionary ideas affecting American slaves, claiming that over half of the slave population had never heard of the French Revolution and that South Carolinians, unlike Randolph's Virginians, had no fear of slave insurrection.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO War Hawks

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Correspondents. See Hanson, Alexander Contee; Kendall, Amos

Decatur, Stephen. See USS Philadelphia Incident

Federal Republican

The *Federal Republican*, a Federalist newspaper, opposed war against Great Britain in 1812 and became a target of popular persecution.

The *Federal Republican* was established by Alexander Contee Hanson in 1808 at Baltimore, Maryland, and merged with Jacob Wagner's *North American*. It developed into one of the South's foremost papers. Republicans labeled it pro-British and seditious because of its Federalist views and harsh style. The *Federal Republican* enraged Baltimore Republicans, a city with commercial links to France and a large French population. Its residents detested Britain and inflicted violence against Federalists.

In 1808 Hanson's criticism of the Embargo Act offended Republicans. Since he was a militia officer, he was court-martialed by upper-rank Republicans for language rebellious and insulting to the chief executive. After his acquittal, rumors circulated of bounties for anyone willing to tar and feather the editor. Unaffected by intimidation, he remained a critic of administration policies.

As the United States edged toward war in 1812, the *Federal Republican* became endangered. The paper defiantly opposed a conflict it characterized as imprudent and unjust. Once war was declared, its editors dissented, claiming hostilities were unnecessary, inadvisable, and foreign incited. They asserted a constitutional right to protest notwithstanding any threat. If the government failed to defend press freedom, they resolved to shield themselves.

But schemes were afoot to destroy the *Federal Republican*'s Gay Street office. A mob assembled at the address, tore down the building, and smashed its interior. Frightened local officials failed to protect Hanson and Wagner and a former employee of the paper fled Baltimore.

Hanson tried to revive the *Federal Republican*. He arranged its printing in Georgetown (Washington, DC) and its transportation to Baltimore for circulation. Wagner, now living in Georgetown to escape the Republican populace, sublet an office to Hanson on

Baltimore's Charles Street. Hanson traveled about Maryland seeking pledges of support and returned to Baltimore to occupy the new address. Backers promised to stay and guard the paper against assault. On July 27, the paper appeared again in Baltimore and complained how the community's disorders undermined First Amendment rights. The same day a mob attacked its office and destroyed its contents. Hanson and some supporters were injured.

Hanson republished the *Federal Republican* in August. The initial edition was printed in Georgetown and mailed to Baltimore. A crowd gathered at the post office but was chased away by soldiers. The Washington Benevolent Society of Maryland campaigned for subscribers and by late 1812 raised \$2,000. The paper remained in existence until 1813.

Rodney J. Ross

SEE ALSO Hanson, Alexander Contee; Newspapers (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

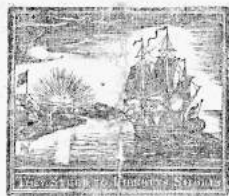
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Genet Incident

The Genet incident refers to the controversy between the U.S. government and the ambassador of Revolutionary France, Edmond Charles Genet (1763–1834). Genet arrived at a time when the American leadership was trying to maintain neutrality between France and a coalition of its enemies, led by Great Britain. Many factors made for American sympathy for France, including lingering memories of the Franco-American alliance of the Revolutionary War, continued conflict with Britain based on the reluctance of Britain to fully evacuate the west and British bullying of American shippers, and sympathy for the goals of the French Revolution among some American. However, the American leadership including President George Washington believed that a policy of neutrality would be in the best interests of the new United States, which disposed of little military force in comparison with the European great powers and had important trade links to Britain. The Federalist Party, which included many New Englanders with commercial connections to Britain, favored neutrality, while the Republicans were more sympathetic to France.

Genet, a member of the French Girondin faction, landed in Charleston, South Carolina on April 8, 1793. Rather than following standard diplomatic procedure, which would have



Philadelphia, August, 1793.

ALL able bodied seamen who are willing to engage in the cause of Liberty, and in the service of the French Republic, will please to apply to the French Consul, at No. 132, North Second-street.

Particular attention will be paid to the generous and intrepid natives of Ireland, who, it is presumed, will act like those warlike troops from that oppressed country, who took refuge in France about a century ago, and performed prodigies of valor under the old government of that country.

These, and volunteers from any other country, will be received into present pay, and comfortable accommodations.

N. B. The Republic has, at this present time, in her service, officers and soldiers from every civilized country in Europe, and natives of America, who, in imitation of the heroes from France in the American revolution, are a glory to themselves, and an honour to the country which gave them birth.

Broadside solicitation for men willing to fight for France, 1793. From the papers of Edmond Genet. (Library of Congress)

When *Petite Democratie* sailed, in direct defiance of an order from President Washington, Genet had clearly violated the diplomatic rules, and the American government determined to obtain his recall. The question was whether the government should make the sequence of events public. This was supported by Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, who hoped that propaganda use of Genet's defiance of Washington would advance an anti-French policy. Thomas Jefferson, hoping to salvage relations with France, did not oppose Genet's recall but suggested that the affair be conducted as discreetly as possible. Washington agreed, but Hamilton made the general outlines of the affair clear in a series of newspaper articles. The publicity of the affair led to great public controversy, and public meetings were held to support the policy of neutrality and vigorously condemn the idea of foreign diplomats appealing directly to the people. The public meetings were coordinated by the Federalists, led by Hamilton, despite the misgivings of some Federalists who thought the campaign smacked of a demagogic appeal to the people. The campaign culminated in an August 17 meeting in Richmond, capital of the Republican stronghold of Virginia. Virginia Republican leaders, including Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, responded with a series of meetings of their own, reaffirming America's friendship with France, condemning the Federalists as men of "monarchical principles," but agreeing with them in condemning diplomatic appeals to the people. The extent of popular mobilization during the Genet affair has

meant immediately traveling to Philadelphia, then the American capital, to present his credentials to President Washington. Genet spent several weeks in Charleston and the surrounding area, gathering support from local Jeffersonian Republicans. Genet's diplomatic mission far exceeded that of a traditional ambassador. He hoped to outfit privateers to attack British shipping, and perhaps to win aid from Americans to attack the formerly French and now Spanish territory of Louisiana and win it for France. Allowing Genet to use America as a base to arm privateers against Britain would have been a breach of American neutrality, and the government attempted to suppress his efforts when he began to equip a privateer, the *Petite Democratie*. Genet responded in a most undiplomatic manner by threatening to appeal over the heads of the government to the American people, hoping that antipathy to Britain and affinity for revolutionary France would force the government's hand.

led historians to consider it an important moment in the creation of the first American party system.

Although Genet himself was recalled to France, he refused to go, fearing death at the hands of the Jacobins who had replaced his Girondin allies at the head of French government. He requested political asylum, which was granted. Remaining in America, he settled as a landowner in upstate New York.

William E. Burns

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“Hail Columbia”

The tune of “Hail Columbia” was composed by a Philadelphia violinist of German descent, Philip Phile or Pfeil (ca. 1734–1793), for the festivities surrounding the first inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States of America in 1789. It was then known as “The President’s March.” The lyrics were written by Federalist politician Joseph Hopkinson (1770–1842) and the song was first performed in the Chestnut Street Theater in Philadelphia on April 25, 1798 by singer Gilbert Fox. It proved an immediate hit, as a cheering audience called for several encores, and was published in the next week. It was initially called “New Federal Song” but quickly acquired the title “Hail Columbia” from the opening words of the first line, “Hail Columbia! Happy Land!”.

The lyrics hark back to the Revolutionary War and speak of the sacrifices made for freedom. Hopkinson, whose father, Francis Hopkinson, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence as well as a keen amateur musician and songwriter, speaks of the Revolutionary fighters as a “heaven-born band” and “band of brothers” who “fought and bled in Freedom’s cause.” It is suggested that unnamed foreign foes once more menace American liberty, a veiled reference to the difficulties with France at the time. George Washington is explicitly named, and his “God-like Power” invoked as the nation’s safeguard in war and peace. (Hopkinson sent a copy of the lyrics to Washington.) The last verse more ambiguously refers to “the chief who now commands,” the unnamed President John Adams. Despite what seems to have been Hopkinson’s hope to write a song that would be above faction, Anti-Federalists generally saw “Hail Columbia” as promoting servile flattery of the President rather than independent virtue. “Heaven” is also invoked, although not God, and the song’s religious references are extremely general.

The song retained its popularity on patriotic occasions through the 19th century and was played on state occasions as a national song. It was a common Union song during

the American Civil War. Union soldier and jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes (1841–1935) wrote an alternate set of lyrics, published after the Civil War, emphasizing peace and the reconciliation of former foes as well as the freedom of slaves from bondage. “Hail Columbia” was one of several songs that functioned as unofficial national anthems before 1931, when Congress adopted “The Star Spangled Banner” as the United States’ official national anthem. Since then it has lost much of its popularity. It is now used as entrance music for the Vice-President of the United States, performing the same ceremonial function as “Hail to the Chief” does for the President.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Music (Colonial Wars and American Revolution)

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Hanson, Alexander Contee

Alexander Contee Hanson was a Maryland newspaper publisher, lawyer, and Federalist politician from an established political family. His grandfather was planter and revolutionary patriot John Hanson (1721–1783), the first President elected under the Articles of Confederation. Hanson’s father was also named Alexander Contee Hanson (1749–1806) and was a jurist and political essayist who served as Chancellor of Maryland. Both prominent Maryland Federalists, the two Alexander Contee Hansons are often confused.

The younger Hanson, who was born in Annapolis, Maryland, on February 27, 1786, established and operated the *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette*, one of the country’s most extreme Federalist newspapers, in Baltimore. (Jacob Wagner, another strong Federalist, was the editor.) He also published a long pamphlet based on material published in the *Federal Republican*, *Reflections upon the Late Correspondence between Mr. Secretary Smith and Francis James Jackson* (Baltimore, 1810) attacking the Administration. Jackson was the British Minister to Washington and Robert Smith the Secretary of State, and the pamphlet was based on materials supplied by Jackson and the British government, which may even have paid for its publication. The *Federal Republican* supported the British cause against the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, who it viewed as a supporter of the abhorred “democratick” principles of the French Revolution. It attacked the administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison for deliberately planning war with Britain in alliance with Napoleon. It was equally vigilant

against American democrats who supported the Administration and a strong anti-British policy, frequently referred to in the pages of the *Federal Republican* as “the rabble.” Hanson attacked the foreign immigrants that he perceived as flocking to the American democratic standard, and democratic politicians from the lower class, ridiculed as uneducated and speaking in bizarre accents. He could be viciously personal in his attacks on those politicians like Jefferson and Madison—“waffling Jemmy”—whose principles he despised. The paper, a money-loser, was supported by Hanson and other wealthy Maryland Federalists.

An active participant in Federalist electioneering and political organization, Hanson also attacked those Federalists who he founded wanting in zeal or lukewarm in their principles. His newspaper was unabashedly partisan, listing Federalist candidates under such headings as “anti-French ticket.” Paradoxically, Hanson’s electioneering was one aspect of the emerging democratic political culture he despised.

Baltimore was dominated by Anglophobes and supporters of the Republicans, and Hanson’s extreme Federalism was unpopular among many of its citizens. (Hanson was aware of this, and often appealed to the Federalist countryside against the Republican city.) Hanson’s attacks on the war policy of the Administration continued after the war began, as he called for good patriots to rebel against the tyranny of Napoleon as exercised indirectly through James Madison. This seemed to some to move past zealous partisanship into outright treason. The *Federal Republican*’s unpopularity led to a mob attack on its offices on June 22, 1812, four days after the United States’ declaration of war with Great Britain. The attack, which included the destruction of the printing press, forced Hanson to temporarily suspend publication and move his printing operations. Ironically, the *Federal Republican*’s new home was in the District of Columbia itself, specifically the Georgetown neighborhood. From its new home, the newspaper attacked Baltimore’s city government for siding with the rioters. Hanson continued to live in a fortified Baltimore house that served as the *Federal Republican*’s distribution center. The paper resumed publication on July 27 with an attack on Baltimore’s Republican-dominated city government for not punishing the rioters. Hanson’s Baltimore house was the target of another mob attack that night. Hanson and his well-armed employees fired on the rioters, killing one man. Baltimore authorities intervened, and Hanson and his workers were lodged for safety in the City Jail. The mob then stormed the jail, attacking the Federalists and beating Hanson into unconsciousness. The undaunted Hanson resumed publication of his newspaper in August, and it was published from Georgetown between 1813 and 1816 when it merged with the *Baltimore Telegraph* to form the *Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph*. Hanson never fully recovered from the injuries he had sustained which contributed to his early death on April 23, 1819, at his estate near Elkridge, Maryland.

The mob leaders were acquitted. Hanson became a Federalist hero and martyr despite the misgivings of many more moderate Maryland Federalists over his extremism. His popularity was strong enough for him to be elected to the House of Representatives,

where he served from 1813 to 1816. Hanson also served in the U.S. Senate from 1816 until his death. He kept control of the newspaper, which printed his speeches and struggled with moderate Federalists over control of the Maryland Federalist party.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO *Federal Republican*

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Hartford Convention

A gathering of New England antiwar Federalists, which met in Hartford, Connecticut, during December 15, 1814–January 5, 1815, the purpose of which was to address the perceived abuses and unconstitutional acts of the James Madison administration and problems that had emerged as a result of the War of 1812. Allegedly, the Hartford Convention also debated whether the New England states should secede from the Union. Its detractors claimed this would be a treasonous act that, among other things, would seek to negotiate a separate treaty with Great Britain.

Federalists dominating New England politics had long harbored a bitter resentment of the Democratic-Republican dominated federal government. The government’s attempts to avoid war with Great Britain through trade restrictions, beginning with the Embargo Act of 1807, had been highly detrimental to the New England economy, and many New England merchants were dependent on commerce with the British Empire. By 1811 or so, the emergence of the War Hawks, who favored war with the British, and the growing influence of the southern and western states led many New England Federalists to fear that they would be increasingly marginalized in the political process. With the outbreak of the War of 1812, many believed that the federal government had purposely neglected their defense.

As discontent grew among New England Federalists and merchants, talk of secession from the United States became commonplace, particularly among radical groups like the Essex Junto based in Massachusetts. More conservative Federalists, such as Harrison Grey Otis, sought less radical means to achieve their political ends. On October 10, 1814, the Massachusetts legislature proposed a conference to discuss proposed amendments to the U.S. Constitution that would protect New England’s interests.

The resulting convention met in Hartford, Connecticut, from December 15, 1814, to January 5, 1815. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island each sent 22 delegates to Hartford. New Hampshire and Vermont did not send official representatives but

allowed four county delegates to attend. Few radicals were present, and a more moderate tone dominated the proceedings. George Cabot of Massachusetts served as president of the convention.

One of the first decisions made by the convention was to hold all meetings in secret. Attending delegates were sworn to secrecy, and no notes or transcripts of the proceedings were permitted. As a result, little is recorded about the daily functioning and debates of the delegates. Opponents of the Hartford Convention pointed to the clandestine nature of the meeting as proof of its treasonous activities.

The convention adopted a report that was to be presented to the federal government. Restating Federalist grievances and emphasizing that New England had no desire to secede during a time of war, the report proposed seven amendments to the Constitution. They included an end to the 3 to 5 compromise for establishing representation in the House of Representatives, the requirement of a 2–3 vote in both houses of Congress for the admittance of new states and the declaration of war, limits on federal authority that would restrict trade, a prohibition on naturalized citizens holding federal offices, and a requirement that a U.S. president must be from a different state from his immediate predecessor.

While the Convention met, peace between the United States and Great Britain was reached at Ghent, Belgium, on December 24, 1815. It was not until February 3, 1815, however, that the Hartford Convention's report was presented to the administration. Many newspapers, energized by the news of Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans on January 8, 1815, depicted the Federalists as traitors and secessionists. As a result, the Hartford Convention would be quickly forgotten and the Federalist Party soon disappeared from the national political scene.

Robert W. Malick

SEE ALSO War Hawks

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Kendall, Amos

Journalist and postmaster-general, Amos Kendall was born in Dunstable, Massachusetts, on August 16, 1789, and graduated from Dartmouth (1811). He was Andrew Jackson's chief advisor who later earned title of "first presidential public relations man," Kendall

was a writer and editor who is now considered the first presidential press secretary. His effective publicity techniques are widely credited with Jackson's success. He wrote speeches, state papers, and press releases; conducted public opinion polls to gauge Jackson's popularity; and created the image of Andrew Jackson as a man of the people and the "Second Washington," making a strong appeal for popular democracy.

In 1814, Kendall emigrated to Kentucky where he spent at least one year in the family of Henry Clay, as a tutor; his second at Georgetown, as lawyer, postmaster, and editor of two struggling newspapers. In October 1816, he moved to Frankfort, the capital of the state, to take charge of the *Argus of Western America*, an established paper of a good deal of influence. Here he became a supporter of then presidential candidate Andrew Jackson and initiated several winning promotional efforts for the candidate, such as the one in 1828 when "Old Hickory's" allies in Congress used their power of the frank to mail out quantities of printed propaganda to attack the "effete and corrupt" John Quincy Adams. Jackson won the election and his strong leadership, aided by Kendall, helped build the modern Democratic party and the two-party system. As postmaster-general in Jackson's administration, Kendall condoned the illegal exclusion of abolitionist propaganda from the mails by southern postmasters but his action was heavily criticized by antislavery supporters.

For the next 12 years, Kendall was closely identified with the Jackson presidency and then with his successor, Martin Van Buren, in a variety of official jobs, such as fourth auditor of the treasury then postmaster-general. In his final position, he served as editor of the *Extra Globe*. For eight years, Kendall belonged to the group of Jackson's closest associates and influential advisers, popularly known as the "Kitchen Cabinet." Kendall was responsible for preparation of a large part of the Jackson message, including at least five of the annual messages. Kendall also wrote many of the replies to the addresses presented to Jackson and had a hand in much that appeared in the newspapers in Jackson's behalf.

In the spring of 1840, Kendall returned to journalism but most of his ventures were unsuccessful. In 1843, he reluctantly became an agent for the collection of claims against the government. His burdens were further increased by prolonged litigation growing out of controversies with mail contractors, which had begun while he was postmaster-general. He later represented Western Cherokees (1852) for certain wrongs done them. Kendall wrote *Life of General Andrew Jackson* (1843) and his autobiography, which was published posthumously (1872). He died November 12, 1869.

Martin J. Manning

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Key, Francis Scott

U.S. attorney, Federalist opponent of the War of 1812, and composer of the lyrics to the American national anthem, “The Star Spangled Banner.” Francis Scott Key was born on August 1, 1779, at his family’s plantation, Terra Rubra, in Frederick (now Carroll) County, Maryland. He graduated from St. John’s College in Annapolis in 1796, studied law, and in 1801 opened a law office with his friend, and future U.S. Supreme Court chief justice, Roger B. Taney in Fredericktown, Maryland. Moving to Georgetown, District of Columbia, in 1802, he then practiced law with his uncle, Philip Barton Key.

A supporter of the Federalist Party, Key decried America’s drift toward war with Britain during the first three years of the James Madison administration. Once the War of 1812 began, he and his brother-in-law, Joseph H. Nicholson, joined other Federalists and Old Republicans in opposition to the conflict. Key became a fast friend and confidant of John Randolph of Roanoke, an Old Republican who excoriated “this metaphysical war.”

By the summer of 1814, Key was a well-connected Georgetown attorney. On August 24, a British army, commanded by Major General Robert Ross, defeated the Americans in the Battle of Bladensburg; the British then occupied Washington and burned many of its public buildings and the Washington Navy Yard before withdrawing. As British forces withdrew through Upper Marlboro, Maryland, on August 26, they took prisoner Dr. William Beanes, a prominent physician and friend of Key. Beanes was incarcerated in the brig of the British ship of the line *Tonnant*, the flagship of Vice Admiral Alexander Cochrane, British North American Station commander.

Friends of Beanes prevailed upon Key to seek his release, so he and Colonel J. S. Skinner, a government agent, joined the British fleet under a flag of truce in the sloop *Minden* on September 7, 1814. That evening at dinner with Cochrane, the emissaries secured Beanes’s release, but they were detained with the fleet while the British carried out an attack on Baltimore. From the deck of the *Minden* on the night of



This scene, of Francis Scott Key on a ship looking at the flag during the Battle of Baltimore, depicts Key’s inspiration for writing the poem “The Star-Spangled Banner.” Asked to create an enormous flag to warn off the British during the War of 1812, Mary Young Pickersgill sewed a 36’ by 42’ red, white, and blue flag, with 15 stripes and 15 stars. (Library of Congress)

September 13–14, Key observed the ineffectual British bombardment of Fort McHenry, the city’s principal defensive fortification. As he later told Taney, he was so inspired to see the American flag still flying over the fort on the morning of September 14 that he composed “The Star Spangled Banner” while returning to shore with his friends. That evening, he revised his verses in a hotel room. Key’s words were soon set to music, and before long, the tune was being played all around the nation. In 1889, the U.S. Navy band adopted it for official use, and in 1916, President Woodrow Wilson ordered the tune to be played at all military and appropriate venues. In 1931, Congress resolved that the “Star Spangled Banner” would become the nation’s official anthem, which President Herbert Hoover then promptly signed into law.

In later years, Key composed poems, used his oratorical skills as a delegate to Episcopal Church general conventions, and successfully practiced law in the federal courts. In 1830, he moved permanently to Washington and was the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia from 1830 to 1841. He died in Baltimore on January 11, 1843.

Paul David Nelson

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Music. See “Hail Columbia”; Key, Francis Scott

Myths and Slogans. See Old Ironsides; Uncle Sam; War Hawks

Newspapers. See Propaganda; Federal Republican; Hanson, Alexander Contee

New Orleans, Battle of

On December 23, 1814, a large British force under the joint command of Admiral Alexander Cochrane and General Edward Packenham opened an offensive campaign designed to capture the newly American city of New Orleans. They did not know that within 24 hours, a peace treaty would be signed some 3,000 miles away in the Flemish city of Ghent, ending the war between the United Kingdom and the United States. Had

they known they could have aborted their campaign, a campaign that would end with the most lopsided defeat of British forces in more than a century.

Initially the British succeeded handily, sweeping away a small American naval force and establishing a base of supply for their ground invasion forces. From that point forward, however, things started to fall apart for the British. Their land movements bogged down almost immediately as a result of the poor infrastructure available in the lower Mississippi delta (particularly a near complete lack of well developed roads) as they cut cross country to reach the banks of the river itself. Their advance was further retarded by an audacious pre-emptive attack launched by American General Andrew Jackson, which hit them almost as soon as they arrived on the east bank of the Mississippi River several miles below New Orleans.

Recovering themselves not long after, the British began moving slowly and deliberately northward along the east bank. Their slow progression inadvertently worked to the advantage of the Americans, giving the latter time to construct a hastily fortified line of defense closer to the city and allowing for more and more militia reinforcements to arrive with each passing day. Even so, by the time the British closed with the American main line of defense near Chalmette Plantation, they still had a comfortable 2:1 ratio of professional troops to set against the mixed forces the Americans could muster.

After an initial probing artillery duel on New Years Day, 1815, the British once again pulled in their horns. Packenham, the epitome of a cautious and deliberate professional British general, wanted to wait until the full power of his infantry had time to come up and participate in a single large attack designed to crush the American defenses. A full week passed before he had all of his

Glorious News
FROM NEW ORLEANS!
Splendid Victory over the British forces!

EXSEX REGISTER OFFICE, Feb. 9.—The New-York papers by this morning's mail, furnished us with the following most glorious intelligence from New-Orleans: Gen. JACKSON will be immortalized—the bravery of the Kentuckians, the Tennesseans, &c. shall be handed down to the latest posterity.—If there ever was a stain upon "our militia" it was wiped away on the 8th of January. The result of this day's contest is of more importance in a national point of view, than any occurrence since the war.

The following is a letter from Mr. Le Blane, a French merchant at New-Orleans, to a gentleman of New-York.

New-Orleans, Jan. 9—7 P. M.

The battle of the 8th of January was one of the hottest that we have hitherto had, and has happily terminated in our favor. The enemy at break of day appeared in a body principally upon our left, in order to make a passage and turn our line in that direction. We had for that purpose prepared falling lad- ders and fascines to fill up the ditch. For nearly two hours the battle was contested with the greatest fury. The enemy was for five minutes in possession of one of our batteries. Not one of those who attempted the assault escaped—they all fell under our bat- teries, the plain was strewn with killed and wounded, heaped upon each other. We made 175 prisoners, among whom are several Majors and officers; more than 500 wounded are in our hospitals, the greater part of whom are mortally wounded; from 8 to 900 were killed on the field of battle. The enemy in their retreat carried off as many wounded as they could, and we have that day cut them more than 2000 men killed, wounded & prisoners.

We had opposite to the enemy's camp upon the right bank of the river, batteries con- taining altogether 33 pieces of heavy ord- nance, which played upon them in flank &—their batteries were attacked on the same time as our line, by a party which the enemy had sent from the camp for that purpose. Our batteries being feebly guarded, were obliged to be evacuated after firing all the guns.—We learn this afternoon that the enemy not being able to hold that position and make use of our guns, had contented himself with burning the magazines, and had crossed the river to return to their camp.

The English General sent yesterday at noon a flag of truce to demand a suspension of arms for 24 hours, to bury the dead and carry away the wounded, which was agreed to by Gen. Jackson.

What will appear to you astonishing and surprising after to hot an affair is, that we have had but 18 or 20 men killed, and from 30 to 60 wounded in that engagement.—I hope in my next to inform you of their re- treat.

P. S. One of our polls upon Lake Borgne has captured an enemy's brig laden with provisions, which has been burned, and 10 men made prisoners.

Another letter—Jan. 10.

On Sunday the 8th, the enemy made a very bold attempt by advancing in three columns.—One on the levee, one in the centre, and the other on our left. Their advance was discov- ered when it was just sufficiently light in the morning to distinguish a man from a horse, at a distance of one hundred yards; when two rockets gave the alarm. Their troops on the levee reached and had in possession our right battery, but fortunately not to hold it long. Their officer, Col. Reine, who had mounted the ramparts, was ordering the dead Yankees to surrender, when one of our rid- gemen shot him dead, and all his men shared his fate or were made prisoners.

The centre and left columns that was flank- ed by the woods, were halted within 400 yards of our lines; as soon as they were discovered, our battery opened the most destructive fire perhaps ever witnessed.—The British then at- tempted the charge, but as soon as they came within reach of our sharpshooters, were obliged to retire; they made two other attempts to cer-

17 their points, but were equally "unsuccessful. Such an action the writer thinks, who was pres- ent, was never before heard of.

The enemy lost in killed more than 500, wounded brought in by our men near 400.— Those who were only slightly wounded got off to their camp. They lost 40 officers, killed, wounded & prisoners, (10 of them prisoners.) Among the killed was Lieut. Gen. Packen- ham, Maj. Gen. Gibbs, & Gen. Keane badly wounded.

There was not more than 1000 or 1500 of our men engaged. The centre did not fire a shot, and our losing no men it was not requi- site for those in the rear to fill up. They were engaged in loading the guns of the front line. So rapid was the enemy's movement, and dark night, that several of them came within our picket guards. There was never more determined bravery on both sides than on this occasion. On the opposite side of the river, where we had a small force and a bat- tery, the enemy landed from 4 to 600 men, & by force was successful in error in our officers, they retreated after firing their guns.—The enemy however did not long remain, but retreated to the main army again.

Another letter from Jan. 11.

Their fleet has entered the river, and has been bombarding Fort Plaquemine. The re- sult is most successful. The centre did not fire a shot, and our losing no men it was not requi- site for those in the rear to fill up. They were engaged in loading the guns of the front line. So rapid was the enemy's movement, and dark night, that several of them came within our picket guards. There was never more determined bravery on both sides than on this occasion. On the opposite side of the river, where we had a small force and a bat- tery, the enemy landed from 4 to 600 men, & by force was successful in error in our officers, they retreated after firing their guns.—The enemy however did not long remain, but retreated to the main army again.

Other letters say, that Gen. Packenham had brought out his wife and family, and was to be Governor-General of New-Orleans and its dependent dependencies.—A Major and Colonel of the port of New Orleans had also come out in the expedition.

The Kentucky riflemen did great execution. One letter says 1500 stand of arms were taken.

Another letter dated 13th says, "The enemy sent a flag for permission to bury the dead which was granted.—The enemy sent 90 men for that purpose; and 40 of the men defected! [Numerous other letters are given, giving particulars similar to the foregoing.]

[PRESUMED OFFICIAL.]

The following List of killed and wounded, forwarded in a letter from David Oliver, Esq. under date of the 13th, to Wm. Neilson and Son, of this city.

KILLED, Lieut. Gen. Packenham, com- mander-in-chief, Major Gen. Gibbs, 2d in command; Rogerson, commander of the ar- tillery; Col. Ryan, of the 1st reg. of Royal Fusiliers, and Maj. Whitacre, of the 21st.

WOUNDED, Capt. Wilkinson, of the 44th, and Capt. Simpson of do. and FIFTEEN Lieutenants.

Privates found dead in our lines, and de- livered over to the enemy, 482, wounded in our possession, 460; prisoners, 178, and more than 20 officers.—Total 1140.

The number of officers and privates, killed and wounded in the British entrenchments are not known, but may be killed and 30 wounded.

The loss which the British sustained in cap- turing our Gun boats, in the engagement of the 18th inst. and in that of the 8th, may be calculated at least at THREE THOUSAND which is probably one third of their army.

A broadside announcing Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815. The battle is hailed as the most triumphant U.S. victory of the War of 1812. (Library of Congress)

forces on hand, a week during which the Americans continually worked to improve their defenses and more reinforcements arrived.

The British attack against the linear American line of fortifications began around dawn on January 8, 1815. In a heavy fog the British line (which included several famous regiments such as the 44th Regiment of Foot, the 93rd “Highland” Regiment, and the famous “Green Jackets” of the 95th Rifle Regiment) formed and started their movement across the broad open field in front of the American defenses. Jackson had anchored the American line on the river to his west, and the edge of an impenetrable swamp on the east. Just before the leading units of the British attack arrived at the American line, the fog started lifting, allowing the American artillery to open up with a murderous fire even as the British artillery remained blinded.

The British infantry regiments pressed hard, even breaking into the American line at one isolated location, but in the end, their three columns met with individual and collective disaster. Packenham and his Second-in-Command were both killed early on, depriving the British of any higher-level command. By the end of the day, they lost some 278 killed, almost 1,200 wounded, and nearly 500 British soldiers taken prisoner. The total American losses stand in stark contrast to the heavy butcher’s bill paid by the British. Only 13 Americans died in the fighting, while another 39 were wounded and little more than a dozen went missing. It was one of the most devastatingly lopsided victories ever, although it was destined to have absolutely no effect on the war, which was already over.

The Battle of New Orleans, despite its military action after a treaty was already signed, generated considerable media coverage, both from the Federalist and the Republican side. For example, the Republican *Daily National Intelligencer* (February 7, 1815) and the Federalist *New-York Evening Post* praised the victory but the *Evening Post* refused to give any credit to the Madison administration. Still, both sides praised the victory to the leadership of Andrew Jackson and his “heroic militia.” Important to the positive media reaction were a long series of letters and commentary from Niles’ *Weekly Register* of Baltimore, more of a news magazine than a newspaper, which is now considered a prototype for *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*. Letters from Andrew Jackson, his aides, anonymous soldiers, and commentary from the editor appeared in the *Register* as special editorials, such as a letter (February 11, 1815) in which Andrew Jackson recollected at length what happened with the troops on the west side of the Mississippi and, incredibly, his belief that the British might still attack again.

Robert Bateman

SEE ALSO Art (Early Republic and War of 1812)

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Old Ironsides

Old Ironsides was the nickname for the USS *Constitution*, one of the original six frigates commissioned by the U.S. Navy. Launched on October 21, 1797, this man-of-war saw action in the Mediterranean Sea against the Barbary Pirates (1801–1805) and the quasi war with France (1798–1800) before gaining lasting fame in the War of 1812.

The vessel earned the moniker, Old Ironsides, in battle with HMS *Guerriere* on August 19, 1812, off the coast of Nova Scotia. The British Captain James Dacres, whose vessel was smaller with fewer guns than *Constitution*, confidently offered battle. Captain Isaac Hull, commanding *Constitution*, waited until his ship was within 50 yards of *Guerriere* and raked it with two broadsides. During the battle, a sailor witnessed British cannon balls bouncing off the *Constitution*'s 25 inch thick oak hull. He remarked that the sides must be made of iron. The British surrendered, and the American crew was forced to burn their prize due to the extensive damage inflicted on *Guerriere*.

Celebrations erupted and gun salutes ringed out in Boston as news arrived of the *Constitution*'s victory. A victory that marked the first time a British frigate surrendered to a frigate of the U.S. Navy. The news came at a time when things were not going well for the U.S. forces in other theaters of the war, especially in Canada. The destruction of a frigate of the mighty British Navy earned the young U.S. fleet respectability and boosted morale on the home front. The *London Times* noted that while the battle had no significance as far as the outcome of the war, it bolstered the confidence of a new formidable enemy on the high seas.

Constitution achieved another success off the coast of Brazil in battle with the HMS *Java* on December 29, 1812. British Captain Henry Lambert and sixty British sailors were killed before *Java* surrendered to *Constitution*, commanded by Captain William Bainbridge. After this engagement, the British admiralty decreed that no British vessels were to engage American frigates unless in squadron force.

In one last feat, which occurred after the War of 1812 had officially ended, *Constitution* overtook two British vessels, HMS *Cayne* and HMS *Levant*, on February 15, 1815, off the coast of Spain. U.S. Captain Charles Stewart maneuvered *Constitution* in reverse and then forward to capture both vessels.

The exploits of *Constitution* during the War of 1812 did not undermine British naval superiority nor did it contribute to the end of the war. They did provide a sense of national pride further uniting the young and sectional United States. The naval victories dispelled the belief in British Navy invincibility. Not only was *Constitution*'s construction formidable, but much to the chagrin of Great Britain, American sailors demonstrated superior

seamanship and gunnery. *Constitution* became the pride of the U.S. fleet, and Congress appropriated funds to expand the Navy. Evidence of the mystique of Old Ironsides can be viewed today at Boston Harbor, where USS *Constitution* remains the oldest commissioned war vessel in the U.S. Navy.

William E. Whyte III

SEE ALSO Barbary States

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She Would Be a Soldier

She would Be a Soldier, or, *The Plains of Chippewa* is a patriotic play by Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785–1951), a lawyer, politician, diplomat and newspaper editor as well as playwright. Of German and Portugese Jewish descent, Noah was the first well-known Jewish writer in America. The play is set during the War of 1812, a war that Noah had vehemently supported. The main character is Christine, the well-educated daughter of Jasper, a French immigrant who had fought in the Revolution. Christine is in love with a wounded soldier, Lieutenant Lenox, but her father has promised her to a wealthy farmer, the comic rustic poltroon Jerry Mayflower, who represents the New England anglophile Federalists who opposed the War of 1812. (The role of Christine was specially written for a visiting English performer named Catherine Leesugg, an acquaintance of Noah's.) Christine flees to follow Lenox, recovered from his wounds, and joins the American army disguised as a man. (This development, a common one in military plays of the period, may have been influenced by real-life “female soldiers” such as Deborah Sampson Gannett of the American Revolution.) A British officer, Captain Pendragon, appears as an affected fop who demands port and anchovies and turns down his nose as plain American food. Pendragon may have been loosely modeled on George Hay, Earl of Tweeddale, who fought the Americans. A more admirable character is the noble although nameless “Indian chief” who fights on the side of the British. Unlike many “stage Indians,” Noah’s character speaks standard English with no comic dialect elements.

The climax is set after the American victory at the battle of Chippewa in 1812. While a prisoner, the Indian chief gives an eloquent speech on the disasters that have befallen

his people at the hands of the Americans before making peace. After some trouble caused by a misunderstanding, Christine and Lenox are engaged at the play's end, and there are hints of a romance between Pendragon and the daughter of the American General, Adela. The valor of American soldiers is emphasized throughout. The play premiered in New York on June 21, 1819.

She Would be a Soldier's rousing patriotism and skillful exploitation of American comic clichés made it one of the most successful American plays of the early 19th century as well as Noah's most successful drama. It would continue to appear on the American stage until 1848. Noah wrote several other patriotic, or, as he referred to them "national," plays based on American history, including *The Siege of Tripoli* (1820), *Marion; or, The Hero of Lake George* (1821) based on the Battle of Saratoga in the American Revolution, and *The Siege of Yorktown* (1824).

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

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Tecumseh

Tecumseh has become one of the best-known Native American leaders in history. His character, strength of purpose, and humanity towards prisoners combined to make him larger than life. His goal of a united Native American confederacy that could halt white expansion may have been unrealistic, but it posed a threat to American settlements in Ohio and Indiana. Tecumseh's contacts with the British were cited as one of the reasons for the War of 1812, and his efforts in that war nearly led to the loss of the Old Northwest for the Americans.

Little is known for certain about Tecumseh's early life. He was probably born around March 1768 in a Shawnee village along the Scioto River in Ohio, near present-day Piqua into the Crouching Panther clan. His father was Pukeshinwa, a war chief of the Kispoko band. His mother was Methoataaskee, a Creek Indian. When Tecumseh was born, the Shawnees were trying to resist white settlers flooding over the Appalachian Mountains



Shawnee chief Tecumseh was one of the most famous Indian leaders in American history. He forged a pan-Indian alliance among Midwestern tribes with the help of his brother, the Prophet, in the early 1800s, but they were unable to halt American westward expansion. (Library of Congress)

into the Ohio Territory. The result was Lord Dunmore's War. At the Battle of Point Pleasant on October 10, 1774, Pukeshinwa was killed. When the American Revolutionary War broke out, the Shawnees sided with the British in an attempt to retain their land. Tecumseh's people were forced to flee westward to a village on the Mad River in 1777, then to move farther west in 1780. These experiences gave Tecumseh a hatred for whites in general, and Americans in particular.

Beginning at age 16, Tecumseh participated in war parties raiding white settlements. The advance by white settlers continued. In 1786, a Kentucky militia burned Tecumseh's village, forcing his people to flee to a new location on the Maumee River. Under the leadership of his older brother Cheeseekau, Tecumseh earned a reputation as a brave and skillful warrior.

Cheeseekau was killed in 1792 in an attack on Nashville, and Tecumseh succeeded him as war chief of the Kispoko band. Tecumseh supported a loose confederacy of tribes organized by Blue Jacket in 1790. When American armies first under Josiah Harmer and then under Arthur St. Clair

marched to punish the Indians in Ohio, Tecumseh was among those who ambushed and harried them to their defeats. On August 20, 1794, Tecumseh participated in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in which Major General Anthony ("Mad Anthony") Wayne's American Army decisively defeated Blue Jacket and broke the Indian confederacy.

Tecumseh refused to attend the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, in which the Indian tribes ceded most of Ohio to the United States. Instead, he led his followers into Indiana Territory where he could get away from white influence. During this time, Tecumseh joined his brother Tenskwatawa in calling for a return to traditional Indian values and a rejection of all white influences. In 1805, Tecumseh moved his band back to Ohio. They settled at Greenville, just inside the Indian territory. Soon, Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa began to exert growing influence among other Indian tribes. Delegations visited Tecumseh and listened to ideas of an Indian confederacy to prevent white encroachment.

While Tecumseh's message found favor among the younger braves, older leaders opposed him. Whites were also uncomfortable with Tecumseh's presence so close to the border. Although he was careful to give no pretext for attacks by whites, Tecumseh

realized that he was in danger in Ohio. The most damaging and dangerous charges against Tecumseh were that he was plotting with the British in Canada and receiving arms from them. To avoid possible conflict before he was ready, Tecumseh moved his band back to Indiana in spring of 1808. They settled along the Wabash River, just below the mouth of the Tippecanoe River. Tecumseh became more outspoken in his criticism of American expansionism.

In 1809, Indiana territorial governor William Henry Harrison secured the cession of 3 million acres from tribes in Indiana at the Treaty of Fort Wayne. The outraged Tecumseh demanded that these land cessions halt. He believed that the land belonged to all Indians and that none could be sold or given away without the consent of all. At a meeting with Harrison, the two nearly came to blows. Realizing that only strength could stop American settlements, Tecumseh began traveling widely to recruit followers for his confederacy. He visited tribes as far west as Iowa and as far south as Florida. Although many Indians favored his message, only the Creeks were willing to commit to joining his confederacy. While Tecumseh was away in 1811, Harrison brought an American army to attack Tecumseh's village on the Wabash. Tenskwatawa launched an unsuccessful surprise attack on Harrison, but was decisively defeated. The village was burned and the people dispersed. This Indian defeat in the Battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, diminished Tecumseh's power and following among the Indians.

Tecumseh was forced to turn to the British for aid. He traveled to Fort Malden where he proclaimed his willingness to fight the Americans. When word reached Tecumseh in July 1812 that war had been declared, he gathered a band of followers and led them into Canada. He joined British general Isaac Brock in defending Fort Malden against an invasion by William Hull from Detroit. While Hull proved to be an indecisive leader, Tecumseh led his band into Michigan and destroyed a supply column in an ambush on August 5. He continued to harass American forces around Detroit, helping to convince Hull to retreat from Canada. Brock's threat of Indian atrocities convinced Hull to surrender Detroit on August 16.

The victory over Hull brought large numbers of warriors to join Tecumseh. Brock led a combined British and Indian army against Ohio. They fought a series of battles against American columns under Harrison seeking to recapture Detroit. Tecumseh was in Indiana in January 1813 when an American force led by James Winchester was destroyed on the Raisin River, with a massacre of the wounded. Tecumseh returned in time to join Colonel Henry Proctor in the siege of Fort Meigs from April 28 to May 9. Tecumseh's warriors destroyed an American relief column on May 5 before the allies gave up the siege. A second attempt to capture Fort Meigs in July also failed, and many of the Indian warriors began to lose confidence in the British.

When Proctor retreated to Canada after the American victory in the Battle of Lake Erie, Tecumseh was outraged. He did not understand how the naval defeat would prevent the British from resupplying the army and the thousands of Indian families massed around Fort Malden. Tecumseh and a small group of warriors joined the British in their retreat eastward from Fort Malden. To pacify Tecumseh, Proctor agreed to make a stand on the Thames River on October 5, 1813. The outnumbered British were quickly

overwhelmed by a mounted charge. The Indians fought on in a swamp. When Tecumseh was killed, they lost heart and dispersed. The Americans did not recover Tecumseh's body, and his legend grew among the Indians.

In his lifetime, Tecumseh generated much media coverage, usually divided along regional coverage, with the Eastern newspapers more sympathetic. The *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford), for example, justified the position of Tecumseh and his Indians in the Northwest for their actions in correspondence that it printed on September 15, 1812, that was also reprinted in other papers, such as *The Enquirer* (Richmond) on September 11, 1812. Editors held that American greed for possessions, including Native American land, caused the wars in which Tecumseh and his tribe fought. In the newspaper, *National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), ran an untitled editorial (September 26, 1812) that accused the British of paying Native Americans, like Tecumseh and his warriors, to commit all sorts of atrocities against Americans in the Northwest Territory.

Tecumseh's leadership and ultimate death at the Battle of the Thames was heavily reported. Several stories ran in the *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), including a speech by the Shawnee leader (November 6, 1813), a report on his death in battle (April 16, 1814), and an anonymous report on his character (April 16, 1814). Important people's lives were often summarized following their death. Since Tecumseh was well known in the United States, he received such treatment but his "tribute" made typical remarks about Native Americans; Tecumseh was "a savage" but the anonymous writer also described his plan for a Pan-Indian society.

Tim J. Watts

SEE ALSO Canada

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Tripolitan War

The North African Barbary (Berber) states (Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli) had sanctioned sea raiders called the "Barbary pirates," Muslim seafarers, to attack the ships of other nations in the Mediterranean Sea since the 16th century. These pirates were not just criminals; they enjoyed the financial and political backing of wealthy merchants and even political leaders.

Since 1786, the United States had made tribute payments to the Barbary states to protect its shipping from pirate raids, but in 1801, when the pasha, Yusuf Qaramanli, of Tripoli demanded a higher payment, U.S. president Thomas Jefferson refused to pay.

The pasha declared war on May 14, 1801 and began seizing American ships, but only minor skirmishes between Tripoli's pirates and U.S. naval forces ensued. When the United States' blockade of Tripoli failed to daunt the pirates, Jefferson pursued diplomatic negotiations, but no agreement with the pasha could be reached. For a short time, the blockade was lifted, and the United States resumed its tribute payments.

In 1803, however, sustained military action between the two countries erupted. The U.S. forces, led by Commodore Edward Preble and Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, dealt deadly blows to the pirates. Preble sent the U.S. frigate *Philadelphia* to resume the blockade, but the ship was captured when a storm drove it aground in October 1803 and it was boarded by Tripolitan sailors, who captured over three hundred U.S. sailors, took the modern warship as a prize, and prepared to use it against the Americans by sharply increasing its demands for tribute and for ransom. Then, on February 16, 1804, Decatur and his crew entered Tripoli Harbor in order to set fire to and destroy the *Philadelphia* while Preble launched assaults and more bombardments against the city's defenses.

The major U.S. victory in the Tripolitan War occurred when William Eaton, the U.S. consul to Tunis, captured the port city of Derna on April 27, 1805, as part of his mission to replace the Tripolitan pasha with the rightful ruler, the pasha's brother, Ahmed (Hamet) Qaramanli. Eaton and his troops, which consisted of U.S. marines and sailors, and hundreds of Arab mercenaries, landed in Egypt and marched to Derna, where U.S. naval vessels aided them in the attack.

The conflict at Derna was later memorialized in the U.S. Marine Hymn, "From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli."

The idea of tribute never sat well with either the U.S. government or with the American people. Both in newspapers and in cartoons, the idea was ridiculed and Decatur's actions were celebrated. As early as 1801, American newspapers printed editorials that opposed "an ignominious tribute to the Barbarians, whose only means of subsistence is plunder and rapine" (*Centinel of Freedom* [Newark, NJ], June 9, 1801).

Reactions to the conflict with the Barbary States also appeared in art, often quite effective, as in an 1804 painting by Alonzo Chappel, "Decatur's Conflict with the Algerine at Tripoli, Reuben James Interposing His Head to Save the Life of the Commander," which was reproduced as engravings and reprinted in newspapers.

Before Eaton could proceed with his mission to unseat the pasha, a peace treaty was reached on June 4, 1805. The treaty ransomed the prisoners for \$60,000 and it put an end to the practice of tribute payment by establishing free and unhindered commerce between the United States and Tripoli. The other Barbary States continued to receive some tribute until 1816. In the United States, the treaty was celebrated as a victory for the U.S. Navy.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Barbary States; USS *Philadelphia* Incident

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Uncle Sam

Uncle Sam is a personification of the United States, in particular the U.S. government. The image of Uncle Sam dates from the War of 1812. Although the exact origin of the contemporary image is the subject of historical debate, most scholars trace the origins of Uncle Sam to a group of U.S. Army soldiers stationed in upstate New York during the War of 1812. The soldiers, supplied with barrels of meat stamped with the initials “U.S.” on the lid, jokingly claimed that the initials referred to “Uncle” Samuel Wilson of Troy, New York, who supplied vast quantities of meat to the U.S. Army. The suggestion that Uncle Sam provided the meat soon led to the tongue-in-cheek belief that Uncle Sam symbolized the federal government. In 1961, the U.S. Congress officially resolved that Wilson was the progenitor of this American national symbol.

Ironically, the image of stern-faced Uncle Sam, with a white goatee, long gray hair, and a red, white, and blue suit, bears no resemblance to the clean-shaven Wilson. The contemporary image of Uncle Sam is entirely an invention of artists and political cartoonists. During the Civil War, earlier representative figures of the United States, such as Yankee Doodle, Brother Jonathan, and Columbia, were superseded by Uncle Sam. Thomas Nast, one of the most famous political cartoonists of the 19th century, is credited with drawing the earliest depictions of Uncle Sam, perhaps in the 1850s. After the Civil War, Nast, most likely in homage to President Abraham Lincoln, added whiskers to Uncle Sam. The most famous rendition of Uncle Sam, by artist James Montgomery Flagg, is the “I Want You for U.S. Army” World War I recruitment poster. To this day, Uncle Sam remains the most recognizable personification of the United States.

Michael R. Hall

SEE ALSO Art (Early Republic and War of 1812); Nast, Thomas; Yankee Doodle

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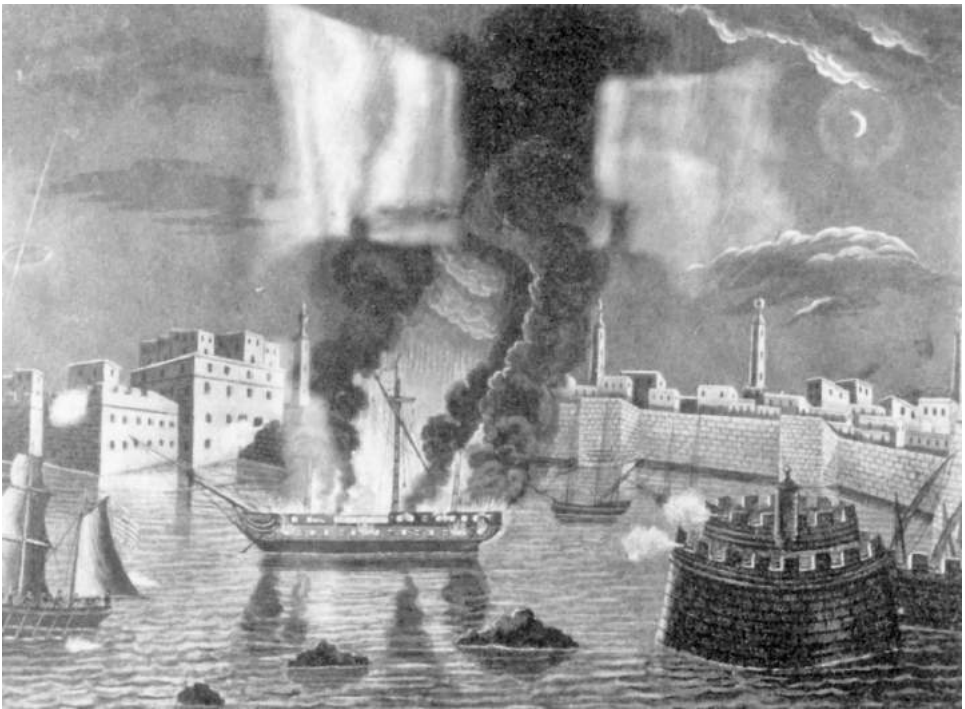
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USS *Philadelphia* Incident

In 1803, a 38-gun U.S. Naval frigate, the *Philadelphia*, ran aground on the rocks in the harbor of the North African city of Tripoli while participating in the blockade of the city during the Tripolitan War (1801–1805). The ship and crew of 307 were captured by the Tripolitans. The Tripolitan Pasha, or as he was referred to at the time, “Bashaw,” Yusuf Qaramanli (r. 1795–1832), demanded over one and one half million dollars for the release of the captives, by far the largest number of Americans captured at any one time by a North African ruler.

The disgrace of the capture of the *Philadelphia* was accentuated by the decision of its captain William Bainbridge (1774–1833) to surrender the vessel without a fight, a decision opposed by some of his men. However, the embarrassment to the fledgling U.S. Navy was partly redeemed by the most highly publicized naval action of the war, Stephen Decatur’s (1779–1820) raid to burn the captured ship, which the Tripolitans



Burning of the frigate *Philadelphia* in the harbor of Tripoli, February 16, 1804. Copy of an aquatint by F. Kearny, ca. 1804–1808. (National Archives)

had added to their own forces. This daring act did much to establish Decatur's reputation as the United States' first post-Revolutionary military hero.

The news of the *Philadelphia*'s capture arrived in America at a time when President Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) was considering reducing the amount budgeted for maintaining a force in the Mediterranean as the government's resources were strained by paying for the Louisiana Purchase. The shocking news of the loss of the frigate and the capture of over 300 American sailors completely changed the political situation. Congress quickly passed an act authorizing the dispatching of more naval vessels and imposing a new tariff specifically for carrying on war against Tripoli or any of the other North African powers. One million dollars was appropriated from the Treasury to pay for the immediate costs of a new expedition. Although Congress did not formally declare war on Tripoli, it authorized hostile actions against Tripoli or any of the other North African "Barbary Powers." Five of the captured sailors liberated themselves by conversion to Islam, viewed as shameful by their fellow-captives, while the rest were eventually returned after the war was ended in 1805.

The captives' plight resonated with the importance of captivity narratives in American culture. Although the many narratives of captivity by Native Americans are better known, there were several narratives of capture by North African Muslim pirates like the ones of Tripoli, only a part of a larger literature of European captivity in North Africa that stretched back for centuries. Two accounts of the captivity of *Philadelphia* prisoners were published in the United States. One is *American Captives in Tripoli* (1806), by the ship's physician, Jonathan Cowdery (1767–1852). Cowdery's experience was highly atypical, as he was not only privileged as an officer but even invited to be the Pasha's personal physician. Another prisoner, the schoolteacher, poet and enlisted seaman, William Ray (1771–1827), published *The Horrors of Slavery, or, The American Tars in Tripoli Containing an Account of the Loss and Capture of the United States Frigate Philadelphia* (1808). Ray emphasized the different and much harsher treatment ordinary captives like himself received as opposed to the relatively mild captivity endured by officers like Cowdery. He complained about the dictatorial practices of the U.S. Navy as well as the cruelty of the Tripolitans. The emphasis on slavery in the title was not accidental; like many captives, Ray followed literary convention by referring to captivity as slavery. Although his actual experience was more that of a prisoner of war than a forced laborer or chattel slave, Ray viewed his lack of freedom as slavery. He also participated in the debate on American slavery (Americans outlawed the slave trade in 1808, the same year as *The Horrors of Slavery* was published), denouncing slavery as practiced by white Americans as well as North African Muslims.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Barbary States; Captivity Narratives; Tripolitan War

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War Hawks

Christened by Virginia Congressman John Randolph of Roanoke, the term “War Hawks” represented expansionistic Democratic-Republicans of the Twelfth U.S. Congress who advocated waging war against Great Britain due to the humiliation that the nation had inflicted upon the United States during the early 19th century. Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1810, the War Hawks, who were predominately from western and southern states, viewed the military conflict as a means of defending America’s neutral shipping rights, solving economic grievances, restoring the nation’s prestige, and ending the Native American resistance movement in the Old Northwest. Additionally, the War Hawks believed that defeating the British would enable the nation to take possession of Canada and Spanish Florida.

When the Twelfth U.S. Congress convened on November 4, 1811, a Democratic-Republican faction, which became known as the War Hawks, demanded redress from Britain’s injustices. One of the most influential War Hawks was U.S. Representative Henry Clay of Kentucky. Serving as the Speaker of the House, Clay appointed other War Hawks to key congressional committees, which began a military buildup in preparation for a war with Great Britain. For example, Peter B. Porter of New York, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and John Adams Harper of New Hampshire were selected as members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Additionally, Ezekiel Bacon of Massachusetts served as the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means while Langdon Cheves of South Carolina was appointed as a member of the Committee on the Naval Establishment. During the next two years, the War Hawks guided the nation towards a military conflict with Great Britain.

As Congressional leaders debated the crisis, the War Hawks maintained that Britain’s Orders in Council, which authorized the British navy to blockade France and other European seaports, prevented westerners and southerners from exporting their agricultural products to foreign markets. Aside from these commercial restrictions, Great Britain also renewed its policy of impressment. During the early 19th century, nearly 6,000 American sailors were impressed into the British navy. The War Hawks argued that the conquest of Canada would serve as retaliation to Britain’s violation of American maritime rights.

During the early 1800s, Shawnee chief Tecumseh and religious prophet Tenskwatawa established an Indian confederation that utilized British muskets to resist the migration of white settlers into the Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois territories. After Tecumseh urged Indians to raid American frontier settlements, the War Hawks accused Great

Britain of inciting these Native American attacks. Addressing the western settlers' grievances, Representative Felix Gundy of Tennessee recommended that United States invade Canada and annexing its provinces, which would eliminate the British influence over the Indian tribes.

Despite political pressure from the War Hawks, Federalists, who represented New England merchants and Mid-Atlantic shippers, opposed the conflict because they believed that the nation was unprepared for a war with Great Britain. They also feared that waging war against the British would hinder America's trade and commerce.

However, opposition to the War Hawks did not only come from mercantile interests. Newspapers continued to publish editorials, often anonymous, on why a possible war with Great Britain would be futile. One comment, in the *Trenton (NJ) Federalist*, and reprinted in other papers, such as the *True American* and *Commercial Advertiser* (Philadelphia), January 29, 1812, criticized the War Hawks as "back woods men" who would never fight or support a war with taxes.

As the War Hawks moved President James Madison closer towards a military conflict with Great Britain, the president conceded to their demands when he sent a war message to Congress in the summer of 1812. By a margin of 79–49 votes, the House of Representatives passed a declaration of war against Great Britain on June 4. Thirteen days later, the Senate approved the measure by a margin of 19–13 votes.

Kevin M. Brady

SEE ALSO Tecumseh

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Webster, Noah. See **Propaganda**

XYZ Affair

The XYZ Affair was an event in Franco-American relations that evoked the unofficial Quasi-War between France and the United States. Due to the actions of President John Adams, it stopped French attacks on American shipping.

The culminating events of the XYZ Affair began on the evening of March 4, 1798, in Philadelphia, which was then the capital of the United States. Secretary of State Timothy Pickering opened a packet of letters from American representatives in Paris. The dispatches had been written in January and had just arrived. One of the dispatches had been written in plain English while the other four were in code that would take days to decipher.

The letter written in plain English so alarmed Secretary Pickering, that he quickly walked the three blocks to President's John Adams' home. Upon hearing the news the letter contained, Adams was dismayed to learn that his diplomatic mission to France had failed and that war with France was likely.

The diplomatic mission sent by Adams was composed of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall (future Supreme Court Chief Justice), and Elbridge Gerry. Pinckney had been sent to France earlier as an accredited representative by President George Washington but he had not been received. Instead, he had been threatened with arrest and ordered to leave the country. When Adams learned of this in late March of 1797, a few days after his inauguration on March 4, 1797, he sent Marshall and Gerry to France to join Pinckney. It had now been nearly a year since Adams had heard anything from France and now the dispatches had arrived.

The mission of Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry was to negotiate a new treaty with France which would end their preying on American shipping. The French were using the Jay Treaty (1796) between the United States and Great Britain as justification for allowing their privateers to prey on American shipping.

Adams was not a novice in dealing with the French. He had played an important role in the negotiations with the British that led to the Treaty of Paris (1783) that granted independence to the United States and he had served on two other missions to France. The Treaty of Paris (1783) had been negotiated secretly with the British because the French tried to misuse the Treaty of Alliance (1778) and its sister Treaty of Amity and Commerce (1778) between the Continental Congress and France. Since Yorktown, Franco-America relations had cooled despite American efforts to be neutral in European affairs. Adding to the straining of relations had been the misbehavior of Pierre Adet and Citizen Genet (Edmond Charles Genet) both official French representatives.

Over the several weeks following their arrival, the four encoded dispatches were deciphered. As President Adams reported the decoded dispatches to Congress it was revealed that French agents acting for French Foreign Minister, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord, had demanded that the United States pay him a bribe of \$250,000, lend France 12 million dollars and also apologies for pro-British policies adopted by the Federalist Party led by Adams. This was to be done before any negotiations on a new treaty were to begin.

When Thomas Jefferson's Republican-Democrat supporters demanded to see the originals dispatches, Adams had the dispatches put on display, but used X, Y, and Z to mask references in the dispatches to Jean-Conrad Hottinguer (X), Pierre Bellamy (Y), and Lucien Hauteval (Z). All three were agents of Talleyrand. Satisfied that the dispatches were genuine a united Congress appropriated funds for war and authorized Adams to battle French privateers and warships. Although Congress was in a mood for

war, Adams exercised restraint and instead fought an unofficial Quasi-War that lasted until 1800 when Napoleon took power.

The decoded dispatches were released to the public after having been seen by Congress. The details, published by the press, turned a previously divided public opinion solidly against the French.

Andrew J. Waskey

SEE ALSO Genet Incident

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3

American Indian Wars

INTRODUCTION

Indian Wars describes a series of conflicts between the colonial or federal government and the Native people of North America; the most famous were fought on the great Western plains between 1860 and 1890. They were among the most tragic of all conflicts ever fought. The deadliest, and most important, of these struggles were the Seminole Wars (1817–1818, 1835–1842), the Black Hawk War (1832), the Creek Uprising (1835–1837), the Dakota War (1862), the Black Hills War (1876–1877), the Nez Perce War (1877), and the Apache Wars (1864–1868).

The earliest English settlers enjoyed relatively harmonious relations with nearby tribes. However, as early as the Pequot War of 1637, the colonists were taking sides in military rivalries between Native nations in order to assure colonial security and open further land for settlement. The wars, which ranged from the 17th century (King Philip's War, King William's War, and Queen Anne's War at the opening of the 18th century) to the Wounded Knee massacre and the "closing" of the American frontier in 1890, generally resulted in the further colonization of Native American lands, and the assimilation (forced relocation) and conquest of Native Americans, to Indian reservations.

Frontier warfare was particularly brutal, with numerous atrocities committed on both sides. Both white and Indian populations suffered greatly, as villages and food supplies were frequently destroyed during military expeditions, such as the largest of these, the Sullivan Expedition of 1779, which destroyed more than 40 Iroquois villages in order to neutralize Iroquois raids in upstate New York.

Further westward expansion brought settlers into more conflict with Native Americans. In the first part of the 19th century, the most prominent figure associated with these conflicts was Andrew Jackson, the first "Westerner" to occupy the White House. In the midst of the War of 1812, Jackson, then in charge of the Tennessee militia, was sent into southern Alabama, where he ruthlessly put down an uprising of Creek Indians. The Creeks soon

ceded two-thirds of their land to the United States. Jackson later routed bands of Seminoles from their sanctuaries in Spanish-owned Florida.

In the 1820s, President Monroe's secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, pursued a policy of removing the remaining tribes from the old Southwest and resettling them beyond the Mississippi. Jackson continued this policy as president. In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, providing funds to transport the eastern tribes beyond the Mississippi. In 1834, a special Native-American territory was set up in what is now Oklahoma. In all, the tribes signed 94 treaties during Jackson's two terms, ceding millions of hectares to the federal government and removing dozens of tribes from their ancestral homelands.

The most terrible chapter in this unhappy history concerned the Cherokees, whose lands in western North Carolina and Georgia had been guaranteed by treaty since 1791. Among the most progressive of the eastern tribes, the Cherokees nevertheless were sure to be displaced when gold was discovered on their land in 1829. Forced to make a long and cruel trek to Oklahoma in 1838, the tribe lost many of its numbers from disease and privation on what became known as the "Trail of Tears." The legislative impetus for the emigration was the Indian Removal Act of 1830 signed into law by President Andrew Jackson.

As in the East, expansion into the plains and mountains by miners, ranchers, and settlers led to increasing conflicts with the Native Americans in the West. Many tribes fought the whites at one time or another but the Sioux of the Northern Plains and the Apache of the Southwest provided the most significant opposition to frontier advance. Led by such resourceful leaders as Red Cloud and Crazy Horse, the Sioux were particularly skilled at high-speed mounted warfare. The Apaches were equally adept and highly elusive, fighting in their environs of desert and canyons.

Conflicts with the Plains Indians worsened after an incident where the Dakota (part of the Sioux nation), declaring war against the U.S. government because of long-standing grievances, killed five white settlers. Rebellions and attacks continued through the Civil War. In 1876, the last serious Sioux war erupted, when the Dakota gold rush penetrated the Black Hills. The Army was supposed to keep miners off Sioux hunting grounds, but did little to protect the Sioux lands. When ordered to take action against bands of Sioux hunting on the range according to their treaty rights, however, it moved quickly and vigorously.

In 1876, after several indecisive encounters, Colonel George Custer, leading a small detachment of cavalry encountered a vastly superior force of Sioux and their allies on the Little Bighorn River. Custer and his men were completely annihilated. Later, in 1890, a Ghost Dance ritual on the Northern Sioux reservation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, led to an uprising and a last, tragic encounter that ended in the death of nearly 300 Sioux men, women, and children.

Long before this, however, the way of life of the Plains Indians had been destroyed by an expanding white population, the coming of the railroads, and the slaughter of the buffalo, almost exterminated in the decade after 1870 by the settlers' indiscriminate hunting.

The Apache wars in the Southwest dragged on until Geronimo, the last important chief, was captured in 1886.

Government policy ever since the Monroe administration had been to move the Native Americans beyond the reach of the white frontier but inevitably the reservations became smaller and more crowded. Some Americans began to protest the government's treatment of Native Americans. One, Helen Hunt Jackson, wrote *A Century of Dishonor* (1881), which dramatized their plight and struck a chord in the nation's conscience.

In 1887, the Dawes (General Allotment) Act reversed U.S. Native-American policy, permitting the president to divide up tribal land and parcel out 65 hectares of land to each head of a family. Such allotments were to be held in trust by the government for 25 years, after which time the owner won full title and citizenship. Lands not thus distributed, however, were offered for sale to settlers. This policy, however well intentioned, proved disastrous, because it allowed more plundering of Native-American lands. Moreover, its assault on the communal organization of tribes caused further disruption of traditional culture. In 1934, U.S. policy was reversed yet again by the Indian Reorganization Act, which attempted to protect tribal and communal life on the reservations.

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PROPAGANDA

The wars between whites and Indians, the most famous of which were fought on the great Western plains between 1860 and 1890, were among the most tragic of all conflicts ever fought but this era marked the rise of the mass press, when newspapers, magazines, and dime novels sought stories of conflict, adventure, and success on the American frontier. The popularity of these stories created two new American heroes, the mountain man and the cowboy, who quickly became mainstays in the popular imagination, iconic figures who shaped popular ideas about the Indians and the conquest of the American West that still resonate today.

Early in the 19th century, when newspapers had few, if any, full-time correspondents or reporters, much war news was necessarily official, with government correspondence, official proclamations, military orders, letters between field officers and their superiors,

and inter-agency correspondence published instead of actual battle reports. Later, newspaper coverage was divided along regional lines. Western editors found little to appreciate among their Indian neighbors as they and their readers knew firsthand that the Indian threat was real; they often proclaimed their anti-Indian position proudly in the name of civilization and progress. In the East, where the Indian threat was long extinguished, editors were sometimes more sympathetic. Urban papers in Boston, New York and Philadelphia were usually friendly venues for pro-Indian commentaries and editorials. The *New York Times* editorialized extensively on “the Indian problem” for several decades, struggling to untangle and explain to its readers a long and complex list of problems and issues that divided Indians and whites. The *Times* and other eastern papers were especially sympathetic when Indians had suffered unjustly at the hands of the government, such as Indian removal from desirable western lands.

Another complication in reporting the Indian Wars was geography as most of the battles were fought in remote locations in the wilderness or on the plains, usually hundreds of miles away from newspaper offices and the regular beats of reporters. Due to this lack of news sources, Indian fights were often small and unpredictable events, which made it difficult for the small group of full-time correspondents covering the Indian Wars to be at the right place at the right time to witness Indian battles. This was one reason newspapers relied heavily on official army reports and dispatches for much of their Indian coverage.

War reporting from journalists was rarely neutral, balanced, or even-handed especially if there was a stake in the outcome, or the reporter was barely ducking whizzing bullets and arrows. Such a position could undermine a correspondent’s reputation, question his patriotism, and incur the wrath of his employers. From almost any perspective, 19th century Indian War coverage was biased, racist, and superficial. What the American people wanted was a good story, filled with stereotypes and violent action. What the press rarely provided was a balanced, sympathetic, and humane portrait of Native Americans. Examples abound but one will suffice. This was *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, which in the spirit of the era, often put America’s “Indian Problem” on its front pages, such as its October 14, 1871 cover, which, in the anti-Indian spirit of the 19th century, displayed an Indian warrior as treacherous and troublesome, someone hostile to American ideals.

One of the most biased of war reportage during the Indian Wars was undoubtedly the aftermath of the Battle of Little Big Horn (“Custer’s Last Stand”). News of the defeat, arriving in the East just as the United States was observing its centennial, came as a great shock to a nation accustomed to battlefield victories, and increasingly convinced of its inherent superiority and manifest destiny. In fact, most Americans had a hard time, at first, believing the news of Little Bighorn and it soon became a major news event as the press, the public and the politicians demanded an explanation for a story that generated thousands of words of facts, rumors, speculations, and often outright lies. One newspaper, *The New York Herald*, always critical of hostile Indians, singled out Sitting Bull and the Sioux for special criticism. As a promoter of Custer’s Civil War exploits, the paper initiated attempts at a Custer memorial that honored the fallen heroes of Little Bighorn.

There were also Native American newspapers that tried to promote their own causes even though they were unable to compete with the wealth and influence, or circulation, of the white-owned papers. Perhaps the best known was the *Cherokee Phoenix*, a bilingual paper (Cherokee and English) whose first issue (February 21, 1828) created reactions of amazement both in the United States and in Europe. Among the first documents published were portions of the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation.

For the young readers, especially boys, the dime novels were an inexpensive, pocket-sized, formulaic, and melodramatic storyteller, ranging from 25,000 to 30,000 words, sold from about 1860 to 1895, that tended toward very patriotic and nationalistic tales of adventure and chaste romance while conveying a puritanical sense of morality, rugged individualism, and a clearly defined portrait of the American frontier where the “Indian” was either a bloodthirsty “redskin” or a “noble savage.”

The Indian Wars also produced its share of media celebrities. The two best known are probably William Frederick (“Buffalo Bill”) Cody and Custer.

Cody was a frontiersman and showman. In 1872, novelist Ned Buntline convinced Cody to play himself in the stage production of Buntline’s novel *Scouts of the Prairie*. Smitten with the theater, Cody formed his own troupe of frontier actors in 1873. Because the majority of the actors were frontiersmen, the dramatic productions were fairly credible. In 1883, Cody formed the Buffalo Bill Wild West show. For the next 30 years, the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show entertained audiences all over the United States and Europe. Members of the show’s cast included Sitting Bull, Annie Oakley, Wild Bill Hickok, and Calamity Jane.

Probably the most controversial, if not quite legendary, continues to be George Armstrong Custer and his exploits at the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876. When word of Custer’s stunning defeat and death spread, courtiers carried reports to telegraph offices that were then transmitted to Army officials. Americans were deeply shocked by the news. Custer, through his own self-promotion, was considered, at the time, to be a great Indian warrior. It was only later, after the court inquiries and intense historical research, that the truths behind Custer’s foolhardiness began to emerge but at the time, the public could not get enough about Custer and his last Indian battle.

A serious counter-attack on the negative Native American reporting and an important milestone in swaying public opinion against the government’s harsh and unforgiving treatment of Indians was *Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government’s Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (1881), the book by Helen Hunt Jackson that dramatized the plight of Native Americans and struck a chord in the nation’s conscience.

Also important in publicizing the Native American cause were the reports of the missionaries who attempted to convert and to educate Indians in white ways.

Finally, there were the artists. In the war reporting before photography became the most visual record, paintings brought home to the civilian population the impact of battle. During the Indian Wars, one of the most influential was painter-sculptor Frederic Remington, whose 1886 illustration, *The Apache War: Indian Scouts on Geronimo’s Trail*, became the cover of *Harper’s Weekly*. In 1888 and 1890, he documented the wars

against the Apache and the Plains Indians. The demand for magazine illustrations was constant because new magazine publication had grown from about 700 in 1865 to 3,000 in 1885. Remington published more than 2,700 illustrations in 41 journals.

Finally, there is one lingering propaganda from the Indian Wars, a controversy actually, that still continues today. It was a so-called speech by Chief Seattle (Suquamish) based on a letter he allegedly sent to President Franklin Pierce that, in turn, was believed to be a speech he supposedly made at the signing of the Treaty of Port Elliott on January 22, 1855. At the time, Seattle's words did not have the impact they achieved in the 20th century when they became popular with environmentalists!

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO *Cherokee Phoenix*; *Century of Dishonor*; Chief Seattle Speech; Cody, Buffalo Bill; Dime Novels; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*; Little Bighorn, Battle of the; Manifest Destiny; Remington, Frederic

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Camp Grant Massacre

Before dawn on April 30, 1871, a contingent of Tucson citizens, Mexican-Americans, and Tohono O'odham Indians attacked a group of Apaches settled near Camp Grant on the San Pedro River. Although the Apaches residing near Camp Grant declared a truce with the white citizens in the area, depredations continued throughout southeastern Arizona. Seeking revenge, the surprise attack resulted in one of the most heinous acts committed against Native Americans in the United States. In less than one hour, the attacking force killed approximately 100 Apaches, raping some women and mutilating many. Only seven people survived the assault by fleeing into the nearby mountains.

The settlement of Apache Indians near Camp Grant began in February 1871 when five Apache women entered the camp searching for a missing boy. Finding him there, the women conferred with him, however, the boy wished to stay. While at the camp, Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman provided the women with rations and upon their departure granted them permission to return. In eight days, more women returned with articles to sell and requested their chief be able to meet with Whitman. In a few days, the chief of the Aravaipa Apaches consulted with Whitman about peaceably settling near the camp. While Whitman did not have the authority to enter into a formal treaty with Indian groups, he offered safety and rations for the estimated 150 Aravaipa Apaches.

Whitman reported the Apache that arrived were in destitute condition, barely clothed. The camp provided them with rations every two days. Despite their initial condition, they quickly improved their standing by cutting hay and selling it to the military post and nearby ranchers. In April, Captain Stanwood relieved Whitman and he was secure enough in the friendship of the Aravaipa Apaches to take the entire garrison on a scouting mission to the southern part of the territory. Whitman also declared that the Apaches were no longer purchasing munitions and some even sold their best bows. Assuming continued prosperity among the new neighbors, Whitman estimated by the summer their numbers could be as high as 1,000 including other bands joining them.

In response to depredations south of Tucson, assumed committed by Apache Indians, a group of nearly 150 men set off to exact retribution. The first mayor of Tucson even participated in assault. On April 28, the men left for Camp Grant with the objective of attacking the nearby Apaches. Traveling for two days at a rapid pace the men arrived at the encampment along the San Pedro River before dawn. On the morning of the 30th Whitman received a dispatch that the men were enroute, however, when his messengers reached the Apache camp it was too late. They found the camp burning with none alive and bodies mutilated. Several suffered grotesque wounds to the head, infants partially dismembered, and some women with evidence of rape prior to being shot. Additionally, the attackers took almost thirty Apache children captive with the majority of them condemned to slavery in Mexico and a few in the homes of prominent Tucson citizens.

The attackers returned to Tucson applauding their success. However, within a year 100 men were put on trial for 108 indictments of murder. The trial lasted more than a week and focused heavily on the previous raids of all Apache bands in the Arizona Territory. The Judge instructed the jury to determine if the defendants acted in self-defense or in malice. In 19 minutes, the jury returned a verdict of self-defense and all the men were set free.

The Apache settlement near Camp Grant never recovered. Helen Hunt Jackson found the attack so egregious a decade later she used it as the final example in her testimony of Indian grievances in *A Century of Dishonor*. Today, for the Apache, the Camp Grant Massacre is one terrible episode in centuries of wrongs committed against them.

F. Evan Nooe

SEE ALSO *Century of Dishonor*

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Carson, Kit

Christopher Houston "Kit" Carson was born in Madison County, Kentucky, on December 24, 1809. Before he was two years old, his family moved to Missouri. At age 14, Carson was apprenticed to a saddle maker but later ran away and joined up with a wagon train headed west to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Carson soon found himself in the occupation of fur trapper and mountaineer. This provided the foundation for almost everything else he did for the rest of his life. Carson traveled all over the West as far as California, hunting, trapping, and ranching. He often lived with various Native American tribes. In the process, he took at least two Native American wives and learned at least four Native American languages.

In the summer of 1842, Carson met Lt. John C. Frémont who soon hired him to guide him on an expedition. From June until September, Kit guided Frémont's party west through South Pass to the Wind River Mountains and then back to Missouri. When Frémont published his report of the expedition, Carson gained widespread fame. He led two more expeditions for Fremont then participated in the battle and siege near San Pasqual.

Although Carson deservedly gained a reputation as one who had fought Native Americans, he also became known as someone who could work with them, serving as an Indian agent for the Ute tribe from 1854 to 1861. With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Carson resigned this post and joined the Union forces as a colonel in the

New Mexico volunteers. Union forces defeated an invading Confederate force at Glorieta Pass. However, the disruption and lack of soldiers elsewhere in New Mexico led to attacks upon settlers by Native tribes, including the Mescalero Apaches, the Comanches, the Kiowas, and the Navajos.

In mid-1862, Brigadier General James H. Carleton became commander of the Department of New Mexico. Carson was his principal field commander. Carleton believed that there could be no peace between whites and Natives unless the Natives were removed to remote locations away from white settlements. Although Carson did not relish fighting Native Americans and tried to resign his post, claiming that he had joined the army to fight Confederates, he agreed to stay on. Carson then led military campaigns against several different tribes. But it would be his campaign against the Navajos that would prove most controversial.

In December 1862, Carleton informed a group of Navajo leaders that he intended to relocate the tribe several hundred miles from their current homeland to Bosque Redondo. He gave the Navajos until July 20, 1863, to surrender and comply with the order or face war. When the Navajos did not surrender, war became certain.

In his lifetime, and for many years after his death, Carson was a popular hero who achieved further fame through publications such as *Harper's Magazine* (August 1853) in which a companion on one of his journeys, Lt. George Brewerton, portrayed Carson in a most intimate portrayal that appealed to action-loving Americans. A later autobiography, which he dictated to others, because he was barely literate, was expanded by his friend, DeWitt Peters, into a more eloquent style than Carson liked but the book's publication, first in 1858, gilded Carson's reputation even more and it was the basis, until new scholarship appeared, of the Carson legend. Carson has also been a popular figure on television and in films about the Old West.

However, the historical record has shifted over the years. First seen as the greatest guide and Indian fighter in the West, Carson has been portrayed as a brutal murderer who betrayed the Navajos and a racist while many historians now question both his reputation and his place as an American hero. In fact, Carson was neither an avowed friend nor enemy of Native Americans. At times, he fought them, and at other times he befriended them, a behavior and attitude not uncommon to many whites of the time.

David Sloan

SEE ALSO Frémont, John Charles

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Century of Dishonor

In 1881, Helen Hunt Jackson completed a monumental treatise condemning state and federal government policy toward Native Americans. Inspired by Ponca Indian chief, Standing Bear in 1879, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* was Jackson's most enduring work and embodied her struggle for Native American reform. A novelist by profession, this was her only book-length, non-fiction publication. *Century of Dishonor* called for reform by publicizing contradictory U.S. policy and the outright disregard for even those rights afforded to Native Americans by the federal government.

Century of Dishonor was one of the earliest and harshest critiques of the federal government's Indian policy from the Revolutionary Era until the 1870s. Her examination focused on the often-unscrupulous political negotiations between Native American groups and U.S. governing bodies. The work investigated the tribal histories of seven Native American groups: the Delawares, Cheyennes, Nez Perces, Sioux, Poncas, Winnebagos, and Cherokees. By focusing on these specific Native Americans, she presented the reader relatable and identifiable Indians who were wronged by the U.S. government.

The introduction established Native Americans as free and independent nations. From the beginning of European contact, colonists treated Indians as sovereign entities. Even with "England, France, Spain, little Portugal-all quarrelling fiercely, and fighting with each other for the biggest share in the new continent . . . all recognized the Indians' 'right of occupancy' as a right." With the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, the nascent nation gradually assumed dominion over the Native Peoples.

Jackson identified treaties as acts of outright deception. Whites used treaties with an absolute advantage over Natives, primarily to obtain land. *Century of Dishonor* argued that Whites held an absolute advantage in all treaty negotiations during the 19th century. If problems arose for the non-Native party they were easily overturned as the Indian party was frequently deemed to have no legal standing. Therefore, they had no right entering into binding contracts with whites.

Jackson and contemporaries felt that *Century of Dishonor* was comparable to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. She forwarded copies to legislators and President Grover Cleveland. She hoped this would initiate reforms of the Indian Bureau and the reservation system. In response, Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act abolishing the reservation system. Although it was intended to better the conditions of Native Americans across the United States, it ultimately had adverse affects. By recognizing individual Indians as private landholders, the act destroyed the last vestiges of the Native community. Historian Frederick W. Turner III described the Dawes Act as "one of the

cruelest of all deceptions and hardly the sort of response Mrs. Jackson" expected from writing *Century of Dishonor*.

F. Evan Nooe

SEE ALSO Nez Perce Campaign; *Standing Bear v. Crook*; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

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Cherokee Phoenix

The Cherokees are a tribe of American Indians that originally lived in the southern Appalachians Mountains. Before their removal on the Trail of Tears the Cherokee became the most civilized of the eastern tribes. In 1802, the State of Georgia entered into a Compact with the Government of the United States, which specified the Cherokee would be removed by the federal government. In the years between 1802 and their removal to Oklahoma, the Cherokees struggle to prevent or delay removal by becoming a civilized nation. By 1835 they had been transformed by a number of forces one of which was the development of the Cherokee Syllabary by Sequoyah (George Gist). Between 1809 and 1821, he developed a writing system using 85 characters.

Cherokees both young and old quickly discovered that with Sequoyah's Syllabary they could read and write. Mastery of the Syllabary advanced so rapidly that the Cherokee Legislative Council voted to establish a Cherokee national newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*. A bi-lingual paper (Cherokee and English) the first edition of the *Phoenix* was printed at the capital of the Cherokee Nation, New Echota in a one-story log structure housing the press and the large set of Cherokee type and the English type set.

The first issue (February 21, 1828) created reactions of amazement both in the United States and in Europe. Among the first documents published were portions of the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation. When Georgia Governor John Forsyth, an opponent of the Cherokees, read the *Phoenix*, he sent a copy of to President John Quincy Adams along with a document signed by Georgia legislators protesting the continued presence of the Cherokees in violation of the Compact of 1802.

The 1829 gold was discovered in Cherokee territory at Dahlonega and Andrew Jackson was elected President. On December 8, 1929, he urged Congress to pass a law removing all of the Southeastern Indians to land west of the Mississippi. Georgia quickly



The *Cherokee Phoenix*, first published in 1828, was the first Native American newspaper. (Library of Congress)

passed a series of anti-Cherokee laws. *The Cherokee Phoenix* responded with a number of editorials, which were cited by editors of a number of newspapers opposed to Jackson. In addition, the arrest and imprisonment of the missionaries to the Cherokees by Georgia was denounced in the *Phoenix* as well as in pulpits and newspapers.

Despite victories in the Supreme Court on the issues of removal and the illegal imprisonment of missionaries by Georgia, the end was near for the Cherokees in Georgia. On December 19, 1835, Major Ross, John Ross, and Elias Boudinot signed the Treaty of New Echota agreeing to removal. Afterward Boudinot resigned as editor. His successor Elijah Hicks struggled to continue the paper, which ceased publication on May 31, 1834, ending its role as a communications instrument.

Andrew J. Waskev

SEE ALSO Trail of Tears

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Chief Seattle Speech

Chief Seattle (Sealth) (c. 1786–June 7, 1866), leader of the Coast Salish-speaking Duwamish tribe of east central Puget Sound was a military leader whose alleged speech at a treaty signing elevated him to an environmentalist hero. The controversy arose over an undocumented speech that Chief Seattle gave in 1854 or in 1855.

Chief Seattle was born near present-day Seattle, Washington, the son of Schweabe, A Suquamish headman, and Scho-lit-za, who was reported to be a slave of Schweabe. Seattle's early contacts were with traders of the Hudson's Bay Company post, Fort Nisqually, on southern Puget Sound not far from present-day Olympia. Closer to home, intertribal petty warfare promoted Seattle into a leadership role among tidewater peoples in fights against Natives of the Green and White rivers to the east of the early settlement of Seattle. The chief exhibited leadership qualities that led to his hegemony over lands near the Seattle settlement at the mouth of the Duwamish River.

Seattle maintained his friendship with whites into the 19th century. An important one was with Washington's territorial governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs, Isaac I. Stevens. At the Point Elliott treaty council in January 1855, held near present-day Mukilteo, Washington, with tribesmen of the central Puget Sound, Stevens attributed an oration allegedly spoken by Chief Seattle to Stevens:

"Yonder sky that has wept tears of compassion upon our fathers for centuries untold. . . . The son of the White Chief says his father sends us greetings of friendship and good will. This is kind of him, for we know he has little need of our friendship in return because his people are many."

As Seattle spoke, Dr. Henry Smith, took notes from which he reconstructed the Chief's words some 33 years later, publishing them in the October 29, 1887 edition of the *Seattle Sunday Star* in flowery language that does not conform to the speaking style of the Puget Sound Indians. Native speech was not given to ornate embellishment. Smith's fluency in the Duwamish tongue allowed him to translate Seattle's words.

The main source for the speech seems to be a 1932 pamphlet by John M. Rich (*Chief Seattle's Unanswered Challenge*). Rich cites the article by Smith in the October 29, 1887 edition of the *Seattle Sunday Star* but in the "Record of Proceedings" of this council, which is found among the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the National Archives, there is only a short statement by Chief Seattle. These are the official words by Chief Seattle but Smith's name is not among the listed witnesses at the Point Elliott discussions and the official interpreter, Colonel B. F. Shaw, who would have been in a position to deny or affirm the Smith article, as he lived into the 20th century, never mentioned any such speech.

It is now almost impossible to prove or deny the accuracy of Smith's actions in 1887. There was no coverage in territorial newspapers, including the one at Olympia, that has been found nor was there anything in the *New York Times*, a major newspaper that maintained a mostly friendly attitude toward Native American affairs and might have been expected to at least mention the Point Elliott council. Historians have also not been able to find a Duwimish-language text of the speech, notes by Smith, mention in the official treaty proceedings and, most important, lack of any first-person evidence by individuals who might have been there.

Still, the text of Chief Seattle's reputed speech has been reprinted in several anthologies devoted to both environmentalism and to Native American literature and it has also been quoted in juvenile books on the same subjects and, for years, beginning in the mid-1970s, it was requested by overseas libraries of the U.S. Information Agency. This latest development was one of the reasons that necessitated a serious search by the National Archives in Washington, D.C., to refute the appearance of an official speech.

Martin J. Manning

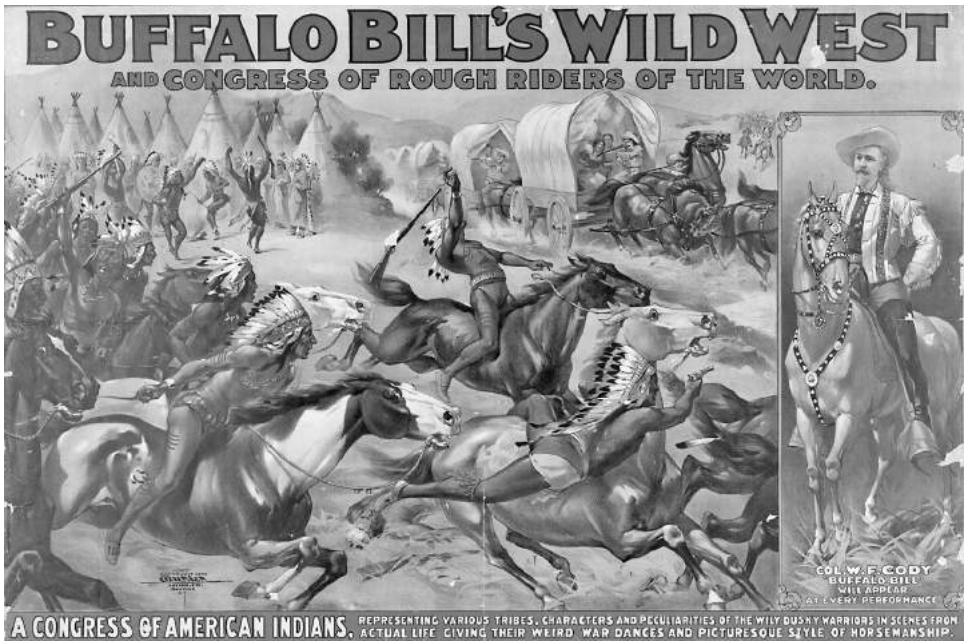
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Cody, Buffalo Bill

William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody was born on February 26, 1846, in Scott County, Iowa. In 1853, the Cody family moved to Kansas. In 1858, after his father's death, Cody obtained employment with a wagon train to help support his family. At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Cody sought to enlist in the Union Army, but was refused because of his age. In 1863, he enlisted in the 7th Kansas Cavalry and served as a scout for the duration of the war.

In 1867, the Kansas Pacific Railroad hired Cody to hunt buffalo to feed the railroad workers. While working for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, Cody, who killed more than 4,000 buffalo, earned a reputation as an expert shot. The railroad workers, impressed by Cody's skills, honored him with his nickname "Buffalo Bill." From 1868 to 1872, Cody served as a civilian scout for the U.S. Army during the Indian Wars. In 1872, the U.S. government awarded Cody the Medal of Honor for gallantry in action while serving as a scout for the 3rd Cavalry Regiment. The medal was revoked in February 1917, just



William Cody, nicknamed “Buffalo Bill,” drew huge crowds during the late 1800s to his shows recreating scenarios from the “wild” Western territory. (Library of Congress)

after Cody’s death because he was a civilian and thus ineligible for the award under guidelines set in 1917. The medal was restored to Cody in 1989.

To generate a positive image of the U.S. Army in the West, army officials often organized elaborate hunting adventures for foreign and domestic dignitaries. Cody led a number of these expeditions, protected by the U.S. military. The hunting expeditions were eagerly followed by newspaper readers around the world.

In 1872, novelist Ned Buntline convinced Cody to play himself in the stage production of Buntline’s novel *Scouts of the Prairie*. Smitten with the theater, Cody formed his own troupe of frontier actors in 1873. Because the majority of the actors were frontiersmen, the dramatic productions were fairly credible. In 1876, after the outbreak of the Great Sioux War, Cody was once again employed by the U.S. Army as a civilian scout. To avenge the death of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Cody shot to death and then scalped Yellow Hair, a Cheyenne warrior, during the July 17, 1876, Battle of Warbonnet Creek in the Nebraska Territory. The battle was part of the wider Black Hills War, sometimes referred to as the Little Big Horn Campaign.

In 1883, Cody formed the Buffalo Bill Wild West show. For the next 30 years, the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show entertained audiences all over the United States and Europe. Members of the show’s cast included Sitting Bull, Annie Oakley, Wild Bill Hickok, and Calamity Jane. Cody invested his earnings in economic development projects throughout the West. In 1896, he helped establish Cody, Wyoming. He was also an early supporter of Native American rights and women’s suffrage. Cody was incredibly

popular and well respected, and U.S. presidents frequently consulted with him about matters pertaining to the West. Beginning in 1912, Cody's finances sharply deteriorated and he went heavily in debt, a situation that he was never able to rectify completely. Because of his indebtedness, Cody performed until his death on January 10, 1917, in Denver, Colorado.

Michael R. Hall

SEE ALSO Custer, George Armstrong; Dime Novels; Little Bighorn, Battle of the; Sitting Bull; Wild West Shows

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Custer, George Armstrong

One of the youngest generals in the American Civil War, George Armstrong Custer went on to an infamous career on the frontier as an Indian fighter during the Sioux War until he and his 7th Cavalry were defeated at the Battle of the Little Bighorn—known as Custer's Last Stand—in 1876.

Custer was born on December 5, 1839 in New Rumley, Ohio, although he spent part of his childhood with his half-sister in Monroe, Michigan. Nicknamed "Autie" by his family, Custer often accompanied his father to local militia drills. By the age of four, he could go through the manual of arms perfectly, and the militiamen in New Rumley called him "a born soldier." He graduated from Stebins' Young Men's Academy at the age of 16 and was admitted to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in July 1857. Custer the cadet was a practical joker and popular with his classmates, although he finished at the bottom of his class, performing just well enough in his courses to graduate in 1861 on the eve of the Civil War.

Despite his mediocre record as a student, Custer excelled in military strategy and as a soldier during the Civil War. Shortly after graduating from West Point, he was assigned to a regiment on its way to the first Battle of Bull Run. His daring reconnaissance patrols and valor brought him to the attention of the Union Army's commander, Gen. George B. McClellan. As a captain and a staff officer for McClellan, Custer demonstrated his

potential to such an extent that he was promoted to brigadier general and given command of a Michigan cavalry brigade at the age of 23.

With his flamboyant uniform, which he designed personally, and his long flowing yellow hair, Custer immediately became a national hero; this helped him win the heart of Elizabeth Bacon, whom he married on February 9, 1864. From the Battle of Gettysburg in July 1863 through the end of the war, he was renowned for his fearless and often decisive cavalry charges and earned the respect of his men and superiors. By the end of the war, he had been promoted to major general, commanded a full division, and was considered one of the most brilliant cavalry officers in the Union Army.

After the war, Custer returned to the regular army with a permanent rank of lieutenant colonel in the 7th Cavalry. Because his commanding officer was frequently absent, the Seventh was, for all intents and purposes, Custer's regiment. He quickly made a name for himself on the Plains. Dressed in fringed buckskin instead of a traditional uniform, he was the embodiment of the dashing Indian fighter. Easterners looked on Custer as the army's foremost Indian fighter. His best-selling book, *My Life on the Plains* (1874), and several popular magazine articles helped to reinforce his reputation as a military genius. Yet the "Custer myth" did not always square with reality.

Custer was no more successful than his military peers were as an Indian fighter, and even less so than a few. Indeed, Custer's first experience fighting the Native Americans in 1867 ended in humiliating failure. Not only did he fail to defeat any Native Americans, but he was court-martialed and sentenced to a year's suspension of rank and pay. He rebounded from this personal setback in 1868 when he surprised Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne village in a brutal and strategically questionable attack. Although not a military target, the victory helped to burnish Custer's public reputation.

In 1874, miners attached to the 7th Cavalry found gold in the Black Hills of the Dakota Territory, and the U.S. government subsequently attempted to buy the Black Hills from the Sioux. When this effort failed, Sioux aggression against neighboring tribes, led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, gave American officials the necessary justification to send in the military to resolve the situation. The result was the Great Sioux War of 1876.

On June 25, 1876, Custer's Seventh attacked the village of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse on the Little Bighorn River. Refusing reinforcements from other cavalry units, Custer divided his regiment in an effort to outflank the Sioux. However, he underestimated the size and fighting ability of Crazy Horse's force and found himself outnumbered 10 to 1 and surrounded. In one of the most famous and controversial battles in American history, the Sioux slaughtered "Long Hair," the name the Sioux had given him, and his men, including Custer's younger brother Tom. "Custer's Last Stand" stunned Americans and awarded to Custer an immortality that he probably did not deserve but that fit with his reputation and public persona.

Andy Johns

SEE ALSO Little Bighorn, Battle of the; Sitting Bull

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Dances, War. See Ghost Dance

Dawes Commission. See General Allotment Act (Dawes Act)

Dime Novels

Inexpensive, pocket-sized, formulaic, melodramatic novels, ranging from 25,000 to 30,000 words, sold from about 1860 to 1895. Dime novels were the dominant form of popular fiction and were an inseparable part of the day-to-day life of most young men in the last half of the 19th century. The dime novel often tended toward very patriotic and nationalistic tales of adventure and chaste romance while conveying a puritanical sense of morality, rugged individualism, and a clearly defined portrait of the American frontier where the “Indian” was either a bloodthirsty “redskin” or a noble savage.

The dime novel format evolved from the story paper, an eight-page tabloid-sized weekly that serialized novels and included other materials to appeal to the entire family. Revolutions in publishing technology and the centralization of the publishing industry, availability of cheap paper, and improvements in distribution were among the factors that led Irwin P. Beadle and his brother Erastus to develop the concept of a series of short, pocket-sized novels bound in cheap “groundwood,” or pulp paper, and published every fortnight. In 1860, the

publishing firm of Beadle and Adams published the first in their series of Beadle's Dime Novels, *Malaeska*, *The Indian Wife of the White Hunter*. The book was written by a respected author, Ann S. Stephens. Soon the "Yellow Beadles," as they were called, gained an enormous following. The exciting adventures of such characters as Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild Bill Hickok in a book that was cheap and small enough to tuck into a pocket or hide in a textbook made the books requisite reading for most young men of the day.

Beadle's novels offered the working classes of the East an affordable and portable form of escapism. In the dimers, as they were sometimes called, readers were shown a wild west filled with romance, adventure, and the opportunity to make something of one's life. The dime novels began less than 50 years after the nation's last war with Britain, and they reflected this with an intense nationalism and strident patriotism. In the early Westerns, especially, they painted a clear picture of a frontier infested with Indians and invited the reader to join in the push to Manifest Destiny.

The advent of the Civil War meant a further increase in the market for Beadle's dime novels. Soldiers desired the books because they fit easily into pockets and were exciting reading. Beadle's novels were delivered to the troops in bales by trains, and many reports exist of dead soldiers being buried with their Beadle in their pocket. Nearly 5 million Beadles sold during the war years even though they were unavailable in the Confederacy.

The success of Beadles led to the development of many competing houses, most notably Street & Smith and George Munro. These houses and the Beadles added many new genres to the dime novel format. As the Western frontier was settled, detective stories set in Chicago moved to the forefront. Changes in postal rates and publishing techniques led most publishers to shift from the dime format to the magazine format in the 1920s, which marked the beginning of the end of the dimers.

Dime novels were most often written under pen names, but many well-known writers of the day "slummed" and wrote a dimer or two, including Horatio Alger Jr., Ned Buntline, Bret Harte, and Louisa May Alcott.



Cover of *The Lost Trail*, a dime novel published by Beadle and Company, 1864. (Library of Congress)

B. Keith Murphy

SEE ALSO Cody, Buffalo Bill; Manifest Destiny

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Film (American Indian Wars)

The Indian Wars are so central to the story of the American frontier that they form a core part of the Western genre. Their cinematic depictions underwent dramatic change over the decades, usually, though not always, as a result of the impact of new academic interpretations on popular culture. Sometimes movies were also at the forefront of these changes, and for better or worse proved far more influential than any amount of scholarship.

As with all historical topics, there are advantages and disadvantages to the Hollywood treatment. On one hand, the visual element has a reality all its own; no written description could more effectively invoke the paradoxical combination of natural beauty and desolation characteristic of the American frontier than the breathtaking panoramas of Monument Valley in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949). Likewise, a great performance and subtle script can often provide insight into the personality of a historical figure or character type. Good historical movies can also stimulate our curiosity.

A small handful of classics managed to transcend the medium's limitations. The finest examples were the first two films in John Ford's cavalry trilogy *Fort Apache* (1948), and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*. The third and lesser film was *Rio Grande* (1950). Although fictional, and often dismissed as overly romanticized, careful viewing reveals them to be surprisingly rich in historical insight.

After *Dances With Wolves* (1989), most films about the Indian Wars chose to ostensibly tell historical rather than fictional stories. Unfortunately, however, these movies often substituted a kind of "authenticity" of artifacts for interpretive or even factual accuracy. Examples include *Buffalo Soldiers* (1997) and Steven Spielberg's TV mini-series *Into the West* (2005). Many of these films also suffered from a surplus of heavy-handed moralizing and were historically misleading as anything in the B-westerns of yesteryear.

There were exceptions, however, such as *Son of the Morning Star* (1991) discussed below, and Walter Hill's *Geronimo: An American Legend* (1993), which featured a surprisingly complex screenplay from acclaimed writer John Milius that managed to get much of the details right about Geronimo's guerrilla war in the mid-1880s. Though far from perfect, in their better moments these films managed to evoke what James McPherson called the "larger truth." Their chief failings were dramatic, and for all their historical merit, as movies they simply could not achieve the standard set by Ford.

Perhaps the best way to understand the change in popular views of the Indian Wars is to explore Hollywood's interpretation of the life and death of George Armstrong Custer (1839–1876). More movies have been made about Yellow Hair's exploits—real, exaggerated, or wholly invented—than all other frontier military figures combined. A discussion of Custer's place in the mythology of the American West belongs elsewhere, but it is worth noting that much of that mythology was established, if not invented, by the movies. Indeed, Custer's epic demise at the hands of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors in the Battle of Little Big Horn in June 1876 ("Custer's Last Stand") was the subject of some of the very first movies. And before that, it was the frequent climax of the traveling "Wild West shows" of the late 19th century, which did so much to define popular interpretations of the frontier experience.

Until the 1960s, Custer was invariably portrayed as a heroic victim of either the Indians, corrupt government officials, misguided reservation policy, betrayal by his own subordinates, or some combination thereof. The best example was probably *They Died With Their Boots On* (1939), starring Errol Flynn. Here Custer, a victim of scheming and corrupt politicians, was the last to die at Little Big Horn, overrun by an Indian charge after defiantly breaking his saber in half (Custer actually forbade his troopers from carrying sabers prior to an attack lest their clanging alert the enemy). His heroic sacrifice leads the government to return the Indians' land. The inaccuracies in this version of events are obvious; as one historian put it, "they died with their facts wrong."

By the 1960s, the patron saint of western expansion was beginning to lose his halo. In 1967's *Custer of the West*, Robert Shaw's Custer was still brave and even romantic, but some of the darker complexities also appeared for the first time, including his ruthless command style, his feud with the Grant administration over the Belknap Scandal, and his disputes with subordinates that contributed to his death. Although a few of the events depicted in the film were loosely based on actual history, overall it was mostly just wrong. Surprisingly, one element of continuity with *They Died With Their Boots On* was the portrayal of Custer as sympathetic to the Indians.

"Revisionism" in all its glory informed the next and arguably most durable celluloid Custer of all: Richard Mulligan's version in the 1969 epic, *Little Big Man*. Here Custer was a megalomaniacal villain, a Custer for the times, personifying all that the so-called New Left feared and loathed about the U.S. propensity for war. Clearly, the unpopular Vietnam War had crept its way into this movie. Although such a cartoonish depiction said far more about the 1960s than the 1870s, Mulligan's insane Custer unfortunately was embraced by a generation of historically unsophisticated Americans familiar with slogans like *Custer Died For Your Sins* as biographical reality.

The next two efforts were both made-for-TV movies. The 1977 Hallmark Special *The Court-Martial of George Armstrong Custer* was an attempt to get back to the historical Custer, although the setting was a hypothetical post-Little Big Horn trial in which a surviving Custer was charged with negligence for losing his command. This allowed for plenty of speculation—including about Custer's sexual relationship with wife Elizabeth—but also facilitated the inclusion of many pertinent historical details.

Although the film did not include a verdict, it echoed a familiar cinematic theme in strongly implying that Custer was a victim of his political enemies.

The 1991 made-for-TV miniseries based on the book by Evan Connell *Son of the Morning Star* represented a far more ambitious attempt to explore the historical Custer. His military career, especially on the frontier, was covered fairly accurately, as were some of the lesser-known aspects of his personal life, like his relationship with his siblings. Aside from its excellent recreation of the Battle of Little Big Horn, however, dramatically the series never managed to transcend its awkward plot structure and lackluster acting, especially Gary Cole's bland Custer. Henry Fonda's fictional Colonel Owen Thursday in *Fort Apache* continued to offer the most enduring and sophisticated celluloid insight into the historical Custer.

If any long-term cinematic trend could be regarded as mostly positive, it was the way in which Native peoples were depicted. Until the 1960s, considerable and often insulting historical liberties were commonplace. Actors portraying Indians were usually not real Native Americans at all, they often spoke stereotypical Hollywood gibberish, and, at least in the B-westerns of the early decades, were seldom little more than human savages. From the 1960s on, however, Indian peoples went from being mere ciphers or targets to protagonists as the movies began to tell the story from their point of view, as in *Little Big Man* (Cheyenne), *I Will Fight No More Forever* (1975, Nez Perce), and, of course, *Dances With Wolves* (Lakota). Not surprisingly, new stereotypes emerged to replace the old, and even as these tribes were portrayed with greater sympathy and accuracy, the Pawnees often took their place as the "bad Indians," as exemplified by *Little Big Man* and *Dances With Wolves*.

Contrary to popular perception, however, the sympathetic portrayal of Indians was not new with *Little Big Man*. As noted above, in *They Died With Their Boots On* the Sioux were driven into hostility by corrupt government officials and land-hungry whites. Similar grievances appeared in many other films, including *Fort Apache* and Chuck Connors's vehicle, *Geronimo* (1962). In each case, the Indians' decision to resort to the warpath was presented as a legitimate reaction to white injustice.

Just as Hollywood's portrayal of Indian people reflected changes in scholarship and political culture, so to did its interpretation of the frontier army. Partly a result of the turmoil of the 1960s, and partly perhaps a reflection of the cinematic need for dramatic balance, as the Indian rose in esteem, the white soldier declined. The notable exceptions were the African American "Buffalo Soldiers," who were the favorably depicted subject of two films spanning this period of interpretive change: John Ford's *Sergeant Rutledge* (1960), and the TNT movie *Buffalo Soldiers* (1997).

Otherwise, the "blue coats" mutated from the good-natured immigrant heroes of *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* into agents of militarism or even genocide. In *Little Big Man*, the 7th Cavalry carries out a My Lai Massacre-like slaughter of Cheyennes at the Battle of the Washita (November 1868). *Soldier Blue* (1970) substituted the Sand Creek Massacre (November 1864) for Vietnam, but kept the increasingly familiar stereotype of

psychotic soldiers slaughtering innocent women and children. Later came the insane soldiers of *Dances With Wolves* who inexplicably blow their brains out or sadistically take potshots at wildlife.

Once more, however, this interpretative shift was anticipated by John Ford. *Fort Apache*'s Colonel Thursday was clearly at least partially based on historical figures like Custer and William Fetterman (1833–1866), who, like Thursday, was lured with his command into a fatal ambush near Fort Phil Kearny in December 1866. In *The Searchers* (1956), which focused on the issue of anti-Indian racism, the army occasionally appeared in the background as a morally ambiguous force, and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964) presented cinema's first full-blown psychopathic frontier army officer, Karl Malden's uncomplicatedly evil Oskar Wessels.

More recently, productions like *Son of the Morning Star* (1991) and *Geronimo: An American Legend* (1993) offered a more nuanced view of both Indian and soldier. The latter film in particular represented in some respects a return to the visual and interpretive sensibilities of *Fort Apache*, complete with historical versions of Colonel Thursday (General Nelson A. Miles, 1839–1925) and Captain York (Lieutenant Charles Gatewood, 1853–1896). It remains to be seen, however, if any film about the Indian Wars will ever be able to combine the beauty and power of the fictional work of John Ford with real historical events.

Raymond W. Leonard

SEE ALSO Custer, George Armstrong; Geronimo; Little Big Horn, Battle of the; Wild West Shows

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Flipper, Henry Controversy

Henry O. Flipper (1856–1940) was born into slavery in Antebellum Georgia. During Reconstruction, he was appointed to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, one of the first five African-Americans so accepted. All five path-breaking men endured blatant and open racism from their peers and some of the faculty. For the last year of his time as a cadet, the determined Flipper even endured the strongest cadet-imposed signal of opprobrium, “silencing.” Of the five, only Flipper persevered and was graduated as a Second Lieutenant of Cavalry in 1877, thereby becoming the first ever African American Regular Army officer.

Flipper’s initial assignment was to the all-black 10th Cavalry Regiment. This was one of four such regiments created in the wake of the American Civil War. Two regiments were infantry while the other two were cavalry. Collectively, they became known on the Great Plains (where they spent most of the 19th century confronting Native Americans) as “Buffalo Soldiers.” Upon arrival at his directed post, Flipper’s commander assigned him to several engineering projects. Although some later commentators equated these assignments to racism, the fact is that this was an entirely appropriate application of Flipper’s USMA degree in engineering. All the more so in the post-Civil War Army, which contained a large percentage of combat veterans from the war, but not many educated engineers.

After this period, Flipper joined the regiment proper, serving first as a platoon leader and then later as a company executive officer. By all accounts, his service was honorable and competent. In 1881, in a much-disputed situation, Flipper was accused of embezzlement. A subsequent court martial found Flipper innocent of the base charge, but guilty of a second charge of conduct unbecoming an officer due to his actions attempting to conceal events surrounding the original charge. Flipper was discharged from the Army, never to return, although Flipper almost immediately began a campaign to overturn the charges so that he might serve, or at least clear his name. Over the course of the decades, he wrote his autobiography and many articles that collectively proclaimed his innocence, ascribed the sentence he received from the all-white board of officers who sat on his court martial board to institutional racism, and made several applications to the U.S. Army and to Congress for reinstatement.

Flipper was correct that there can be no doubt that the Army officer corps of that time (and for well after that period) was largely racist. Flipper’s cause was subsequently taken up by others. His became a celebrated cause among African Americans and supporters of equal rights as a key example of post-slavery repression. In 1990, President William Clinton officially, albeit posthumously, pardoned Flipper.

Recently, the general consensus of academic historians has flipped on the issue of Flipper’s guilt. One of Flipper’s greatest defenders, author Charles Robinson, who wrote the most comprehensive exoneration in the book *The Court Martial of Lieutenant Henry Flipper* (1994), completely reversed his earlier position. In the new work, *The Fall of the Black Army Officer: Racism and the Myth of Henry O. Flipper* (2008), Black Studies

writer and historian Robinson persuasively argues that while Flipper was likely falsely accused of the initial charge (embezzlement), his subsequent behavior was, indeed, Conduct Unbecoming. Robinson's reversal came after a reexamination of the materials and his major finding was that Flipper's subsequent accusations of racism did not hold water. Robinson determined that the officer most directly involved in the second charge, Flipper's former commander, had until the time of the events been one of Flipper's most ardent supporters throughout the preceding years. Indeed, the captain could arguably have been the absolutely least racist white officer in the entire regiment. That officer's accusations, Robinson now believed, stemmed from a real personal conviction about Flipper's (mis)behavior during the whole situation. Robinson's new addition to the literature has generally swayed the majority of military historians who deal with the topic.

Robert Bateman

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General Allotment Act (Dawes Act)

On February 8, 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act ("An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations"), named for its sponsor, Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts. It emphasized the treatment of Native Americans as individuals rather than as members of tribes.

By the late 1870s, it was clear that the Native American reservation system, which served as the cornerstone of the federal government's Indian policy for much of the 19th century, was a failure. The General Allotment Act, which was passed by Congress at a time of growing non-Indian pressure to open remaining Indian lands for settlement, allowed the President to break up reservation land, which was held in common by the members of a tribe, into small allotments to be parceled out to individuals. Thus, Native Americans registering on a tribal "roll" were granted allotments of reservation land. "To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section; To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; To each orphan child under eighteen years of age,

one-eighth of a section; and To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section.”

At the time the act was passed, the Sioux Nation, by treaty, still owned most of western South Dakota; the Flatheads and Blackfeet held title to much of western Montana; and a coalition of local Native nations, such as the Kiowa, and “removed” Indians, such as the Cheyennes and Apaches, occupied western Oklahoma while the Crow held a large area in southern Montana.

Section 8 of the act specified groups that were to be exempt from the law, declaring that “the provisions of this act shall not extend to the territory occupied by the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Osage, Miamies and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes, in the Indian Territory, nor to any of the reservations of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the State of New York, nor to that strip of territory in the State of Nebraska adjoining the Sioux Nation on the south.”

Subsequent events extended the act’s provisions to these groups as well. In 1893, President Grover Cleveland appointed the Dawes Commission to negotiate with the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, who were known as the Five Civilized Tribes. As a result of these negotiations, several acts were passed that allotted a share of common property to members of the Five Civilized Tribes in exchange for abolishing their tribal governments and recognizing state and Federal laws. In order to receive the allotted land, members were to enroll with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Once enrolled, the individual’s name went on the “Dawes rolls.” This process assisted the BIA and the Secretary of the Interior in determining the eligibility of individual members for land distribution.

The purpose of the Dawes Act and the subsequent acts that extended its initial provisions was supposed to protect Native American property rights, particularly during the land rushes of the 1890s, but in many instances the results were vastly different. The land allotted to the Indians included desert or near-desert lands unsuitable for farming. In addition, the techniques of self-sufficient farming were much different from their tribal way of life. Many Native Americans did not want to take up agriculture, and those who did want to farm could not afford the tools, animals, seed, and other supplies necessary to get started. There were also problems with inheritance and family names as unlike white Americans, Native Americans did not share a family name. In an effort to further break up tribal organization, the commission assigned last names to allottees, as well as surnames if they considered Indian names “inappropriate” but if the allottee refused this new designation, he was in turn not given any land.

Just as bad was the inheritance issue. Often young children inherited allotments that they could not farm because they had been sent away to boarding schools. Multiple heirs also caused a problem; when several people inherited an allotment, the size of the holdings became too small for efficient farming.

The effects of the General Allotment Act were disastrous as millions of acres of reservation land was lost as “surplus” land while thousands of Native Americans, uneducated about U.S. law and unprepared for shady land dealers, were cheated out of their

allotments. Native Americans held more than 155 million acres in 1881 by 1900, they retained only 78 million.

In 1926, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work commissioned a study of federal administration of Native American policy and the condition of its people. Completed in 1936, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, commonly known as the Meriam Report after the study's director, Lewis Meriam, documented fraud and misappropriation by government agents. (Original ed. issued as no. 17 of Institute for Government Research, Brookings Institution, Studies in Administration). In particular, the Meriam Report found that the General Allotment Act had been used to illegally deprive Native Americans of their land rights. After considerable debate, Congress terminated the allotment process under the Dawes Act by enacting the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 ("Wheeler-Howard Act"). However, the allotment process in Alaska under the separate Alaska Native Allotment Act continued until its revocation in 1993 by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

Press reaction to the General Allotment Act followed the usual regionalism that dominated so much of Native American coverage in the 19th century. Western papers supported almost totally anything that favored the "white man's superiority" while continuing to portray Indians as "savages" and other degrading appellations. However, a supporter of the Indian was the *New York Times*, which constantly faced two challenges in dealing with what it called the Indian problem. First, it found the a great deal of public apathy and ignorance on the topic and, second, it often discovered that prevailing public opinion, particularly in the West, was often the opposite of its own views.

The *New York Times* addressed the problem of the General Allotment Act as early as July 25, 1885 ("The New Indian Policy") when it questioned the validity of the government's policy toward Indian land and its "diligently fostered plan to give greedy ranchmen a foothold upon Indian lands in all parts of the West." In another article, published two years after the General Allotment Act was passed, the *Times* ("The Indian Commissionership," June 12, 1889), attacked the true motives of the act's sponsor, Senator Dawes of Massachusetts.

Martin J. Manning

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IN 1910 THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR SOLD UNDER SEALED BIDS ALLOTTED INDIAN LAND AS FOLLOWS:

Location	Acres	Average Price per Acre	Location	Acres	Average Price per Acre
Colorado	5,211.21	\$7.27	Oklahoma	34,664.00	\$19.14
Idaho	17,013.00	24.85	Oregon	1,020.00	15.43
Kansas	1,684.50	33.45	South Dakota	120,445.00	16.53
Montana	11,634.00	9.80	Washington	4,879.00	41.31
Nebraska	5,641.00	36.65	Wisconsin	1,069.00	17.00
North Dakota	22,618.70	9.93	Wyoming	865.00	20.64

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WALTER L. FISHER,
Secretary of the Interior.

ROBERT G. VALENTINE,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Not Afraid of Pawnee, a Yankton Sioux, on an advertisement by the U.S. Department of the Interior offering surplus lands for sale in 1910–1911. (Library of Congress)

SEE ALSO Indian Removal Act; Trail of Tears

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Geronimo

Goyathlay was born in southern Arizona in June of 1829. He was one of eight children born to Taklishim, a Chiricahua Apache, and Juana, a woman of mixed Mexican and Apache ancestry. Very little is known about his early life but one can assume it was little different from other Apache youth. Goyathlay became one of the greatest war chiefs of the American West. Because his name was very difficult to pronounce, Goyathlay became Geronimo to his Mexican opponents and eventually to the Americans as well.

In 1872, the Apache leader Cochise, after more than a decade of resistance, signed an agreement with the United States that allowed the Apache to remain on their land in Apache Pass in southern Arizona. After the death of Cochise in 1874, and numerous and very brutal raids into Mexico, the Apache were moved to San Carlos, a reservation about 150 miles to the north. The government did not sufficiently provide for the Apache, who were growing increasingly unhappy with the San Carlos reservation. For the next four years Geronimo and other Apaches made periodic escapes from San Carlos only to be returned by the U.S. Army.

In 1881 Geronimo and 74 Apache warriors left the reservation. They were pursued by the U.S. Cavalry under the command of Major General Orlando Willcox but escaped into Mexico where they were joined by other Apaches who had fled the United States. In April 1882, Geronimo and his warriors slipped back across the border and forced the nearly 200 Apache at San Carlos to return to Mexico. Between 30 and 50 whites were killed on the return trip including the reservation police chief, Albert Sterling.

Willcox was replaced by Brigadier General George Crook, who had previously commanded the Department of Arizona. In 1883, Crook was authorized by the General of the

Army to pursue Geronimo and the Apache into Mexican territory. Using Apache scouts, Crook was able to corner Geronimo and his followers in northern Mexico. Crook reached an agreement with Geronimo. The Apache would return to San Carlos and Crook would personally ensure their fair treatment.

Geronimo's name became synonymous with terror. Sensational coverage by the country's newspapers caused a near panic over the return of the Apaches. This forced General Phil Sheridan to order Crook to withdraw his agreement with Geronimo and demand unconditional surrender. Geronimo and his Apaches were to travel to Fort Bowie to surrender to American forces. On the way, Geronimo encountered an alcohol dealer. This was a weakness for Geronimo and he overindulged. While intoxicated, he reneged on his agreement with Crook and he and 20 of his men and 13 women fled back to Mexico. Crook heard of Geronimo's escape just before he was informed of the new orders from Sheridan.

Crook tendered his resignation and was replaced by Nelson A. Miles. It took Miles's 5,000 soldiers, with the help of the Mexican army, 18 months to trap Geronimo and his 20 warriors. Three hundred and forty Apaches, including Geronimo were imprisoned in Fort Marion, the 17th century fortress in St. Augustine, Florida. Crook petitioned the government to allow the Apache to return to San Carlos. Arizona refused to allow Geronimo and the other leaders to return. The Comanche and Kiowa set aside part of their reservation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma for Geronimo. The 58-year-old warrior accepted the kind offer and Geronimo took up farming and raising livestock.

Geronimo's days of resistance had ended. He converted to Christianity joining the Dutch Reformed Church and dedicated his 1905 autobiography to President Theodore Roosevelt whose inaugural parade he rode in. He died of pneumonia on February 17, 1909 on the Fort Sill reservation and is buried there.

Nearly 100 years after his death, Geronimo became the center of news coverage once again. A story circulated that the infamous Skull and Bones Society at Yale University had the remains of Geronimo in their possession. The Society, often the center of conspiracy theories, gained more national attention when one of their former members, George W. Bush, was elected President of the United States. Because according to the story, it was Bush's grandfather who exhumed the legendary warrior, it became an issue once again with former attorney general and outspoken Bush critic Ramsey Clark representing Geronimo's great grandson.

Geronimo continues to be a symbol of Native resistance to the settling of the American West and is perhaps the most famous of all Native American Warriors.

Wesley Moody

SEE ALSO Roosevelt, Theodore

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Ghost Dance

Two religious dances were popularly called "Ghost Dance" during the late 1800s of western American history. The first of these began in Madison Valley, Nevada, which would become the Walker River Reservation in the 1874. The other Ghost Dance developed from it in the late 1880s among the plains Indians. Both versions of the Ghost Dance can be viewed as nativist movements. Nativism as a political movement often uses religion to organize people who were at the center of an area or country, but who are being supplanted by new immigrants who are usually of a different ethnic stock, religion, culture, or history. The supplanting marginalizes and delegitimizes their way of life. The beliefs, and in the case of the Ghost Dance, the ritual performances enable the marginalized nativists to empower themselves with a revival of spiritual renewal for defeating the threatening domination of the new groups.

The Ghost Dance was a circular dance with new ceremonies. The core ritual element was movement in a circle. The dance step was a leftward movement around the circle. Joining hands to perform the dance was also a part of the steps. It was performed so that the ancestors and vanished food source of the hunting and gathering would return. In the case of the Plains Indians the food source was the buffalo.

In the late 1860s, Hawthorne Wodziwob (died ca. 1872) was a Northern Paiute living in Madison Valley north of Virginia City. Paiutes were spread across Nevada, California and Oregon practicing a subsistence form of hunting and gathering. The Northern Paiutes of Nevada had recently suffered deadly epidemics with significant losses in population dealing them emotional blows from grief.

In 1869, Wodziwob returned from a vision quest he preached that if Indians would perform the rituals of the Ghost Dance they would be able to create a new paradise. At dances, regular community events for hunting and other celebrations, Wodziwob preached his vision, which was of a journey to the land of the dead where he was promised that loved ones would return. His teachings spread west among the Northern Paiute to California, and then to the Klamaths, Miwoks, Modocs, and the Yuroks. As the dance spread, it was adapted to the cultural traditions as happens whenever religion is acculturated from one culture to another.

The first Ghost Dance died out after the death of Wadziwob, but the memory of it did not die out. It was preserved by a local shaman named Tavibo, a Madison Valley Paiute prophet. He taught in a series of messages that the whites would be destroyed. He was

the father of Wokova (Jack Wilson), who was the prophet who inspired the Ghost Dance among the Sioux.

As the Ghost Dance religious revitalizing movements spread, several Sioux bands adopted Ghost Shirts along with the Ghost Dance. The dance was interpreted as an empowering ideology that would cause the elimination of the White man. The shirts were hailed as so invested with spiritual power that they could stop the White man's bullets. In December 1890, at a Ghost Dance gathering at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, a massacre occurred that ended the Indian Wars.

Andrew J. Waskey

SEE ALSO Nativism and Secret Societies

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Grant's Peace Policy

When Ulysses S. Grant came to the presidency in 1869, the Western plains were becoming a serious problem. The attempts under President Andrew Johnson to settle the Native Americans on protected reservations were failing. Congress refused to fund the treaties because of unrelated political issues. Throughout the West, the Plains Indians were raiding and attacking settlers. In command of the army in the West was Philip Sheridan, who had earned a reputation for toughness and brutality in the Civil War. Sheridan's solution to unrest on the plains was aggressive military action. It is very likely that the voters who sent "Unconditional Surrender" Grant to the White House expected a hard response from the former general. However Grant had seen enough of war.

Grant's policies toward the Native Americans were collectively called "Grant's Peace Policy" or "Quaker Policy." Grant had firsthand experience with Native Americans. He was stationed in the West before the Civil War. He believed that much of the conflicts could be blamed on settlers and corrupt government officials. Grant pushed for a more humanitarian policy toward Native Americans. The aim of the policy was to get Indians to go to reservations, adopt mainstream American culture, and give up their traditional Indian ways of life. It would end their free-roaming hunting, and in essence, make them like European-Americans. Once a Native American had gone through this process he could be accepted fully into society. Later generations criticized this policy because it could have led to the destruction of Native culture.



Cartoon ridiculing President Grant's Indian peace policy, showing Indians receiving torn blankets, an empty rifle case, and spoiled beef. Created by Joseph Keppler for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 18, 1875. (Library of Congress)

soldier, understood that no one wants to avoid war more than the men who have to fight.

Grant's policy was attacked by both parties intent on protecting the patronage system. Congress quickly made it illegal for soldiers to serve as Indian agents. Many newspapers and politicians used any violence on the frontier to attack Grant and his policies toward Native Americans. The *New York Times* was a strong supporter of Grant's policies. It blamed any violence in the West on the policies of Grant's predecessors. Grant held firm and his policy produced results. Leading chiefs came to Washington to discuss and accept peace terms. Grant's peace policy saved the American Indian from possible extinction although their culture may have suffered irreparable damage.

Wesley Moody

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Grant knew that if any Native American policy was going to be successful he would have to change the way Indian agents were selected. The Indian agent was in charge of the reservation. He was supposed to be the representative of Native American interests. He was in charge of distributing and requisitioning the needed materials from the Federal government. The position had the possibility of being extremely lucrative if the office holder was unconcerned with ethics. Thus, the position was a prime plum for the political spoils system. Grant felt that the best men for these positions were soldiers and ministers. Ministers would be motivated by a higher cause than profit. Grant hoped they would work toward improving life on the reservations, thus removing the cause of unrest. Grant's peace policy was also called his Quaker Policy because the Society of Friends was one of the religious establishments he used to find honest men. The soldiers, Grant believed, would carry out the duties of Indian agent with honest professionalism. Grant, as a former

Indian Removal Act

During the early 19th century, the U.S. government had attempted to civilize Native Americans by encouraging them to abandon their culture and tribal customs. By December 1829, President Andrew Jackson recognized that Indians could not be assimilated into American society. Therefore, the president advocated the removal of Indians residing east of the Mississippi River because he viewed them as savages who threatened American settlers and republican virtues. He also believed that relocating Native Americans to western lands would preserve their tribal life and culture from the influence of white settlers and state governments.

During Jackson's first annual message, the president urged Congress to develop an Indian removal program, which would serve the Native Americans' interests. As congressional leaders debated the legislation, Senators Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Henry R. Storrs of New York, and Peleg Sprague of Maine led the opposition against the removal bill. Frelinghuysen maintained that it would take the U.S. government nearly 200 years to sell all of the lands acquired from the Indian tribes. Other opponents of the Indian Removal Act cited that the federal policy would force Native Americans to reside in a barren region, which was unfit for habitation or agricultural production.

In the spring of 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, and President Andrew Jackson signed it into law on May 28, 1830. The legislation empowered the federal government to negotiate an exchange of lands held by the Five Civilized Tribes, which included the Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creeks, Choctaw, and the Seminoles, for new lands located in the trans-Mississippi West. The removal bill also appropriated \$500,000 to pay for the Native Americans' transportation costs and supplies during their journey. Furthermore, the Indian Removal Act authorized the president to pay Indians for improvements that they had made on their eastern lands.

With the passage of the Indian Removal Act, missionary groups and other humanitarian organizations addressed the plight of the eastern Indians by sending congressional leaders memorials, which condemned the removal policy as a violation of the Native Americans' rights. Religious groups such as the Methodists and Quakers also denounced the government's treatment of the Native Americans. Additionally, leading abolitionists including Sarah and Angelina Grimke, William Lloyd Garrison, and Theodore Dwight Weld utilized newspapers, pamphlets, and mass meetings to oppose the federal government's removal plans. Despite these efforts, they could not stop the government's Indian removal program.

Opposition to the Indian Removal Act also took the form of cartoons, several quite satirical in content, as an anonymous political cartoon, "Andrew Jackson as Great Father" depicting Jackson as a larger than life figure, holding two Indians in his arms, while six others stand at his feet.

In September 1830, the Choctaws represented the first Indian tribe to relocate to lands west of the Mississippi River. By the mid-1830s, the federal government had coerced

several Native American tribes to surrender nearly 100 million acres of Indian lands in the southeast in exchange for lands in the Indian Territory. While some Native Americans willingly relinquished their tribal lands, others resisted the removal process. For example, the Cherokees appealed their case to the Supreme Court. In 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall ruled against the Indians in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* because the U.S. Supreme Court viewed the Native American tribe as a domestic dependent nation rather than a foreign state. Thus, the Court lacked jurisdiction over the legal matter. Seven years later, federal troops forced fifteen thousand Cherokees to abandon their lands and march westward toward the Indian Territory. During the 1,200-mile journey, nearly 3,000 Cherokees died as a result of disease, exposure, and starvation. Thus, the Cherokees' migration route became known as the Trail of Tears.

Kevin M. Brady

SEE ALSO Garrison, William Lloyd; Missionaries; Trail of Tears

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Iroquois League

The name Iroquois was a French pronunciation of the word *ireohkwa*, a derogatory name used by their Algonquin allies meaning “real adders” (snakes). The English called them the Five Indian Nations—the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and the Seneca. In 1722 the Tuscaroras migrated to New York from North Carolina to escape their enemies. They were given land and representation at meetings of the Iroquois League eventually becoming the Sixth Nation of the League.

The Iroquois called themselves the *Haudenosaunee*, which means “the people of the Longhouse.” They lived in towns surrounded with wooden palisades for protection. Their homes were in longhouses constructed with poles covered with elm bark.

The organization of the Iroquois into a League or Confederacy was well advanced by the time they encountered Europeans. It was a political, economic and military alliance symbolized by the longhouse. The origins of the League are said to be due to two peace-makers. According to Iroquois oral traditions in the 1400s the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and the Seneca were descending into fratricidal conflict. However, they were united by a Huron prophet, Deganawida (the Peacemaker), and by Hiawatha, a Mohawk.

Deganawida and Hiawatha traveled together among the Iroquois preaching peace and unity. The preachers were able to end the internecine warfare that was rendering the tribes into dysfunctional fragments. They proposed that the leaders of the Iroquois create a forum where thinking would replace violence. The assembly was called the Grand Council composed of 50 sachems, or chiefs, chosen from the Six Nations. The Mohawks and Oneidas had nine each. The Onondagas were assigned 14; the Cayuga were allotted 10; the Seneca were given 8. The first meeting was at their geographic center under the Great Tree of Peace chosen by the Peacemaker.

Opponents of their plan of peace, led by Onondaga war chief, Tadodaho, were mollified when he was made the head of the League at the suggestion of Jikohnsaseh a woman chief. Studies of the oral traditions have concluded that the *Gayaneshakgowa* (Great Law of Peace) founding the League was established several centuries prior to contacts with whites.

Some Iroquois, along with sympathetic historians, have claimed that the Founding Fathers of the United States modeled the democratic self-government of the original 13 states after the Iroquois Confederacy. The different states were compared to the different tribes of the Iroquois. Washington, D.C. was like the village of Onondaga where the Grand Council was held every year. Members of Congress were like the 50 sachems, or chiefs, chosen by clan mothers to represent the tribes. The President and his cabinet were like the honorary Pine Tree Sachems. Historians find the comparison romantically inviting, but unsubstantiated. The League has continued to meet until today.

Andrew J. Waskey

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Jackson, Andrew. See Indian Removal Act

Jackson, Helen Hunt. See Century of Dishonor

King, Charles

Charles King was born in Albany, New York in 1844, and raised in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He was the son of Civil War General Rufus King and the great grandson of Rufus King, signer of the U.S. Constitution. He served as an orderly for his father with the famous Wisconsin Iron brigade. He was appointed to West Point by Abraham Lincoln and graduated in 1866. King was first stationed with the occupation forces in New Orleans and saw action against the Klu Klux Klan.

It was while stationed in Louisiana, that King met his first wife, Adelaide Lavender Yorke. They had four children. They were married until her death in 1893.

In 1871, he was transferred to the 5th Cavalry and served under General George Crook in campaigns against the Sioux and the Apache. It was here that King became life-long friends with William “Buffalo Bill” Cody, the unit’s scout. In 1874, King was seriously wounded during a skirmish with the Apache. A bullet shattered the bone in his right arm and the wound never properly healed. King attempted to continue his career, but was eventually forced out in 1879 at the rank of Captain. King would later tell newspapermen that his wound had come from an arrow because that fit the more romantic image of Native Americans.

The University of Wisconsin offered him a position as military instructor, a post he had held at West Point earlier in his career. He remained at the University only a short time. In 1882, he was appointed as one of the first colonels in the Wisconsin National Guard. In 1886, he led the Milwaukee Light Horse in quelling labor riots in that city.

When King retired from the Wisconsin National Guard in 1892, he spent a short time as the commandant of the Michigan Military Academy. While there he was highly influential in the life of a young cadet, Edgar Rice Burroughs, who would become famous for his Tarzan novels.

When the Spanish American War broke out in 1898, King volunteered and was commissioned a brigadier general of volunteers. He served in the Philippines during the pacification of the former Spanish colony and proved an able commander. King wrote several novels about soldiers during the war in the Philippines.

With America’s entry into the First World War, the state of Wisconsin asked the 73-year-old King to return to the State’s National Guard to help train soldiers for the war in Europe. With his service in World War I, King became probably the only man to have served in the Civil War, the Indian Wars, the Spanish American War and the Great War.

Throughout King’s long and storied military career, he had an equally successful writing career. In 1880, King’s first book was published, *Campaigning With Crook*. Like many army officers, King wrote dispatches to his hometown newspaper. King’s were better than most and were reprinted in newspapers across the country. Eventually the popular articles were combined in one volume. *Campaigning with Crook* was King’s best work and started his career as a writer. The highly popular novels that followed were all set in the West, with soldiers and their families as the main characters. Although his

62 novels and more than 250 short stories were based on his experiences, they were a highly romanticized view of the American West. Modern critics have credited him with helping to create the Western novel as its own genre.

King's novels and stories portrayed the Native Americans as noble savages. His characters had sympathy for their attempt to defend their land and their way of life. However, they still viewed them as barbarians that stood in the way of progress. His characters openly criticized the U.S. government's treatment of Native Americans and the corruption among Indian agents. In all of his novels the American soldier was presented in an heroic light.

King's first novels were written with pen and paper. He was proud of the fact that he did not revise his work. He believed that this gave his work freshness. His last novels were dictated into an Edison phonograph. He was one of the first authors to use that new technology. They were transcribed by his secretary Lucille Rhoades, who he eventually married in 1932 when he was 87.

With the invention of the motion picture King wrote some of the first Western movies, silent films starring his old friend "Buffalo Bill" Cody. King wrote his last novel in 1922, a career that spanned 42 years.

In 1933, the 89-year-old King tripped over a rug in his Milwaukee home. He fractured his shoulder and died two days later. His tombstone reads "Charles King, Soldier, Author."

Wesley Moody

SEE ALSO Cody, Buffalo Bill

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Little Bighorn, Battle of the

The Battle of the Little Bighorn (or "Big Horn" as it was spelled in the 19th century) and known by the Indians as the Battle of Greasy Grass Creek, was an armed engagement between a Sioux-Northern Cheyenne combined force and the 7th Cavalry Regiment of the U.S. Army. It occurred on June 25 and June 26, 1876, near the Little Bighorn River



Artist Charles M. Russell's 1903 painting depicts the defeat of the American army under Gen. George Armstrong Custer by the Sioux chiefs Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in Montana in 1876. (Library of Congress)

in eastern Montana Territory, close to what is now Crow Agency, Montana. It is now considered one of the most famous Indian-white battles in American history and one of the most notorious, an important action in the Great Sioux War of 1876–1877 (also known as the Black Hills War) and an overwhelming victory for the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne, led by Sitting Bull (Tatankayotake). The U.S. 7th Cavalry, including a column of 700 men led by George Armstrong Custer, suffered a severe defeat; 225 of his men directly under his command were killed. Five of the Seventh's companies were annihilated; Custer was killed, as were two of his brothers, a nephew, and a brother-in-law.

When word of Custer's stunning defeat and death spread, courtiers carried reports to telegraph offices that were then transmitted to Army officials. Americans were deeply shocked by the news. Custer, through his own self-promotion, was considered, at the time, to be a great Indian warrior. It was only later, after the court inquiries and intense historical research, that the truths behind Custer's fool hardiness began to emerge.

Still, differing interpretations of the battle continue to puzzle, with many mysteries still unanswered. Indian accounts were documented in paintings on buffalo hides that described a fight between Indian bows and arrows and cavalry pistols. While this representation supports the military claims that the Army's carbines malfunctioned, it does not explain the failure of the single-shot Springfield rifles used by the 7th, which had a much greater range than the Winchester and Henry rifles supposedly used by the Indians. Indian leaders spoke of several of their charges against the soldiers' positions being repulsed, forcing the Indians to return to cover below the ridge.

News of the defeat, arriving in the East just as the United States was observing its centennial, came as a great shock to a nation accustomed to battlefield victories and increasingly convinced of its inherent superiority and manifest destiny. Investigations were launched and the battle was the subject of an 1879 U.S. Army Court of Inquiry.

In fact, most Americans had a hard time, at first, believing the news of Little Bighorn and it soon became a major news event as the press, the public and the politicians demanded an explanation for a story that generated thousands of words of facts, rumors, speculations, and often outright lies, beginning with the lone survivor, the one soldier scout, or civilian who rode with Custer and lived to tell the tale. Most of these were supported by eager correspondents. In the months after the battle, journalists speculated on almost every aspect of Little Bighorn, from Custer's final moments (his famous Last Stand) to Sitting Bull's alleged education, in Napoleonic tactics, that allowed him to outmaneuver Custer. He was demonized as "Custer's killer" without any actual evidence to support that claim. One newspaper, *The New York Herald*, always critical of hostile Indians, singled out Sitting Bull and the Sioux for special criticism. As a promoter of Custer's Civil War exploits, the paper initiated attempts at a Custer memorial that honored the fallen heroes of Little Bighorn.

The first reports on Little Bighorn began before the battle, with accounts from the *Bismarck Tribune's* Mark Kellogg (who was later slain with Custer) that soon gave way to unbelievable accounts of Custer's defeat and death, reports that soon generated more rumors, editorial speculation, and Indian condemnation. Official battle reports appeared in early July 1876 but this was just the beginning of a deluge of the newspapers's continuing coverage of the reaction to the Indian victory, praising Custer and his men while excoriating the Indians as the villains, especially Sitting Bull. Missing from most of these stories, at least in the beginning, was the Indian's side of the story although that, too, would be published in time as the press and the public sought to uncover every little detail of this most famous battle. The public could not get enough about Custer and his last Indian battle and the newspapers also pressed for the official reaction to this disaster.

Unfortunately, the Battle of Little Bighorn generated some of the most hateful Indian news stories of the 19th century, bitter and inflammatory, that described the Sioux as the worst of the worst, Indians so vile and barbaric, that they deserved extermination. It was inevitable that the Sioux would be tracked down and punished. This reaction undoubtedly inflamed public opinion toward the government's Indian policy, continuing a shameful practice of annihilation and mistreatment into the 20th century.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Custer, George Armstrong; Manifest Destiny; Sitting Bull; Wild West Shows

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Missionaries

The relationship between Christian missionaries and various Native American tribes in the United States dates back to the initial contact with the Puritans of New England and the French Catholic priests in the 17th century. On one level, missionaries cultivated relationships with civil governments that provided protection and support for some of their endeavors; on another, they formed trusting and intimate associations with tribal peoples and sought to protect them from the excesses of paternalism and white aggression. While there were many points of tension among Christian missionaries, government officials, and Native peoples, none were more devastating than those associated with the Indian wars during 1850–1890.

By the middle of the 19th century, all of the major religious denominations—Presbyterian, Quaker, Congregationalist, Methodist, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Roman Catholic—had established missions throughout the nation to instruct and convert the Native Americans. Several of the missionaries achieved notoriety—Stephen Riggs and Henry Whipple, Episcopalian missionaries, and Jean Pierre DeSmet, the veteran Jesuit missionary—through their associations with the Sioux Indians on the Northern Great Plains before and after the American Civil War. During the Indian Wars, Christian missionaries served in a number of contradictory roles: ministering to warring factions among the Indian nations, serving as informants for the U.S. Army, promoting peace by means of cultural mediation, assuming the task of translation during treaty negotiations, and advocating the rights of Indians with government bureaucrats. The unique connection between missionaries and Native peoples was complex and was often compromised during periods of hostility and warfare.

In the decade prior to the American Civil War, Christian missionaries were posted throughout the nation and worked diligently to observe Native customs and beliefs. Many of them, especially Jesuit missionaries, were fully enculturated into the lives of the people and were teaching the tenets of Christianity, preaching the dogma of their particular sect, and translating sacred texts into the Native idiom. At the same time, the U.S. government introduced a new Indian policy—concentration—that required the pacification of Native cultures and settlement on prescribed reservations. The Indian leaders, especially those on the Great Plains, resisted these efforts because they would result in a complete loss of tribal identity. In the 1850s, Christian missionaries faced stark alternatives: cooperate with government officials and cajole the Natives into

accepting the treaty terms, or risk war between the U.S. Army and various Indian tribes. In many cases the missionaries sympathized with the Indians and believed that the government was perpetrating gross injustices; however, the missionaries frequently served as intermediaries and strongly urged the Indian leaders to negotiate favorable terms with the government.

The influential Father DeSmet was present at Fort Laramie in 1851 when the powerful Plains Indians agreed to terms with the government. He posited that the treaty would be “the commencement of a new era for the Indians—an era of peace.” This treaty, however, became the major cause of Indian unrest on the Great Plains until after the Civil War. Intermittent outbreaks of hostilities in the 1850s prompted the government to ruthlessly suppress the Indian threat and paved the way for Indian opportunism during the Civil War.

During the Civil War (1861–1865), the powerful Indian nations recognized that much of the American West was guarded by ill-trained state militias. Militants among them believed that this provided an opportunity for the Indians to reassert their dominance in that region. On August 18, 1862, a band of disgruntled members of the Sioux nation murdered a small group of white settlers in Minnesota, and over the next month they were pursued ruthlessly by Federal forces. In the aftermath of the Minnesota Uprising, 303 Sioux were sentenced to death by a military commission; however, Henry B. Whipple, Episcopal bishop of Minnesota, appealed to President Abraham Lincoln on behalf of the accused. He argued that “we cannot hang men by the hundreds . . . the leaders must be punished but we cannot afford by a wanton act of cruelty to purchase a long Indian war.” Lincoln reduced the sentences of most of the participants and only permitted 39 to be executed. The mass hysteria generated by the Minnesota incident extended to all parts of the frontier. On November 29, 1864, former Methodist minister Colonel John M. Chivington, along with the 1st Colorado Cavalry, the 3rd Colorado Cavalry, and the 1st New Mexico Volunteers, massacred 150 peaceful Cheyenne Indians at Sand Creek, Colorado. The actions of Whipple and Chivington, both Christian ministers, illustrates some of the pressures that missionaries faced during the Indian Wars. Whipple felt that his Christian duty was to advocate for the Indians, while Chivington felt this his duty was to suppress all Indian threats.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Indian Wars continued in various parts of the Great Plains; however, most tribes gradually accepted the reservation system and peacefully accepted their allotted parcels of land. In order to effectively administer the reservations, the federal government called upon the various Christian denominations to nominate Indian agents and to develop an infrastructure to gradually assimilate the Indians. Between 1870 and 1890, missionaries witnessed and mediated conflicts and cooperated with government programs. The last major battle of the Indian Wars was at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in December 1890, and the wounded and dying Natives sought aid and succor from the Christian missionaries at Holy Rosary Mission.

James F. Carroll

SEE ALSO Indian Removal Act; Lincoln, Abraham; Wounded Knee Massacre

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Newspapers. See Propaganda

Nez Perce Campaign

The Nez Perce Campaign (War) was a major Indian war that lasted from June to October 1877. It pitted several Nez Perce bands numbering at most 800 people (200 warriors) against a force of 1,000 soldiers of the U.S. Army and hundreds of civilian frontiersmen. It was fought over 1,500 miles and cost over 2 million dollars.

The Nez Perce tribe of Native Americans first met whites when the Lewis and Clark Expedition passed their way. They acquired their name in 1805 when a French translator called them “pierced nose” (*Nez Perce*) because he saw that some of them had noses pierced with shells as decorations. They originally occupied the area where the present states of central Idaho, northeastern Oregon and southeastern Washington meet.

Nez Perce lands were in an area rich in timber, agricultural land and minerals. Many had become Christians in the 1830s and had mastered stock herding. The discovery of gold on their lands in the 1860s brought pressure on the U.S. government to move them to a smaller reservation. In 1863, some of the tribe agreed to a threat that would open their lands to white settlement. Others had occurred when other tribes refused to follow the “treaty Indians” to a reservation. In 1877, resistance to the move led to fighting and the Nez Perce campaign.

Whites who wanted the Nez Perce bands moved to a reservation at Lapwai, Idaho Territory. Of special concern was Chief Joseph’s band that was keeping large herds in the Wallowa Valley of northeastern Oregon. In June of 1877, negotiations with Chief Joseph’s band was given 30 days to move to the reservation by Brevet Major General Oliver O. Howard in an ultimatum. However, events moved quickly to war when three young braves from Chief White Bird’s band killed four white settlers. These were the first whites killed by the previously peaceful Nez Perce. Chief Joseph joined the other bands who were in hiding on the Salmon River.

On June 17, an attack was launched by the Army against the Nez Perce in White Bird Canyon. They were repulsed with 34 killed. The Nez Perce then moved toward the east to find refuge in the Bitterroot Mountains.

On July 1, the cavalry attacked Chief Looking Glass’s village on the Clearwater River. This action turned the previously neutral chief into a hostile opponent, on the warpath

with Chief Joseph's people. They were attacked by General Howard and 500 men while camped on the Clearwater River, Idaho. Although surprised, the Nez Perce beat back the attack killing 13 of Howard's command to the loss of four of their own.

The Nez Perce then followed the Lolo Trail across the Bitterroot Mountains in search of safety on the Great Plains or in Canada. They stopped to rest on the Big Hole River but on August 9 Colonel John Gibbon attacked with a force that was able to kill 89 of the Nez Perce among whom were many women and children. The Army's losses were 30 killed and 39 wounded including Gibbons. The Nez Perce were able to escape to fight again at Camas Meadow. They traveled peacefully through newly formed Yellowstone National Park through a group of surprised tourists until they turned north to go to Canada.

On September 13, they beat off an attack by troops from the 7th Cavalry commanded by Colonel Samuel Sturgis at Canyon Creek. Montana. Continuing their trek, they eluded their pursuers until they were stopped on September 30th at Snake Creek in the Bear Paw Mountains in northern Montana just 40 miles from the Canadian border. They withstood a siege for five days before Chief Joseph's band of 400 surrendered. About 300 Indians led by Chief White Bird stole away to cross over into Canada.

Coverage of the Nez Perce Campaign and of Chief Joseph, in particular, was divided. As usual with coverage of the Native American wars, the Western papers were mostly hostile, continuing to describe them as "savage barbarians" and other derogatory and stereotypical designations, with the massacre of Indians as "deserved" retribution for anything that Native Americans did to women and children, especially. Eastern papers, like the *New York Times*, were more sympathetic. Although they held whole tribes responsible for the action of individuals, it readily accepted the fact that Indians followed the lead of their respective chiefs. For the Nez Perce war, the responsibility was mainly with Chief Joseph who received scathing condemnation and exalted acclaim. Such an example was a rather even-handed editorial ("The Surrender of Chief Joseph," August 11, 1877) in which the *Times* praised the action of the U.S. military for "one of the most stubborn and gallant running fights known to Indian warfare" by ending the Nez Perce war ("a war gallantly fought, but a costly and sanguinary blunder") while the actions of Chief Joseph ("a peaceful, non-treaty chief") were justified in that he was "wronged" by being ordered to a reservation where "he did not belong." This even-handed approach was repeated in another editorial three days later ("The War with the Nez Perces," August 14, 1877). Yet in another column ("An Impudent Indian," September 4, 1877), the *Times* called Joseph a "gratuitous and uncalled for fiend" whose life was "one long record of uninterrupted long infamy."

Andrew J. Waskey

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Parker Quanah. See Quanah

Press Coverage. See Propaganda; Cherokee Phoenix; Flipper, Henry Controversy

Quanah

Native Americans had seized Cynthia Ann Parker in 1836 when she was nine years old during a raid on Parker's Fort. Adopted into a family of the Nocone (Wanderer) band of Comanches, she received the name Naudah. Quanah, born in west Texas as early as 1845, was the eldest child of her marriage to Peta Nocona.

Historians dispute whether Quanah was a chief before the Quahadas surrendered in 1878. Quanah spoke openly in the councils of the Quahadas, a mark of standing and respect. He was also among those who denounced the Medicine Lodge Treaty Council of 1867, which the Quahadas refused to attend. He was designated in 1871 to lead his village away from advancing U.S. troops, and provided leadership in the attack against buffalo hunters during the Second Battle of Adobe Walls in the Texas Panhandle on June 28, 1874. Quanah was a respected leader during the Red River War.

No record indicates when Quanah learned that his mother had been adopted. His father may have told him only after Naudah was captured in 1860, during a raid led by Charles Goodnight and Sul Ross against Comanches camped on Pease River. Quanah did not see his mother again, as she was returned to her Texas relatives. She never did renounce her Comanche ways. Quanah was known as Quanah Parker to Colonel (later Brigadier General) Ranald S. Mackenzie, who pursued the Quahadas during 1871–1874. Mackenzie's pursuit weakened but never captured the band.

In 1875, the Quahadas agreed to go to Fort Sill (Oklahoma) and settle on an allotted reservation. Mackenzie's emissary, Dr. Jacob J. Sturm, reported that Quanah had spoken positively of relocating to the area. Quanah was also among a small group sent ahead to Fort Sill as messengers to inform Mackenzie of the success of Sturm's mission.

Mackenzie very much respected the Quahadas. He knew their skill and determination as warriors, and he also knew that they had never lived a lifestyle such as which would be required on a reservation. Quanah's band was allowed to keep many of its horses, and no one was imprisoned in the Fort Sill guardhouse or the uncompleted "ice house" stockade.

By late 1875, Quanah had been appointed by reservation agent James M. Haworth as one of 30 band leaders for distributing beef and other supplies owed to the Comanches. Quanah sometimes undertook assignments from Mackenzie to locate runaways, returning them to the reservation while insisting that they not be imprisoned. In 1878, when the U.S. government insisted on a single chief for all the Comanches, Mackenzie named Quanah as the designated leader. This came with the agreement of

many, though not all, Comanches, and the support of Indian Agent P. B. Hunt. From 1886 to 1901, Quanah also served as one of three judges on the Court of Indian Offenses.

As chief, Quanah encouraged his people to develop cattle herds to replace the bison, which were then all but extinct. He took the lead in leasing unused reservation land to Anglo-American cattle owners to generate income from the large herds of Texas cattle already being grazed on the reservation. From 1892 to 1901, Quanah worked diligently to delay the allotment of Native American lands, which would clear reservation open space for settlement by American farmers.

A leading practitioner of traditional peyote rituals, Quanah defended the ancient ceremonies against agents and missionaries who sought to stamp them out. He also advised the Comanches to stay away from the Ghost Dance religion in the 1890s, which may have averted a massacre such as that at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890. Quanah became friends with missionaries such as Rev. A. E. Butterfield (whose father Quanah had captured in 1865), but never formally became a Christian.



While a young man, Quanah Parker became a noted Comanche war chief and later fought at the second Battle of Adobe Walls in 1874. (National Archives)

Quanah's polygamous family, a traditional prerogative of leading Comanches, was controversial. He had at least three wives when he arrived in Fort Sill in 1875. Later, he had as many as seven. Quanah died on February 23, 1911, at Cache, Oklahoma.

Charles A. Rosenberg

SEE ALSO Ghost Dance; Missionaries; Wounded Knee Massacre

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Remington, Frederic

Frederic Remington was a painter, illustrator, and sculptor whose images of the old West shaped American perceptions of the vanishing frontier.

Remington was born in Canton, New York, on October 4, 1861. His parents were Seth Pierrepont Remington, a newspaper editor and publisher, and Clara Sackrider. Remington's father served as a lieutenant colonel in the American Civil War, which later influenced his son's art themes of war and conflict on horseback. Remington attended Highland Military Academy in Worcester, Massachusetts, for two years. In 1878, he enrolled at Yale University, studying at the new school of art and architecture. His new passion was football, and Remington was a starting forward on the varsity team, captained by the founder of American football, Walter Camp. His first published illustration was a cartoon of an injured football player in the *Yale Courant*. Despite his mother's disapproval, Remington left Yale after only two years when his father died in 1880.

Remington worked as a clerk in the office of the governor of New York and other state offices in 1880 but was dissatisfied with the work. In 1881, he was further disappointed when his marriage proposal to Eva Adele Caten was rejected by her father due to Remington's unpromising economic situation. Dejected, Remington decided to experience the American West. His travels to Montana and Wyoming resulted in his first illustration of the frontier, a Wyoming cowboy published by *Harper's Weekly* in February 1882. He returned to the West and bought land in Kansas in 1883 after receiving a modest inheritance from his father the year before. His attempt at sheep farming was not successful, however, and he sold the ranch, returning to friends and family in New York a year later.

Caten's father finally consented to her marriage in 1884, and Remington and his new wife moved to Kansas City, Missouri. He used the remainder of his inheritance to invest

in a saloon. The venture was successful, but Remington eventually lost his share due to unscrupulous partners. Eva returned to New York within the year, as Remington could not find steady work. They never had children. He spent the next year traveling through the American Southwest, working as a cowboy and scout and sketching Native Americans. Remington returned to New York in 1885, and he and Eva moved to Brooklyn, where Remington began to sell his illustrations of the West to major magazines. His big break came in 1886 when his illustration *The Apache War: Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail* became the cover of *Harper's Weekly*.

Remington wanted to develop his talent as an artist and enrolled in classes at the Art Student League, where he worked with watercolors. His exhibition in the National Academy of Design and American Water-Color Society brought him the attention of Theodore Roosevelt, who asked him to illustrate an article he was writing about ranching and hunting in the West. From this initial contact, the two men started a lifelong friendship. Remington spent each summer in the West and Canada under publisher sponsorship, sketching and photographing scenes for later illustrations, as well as collecting Native American and frontier artifacts. In 1888 and 1890, he documented the wars against the Apache and the Plains Indians. The demand for magazine illustrations was constant because new magazine publication had grown from about 700 in 1865 to 3,000 in 1885. Remington published more than 2,700 illustrations in 41 journals. He also illustrated more than 140 books, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*, Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail*, and Elizabeth B. Custer's *Tenting in the Plains*.

In the late 1880s, Remington began to develop an oil-painting career, filling more than 700 canvases with scenes of horses, Indians, and cowboys. He exhibited *A Dash for Timber* at the annual National Academy of Design show. His *Last Lull in the Fight* won a silver medal at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1889. *Harper's Weekly* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* sent Remington to Cuba to cover the Spanish-American War (1898–1899). His painting of his friend Roosevelt's *Charge of the Rough Riders of San Juan Hill* helped to foster an image of Roosevelt as soldier hero, which was to become a crucial element in his election as president of the United States.

Remington's first sculpture in 1895 was *The Bronco Buster*, which the Rough Riders later gave to Roosevelt when they returned from Cuba. He produced 25 bronze sculptures, all but one emphasizing a Western theme.

During his lifetime, Remington was a highly prolific and successful artist. His illustrations have been praised for the authenticity of Native American costumes, soldiers' uniforms, and accurate horse anatomy in all poses. His later paintings were more romantic and captured the disappearing spirit of the Western frontier. Remington said that he knew "the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever. . . . Without knowing exactly how to do it, I began to record some facts around me and the more I looked the more the panorama unfolded."

Remington was only 48 years old when he died from complications from an appendix surgery at his home in New Rochelle, New York, on December 26, 1909.

Jose Valente

SEE ALSO Hearst, William Randolph; *New York Journal*; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Russell, Charles Marion

Artist, author, and humorist, Charles Russell created more than 2,000 paintings depicting the life of cowboys and Native Americans on the western landscape. At his death, he left one of the most extensive and accurate pictorial records of the Old West.

Charles Marion Russell, also known as C. M. Russell, was born in St. Louis, Missouri on March 19, 1864. In 1880, at the age of 16, having learned to ride horses at a farm in Illinois, Russell left school and became a cowboy in Montana. It was the bitterly cold winter of 1886–1887 that ultimately changed his life forever. While working as a wrangler at the O-H Ranch in Central Montana, the ranch foreman approached Russell with a letter from the owner inquiring about the condition of the surviving cattle. His response was to take a small piece of cardboard on which he drew an impressive watercolor sketch depicting a thin, starving cow surrounded by hungry wolves. Russell sent the report along with the sketch, which he titled “Waiting for Chinook.”

The ranch owner shared the picture with friends and business acquaintances and then had it prominently displayed in a shop window in downtown Helena, Montana. New settlers to the territory who were experiencing rough financial times also related to the sketch. Russell’s depiction became so popular that postcards bearing the painting were dispatched throughout the United States and Europe. As the depiction grew in stature, Russell later drew a more detailed version, and it became known as “The Last of the Five Thousand.” It would remain one of his most celebrated works.

In 1888, as his stature as an artist grew, Russell spent the summer with a Native American tribe known as the Bloods. They were part of the northern Blackfoot nation, which was also composed of the Blackfeet. He quickly immersed himself with their culture, learning their language, customs, and legends. Gaining their trust and respect, he grew his hair long and wore their clothes. As the frontier gradually closed and Native Americans were forced to assimilate or live on reservations, Russell remained steadfast in his sympathy to their plight.

In 1890, Russell's *Studies in Western Life*, a portfolio of 21 color pictures, was unveiled. A number of the pictures highlighted his admiration for those who lived in nature. Other notable portraits include "Blackfeet Indian with Capote" (1896), "Indian Women Moving Camp" (1897), "Peace" (1899), and "Indian on Horse Shooting a Buffalo" (1906).

In 1897, a year after he married, Russell moved to Great Falls, Montana, where he spent the majority of his life from that time forward. His wife, Nancy Russell, a savvy businesswoman, is credited for making him an internationally-known artist. She set up many art shows for Russell in the United States and in London. The same year he moved to Great Falls, he also turned to publishing short stories capturing and recording the pioneering spirit of the West. He thus entertained friends and audiences with amusing stories about his experiences and counted among his associates and collectors of his works Douglas Fairbanks and Will Rogers.

One of Russell's best-known publications, which was richly illustrated, is *Back-Trailing on the Old Frontiers* (1922). A year after his death, his wife published *Trails Plowed Under*, which includes nearly all the stories from his first two collections, eight previously unpublished pieces, and an autobiographical sketch, while his artwork was published posthumously, often appearing in such publications as *American Rifleman*, *Connoisseur*, and *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*.

Russell died on October 24, 1926 in his hometown of Great Falls, Montana. Local schools and businesses closed that day to watch the funeral procession. A museum named in his honor in Great Falls houses more than 2,000 artworks, personal memorabilia, and artifacts. His popular mural *Lewis and Clark Meeting the Flathead Indians* hangs in the state capitol building in Helena, Montana.

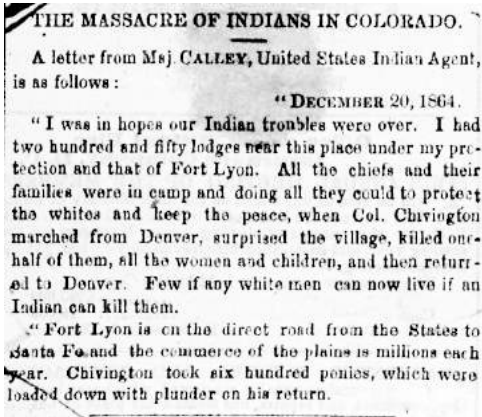
Charles F. Howlett

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Sand Creek Massacre

The Sand Creek Massacre, also called the Battle of Sand Creek or the Chivington Massacre, occurred on November 29, 1864 north of Fort Lyon in the southeastern part of the Colorado Territory. Led by Colonel John M. Chivington, the Third Colorado attacked a group of Cheyennes and Arapahos under the leadership of Black Kettle while encamped on the Sand Creek River. Believing they were encamped with a truce,



Newspaper clipping of a letter from an Indian agent talking about the Sand Creek Massacre, 1864. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Arapaho leader, pledged a preservation of peace. However, A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, concurred with Indian Agent William Bent that it was impossible for the groups to coexist.

Under pressure, Little Raven, Black Kettle, and several other Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs signed the Treaty of Fort Wise on February 18, 1861 relinquishing the majority of their territory. The Indians received an arid, game-less section in the southeastern Colorado Territory. Although the U.S. government promised financial and material support valued at more than \$30,000 a year for 15 years, within two years few of the annuities were delivered. With the area under duress, small incidents began to pile onto one another. In the spring of 1864, a war between the Cheyennes and the U.S. forces commenced over two incidents of cattle theft. The Colorado Territorial governor, John Evans, feared the Cheyennes had arranged for a war of annihilation against the whites even though the majority of the fighting took place in the Kansas Territory.

To separate belligerent Indians from peaceful ones, Evans issued a proclamation on June 27, 1864 granting protection to all friendly Indians. By October, Arapahoes led by Left Hand and Little Raven arrived at Fort Lyon seeking safety. Under orders of Major Scott J. Anthony, soldiers confiscated Indian weapons and horses instructing them to encamp north of town at Sand Creek. Soon Black Kettle and a contingent of Cheyenne joined them. Although Anthony told them he could not offer rations, he ensured a lasting peace.

Colonel Chivington saw an opportunity to utilize idle volunteers whose contracts were running out. On November 24, he marched directly for Fort Lyon intent on attacking the Indians at Sand Creek. Several officers argued the legality of engaging Indians who were considered prisoners; however, Chivington was not deterred. By dawn of the 29th, he positioned 700 men and 4 pieces of artillery for a surprise attack.

the surprise attack by Chivington's 700 men annihilated the Native Americans at Sand Creek. Primarily made up of women and children, 200 were estimated killed in the attack. Chivington and the Third Colorado suffered 9 deaths and less than 50 wounded.

Initially, the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851 defined Cheyenne and Arapaho land between the Platte and Arkansas River placating whites and Indians in the area. In 1858, a gold rush, comparable to that of the 1849 California Gold Rush, strained the area's resources due to the sudden increase in population. Even under increased pressure, Little Raven, an

As the attack began, an Indian woman stated that it sounded as though a herd of buffalo were coming. Black Kettle quickly raised an American flag with a white flag underneath it signifying surrender and cooperation. A Cheyenne warrior, ran out to the cavalry unarmed yelling at them not to fire, only to be shot and killed by the advancing cavalry. Soldiers pursued fleeing women and children indiscriminately as few men attempted to muster a resistance. By three in the afternoon the fight was over and Black Kettle, along with 200 other Cheyenne and Arapaho were dead. Many reports attest to acts of mutilation and desecration of Indian dead. Soldiers took scalps, fingers, and genitals back to Denver as trophies.

The massacre quickly ended the Indian trade in the Colorado Territory. The dominance of the Cheyenne and Arapaho in the area was decimated. Historian Stan Hoig argues the most significant outcome of the massacre was how it “set the stage for the years of bloody battle with the Plains tribes after the Civil War.” For Native Americans the massacre represented the vilest depredations against them by whites.

The Sand Creek Massacre has been defended by a number of Indian War historians, with either pro-Indian or anti-Indian sentiments, but the news coverage of the event definitely helped fuel the anti-Indian sentiments that led to the massacre and defended its aftermath. One, *Rocky Mountain News* (March 25, 1864), became the major voice of the massacre’s defenders in its overt editorial hostility toward the Indians in terms of the plans of the territorial governor and others to make Denver and the Colorado Territory important to the development of the American West. The anti-Indian attitude was also fostered by Indian violence during the summer of 1864 that alarmed Colorado officials. Governor John Evans issued a proclamation to Colorado citizens, urging them to kill hostile Indians, an action that was picked up by other newspapers, particularly the *Rocky Mountain News* (August 10, 1864), which considered anyone who killed an Indian “a patriot.”

News of Chivington’s victory took several days to reach Denver where the first short bulletins appeared on December 7 as “Big Indian Fight” with the editorial endorsement “Bully for the Colorado Boys” by *Rocky Mountain News* editor William Byers who later wrote a lengthy account of the massacre (December 17, 1864), which was one-sided in favoring the white victory but it was carried by other newspapers. Also, Colonel John Chivington wrote an official order (December 21, 1864) complimenting his men, which was published by the Denver press. However, dissenting views of Chivington’s “brilliant” victory at Sand Creek began to circulate in the East before the end of 1864. A major and staunch supporter of the Indians was the influential *New York Times*, which continued to cite the butchery at Sand Creek as one of the darkest stains on the nation’s history for years after the massacre.

These Eastern “opinions” enraged Byers and many Colorado leaders who retaliated with anger and sarcasm that the Eastern “high officials” and Congressional investigators had no idea what they were talking about but another officer at Sand Creek, Major Scott Anthony, who criticized Chivington’s leadership in a letter (January 21, 1865) that was published in the *Rocky Mountain News* and in other newspapers but Chivington, in turn, was attacked for his anti-Indian actions as a commander and for his criticism of Chivington.

F. Evan Nooe

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Sitting Bull

A Hunkpapa Lakota chief and holy man under whom the Lakota tribes in the mid-1870s united in their struggle against encroaching white settlement on the northern plains. Sitting Bull (Tatankayotake) was born around 1831 at a place the Lakota called “Many Caches” on the Grand River in present-day South Dakota. He received the name



Perhaps the best-known Native American warrior, Sitting Bull (seen here, ca. 1885) was an implacable enemy of white encroachment and assimilation. His skill in uniting the various Plains Indian tribes led to the Great Sioux War of 1876 and the defeat of Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Even when it was clear that his people could not prevail in the conflict with whites, Sitting Bull refused to abandon his traditional way of life. (National Archives)

Tatanka-Iyotanka, which describes a buffalo bull sitting on its hind legs. At 14 years old, he experienced his first battle in a raid against the Crow nation and first encountered American soldiers in June 1863 during a campaign in retaliation for the Santee Rebellion in Minnesota in which the Lakota had not participated. The next year, Sitting Bull fought the U.S. Army at the Battle of Killdeer Mountain and, in 1865, led a siege against Fort Rice in present-day North Dakota. Widely respected for his bravery and insight, he became head chief of the Lakota nation about 1868.

In 1874, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer led an army expedition that confirmed the presence of gold in the Black Hills of the Dakota Territory, a sacred area off-limits to whites by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. Despite this ban, white prospectors, looking for gold, began to move into the Black Hills and provoked the Lakota into defending their land. The U.S. government tried to purchase the Black Hills, but the tribes refused to sell. The government then set aside the Fort Laramie Treaty, and the commissioner of Indian Affairs decreed that all Lakota must return to their reservation by January 31,

1876, or be considered hostile. Sitting Bull and his people refused to return to the reservation.

In March 1876, Major Generals George Crook, Alfred Terry and Colonel John Gibbon led separate army columns into the area. At his camp on Rosebud Creek in Montana Territory, Sitting Bull led the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations in the sun dance ritual, offering prayers to Wakan Tanka, their Great Spirit. During this ceremony, Sitting Bull had a vision in which he saw soldiers falling into the Lakota camp like grasshoppers falling from the sky.

Inspired by Sitting Bull's vision, the Oglala Lakota war chief, Crazy Horse, with 500 warriors, surprised Crook's troops on June 17, forcing them to retreat at the Battle of the Rosebud. The Lakota now moved their camp to the valley of the Little Bighorn River, where 3,000 more Native Americans who had left the reservations joined them. On June 25, the badly outnumbered troops of the 7th Cavalry, commanded by Custer, first attacked the Native American camp and then made a stand on a nearby ridge, where they were annihilated at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

After this disaster, the army sent thousands of troops into the Black Hills and, over the next year, relentlessly pursued the Lakota. Because the Lakota had split up after the Battle of the Little Bighorn, the army was able to defeat them but the defiant Sitting Bull led his band into Canada in May 1877 where he refused a pardon offered by General Terry.

After three years, unable to feed his people, Sitting Bull returned to the United States and surrendered to the commanding officer of Fort Buford in Montana on July 19, 1881. The army sent him to the Standing Rock Reservation and, soon afterwards, further down the Missouri River to Fort Randall where Sitting Bull and his followers remained there as prisoners of war for almost two years.

On May 10, 1883, Sitting Bull rejoined his tribe at Standing Rock. James McLaughlin, the Indian agent in charge of the reservation, was determined not to give him any special privileges and even forced him to work in the fields. However, Sitting Bull still knew his own authority, speaking forcefully, although futilely, to a delegation of U.S. senators who presented him with a plan to open a part of the reservation to white settlers.

In 1885, Sitting Bull joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. During that time, he shook hands with President Grover Cleveland, a sign to him that he was still regarded as a great chief. Unable to tolerate white society, he left the show after only four months. He returned to Standing Rock, lived in a cabin on the Grand River, and maintained his traditional ways, despite the rules of the reservation, living with his two wives and rejecting Christianity.

Soon after his return, Sitting Bull had another vision in which a meadowlark sat beside him on a hill and said to him that a Lakota would kill him. In the fall of 1890, a Miniconjou Lakota named Kicking Bear told Sitting Bull about the Ghost Dance, a ceremony that promised to rid the land of white people and restore the Native Americans's way of life. Because many Lakota at the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations had already adopted the ceremony, U.S. Indian agents had called for troops to control the growing movement. Some authorities at Standing Rock, fearing that Sitting Bull would join the Ghost Dancers, sent 43 Lakota policemen to apprehend him. Before dawn on

December 15, 1890, the policemen forced their way into Sitting Bull's cabin and dragged him outside. During an ensuing gunfight between Sitting Bull's supporters and the Lakota policemen, one of the policemen shot Sitting Bull in the head. Sitting Bull was buried at Fort Yates in North Dakota, but in 1953 his remains were moved to Mobridge, South Dakota, where a granite shaft marks his grave.

Sitting Bull's fame is most connected with the battle at Little Bighorn and during his lifetime and long afterwards, Sitting Bull remained one of the most famous of the Native American fighters of the Indian Wars, largely because of the continuing negative images of him in the press as a savage killer and Custer's killer. He became a popular and politically useful newspaper caricature of an evil Indian warrior who had tendencies toward violence and brutality. This image was not contradicted by articles and interviews with those who knew him and most hurt his image but this is only what the 19th century press and the public wanted to know about Sitting Bull and his tribe. The real man was a distinguished warrior and great Lakota leader respected by his people.

Robert B. Kane

Last paragraph added by Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Cody, Buffalo Bill; Custer, George Armstrong; Ghost Dance; Little Big Horn, Battle of the; Wild West Shows

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Standing Bear v. Crook

Standing Bear v. Crook was the first court case to result in a declaration that American Indians are to be treated as human beings under U.S. law. It challenged the federal government's extensive use of military authority over Indians and questioned the legal authority of the United States to confine Indians on reservations against their will.

During 1877, the U.S. government forcibly removed 723 Poncas from three villages along the Niobrara River to Indian Territory. They were removed at bayonet point after

eight Ponca chiefs, including Standing Bear, had inspected and refused to accept the arid land that the government wanted the Poncas to occupy in Oklahoma. During their march to Indian territory, several of the Poncas died of starvation and disease.

By 1879, nearly a third of the tribe had perished due to starvation and other causes. One of them was Standing Bear's oldest son, Bear Shield. His father determined to bury him in the lands of his ancestors. Carrying the body in a wagon, Standing Bear and an escort of thirty other warriors reached the Omaha Reservation where they were arrested by orders of Brigadier General George Crook, of the U.S. Army, who was to return them to Indian Territory. They camped for a time outside Omaha where local citizens obtained a writ of habeas corpus and brought the army into the federal court of U.S. District Court Judge Elmer S. Dundy, who ruled that "an Indian is a person within the meaning of the law, and there is no law giving the Army authority to forcibly remove Indians from their lands." Further, Dundy ruled that the right of expatriation is "a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The case is called *United States ex rel. Standing Bear v. Crook*. General Crook was named as the formal defendant because he was holding the Poncas under color of law.

Standing Bear's case attracted a great deal of attention, including continual coverage by the *New York Times* as the paper of record, but it became a national story, in part because of the *Times*. Helen Hunt Jackson included a *New York Times* editorial ("Civil Rights in Acres," February 21, 1880) on the case in her 1881 book, *A Century of Dishonor*. Locally, journalist and reformer Thomas Henry Tibbles of the *Omaha Daily Herald* took the chief to several eastern states to appeal for support while President Rutherford B. Hayes ordered a commission, headed by General George Crook and Nelson A. Miles, to recommend action. Congress responded by appropriating money to purchase a permanent home for the Ponca in Nebraska and gave the Ponca who remained in Indian Territory better land. They also paid the Ponca for losses sustained during their Removal.

Standing Bear and the Poncas returned to the Niobara River area, living on an island overlooked in the Sioux treaty. Standing Bear filed another suit to reclaim reservation lands given to the Sioux, eventually winning judgment in December of 1880 with Judge Dundy again presiding. However, Indians still did not achieve citizenship status and their precise legal standing remained poorly defined although the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 later provided some clarification.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO *Century of Dishonor*; Indian Removal Act

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Trail of Tears

The Trail of Tears was the forced relocation of southeastern Native Americans from their homelands beginning in the 1830s to Indian Territory in present day Oklahoma. Initially, the “Trail of Tears” was used to describe the disastrous emigration of the Cherokees from Georgia beginning 1838. In her 1975 book, *The Trail of Tears*, anthropologist Gloria Jahoda expanded this term to label all Indian emigration from east of the Mississippi River between 1813 and 1855. Today, Native American scholars generally use the term to denote the forced emigration of all southeastern Indians from 1830 to the early 1840s. The major Indian groups targeted for removal, commonly referred to as “The Five Civilized Tribes,” comprised the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole. The legislative impetus for the emigration was the Indian Removal Act of 1830 signed into law by President Andrew Jackson.

The Choctaws were the first to emigrate Indian Territory beginning in 1830. They ceded all land claims east of the Mississippi River in exchange for 15 million acres in Indian Territory. Without government escort and minimal logistical preparations they set out on foot in the fall of 1830. Travelers were often forced to purchase their own supplies in unfamiliar lands. They encountered winters of rain, sleet, and snow and those choosing to emigrate during the summers of 1832 and 1833 endured a cholera epidemic. An estimated 4,000 Choctaw perished due to cholera and many more due to starvation, exposure, and accidents. By 1833, about 9,000 Choctaw made the arduous trek west. The Chickasaw emigration benefited from this disaster. The U.S. government built roads, cached supplies, and provided essential items to Indians. However, the Chickasaw received a monetary settlement and had to pay the Choctaw \$530,000 to acquire part of their appropriated land. At the end of 1838 more than 6,000 Chickasaw immigrated west with only a few hundred remaining behind.

In March of 1832, a Creek delegation exchanged their land for land in Indian Territory and the assurance they would be left in peace. Creeks were given the option to emigrate or obtain property deeds by 1837 and become subjects of U.S. jurisdiction. Those who emigrated became victims of corruption and greed. Hired government contractors cut costs providing minimal clothing and shelter. In one tragic accident the Alabama Emigrating Company hired an aging steamship, the *Monmouth*, which collided with another vessel killing 311 Indians onboard while transporting Creeks up the Mississippi.

Although Cherokee land was protected by previous treaties under federal law, President Jackson refused to intervene when Georgia officials began selling off Indian land. In 1832,

Jackson ordered agents to begin enrolling Cherokees to emigrate without a removal treaty. By December 1835, the government exploited a pro-removal, minority faction who agreed to removal in the Treaty of New Echota. The treaty supporters immediately moved west, mostly due to fear of reprisals. About 17,000 remained until forcibly removed at gun-point in 1838. General Winfield Scott commanding 7,000 men drove Cherokees out of their homes leaving their possessions behind. They were taken to stockades and placed under guard awaiting transport. While confined they suffered from malnutrition, dysentery, and other infectious diseases. From October 1838 to March 1839, 13 parties made the trek to Indian Territory following the paths of previous Indian emigrants. The Cherokees are estimated to have the greatest death toll of any group with 1,000 dead in transit and another 3,000 who died in the stockades.

Seminole leaders in Florida vehemently protested removal. When the government insisted that they emigrate in 1835 as stipulated by the deceptive and fraudulent Treaty of Payne's Landing the Seminole Indians initiated the Second Seminole War. This was a guerilla war that lasted until 1842. Commanders Winfield Scott, Thomas Jesup, and eventual President Zachary Taylor all found little success in combating the Seminoles in a harsh and increasingly unpopular war. The United States unilaterally declared the war over in 1842 allowing about 500 Seminoles to remain in southern Florida while almost 4,000 were relocated west.

The Trail of Tears, or in the direct Cherokee translation, "the trail where they cried," and the Indian removal policy that propelled it greatly stirred public opinion in the United States, especially by Indian sympathizers who derided the corruption and profiteering that benefited from it, the perceived inhumanity of the Jackson Administration in enforcing such a policy, and the more damning first person testimonies of Americans who witnessed the Indians on their treks to their new "homes." One famous observation came from Alexis de Tocqueville who witnessed portions of the early removals that he described for his readers in his book, *Democracy in America*. Another witness, a Georgia soldier who helped in the roundup and removal, and who later fought in the Civil War, remembered the Trail of Tears as "the cruelest work I ever knew" where he saw "men shot to pieces and slaughtered by the thousands."

The Cherokees were an important source of opposition to the Indian Removal Act and the subsequent Trail of Tears. Their national newspaper, the bilingual (Cherokee and English) *The Cherokee Phoenix*, responded with a number of editorials that were cited, and even reprinted, by editors of a number of newspapers opposed to Jackson and to his Indian policies. In addition, the arrest and imprisonment of the missionaries to the Cherokees by Georgia was denounced in the *Phoenix* as well as in pulpits and newspapers. However, when the paper ceased publication in 1834, the Cherokees lost an important advocate.

However, in 1987, Congress established a more lasting memorial when it designated the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail, which covers 2,200 miles of land and water routes and traverses through portions of nine states (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee).

F. Evan Nooe

SEE ALSO *Cherokee Phoenix*; Indian Removal Act; Taylor, Zachary

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Warren Wagon Train Massacre

The Warren Wagon Train Massacre occurred May 18, 1871 on the Jacksboro-Belknap Road in Texas. Under contract by the U.S. government, Captain Henry Warren was supplying several forts in the area. While travelling on open prairie land Kiowa Indians led by Satank, Big Tree, and Satanta ambushed the 10 supply wagons headed for Fort Griffin. About 100 waiting Indians waiting on Cox Mountain struck against the 12-man party from horseback. Wagon master Nathan S. Long saw the charge coming and ordered the wagons corralled. The Kiowa cut off the last wagon leaving the circle open for assault. They were quickly able to cut down the ill-prepared supply train. Kiowa raiders mutilated several of the bodies and burned one man alive trapped in a wagon. The attack left seven teamsters dead, five killed inside the broken corral and two killed on the prairie fleeing.

The Kiowa Indians were a nomadic group originally from the northern plains of North America. At the end of the 18th century, the Sioux Indians forced their migration into the southern plains. Around the same time, U.S. settlers moved into Texas thus setting off a drawn out contest over land and borders. In 1853, the federal government entered in to a treaty with the Kiowas to define Indian lands. The Treaty of Fort Atkinson promised annuities to the Kiowa for a maximum of 15 years in exchange for allowing the U.S. government to build forts on Indian land. Throughout the 1860s, sporadic raids amongst Indian groups and against whites created an unpredictable and dangerous area. After the Civil War, federal soldiers began to reoccupy forts in previously Confederate Texas to stabilize the area. The Kiowa Indians largely rejected U.S. insistence upon trading their nomadic and raiding ways in favor of sedentary agricultural lifestyles. For young Kiowa men raiding, hunting, and warfare affirmed their masculinity. Further encouraging raids, General William T. Sherman ordered the slaughter of buffalo to disadvantage the Indians and foster farming.

By the spring of 1871, many Kiowas and Comanches became restless. Promised annuities were almost six months late. Satank also suffered a personal loss in the death of his son and sought revenge. In most aspects, the Warren Wagon Train Massacre was not much different from previous raids. Timing ensured the repercussions would have a lasting effect. When the Kiowa raiding party sat on Cox Mountain overlooking the prairie, they ignored the first wagon train. Coincidentally, this was General Sherman touring the area in response to Texans complaining about chronic violence. After the raid, one of the white survivors, Thomas Brazeal, managed to walk to nearby Fort

Richardson where Sherman was staying. Sherman heard the story of the raid from the wounded man. Sherman realized he was almost the victim of the Indian attack.

It did not take long to capture the leaders of the raid. In an argument concerning annuity payments with the local Indian Agent, Lawrie Tatum, Satanta boasted of his involvement in the raid. Tatum instructed Satanta to go to nearby Fort Sill to discuss his grievances. There, soldiers were ready to take him, Satank, and Big Tree prisoner. The three men were quickly taken to be tried in court. In transit, soldiers killed Satank in an escape attempt. Big Tree and Satanta stood trial and were sentenced to hang. Many Indians at the reservation near Fort Sill abandoned the land to move north to distance themselves from whites. Violence between settlers and southern plains Indians continued. In an effort to relieve tension, Texas Governor Edmund Davis commuted Big Tree and Satanta's sentence to life in prison.

Both men found two very different ends. Big Tree eventually converted to a Christian religion and promoted peace between whites and Indians. Satanta, however, committed suicide in prison after becoming indifferent to white demands. For rest of the plains Indians the Warren Wagon Train Massacre instigated a more hostile direction in Sherman's Indian policy. He concluded the military should undertake expansion and subjugation against the Indians instead of containment.

F. Evan Nooe

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Washita, Battle of the

The very name of this engagement is controversial. Officially, to the U.S. Government (by act of Congress) it is known as the Battle of the Washita. To the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota nations of Native Americans, however, it is the Massacre of the Washita. The disputed nature of the engagement was an issue not long after the guns had cooled.

The event in question occurred on the morning of November 27, 1868 when the 7th U.S. Cavalry Regiment and their accompanying Osage Indian scouts attacked the village of Cheyenne Indians led by the peace chieftain Black Kettle. It was, tragically, not the first time Black Kettle and his band had been surprised and attacked at a time when they thought they were on safe ground.



Gen. George A. Custer's 7th Cavalry raids the Cheyenne encampment along the Washita River. (Library of Congress)

Almost exactly four years earlier, this same group of Indians were attacked with truly murderous intent by a unit of Colorado militia cavalry under the command of an unscrupulous politically appointed Colonel named John Chivington at a place known as Sand Creek in what was then Colorado Territory. That slaughter of a group of Indians who were known to be attempting to negotiate a lasting peace and who believed themselves to be under U.S. Army protection (as opposed to militia protection) is known as the Sand Creek Massacre. Chivington's militia killed some 150 men, women and children—and then began to mutilate the corpses, slicing off scalps, ears, and even genitalia. Chivington's brutality and the duplicity of the attack backfired, however, on several levels. It strengthened the “war faction” leaders among the tribes, and it created a huge backlash among the general American population to such a degree that Chivington himself had to resign his commission in disgrace less than two months later. This set the stage upon which the 7th Cavalry and their flamboyant commander, George Armstrong Custer, would act four years later.

During the summer of 1868, bands of semi-autonomous Indian braves known as the “Dog Soldiers” conducted raids northwards out of the Indian Territory (located in what is now Oklahoma) and into Kansas, killing, looting, and kidnapping women and children. The Dog Soldiers were their people's own worst enemy as their raids brought a massive response from the U.S. government.

Leading roughly 800 men of his regiment southward from a temporary base, Custer moved fast and light. By dawn on the 27th they were in positions all around the village where they believed, correctly, some Dog Soldiers lived. Custer gave deliberate orders that women and children were not to be hurt, but even he himself later admitted that in the swirling skirmish preventing all such casualties was essentially impossible.

With the 7th Cavalry's band playing the regimental song "Garryowen" up on a bluff, the dispersed cavalry elements attacked into the village. In the melee that followed, it is known that some 20 soldiers died. Among the Native Americans, the numbers are much less sure. Custer originally claimed to have killed some 105 of the male warriors, while later scholarship using Indian witness accounts places the number at only 29. An estimated 60 Indians were wounded. Most tragically, among those known dead in the fighting was the Peace Chieftain Black Kettle and his wife Medicine Woman Later. The overall number of women and children wounded and killed is much less clear and has never been firmly established. This is in part because Custer captured about 150 women and children and took them with him back to the supply base. To prevent their use by some of the other Indian bands nearby Custer also ordered the slaughter of some 875 captured ponies on the spot.

Although this "victory" did make Custer one of the best-known Indian fighters of the period, the historical response to his attack has always been somewhat muted. It is true that the event was celebrated in print at the time, but the site itself never became a place of national pilgrimage and was barely noted at all until quite recently. Certainly it was never as famous, as revered in American memory in the way that the battlefield where Custer and half his command fell eight years later along the banks of the Little Bighorn has been from that time to this.

Robert Bateman

SEE ALSO Custer, George Armstrong; Sand Creek Massacre

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Wild West Shows

Credit for pioneering the Wild West Show is usually given to George Catlin, an artist who was so trusted by the Indians that they invited him into their tepees, where he painted them. Catlin entered show business in the 1830s to generate support for the Great

Plains and the Indians and animals who lived there. In his Wild West shows, he combined Indian costume and playacting to entertain his audiences. Like a later showman, he took his show to Europe. Stories abound of the troupe's exploits. In London, in 1848, an Iowa shaman named Se-non-yah delighted a London audience with his account of deeds of valor and his experiences crossing the Atlantic Ocean and riding a train; he concluded with appreciation for the kind treatment given him by the English. On that same trip, in France, Crow tepee was displayed at the Louvre.

There were various Wild West shows. After the first Wild West show was born, dozens of others followed but the most famous, and by far most successful, was Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show, which evolved from an 1872 encounter with novelist Ned Buntline convinced Cody to play himself in the stage production of Buntline's novel *Scouts of the Prairie*. Smitten with the theater, Cody formed his own troupe of frontier actors in 1873. Because the majority of the actors were frontiersmen, the dramatic productions were fairly credible although Cody took a break in 1874 to return to the frontier as a scout.

In 1883, in what was advertised as "Buffalo Bill's Wild West, America's National Entertainment," Cody teamed up with two men, Nate Salisbury and John Burke, to create the Wild West exhibitions. Through his contacts with the U.S. Army, Cody secured a supply of Native Americans while his partners had access to rodeo performers and to the latest technologies of transport and of display. Most of all, the partners generated a massive, and increasingly sophisticated, public relations campaigns that equated the show with an heroic way of life.

After opening on May 19, 1883 in Omaha, Nebraska, the show toured the eastern United States, performing in outdoor fairgrounds and inside venues, such as Madison Square Garden. The shows depicted scenes such as the early settlers defending a homestead, a wagon train crossing the plains, or a more specific event such as the Battle of the Little Bighorn. There were acts known as Bison Hunt, Train Robbery, Indian War Battle Reenactment, and the usual grand finale of the show, Attack on the Burning Cabin, in which Indians attacked a settler's cabin and were driven back. Shooting exhibitions were also on the program with extensive shooting displays in competitions that exhilarated and stimulated the audience. Equally exciting were rodeo events, involving rough and "dangerous" activities performed by cowboys with different animals.

Some notable cowboys who participated in the events were Buck Taylor (dubbed "The First Cowboy King"), Bronco Bill, James Lawson ("The Roper"), Bill Bullock, Tim Clayton, Coyote Bill, and Bridle Bill but women were also a large part of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Star shooters included Lillian Smith, Seth Clover and Annie Oakley, perhaps the best known, who was one of the major attractions for 16 years, under the management of Frank Butler, whom she ended up marrying. Annie was billed in the show as "Miss Annie Oakley, the Peerless Lady Wing-Shot" and "Little Sure Shot" (by Chief Sitting Bull), and she achieved her own fame, long after her appearances in Wild West Shows, especially after Irving Berlin immortalized her in his musical, *Annie Get Your Gun*.

Native Americans were another part of Cody's show, mostly Plain Indians like the Pawnee and Sioux, who participated in staged "Indian Races" and historic battles, often appeared in attack scenes attacking white in which their "savagery and wildness" was theatrically enhanced, and performed talented dances, such as the Sioux Ghost Dance, which, in reality, meant that trouble was about to break out, although it wasn't portrayed as such in the show. The Native Americans always wore their best costumes and full war paint. Cody treated them with great respect and paid them adequately.

Well-known Native Americans in the show included Sitting Bull who toured with the show in 1885. During his time at the show, Sitting Bull was introduced to President Grover Cleveland, which he thought proved his importance as chief. He was friends with Buffalo Bill and highly valued the horse that was given to him when he left the show. Other familiar Native Americans names who performed in the show were Chief Joseph and Geronimo.

Buffalo's Bill's Wild West Show continued to captivate audiences and tour annually for 30 years (1883–1913). In 1887, Queen Victoria requested that the show appear at her Golden Jubilee at Windsor Castle, in England. The exhibition toured England for the next six months, with appearances at the American Exhibition, and generated voluminous press coverage. In 1889, the troupe traveled to France and to Spain then in early 1890, they went to Italy; in Rome, Pope Leo XIII singled out the performers for a special blessing. After Italy, the group traveled to Germany then back to England for another command performance for Queen Victoria. With his tour in Europe, Buffalo Bill established the global myth of the American West, one that is still largely embraced by overseas audiences even today.

In 1893, the show performed quite successfully at the Chicago World's Fair to a crowd of 18,000; it was a major contributor to that exposition's popularity. By the turn of the 20th century, Wild West Shows were an extremely popular phenomenon. One reason for this success was the fascination that audiences had for them, a chance to enjoy the thrill and danger of the West, without the risks and consequences that came along with the "real" West.

The Wild West Shows were eventually replaced by early cowboy stars as Tom Mix and the western film, rodeos, and circuses but Wild West shows created a lasting image in American history of the American West.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Cody, Buffalo, Bill; Geronimo; Ghost Dance; Sitting Bull

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Winnemucca, Sarah

Sarah Winnemucca is best known as a Native American activist and educator. She was born in 1844 near the sink of the Humboldt River in present-day western Nevada. Growing up as a Northern Piute, she experienced a childhood relatively free of white interference transitioning to an adulthood dictated by outsiders on a reservation. She died in 1891 of an unconfirmed illness.

Enduring this changing world, Sarah watched as white settlers continued to encroach and restrict Indian autonomy. Her grandfather, Captain Truckee, encouraged a path of friendship and cooperation with the newly arrived whites. He often reminded his people of a Paiute legend that foresaw the return of the long-lost white brothers of the Paiutes. Once reunited, the two groups were to live in a lasting peace. Sarah's father, Chief Winnemucca, was not as hopeful. He knew of too many depredations taken against Indian peoples by whites and specific attacks on Paiute villages and food supplies. The influence and ideas of these two men greatly influenced Sarah. While she desired prosperity and security for the Piutes, she knew that her people depended on the white man's skills to survive.

With these challenges in mind, she made an ambitious effort to arouse support for the Piutes and all Native Americans across the United States. She positioned herself as an intermediary between the Piute and white worlds. Sarah advocated reform for reservation conditions, the injustices of federal Indian policy, and derided government agent corruption. She lectured extensively across the United States. She spoke in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, California. She lectured in front of state and national politicians and even military officers. Sarah reached out to anyone whom she thought might have some ability to better the lives of her people.

Placing herself as a proxy between white and Indian worlds, garnered her criticism from not only white officials but also other Native Americans. Her publicizing of corruption and wrong doings of Indian Agents embarrassed U.S. policy makers' nation wide. Within the Native American community her position as an interpreter and negotiator with U.S. Indian Agents meant she relayed false promises and lies to her people from the federal government. The event that has drawn the most criticism from fellow Native Americans was a result of her involvement in the Bannock War. In 1878, a neighboring group of Native Americans went to war with nearby U.S. forces and complicit Indian groups, which included the Piutes. The Bannock took Sarah's father and other leading men of the Piutes captive. In response, Sarah agreed to guide the U.S. Army through Bannock territory. This resulted in the escape of her people but also the defeat of the Bannock at the hands of the United States. Although Sarah regretted the defeat she felt that a quick end to the Bannock war provided the best circumstances for her severely outmatched people.

Sarah dedicated her life to providing the best possible circumstances for the Piutes. This driving desire inspired her to open her own school for Indian children near Lovelock, Nevada. The school was opened in 1885 with eastern philanthropist Elizabeth Peabody sponsoring Sarah's effort. The school rejected the curriculum of institutions such as Carlisle. The Lovelock school encouraged Indian children to learn English but not by abandoning their culture. In its first year of existence, the school appeared to be doing well providing food and clothing for pupils and receiving public praise. However, the school closed after only operating for two years. The school never received government support and the passage of the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887 ensured that Indian education focused on total assimilation by eradicating Indian culture.

Her book, *Life among the Piutes*, written when she was 39, brought Sarah and her people to the forefront of Native American affairs in the early 1880s. The work presented an ethnohistory of her tribe and urged justice by the federal government toward Native Americans. Her book was the first published by an Indian woman, the first published by an Indian west of the Rocky Mountains and the first to record the cultural practices of the Piutes. It was written primarily from memory. While some have questioned the accuracy of her work, historians such as Sally Zanjani have carefully cross-checked against corroborating sources. While at times Sarah erred on chronology, dates, and numbers, her memory for people and events was extraordinarily accurate. Most importantly for historians today is this work offers a unique voice from the Indian point of view during a tumultuous era of U.S.-Native American relations.

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Wounded Knee Massacre

Since the bitter cold day it happened in 1890, there has been controversy over whether Wounded Knee was a battle or a massacre. It has also been called the last battle of the Indian wars.

Twenty-two years had passed since the 1868 Treaty at Fort Laramie established the Great Sioux Reservation. It was a desperate time for the Sioux. Their reservation that had once sprawled across portions of what are now several states now consisted of small islands of land surrounded by white homesteaders.

The Sioux were ripe for the coming of the latest Indian messiah, Wovoka, and his message of a return to the old ways. Wovoka was a Paiute, living in Nevada close to Lake

Tahoe. On New Year's Day in 1889, there was a solar eclipse in Nevada. The Paiutes called it "the day the sun died."

Adding volatility to the mix was the Sioux leader Sitting Bull, who had returned with his people to the United States from Canada in July 1881. Life on the reservation did not suit him and he longed for the old ways. Among his own people, he became a symbol of resistance and a hindrance to the plans of men such as James McLaughlin, agent at Standing Rock Reservation.

Shortly before 6 a.m. on December 15, 1890, Lieutenant Bull Head, and 43 other Indian policemen, arrived at Sitting Bull's cabin to arrest him. According to historian Robert M. Utley, Sitting Bull initially agreed to go peacefully, but as he was leaving his cabin a crowd began to gather. They jostled the policemen and shouted at them to release Sitting Bull, who began to struggle with his captors. Catch the Bear, one of Sitting Bull's followers, shot Lieutenant Bull Head in the leg. As he fell, Bull Head fired a shot into Sitting Bull's chest, and Red Tomahawk, another policeman, fired a shot into the back of the unarmed chief's skull, killing him instantly. A fierce, brutal skirmish erupted, and, when it was all over, Sitting Bull, his young son Crow Foot, and six other tribesmen lay dead. In addition, four Indian policemen were dead and three were wounded, two of them mortally.

Frightened that the killing of Sitting Bull might be the first action in an all-out war, a mixed band of Sioux, under the leadership of Minneconjou Chief Big Foot, fled the Cheyenne River reservation. Several fugitives fleeing Sitting Bull's camp joined him en route. Big Foot was headed for the safety of Pine Ridge, hoping that the influential Chief Red Cloud could protect his people. However, some feared he was leading his band into the Badlands to join the hostile Ghost Dancers who were already gathered there. Major Samuel Whitside, with four troops of the 7th Cavalry, was ordered to intercept and capture him.

Three days after Christmas of 1890, Whitside and the Seventh Cavalry caught up with Big Foot and his band of 120 men and 230 women and children. During the night, Whitside's commander, Colonel James W. Forsyth, assumed command. He told Whitside that the Sioux were to be disarmed and shipped to a military prison in Omaha, Nebraska.

A council was called and Forsyth told the assembled warriors they would be asked to give up their guns. With the recent slaughter at Sitting Bull's camp fresh in their minds, the Sioux were fearful of being unarmed and vulnerable. They decided to give up their broken and useless guns and keep their working guns handy. Forsyth soon surrounded the camp. He had 470 soldiers and a platoon of Indian scouts under his command. Four Hotchkiss artillery pieces ringed the encampment.

The next day, the Indians provided only an assortment of broken and outdated weapons. Forsyth knew there were more guns, so he ordered a search of the camp to gather up all the remaining weapons. As a precaution, only officers were allowed to enter teepees and search the women.

The tension rapidly increased with the Sioux warriors angrily objecting to the searches of their women. One young man leapt to his feet angrily brandishing his gun saying he had paid good money for it and would not give it up. Some said it was a man named Black Coyote while other witnesses claimed it was a man named *Hosi Yanka*, which means "deaf." Two soldiers came behind the young man and tried to seize



Nelson Miles (1839–1925), the American general responsible for the Wounded Knee Massacre, is depicted as an Indian agent, one month after he sent troops to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations to contain the Ghost Dance movement among the Sioux, *Judge*, 1890. (Getty Images)

his weapon. In the ensuing scuffle, it went off. At that point, several young warriors threw off their blankets and fired a brief and ragged volley into the ranks of the soldiers.

After that initial ragged volley, the Sioux began to flee in all directions. Many fled to a nearby ravine that soon became the target of the Army's Hotchkiss guns on the hills above Wounded Knee. Most who fled to the ravine did not survive. Others were chased down and killed, some more than three miles from the scene of the massacre. In the end, nearly 300 Indians were killed, mostly women and children. Sixty soldiers, many who were victims of "friendly fire," were also killed.

Coverage of Wounded Knee exceeded in quantity, if not in quality, that of any previous campaign against Native Americans. Probably the least experienced reporter covering the massacre was William Fitch Kelly, a young employee of the *Omaha State Journal* who despite his lack of journalism experience got the "beat" at Wounded Knee, sending out the first news of the battle and its aftermath. In a story headlined "Horrors of War," the *Omaha World-Herald's* (January 2, 1891) correspondent told of wounded Indian mothers with their babies and the agonies endured bravely by the injured.

However, the situation that resulted in Wounded Knee was monitored as early as the summer and fall of 1890 when the Ghost Dance and the Indian Messiah craze swept across the Lakota reservations and the news quickly interested the public. Reporters

and their editors started to monitor the situation while U.S. Army and Indian officials in Lakota country began to worry. Both the authorities and the press paid particular attention to Sitting Bull's activities and statements and even of his arrest and murder while assuring readers that his followers would soon "be good Indians or prisoners." (*Chicago Times*, December 16, 1890)

Sitting Bull's death was important news in the nation's capital where he was actually a notorious figure. One popular account in the *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C., December 16, 1890), probably supplied by a national wire service, explained the actions leading to Sitting Bull's death and the events at Wounded Knee. *The Star* also revealed its anti-Indian attitudes in another editorial that appeared the same day (December 16, 1890) except it attacked Sitting Bull as it tried to shed more light on the situation at Wounded Knee. In this story, Sitting Bull was even erroneously called "the assassin of the brave Custer" at Little Bighorn in 1876 where the Indians were blamed for ambushing Custer when, in fact, Custer and the 7th Cavalry initiated the attack.

Overall, coverage of Wounded Knee was sensationalized, much based on speculation and exaggeration, especially as the shooting was widespread and the casualties numerous and gruesome. Much of the reporting was based on actual coverage from the area of the battlefield but newspapers, such as the *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C., December 30, 1890) further away from Wounded Knee, which tried to explain the violence in more moderate terms rather than in the "blood thirsty revenge" mode of more anti-Indian papers.

More sympathetic still was the *New York Times*, which was moved by the Indian killing at Wounded Knee. In a long editorial (December 31, 1890), the paper tried to look at the situation from the Indian point of view, a perspective usually missing from news and editorials about the Indian Wars.

Colonel Forsyth was court-martialed, accused of mistakenly placing his men so that they fired into their own ranks, but he was found innocent. In a possible attempt to justify the events at Wounded Knee, the Army awarded 19 Medals of Honor to participants in the engagement. Five additional Medals of Honor were awarded for skirmishes along nearby White Clay Creek. This represented the largest number of Medal of Honor winners for any single engagement in U.S. history.

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SEE ALSO Ghost Dance; Sitting Bull

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4

Mexican-American War

INTRODUCTION

In 1835, residents of Texas declared their independence from Mexico, citing Santa Anna's abrogation of the Mexican Constitution of 1824 and greater centralized control over the province, including the abolition of slavery. Santa Anna led an army in 1836 into Texas to regain control over the rebellious province. Although General Sam Houston urged that the Alamo, a fort established in 1793 at a former Franciscan mission, be abandoned, the Texas government dispatched Lieutenant Colonel William Barrett Travis and James Bowie to defend the fortress. After a siege of approximately two weeks, Santa Anna's army of 3,000 to 4,000 men stormed the Alamo on March 6, 1836. All 187 defenders of the Alamo perished, including former Whig Congressman David Crockett and a group of Tennessee volunteers, while Mexican losses were numbered at 600 men.

The sacrifices made by the defenders of the Alamo were recognized in the rallying cry of "Remember the Alamo," which carried the Texans to victory and independence at the battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836.

The refrain "Remember the Alamo" would also be used by Texas volunteers fighting in the Mexican-American War (1846–848). These volunteers were accused of committing atrocities against Mexican citizens. Even during World War II, the Alamo was remembered in a popular song entitled "We're Going to Remember Pearl Harbor Just Like We Remembered the Alamo." In addition, the slogan "Remember the Alamo" was kept alive through numerous Hollywood film interpretations of the siege at the Alamo; including the popular 1950s Davy Crockett series produced by Walt Disney.

The Mexican-American War, derogatorily known as Mr. Polk's War, began with great controversy in April 1846. President James K. Polk, an ardent expansionist, assumed office with an agenda of settling the Oregon border dispute with Great Britain and acquiring California for the United States. Polk was a cautious expansionist and never

subscribed to the idea of acquiring the entire Mexican territory. However, many of his democratic colleagues, as well as his Secretary of the Treasury Robert Walker, were advocating for all of Mexico.

The dispute over the Oregon boundary was settled peacefully in June 1846 when both Britain and the United States agreed to the 49 parallel. Mexico was not as cooperative and severed diplomatic ties with the United States after Texas was annexed.

Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico on a peace mission, hoping to purchase territory from Mexico and assuage their anger over Texas; the Mexican government refused to see him. On February 4, 1846, in a controversial move, Polk ordered General Taylor and 4,000 U.S. soldiers south to the Rio Grande. On April 25, 1846, a U.S. reconnaissance patrol was attacked, killing several soldiers, and on May 8, an aggrieved Slidell returned to Washington with news of the failure of his peace mission.

President Polk met with his cabinet and decided that public opinion demanded action; his war message was sent to Congress on May 11, 1846. The communiqué emphasized three objectives: first, to characterize the Mexicans as the aggressors; second, to justify Taylor's presence on the Rio Grande as a defensive position to protect Texas from invasion; finally, to ask for money and a volunteer army. Polk's message argued that Mexico had invaded U.S. territory and spilled American blood, and therefore a state of war already existed. Playing upon popular patriotic sentiments, the war address held that nothing less than American honor was at stake and decisive action was imperative.

War fever spread quickly. "Ho for the halls of Montezumas!" became a common slogan on recruiting posters. Radical expansionists subscribed to manifest destiny and wanted Mexican land no matter what the cost. Idealists claimed that a constitutional republic should be instilled on Mexico, and racists displayed contempt for Mexicans and their government. Other war hawks believed that a defeat of Mexico would persuade Great Britain to back down on the Oregon territory dispute.

The prospect of such a large territorial acquisition exacerbated the sectional debate of slavery. As did the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed prohibiting slavery in any newly acquired territories from Mexico. Ironically, it was southern slaveholders, led by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, that opposed annexing Mexico and northern abolitionists who were in favor. Mexico's Catholic population did not favor slavery nor was the Mexican terrain agreeable for slave labor. Southerners realized that any states formed from Mexico territory would most likely be free states.

Slavery was not the only issue. Northern Democrats embraced Manifest Destiny arguing that it was inevitable for the United States to control all of North America. The New York Evening Post contended that humanity and Christianity mandated an annexation of Mexico. A gathering of Democrats in New York asserted that it was the moral and ethical responsibility of the United States to stabilize the region. The National Era, an anti-slavery paper, called for not only an immediate incorporation of Mexico but a formation of states as well.

Beginning in the summer of 1847 and gaining strong momentum when the U.S. Congress met in the fall of that same year, a faction, led mostly by northern democrats,

began to advocate for the entire country of Mexico to be annexed to the United States as indemnity for the Mexican-American War. By the summer of 1847, the U.S. Army had won a series of stunning victories against a much larger Mexican Army. These victories, culminated with the capture of Mexico City in September 1847, spurred the idea of an all Mexico annexation.

There are a number of reasons why the campaign to take over all of Mexico failed. First, President Polk was decidedly against it. In Congress, the volatile debate over slavery and territorial expansion caused many to exercise caution to avoid a crisis. Finally, the Whigs, the party against war and opposed to the complete conquest of Mexico, formed a strong coalition to counter the expansionist movement.

The Mexican government agreed to the U.S. annexation of lower portions of present-day California, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah. In turn, the U.S. government agreed to pay \$3.25 million to assume all insurance claims levied by U.S. citizens against the Mexican government and to pay \$15 million to the Mexican government in war damages.

On February 2, 1848, Mexican negotiators and Nicholas Trist signed the treaty in the village of La Villa de Guadalupe Hidalgo. Trist then dispatched James L. Freaner, his longtime friend and a war correspondent for the *New Orleans Delta*, to deliver the treaty to Secretary of State Buchanan. The U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on March 10, 1848. Opposition over U.S. Senate amendments made to civil and property rights for former Mexican citizens, however, postponed Mexican congressional ratification until late May 1848. The Mexican Chamber of Deputies eventually voted 51–35 in favor of its ratification on May 19, 1848, and the Mexican Senate ratified the treaty with a vote of 33–4 on May 30, 1848.

In its final form, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo exemplified both the diplomatic triumphs and the increasing political turmoil that U.S. leaders confronted throughout the 19th century. Following the Mexican-American War, the United States appeared to have fulfilled much of its Manifest Destiny policy by annexing large tracts of land across the North American southwest and along the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, the dream of a nation stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific had finally been realized.

Martin J. Manning

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PROPAGANDA

The Mexican War of 1846–1848 may be considered America’s first media war. It was covered by journalists in the field, it was depicted in lithographic prints and in fine art, and it saw the first use of the camera in a war-zone involving U.S. troops albeit on a very limited scale. Like most wars, it had a rallying crowd.

The Alamo was an 18th century Spanish colonial mission located in San Antonio, Texas. It was the site of one of the most dramatic battles of the Texas Revolution, which involved Texans fighting for independence from Mexico. Although Mexican general Antonio López de Santa Anna’s forces eventually crushed the defenders at the Alamo, the 13-day siege in February–March 1836, quickly became enshrined in the public’s mind as one of America’s most heroic moments. The fall of the Alamo became a rallying cry (“Remember the Alamo”) for those fighting to secure Texas’ independence. At the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, Houston’s forces destroyed the Mexican Army and captured Santa Anna, who was forced to accept Texan independence.

The Mexican-American War and its era dramatically changed journalism. It was the first war covered by official war correspondents traveling with the troops; it was the first important event covered by telegraph; and it featured the creation of American newspapers in enemy territory, for the purposes of providing the soldiers with reading material, covering official information from military commanders to soldiers, and propagandizing the Mexican public in their own language.

Newspaper coverage, as usual, was divided. Abolitionist journals censured the war. William Lloyd Garrison’s *Boston Liberator* urged citizens to withhold aid to the administration. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* echoed antiwar opposition. The *Boston Courier* published satirist James Russell Lowell’s poem, later part of his Biglow Papers, flaying Manifest Destiny, contending a southern plot to spread slavery, and implying the prudence of northern secession.

Initially some Whig papers like the *Baltimore American*, the *Nashville Republican Banner*, and the *Chicago Daily Journal* backed the conflict. Later, many took the view of the congressional Whig opposition. Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune*, Joshua Gidding’s *Ashtabula Sentinel* of Ohio, and Charles Francis Adams’s *Boston Daily Whig* agreed with the *Cincinnati Herald*, a Liberty party journal, in voicing antislavery and antiwar sentiments. Once the Wilmot Proviso received more attention, the proposal won endorsement from the *Ohio State Journal*, *Chicago Daily Journal*, *National Intelligencer*, and Greeley’s sheet.

Religious publications also opposed the hostilities. The *Christian Reflector*’s Daniel Sharp called the war bondage-stimulated. The *Quaker Friend* and *Friend’s Review* condemned the fighting and the possible extension of slavery. Congregationalists Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, and Richard Tolman alleged an imperialistic crusade to spread bondage and feared the growth of southern political power. Unitarian Theodore Parker charged a proslavery intrigue to undermine the Constitution in the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*.

Competing with the mainline newspapers with coverage of war news were those produced by the penny press, which shifted the revenue burden from reliance on subscribers and political parties to advertisers. An improved communication system aided penny press newspapers in their goal of reaching large audiences, as better roads, railroads, canals, and steamships helped extend journalism's reach to the masses. Technological developments that made it faster and cheaper to produce newspapers enabled the penny press to reduce costs and to sell newspapers cheaply.

Press censorship quickly followed. When General Zachary Taylor's American troops crossed the Rio Grande in May 1846 and established headquarters in the Mexican town of Matamoros, American newspapers set up printing shops in Mexico to supply news to the troops. One was *The Reveille*, which rented its press to *El Liberal Moderado*, a Spanish-language newspaper run by a Mexican editorial staff. The arrangement was done on condition that *El Liberal Moderado* publish in Spanish what *The Reveille* provided, in English. Instead, the Spanish-language newspaper criticized the morality of the American military occupation in an editorial. Taylor retaliated by using his authority to punish the press, closing the entire shop, keeping it under guard, and having the proprietors arrested. Three days later, Taylor relented and allowed the proprietors to reopen their shop. However, *The Reveille* continued to anger Taylor with further stories about the original arrests; he closed them down once again but censorship continued throughout the war as the press published stories unfavorable to the military leadership who, in turn, imposed martial law.

For the Mexican press, which preceded English printing on the American continent by centuries, there were only about 20 newspapers in Mexico when the war began in 1846 but the Mexican stories emphasized American difficulties, such as those highlighting the American army encamped in Corpus Christi which some Mexican newspapers treated negatively, with alleged accounts of Taylor's troops and their sufferings. However, nearly all Mexican newspapers supported the war effort while the Mexican government censored and suppressed the Mexican press during part of the war. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, the commander of the Mexican army and occasional Mexican president, imposed strict controls on press freedom, including jailing rebellious editors. As the Mexican press had no exchange relationship with the U.S. press, it was difficult for newspapers in the states to secure Mexican news so they relied on war correspondents in Mexico, most of them journalists for New Orleans newspapers, or turned to the several newspapers published in Mexico under auspices of the U.S. Army, such as *American Star* which traveled with the troops from Matamoros to Mexico City.

There were also the artists. Accompanying the American forces were several, including the German-born Carl Nebel, the British-born James Walker, Lieutenant Henry Walker of the U.S. Navy, and the soldier-artist, Captain Daniel Powers Whiting. Other soldiers such as Ange (Angelo) Paldi, Major Joseph Horace Eaton, and Samuel E. Chamberlain, recorded their experiences visually.

Nebel is remembered chiefly however for his series of 12 pictures depicting the battles of the Mexican War that appeared as lithographs in January 1851 entitled *The War between the United States and Mexico Illustrated*. The prints were accompanied by a text

written by George Wilkins Kendall explaining each image. Kendall had gone to Mexico to cover the campaign for the New Orleans Picayune, and sent back accounts of the fighting that were published in various newspapers. Using these accounts as the basis, he decided to write a book, and commissioned Nebel whom he had met in Mexico City, to produce illustrations for the work. Nebel's pictures are useful visual documents of the fighting particularly the topographical details in most of the prints. The details of the uniforms worn by the American troops are generally correct. As was fitting for battle scenes of the early 19th century, the images were enhanced with usual artistic props such as vignettes of the dead and wounded, battle debris, animals, and mounted officers, to break up the often-monotonous horizontal foreground.

Lithographic publishers back in the States produced prints of the war and portraits of the leading commanders, and the companies of Nathaniel Currier and Major, James S. Baillie, and E. C. Kellogg, emerged as leading purveyors of lithographic prints during this period. While the majority of these popular prints were inaccurate, they were often based on newspaper accounts, and tried to present a realistic impression of the events. The graphic representation of the Mexican War ranged from the accurate to the inaccurate depending on whether the artists observed the action or not. Nonetheless, the war witnessed some of the emerging new developments in visual communication, especially lithography and photography.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Alamo; Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of; Manifest Destiny; Kendall, George Wilkins; Nebel, Carl; Remember the Alamo; Slavery Issue; Wilmot Proviso

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Alamo

The Alamo was an 18th century Spanish colonial mission located in San Antonio, Texas. It was the site of one of the most dramatic battles of the Texas Revolution, which involved Texans fighting for independence from Mexico. Although Mexican general Antonio López de Santa Anna's forces eventually crushed the defenders at the Alamo, the 13-day siege quickly became enshrined in the public's mind as one of America's most heroic moments.

In the early days of the Texas Revolution, a provisional government had been established to organize resistance against the Mexicans, and Sam Houston was named the commander of the Texan Army. Believing San Antonio to be too isolated to defend successfully, Houston sent Jim Bowie to withdraw the garrison stationed there. Bowie, however, became enamored of an abandoned mission in the town that had served for decades as a barracks for Mexican troops: the mission San Antonio de Valero, better known as the Alamo. With some captured Mexican artillery and hard work, the garrison had already begun shoring up the crumbling mission. Bowie sent word to Houston that he would stay and defend the Alamo. Houston then sent a young firebrand named William Travis to order the garrison's withdrawal, but Travis too fell in with Bowie's dream. Just more than 150 men, including legendary frontiersman Davy Crockett, were in the Alamo when Santa Anna arrived on February 23, 1836.

Santa Anna quickly ordered his force, numbering 4,000 to 6,000 men, to surround the Alamo. He then began a round-the-clock bombardment to which the defenders were barely able to respond. They had cannon, but gunpowder was in painfully short supply. The encirclement was not secure, and Travis (who assumed command when Bowie became ill) sent three riders out to fetch aid. In answer to his appeals, 32 men rode in from Gonzales and forced their way at night through the incomplete investment. Thus, the defense numbered about 187 men; the exact count varies. It was an impossibly small force to defend a perimeter encompassing the church and two sets of barracks around a very large open courtyard. The walls were originally built to keep out the Comanche, but they were not sufficiently stout to withstand artillery fire for any great length of time.

On the night of March 5, the bombardment ceased. In the darkness, the Mexican troops quietly positioned themselves for a dawn attack. Only an overly eager soldier's cry alerted the garrison to the imminent danger before the attack was upon them. The darkness, coupled with the inexperience of many of the Mexican troops, combined to make the opening assault unsuccessful, but the Mexicans reformed and on their second attempt, breached the walls. Once inside, they had the Texans so outnumbered that the conclusion was foregone. Reports have it that Travis died early in the battle, while Bowie fought from his sickbed for a short time. The men inside the church building held out the longest but did not have the firepower to survive. Mexican sources state that many of the defenders, possibly as many as half, fled to the southeast but were ridden down by Mexican cavalry waiting for such a move. By 8:00 a.m., it was all over. All 187 Texan defenders, including Bowie and Crockett, were killed. The victorious Mexicans spared some 20 women, children, and African American slaves.

Various estimates put the number of Mexican Army casualties at anywhere from 600 to 2,000.

In the 1970s, a diary reputedly kept by Enrique de la Peña, one of Santa Anna's staff officers, came to light. Its veracity has been challenged, but it describes the final moments of the battle in a way that brought the traditional accounts into question. Since 1836, the generally accepted view was that all the defenders died in battle, but de la Peña's diary states that a handful were taken prisoner, including Crockett. Although most of the officers recommended mercy, Santa Anna's reputation for ruthless suppression of rebellion showed itself again: he ordered the prisoners executed as traitors.

Although the Alamo siege slowed the Mexican campaign less than two weeks, it provided the spark that motivated many to join Houston's motley force. The fall of the Alamo became a rallying cry ("Remember the Alamo") for those fighting to secure Texas' independence. "Who would not be rather one of the Alamo heroes, than of the living of its merciless victors?" a Texas newspaper remarked after receiving news of the Alamo massacre.

Many legends have resulted from the Alamo massacre along with books, films, and other forms of media presentations while the fort in downtown San Antonio is one of the most sacred in Texas, considered a shrine, as well as one of the most popular attractions in the state. Even at the time of the battle, newspapers reported opinions on both sides, often from the actual combatants. Before he prepared to attack the Texan garrison, Santa Anna's brother-in-law, General Martin Perfecto de Cos, who sent a letter to Stephen F. Austin, whom Cos considered the rebel leader, demanding complete surrender of the garrison and the end of the revolution. The letter was reprinted in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), March 5, 1836. The same issue of the *Telegraph* printed a letter from Travis, the garrison commander, in which he pleaded for reinforcements.

After the Alamo massacre, newspapers throughout the United States reported it. In one account, by the *Louisiana Advertiser* (New Orleans), March 28, 1836, based its report on news given by travelers from Texas. Contemporary accounts usually referred to the name of the town, San Antonio Bexar rather than the name of the Catholic mission where the battle happened, the Alamo.

One of the enduring legends of the Alamo, Davy Crockett, was the subject of much favorable newspaper coverage before he went to the Alamo and his death only enhanced his reputation, not just throughout the United States but in other countries as well, such as the *Chronicle and Gazette* (Kingston, Ontario, Canada), April 30, 1836, which described Crockett's story for its readers shortly after the Alamo massacre as that of "a brave and daring man, rich in those qualifications which fit out to be a pioneer in a new country."

At the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, Houston's forces destroyed the Mexican Army and captured Santa Anna, who was forced to accept Texan independence.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Remember the Alamo

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All of Mexico Movement

Beginning in the summer of 1847 and gaining strong momentum when the U.S. Congress met in the fall of that same year, a faction, led mostly by northern democrats, began to advocate for the entire country of Mexico to be annexed to the United States as indemnity for the Mexican-American War. The War, derogatorily known as Mr. Polk's War, began with great controversy in April 1846. By the summer of 1847, the U.S. Army had won a series of stunning victories against a much larger Mexican Army. These victories, culminated with the capture of Mexico City in September 1847, spurred the idea of an all Mexico annexation.

President James K. Polk, an ardent expansionist, assumed office with an agenda of settling the Oregon border dispute with Great Britain and acquiring California for the United States. Polk was a cautious expansionist and never subscribed to the idea of acquiring the entire Mexican territory. However, many of his democratic colleagues, as well as his Secretary of the Treasury Robert Walker, were advocating for all of Mexico.

The prospect of such a large territorial acquisition exacerbated the sectional debate of slavery. As did the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed prohibiting slavery in any newly acquired territories from Mexico. Ironically, it was southern slaveholders, led by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, that opposed annexing Mexico and northern abolitionists who were in favor. Mexico's Catholic population did not favor slavery nor was the Mexican terrain agreeable for slave labor. Southerners realized that any states formed from Mexico territory would most likely be free states.

Slavery was not the only issue. Northern Democrats embraced Manifest Destiny arguing that it was inevitable for the United States to control all of North America. The *New York Evening Post* contended that humanity and Christianity mandated an annexation of Mexico. A gathering of Democrats in New York asserted that it was the moral and ethical responsibility of the United States to stabilize the region. The *National Era*, an

antislavery paper, called for not only an immediate incorporation of Mexico but a formation of states as well.

Opposition to the movement maintained that it was immoral, unjust, and the Mexican population would undermine American institutions. Calhoun reminded Congress that the War was not supposed to be one of conquest. General Waddy Thompson of South Carolina cited that military success did not justify conquering a civilization. Two extremes divided the Senate: one extreme championing no territory and the other asking for all of it.

Nicholas Trist, despite being recalled by Polk, negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848. Although the movement for all of Mexico failed, national honor demanded some type of indemnity. The treaty, ratified on March 10, 1848, ceded New Mexico and Upper and Lower California to the United States.

There are a number of reasons why the campaign to take over all of Mexico failed. First, President Polk was decidedly against it. Second, the campaign ran out of time to organize before Trist arrived back in Washington, DC with a treaty. In Congress, the volatile debate over slavery and territorial expansion caused many to exercise caution to avoid a crisis. Finally, the Whigs, the party against war and opposed to the complete conquest of Mexico, formed a strong coalition to counter the expansionist movement.

William E. Whyte III

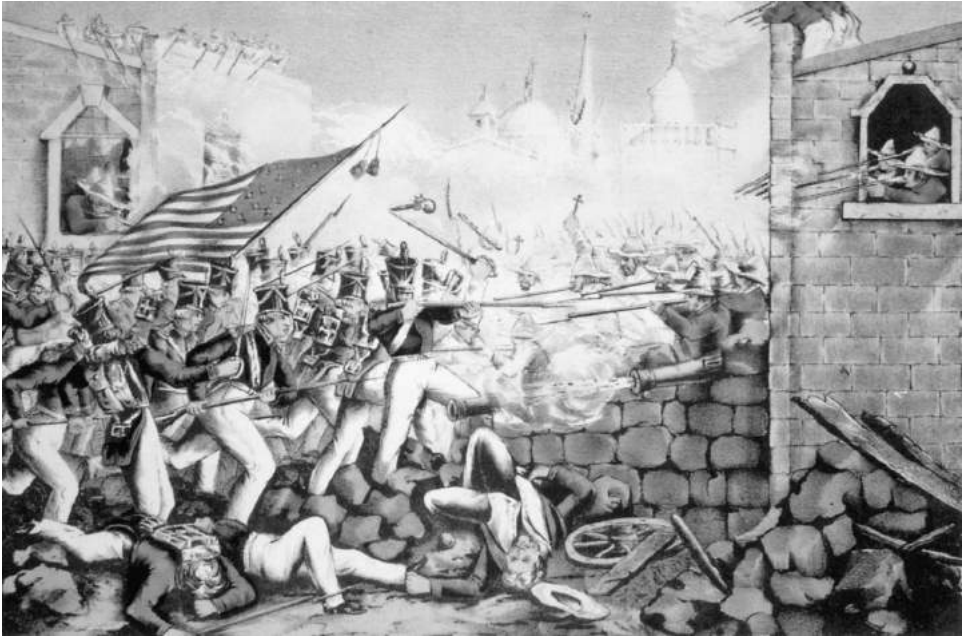
SEE ALSO Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of; Manifest Destiny; Polk, James Knox: War Address; Slavery Issue; Wilmot Proviso

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Art (Mexican-American War)

The Mexican War of 1846–1848 may be considered America's first media war. It was covered by journalists in the field, it was depicted in lithographic prints and in fine art, and it saw the first use of the camera in a war-zone involving U.S. troops albeit on a very limited scale.



American soldiers force their way to the main plaza of Monterey, during the Battle of Monterey on September 23, 1846. Lithograph by Nathaniel Currier. (Library of Congress)

Accompanying the American forces were several artists including the German-born Carl Nebel (1808–1855), the British-born James Walker (1818–1889), Lieutenant Henry Walker (1808–1896) of the U.S. Navy, and the soldier-artist, Captain Daniel Powers Whiting (1808–1892). Other soldiers such as Ange (Angelo) Paldi, Major Joseph Horace Eaton (1815–1896), and Samuel E. Chamberlain (1829–1908), recorded their experiences visually.

Lithographic publishers back in the States produced prints of the war and portraits of the leading commanders, and the companies of Nathaniel Currier (1813–1888), Sarony and Major, James S. Baillie, and E. C. Kellogg, emerged as leading purveyors of lithographic prints during this period. While the majority of these popular prints were inaccurate, they were often based on newspaper accounts, and tried to present a realistic impression of the events.

Perhaps the finest pictures of the war were the series of large lithographic plates published in portfolio form by George Wilkins Kendall after paintings by Carl Nebel. Both had been in Mexico prior to the fighting and once the war began, Kendall sent back accounts of the fighting to various newspapers. Nebel was in Europe during the campaign and only returned to the country once the fighting had ceased, but his on-the-spot sketches of the various battlefields were generally accurate in terms of the topography.

James Walker, who served as an interpreter on General Worth's staff, had lived and worked in Mexico prior to the war. He witnessed the actions at Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec, and was with the army when it occupied Mexico City. At the end of the war, he completed several small paintings of the various battles in addition to two large murals depicting the fighting at Chapultepec. His pictures can be considered

combat art and are highly representational although perhaps his style of depicting soldiers in some of the paintings lacks life and movement.

Naval aspects of the war were covered by Walker in watercolors and drawings made onboard his ship during operations off Vera Cruz and the riverine expeditions along the Tuxpan and Tabasco Rivers. Some of his pictures were reproduced as lithographs in the *Naval Portfolio* of 1848. Corresponding to this was the *Army Portfolio* published in the same year, containing lithographs after Captain Whiting of the land campaign.

The graphic representation of the Mexican War ranges from the accurate to the inaccurate depending on whether the artists observed the action or not. Nonetheless, the war witnessed some of the emerging new developments in visual communication especially lithography and photography.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Currier, Nathaniel; Kendall, George Wilkins; Nebel, Carl

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Biglow Papers. See Lowell, James Russell

Cazneau, Jane McManus Storm. See Correspondents (Mexican–American War)

Correspondents (Mexican-American War)

More than a dozen full-time journalists covered the Mexican-American War from its beginnings in May 1846. This was the first war in American history when newspapers featured war correspondents covering a war involving the United States fought in

another country. In addition to regular journalists, many men who enlisted to fight in the war made arrangements with their local papers to send stories back to their home town papers, sometimes by telegraph.

Writing stories under a pseudonym was a common practice during the war. James Freamer, who wrote for the *Delta*, used the name “Mustang.” Jane McManus Storm Cazneau signed her work as “Cora Montgomery” or simply “Montgomery.”

Reports of battles and heroism were popular with readers and competition to scoop the other correspondents’ stories was particularly fierce. Indeed, U.S. citizens’ hunger for news of the war established a highly competitive atmosphere among U.S. newspapers that endured for the remainder of the century. Rivalries flourished between newspapers of the South and the Northeast, yet they were hardly as intense as those among the New Orleans papers.

Reporters could not always rely on the telegraph. It was revolutionizing communication, but its farthest southern outpost was Richmond, Virginia. Stories from Mexico traveling by government express mail took at least 9 or 10 days to reach the U.S. east coast. Some newspapers created their own express corps to speed the news faster. The *Baltimore Sun* and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* formed an express agency that relied on 60 horses and riders who rushed news from New Orleans to Baltimore. The *Delta* relied on steamers to carry stories from Mexico to Louisiana. As U.S. troops moved deeper into Mexico, however, reports from the front lines decreased in both number and speed of delivery.

Mostly as a consequence of closer proximity to the fighting and greater regional support for the war, newspapermen from the Deep South, particularly New Orleans, predominated. Correspondents from the *Bee*, the *Commercial Times*, the *Delta*, and the *Picayune*, New Orleans papers all, reported on events. The northeast was not excluded, however; *The New York Herald* had five correspondents assigned to the war.

Noted newspaper correspondent George Wilkins Kendall cofounded the New Orleans *Picayune* in 1837. He served during the Mexican-American War. While his presence in Mexico was primarily to write news stories, he was also an official courier, staff officer, and even fought on occasion as a volunteer in Captain Benjamin McCulloch’s Texas Ranger Company. Kendall’s narrative accounts of Mexican-American War battles were widely read and republished in other newspapers across the United States. He witnessed the battles at Chapultepec, at Monterrey, at Cerro Gordo, and at Churubusco. Kendall engaged a steamer for the *Picayune*’s use, which he outfitted with typesetting equipment so that by the time the craft docked in New Orleans, stories could be printed. His innovations and creative problem solving brought the *Picayune* to national prominence as the chief source in the United States for news of the war.

Christopher Mason Gaile, a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, also wrote for the *Picayune* and accepted an Army commission before arriving in Mexico. He fought at the Battle of Veracruz and was renowned for humorous dispatches he signed as “Pardon Jones.” James Freamer, John H. Peoples, and J. G. H. Tobin all wrote for the *Delta*. Of the three, Freamer was best known. U.S. negotiator Nicholas P. Trist entrusted Freamer to deliver the completed Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Washington, DC, in February 1848.

Jane McManus Storm Cazneau wrote columns for the *New York Sun* under the name Cora Montgomery and was the only U.S. war correspondent to write from behind Mexican lines. She was also perhaps the first female war correspondent. Cazneau differed from other journalists covering the Mexican-American War not only in being a woman but also in routinely criticizing both U.S. military decisions and her fellow war correspondents. Her behind-the-scenes perspective and take on backroom politics made her privy to uncommon information, which also set her apart. Instead of glossing over the deprivations of war, Cazneau exposed the agendas and greed of those who profited most from the war via her columns and personal correspondence.

The Mexican-American War changed the nature of reporting the news in the United States. Although dispatches traveled faster than ever before, accuracy was often neglected in favor of sensationalism and the desire to scoop rivals.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

SEE ALSO Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of; Kendall, George Wilkins; Telegraph

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Currier, Nathaniel

American lithographer who depicted the Mexican War in numerous lithographic prints, and with his partner, James Ives, the Civil War, the American Revolution and other scenes, portraits and landscapes.

Born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, on March 27, 1813, Nathaniel Currier began his career as an apprentice in 1828 and went on to establish his reputation in the late 1830s and 1840s as a leading lithographer of American scenes, history, and current events. He described these as “Colored Engravings for the People.” One such event was the dramatic fire that destroyed Planters Hotel in New Orleans killing 10 persons, the print of which appeared in 1835. In 1852, he entered a partnership with James Merritt Ives (1824–1895) to form the celebrated lithographic publishing company of Currier and Ives. Currier is credited with developing new lithographic techniques in the creation of prints, standardizing the process of production, developing new lithographic crayons for colorization, and above all greatly improving the marketing and distribution of prints.

The outbreak of the war with Mexico in 1846 provided a suitable outlet for prints depicting a contemporary event. During this campaign, lithographic publishers were eager to produce prints of the battles and portraits of the leading commanders that would find a ready market among the art-buying public and provide reassurance, and Currier

along with his rivals, Napoleon Sarony, Henry B. Major, James S. Baillie, and David W. Kellogg, emerged as leading purveyors of lithographic prints during this period.

Currier, more than his competitors, single-handedly created a market for prints of the Mexican War. He published a total of 70 lithographs depicting scenes of the war, and many of these appeared shortly after the actual events so they were remarkable for their currency. The fact that so many were published suggests that there was a market for such iconography. He employed a large pool of talented artists but their names were not included on the finished prints with one exception, that of John Cameron who in fact was not the artist but the lithographer. There is however, one print dating from 1847 where the actual source is noted. In a picture entitled *Battle of Sacramento: Terrific charge of the Mexican Lancers*, the caption notes that the lithograph was engraved by Robert Telfer “after a sketch by E[lihu].B[aldwin]. Thomas, U.S.V.”

The artists would take eyewitness descriptions of the battles published in the New York press such as the *Herald*, and work them up into dramatic and spirited scenes. The finished prints sometimes included an extract from the press account. In the 1847 print entitled *Landing of the American Forces under Genl. Scott at Veracruz March 9th 1847*, the caption was followed by a quote describing the landing and the planting of the colors.

Some of the craftsmen who worked for Currier went on to develop their own lithographic businesses although they often deferred to his marketing savvy to distribute their own prints, and in some cases used designs by Currier. A print published by Sarony and Major in 1846 entitled *Repulsion of the Mexicans, and bombardment of Metamoras . . .* is same plate published by Currier under the title *The Bombardment of Matamoras, May, 1847, by the U.S. troops under Major Brown*. Prints showing individual deeds of valor were a popular subject such as the Capture of Mexican general Vega by Captain May, the same captain charging at Resaca de la Palma, *Colonel Harney at the Dragoon Fight at Medelin near Vera Cruz*, and the deaths of Colonel Pierce M. Butler, Lieut. Colonel Henry Clay, and Major Ringgold. Currier also published two naval scenes, one showing the bombardment of Vera Cruz, the other an attack by U.S. gunboats on the city of San Juan de Ulloa.

While Currier is remembered chiefly for his collaboration with Ives and the numerous lithographs that their company produced from the 1850s onwards, especially 80 scenes of the Civil War, the prints he published during the war with Mexico are worthy of study. While the majority of these popular lithographs were highly inaccurate representations of the major battles, with the exception of the portraits of the leading commanders such as Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor, they were based on newspaper accounts, and tried to present a realistic impression of the events but often in a heroic and glorious style common to the period. Beyond this, they offered little reliable information. It is also interesting to note that the Mexican soldiers were depicted fighting valiantly, a reflection of actuality. Many of the scenes contain close-up hand-to-hand fighting offering excitement. As such, they provided a misleading idea of war to a populace at home. Currier died in New York City on November 20, 1888.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Art (Mexican-American War); Taylor, Zachary

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Frémont, John Charles

John Charles Frémont was an army officer, explorer, and politician who played an important role in promoting settlement of the American West and was the first presidential candidate of the Republican Party.

Born John Charles Frémont in Savannah, Georgia, Frémont was the illegitimate son of a Virginia socialite and an impecunious French refugee. In 1837, he entered the U.S. Army's corps of topographical engineers as a protégé of Secretary of War Joel Poinsett. The following year, he became an enthusiastic supporter of Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton and Benton's vision for the westward expansion of the United States. Benton was not only one of the most powerful men in the Senate but also a close friend and political ally of Andrew Jackson, who, though no longer president, still bestrode the political landscape of the era. It was therefore particularly reckless of Frémont to provoke Benton's fury by eloping with the senator's daughter, Jessie. Once the deed was done, however, Frémont and his new bride succeeded in assuaging the unhappy father and winning him back as a patron for Frémont's army career.

As a member of the corps of topographical engineers, Frémont participated in and later led exploratory expeditions into the western territories of the United States and sometimes neighboring countries. In the late 1830s, these explorations led him into what later became Iowa, and in the early 1840s, he led more dramatic explorations along the Oregon Trail and into the Sierra Nevada. Guided by renowned mountain man Christopher Houston "Kit" Carson, Frémont made a number of geographic discoveries in the West and won the nickname "the Pathfinder." His explorations, which included considerable hardship and danger, had the effect of encouraging American migration into western areas, much to Benton's satisfaction.

When the Mexican-American War broke out, Frémont was leading another exploratory expedition in the western mountains. Without authorization, he led his band into California just prior to the official outbreak of hostilities and with the aid of recent

American settlers in the region, successfully established the Bear Flag Republic, which soon became part of the United States. By that time, however, Frémont had become embroiled in a dispute with his U.S. Army superior in California, Colonel Stephen W. Kearny. Court-martialed and convicted of insubordination, Frémont was pardoned by President James K. Polk but resigned his commission.

In his day, Fremont was considered a true American hero and he was able to defend himself against the charges leveled against him by stating the reasons for his hasty actions at Bear Flag by giving a report of his actions to newspapers, such as the *Richmond Whig* (March 20, 1848).

When Kearny made his charges against Fremont, the latter appealed his punishment to Washington but it was also printed in newspapers. One, the *Richmond Whig* (March 20, 1848), presented the petition, with editorial comment and some background on Frémont's role in the Bear Flag Revolt.

Years later, Fremont continued to have his apologists as his adventures were still of interest to readers. John Bidwell, one of Fremont's soldiers during the Bear Flag Revolt, recalled the episode for magazine readers in an article for *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (New York), February 1891, in which he described the relative ease with which the territory of Bear Flag was taken and Fremont's heroics in it.

As a civilian, he led another western expedition, but without Carson and other key guides the Pathfinder lost his way in the snows of the mountains. Several members of the party died, and Frémont and the others narrowly escaped. Landing on his feet again, Frémont was elected a U.S. Senator from California, and gold was discovered on his land there, making him a rich man. In 1856, he became the first presidential candidate of the newly organized Republican Party, and made a respectable showing in the general election, though he failed to carry his own state of California and lost the electoral vote to Democratic candidate James Buchanan.

In the Civil War Frémont served as a major general, first in Missouri, where he embarrassed Lincoln by issuing a harsh and premature proclamation of martial law and emancipation (which the president revoked), and later in what was soon to become West Virginia. There too he proved a dismal failure. In the spring of 1862, he blundered militarily and helped to make possible the spectacular success of Rebel general Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's Shenandoah Valley Campaign.

After the war, President Rutherford Hayes appointed Frémont governor of the Arizona Territory, where he served from 1878 to 1881. He died in New York City on July 13, 1890.

Ethan Rafuse

SEE ALSO Carson, Kit

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Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of

Diplomatic agreement formally ending hostilities between the United States and Mexico signed on February 2, 1848, in a small village outside Mexico City called La Villa de Guadalupe Hidalgo. In addition to bringing the Mexican-American War to an official close, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo established the majority of the U.S.-Mexican border.

Treaty negotiations to end the Mexican-American War commenced during the final months of the fighting, after Antonio López de Santa Anna, commanding general of the Mexican Army and president of Mexico, agreed to a mutual ceasefire with U.S. Major General Winfield Scott on August 22, 1847. The first round of talks began 10 days later, on September 1, when a four-man Mexican delegation composed of Bernardo Couto, Miguel Atristain, General Ignacio Mora y Villamil, and former President José Joaquín Herrera met with the principal U.S. negotiator, Nicholas P. Trist. These initial meetings established talking points for future treaty negotiations, which included U.S. annexation of southern California, Arizona, and New Mexico; the status of Mexican peoples in newly acquired U.A. territories; the location of the Texas-Mexico border; and the state of U.S. citizens' land claims against the Mexican government. Disagreements regarding the Texas-Mexico border ended the first round of talks.

The ceasefire lasted for less than a month. In an effort to pressure Mexican leaders back into negotiations, Scott lifted the ceasefire and advanced U.S. military forces into Mexico City on September 13, 1847.

A government shutdown prevented Mexican leaders from reopening treaty talks until late November 1847. Mexican legislators remained starkly divided over whether to continue the war against U.S. military forces or to secure a treaty. Finally, in a session on November 11, 1847, the Mexican Congress elected General Pedro María Anaya as interim president. General Anaya appointed Peña y Peña as minister of foreign relations, and named Couto, Atristain, and Luis G. Cuevas as peace commissioners. Treaty negotiations now appeared ready to reopen.

Back in Washington, however, Polk had grown increasingly disgusted with the stalled diplomatic talks. The president had received no word of the initial Santa Anna-Scott ceasefire settlement between October and early November 1847. Consequently, Polk

dispatched a series of letters through U.S. Secretary of State James Buchanan to Trist that recalled the chief U.S. negotiator to Washington and that replaced Scott with Major General William O. Butler. Trist, however, ignored the presidential recall to Washington. Receiving assurances from Peña y Peña and the Mexican government that U.S. territorial demands would be met, Trist reopened treaty negotiations on January 2, 1848. U.S. and Mexican diplomats met for one month and reached agreement in principle over a series of provisions that eventually found expression in the final treaty.

The Mexican government agreed to the U.S. annexation of lower portions of present-day California, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah. In turn, the U.S. government agreed to pay \$3.25 million to assume all insurance claims levied by U.S. citizens against the Mexican government and to pay \$15 million to the Mexican government in war damages.

On February 2, 1848, Mexican negotiators and Nicholas Trist signed the treaty in the village of La Villa de Guadalupe Hidalgo. Trist then dispatched James L. Freaner, his longtime friend and a war correspondent for the *New Orleans Delta*, to deliver the treaty to Secretary of State Buchanan. The U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on March 10, 1848. Opposition over U.S. Senate amendments made to civil and property rights for former Mexican citizens, however, postponed Mexican congressional ratification until late May 1848. The Mexican Chamber of Deputies eventually voted 51–35 in favor of its ratification on May 19, 1848, and the Mexican Senate ratified the treaty with a vote of 33–4 on May 30, 1848.

In its final form, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo exemplified both the diplomatic triumphs and the increasing political turmoil that U.S. leaders confronted throughout the 19th century. Following the Mexican-American War, the United States appeared to have fulfilled much of its Manifest Destiny policy by annexing large tracts of land across the North American southwest and along the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, the dream of a nation stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific had finally been realized.

Media reaction to the treaty was divided, often based on regional divisions. For example, a New England magazine (*New Englander* [New Haven, CT], April 1848), offered a rather view of the treaty as “a sham” with a peace that was “guarded with a standing army of twenty thousand men” while in Virginia, the *Richmond Whig* (March 1, 1848), noted approvingly that the treaty would correct an injustice and allow Mexico to maintain some of its national honor although the same story also predicted that the slavery question involving the conquered lands would cause the Civil War. The *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), April 14, 1848, hoped that the Mexican Congress would put aside its national pride long enough to ratify the treaty and bring an end to the war.

Jason Godin

SEE ALSO Manifest Destiny

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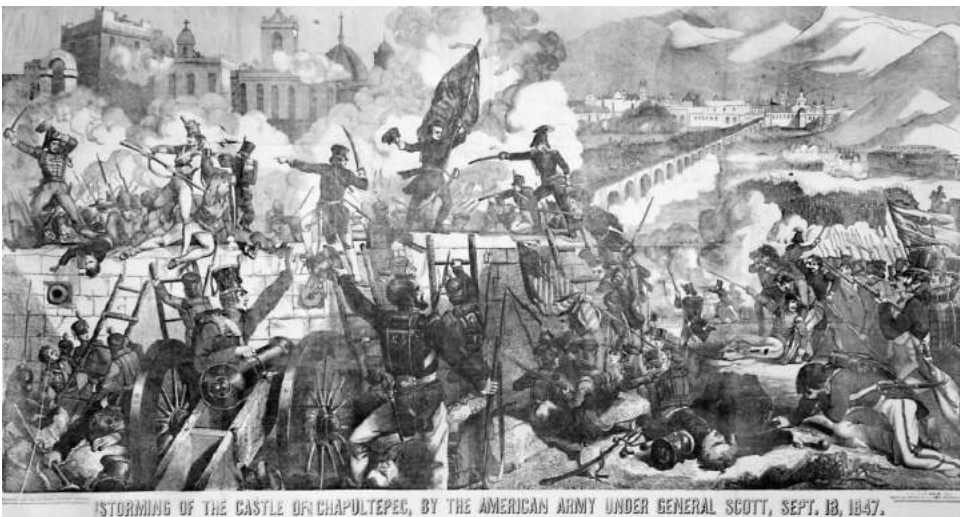
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Halls of the Montezumas

Halls of the Montezumas refers both to Chapultepec Castle, a fortress in Mexico City, and to Mexico's National Palace. U.S. soldiers used "Halls of the Montezumas," or abbreviated forms of the phrase, to mean Mexico's capitol, often bragging of the victorious time when they would eventually revel in the ancient city.

Montezuma, or Moctezuma, was the name given two Aztec Emperors who reigned during 14th, 15th, and 16th century. The second of these was the leader and resident of the Aztec capitol Tenochtitlan, site of the future Mexico City, who met Spanish Conquistador Hernando Cortez in 1519. Chapultepec, built not for Aztec but Spanish rulers, was in 1847 a military academy and fortress at the westernmost approach to Mexico City.

In March 1847, General Winfield Scott's invading army came ashore at Vera Cruz, very near the location of Cortez landing more than three centuries prior. Many of the U.S. soldiers, sailors, and marines of that force knew that they followed the same route as Cortez had taken to the Aztec capitol.



The storming of the castle of Chapultepec, by the American army under Gen. Winfield Scott, September 13, 1847. (Library of Congress)

In September 1847, Scott's Army was on the outskirts of Mexico City. The only approaches to the well-defended city considered were from the South and West. Chapultepec Castle guarded the western approach. As he had done earlier at Vera Cruz, Scott gathered together an inner circle of officers, many of them junior West Point-educated engineers, and put forth the question of whether or not the Castle should be secured before attacking the city proper or simply bypassed, in the hope that its arms and personnel would play no further part in the war. The decision was made that Chapultepec had to be taken first.

A daylong artillery barrage of the Castle did great damage to life and property, but still the hilltop defenders would not surrender. To scale the walls and take Chapultepec, 264 officers and men, including 40 marines, and several lieutenants and captains who would become generals in the Union and Confederate Armies, were selected. The U.S. Flag flew over Chapultepec within two hours of the assault.

Chapultepec's fall precipitated that of the Mexican Army: by the next day, they had evacuated Mexico City. On September 14, Scott and his forces were firmly in control of what they had so long considered the "Halls of the Montezumas." Although army soldiers and even sailors took part in the fighting at Chapultepec, the phrase "Halls of Montezuma" is most closely associated with U.S. Marine Corps: it is the first line of their hymn. "Halls of Montezuma" is also the title of a 1951 film about the U.S. Marine Corps, though the movie deals with the World War II Pacific Theater.

J. Overton

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Kendall, George Wilkins

Born on August 22, 1809, at Mont Vernon near Amherst, New Hampshire, George Wilkins Kendall learned printing as a youth and then practiced this profession first in Washington and then in New York, where he worked for Horace Greeley. He worked for a year in Mobile, Alabama, for the *Alabama Register* and then moved to New Orleans.

In 1837, Kendall helped establish the *Picayune*, the first inexpensive daily newspaper in New Orleans. The paper was a great success, in large part because of Kendall's humorous articles. The paper also became a strong voice for the annexation of Texas.

In 1841, Kendall joined the Santa Fe Expedition, an ill-fated attempt by the Republic of Texas to establish jurisdiction over the busy trading region surrounding Santa Fe, New Mexico. Texas president Mirabeau B. Lamar ordered the expedition in the spring of 1841, and 320 men began the trek on June 19, 1841. The expedition fought several engagements with the Mexican Army and Kendall, among others, was taken prisoner and marched to Mexico City. His newspaper, the *Picayune*, published many of his letters during his imprisonment.

Released in May 1842, Kendall returned to New Orleans, and in 1844, he published *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition*, which sold an astounding 40,000 copies in its first few years in print. Long a proponent of war with Mexico to secure land cessions for the United States, with the beginning of the Mexican-American War in 1846, Kendall volunteered for Captain Benjamin McCulloch's Texas Ranger Company, which was attached to Major General Zachary Taylor's forces on the Rio Grande River.

During his military service, Kendall documented the rangers' activities, including the Battle of Monterrey and Major General Winfield Scott's landing at Veracruz, Mexico. For a brief time he also served as an aide to Major General William J. Worth. Kendall is often held to be the first U.S. war correspondent because of his firsthand accounts of military activities during the war. In 1851, he published another book, *The War between the United States and Mexico*.

In the 1850s, Kendall devoted himself to raising sheep in the Texas hill country, ultimately possessing a herd of some 5,000 animals. He is considered the father of the state's sheep industry. Kendall died in Boerne, Texas, on October 21, 1867.

Ashley R. Armes

SEE ALSO Taylor, Zachary

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Lowell, James Russell

James Russell Lowell was one of the best-known American men of letters of the mid-19th century. His elevation of vernacular language in poetry and his witty, satiric verses captured public attention. His heartfelt concern over the troubling moral questions posed by such institutions as slavery helped make his writings influential.

Lowell was born on February 22, 1819 at Elmwood, his family's home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He entered Harvard University at the age of 15. Despite a penchant for reading everything but the books on the syllabus, which earned him a two-month "rustication"—or suspension—in Concord, Lowell graduated in 1838. He earned a law degree at Harvard in 1840, though he did not practice long.

Lowell published his first book, *A Year's Life and Other Poems*, in 1841. Two years later, he became editor of a reformist journal, *The Pioneer*, which lasted only three issues. In 1844, he married Maria White, herself a poet and reformist, who encouraged Lowell to write in opposition to slavery. He served briefly as an editorial writer for the abolitionist newspaper *Pennsylvania Freeman* and wrote extensively for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

In 1848, Lowell published three volumes that secured his poetic reputation: *A Fable for Critics* is a verse satire that assesses 19th-century American writers as it sketches them. Included were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edgar Allan Poe, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

The Biglow Papers mingled poems with prose sketches that criticized the national government in the conduct of the Mexican War, particularly Lowell's conviction that its primary motivation was the desire to expand slavery. Hosea Biglow, a straightforward commentator in the Yankee tradition, and his friend, Birdofredom Sawin, exchange letters assailing politicians and statesmen of the day. The poems' original and effective use of Yankee dialect constituted a literary landmark. Critics recognized the introduction of distinctly American vernacular to literature.

Over the years from 1847 to 1853, Lowell suffered the losses of three of his four children and of his wife, who had given real direction to his work. In 1855, when Longfellow gave up the Smith Professorship in Modern Languages at Harvard, Lowell accepted the post. He taught at Harvard from 1857 until 1872. In 1857, Lowell became the first editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, a position he held until 1861. In 1864, he joined Charles Eliot Norton as coeditor of the *North American Review*.

During the Civil War, Lowell composed a second set of *Biglow Papers*, including one specifically dedicated to the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation called "Sunthin' in the Pastoral Line" in 1862. These were published initially in the *Atlantic Monthly* and then as a volume in 1867. As the war progressed, Lowell used his role at the *Review* to praise Abraham Lincoln and his attempts to maintain the Union but Lowell also paid a heavy personal price with the loss of three nephews during the war, including Charles Russell Lowell, Jr, who became a Brigadier General and fell at the battle of Cedar Creek. Lowell himself was generally a pacifist who believed that if the destruction of slavery was to be a consequence of the war, he would not regret it.

At the end of the war, he wrote a series of odes on the notion of moral victory achieved through sacrifice, including his "Commemoration Ode" (1865), the first literary tribute to Abraham Lincoln, which he was asked to present at Harvard, in memory of graduates, on July 21, 1865.

In 1872, Lowell gave up his Harvard chair to travel to Europe for two years, during which time he received honorary degrees from Oxford and Cambridge universities. He

served as U.S. ambassador to Spain from 1877 to 1880 and as U.S. ambassador to England from 1880 to 1885.

Home in Cambridge, Lowell published his last book of verse, *Heartsease and Rue*, in 1888, as well as several books of essays. He died at Elmwood on August 12, 1891.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda

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Manifest Destiny

An ideological mindset used to rationalize the westward territorial expansion of the United States to the Pacific Ocean during the 1840s and 1850s. Manifest Destiny expressed the belief that the United States had the God-given right and indeed duty to occupy the remainder of the continent and that such expansion was clearly justified (manifest) and inevitable (destiny). The concept was also used to legitimize the annexation of Oregon, Hawaii, and the Philippines.

The phrase was coined in the summer of 1845 by John L. Sullivan, a journalist and editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. In an essay supporting the annexation of Texas, he argued for the “fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.” Even though the phrase became one of the most influential slogans ever coined, O’Sullivan certainly did not originate the sentiment behind the slogan. In the first half of the 19th century, the United States witnessed an extraordinary growth in territory and population. The multiplying millions to which O’Sullivan referred included immigrants from Europe, who had crossed the Atlantic in droves hoping for a better life. Many of these newcomers began looking westward for fertile, unoccupied lands. Expansion across the continent was thus seen as a desirable necessity, and O’Sullivan gave the movement its name. However, Manifest Destiny included more than the will for westward expansion. It was also a belief that the United States was exceptional of all the world’s nations—the promised land, the new Israel, and God’s own country—and that its people had both a divine mission and the altruistic right to spread the virtue of its



In *American Progress*, painted by John Gast in 1872, an allegorical female figure of America leads pioneers and railroads westward as Native Americans and buffalo flee. The concept of manifest destiny represented in the painting related to the belief that the United States had a moral and divine mandate to colonize the lands west of the Mississippi. (Library of Congress)

democratic institutions and liberties to new realms. Indeed, this thinking can be traced back to the 17th century, when in 1630 the Puritan minister John Winthrop referred to the Massachusetts Bay Colony as a “city upon a hill,” which would stand as an example for all people.

The theme of American exceptionalism was heightened during the American Revolution, when the colonists fought for the right to implement their own version of freedom and democracy. With independence came the promise of expansion, which included cheap abundant land and economic opportunities west and south of the thirteen original colonies. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and the acquisition of Florida from Spain in the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty more than doubled the size of the United States, creating a new frontier that offered relief for a growing population.

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 also exemplified the ideas and the mood behind Manifest Destiny. When President James Monroe warned Europe that the Americas were no longer “to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers,” he paved the way for increasing U.S. hegemony over its neighbors by establishing his nation as the legitimate protector of the Western hemisphere. Thus, the concept of Manifest Destiny became even more important during the Oregon Boundary Dispute with

Great Britain and with U.S. relations with Mexico. Regarding Oregon, Great Britain and the United States had agreed in the Anglo-American Convention of 1818 to occupy jointly the Oregon Territory. However, in the years following the treaty, thousands of American settlers had migrated to the northwest and calls for annexation of the region became very popular in the 1840s. When Great Britain rejected President John Tyler's proposal to divide the area along the 49th parallel, American expansionists responded with demands for a northern border along the 54°40' line (the slogan at the time was "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight"). The question of the annexation of Oregon played an important role in the election of President James K. Polk in 1844. After the election, however, Polk did not yield to the extremists and settled the boundary dispute with Britain diplomatically with the Buchanan-Pakenham of 1846, which terminated the joint occupation and divided Oregon along the 49th parallel.

At the same time, expansionist sentiments led to war with Mexico in 1846. Ever since Mexico had opened its province of Texas for colonization in 1823, thousands of settlers from the United States had moved south. The movement was so strong that Mexican authorities soon lost control of the province. In 1835–1836 differences between Anglo settlers and the Mexican government led the new settlers to revolt against Mexico and declare Texas independent. They then sought admittance to the United States. The annexation of Texas was highly controversial among U.S. politicians, however, because it would come in as a slave state. Anxious to keep the delicate balance between slave and free states, the United States rebuffed Texas's request to join the Union. The question of what to do with Texas was an issue in the 1844 presidential campaign because Polk promised annexation should he be elected. Although Polk agreed to settle the boundary dispute over Oregon diplomatically, he refused to compromise with Mexico after Congress approved the annexation of Texas in 1845.

Polk's desire to acquire California as well as annex all of Texas led to war with Mexico in May 1846. In supporting war against Mexico, American expansionists for the first time cited racial reasons for expanding American territory. This reasoning, though, was controversial even among expansionists. Its supporters argued that Manifest Destiny would help "improve" the Mexicans, while its opponents claimed that Mexicans, as non-Anglo-Saxons, were not "qualified" to become Americans. When the Mexican War ended in February 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico ceded to the U.S. present-day Texas with its boundary at the Rio Grande and what would become New Mexico, Arizona, California, and parts of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado. The United States had now accomplished its goal of expanding its territory to the Pacific Ocean. After the war, Polk offered Spain \$100 million for Cuba in an attempt to consolidate his territory even further, but Spain declined.

After decades of internal struggle, civil war, and reconstruction, the belief that Manifest Destiny justified the seizing of Native American and Spanish-held lands was revived in the 1890s. The ideology behind the term, however, now contained elements of Social Darwinism and social determinism. Expansionists believed that it was "the white man's burden" to lead inferior races in other parts of the world to better lives. The British

author Rudyard Kipling made this viewpoint famous in his 1899 poem of the same name, which was subtitled “The United States and the Philippine Islands” and in which he urged the United States to spread civilization to less developed people. This expanded set of beliefs incorporated ideas not only about race and religion, but also about culture and economic opportunities. Expansionists assumed that Americans had the divine right to dominate other lands because they belonged to the most advanced race, had the most developed culture, the best economic system, and the necessary military and technical expertise.

This notion of an international manifest destiny was at play in the decision of the United States to intervene in the Cuban Revolution (Insurrection) of 1895–1897 and to annex Hawaii and the Philippines in 1898. The United States soon extended its interest into Asia and the Far East with its calls for an “open door policy,” meaning that U.S. policymakers sought equal trade preferences in places like China.

During the Spanish-American War, several U.S. legislators called for the annexation of all Spanish territories. As a result of the war the United States took control of the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico, and it had occupation troops in Cuba for several years. Despite the extremist expansionists’ demands, Cuba was not annexed, however. Yet the 1901 Platt Amendment provided for the establishment of a permanent U.S. naval base on the island at Guantánamo and the right to intervene in Cuba militarily to maintain order.

The Spanish-American and the Philippine-American Wars marked the United States’ entry into world affairs. President Theodore Roosevelt buttressed the Monroe Doctrine with his 1904 corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which stated that the United States reserved the right to intervene in the affairs of any nation in the hemisphere if its political system or economic policies threatened the United States or other nations in the hemisphere. The belief that it was the United States’ “mission” to promote and defend democracy throughout the world would remain an influential part of the political culture within the United States during the 20th century and into the 21st.

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SEE ALSO Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of; Indian Removal Act; *United States Magazine*

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Myths and Slogans. See All of Mexico Movement; Halls of the Montezumas; Manifest Destiny; Remember the Alamo

Nativism and Secret Societies

Nativism is a social and political movement that favors native-born American rights, ideals, and heritage over those of immigrants. The concept has at times been the foundation for political parties and secret societies, some of which were prominent in the 1840s and 1850s, particularly just before and after the Mexican War.

Nativism is not necessarily restricted to xenophobic tendencies, but may be against certain aspects of immigrants, such as their religion and ties to foreign rulers. With the influx of Irish immigrants during the Potato Famine of 1845, Nativism in America took a decidedly anti-Catholic path. Deadly riots between immigrants and “native” gangs occurred in America’s largest cities in the early 1840s, fueled by publications and speeches from instigators on both sides.

The party that would be called at various times Native American, American Republican, and American Party is best remembered as the “Know-Nothings,” for their standard reply when questioned on their activities. Started in 1841, the party ceased operations in 1847, but was reborn after the War. The “Know-Nothing” party resembled a secret society, with their own initiation oaths, passwords, and refusal to publicly acknowledge membership. They were at their height during the 1850s, but became marginalized late in that decade when many members joined the Republican Party.

Nativist ideas were often used as justifications for the Mexican War, and as an assurance of eventual U.S. triumph. During the war, the United States was in the peculiar position of taking large numbers of foreign immigrants into military service to fight in a war Nativists considered a defense of America against foreign influence. Nativists also saw some justification for their prejudices when a group of Irish enlistees deserted to fight for the Mexican Army, forming the Saint Patrick’s Battalion, or *San Patricios*. It was widely propagated that their treason was due to their shared religion with the Mexicans, although some private soldiers contended that their desertions were brought about by the harsh discipline meted out by their officers.

General Winfield Scott was aware of the anti-Catholic attitudes prevalent with many in his army. Fearing their behavior would anger the Mexican populace and cause a general revolt towards his small force, he took special pains to ensure they respected the religious practices in the areas they occupied, going so far as to have several of his Protestant officers attend Catholic Mass in Vera Cruz.

The relatively easy victory of U.S. forces over Mexico reaffirmed for many Nativists the correctness of their beliefs: Mexico, her institutions and social structure tied to Old Europe and the Roman Catholic Church, was no match for the enlightened, democratic, and Protestant forces of her northern neighbor.

Nativist parties and secret societies have made comebacks in various guises since the 19th century, ranging from the radical, violent Ku Klux Klan to the more mainstream America First Party.

J. Overton

SEE ALSO America First Committee (Volume 2); San Patricio Battalion

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Nebel, Carl

German-born artist who depicted the American forces in Mexico during the war of 1846–1848 and produced a series of watercolors that were translated into lithographs and published in 1851.

Born in Hamburg, Germany, on March 18, 1805, and following studies in his home city and in Paris and Italy where he studied architecture and drawing, Nebel went to Mexico where he lived from 1829 until 1834. During his stay in the country, he sketched the landscapes, the cities, and the native costumes. Some of these formed the basis of a series of 50 lithographs that were published under the title of *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la partie la plus intéressante du Mexique* two years later. Nebel is remembered chiefly however for his series of 12 pictures depicting the battles of the Mexican War that appeared as lithographs in January 1851 entitled *The War between the United States and Mexico Illustrated*. The prints were accompanied by a text written by George Wilkins Kendall explaining each image.

Kendall had gone to Mexico to cover the campaign for the New Orleans *Picayune*, and sent back accounts of the fighting that were published in various newspapers. Using these accounts as the basis, he decided to write a book, and commissioned Nebel whom he had met in Mexico City, to produce illustrations for the work. Nebel himself was in Europe during the war and only returned to the country once the fighting had ceased.



General Scott's Entrance into Mexico City, by Carl Nebel. Gen. Winfield Scott and the U.S. Army of Occupation capture Mexico City on September 14, 1847. Mexican forces were in a desperate situation after losing the Battle of El Molino del Rey six days earlier. Scott's troops advanced to the gates of Mexico City and fought the surviving Mexican infantry until U.S. soldiers were greeted with the white flag of surrender. (Library of Congress)

He was seen in Mexico City in November 1847 by Colonel James E. Duncan who noted in a letter to Kendall that Nebel was “getting on well with his pictures.” Returning to Paris, Nebel worked up his sketches into large watercolors that were then lithographed by Adolphe-Jean-Baptiste Bayot. The finished lithographs were printed in the city by the celebrated lithographic company of Joseph Lemercier. Only 500 copies were produced as large portfolios bound in red leather. Each colored lithograph measured 11 × 17 inches.

The preface to the series contained a statement by Kendall that Nebel made on-the-spot sketches of the various former battlefields and were therefore generally accurate in terms of the topography. However, he added a disclaimer that while it was impossible to depict a battle scene, the artist chose what he considered the most interesting and exciting aspects of each battle “and trusts that the public may excuse any errors which may be discovered.”

While Nebel visited most of the sites, he never made it to the north of the country, so his pictures of Buena Vista, Palo Alto and Monterey relied heavily on sketches and accounts provided by others. The primary source for the battle of Buena Vista, for instance, was listed in the publication as Captain James H. Carleton of the First U.S. Dragoons, while an engraving after Lieutenant Major Joseph Horace Eaton (1815–1896)

of the same event might have been the inspiration for Nebel. Kendall had also not witnessed the northern campaign with the exception of Monterey where he had accompanied McCulloch's Texas Rangers. The artist did employ some artistic license especially in his depiction of the battle at Palo Alto. Having never seen the site, he added hills on the horizon to what is primarily a flat coastal plain. The inspiration behind this mistake might have been an engraving that appeared in "*Our Army*" on the *Rio Grande* by Thomas Bangs Thorpe, where the engraver included dense groves of trees that could be construed as a range of distant hills.

Besides the scenes of Palo Alto, Monterey, and Buena Vista, the portfolio included depictions of the major clashes at Cerro-Gordo, the assault on Contreras, the bombardment of Vera-Cruz, Churubusco, and two scenes of Molino Del Rey: the attack upon the Molino, and upon the Cas-Mata. The storming of Chapultepec was also covered in two prints, one showing the attack by General Gideon J., the other under the command of John A. Quitman. The series was completed with a scene of General Scott's entry into the capital. Surprisingly, the battle of Resaca de la Palma was left out of the series.

Nebel's pictures are useful visual documents of the fighting particularly the topographical details in most of the prints. The details of the uniforms worn by the American troops are generally correct. As was fitting for battle scenes of the early 19th century, the images were enhanced with usual artistic props such as vignettes of the dead and wounded, battle debris, animals, and mounted officers, to break up the often-monotonous horizontal foreground.

Nebel died in Paris on June 5, 1855, four years after the publication of his Mexican War prints.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Art (Mexican-American War); Currier, Nathaniel; Kendall, George Wilkins

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Newspapers. See Propaganda

Order of the Star Spangled Banner

An American nativist group founded in New York City in 1849 by Charles B. Allen. Although many nativist groups were formed in the United States during the 1850s, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner was the largest. It was a secret society based on anti-immigration and anti-Catholic sentiment.

The influx of large numbers of immigrants into the United States after the Mexican-American War fomented an antiforeigners movement, especially in the major cities along the east coast or in the Midwest. Half the population of New York City was foreign born, as was one third of Philadelphia by 1850. Corrupt political bosses began to harness the votes of these immigrants. Many native born citizens associated the new arrivals with crime and resented the economic competition caused by the lower wages paid to the new comers. These circumstances made it easy for the propagandists to prey on the fears of the xenophobes. The presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics exacerbated fears of the largely Protestant citizens.

The secret meetings were called with heart shaped pieces of paper. White paper indicated all was well, while red indicated danger. Members initiated into the first degree had to renounce all party allegiances, vow never to vote a foreign born or Roman Catholic into office, and never reveal the secrets of the order. Second-degree members were eligible to hold office in the order or as public political candidate. Once in office, the members vowed to use any legal means necessary to remove foreigners and Catholics from office.

In 1852, James W. Baker, a New York merchant and an astute organizer, took control of the order from Allen. Under Baker's leadership, lodges sprung up in New Jersey, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Ohio. At the end of 1853, some prominent Whigs took over the society's leadership, giving the organization a national political agenda.

Local chapters of the order from thirteen states met in New York City in the summer of 1854 to form a national constitution. This convention formally organized the Order of the Star Spangled Banner into a political party over seeing national, state, and local elections. The order was renamed the American Party. However, the press referred to them as the Know Nothing Party. This alluded to the party member's strict adherence to secrecy. When members were asked about anything regarding the organization, they responded, "I know nothing."

A third degree was added to the order at the suggestion of Kenneth Rayner, a former Whig from North Carolina. Known as the Union degree, initiates had to vow to support the Union. Rayner was hoping to halt the secession movement in the South and the abolition movement in the North.

Former President Millard Fillmore, seeking to run in the 1856 election on a nativist platform, was required to join the order to obtain the nomination of the Know Nothing Party. Fillmore was initiated in his home and received 22 percent of the popular vote but lost to James Buchanan. The election of 1856, the rise of the Republican Party, as

well as, the sectional issues over slavery effectively ended the influence of the Order of the Star Spangled Banner.

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SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Nativism and Secret Societies

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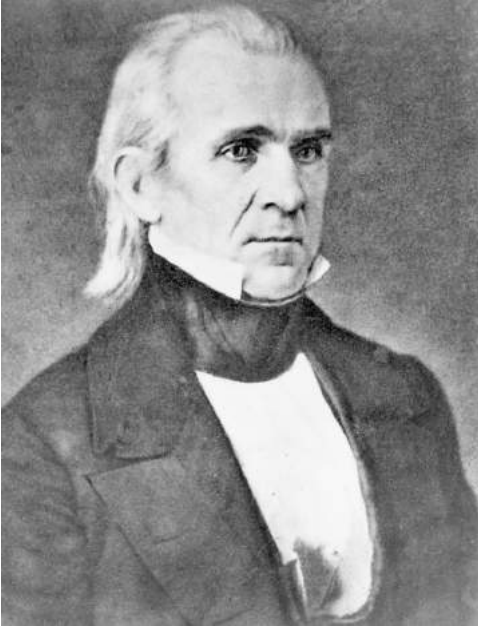
Polk, James Knox: War Address

James Knox Polk became the eleventh President of the United States in 1845 running on an expansionist platform. A relative unknown candidate, Polk was a Jacksonian democrat, and subscribed to Thomas Jefferson's political philosophy of an agrarian republic. He believed more land was needed for farmers and embraced the popular idea of manifest destiny. An advocate of Texas annexation and acquiring all of the Oregon territory, Polk narrowly defeated Henry Clay of the Whig party.

Texas annexation was passed in Congress even before Polk took office, and Great Britain was standing firm on its claims for the Oregon border. Polk assumed power with two possible wars looming over foreign policy, one with Britain and one with Mexico. The dispute over the Oregon boundary was settled peacefully in June 1846 when both Britain and the United States agreed to the 49 parallel. Mexico was not as cooperative and severed diplomatic ties with the United States after Texas was annexed.

Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico on a peace mission, hoping to purchase territory from Mexico and assuage their anger over Texas; the Mexican government refused to see him. On February 4, 1846, in a controversial move, Polk ordered General Taylor and 4,000 U.S. soldiers south to the Rio Grande. On April 25, 1846, a U.S. reconnaissance patrol was attacked, killing several soldiers, and on May 8, an aggrieved Slidell returned to Washington with news of the failure of his peace mission.

President Polk met with his cabinet and decided that public opinion demanded action; his war message was sent to Congress on May 11, 1846. The communiqué emphasized



James Knox Polk, 11th president of the United States (1845–1849).
(Library of Congress)

three objectives: first, to characterize the Mexicans as the aggressors; second, to justify Taylor's presence on the Rio Grande as a defensive position to protect Texas from invasion; finally, to ask for money and a volunteer army. Polk's message argued that Mexico had invaded U.S. territory and spilled American blood, and therefore a state of war already existed. Playing upon popular patriotic sentiments, the war address held that nothing less than American honor was at stake and decisive action was imperative.

A vigorous congressional debate ensued. The Whig opposition led by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina agreed to allocate money for defense but did not want an actual declaration of war. Opponents wanted to know whether the attacks actually took place on U.S. soil or Mexican soil. Among the detractors of war was a

freshman Whig Congressman from Illinois named Abraham Lincoln; he would not seek reelection. Calhoun reasoned that a state of war could not already exist, as stated in the war address, because only Congress had the power to declare war. Abolitionists blamed southern slave owners for inciting the conflict. New England Whigs and Democrats accused Polk of exploiting national pride to wage a war of conquest. Despite these objections, war was declared on May 13, 1846.

War fever spread quickly. "Ho for the halls of Montezumas!" (Pletcher, p. 390) became a common slogan on recruiting posters. Radical expansionists subscribed to manifest destiny and wanted Mexican land no matter what the cost. Idealists claimed that a constitutional republic should be instilled on Mexico, and racists displayed contempt for Mexicans and their government. Other war hawks believed that a defeat of Mexico would persuade Great Britain to back down on the Oregon territory dispute.

The attack on U.S. troops, troops that were ordered to a volatile area by Polk, provided the catalyst for war. President Polk's war address capitalized on this catalyst appealing to patriotism, national honor, and the popular expansionist dogma of manifest destiny. The Whig opposition was forced to acquiesce fearing that failure to aid the army in this era of patriotic fervor would spell doom for the party.

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SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Lincoln, Abraham; Manifest Destiny; Taylor, Zachary

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Proclamations to U.S. Soldiers

When Congress approved annexation of Texas on March 1, 1845, three days before James K. Polk's inauguration, Mexico denounced the act as aggression and broke off diplomatic relations. Refusing to accept the U.S. claim that Texas's borders extended to the Rio Grande, Mexico massed troops along the river. Polk, showing the initiative that would mark his administration, responded by sending General Zachary Taylor's army into Texas. Then, without waiting for the Senate's approval, he sent an emissary to Mexico City to discuss borders and propose the purchase of New Mexico and California, an offer that served only to enrage the Mexican government. Texas's admission to statehood in December 1845 added injury to insult, and in May a Mexican force crossed the Rio Grande and ambushed American troops.

In a war message he drafted for Congress on May 10, 1846, three days after the ambush, Polk interpreted the action as an act of war against the United States that stated that Mexican attitudes of "belligerence" and unreasonableness caused the conflict and to "recognize the existence of war" for Mexico who has "shed American blood upon the American soil." The message was delivered on May 11 and the next day, Congress passed a resolution authorizing the President to react to the aggression of Mexico. The resolution passed in the House 174–1; in the Senate 40–2.

After Congress declared war, Polk operated even more decisively than he had in the buildup to it. He supervised the war effort as closely as any general officer he would have put in their place. Insisting on a steady flow of information from the fronts, he concerned himself with troop morale, logistics, and the selection of many of the field officers. The example of such direct involvement was not lost on later presidents. According to University of Illinois historian Robert Johannsen, "Abraham Lincoln devoted careful study to Polk's management of the war."

Polk did most of the big things right, from strategy to diplomacy to press relations, the last through what amounted to his own administration newspaper, the *Washington Union*. Along with the Army and Navy leadership, he issued various proclamations to U.S. soldiers and sailors during the Mexican War, giving orders but more importantly setting the context for the war in which they were involved. His statements used themes

that would recur often during the war: part sovereign U.S. territory had been invaded; American troops had been attacked and killed in their own country by foreign invaders; the American Government had done all it could to further a peaceful resolution but Mexico clearly wanted war and was the aggressive party.

Much like Polk's address, recruiting slogans were often based around the concept that part of sovereign U.S. territory had been invaded and that U.S. troops had been killed in their home country. Others cited the need to free the enslaved and benighted Mexican populace from their despots in Mexico City and the Vatican. Some appealed to the concept of duty: one's country is at war, and it is incumbent upon able bodied males to do their part. As nearly half of the U.S. Army and Navy in 1846 were composed of recent immigrants, the steady money of military service was likely a better incentive than patriotic jingles.

J. Overton

SEE ALSO Polk, James Knox: War Address; Taylor, Zachary

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Remember the Alamo

On March 6, 1836, the Texas revolutionaries at the Alamo in San Antonio were defeated and killed by a Mexican army under the command of General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. The sacrifices made by the defenders of the Alamo were recognized in the rallying cry of "Remember the Alamo," which carried the Texans to victory and independence at the battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836.

In 1835, residents of Texas declared their independence from Mexico, citing Santa Anna's abrogation of the Mexican Constitution of 1824 and greater centralized control over the province, including the abolition of slavery. Santa Anna led an army in 1836 into Texas to regain control over the rebellious province. Although General Sam Houston urged that the Alamo, a fort established in 1793 at a former Franciscan mission, be abandoned, the Texas government dispatched Lieutenant Colonel William Barrett Travis and James Bowie to defend the fortress. After a siege of approximately two weeks, Santa Anna's army of 3,000 to 4,000 men stormed the Alamo on March 6, 1836. All 187 defenders of the Alamo perished, including former Whig Congressman David Crockett and a group of Tennessee volunteers, while Mexican losses were numbered at 600 men.

Following the fall of the Alamo, Texas civilians and many government leaders retreated to the United States, while Houston raised an army to defend Texas. In pursuit

of Houston, Santa Anna divided his forces, and on April 21, 1836, Houston's force of approximately 800 men surprised the Mexican army at Lynch's Ferry, near the San Jacinto River. Houston supposedly rallied his troops on April 19 by proclaiming that they should "remember the Alamo."

Texas forces shouted this refrain as they routed the Mexican army in about twenty minutes, but many prisoners were killed in retribution for the Mexican actions at the Battle of the Alamo and Goliad Massacre (March 20, 1836). While Texan losses were listed as 16 killed and 24 wounded, the Texans claimed that the Mexican casualties were 630 killed, 208 wounded, and 730 taken prisoner. Santa Anna who was captured in the battle was forced to sign an agreement recognizing the independence of Texas and withdrawing his armies from the region.

The refrain "Remember the Alamo" would also be used by Texas volunteers fighting in the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). These volunteers were accused of committing atrocities against Mexican citizens. Even during World War II, the Alamo was remembered in a popular song entitled "We're Going to Remember Pearl Harbor Just Like We Remembered the Alamo." In addition, the slogan "remember the Alamo" was kept alive through numerous Hollywood film interpretations of the siege at the Alamo; including the popular 1950s Davy Crockett series produced by Walt Disney.

"Remember the Alamo" has kept the memory of the siege alive, but it is also a rallying cry that has been used to justify revenge and retribution.

Ron Briley

SEE ALSO Alamo; Pearl Harbor, Attack on

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San Patricio Battalion

The Battalion de San Patricio was a Mexican Army unit composed of foreigners residing in Mexico and deserters from the U.S. Army. Although there were a number of Germans, by far the largest number (perhaps 40%) of the men in the unit was Irish, and so the unit took the name of Saint Patrick's Battalion for Ireland's patron saint. The men who joined

responded to Mexican government propaganda efforts to paint the war between Mexico and the United States as a religious struggle, between Catholicism and Protestantism. No doubt, vandalism of Catholic churches and shrines in Mexico by some U.S. soldiers, as well as mistreatment of Mexican civilians and the harsh discipline prevailing in the U.S. Army, all contributed to desertions.

Reportedly the unit was first organized by John Riley (sometimes given as O'Reilly) at Matamoros as *Las Compañías de San Patricio*. Riley had deserted from Major General Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation in the spring of 1846, before the war with Mexico. Riley received a commission as a captain in the Mexican Army and later rose to brevet lieutenant colonel.

The unit grew in size and, in November 1846, Mexican General Antonio López de Santa Anna recognized it as two companies in the San Patricio Battalion. The San Patricios, as they were called, distinguished themselves both as artillerymen and for their bravery in battle. They fought at Matamoros (May 17, 1846), Monterrey (September 20–24, 1846), and Buena Vista (February 22–23, 1847).

In June 1847, Santa Anna created a foreign legion in the Mexican Army, and the San Patricios were converted from artillery into an infantry unit within the Foreign Legion. They then became known as the 1st and 2nd Militia Infantry Companies of San Patricio. Colonel Francisco R. Moreno commanded the battalion, while Captain Riley had charge of the 1st Company and Captain Santiago O'Leary the 2nd. The companies were also known as the Foreign Legion of San Patricio. The unit fought at Cerro Gordo (April 17–18, 1847) against U.S. Army forces advancing from Veracruz toward Mexico City.

As U.S. forces under Major General Winfield Scott closed on the Mexican capital, Santa Anna concentrated his forces at Churubusco, site of a fortified bridgehead and a Franciscan convent. During the fighting there on August 20, 1847, the San Patricios manned three artillery pieces at the convent and directed an effective fire against attacking U.S. Army troops for two hours until they ran out of ammunition. Reportedly, Mexican soldiers inside the convent tried several times to surrender, but each time the San Patricios, anticipating their fate if captured, tore down the white flag. Reportedly, 35 San Patricios died in the battle. When the convent finally fell, 85 were taken prisoner and about that number escaped. Scott then issued General Orders 259 and 263 establishing two courts martial for 72 of the San Patricios determined to be U.S. Army deserters.

Colonel John Garland convened the first court martial in Tacubaya on August 23, 1847. Colonel Bennet Riley, an Irish Catholic officer, began the second court martial at San Ángel three days later. Only two defendants did not receive the death sentence, one because of improper enlistment in the U.S. Army and the other because he was found insane.

Following the verdicts, there were a number of appeals from the Mexican side for clemency, including from the archbishop of Mexico, from the British minister to Mexico, and from foreign citizens in Mexico City. Scott duly reviewed the verdicts and, on September 8, he issued General Order 281. Of the 29 men tried at San Ángel, he approved the death sentence for 20. John Riley had deserted before the war had been declared, so he could not be hanged. Several days later, Scott's General Order 283 dealt

with the Tacubaya trials. It confirmed the death sentence for 30 San Patricios. Those not to be executed were sentenced to receive 50 lashes, to be branded on the cheek with the letter D for deserter, and to wear iron yokes around their necks for the duration of the war.

Sentences for the men tried at San Ángel were carried out in the San Jacinto Plaza there on September 10. Those found guilty at Tacubaya were executed or branded in the village of Mixcoac on September 13. Colonel William S. Harney ordered that the condemned men there be fitted with nooses at daybreak and left standing on the gallows while the battle for Chapultepec Castle raged. When the U.S. flag was raised over the castle, the men were to be hanged. This occurred at about 9:30 a.m.

The sentences imposed on the San Patricios outraged the Mexican public. In Toluca, Mexican authorities had to intervene to prevent rioters from retaliating against U.S. prisoners of war held by the Mexicans. Mexico also continued recruitment of U.S. deserters and by March 1848 the surviving original San Patricios and new deserters and foreign recruits formed two more companies. At the end of the war, the fourteen San Patricios remaining in U.S. custody and who had escaped execution were released to Mexican authorities.

The San Patricios continued in the Mexican Army until the unit was disbanded in August 1848. Most of the men remained in Mexico. The San Patricios have been the subject of two films: *The San Patricios* (1996) and *One Man's Hero* (1999). Each year Mexico remembers their sacrifice on September 12 and on St. Patrick's Day.

Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Taylor, Zachary

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Slavery Issue

War with Mexico led to accusations that President James K. Polk conspired to spread human bondage into conquered territories. The issue revived the slavery question and divided the United States.

In 1846, Polk complained about antiwar agitation, saying it heartened resistance and prolonged hostilities. He questioned its relevancy because linking human bondage to the conflict raised only a theoretical problem. He believed any lands obtained would be unsuitable for plantation slavery.

Northerners foresaw new slave states. Alleging a scheme to extend southern power, they remembered Polk as a Tennessee slaveholder elected on a promise to admit Texas to the Union. They saw southerners as instigators of Manifest Destiny, targeting Mexican lands south of the 36°30' Missouri Compromise demarcation. In 1846, the House of Representatives approved the Wilmot Proviso barring the expansion of human bondage into newly acquired territories.

Southerners supported the advance of slavery. A convention asserted human bondage could thrive in California and cited a prerogative to carry slaves into the territories. One Georgia newspaper anticipated more authority for the South in the central government. Virginia's legislature favored resistance to the Wilmot Proviso, and Robert Toombs of Georgia threatened secession. South Carolina's press endorsed Virginia's position, the *Raleigh Register* advised southern unity, and the *Richmond Enquirer* predicted disunion.

Abolitionist journals censured the war. William Lloyd Garrison's *Boston Liberator* urged citizens to withhold aid to the administration. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* echoed antiwar opposition. The *Boston Courier* published satirist James Russell Lowell's poem, later part of his *Biglow Papers*, flaying Manifest Destiny, contending a southern plot to spread slavery, and implying the prudence of northern secession.

Initially some Whig papers like the *Baltimore American*, the *Nashville Republican Banner*, and the *Chicago Daily Journal* backed the conflict. Later many took the view of the congressional Whig opposition. Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, Joshua Gidding's *Ashtabula Sentinel* of Ohio, and Charles Francis Adams's *Boston Daily Whig* agreed with the *Cincinnati Herald*, a Liberty party journal, in voicing antislavery and antiwar sentiments. Once the Wilmot Proviso received more attention, the proposal won endorsement from the *Ohio State Journal*, *Chicago Daily Journal*, *National Intelligencer*, and Greeley's sheet.

Religious publications also opposed the hostilities. The *Christian Reflector*'s Daniel Sharp called the war bondage-stimulated. The *Quaker Friend* and *Friend's Review* condemned the fighting and the possible extension of slavery. Congregationalists Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, and Richard Tolman alleged an imperialistic crusade to spread bondage and feared the growth of southern political power. Unitarian Theodore Parker charged a proslavery intrigue to undermine the Constitution in the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*.

Despite antiwar protests, Polk victoriously concluded the Mexican-American War and the United States acquired new lands.

Rodney J. Ross

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Garrison, William Lloyd; Lowell, James Russell; Manifest Destiny; Polk, James Knox: War Address; Wilmot Proviso

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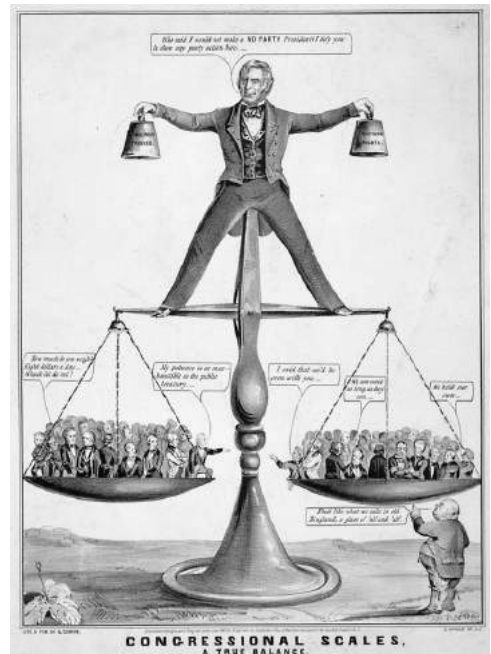
Taylor, Zachary

Elected in 1848 as the 12th President of the United States, Old Rough and Ready, as he was known from his years of distinguished military service, was the last President of the Whig Party. Born in Virginia in 1784, Taylor joined the Army in 1808 establishing himself as a competent military officer in the War of 1812. His success as a soldier would not follow him into the presidency, where he served a pedestrian 16 months before dying in office on July 9, 1850.

Zachary Taylor had no political experience and only gained notoriety after his exploits in the Mexican-American War. In a controversial move, President James K. Polk ordered Brevet Brigadier General Taylor and 4,000 U.S. soldiers south of the Rio Grande in February 1846. One of Taylor's reconnaissance patrols was attacked on April 25, 1846, igniting the Mexican-American War.

Taylor defeated a much larger Mexican Army at the Battle of Palo Alto; followed by another victory at the Battle of Resaca de la Palma, after which his Army occupied the Mexican city of Matamoras. Taylor's Army then captured Monterrey, Mexico, in September 1846, and won the Battle of Buena Vista in February 1847 despite Polk transferring half of Taylor's command to General Winfield Scott, whose Army was to attack the coastal Mexican city of Vera Cruz.

After Taylor's troops entered Matamoros, American newspapers set up printing shops to supply news to the troops. One was *The Reveille*, a pro-American newspaper published by Texas printers Samuel Bangs and Gideon Lewis; in turn,



Satire on President Zachary Taylor's attempts to balance Southern and Northern interests on the question of slavery in 1850. (Library of Congress)

The Reville rented its press to *El Liberal Moderado*, a Spanish-language newspaper run by a Mexican editorial staff, on condition that the Mexican newspaper published in Spanish what *The Reville* supplied to them. Instead, *El Liberal Moderado* criticized the morality of the American military. In turn, Taylor ordered the entire print shop closed and Bangs and Lewis arrested, partly after they printed mild criticism of the American army. After three days, Taylor relented and allowed the editors of *The Reville* to reopen their press but it was soon replaced by the *American Star*, which covered Taylor's campaigns in conquering Mexican cities.

The Mexican press emphasized American difficulties as soon as Taylor led his troops to the north bank of the Rio Grande but nearly all the Mexican newspapers supported the war effort despite censorship by the Mexican government during part of the war. As the Mexican press had no exchange relationship with the United States, it was difficult for American newspapers to secure Mexican news so they relied on the war correspondents who worked for New Orleans newspapers or to the American newspapers published in Mexico to relay the actions of Taylor and his troops.

This positive news coverage of Taylor's Mexican battlefield victories catapulted him from obscure general to national hero, and the Whig Party began to consider him for their party's nominee in the presidential election of 1848. President Polk, a democrat, understood the threat of Taylor's popularity, and kept Taylor's Army in a defensive position while General Winfield Scott's Army marched towards Mexico City.

The brilliant military successes of the U.S. Army ensured that a large piece of Mexican territory would be gained by the United States and exacerbated the sectional debate of slavery in the new territories. As did the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed prohibiting slavery in any newly acquired territories from Mexico. Taylor, a novice politician, had few political enemies. His status as a war hero, along with the fact that he owned slaves and plantations in Louisiana, made him a viable presidential candidate.

Taylor was not interested in the presidency at first, but declared if nominated that he would not be a prisoner to party policy; he would run as a candidate for the people, not as a candidate for the Whig agenda. Zachary Taylor was a Union man who believed Congressional legislation should decide the contentious issue of slavery in the new territories. He despised both southern advocates for secession and northern provocateurs of abolition.

Whig leaders were concerned with Taylor's assertions that he would not follow traditional party lines. However, his status as a slave owner appealed to southern democrats. The Whigs could also use Taylor's name to both support the War and oppose it. Southern Whigs had from the beginning opposed what was dubbed, Mr. Polk's War, but with Taylor as a candidate, the party could exhibit their support for the soldiers. Democrats could no longer question the patriotism of anti-war Whigs. Given these circumstances and as a matter of pragmatism, Taylor was nominated as the Whig presidential candidate.

As the election of 1848 drew nearer, the Whig Party propaganda stressed Zachary Taylor's distance from party politics while still insisting that he was a bona fide Whig. These tactics appealed to southern voters and stymied Democratic attempts to paint

Taylor as an enemy of the South. Taylor's victory was sealed when Martin van Buren broke from the Democratic Party to run on the Free-soiler platform drawing votes from Lewis Cass, the Democratic nominee.

Zachary Taylor was a superb military officer, but his military career did not prepare him for the presidency. His lack of political enemies combined with his war heroics and the fact that he owned slaves made him an ideal candidate to run against the Democrats in 1848. The Whig newspeak successfully seized upon the volatile sectionalism plaguing the U.S. political scene at this time and portrayed Taylor as a Whig even though he possessed no strict political dogma.

The sectionalism issue resulted in critical attacks on Taylor's previously hero image in the press. One engraving (*Congressional Scales*) satirized Taylor's attempts to balance southern and northern interests on the question of slavery in 1850. Taylor stands atop a scale, with a weight on each hand; the weight on the right reads "Wilmot Proviso" and the one on the left declares "Southern Rights."

William E. Whyte III

SEE ALSO Polk, James Knox: War Address; Slavery Issue; Wilmot Proviso

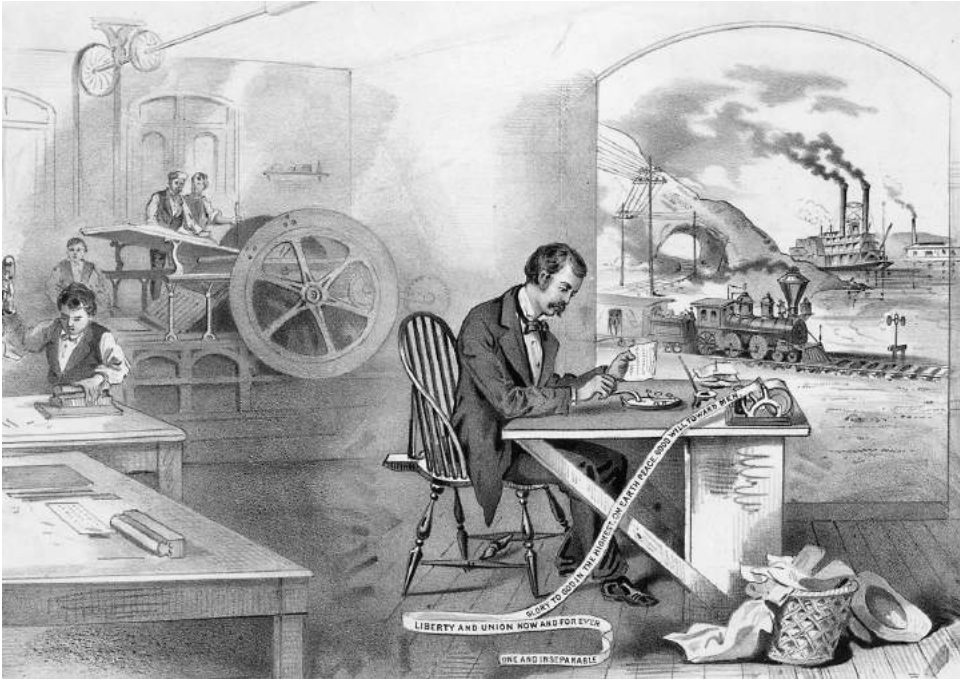
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Telegraph

A telegraph is a device for transmitting and receiving messages over long distances. One of the earliest experiments in telegraphy was an electrochemical telegraph created by the German physician and inventor Samuel Thomas von Sömmering in 1809.

In the United States, an electrical telegraph was independently developed and patented in 1837 by Samuel F. B. Morse who transmitted America's first telegram on January 6, 1838, across two miles of wire at Speedwell Ironworks near Morristown, New Jersey, but it was not until 1843 that Morse received a Congressional grant to construct a telegraph line from Baltimore, Maryland, to Washington, DC. When the Whig Party held its convention on May 1, 1844, in Baltimore, nominating Henry Clay, the



This Currier & Ives print, ca. 1876, pays homage to some major inventions of the 19th century, including the steam press, telegraph, locomotive, and steamboat. The introduction of mechanization and steam power to Europe and North America accelerated and regimented the pace of life in both urban and rural communities.
(Library of Congress)

news was carried to the northern extent of the line in Annapolis Junction, where Morse's partner Alfred Vail wired it to the Capitol. This was the first telegraphic dispatch of news.

On May 24, 1844, Morse sent the message "What hath God wrought" from the Old Supreme Court Chamber in the Capitol in Washington to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Depot in Baltimore. The Morse/Vail telegraph was quickly deployed in the following two decades and the overland telegraph that connected the west coast of the continent to the east coast had by October 1861 effectively ended the Pony Express and initiated the emergence of modern communication. It also greatly reduced the obstacle of time, shortening communication of messages from days to minutes. However, telegraphic communications could only travel where the telegraph lines reached. This was proved during the Mexican-American War, the first conflict in which an attempt was made to use the telegraph, because most of the nation was not yet connected with the telegraph.

When correspondents wrote dispatches in Mexico, delivery riders usually took the stories to the Gulf Coast ports of Vera Cruz or Port Isabel then on to New Orleans, the closest U.S. port city to the war zone. Once in New Orleans, the stories were transported by a rider-relay that often involved as many as 60 horses until the carrier reached

Richmond, the southernmost site of telegraph lines. By this time, the newspapers and their readers received war news that was already long past the event but, despite this, the Mexican-American War was the first major conflict to reach Americans by cable and the first to be covered extensively by war correspondents who relied on the telegraph to circulate their reports throughout the United States.

Telegraphic transmissions were more advanced by the Civil War, the first “modern war.” President Lincoln became president during a period of technological and social changes and one of these, the telegraph, gave the Union an advantage. Shortly after the fall of Fort Sumter, May 21, 1861, the men of the American Telegraph Company cut the North-South connection. The Southern assets became the Confederate (or Southern) Telegraph Company, the backbone of Confederate communications, but the lack of new telegraph lines and the necessary equipment (battery acid, glass insulators, and wire), among other problems, seriously hindered the Confederate telegraphy efforts.

The telegraph allowed Lincoln to better communicate with his general officers on military developments and, especially, to send messages dealing with the appeal of court martial decisions. The telegraph further helped the president to supplement his preferred method of communication, meetings, and letters. In early 1865, the Lincoln administration used electronic messages to conduct clandestine peace discussions with representatives of the Confederate government at the same time the president instructed General Ulysses Grant to continue with his military activities.

On July 18, 1866, after two unsuccessful attempts spanning more than a decade, American businessman Cyrus W. Field completed a cable from Europe to Newfoundland, providing instantaneous communication between the eastern and western hemispheres.

The advent of long-distance telegraph transformed the practice of diplomacy as rapid communications allowed leaders in Washington and other capitals to maintain greater control over the actions of their diplomats and to react more quickly to fast-breaking events. The telegraph also transformed the nature of both diplomatic and war reporting as telegrams eventually superseded almost entirely the handwritten dispatch.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Lincoln, Abraham

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Thoreau, Henry David

Born on July 12, 1817, in Concord, Massachusetts, Henry David Thoreau graduated from Harvard University in 1837 and taught at the Concord Academy after graduation but was promptly fired when he refused to inflict corporal punishment on his students. Thoreau and his brother ran a progressive grammar school in Concord from 1838 to 1841, when his brother died. Thoreau took the students on frequent field trips and taught them about the connection between man and nature. While living in Concord, Thoreau befriended such authors and intellectuals as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Fuller.

From 1841 to 1844, Thoreau lived with Emerson's family, serving as the private tutor to Emerson's children. Emerson encouraged Thoreau to contribute essays to *The Dial*, a journal edited by Fuller. His first essay, *Natural History in Massachusetts*, was published in 1842. Emerson also influenced Thoreau philosophically by introducing him to Transcendentalism, an idealistic philosophy that contends that the optimal spiritual state transcends the physical state. Arguing against the intellectualism taught at Harvard, Transcendentalists contended that the ideal spiritual state could be achieved through personal intuition in harmony with nature rather than through religious teaching and doctrine. As such, the Transcendentalists rejected the philosophical ideals of John Locke and championed the philosophical views of Immanuel Kant. While living in Concord, Thoreau also worked in his family's pencil factory. It is likely that frequent exposure to graphite particles exacerbated lung damage caused by tuberculosis and contributed to his early death.

From 1845 to 1847, Thoreau lived alone in a small house that he built on land owned by Emerson on the shore of Walden Pond. His foray into simple, rustic living was an attempt to commune with nature while affording him the solitude necessary to pursue his writing. Thoreau was not, however, living in the wilderness. He was merely living on the edge of town, less than two miles from his birthplace. While living at Walden Pond, President James K. Polk declared war on Mexico, thus beginning the Mexican-American War in 1846. Thoreau contended that Polk's actions were merely an unethical excuse to extend slavery. Asserting that the U.S. government was immoral for starting an unjust war and supporting slavery, Thoreau began to advocate a philosophy of civil disobedience. In July 1846, Thoreau refused to pay six years of delinquent poll taxes and was arrested. He argued that paying the tax was symbolic support for a political system pursuing immoral policies. After spending one night in jail, Thoreau was released when his aunt, against his wishes, paid his delinquent taxes.

Facing mounting debt, Thoreau abandoned his experiment in simple living at Walden Pond in 1847 and returned to Concord. In 1849, he codified his views on conscientious objection in *Civil Disobedience*, which held that individuals should not allow civil government to overrule their consciences and make them agents of injustice. In 1854,

Thoreau published *Walden*, a reflection on the two years he spent at Walden Pond. He compressed his experience into a single year to symbolize how an individual could transform himself and develop over the course of four seasons. Although modern literary critics praise the book as an example of classic American literature, *Walden* was not very popular with 19th-century readers.

During the 1850s, Thoreau repeatedly helped runaway slaves escape capture, in violation of the Fugitive Slave Law. Part of the controversial Compromise of 1850, the law forbade any person from knowingly aiding a runaway slave. Whereas many abolitionists criticized John Brown's 1859 raid at Harpers Ferry, Thoreau praised his actions. Although Thoreau never employed violent means, his essays and lectures championed Brown's actions and convinced many Northerners that Brown was a martyr for the cause of abolitionism.

Thoreau died of tuberculosis on May 6, 1862, in Concord, Massachusetts. His writings were subsequently a source of inspiration for individuals such as Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Leo Tolstoy, Willa Cather, B. F. Skinner, and Emma Goldman.

Michael R. Hall

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Polk, James Knox: War Address; Slavery Issue

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Wilmot Proviso

The Wilmot Proviso was an amendment attached to several bills in the United States House of Representatives that would have banned slavery in any land acquired from Mexico as a result of the Mexican-American War. The Mexican-American War was no more than three months old when a new conflict consumed the American public and politicized the ongoing debate over slavery. On August 8, 1846, U.S. Congressman David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, added an amendment to a \$2 million military appropriation bill, designed to fund peace negotiations between the United States and Mexico. Wilmot's amendment, which became known as the Wilmot Proviso, proposed to ban slavery from any territory that might be purchased or captured from Mexico during the Mexican-American War.

A majority of Northern Democrats favored the legislation because they believed that Southern interests were dominating the party and the presidential administration of James K. Polk. Northern Democrats felt betrayed by Polk because he refused to risk a war with Great Britain for all of Oregon yet was willing to wage war with Mexico to

acquire land in the Southwest. Northern Whigs also endorsed the Wilmot Proviso because they believed that the acquisition of Mexican territory should not be used to increase the power of the slave states. Thus, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Whigs emerged to support the prohibition of slavery in the lands acquired from Mexico. Southerners, however, regarded the Wilmot Proviso as a threat because it denied slaveholders the right to migrate to the Southwest.

The first House vote on the Wilmot Proviso resulted in representatives casting their ballots along sectional lines. For instance, 53 Northern Democrats and 28 Northern Whigs voted for the amendment, while every Southern congressman except for two Whigs from Kentucky opposed the amendment. Although the amendment passed the House, it was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 31–21. The Senate vote also demonstrated a clear sectional voting pattern: ten Southern Whigs aligned with Southern Democrats to block the legislation.

When Congress reconvened in December 1846, Polk urged Wilmot to withhold his amendment. However, Congressman Preston King of New York reintroduced the Wilmot Proviso as an amendment to a \$3 million war appropriation bill. With the support of the Martin Van Buren Democrats in the Northeast, the legislation was also defended by Northwestern Democrats despite their pro-expansionist attitudes. In the final vote, a coalition that consisted of all Northern Whigs and the majority of Northern Democrats in the House passed the amendment 115–105. However, the bill was again defeated in the Senate by a vote of 32–21. Once again, senators voted along sectional lines, as Southerners cast a majority of the opposition votes. The regional animosity caused by issues relating to territorial expansion and slavery forced Polk to seek peace with Mexico and limit his war gains. By the spring of 1847, the president no longer desired to obtain all Mexican territory east of the Sierra Madre Mountains. Thus, he favored a policy of acquiring only California and New Mexico.

Although the Wilmot Proviso never became law, it demonstrated how divisive the issue of slavery was to party unity and national politics during the 19th century. The legislation also compelled Northerners and Southerners to debate whether the United States should even acquire Mexican territory, because limiting territorial expansion might allow them to sidestep the problem of slavery.

Kevin M. Brady

SEE ALSO Slavery Issue

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5

American Civil War

INTRODUCTION

Historians are still debating the actual causes of the Civil War but two major ones were regional differences and the slavery issue. One fact that is definite is that it was the deadliest and bloodiest war in American history, resulting in the deaths of at least 620,000 soldiers, at least 2 percent of the population at that time, along with an undetermined number of civilian casualties.

The Great Rebellion also had the “advantage” as the first major war fought in the United States with a general literacy. With strong philosophical and ideological differences between the northern and the southern leaderships, the increasing presence of large numbers of foreign born immigrants who needed to be “Americanized,” and the lack of support for the war among large segments of the nonsecessionist population, pamphlets and broadsides proliferated as both sides prepared for what all realized would be an extended and bloody conflict.

Abraham Lincoln’s victory in the presidential election of November 1860 made South Carolina’s secession from the Union on December 20 a foregone conclusion as that state had long been waiting for an event that would unite the South against the antislavery forces of the North. By February 1, 1861, five more Southern states had seceded. On February 8, the six states signed a provisional constitution for the Confederate States of America. The remaining Southern states were still in the Union, although Texas had begun to move on its secession.

Less than a month later, March 4, 1861, Lincoln was inaugurated as president of the United States. His inaugural address closed with a plea for restoration of the bonds of union, but on April 12, Confederate guns opened fire on the federal garrison at Fort Sumter in the Charleston, South Carolina, harbor. In the seven states that had seceded, the people responded positively to this Confederate action and to the leadership of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Both sides now tensely awaited the action of

the slave states that thus far had remained loyal. Virginia seceded on April 17; Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina followed quickly.

Between the enlarged Confederacy and the free-soil North, there were the border slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, which, despite some sympathy with the South, remained loyal to the Union. In material resources, the North enjoyed a decided advantage. It included 23 states with a population of 22 million, arrayed against 11 states inhabited by 9 million, including slaves. The industrial superiority of the North exceeded even its preponderance in population, providing it with abundant facilities for manufacturing arms and ammunition, clothing, and other supplies and, most important, it had a greatly superior railway network. Still, the South also had certain advantages, particularly its geography; the South was fighting a defensive war on its own territory. It could establish its independence simply by beating off the Northern armies. The South also had a stronger military tradition, and possessed the more experienced military leaders.

The first large battle of the war, at Bull Run, Virginia (also known as First Manassas) near Washington, proved that no victory would be quick or easy and it established a pattern of bloody Southern victories that never translated into a decisive military advantage for the Confederacy. In contrast, the Union was able to secure battlefield victories in the West and strategic success at sea. Most of the Navy, at the war's beginning, was in Union hands, but it was scattered and weak. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles took prompt measures to strengthen it while Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the Southern coasts that, while negligible at first, had by 1863 hindered shipments of cotton to Europe and blocked the importation of sorely needed munitions, clothing, and medical supplies to the South.

In the Mississippi Valley, the Union forces won an almost uninterrupted series of victories that began when they broke a long Confederate line in Tennessee. When the important Mississippi River port of Memphis was taken, Union troops advanced into the heart of the Confederacy. In Virginia, however, Union troops were continually defeated in a succession of bloody attempts to capture Richmond, the Confederate capital, as the Confederates enjoyed strong defense positions afforded by numerous streams cutting the road between Washington and Richmond. Their two best generals, Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson, proved far superior to their early Union counterparts, such as George B. McClellan.

During the Confederate victory at the Second Battle of Bull Run (or Second Manassas), Lee crossed the Potomac River and invaded Maryland. The Union and Confederate Armies met again at Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, on September 17, 1862, in the bloodiest single day of the war; more than 4,000 died on both sides and 18,000 were wounded. However, McClellan failed to break Lee's lines or press the attack, despite his numerical advantages, and Lee was able to retreat across the Potomac with his army intact. As a result of this battle, Lincoln fired McClellan and Great Britain and France, both on the verge of recognizing the Confederacy, delayed their decision, and the South never received the diplomatic recognition and the economic aid from Europe that it desperately sought.

After Antietam, Lincoln decided to issue the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which declared that as of January 1, 1863, all slaves in states rebelling against the Union were free. In practical terms, the proclamation had little immediate impact; it freed slaves only in the Confederate states, while leaving slavery intact in the border states. Politically, however, it meant that in addition to preserving the Union, the abolition of slavery was now a declared objective of the Union war effort.

The Emancipation Proclamation authorized the recruitment of African Americans into the Union Army, a move that abolitionist leaders such as Frederick Douglass had been urging since the beginning of armed conflict since Union forces had already been sheltering escaped slaves as “contraband of war.” Now, the Union Army recruited and trained regiments of African-American soldiers that fought with distinction in battles from Virginia to the Mississippi.

Still, the North’s military prospects in the East remained bleak as Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia continued to outmaneuver the Union Army of the Potomac, first at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in December 1862 and then at Chancellorsville in May 1863, one of Lee’s most brilliant but costly military victories as his most valued lieutenant, General “Stonewall” Jackson, was mistakenly shot and killed by his own men. Yet none of these Confederate victories was decisive.

After the Union’s crushing defeat at Chancellorsville, Lee struck northward into Pennsylvania at the beginning of July 1863, almost reaching the state capital at Harrisburg, but a strong Union force intercepted him at Gettysburg, where, in a three day battle, the longest of the Civil War, the Confederates made a valiant effort to break the Union lines; they failed. On July 4, Lee’s army, after crippling losses, retreated behind the Potomac.

The Northern victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg in July 1863 marked the turning point of the war, although the bloodshed continued unabated for more than a year-and-a-half. Then, in May 1864, Grant, now commander-in-chief of all Union armies, advanced deep into Virginia and met Lee’s Confederate Army in the Battle of the Wilderness. There were heavy losses on both sides but Grant refused to retreat. Instead, he attempted to outflank Lee, stretching the Confederate lines and pounding away with artillery and infantry attacks during five days of bloody trench warfare that characterized fighting on the eastern front for almost a year.

In the West, Union forces gained control of Tennessee in the fall of 1863 with victories at Chattanooga and nearby Lookout Mountain, opening the way for General William T. Sherman’s famous invasion of Georgia. Along the way, he outmaneuvered several smaller Confederate armies, occupied the state capital of Atlanta, and then marched to the Atlantic coast, systematically destroying railroads, factories, warehouses, and other facilities in his path. His men, cut off from their normal supply lines, ravaged the countryside for food. From the coast, Sherman marched northward; by February 1865, he had taken Charleston, South Carolina, where the first shots of the Civil War had been fired. Sherman, more than any other Union general, understood that destroying the will and morale of the South was as important as defeating its armies.

Meanwhile, Grant lay siege to Petersburg, Virginia, for nine months, before Lee, in March 1865, knew that he had to abandon both Petersburg and Richmond in an attempt to retreat south. He failed. On April 9, 1865, surrounded by huge Union armies, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse. Although scattered fighting continued elsewhere for several months, the Civil War was over.

Martin J. Manning

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PROPAGANDA

Scholars have argued for years about the origins of the Civil War or, as it is more often called in the former Confederate states, the War between the States. Was it the South's desire to protect the "peculiar institution" of slavery or the northern abolitionist's willingness to "purge the land in blood" if it would result in the end of such an institution? Was it the desire of southerners to escape a centralized "big government" in Washington, DC, and destruction of state's rights that they feared would happen under the presidency of Abraham Lincoln and the newly elected Republican Party? Could the war have been prevented or was it inevitable?

In the years preceding the American Civil War, the U.S. Army ranged in size from a few thousand to as many as 25,000, dispersed across an entire continent. The Navy, for its part, had few ships capable of more than coastal movement, fielding just a handful of moderate sized frigates and only a very few of the larger ships that would then have been known as "Line of Battle Ships" (now more commonly known as "Battleships"). America was a nation that paid little attention to the military in general, and journalism then as now, reported on the things that interested the reading public.

It is no surprise then that when the war finally did come in April 1861, much of the initial reporting reflected this almost complete lack of knowledge or understanding about

things military in general, and warfare in particular. But then at the outset nobody on either side, military or civilian, expected the conflict to last more than one or two glorious rounds of fighting before the issue was settled and the nation returned to peace.

The American Civil War initiated propaganda campaigns from both the North and the South. President Lincoln imposed the first official U.S. government censorship of news media during wartime and issued an executive order, based on national emergency, that punished journalists for disloyalty, such as reporting unfavorable or inaccurate battle news. Lincoln also dispatched special agents to European countries to counter propaganda gains made by the Confederacy.

As sectional differences became more pronounced and war became inevitable, leaders from both the Union and from the Confederacy appreciated the importance of propaganda to the conflict. In the North, the war remained unpopular emphasized by draft riots in New York (1863) and by the rise of the “Copperhead movement” that fielded peace candidates as late as 1864, propaganda mobilized public opinion both at home and abroad. On the battlefields, military leaders instituted press conferences, press passes, and author bylines to censor battle reportage unfavorable to the Union. In the North, private organizations, such as the Loyal Publication Society and the Union League Board of Publications, began unceasing pamphleteering efforts.

The Loyal Publication Society, established 1863, sent publications to Europe that tried to promote the Union side during the Civil War. George P. Putnam (1814–1872) was one of the society’s editors. For the North, there was Abraham Lincoln’s moving letter to the workers of Manchester, England’s cotton mills, asking them to shun alliance with plantation slaveholders. The president also dispatched about 100 special agents to Great Britain along with a ship of foodstuffs for unemployed English cotton-textile workers to counter the propaganda attacks made by the Confederacy. The federal government also distributed pamphlets to European countries asking for Union support.

“The Great Rebellion” had the “advantage” as the first major war fought in the United States with a general literacy. With strong philosophical and ideological differences between the northern and the southern leaderships, the increasing presence of large numbers of foreign born immigrants who needed to be “Americanized,” and the lack of support for the war among large segments of the nonsecessionist population, pamphlets and broadsides proliferated as both sides prepared for what all realized would be an extended and bloody conflict.

Confederate propaganda in Europe was mostly directed to England and to France under the expertise of Henry Hotze but there was also Southern activity in Ireland and in Germany as well as Confederate sympathizers in the North who distributed leaflets and other publications of Confederate sympathizers. There were serious Confederate attempts to win British support, including the publication of *The Index*, the pro-Confederate organ that generated support for its cause. Hotze went there to generate favorable public opinion towards the Confederacy, often without adequate financial resources or capable colleagues; he achieved outstanding success in England, where he went to generate favorable public opinion towards the Confederacy while his fellow agent, Edwin De Leon, with a much larger budget, proved to be a misfit in France. It is

still debated among Civil War scholars that the “battle between the states” was a British empire-sponsored insurrection coordinated through a coalition of pro-slavery secret societies, Latin American expansionists, and financial interests which sought to weaken U.S. competition with English interests.

Along with Hotze and De Leon, probably the best known, there were other propagandists of considerable talent. Sarah Jane Clarke Lippincott (1823–1904), known as Grace Greenwood, wrote famous Washington political letters for the *New York Times*. She was born in Pompey, New York; at 21, she contributed verse to Nathaniel P. Willis’ magazine, *New Mirror*, and later, pieces to his *Home Journal*. She joined *Godey’s Lady Book* in 1849 but lost her job when she wrote an anti slavery article for the *National Era*; she then began her Washington letters, which appeared for the next 50 years in papers in various American cities. From 1873 to 1878, Lippincott wrote for the *New York Times*, commenting on government and attacking corruption. During the Civil War, she lectured to patriotic groups and in army camps and hospitals, and President Lincoln called her “Grace Greenwood, the Patriot.”

John Reuben Thompson (1823–1873), a staunch secessionist, supported the Confederacy through his editing, his poems (“Music in Camp,” “The Burial of Latane,” “Lee to the Rear,” and “Ashby”) and his work as a propagandist in England where he wrote for *The Index* while James Williams (1796–1869) was a journalist and diplomat who had a distinguished career before the Civil War when he returned to Europe as a Confederate propagandist and minister at large. In London, he assisted Henry Hotze where he effectively presented the history of the sectional struggle between North and South and explained the slavery question in articles to various British newspapers. Some of his essays on slavery were published as *Letters on Slavery from the Old World* (1861), revised as *The South Vindicated*. Hotze had it translated into German and circulated among the German people. In 1863, Williams published *The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic*. While trying to promote European public opinion towards the Southern cause, he kept in touch with Confederate diplomats and maintained a secret correspondence with President Jefferson Davis.

Augusta Jane Evans Wilson (1835–1901), author of *Beulah*, was published just before the Civil War (1859). In 1864, she published *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice*, a persuasive defense of Confederate policy which predicted horrible consequences if the slaves were freed. It was popular in both the North and in the South but was banned by some Union commanders because of its adverse effect on morale.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO De Leon, Edwin; Hotze, Henry; Loyal Publication Society; Thompson, John Reuben; Williams, James

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Abolitionist Propaganda

The abolition of slavery was one of the earliest causes in American history. There were advertisements in newspapers as early as 1704 in the *Boston News-Letter* and the American Antislavery Society was established in 1832 (originally New England Antislavery Society) to spearhead the antislavery movement. Early abolitionist propaganda periodicals included *Anti-Slavery Reporter* and *Freedom's Journal*, the first newspaper published by blacks in the United States, which began publication in March 1827 and ceased two years later (March 1829), attacked the “return to Africa” colonization programs favored by many prominent politicians. The antislavery movement soon repudiated this policy for assimilation. It was considered the first newspaper published by blacks in the United States. Some issues had the subtitle: Devoted to the promotion of colored people.

The organization and development of antislavery societies displayed continuing communication efforts to win over public opinion by activists such as William Lloyd Garrison and Theodore Dwight Weld (1803–1895), who was considered one of the most effective of the early abolitionists. Others included Augusta Jane Evans Wilson (1835–1901), author of *Beulah*, published just before the Civil War (1859), *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice* (1864), a persuasive defense of Confederate policy which predicted horrible consequences if the slaves were freed. It was popular in both the North and in the South but was banned by some Union commanders because of its adverse effect on morale. However, the most famous abolitionist author was Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose classic antislavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was credited by Abraham Lincoln with starting the Civil War. There were abolitionist societies such as Indian Society of Anti-Slavery Friends (1821–1857) and the American Society for the Colonization of People of Color (American Colonization Society), founded 1816, to assist former slaves to return to Africa. The country of Liberia was formed under its auspices (1822).

Later there was the emergence of partisan activity in the Liberal Party that led “free soilers” to consolidate their interests by forming the Republican Party. Joel Sibley later developed a revisionist theory that slavery was not the most important issue in American politics in the period prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. The Ostend Manifesto (October 18, 1854), drafted in that Belgian city, declared the right of the United States to control Cuba. Its purpose was to preserve slavery and to aid the “manifest destiny” of the United States.

In the famous Dred Scott decision, a victory for pro-slavery propagandists, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that slaves were chattels, owned by their masters, not free blacks who could vote. In this atmosphere, books appeared that supported the pro-slavery cause. *Cannibals All, or Slaves Without Masters* by George Fitzhugh, a Virginian, highlighted the master-slave relationship as a most positive way of life, while the controversial *Slavery Ordained of God*, by Presbyterian minister Frederick A. Ross, put slavery on the same level as the treatment of women.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Emancipation Proclamation; Garrison, William Lloyd; Lincoln, Abraham; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

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Associated Press

Group of loosely associated U.S. newspapers formed in New York City in 1846 to pool resources in order to facilitate the collection and dissemination of news. The Associated Press (AP) soon expanded so that it became the single largest news source covering both domestic and international events in the nation. The AP originated with Moses Yale Beach and allowed news events to be quickly transferred for rapid publication, beating the competition to the stories.

Beach, the publisher of the *New York Sun*, first hired Pony Express riders to bring breaking news from the front lines during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). The dispatches were then sent via Great Southern Mail from Mobile to Montgomery, Alabama, and transferred again to a telegraph station in Richmond, Virginia. This process was both time consuming and expensive, however.

In 1846, Beach offered to sell the reports to all of New York's newspapers, with the papers equally sharing the news stories and the costs. Although at first only four papers took Beach up on his offer, the AP was nevertheless born. The first official dispatches were printed in the *Sun* on May 29, 1846. Services expanded rapidly with regular reports first sent from New York to Washington on June 5, 1846, and later from New York to Boston on June 27, 1846. The New York to Albany and Buffalo branch and services from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, completed the regional network by the end of 1847.

In 1848, the Harbor News Association was created to share reports transmitted from the *Naushon*, a news vessel stationed in New York harbor. The national election of 1848 was an historic first, with newspaper reports tallying same-day returns. Alexander Jones, the AP's first general agent, coordinated the election collection effort in 30 states. A second Harbor News Association was established in 1849 with the addition of the *New York Tribune* and European reports emanating from Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Daniel H. Craig, appointed the first general agent of the New York Associated Press in 1851, worked with a committee to supervise the collection of news. The steamer *Buena*

Vista, located at Halifax, collected reports from European ships and these were then rushed to the Boston telegraph station. The reports were then sent to telegraph operators throughout the country, where they would be sold to independent newspapers.

A formal charter for the General News Association of the City of New York was established in 1856. Each newspaper would receive a general summary of the national news as part of the service. The Associated Press continued to expand its coverage, including reports from the road by AP staff member Henry Villard. In 1861, Villard shadowed U.S. president-elect Abraham Lincoln from Illinois to Washington, DC

With the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, AP reporters were dispatched to the front to observe the war as it transpired. Reports were signed “Dispatched to the Associated Press,” in an effort to avoid federal charges under censorship laws. The service expanded again with the formation of the Western Associated Press in 1862.

The AP played an important role in recording historic events during the war. AP staffer Joseph Ignatius Gilbert reported Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863. Gilbert took notes from his front row seat at the event and was then allowed access to Lincoln’s speaking notes. Gilbert is largely responsible for the accuracy of the speech as it is reprinted today. AP reporter William D. McGregor was present when Confederate general Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia on April 9, 1865, and reported details of the surrender, which soon reached every corner of the war-weary nation. The Associated Press continues operation to the present day and is one of the United States’ most distinguished print news services.

Pamela Lee Gray

SEE ALSO Gettysburg Address; Lincoln, Abraham

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Barnard, George Norton

George Norton Barnard was born December 23, 1819 in Coventry, Connecticut and died February 4, 1902 in Cedarvale, New York. Little is known of his childhood. His father died when George was six years old, and he probably lived with his sisters in Oneida County, New York and Nashville, Tennessee. He set up a daguerreotype photography business in Oswego, New York in 1846. It is not known how he was initially trained in photography.

Barnard’s career parallels the take-off period of photography as a science and an art. The development of the daguerreotype in the 1840s was followed by the introduction of the wet-process glass negative in the 1850s. This process dominated photography until

the 1880s when the gelatin dry-plate negative was introduced. This formative period of photography changed both portraiture and news photography. Melding with the positivist movement's influence in all aspects of culture, photography democratized portraiture by making it affordable to the masses, and provided an accurate pictorial documentation of events for the first time in history.

On July 5, 1853, a fire destroyed the flouring mills and grain elevators in Oswego, New York. Barnard's daguerreotypes of the fire have been called the earliest spot news photographs in existence, although there is no evidence that they were ever reproduced in any newspaper. Barnard opened a gallery in Syracuse, New York in 1854 and moved to New York City in 1859 where the Edward Anthony firm employed him. He spent most of his time producing stereograph images. These were the first photographs produced in large quantities for a mass market. In 1860, he traveled to Cuba and produced rapid-exposure or "instantaneous" stereographic views of Havana's harbor and streets. The full extent of Barnard's work from this period will never be known because the Anthony firm's photographs were not credited. At various times from 1860 through 1863, Barnard worked for the three most important photographers of the day—Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, and Edward Anthony—producing relatively inexpensive stereo and portrait photographs including the newly popular carte-de-visite.

On December 28, 1863, the Topographical Branch, Department of Engineers of the Union's Army of the Cumberland, hired Barnard as a civilian photographer. He was headquartered in Nashville and spent the spring and summer of 1864 producing landscapes and portraits in Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Nashville. Once the Atlanta Campaign began in May, his primary duties involved the photographic duplications of maps. Photography allowed for the issuance of updated maps on a daily basis. This was often required due to the lack of accurate maps of north Georgia. Although inferior in quality to lithographed maps, photographic maps were cheap, quick, and easy to produce.

Barnard arrived in Atlanta in mid-September 1864 shortly after the fall of the city. He photographed the scene where General James B. McPherson died during the battle and documented much of the city. Barnard accompanied General William T. Sherman's army on its March to the Sea but apparently made no photographs during the march. After the surrender of Savannah on December 22, 1864, Barnard photographed the city and documented the devastation of Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina. The army discharged him on June 30, 1865.

Barnard published the work for which he is best known in late 1866. *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* included 61 plates. It was produced as a limited edition and priced well beyond the reach of anyone but the wealthy. It is considered one of the most important interpretations of the American Civil War because of Barnard's artistic juxtaposition of glorification and disillusionment.

Soon after its publication, Barnard established a new studio in Chicago, Illinois. It was burned in the great fire of 1871. He borrowed equipment and documented the destruction and rebuilding of the city. In his later years, he promoted the gelatin dry-plate process and opened a studio in Painesville, Ohio. He retired in 1888 and eventually

settled on his daughter's farm near Syracuse, New York. He died there on February 4, 1902.

Robert D. Bohanan

SEE ALSO Brady, Mathew; Photography (Civil War)

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Bates, Gilbert Henderson

Gilbert Henderson Bates was born at Springwater in Livingston County, New York on February 13, 1836. Prior to enlisting in the Union Army, he worked a farm in Albion near Edgerton, Wisconsin. Bates enlisted in the Wisconsin 1st Heavy Artillery on September 17, 1864 and was sent to Washington, DC His company, Battery H, was attached to the 3rd Brigade of DeRussy's Division of the 22nd Army Corps. Stationed at Fort Lyon he served there until mustered out on June 26, 1865 having risen to the rank of sergeant.

After leaving the army, Bates returned to his farm in Wisconsin. One day in 1867, Bates' neighbor, a Radical Republican, argued with Bates about the South. The neighbor claimed that anti-Unionist feelings in the South were so high that no official of the American government was safe. Bates, a Democrat, denied the claim, and bet the neighbor that he could walk across the South, unarmed, without money and carrying an American flag. His neighbor would pay a dollar a day if Bates won.

Bates left for the South and arrived in Vicksburg, Mississippi, in January of 1868 where his American flag was saluted. He set out for Washington marching first to Jackson, Mississippi, and then to Montgomery, Alabama. In Montgomery, his flag was flown over the former capitol of the Confederacy. Bates continued his march to Washington, through Atlanta, flying his flag over former Confederate centers at Southern requests including the Virginia State capitol.

Telegraphed stories of Bates' march spread its progress widely to newspapers. For many people in the South, who were experiencing hard times, the march was a sign of reconciliation and hope. It was well received among Democrats in both in the North and the South but not by the Radical Republicans in Congress. However, the favorable publicity generated by his march made it more difficult for far more reaching

punishment to be inflicted upon the South. When Bates arrived in Washington, he was received by President Andrew Johnson. However, the Congress refused to see him or to allow his flag to be flown over the Capitol Building. In 1872, Bates marched from Gretna Green on the Scottish border to London. This march was also on a bet that hostility between Scotland and England had healed. He carried an American flag and was well received everywhere.

Bates died February 17, 1917, and was buried at Saybrook, McLean County, Illinois. To celebrate its bicentennial Edgerton (Wisconsin) commissioned a dramatization of Bates' march as "The Saga of Sergeant Bates: the Most Sensational March in American History." It was performed in September 2003.

Andrew J. Waskey

SEE ALSO Confederate Battle Flag; Newspapers (Civil War); Press Coverage

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"Battle Hymn of the Republic." See Music (Civil War)

Bohemian Brigade. See Press Coverage

Brady, Mathew

Mathew B. Brady's monumental photographic record of the Civil War made the horrors of war immediate and graphic to a civilian population for the first time.

Born in 1823 in Warren County, New York, Brady received little formal education. He took up drawing on the advice of an artist friend, William Page, who later introduced him to the painter-inventor Samuel Morse. Morse showed Brady some of his photographic experiments and taught him how to take daguerreotypes, an early photographic process used chiefly for portraits. Brady began making his own photographic experiments and



Although photographer Mathew Brady was well known for his extensive portrait studios before the Civil War, his photos of battles, casualties, artillery, and camps during the conflict ensured his notoriety. Brady and his photographers traveled with the Union Army to experience and photograph the life and death of the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

and wealthy photographer, decided to invest his entire fortune of \$100,000 in making a photographic record of the war. Although in 1855 an Englishman named Robert Fenton had photographed soldiers and campsites during the Crimean War, no one had ever attempted war coverage on a large scale. Together with Alexander Gardner, who managed Brady's Washington office and served as his chief cameraman, Brady hired and equipped teams of photographers to accompany the Union armies. Brady's teams photographed nearly every phase of the war. Although the wet-plate process prohibited taking photographs of battle action, Brady's cameramen were able to document a battle's carnage a day or more after the fighting was over. While he did not do any of the actual photography himself, Brady was on the scene supervising his crews after such fierce battles as the First Battle of Bull Run in 1861, the Battle of Antietam, and the First Battle of Fredericksburg in 1862, and the Battle of Petersburg in 1864. Brady also bought, traded, or borrowed the work of other photographers not on his payroll to add to his collection.

in 1844, opened his own studio in New York City, where he soon attracted a large and distinguished clientele. He won awards for his work at the annual exhibits of the American Institute and several international awards over the next several years. In 1845, Brady had hit upon the plan of making daguerreotypes of all the famous Americans of his day in order to preserve their faces for posterity. In 1850, Brady held an exhibition of these portraits and published a book called *Gallery of Illustrious Americans*.

By 1855, Brady was the best-known daguerreotist in America. Many of the most famous and illustrious people in the United States sat for their portraits in his studio, including such national giants as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, and later, Abraham Lincoln. That same year, Brady discovered a wet-plate photographic process and began to use it in his work, abandoning the daguerreotype. The wet-plate photographic process had been developed in Great Britain, but Brady quickly embraced the new technology and introduced it in his studio. Brady's clientele also embraced photographs, prompting him to open a second studio in New York City and a third studio in Washington, DC

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Brady, who was by now a world-renowned

Published in woodcut copies in weekly magazines and exhibited at his galleries in New York and Washington, where thousands came to view them, Brady's photographs had a powerful and immediate impact. Now for the first time, the American public could see for themselves the awful slaughter and destruction wrought by war. As *Humphreys Journal* noted in October 1861, "The public are indebted to Brady, of Broadway, for numerous excellent views of 'grim-visaged' war." Later, in 1862, a *New York Times* reporter commented about Brady's photographs of the corpse-strewn battlefield at Antietam: "Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our door-yards and along streets, he has done something very like it."

The massive project turned out to be a financial disaster, however. Obsessed with being the one and only complete photographic historian of the war, Brady not only threw all his resources into the effort but also stopped paying his bills until, his credit exhausted, he had to declare bankruptcy. He was forced to give up his New York studios and sell his negatives. In 1875, thanks to the intervention of a politician friend, the government purchased about 2,000 of Brady's 3,500 war pictures for \$25,000. Unable to regain the reputation of his early career, Brady spent his remaining years in relative poverty and obscurity. His health never recovered from an accident in Washington, DC in 1895, when he was run over by a passing vehicle. He died in New York City on January 15, 1896.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Bull Run, First Battle of; Lincoln, Abraham

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Bull Run, First Battle of

The Confederate States of America bombed Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, marking the beginning of the American Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln, who vowed to preserve the union, called for volunteers and pressured his generals for action. On May 21, 1861, the Confederate capital was moved from Montgomery, Alabama to

Richmond, Virginia, scarcely 100 miles from Washington, DC Horace Greely's *New York Tribune* placed the slogan, "Forward to Richmond," on the paper's banner, indicative of the northern resolve for action.

In July 1861, union General Irwin McDowell had 35,000 troops near Washington, DC Confederate General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard had 20,000 troops on the south side of Bull Run Creek protecting the railroad junction at Manassas, Virginia. Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's 12,000 troops faced a much larger Union force under General Robert Patterson in the Shenandoah Valley.

U.S. Army chief of Staff, General Winfield Scott, and McDowell argued for more time to train the undisciplined army. Lincoln contended that the Confederate army was just as inexperienced as the Union Army. McDowell's strategy was to have Patterson attack Johnston's forces in the valley, preventing him from reinforcing Beauregard. McDowell would feint towards the main Confederate lines and send a large force to cross the creek and attack the Confederate flank.

The move towards Manassas in the stifling July heat was slow as the unseasoned Union troops stopped to pick berries or rest in the shade. The Confederate forces, having learned of the Union plan from a spy in Washington, ordered Johnston to keep a covering force of cavalry in front of Patterson and move the rest of his soldiers by rail to reinforce Beauregard.

The Virginia countryside filled with carriages on Sunday July 21, 1861 as spectators, including many congressmen, set out to watch the battle that they supposed would end the secession. McDowell's flanking force moved out at 2:00 a.m. Despite delays marching through the unfamiliar terrain, the Union attack came very close to breaking the Confederate lines. When a Virginia brigade, under the command of General Thomas J. Jackson, took a defensive position on Henry House Hill, the Confederate lines stabilized. Jackson's stand on the hill earned him a new moniker—Stonewall Jackson.

Vicious fighting ensued along the hill after Jackson's arrival. By late afternoon, Beauregard was reinforced by Johnston's troops from the valley, and McDowell failed to bring up his two reserve brigades. Beauregard ordered a charge; the southern soldiers moved forward screaming the rebel yell. The Union lines were slowly pushed back until panic set in, and the retreat became a rout. Panicked civilians intermingled with fleeing soldiers as the mob raced back to the defenses of Washington, DC

The northern press labeled the rout "the great skedaddle," and the following day was called "Black Monday." Greely removed the "Forward to Richmond" banner from his paper. False accounts of rebel atrocities were reported such as mutilation of Union wounded and dead. Confidence in the northern forces plummeted as details of the humiliating retreat came to light. Many civilians feared an attack on Washington, DC Although not realized at the time, the green southern army was in disarray after their victory, and an attack was not feasible.

While the Union army attained a sense of inferiority after the battle, the southern military exuded confidence. Even though they came very close to being defeated, the southern boast that one southern gentleman could whip ten Yankees became dogma. The southern press credited Beauregard with the victory when in reality it was Johnston who made the crucial

troop deployments that resulted in their success. Beauregard's image as the romantic Creole and his stature as the hero of Fort Sumter appealed to the southern populous.

The Battle of First Bull Run dispelled the belief on both sides that the war for secession would be short and easy. The northern government realized that harsher war policies were necessary. The concept of hard war was developed. In December 1861, the U.S. Congress appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of the war. This committee was formed as a direct result of the Yankee army's debacles at First Bull Run and Ball's Bluff.

Although the rebels won a decisive victory, losses of the battle were greatly exaggerated. Death and loss became more acceptable to the civilian populous as the war dragged on, but at this early stage, the casualties were appalling. Ironically, the exaggeration of defeat aided federal propaganda. It strengthened northern resolve to defeat the rebellion. A mood of retribution and vengeance permeated throughout the Union after the defeat at Bull Run.

William E. Whyte III

SEE ALSO Lincoln, Abraham

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Cartoons. See *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*; *Harper's Weekly*; *Nast, Thomas*

Censorship of News Media during Wartime (Civil War)

The American Civil War was by far the largest conflict fought on the North American continent. In just the first year of fighting, more Americans died on the field of battle than had been killed in all the wars involving Americans back to the very founding of the colonies. Before a second year of fighting was over, the war had become total. With the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, it was certain that from that point forward there could be no compromise reached. One side must be destroyed.

The journalism of the day, unconstrained by modern standards of evidence, professional ethics, or even reliability (when sensationalism would sell better), fairly quickly ran afoul of that proto-profession most inclined to order, discipline and secrecy . . . the military. The predictable result, north and south, was an early and uncoordinated, indeed haphazard, effort at some form of censorship.

It is mildly ironic, given the situation, that the first example we have of censorship during the war comes not from the North, but from the theoretically “freedom loving” South. This is particularly so since in the South there was generally a strong feeling of affection for Great Britain, and the first victim was one of the most celebrated reporters in that entire country.

William H. Russell was the very prototype of the war correspondent. Writing for the *Times* of London, it was Russell who exposed the shocking conditions under which British troops labored in the Crimean War in the mid-1850s. Russell’s reporting of the abysmal logistics and physical support given to the British troops there upturned a government and made him famous. Indeed, he was probably the most famous journalist in the English-speaking world by the time that he showed up in the United States just as war broke out in 1861.

Russell’s initial reports, filed before Fort Sumter, came from his travels in the North. Generally speaking, he found the “Yankees” crass and mercantile, not at all his sort of people. But just as the shooting started, he went South. There, his initial impressions of the upper reaches of genteel Southern society were positive, and then he saw slavery.

Russell was disgusted. Witnessing the slave trade, the sale of human beings upon a block outside of his hotel, his dispatches became critical. Finally, while in Wilmington, South Carolina and trying to file his next story, he found himself blocked by a militia-like “Vigilance Committee.” As Russell put it later, “They were all drunk. I refused to see them.” For their part, the committee refused him the use of the telegraph. Silenced, the journalist left the Confederacy as soon as he could.

For at least the first two years of the war, there was no real organized system of censorship among the Northern armies at all. (In the South, once Russell left, little evidence exists anymore one way or another. We know little about the Southern journalists and even less about their interactions with the military.) Because true journalism was still in its infancy, there was little incentive for some of the less scrupulous reporters (or their editors at home) to burnish the stories with excess “facts.” Certainly, reporters in the field with the Union armies demonstrated little constraint on this point at the outset. General William T. Sherman was declared, on rumor, to be insane. That rumor grew and took root. General Ulysses S. Grant was reported as being a completely incapacitated falling-down drunk, and that story also grew legs. These and other reports just as extreme went out in newspapers around the country. Salacious rumor, then as now, sold well. Facts were less interesting.

Towards the end of the year, 1862 the generals began to fight back. Leading the charge was General Ambrose Burnside, although Sherman certainly ran a close second. While the commander of the Army of the Potomac, he made his position quite clear. No longer

would he suffer slanderous anonymous reports in the media allegedly originating from within his command. Burnside published an order that set a new standard. (Anonymity was then the norm for reporters.) Thereafter, any reporter filing from within his Army must have a line at the top of the story explaining who had written the story, and thus was born the “byline.” Indeed, despite the celebrated hatred of reporters harbored by Generals like Sherman and George G. Meade (the former once court-martialed a reporter while the latter once had a reporter driven out of his camp mounted backwards on a mule while wearing a sign labeling him as a “Libeler of the Press” as the drummers played), the most significant acts of censorship were almost all done by Burnside.

Following his disastrous turn as the commander of the Army of the Potomac in late 1862 through early 1863, Burnside was relieved of command and reassigned to the Department of the Ohio in March 1863. There he ran afoul of one of the most vocal of the “Copperhead” (Antiwar) Democratic Party politicians in the North, Clement Vallandigham.

In response to some of Vallandigham’s fiery political speeches, Burnside issued General Order 38, the salient portion of which stated, “The habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested with a view of being tried . . . or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department.” Following another inflammatory speech, the Army arrested Vallandigham and tried him by Court Martial. One month later, Burnside took the further extraordinary step of having federal troops shutter the anti-Lincoln newspaper, the *Chicago Times*. The latter was an over-reach.

Almost immediately, Lincoln countermanded the order and the paper reopened, though perhaps with a more acute understanding that the conflict was now one of absolute survival. (These events occurred even as Confederate General Robert E. Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia was marching through Maryland and Pennsylvania enroute to Gettysburg and a rendezvous with destiny.)

Overall, though scattered and uncoordinated examples of direct censorship occurred during the war, the general rule of thumb was a nearly complete freedom of the press—to include permitting the publication of completely unsubstantiated assertions about individuals and events that would today bankrupt any modern paper on the charges of slander and libel. No clearer evidence of this exists than the editorials of that same *Chicago Times*. Writing about General Burnside, they referred to him as the “assassin of liberty” and “the butcher of Fredericksburg” (a battle where Burnside was in command) and then continued that Burnside, still in command in Ohio, “was not the head butcher and assassin; he was only the creature, the mean instrument, the puppet, the jumping-jack of the principle butchers and assassins.”

They were referring, of course, to President Lincoln and his Administration.

Robert Bateman

SEE ALSO Copperhead Press; Emancipation Proclamation; Lincoln, Abraham

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Committee on the Conduct of the War

The U.S. Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War (War Committee) was established officially on December 20, 1861 by the Thirty-seventh Congress to counteract a rash of Union military setbacks in the summer and fall of 1861. Armed with the power of subpoena, the committee was given broad discretion to investigate any aspect of Northern military affairs. The Republicans dominated the committee; Senate members included Republicans Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio (chairman) and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan; Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, the only senator from a seceded state, was the sole Democratic senator on the committee. House members included Republicans George W. Julian of Indiana, John Covode of Pennsylvania, and Daniel Gooch of Massachusetts. Moses Fowler Odell from Brooklyn, New York, was the sole Democratic House member.

Throughout its investigative tenure, the committee delved into many subjects, including removal from command of generals whom the committee members believed were adversely affecting the war effort to Union victory. The committee also investigated the administration of specific military departments; contraband trade in enemy districts; the treatment of Union prisoners of war in Confederate prisons; the controversial peace accord negotiated by William Tecumseh Sherman with Confederate general Joseph Johnston; and massacres such as those that occurred at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, and on the banks of Sand Creek in Colorado. However, the committee's principal focus was to investigate the conduct of military battles, particularly those involving the Army of the Potomac.

The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War was appointed as a way for the legislative branch to counterbalance executive involvement in the conduct of the war, especially President Lincoln's direction of military affairs. In some cases, the committee supplied popular daily newspapers with secret testimony to sway public opinion toward conclusions it had reached. Individual committee members often made speeches before the House or Senate to advance the committee's point of view. Finally, through the release of its official reports, the committee hoped to sway public opinion in favor of the Republican war program. In this latter regard, the committee's most notable successes were in the area of wartime propaganda, particularly with the publication of its reports on the treatment of Union prisoners of war and the Fort Pillow massacre.

The committee had only mixed success in its efforts to influence Lincoln in his conduct of the Union war effort. In some instances, the president followed the committee's demands but usually he held his own against the often-radical judgments of committee members. The committee's investigations of light-draft monitors, heavy ordnance, and army contracts exposed waste, inefficiencies, and bureaucratic red tape, while its report on Union prisoners of war and the Fort Pillow massacre gave a much needed boost to Northern morale at a critical juncture of the war. However, many of its investigations had a negative impact on the war effort. In many cases, the generals the committee endorsed were "correct" on the slavery issue but militarily incompetent. Perhaps the biggest drawback to the committee was its contribution to an atmosphere of jealousy and distrust among the nation's officer corps. Overall, the committee's work was largely a waste of time, energy, and resources that detracted from the Union's ability to wage war. Committee members were motivated by patriotic and humanitarian sentiments but a lack of military knowledge combined with too broad of an investigative latitude conspired to limit usefulness to the Union war effort.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Lincoln, Abraham; Newspapers (Civil War); Press Coverage

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Confederacy Propaganda in Europe

Confederate propaganda in Europe was mostly directed to England and to France under the expertise of Henry Hotze but there was also Southern activity in Ireland and in Germany as well as Confederate sympathizers in the North who distributed leaflets and other publications. There were serious Confederate attempts to win British support, including the publication of *The Index*, the pro-Confederate organ that generated support for its cause. Hotze went there to generate favorable public opinion towards the Confederacy, often without adequate financial resources or capable colleagues; he achieved outstanding success in England, where he went to generate favorable public opinion



Jefferson Davis's diplomatic overtures to France and Great Britain fail in an imaginary scene at court, 1861. (Library of Congress)

towards the Confederacy while his companion, Edwin De Leon, with a much larger budget, proved to be a misfit in France especially after he published a brochure that defended slavery, a way of life that was not favorable to the French.

Both men had considerable contempt for the countries it was their duty to cultivate, highlighted by their methods of communication. De Leon publicly broadcast his opinions while Hotze displayed his in secret communications to the Confederate government, in well-written reports that disclosed an expert understanding of British politics and European statesmen and complete disillusionment of British motives in the American conflict.

Hotze's firsthand observations discovered that many workers, especially in England, perceived the North as the proponent of democracy and the South as the defender of slavery. It was also debated among Civil War scholars that the "battle between the states" was a British empire-sponsored insurrection coordinated through a coalition of pro-slavery secret societies, Latin American expansionists, and financial interests which sought to weaken U.S. competition with English interests.

Along with the activities of Hotze in England and De Leon in France, there was also Southern activity in Ireland and in Germany, and other Confederate propagandists of considerable talent. Two of the better known ones were John Reuben Thompson, a staunch secessionist, supported the Confederacy through his editing, his poems ("Music in Camp," "The Burial of Latane," "Lee to the Rear," and "Ashby") and his work as a propagandist in England where he wrote for *The Index* while James Williams was a

journalist and diplomat who had a distinguished career before the Civil War when he returned to Europe as a Confederate propagandist and minister at large. In London, he assisted Hotze where he effectively presented the history of the sectional struggle between North and South and explained the slavery question in articles to various British newspapers. Some of his essays on slavery were published as *Letters on Slavery from the Old World* (1861), revised as *The South Vindicated*. Hotze had it translated into German and circulated among the German people. In 1863, Williams published *The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic*. While trying to promote European public opinion towards the Southern cause, he kept in touch with Confederate diplomats and maintained a secret correspondence with President Jefferson Davis.

Another was Confederate spy Rose Greenhow. After she was exposed for her espionage activities, she was imprisoned then released in 1862 and sent to Europe to promote Confederate propaganda in speeches and in writings.

Ultimately, the Confederate cause in Europe was undermined by the activity of the U.S. Department of State, particularly by its consuls who either halted or hindered Confederate efforts by gathering intelligence about their efforts abroad and by intercepting letters and papers. Some consular stations used the telegraph for important messages to speed the process and coded messages for sensitive information became common.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO De Leon, Edwin; Hotze, Henry; Loyal Publication Society; Telegraph; Thompson, John Reuben; Williams, James

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Confederate Battle Flag

The Confederate battle flag was the standard banner carried by units of the Confederate army during the Civil War. According to a guide to Civil War soldier equipment, the battle flag is often confused with the national flag of the Confederacy. Since the war, the flag has taken on a new symbolism apart from the men who fought under it. Today, it is often associated with white supremacist hate groups, which has led to many controversies involving its display.

The flag has its origins in 1861, when confusion sometimes ensued between the opposing forces in the Civil War. Early in the war, the Confederate units carried a flag that was similar in design to the Stars and Stripes used by Federal forces. This flag was known as the Stars and Bars and was the first Confederate national flag, containing seven stars in a blue field, two red stripes, and one white. The battle flag would be much different, incorporating a blue cross with 13 stars (one for each of the Confederate states and two for Missouri and Kentucky), bordered by a white cross all atop a red background. Most battle flags were square in shape. The flag was used by most Confederate units (some created alternative flags) until the end of the war.

After the war, the symbol of the battle flag took on less noble characteristics. What most people consider the Confederate flag is an elongated version of the battle flag. Over the years, the flag has been associated with racism and has served as a symbol for organizations promoting Southern culture. According to the Anti-Defamation League, the flag is used by racists “as an alternative to the American flag.”

Several recent controversies have erupted over the display of the battle flag and Confederate flag. South Carolina bowed to pressure from the NAACP and others and removed the battle flag from the dome of its state house and ultimately from the entire grounds. Groups, like the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) have promoted the displaying of the flag on several occasions. Recently, in Florida, the SCV erected a large battle flag at the intersection of two major highways.

While the Confederate battle flag is often a source of controversy today, it is an important symbol within Civil War history. Several southern states incorporate elements of it into the designs of their state flags. In addition, several battle flags from the war reside in countless museum collections across the country.

Daniel C. Sauerwein

SEE ALSO Bates, Gilbert Henderson; Nativism and Secret Societies

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Confederate Manifesto

The Confederate Manifesto was a document issued by the Congress of the Confederate States of America in June 1864. Its intended audience was that of the world community, and specifically the Christian states of Europe (it was delivered to all European governments except Muslim Turkey). The authorship was attributed to the Virginian statesman

William Cabell Rives (1793–1868), who served as a Confederate senator. It was published in the *Richmond Whig* dated June 13 and reprinted in northern papers.

The argument of the Manifesto was that the Confederate states simply desired to be left in peace, and that the war—“the most causeless and prodigal effusion of blood which the world has ever seen”—was solely the responsibility of the Union. The Manifesto gave a providential picture of the war, in which Southern successes were the result of God’s endorsement of their cause. Although the religious language used was somewhat general, the God invoked was clearly Christian—the Manifesto was addressed to “the great law of Christian philanthropy” as well as “the opinion of the civilized world” and “the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.”

The Manifesto placed southern secession in the context of the American principle of government by the consent of the governed and a people taking up arms in the defense of the liberties and free institutions handed down from their fathers. It reaffirmed the principle that the states had a right to secede, and proclaimed that the Confederacy was willing to make peace at any time that the northern states gave up the unequal struggle. The desperate situation throughout much of the Confederacy at the time was minimized, and the Manifesto asserted that the Northern states were in far more financial difficulty than the south and on the verge of losing their own liberties. The Manifesto claimed that the eight million people of the Confederacy (neither slavery nor the slave population of the southern states was mentioned, except for a brief reference to the “black and foreign mercenaries” of the Union) were united and willing to die in defense of their liberties, and could not be overcome by force. Although the Confederacy continued to hope for European intervention, there was no specific call to action addressed to European rulers.

The dissemination of the Manifesto in Europe was delayed by the blockade. It reached Europe in the fall, and was communicated to the European governments by the Confederate commissioners in Europe, James Murray Mason (1798–1871), John Slidell (1793–1871), and Ambrose Dudley Mann (1801–1889), mostly through the legations of the respective powers in Paris rather than to the governments directly. The British Foreign Secretary, John Russell, first Earl Russell (1792–1878) responded by affirming British strict neutrality and friendship for both sides. Pope Pius IX replied through his Secretary of State, Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli (1806–1876) in generally friendly tones, reiterating his wish for peace.

William E. Burns

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Civil War)

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Copperhead Press

The Copperheads, also called Peace Democrats, were a small but very vocal group of Democrats in the northern United States, with a power base among urban Catholic immigrants and within the Midwest states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where Southern sympathies were strong. The Peace Democrats opposed the war and advocated negotiation and compromise and as Union fortunes on the battlefield shifted, the Peace Democrats became stronger. Among other actions, Copperheads persuaded Union soldiers to desert, talked of helping Confederate prisoners of war to seize their camps and escape, and often met with Confederate agents and took money. They were strongly at odds with New England reformers and Republican abolitionists and they strongly resented what they viewed as the complete usurpation of federal power by Yankee interests.

The Republican press called them Copperheads, declaring their opposition to the war as dangerous as the copperhead snake. The Peace Democrats wore this label as a badge of honor. Others wore the liberty head copper pennies as lapel pins. Another term was Butternuts, for the color of the homespun clothing commonly worn in the Midwest. The most famous Copperhead was Ohio congressman Clement L. Vallandigham, an open opponent of Republican war policies who wanted to see the Union restored to pre-war conditions before the slavery issue was raised.

The Copperheads had important newspapers behind their cause. In Chicago, Wilbur F. Storey made the *Chicago Times* into one of Lincoln's strongest critics while the *New York Journal of Commerce*, originally abolitionist, was sold to Copperheads, which gave them an important voice in the largest city. A typical Copperhead editor was Edward G. Roddy, owner of the Uniontown, Pennsylvania *Genius of Liberty*, a blatantly partisan Democrat who originally supported the war effort in 1861 then later blamed abolitionists for prolonging the war and denounced the government as increasingly despotic. By 1864, he wanted peace at any price.

There was also strong opposition to the Copperheads. One such attack was a powerful and much-reprinted illustration by Lincoln supporter Thomas Nast that was the commanding feature of a Congressional Union Committee broadside ("A Traitor's Peace That the Northern Copperfield Leaders Would Force Upon the Country") with text below the illustration that warned citizens that accepting Copperhead calls for peace would destroy the Union. The broadside reprinted Southern peace conditions that were cited in an October 16, 1863, *Richmond Enquirer*.

As war opponents, Copperheads were suspected of disloyalty, and their leaders were sometimes arrested and held for months in military prisons without trial. One famous example was General Ambrose Burnside's 1863 General Order Number 38, issued in Ohio, which made it an offense, punishable by a trial in military court, to criticize the war in any way. The order was used to arrest Vallandigham when he criticized the order itself. He was charged with treason and imprisoned but Lincoln commuted his sentence and banished him to the Confederate states.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Lincoln, Abraham; Nast, Thomas; Newspapers (Civil War); Slavery Issue

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CSS Alabama

On August 1, 1861, Confederate purchasing agent James D. Bulloch contracted for a ship with John Laird & Sons at Liverpool. First identified as hull No. 290, it was launched on May 15, 1862 as the *Enrica*. U.S. diplomats in Britain learned that the ship was intended for the Confederacy and brought pressure on the British government, but Bulloch managed to get it to sea on July 30 before it could be impounded.

Rendezvousing with two other British ships, the prospective commerce raider received its ordnance and other supplies at the Portuguese island of Terceira in the Azores. There on August 24 the new ship's captain, Raphael Semmes, placed it into commission as the *CSS Alabama*.

A sleek three-masted, bark-rigged sloop of oak with a copper hull, the *Alabama* was probably the finest cruiser of its class in the world at the time. It displaced 1,050 tons and was 220' in length overall, 31'9" in beam, and 14' in depth of hold. It had a screw propeller that could be detached so that it might make faster speed under sail alone. The *Alabama* could make 13 knots under steam and sail and 10 knots under sail. Semmes characterized it as "a very perfect ship of her class." A well-built vessel, the *Alabama* went on to survive several bad storms, including a hurricane.

The ship crew complement was 148 men. The *Alabama* boasted a fully equipped machine shop to enable its crew to make all ordinary repairs themselves. The ship could carry coal sufficient for 18 days of continuous steaming, although for obvious reasons

Semmes preferred to rely on sail where possible. In fact, all but about a half dozen of the *Alabama*'s subsequent captures were taken under sail alone. If it could provision from captured prizes, the *Alabama* would be able to remain at sea a long time. The *Alabama* mounted eight guns: six 32-pounders in broadside and two pivot guns (a 7-inch 110-pounder rifled Blakeley and a smoothbore 8-inch 68-pounder) amidships. It had a 120-man crew and 24 officers.

The *Alabama* first cruised in the Azores and took a number of prizes. Semmes next sailed for the Newfoundland Banks, where the ship was also quite successful. He then took the *Alabama* into the Caribbean, where it intercepted and took the large *Ariel*, its most important prize. The *Alabama* then sailed to Galveston, Texas, where on January 11, 1863 Semmes lured out, engaged, and sank the Union sidewheel schooner *Hatteras*. Semmes then returned the *Alabama* to the West Indies. It next spent several months off Latin America, taking additional prizes before sailing for South Africa. Learning that the more powerful U.S. Navy steamer *Vanderbilt* was searching for his ship, Semmes then headed into the Pacific, hopeful of making serious inroads into U.S. Orient trade. The *Alabama* sailed all the way to India but took few prizes. U.S. merchant captains, having been warned of its presence, stayed in port.

By now, Semmes was experiencing increasing problems with his crew, and the ship was badly in need of an overhaul in a modern shipyard. He headed the commerce raider for France by way of Cape Town. On June 11, 1864, the *Alabama* dropped anchor at Cherbourg. Since its commissioning, it had sailed 75,000 miles, taken 66 prizes, and had sunk a Union warship. The total value of Union property destroyed by the *Alabama* was in excess of \$4.6 million, 18 times the cost of the ship. Twenty-five Union warships had searched for the *Alabama*, costing the federal government more than \$7 million. Certainly, the exploits of the raider had been a considerable boost to Confederate morale. On June 19, 1864, the French having denied him access to a dry dock and with other Union warships converging on Cherbourg, Semmes took the *Alabama* out to engage the Union screw sloop *Kearsarge*, which had taken up position off the harbor. The ensuing battle was one of the most spectacular of Civil War naval engagements. Superior Union gunnery, chain armor aboard the *Kearsarge*, and weak cannon powder on the *Alabama* all told. Repeatedly holed, the *Alabama* went down. The raider suffered 41 casualties: 9 dead and 20 wounded in the actual engagement, and 12 others drowned. In 1984, the French Navy located the *Alabama*'s resting place. The U.S. government had asserted ownership, and in 1989, Congress passed the CSS *Alabama* Preservation Act to secure the wreck.

Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Confederacy Propaganda in Europe

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Dana, Charles Anderson

The American journalist Charles Anderson Dana (1819–1897), as editor of the *New York Sun* in the late 19th century, created the first modern newspaper. Born on August 8, 1819, in Hinsdale, New Hampshire, Charles Dana attended Harvard University during 1839–1841. He lived at Brook Farm, a transcendentalist experimental community in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, during 1841–1846, where he wrote for and produced the *Harbinger*, Brook Farm’s newsletter. In 1847, he joined the staff of Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune*. His vehement antislavery articles clashed with Greeley’s vacillating view toward slavery and led to Dana’s resignation from the paper in 1862.

That same year, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton recruited Dana as a special investigating agent for the War Department. Dana investigated corruption and reported from the field. Stanton was especially concerned about allegations that Major General Ulysses S. Grant was an alcoholic. After viewing Grant’s performance in numerous military campaigns, Dana allayed Stanton’s fears and indeed recommended that Grant be placed in command of the Union Army, which occurred in March 1864.

As a special commissioner at Grant’s headquarters, nominally to investigate the pay-service, Dana actually reported daily on military operations to better enable the Lincoln Administration to measure accurately Grant’s capacities. During the Vicksburg campaign his observations were equally valuable to the Washington officials and to Grant himself. Dana also formed a high opinion of William Sherman’s capabilities as a leader. After the fall of Vicksburg, Dana was appointed assistant secretary of war. During 1864 he alternated desk service in Washington with field service in Virginia, and formed impressions of Lincoln, the cabinet members, and some leading congressmen which enabled him long afterward to give pungent sketches of them in his *Recollections of the Civil War* (1898).

Dana left the government in 1865 to become editor of a short-lived Chicago paper and then bought the failing *New York Sun*. As editor, Dana rapidly transformed the *Sun*. Before the Civil War, the prime “news” function of a newspaper had been to promulgate the editor’s political opinions, but the dramatic firsthand accounts of battles during the Civil War had brought the news correspondent to prominence. In the *Sun*, this trend was reinforced. Although Dana continued to expound his political beliefs on the editorial

page, the emphasis in the paper became accurate, lively news stories. Dana also began running “human-interest” stories, which focused on the daily humor and travails in the lives of ordinary people, which later became a standard feature of modern journalism throughout much of the world.

As editor, Dana opposed the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, was a sharp critic of the Grant presidency, and supported Samuel J. Tilden in the 1876 presidential election. Dana insisted upon a simple, clear writing style. He died in Glen Cove, New York, on October 17, 1897.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Greeley, Horace; Lincoln, Abraham

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De Leon, Edwin

Diplomat and propagandist, Edwin De Leon was born in Columbia, South Carolina, on May 4, 1818. He graduated from South Carolina College in 1837 and he was admitted to the bar three years later. He was a newspaper editor (*Republican*) in Savannah, Georgia, and in Washington, DC (*Southern Press*) until 1854 when President Franklin Pierce appointed him consul general and diplomatic agent in Egypt, a position he held until 1861, when he resigned to become a publicity agent in Europe. He was not as successful a propagandist as Henry Hotze, the Confederacy's publicist in Great Britain; he lacked the latter's ability and finesse although he had more money to spend on his programs, more than \$25,000 compared to the \$750 allotted to Hotze for his more difficult work in Great Britain.

De Leon's prewar experience in the U.S. consular service and his close personal friendship with Confederacy president Jefferson Davis seemed to provide exceptional advantages for De Leon's delicate task but these same advantages, especially his association with Davis and other leaders, inspired in him ambitions that far exceeded those of a maker of public opinion and largely explained his undoing.

However, De Leon could not complain of neglect from Richmond, the Confederacy's capital. Along with more money for his operations in France, De Leon operated in a country that was not considered a difficult place to sway French journalists to the Confederate cause in the halcyon days of the Second Empire when editorial opinion,

especially in the newspapers, was lukewarm to the Confederate government and really a matter of bargain and sale.

De Leon spent considerable money bribing the French press and at first he was quite successful but he fumbled seriously when he published under his own name what became his most remembered contribution, a pamphlet, *La Verite sur les Etats Confederes d'Amerique*, in which tried to ignite French public opinion for the Confederate cause, especially a fervent defense of slavery, an institution the French held in low esteem.

He finally destroyed his career when he opened confidential documents intended for Confederate diplomat John Slidell that, among other concerns, outlined attempts to bribe Napoleon III into recognizing the Confederacy and breaking the Northern blockade against Southern ports. Slidell effectively destroyed De Leon's career in France by cutting all his contact with the French government and by refusing to sponsor his propaganda efforts in any way.

In February 1864, stung by French criticism of his journalistic efforts, De Leon gave a speech that criticized the French people and their government and then found that his services to the Confederacy were terminated. He spent the rest of his life abroad, mostly in Egypt and in Europe, but he died in New York City on December 1, 1891. He published his autobiography, *Thirty Years of Life on Three Continents* (1886), and wrote two books in Egypt where he was credited with introducing the telephone into that country.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Confederacy Propaganda in Europe; Europe as a Propaganda Target; Hotze, Henry

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Dime Novels. See Dime Novels

Ellsworth, Elmer Ephraim

On the night of May 23, 1861 the first invasion of the South occurred. Under the full moon, several companies of infantry and cavalry crossed the Potomac into Virginia to seize the town of Alexandria. With a railroad station connected to Richmond and other

places in Northern Virginia and a view that overlooked Washington, DC, the capital would not be safe as long as it was in Confederate hands. The operation went very smoothly. The Confederate pickets put up virtually no resistance. By dawn the city and the outlying railroad station was seized and the U.S. flag flew over Alexandria letting the people of Washington know that they were safer than when the sun had set the night before. A series of batteries and entrenchments were quickly started to guard the city from an attack. The tragic death of 24-year-old Colonel Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth was the only thing that kept the operation from being perfect.

Ellsworth was born in Malta, New York, on April 11, 1837. His origins were extremely humble. At 17, he moved to Chicago to try his hand in business. Eventually he went to Springfield, Illinois to become a lawyer. In Springfield, he studied law at the office of Abraham Lincoln. He and Lincoln would become lifelong friends.

As a member of the Illinois Militia, Ellsworth met a former French officer named Charles De Villiers. This chance meeting changed Ellsworth's life. He became fascinated with the French military, namely its Zouave units. Ellsworth was given command of a Chicago Militia Unit that he transformed into the United States Zouave Cadets. Modeled after the French Zouaves, the unit was exotically uniformed and trained in precision close order drill. The French Zouaves had captured the American imagination during the Crimean and the Italian Wars of Unification. Ellsworth's Chicago Zouaves traveled the United States during the summer of 1860 putting on demonstrations and competing against local units. Ellsworth recruited men who morally upright and the Zouaves quickly earned a reputation as the best example of American youth. Although he had never seen a real battle or commanded more than a few hundred men, Ellsworth was considered an expert on military matters and was sought after by the press to discuss the military implications of a sectional war.

Ellsworth returned to New York and raised the 11th New York. Trained and uniformed as Zouaves and made up mostly of volunteers from the New York City Fire Department, they were nicknamed the Fire Zouaves. They were one of the first regiments to reach Washington, DC and quickly gained a reputation of being rough and wild men.

Ellsworth and his Fire Zouaves took part in the Union's first offensive action of the war. On the day Virginia left the Union, Northern troops crossed the Potomac to capture the town of Alexandria. Before the war, Alexandria was a small unimportant town but with Virginia's secession it was strategically vital. The attack on Alexandria would come in several columns. Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves would cross the Potomac in two steamers and land directly at Alexandria while other forces took more indirect routes. The town was very lightly held and was captured with little difficulty. The only shots fired by the Confederates were signal shots to warn the other pickets to withdraw from the town.

By Civil War standards, this was an easy victory and an overwhelming success. But in May 1861, with the battle of Shiloh, Antietam and Gettysburg with their massive casualties still in the future, the cost of the Alexandria expedition was almost too much to bear. After the town had been seized, Ellsworth and six other men went to the roof of the Marshall House to remove a large Confederate flag that was visible from across the Potomac. As they descended the stairs, Ellsworth was shot and killed by the owner of

the hotel, James Jackson, with a double-barreled shotgun. Jackson was shot and bayoneted before he could fire the second barrel. Ellsworth's short life came to an end on May 24, 1861 on a staircase in Alexandria, Virginia, barely into Confederate territory.

The death of Ellsworth made headlines around the country. He remained front-page news until he was replaced by the Battle of First Manassas. Funeral services were held inside the Executive Mansion (White House) with Lincoln as chief mourner. The newspapers of the country carried every detail of Ellsworth's funeral. The Southern press attempted to turn Jackson into a hero of their own. He was portrayed as dying nobly to protect the flag.

Ellsworth was the perfect symbol of the country's naivety. He represented a youthful idealism of war, the parade ground soldier with the belief in a quick conflict and no idea of the harsh, grim realities of war. Even though Ellsworth was only the first death of over five hundred thousand, he was not forgotten. Francis E. Brownell, the soldier who had avenged Ellsworth, was awarded the Medal of Honor in 1877, the first act of the Civil War to be honored in that way.

Wesley Moody

SEE ALSO Bull Run, First Battle of; Lincoln, Abraham

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Emancipation Proclamation

On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation as a temporary war measure; it freed slaves only in those states still in rebellion against the Union and not all the slaves in the United States. It was designed as propaganda, scrupulously planned, and considered as potential punishment for the South, who, in return, used it as “anti-North” propaganda.

The Emancipation Proclamation was addressed to several specific target groups and its public release was timed to produce the greatest possible reaction among its several audiences. Lincoln formulated a well-planned attack that would have the most diverse consequences for the progress of the war, depending on what psychological effects it had on several different groups. These included: the white population of the Confederate states, the slave population of the Southern states, the white population in the slave states still on the side of the North (“border” states), the politically influential Northern abolitionists, Northerners opposed to challenging Southern slavery, and the British who were



Engraving was done by J. W. Watts in 1864. Caption on picture reads, "Reading the Emancipation Proclamation." (Library of Congress)

largely sympathetic to the Southern cause well into 1862. Total emancipation of all slaves was finally accomplished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that was passed two years later.

Historian John Franklin, in his study of the Emancipation Proclamation, notes that the final draft, if reflective of Lincoln's true intentions, does not repeat the themes of compensation and colonization that were in the Preliminary Proclamation of September 22, 1862, in which he declared that slaves in designated territories "thenceforward, and forever." This is reworded, in the final draft that was released on January 1, 1863. In that version, Lincoln merely stated that slaves "are, and henceforward shall be free."

Often misunderstood is just what slaves were free. The decree did not apply to slaves in those areas where the United States could not enforce it, which might seem to weaken its effectiveness, but it still promoted a powerful message to both the slaves and to the Confederate states, that slavery was an intolerable way of life.

Still, Lincoln did everything he could to support his belief that the Proclamation was "An Act of Justice" and he wanted to do all he could to bring about actual freedom for the slaves. The Emancipation Proclamation altered the course of the Civil War. With its publication, the Union's national war aim changed, adding freedom to the goal of preserving the Union. Since then, scholars have debated the Emancipation Proclamation from military, diplomatic, constitutional, and social angles. Critical support has been

divided. One school of historians has criticized what they consider Lincoln's delay in issuing it and the impact it might have had on the outcome of the war if released earlier. Supporters of Lincoln's action deny this; they claim that Lincoln had the power, as president, to sign the order and to release it when he wanted. Other civil rights advocates have gone further and accused Lincoln of a pro-slavery bias and, worse, of being a racist who issued the Proclamation because it was politically expedient to do so, at the time.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Lincoln, Abraham

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Europe as a Propaganda Target

The American Civil War initiated propaganda campaigns from both the North and the South. President Lincoln imposed the first official U.S. government censorship of news media during wartime and issued an executive order, based on national emergency, that punished journalists for disloyalty, such as reporting unfavorable or inaccurate battle news. Lincoln also dispatched special agents to European countries to counter propaganda gains made by the Confederacy.

As sectional differences became more pronounced and war became inevitable, leaders from both the Union and from the Confederacy appreciated the importance of propaganda to the conflict. In the North, the war remained unpopular emphasized by draft riots in New York (1863) and by the rise of the "Copperhead movement" that fielded peace candidates as late as 1864, propaganda mobilized public opinion both at home and abroad. On the battlefields, military leaders instituted press conferences, press passes, and author bylines to censor battle reportage unfavorable to the Union. In the North, private organizations, such as the Loyal Publication Society and the Union League Board of Publications, began unceasing pamphleteering efforts.

The Loyal Publication Society, established 1863, sent publications to Europe that tried to promote the Union side during the Civil War. George P. Putnam (1814–1872) was one of the society's editors. For the North, there was Abraham Lincoln's moving



Slavery As It Exists in America. Slavery As It Exists in England. Cartoon published 1850. (Library of Congress)

there was also Southern activity in Ireland and in Germany as well as Confederate sympathizers in the North who distributed leaflets and other publications of Confederate sympathizers. There were serious Confederate attempts to win British support, including the publication of “The Index,” the pro-Confederate organ that generated support for its cause.

The Index was a Civil War journal, sub-titled “A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, and News,” that was created by Henry Hotze in Great Britain to support Confederate diplomacy. He tried to make it representative of English journalism, with its three columns, contents that included the latest direct intelligence from the South, foreign correspondence, developments of the Confederate cause in Europe, and two pages of advertisements mostly of shipping notices, sales of Confederate bond, and pleas for southern prisoner of war relief.

Hotze went there to generate favorable public opinion towards the Confederacy, often without adequate financial resources or capable colleagues; he achieved outstanding success in England, where he went to generate favorable public opinion towards the Confederacy while his Federal opponent, Edwin De Leon, with a much larger budget,

letter to working men of Manchester, England’s cotton mills, asking them to shun alliance with plantation slaveholders. The president also dispatched about one hundred special agents to Great Britain along with a ship of foodstuffs for unemployed English cotton-textile workers to counter the propaganda attacks made by the Confederacy. The federal government also distributed pamphlets to European countries asking for Union support.

“The Great Rebellion” had the “advantage” as the first major war fought in the United States with a general literacy. With strong philosophical and ideological differences between the northern and the southern leaderships, the increasing presence of large numbers of foreign born immigrants who needed to be “Americanized,” and the lack of support for the war among large segments of the nonsecessionist population, pamphlets and broadsides proliferated as both sides prepared for what all realized would be an extended and bloody conflict.

Confederate propaganda in Europe was mostly directed to England and to France under the expertise of Henry Hotze but

proved to be a misfit in France. It is still debated among Civil War scholars that the “battle between the states” was a British empire-sponsored insurrection coordinated through a coalition of pro-slavery secret societies, Latin American expansionists, and financial interests which sought to weaken U.S. competition with English interests.

Along with Hotze and De Leon, probably the best known, there were other propagandists of considerable talent. Sarah Jane Clarke Lippincott (1823–1904), known as Grace Greenwood, wrote famous Washington political letters for the *New York Times*. She was born in Pompey, New York; at 21, she contributed verse to Nathaniel P. Willis’ magazine, *New Mirror*, and later, pieces to his *Home Journal*. She joined *Godey’s Lady Book* in 1849 but lost her job when she wrote an anti slavery article for the *National Era*; she then began her Washington letters, which appeared for the next 50 years in papers in various American cities. From 1873 to 1878, Lippincott wrote for the *New York Times*, commenting on government and attacking corruption. During the Civil War, she lectured to patriotic groups and in army camps and hospitals, and President Lincoln called her “Grace Greenwood, the Patriot.”

John Reuben Thompson (1823–1873), a staunch secessionist, supported the Confederacy through his editing, his poems (“Music in Camp,” “The Burial of Latane,” “Lee to the Rear,” and “Ashby”) and his work as a propagandist in England where he wrote for “The Index” while James Williams (1796–1869) was a journalist and diplomat who had a distinguished career before the Civil War when he returned to Europe as a Confederate propagandist and minister at large. In London, he assisted Henry Hotze where he effectively presented the history of the sectional struggle between North and South and explained the slavery question in articles to various British newspapers. Some of his essays on slavery were published as *Letters on Slavery from the Old World* (1861), revised as *The South Vindicated*. Hotze had it translated into German and circulated among the German people. In 1863, Williams published *The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic*. While trying to promote European public opinion towards the Southern cause, he kept in touch with Confederate diplomats and maintained a secret correspondence with President Jefferson Davis.

Augusta Jane Evans Wilson (1835–1901), author of *Beulah*, was published just before the Civil War (1859). In 1864, she published *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice*, a persuasive defense of Confederate policy which predicted horrible consequences if the slaves were freed. It was popular in both the North and in the South but was banned by some Union commanders because of its adverse effect on morale.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO De Leon, Edwin; Hotze, Henry; Loyal Publication Society; Thompson, John Reuben; Williams, James

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Foreign Reaction toward the United States

When the Civil War began, President Abraham Lincoln accepted challenges from outside the United States but his major intention was to prevent European intervention that would have facilitated the South's move for independence for if the South won diplomatic recognition from England and other European nations, especially during the war's crucial first 18 months, the Confederate States of America might have won its independence. Lincoln's leadership on this diplomatic front proved as important as his command of the armed forces in securing the Union's ultimate victory.

The Confederacy capitalized on international interest in the struggle by relying on "King Cotton diplomacy" in its first efforts to win European recognition of its independence. As early as 1855, Southern politicians painted a dire picture for Europeans deprived of southern cotton for three years or more and the consequences if northern states and their European allies went to war against it. For Jefferson Davis and his advisers, the leverage of cotton as a staple important to Europeans was so great that foreign recognition of the Confederacy was considered almost an assumed fact.

Both Great Britain and France expected to continue trading with the Confederacy but Lincoln's decision to blockade southern ports required other countries, under international law, to acknowledge that a state of war existed, to proclaim their neutrality, and to recognize the Confederacy as a belligerent nation.

Lincoln opposed any foreign involvement, including the promotion of peace talks, but one of the first tests of Lincoln's diplomatic skills came with the *Trent* Affair. In November 1861, a U.S. naval vessel, USS *San Jacinto*, commanded by Charles Wilkes seized a British mail packet, the *Trent*, and illegally removed two Confederate diplomatic agents, James Mason and John Slidell, who had run the Union blockade and were en route to England. The British strongly protested this action, and war seemed a possibility, but Prince Albert toned down British belligerency while Secretary of State William Seward found a way to release Mason and Slidell without seeming to give in to British demands.

However, a more important issue for Lincoln in his attempts to forestall diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy was antislavery sentiment among Europeans. For domestic reasons, Lincoln emphasized to Europe that the conflict was not about slavery. Both Lincoln and Seward opposed slavery without being abolitionists but Seward, especially, feared that the sudden collapse of slavery could cause an economic collapse in the South that would, in turn, disrupt the southern economy and have a negative effect on international stability.

American diplomats in Europe frequently faced local populations sympathetic to the South who perceived the South's rebellion as a response to northern oppression.

However, the Emancipation Proclamation did a great deal to change popular attitudes in Europe by aligning the South with slavery and the North with emancipation of the slaves.

The president's diplomatic instincts proved sound as a number of British and French leaders, calculating that the division of the United States into two rival nations would best serve their own nations' objectives, reconsidered although not without certain concerns, such as British statesmen who considered the document a hypocritical Union effort to incite slave rebellions to stave off certain northern defeat. Also, if the war concerned slavery, why did Lincoln constantly embrace the concept that he was fighting the Civil War to preserve the Union?

In November, the British cabinet under Prime Minister Lord Palmerston considered an interventionist proposal to recognize the Confederacy and thus force the Union to discuss peace. The cabinet overwhelmingly voted against this, not least because it did not wish Britain to be seen on the side of slaveholders against Lincoln and emancipation. Together with the Russians, the British rejected the proposal by French Emperor Napoleon III for an armistice backed by multilateral force should either the North or the South reject the demand although, in reality, this was a threat aimed more at the North, since an armistice effectively would ratify southern independence.

Palmerston's government assured U.S. Minister George M. Dallas that "there was not the slightest disposition in the British government to grasp at any advantage which might be supposed to arise from the unpleasant domestic differences in the United States, but, on the contrary, that they would be highly gratified if those differences were adjusted and the Union restored to its former unbroken position." (Despatch, U.S. Minister to Great Britain George M. Dallas to Seward, London, April 9, 1861).

The French considered themselves "the last of the great states of Europe to give a hasty encouragement to the dismemberment of the Union" (Despatch, U.S. Minister to France Charles J. Faulkner to Secretary of State Jeremiah S. Black, Paris, March 19, 1861) and they looked upon the dismemberment of the Confederacy as a calamity.

Other countries expressed concerns as well. For the Portuguese, there was doubt than belief that the Union would be preserved (Dispatch, U.S. Minister to Portugal George W. Morgan to Seward, Lisbon, April 6, 1861) while European politicians generally, regard the disruption of the States as an established fact.

In a series of dispatches between U.S. Minister to Russia John Appleton to Seward, St. Petersburg, April 8–20, 1861, the minister noted that in several interviews with Prince Gortchacow, the prince noted that the question of recognizing the Confederate States was not an issue but that commerce between the Confederate States and Russia would not be interrupted.

For the Spanish, there was sympathy for the "posture of affairs" in the United States and for the extensive military and naval preparations that were being made in the north to enforce the federal supremacy in the south. An interesting note was that "no commissioners from the Confederate States have yet applied for the recognition of the Southern confederacy. . . ." (Dispatch, from U.S. Minister to Spain William Preston to Seward, Aranjuez, April 22, 1861).

In Prussia, soon to become the major power in a unified Germany, its foreign ministry emphasized that its government would be “one of the last to recognize any de facto government of the disaffected States of the American Union. . . .” (Dispatch, U.S. Minister to Prussia Joseph A. Wright to Seward, Berlin, May 8, 1861).

An immediate situation was south of the American border where U.S. Minister to Mexico Thomas Corwin warned Seward on May 29, 1861, that the “present government of Mexico will be unwilling to enter into any engagement which might produce war with the south, unless protected by promise of aid from the United States.”

Turkey expressed support for both sides. Its foreign ministers sent “repeated assurances of the most friendly sentiments towards the government of the United States, and expressions of warm sympathy for the present unhappy state of popular excitement in the slave States of the Union.” (Dispatch, U.S. Minister to Turkey John P. Brown to Seward, Constantinople, June 11, 1861).

These foreign reactions soon shifted. Soon after the Union’s victory at Antietam in the fall of 1862, Lincoln declared that as of January 1, 1863, all slaves in states still in rebellion were free. The Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves only in those states still in rebellion against the Union and not all the slaves in the United States, as an act of “military necessity,” intended to encourage slaves to abandon the plantations and band with the advancing Union armies. Emancipation prevented the British and French, along with other countries opposed to slavery, from joining the war effort as sympathetic to the South. The Union was also helped by desperation measures from the South in late 1864. As conditions worsened, the South made an offer to free its slaves in exchange for recognition from Great Britain and France.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Confederacy Propaganda in Europe; Emancipation Proclamation; Lincoln, Abraham; Slavery Issue

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Foreign Recruits

It is estimated that between 3.5 and 4 million men fought in the Civil War. Although no specific unified records were maintained on the national origins of those who fought, it is well established that a very significant percentage of these men were foreign recruits. Some estimates, for example, put the number of Irish-born soldiers in the Union Army alone at more than 130,000.

Two major events in Europe determined the ethnographic proportions of these foreign-born recruits. The first was the disastrous famine caused by a disease that affected the main staple of the Irish diet, the potato. The “Great Famine,” from 1845 to 1852, utterly devastated the Irish and initiated an unprecedented wave of emigration from that country to the United States. The second event overlapped the first and took place in 1848 in the form of large-scale civil unrest all across Europe (notably excepting Great Britain). Collectively known as the “Revolutions of 1848,” the uprisings were initially successful in many countries, and in particular in many of the more than 30 German states that existed at the time. By the end of the year, however, they had been crushed by the resurgent power of the governments in most German states and as a result led to fairly significant emigration from those states as well.

In the Civil War, both immigrant groups sought social acceptance and legitimacy through the mechanism of military service to their new country. The Germans, more numerous by virtue of a longer tradition of immigration to the states, were able to raise entire divisions of German first or second-generation immigrants for service in the Union Army. Some estimates place the number of first and second generation Germans at up to 10 percent of the armies north and south. Although Germans served throughout all the Union armies, the most famous collection of them was the XIth Corps of the Union Army of the Potomac. The corps, commanded by Major General Franz Sigel, was made up of three divisions of almost exclusively German immigrants and division commanders with names like Generals Robert C. Schenck, Adolph von Steinwehr, and Carl Schurz. Although this corps had a poor reputation during the war, work by military historians in the last 30 years has considerably reprised this contemporary judgment.

The Irish, for their part, also sought to gain social and political status through massed military service, particularly in the so-called “Irish Brigade.” (A significant part of the Irish-American political leadership also wanted to use the experiences gained in this war to carry the fight home to Ireland after the war.) Originally formed around three all-Irish regiments drawn from New York City, the Irish Brigade later included regiments of Irishmen from Boston and Philadelphia as well. The brigade was known for its suicidal courage, the worst example of which came at the Battle of Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862) when, in a few hours, it was reduced by almost half. Indeed, from the beginning of 1862 when it started training, to the end of 1862 at Fredericksburg, the Brigade went from a strength of roughly 3,000, down to a mere 300 effective men under arms.

Robert Bateman

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Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper

Published from 1855 until 1922, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* was a highly popular weekly newspaper published in New York for a national audience. It was the creation of Frank Leslie. He was born Henry Carter in Ipswich, England in 1821. Carter had no interest in following his father into the glove industry. He had a natural talent for art and contributed drawings to the *London Illustrated News* which he signed with the pseudonym Frank Leslie. After working full time for the *London Illustrated News*, Carter immigrated to the United States in 1848.

Frank Leslie, having changed his name legally upon entering the United States, started several newspapers and magazines but *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* was by far the most popular. It contained news items and serial and short fiction. Of course, what made the paper a success was its pictures. The newly developed technology of photography greatly increased the public demand for pictures. The technology, however, did not yet exist for printing photographs. All of the illustrations in the newspapers were engravings. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* reached the height of its popularity during the Civil War when Americans hungered for news and the illustrations from artists on the frontlines.

Other newspapers used the engraving system to add illustrations to their periodicals. What made the *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* unique was the system Leslie invented. A reporter who witnessed the event would send back a drawing. As many as 32 engravers would work on separate sections of the drawing that would be fitted together for printing. This allowed drawings to appear on the newsstand within a week of the actual event, an unheard of turnaround at the time.

The paper's coverage of the war was very patriotic. It presented soldiers in a very heroic light. Its covers were often romantically portrayed battle scenes. Although the paper was best remembered for its more than three thousand images of the Civil War, it brought the same patriotic and romantic coverage to the Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War, and the First World War. The paper also covered sensational stories of crime, scandals, political corruption, and natural disasters.

Frank Leslie did not live to see the end of his paper. He died in 1880. His second wife, Miriam Leslie, who legally changed her name to Frank, edited the paper until financial trouble forced her to sell the paper in 1898 to John A. Schliecher, the paper's third and last editor.

As printing press technology improved and it became easier to put photographs into print, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* was driven into bankruptcy. The paper published its last issue in 1922.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper was the predecessor of the modern media where images are as important if not more important than words. Its artists, who were present in for every major campaign in the Civil War, were the first true wartime journalists in American history.

Wesley Moody

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Civil War)

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Garrison, William Lloyd

American writer, newspaper editor, reformer, and noted abolitionist. William Lloyd Garrison was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, on December 10, 1805. At the age of 13, he began a 7-year apprenticeship to Ephraim W. Allen, editor of the *Newburyport Herald*. There he learned the newspaper trade, developed a talent for writing, and became convinced of the power of words to effect change in society. His apprenticeship complete, Garrison became editor of a local newspaper in 1826, the *Free Press*. In 1828, he and Nathaniel H. White co-edited the *National Philanthropist*, which was devoted to speaking out against societal vice and war.

As the slavery issue began to dominate the national scene, Garrison joined the American Colonization Society, which pushed for colonizing slaves outside the United States. During this time, Garrison met abolitionist Quaker Benjamin Lundy. From

1829 on, Garrison continued to protest injustice in general, but opposition to slavery became the major focus of his work. He co-edited the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* with Lundy, began making public speeches against slavery, and made several trips to Great Britain for the cause of emancipation.

Garrison became increasingly determined on the issue of slavery, which he had come to see as the greatest evil facing society at the time. He left the American Colonization Society and denounced it. Unlike many abolitionists of his day who supported gradual compensated emancipation, Garrison believed that the only way to deal with the slavery dilemma was immediate and complete emancipation.

Garrison had no plan for how the liberated slaves would fit into society, however. He simply denounced the institution of slavery at every opportunity, and his words became increasingly inflammatory. Garrison became so uncompromising that he sometimes alienated even his closest allies.

In 1829, when Garrison accused Francis Todd, a ship owner, of engaging in domestic slave trading, Todd sued Garrison for libel and won. Unable to pay the fine, Garrison was sentenced to six months in jail. He only served seven weeks of his sentence, however, because Arthur Tappan, a wealthy philanthropist, paid the fine. With this unpleasantness behind him, Garrison believed it was time for him to move on, and he parted ways with Lundy in 1830. Before long, Garrison enlisted the help of Isaac Knapp and began publishing the *Liberator*, which became Garrison's antislavery vehicle for the next 35 years.

In the *Liberator*, Garrison expounded on his antislavery philosophy of nonviolent resistance. He believed that moral arguments alone should be enough to exact reform. In a blatant contradiction to his philosophy, however, Garrison called John Brown, who led a violent 1859 attack on Harpers Ferry in the name of destroying slavery, a just martyr. As a rule, Garrison continued to use words instead of swords as weapons. His words were so harsh, in fact, that he sometimes received threats of bodily harm. He also attacked both North and South with equal zeal. In his opinion, the U.S. Constitution should have been replaced because it tacitly protected the institution of slavery. At one point, the state of Georgia found Garrison's words so offensive that it set a reward for his arrest.

In spite of these dangers, Garrison did not retreat. To organize the antislavery movement more effectively, in 1831 he contributed to the creation of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. In 1833, he again played a major role in the creation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. After 1833, however, Garrison's influence in the movement began to diminish because he was regarded as too radical. His attempt to include women's rights in the Society's agenda, for example, met with widespread disapproval and splintered the organization. In 1835, had Boston's Mayor Theodore Lyman not intervened, Garrison would have become a martyr to his cause when an angry mob threatened to hang him. In 1841, Garrison endorsed secession as a way of removing slavery from the country, and in 1854, he publicly burned a copy of the U.S. Constitution.

The Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves in the rebelling states, encouraged the American Anti-Slavery Society groups to reunite and Garrison to support the Union beginning in 1863. After the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, Garrison resigned from the Society and closed down the *Liberator*

in 1865. During Reconstruction, Garrison continued to write editorials in *The Independent* in support of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Garrison died in New York on May 24, 1879.

Rolando Avila

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Emancipation Proclamation; Newspapers (Civil War)

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Gettysburg Address

The “Gettysburg Address” was a short speech delivered by President Abraham Lincoln to commemorate the dedication of the national cemetery located on the former Gettysburg battlefield in southeastern Pennsylvania. The dedication occurred on November 19,



President Abraham Lincoln (circled) speaking at the dedication of Soldiers National Cemetery on the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1863. It is believed this may be the only photo of Lincoln at the dedication where he made the four-minute speech that was to become a world classic. (AP/Wide World Photos)

1863, with Lincoln's address being one part of a larger ceremony. Lincoln spoke alongside Edward Everett (1794–1865), who delivered the main speech that day, known as the Gettysburg Oration.

The overall dedication ceremony was intended to highlight Everett's speech, as he was a well-known orator at the time, while giving Lincoln time to make appropriate remarks out of respect to his office and the nature of the occasion. Lincoln's speech was intended to officially sanctify the ground of the national cemetery, but not have much significance. However, his words were so profound that the two-minute speech is a major part of American history and culture, being memorized by generations of schoolchildren, while Everett's two-hour oration is hardly remembered.

Lincoln's remarks were received with a silent politeness at the ceremony, likely due to his position and the somber mood of the event. Reaction to the speech in the press revolved around partisan lines, with Democratic-leaning newspapers panning the speech, while Republican-leaning publications praised it. The speech was important politically, as Lincoln's reelection was in doubt in November 1863, and Lincoln sought to use the speech to galvanize support for the war by the public.

Scholars dispute the text of the speech, as several copies exist, each with their own differences. The dispute is which copy was the one recited by Lincoln. The Library of Congress houses two drafts of the Address. Three other drafts are in the Lincoln bedroom in the White House, the Abraham Lincoln Library in Springfield, Illinois, and Cornell University respectively. All copies were written by Lincoln, with most being done for charity after the event. One was given to Everett, one to historian George Bancroft, and one more for Colonel Alexander Bliss.

The Library of Congress uses an extensive method for preserving the copies in its collection. According to the Library, the documents are encased in specially designed casings that are housed within an environmentally controlled vault that contains other valuable American treasures of the Library. The cases are made of stainless steel and contain argon gas, which creates an oxygen-free environment that prevents deterioration by oxidation and allows the document to survive to afford many future generations the opportunity to view and study it.

The Gettysburg Address is a remarkable document. Despite its brevity, Lincoln's words both set the tone for the dedication and properly conveyed the spirit of the Union that the men who died there fought for. It echoed the goals of the Founders for the nation and the type of government they desired. While it did not explicitly address the issue of slavery, the references to the cause for which the men fought and died for hinted at the righteousness of fighting for emancipation, which was becoming a cause for the Union. The Gettysburg Address will long remain one of the most significant speeches in American history.

Daniel C. Sauerwein

SEE ALSO Lincoln, Abraham

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Greeley, Horace

Polemicist, newspaper editor/publisher, writer, and politician, who left an indelible imprint upon the thought and political developments before, during, and after the American Civil War. Born in Amherst, New Hampshire, on February 3, 1811, Horace Greeley came from an impoverished farming family forced to move frequently to evade bankruptcy. Largely self-educated, he early gravitated toward a journalism career. First employed as an apprentice printer in Vermont, he moved to New York City in 1831 and worked on various penny dailies. In 1834, he and Jonas Winchester founded *The New-Yorker*, a literary weekly; in 1840, Greeley launched the *Log Cabin*, a paper that endorsed the Whig Party led by William Henry Harrison and that favored Henry Clay's policy of a gradual reduction in protectionist tariffs. Concurrently, Greeley espoused social reform, arguing for the elimination of slavery and capital punishment and stricter controls on alcohol and prostitution. Particularly after the Civil War, he promoted Western settlement, giving currency to the slogan "Go west, young man, go west."

Several years after his marriage in 1836, Greeley and his business partner Thomas McElrath merged *The New-Yorker* and the *Log Cabin* to found the *New York Tribune* (1841), a Whig daily that was to become New York's major newspaper. A galaxy of prominent contributors included Charles Dana, Margaret Fuller, and during the 1850s, even Karl Marx as a European correspondent. Committed to the principle of a free press, Greeley actively opposed the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) and the extension of slavery into the new territories. Likewise, he condemned the Compromise Act and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and, in 1854, opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which gave settlers freedom to choose whether to extend slavery to the area.

Elected to the House of Representatives, he sat as a Whig member from 1848 to 1849. In 1854, he and other prominent northern Whigs founded the Republican Party. In spite of his initial opposition, Greeley supported Abraham Lincoln's nomination as presidential candidate in 1860. As the secession crisis mounted, he initially argued that the Union should let the "erring sisters" go, provided that their withdrawal was based on a true democratic majority among Southern citizens. Even after the outbreak of hostilities, he continued to push for a peaceful solution, a hope that led him to participate in an abortive meeting with southern "peace commissioners" in Niagara Falls, Canada, in 1864. While it is doubtful that Greeley spurred Lincoln's emancipation policy, editorials in the *Tribune* served as powerful calls for the liberation of slaves. During the 1863 New York

Draft Riots, Greeley showed great courage in refusing to vacate the *Tribune* offices and braving a racist mob that had gathered outside the building. His two-volume history of the Civil War, *The American Conflict* (1864 and 1866), although biased, remains one of the most readable contemporary accounts of the conflict.

During the Reconstruction years (1865–1877), Greeley distinguished himself as a moderate voice calling for reconciliation; in 1867, his paper lost many subscribers when he guaranteed bail for ex-Confederate president Jefferson Davis. Initially a supporter of Ulysses S. Grant in the 1868 election, he was soon disillusioned by what he viewed as Grant's vindictive Southern policies and massive government corruption. He thus broke with the Radical Republicans and helped form a new Liberal Republican Party, which nominated him as presidential candidate to run against Grant in the scandal-ridden campaign of 1872. Greeley was soundly defeated largely because his conciliatory Southern policies gained him little support in the populous North. Bankrupt, exhausted, and devastated by the recent death of his wife, he died in Pleasantville, New York, shortly after the election, on November 29, 1872.

Anna M. Wittmann

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Dana, Charles Anderson; Emancipation Proclamation; Lincoln, Abraham

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Harper's Weekly

Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization, a New York based political magazine published by Harper and Brothers, was perhaps the most politically influential magazine during the American Civil War. Rallying support for the Union through editorials, articles, and most notably, illustrations, *Harper's Weekly* employed some of the best illustrators of the time, including Winslow Homer, Livingston Hopkins, and the father of the American political cartoon, Thomas Nast. The magazine was among the most

successful to use illustrations as propaganda (Thompson 22), with many pictures revealing a hatred of Confederates and loyalty to the Union. Established as *Harper's Monthly*, in 1850, it moved to *Harper's Weekly*, in 1857, and had perhaps the largest readership of any American magazine at the time.

Editor Fletcher Harper (1806–1877), traditionally a Democrat, backed Lincoln and the Republicans, positioning his magazine in support of the war. After the Federal defeat at Bull Run (July 1861), *Harper's Weekly* became one of the first publishers to publically support the war by launching a campaign to help increase Union army enlistment. The magazine's illustrations presented unflattering depictions of men who did not enlist and heroic renditions of men serving the Union. Although Fletcher Harper had previously opposed emancipation, he accepted Lincoln's stance and eventually demanded respect and equality for African Americans. However, even after the war started, some illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* portrayed African Americans as inferior to white citizens, but as hatred toward the South increased, slaves became viewed as victims of the hated Confederates. Harper ultimately encouraged the participation of Negro regiments in the war. Around 1863, illustrations began depicting war as brutal and tragic, rather than romanticized, in part because many illustrators were seeing it firsthand, as shown in an April 1864 illustration of "The Press on the Field." Wartime illustrations also portrayed the Confederates as monstrous enemies; the same issue depicts the massacre of the Union Negro troops at Fort Pillow, where Confederate soldiers are shown assaulting unarmed African American soldiers.

Thomas Nast (1840–1922), who was recruited by *Harper's Weekly* in 1862, created illustrations that led Lincoln to describe him as the Union's "best recruiting sergeant." During his more than 20 years with *Harper's Weekly*, Nast designed enduring symbols such as the Republican elephant, Democratic donkey, and Uncle Sam. His 1864 "Compromise with the South," shows a dejected union soldier shaking hands with a haughty Confederate, by a gravestone reading "In memory of the Union Heroes who Fell in a Useless War." The picture describes the platform on which McClellan's was running for president against Lincoln, that compromising with the South would end the war.

After the war, *Harper's Weekly* addressed post-war issues like reconstruction and the continuing mistreatment of freed slaves. Nast's March 30, 1867 illustration of the "Massacre of the Innocents" at New Orleans shows Andrew Johnson as a Roman emperor watching the police charge and kill freed slaves. Other illustrations around that time bolster support for Ulysses Grant's run for presidency, as they had for Lincoln in earlier years.

Sigrid Kelsey

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Bull Run, First Battle of; Lincoln, Abraham; Nast, Thomas; Uncle Sam

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Hotze, Henry

Born on September 2, 1833, in Zurich, Switzerland, Henry Hotze immigrated to the United States in his youth, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1855 and taking up residence in Mobile, Alabama. Harboring strong racial opinions, which included a belief in the innate inferiority of African Americans, Hotze translated into English Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau's, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*. During 1858–1859, Hotze was secretary and chargé d'affaires of the U.S. legation in Brussels. He returned to Mobile to become the associate editor of the *Mobile Register*.

With the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, Hotze joined the Mobile Cadets, which was mustered into the Confederate Army as the 3rd Alabama Regiment and ordered to Virginia in the spring of 1861. On May 30, 1861, he was detached to Richmond as a clerk for the assistant adjunct general and then ordered by Secretary of War Leroy Pope Walker to London to assist Confederate agents and help with the acquisition of munitions and supplies.

Hotze arrived in London on October 5, 1861, via a British steamer out of Canada and soon realized that the Confederate cause required a strong diplomatic and propaganda effort in Europe. He subsequently returned to Richmond, Virginia, and left the army after being named as a commercial agent by Confederate secretary of state Robert M. T. Hunter on November 14, 1861. As a commercial agent, he was charged with the task of utilizing his journalistic talents to influence British public opinion to the Southern cause. Returning to London on January 29, 1862, Hotze's propaganda focused on issues other than cotton, and he paid English journalists to advance his views, along with writing his own articles for the *Morning Post*, the *London Standard*, and the *Herald*.

In May 1862, Hotze created what became one of the best Confederate propaganda venues in Europe, *The Index: A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, and News*, which enjoyed a circulation of more than 2,000 copies throughout the British Isles and France. Hotze's intentions were to convince Western Europe of the correctness of the Confederate cause and promote aid to its government. New Confederate secretary of state Judah P. Benjamin, pleased with Hotze's performance, arranged funding for him to continue his activities in Europe. Hotze viewed *The Index* as his "little kingdom" and intended to continue publishing the paper as a Southern commercial newspaper after the war. However, *The Index* ceased operations in August 1865.

Along with his propaganda activities, Hotze assisted Lord Baron Campbell in writing his speech against the Union blockade, delivered to the House of Lords on March 10, 1862, and he attended an important dinner at Chancellor of the Exchequer William

Gladstone's residence in July 1862 where he stressed that a negotiated settlement between the warring parties could be mediated.

With the end of the hostilities in April 1865, Hotze refused to return to the United States. He remained in Europe working as a journalist. Hotze died in Zug, Switzerland, on April 19, 1887.

R. Ray Ortensie

SEE ALSO Confederacy Propaganda in Europe; Europe as a Propaganda Target; Foreign Reaction toward United States; Newspapers (Civil War)

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“The Hour.” See Propaganda; Confederacy Propaganda in Europe

“The Index.” See Propaganda; Confederacy Propaganda in Europe; Hotze, Henry; Thompson, John Reuben

Lincoln, Abraham

Abraham Lincoln was born near Hodgenville, Kentucky on February 12, 1809; his family moved to Indiana when he was only seven years old. His formal education was limited to a few months in a one-teacher schoolhouse, but he was an avid reader from a young age. He moved to New Salem, Illinois, where he became a shopkeeper and postmaster.



Abraham Lincoln, ca. 1863. Photographed by Mathew B. Brady. (BiographicalImages.com)

Lincoln entered politics in 1834 when he was elected on the Whig ticket to the state assembly, began to read for the law, and was licensed to practice in 1836. He finally settled in Springfield, Illinois and established a successful law practice. Lincoln was elected to the U.S. House of representatives in 1847. He served just one term, during which he made his antislavery position well known; he also opposed the Mexican War.

As a member of the new Republican Party, Lincoln ran for the U.S. Senate against Democrat Stephen Douglas in 1856. Lincoln lost that race, but he garnered much attention during the Lincoln-Douglas Debates concerning slavery in the territories. The Republican Party selected Lincoln as its standard bearer in the 1860 presidential election. In 1861, when Lincoln took

office, his only military experience had come during a few weeks as the captain of an Illinois company militia during the Black Hawk War, during which he had seen no combat.

Although Lincoln's presidency was entirely subsumed by the war, he did prove to be an adept foreign policy maker, managing to keep the peace with Great Britain during the *Trent* Affair and courting international goodwill with the Emancipation Proclamation. As an orator, he was perhaps second to no other president, and he skillfully used his talent to prosecute the war effort and rally the American people. Above all, Lincoln believed that only the unrelenting prosecution of the war would end the bloodshed and restore the Union, and his dedication to this never wavered, even in the face of staggering battlefield casualties and dogged political opposition, including from those in his own cabinet.

When the Civil War began, Lincoln depended on the advice of the army's aged ranking general, Winfield Scott, who called for applying external pressure to the Confederacy while avoiding direct penetration that might excite more fanatic resistance. Scott's program, dubbed the Anaconda Plan, called for a naval blockade of the South and conquest of the Mississippi River.

Lincoln adopted much of Scott's plan but, partially because of political pressure, added a direct thrust against the Confederate capital at Richmond. Brigadier General Irvin McDowell, commanding the Union field army in Virginia, believed his troops were unready, but Lincoln pressed him to advance. The result was the Union defeat in the First Battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861. Lincoln replaced McDowell with Major General George B. McClellan.

West of the Appalachians, department commanders would neither cooperate nor advance. By January 1862, Lincoln was impatient enough to issue General War Order Number One, directing all U.S. naval and land forces to advance on February 22. This was the beginning of Lincoln's awareness that Union victory was to be achieved in simultaneous pressure across the front.

One general heeded Lincoln's order and that was Brigadier Ulysses S. Grant, who in conjunction with naval forces advanced prior to Lincoln's deadline and captured Forts Henry and Donelson, opening the way for Union conquest of the Mississippi Valley.

In Virginia, however, Lincoln faced continued frustration. When McClellan finally revealed his plans to the president, they called for taking his army by water down the Chesapeake Bay to move against Richmond from the east. A reluctant Lincoln acquiesced. McClellan moved slowly, and his Peninsula Campaign ended in futility in the Seven Days' Campaign.

Lincoln removed McClellan from command in August 1862 and transferred his army back to northern Virginia. With the Confederates following up with an invasion of the North, Lincoln was compelled to restore McClellan to command in September; he fought the Confederates to a draw at Antietam (September 17, 1862) but allowed them to escape.

By autumn 1862, the Western Theater had become almost equally frustrating for Lincoln, as the Union drive in the Mississippi Valley had stalled. His patience nearly exhausted, in the West Lincoln replaced Major General Don Carlos Buell with Brigadier General William S. Rosecrans and, in the East, McClellan with Major General Ambrose Burnside.

Burnside suffered a horrific defeat at the hands of Confederate forces at Fredericksburg on December 13 and Grant's two-pronged drive to take Vicksburg also ended in failure on December 29. Lincoln had little choice but to sack Burnside in early 1863, replacing him with the mercurial Major General Joseph Hooker, who had been intriguing against Burnside. Hooker reinvigorated the Army of the Potomac, but suffered an ignominious defeat at Chancellorsville (May 1–4, 1863). Meanwhile Grant's April 1–July 4 Second Vicksburg Campaign ended with a Confederate surrender along with the capture of its 30,000-man garrison.

By now, the victorious Confederate General Robert E. Lee had advanced into Pennsylvania. Lincoln saw the movement as a chance to trap Lee's army and, combined with the western successes, win the war. Hooker proved reluctant to meet Lee in battle again, and Lincoln replaced him with Brigadier General George G. Meade. Three days later, Meade defeated Lee at Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863), but failed to pursue him aggressively back to Virginia.

The following spring, 1864, Lincoln, with congressional approval, made Grant the army's only active lieutenant general, as general in chief. The president's direct role in shaping strategy did not end with this, but it greatly diminished, for Lincoln gave Grant wide latitude. When that summer Lee dispatched another raid to threaten Washington and break Grant's grip on Richmond, Grant held on outside Richmond and dispatched troops who stopped the Confederates at the Washington defenses. By the time of the

April 12, 1865 surrender at Appomattox, Lincoln had assembled a successful team of generals led by an outstanding commanding general, and he himself had become an effective commander-in-chief.

On April 14, 1865, Lincoln was assassinated by Southern sympathizer John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC Lincoln died of his wound the following morning.

Steven E. Woodworth

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Bull Run, First Battle of; Emancipation Proclamation; Gettysburg Address

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Loyal Publication Society

Founded on February 14, 1863, the New York City based Loyal Publication Society distributed pro-union literature during the final three years of the American Civil War. During its existence, the society printed and distributed 900,000 copies of 90 pamphlets advancing interests such as improving morale among union sympathizers and regiments, promoting the abolition of slavery, and endorsing Abraham Lincoln's reelection. With the war's conclusion, its duties were finished and the Society dissolved at its third annual meeting on February 27, 1866.

Members included prominent citizens, such as its president, Columbia University's president Charles King, army colonel William C. Church, bankers, businessmen, and newspaperman. The society was organized into three committees and a Treasurer. The finance committee, with a membership of 12, raised money for the association, an amount that totaled nearly \$30,000 during the society's existence. The publication committee of seven selected the material to distribute, and the nine members on the executive committee printed the material and oversaw its distribution.

The society selected and reprinted anti-Democrat and pro-union articles from large newspapers, distributing them to regiments, smaller newspapers, editors, Union

Leagues, ladies associations, and private individuals. The pamphlets were distributed throughout 10 states and Washington, DC. States in New England received smaller numbers than states like New York and Louisiana because of similar organizations like the New England Loyal Publication Society. Various printers produced the material, with the William Cullen Bryant Company, publisher of the *New York Evening Post*, printing more than any other one printer.

Ranging from 4 to 42 pages in length, the pamphlets, typically reprinted news articles and speeches from Union League meetings. Early pamphlets did not have covers, but later publications came with a paper jacket bearing the seal of the Society. The focal points adjusted to the changing politics and developments in the war. During 1863, the focus of the literature was to boost morale in the regiments, with a few promoting the abolition of slavery. During 1864, the content focused on reelecting Lincoln, and during the society's final year, 1865, they distributed few publications, most of which discussed reconstruction.

The Loyal Publication Society had working relationships with the Boston-based New England Loyal Publication Society, also formed in 1863, and the Union League of Philadelphia. The organizations shared ideas, loaned each other equipment, and helped one another distribute pamphlets. The Union League of Philadelphia gave nearly three thousand dollars to the Loyal Publication Society at one point, so that lack of funding did not force them to discontinue, and when the Loyal Publication Society dissolved, its assets were transferred to the Union League. Privately funded groups like these were important to the Union cause, because they aided in shaping the public sentiments about the war.

Sigrid Kelsey

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Lincoln, Abraham

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Music (Civil War)

The Civil War left a particularly rich musical legacy for subsequent generations, starting with *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* (1861) and *Dixie*, published a year before the war broke out. There were also such popular songs, in both the North and the South, as *When Johnny Comes Marching Home*, *God Save the South*, *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, and *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*.

During the war, the most popular songs, in both North and South, were prewar ballads such as “The Last Rose of Summer” (1813), “Home Sweet Home” (1823), “Annie Laurie” (1835), and “Listen to the Mockingbird” (1853) but songs were being published and distributed at a furious pace, particularly in single-sheet broadsides and small, inexpensive books called “songsters” (which included both lyrics and poems). Over 9,000 new songs were printed in the North during the war. Even in the South, where the materials necessary for publishing were much scarcer, 750 new songs appeared.

The most stirring, “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” went through a number of versions in the years immediately before the Civil War. The song first gained popularity around Charleston, South Carolina, where it was sung as a Methodist Camp Meeting song, particularly in churches belonging to free Blacks but it was after a visit of Julia Ward Howe and her husband to Washington, DC in 1861 that the tune became “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” Howe and her husband, both of whom were active abolitionists, experienced first-hand a skirmish between Confederate and Union troops in nearby Virginia, and heard the troops go into battle singing “John Brown’s Body.” That evening, November 18, 1861, Ward wrote a poem to better fit the music that began “Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.” Her poem, which was published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in February 1862, soon became the song known as “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.”

In the Confederate States, “Dixie” (1859), also known as “I Wish I Was in Dixie,” “Dixie’s Land,” and other titles, was perhaps the Confederacy’s most famous song, a rousing anthem that invoked patriotic fervor. It was originally intended only as a minstrel song and a distinctive product of 19th century musical entertainment. The word has also become a slang term for the southern United States. Its authorship is not clear but credit is usually given to the Ohio-born Daniel Decatur Emmett although others have also claimed it as their work. The second most popular song of the Confederacy was “The Bonnie Blue Flag” (1861).

For Northerners especially, victory songs were popular, most famously “Marching Through Georgia” (early 1865), which celebrated the march of General William Sherman and his Union forces after he split the Confederacy by marching from the burning ruins of Atlanta to the port city of Savannah, Georgia, in the fall and early winter of 1864. Despite the hatred it engendered, it became an accepted classic in American patriotic music and it was popular during World War II. Another song on the same theme was “Sherman’s March to the Sea,” composed after a Negro slave, Lieutenant Samuel H. M. Byers, read about Sherman’s notorious march.

Two songs with Civil War origins still popular today were “Maryland, My Maryland” (1861) and “Shenandoah” although their fame was different. “Maryland, My Maryland” is today the state song of Maryland and the most famous song of its author, James Ryder Randall, but it was originally written for the Confederate cause. Its music was the same as the popular holiday song, “O Christmas Tree.”

“Shenandoah,” on the other hand, one of America’s most recognizable folk tunes, remains one of the most enigmatic as it is impossible to determine exactly when the song was composed, yet the song probably did not originate later than the Civil War. In any case, by the end of the 19th century, “Shenandoah” had achieved widespread popularity

and it was the title of a 1965 film and 1975 Broadway musical, both set in the Confederate state of Virginia.

Other songs of the Civil War that achieved a semblance of popularity included “Somebody’s Darling,” one of the most sentimental songs of the Civil War. It was written by Marie Ravenal de la Coste, from Savannah, Georgia. Others were “Weeping, Sad and Lonely” (“When This Cruel War Is Over”), the most popular song of the war to focus on how that conflict separated sweethearts everywhere; “Stonewall Jackson’s Way” (1863); “Tenting on the Old Camp Ground” (1863); “Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!” (1863); “We Are Coming, Father Abra’am”; “The Battle Cry for Freedom” (1862); “Just Before the Battle, Mother” (1862); and “Kingdom Coming” (1862). Satirical songs, important in every war, included “Grafted Into the Army” which mocked the draft, the result of the Conscription Act of 1863, which necessitated a non-volunteer Union army.

Most of these songs were regional, appealing either to the North or to the South, but there were two songs that were attractive to both sides in the conflict. The first was “When Johnny Comes Marching Home,” written by Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, who led a number of bands in the Boston area, including Patrick Gilmore’s Band. At the beginning of the Civil War in September 1861, the band enlisted as a group in the Union Army and was attached to the 24th Massachusetts Infantry. Gilmore’s band served both as musicians and stretcher bearers at such horrific battles as Bull Run, Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Richmond. Gilmore was posted to occupied New Orleans, Louisiana in 1863 and, as Grand Master of the Union Army, ordered to reorganize the state military bands. It was at this time that he claimed to have composed the words and music to “When Johnny Comes Marching Home.” First published in 1863, it bore the dedication “To the Army and Navy of the Union” and became it popular with northerners and southerners alike.

The song also gave rise to the inevitable parodies. The best known was the Confederate one, “For Bales.” Union soldiers sang about Generals such as Burnside, McClellan, and Mead in a parody titled “Boys of the Potomac” and northerners disgruntled by taxes, conscription, and inflation sang “Johnny, Fill up the Bowl.” During the Spanish American War in 1898, “When Johnny Comes Marching Home” reached new heights of popularity.

The second song that appealed to both sides was the popular sentimental ballad “Lorena” (1857), an antebellum song actually written in 1856 by a northerner, Rev. Henry D. L. Webster, after a broken engagement to his sweetheart. It started as a long poem about his former fiancée but he changed her name to “Lorena,” an adaptation of “Lenore” from Edgar Allan Poe’s poem, “The Raven.” Webster’s friend, Joseph Philbrick Webster, wrote the music. The song was first published in Chicago in 1857. It became a favorite of soldiers of both sides during the American Civil War as they thought of their wives and girlfriends back home when they heard the song although it is highly unlikely it was responsible for the South’s defeat as one Confederate officer believed. He thought that soldiers grew so homesick when they heard the rather mournful song that they became homesick and consequently lost their willingness to fight!

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

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Myths and Slogans. See Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

Nast, Thomas

Thomas Nast was an illustrator for *Harper's Weekly* during the Civil War, using his artwork to shape opinions, boost morale, and report the news about battles and political events. His artwork also popularized the now enduring symbols of the Democratic donkey, the Republican elephant, and Uncle Sam. Like most of the wartime reporting, his career-launching illustrations for the pro-Union newspaper during the war did not attempt to be unbiased; rather they presented scathing attacks on the rebels while portraying Union soldiers as courageous heroes, and later in the war, helped to reelect Lincoln. The resulting a body of work earned him the title of the father of the American political cartoon and led Lincoln to declare him the North's "best recruiting sergeant." In total, approximately sixty illustrations by Thomas Nast appeared in *Harper's Weekly* during the Civil War.

Nast was born in Landau, Germany, just east of the French border, on September 27, 1840, to Thomas, a musician, and Apollonia (Apers) Nast. When he was six years old, he, his mother, and his older sister moved to New York City with his father joining them shortly thereafter. Interested in art from an early age, Nast studied under a German painter named Theodore Kaufmann, and then later at the Academy of Design.

In 1855, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, a 16-page newspaper, launched, and Nast, aged 15, started illustrating for it. During his three years at that newspaper, he studied illustrating techniques and symbols, and when *Harper's Weekly*



Picture showing Confederate and Yankee shaking hands over grave. Tombstone reads, "In Memory of the Union-Heroes who fell in a use-less war. Columbia is kneeling at the grave." Cartoon by Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, September 3, 1864. (Library of Congress)

launched in 1857, Nast determined to join the new newspaper. By the time *Harper's Weekly* hired Nast in 1862, it had a circulation of over 120,000, the largest circulation of any American illustrated newspaper. Nast would continue to work for *Harper's* for more than 20 years, with the bulk of his creative output appearing in that newspaper.

Harper's Weekly published six of his illustrations in 1862, beginning with "A Gallant Color-Bearer," appearing on the cover of the September 20, 1862 issue. "Santa Claus in Camp," on the cover of the January 3, 1863, shows Santa dressed in patriotic stars and stripes, bestowing gifts to Northern soldiers, including a puppet of Jefferson Davis, which Santa is holds by a string from his neck. Nast's other Christmas illustrations popularized the image of Santa as a jolly rotund figure who lives at the North Pole. Many of his illustrations at this time contain allegorical figures now also a part of American culture, like Columbia and Uncle Sam. During 1863, *Harper's Weekly* published 32 of Nast's illustrations, representing the peak of his output during the Civil War.

In 1863, Nast began to observe the war firsthand, visiting camps and battlefields to witness the scenes himself. As a result, Nast's illustrations shift from symbolic representations and romanticized visions of war heroes to showing the realistic and tragic side of war. A two-page illustration in an 1863 issue captioned "Historic Examples of Southern Chivalry; Dedicated to Jeff. Davis" is particularly brutal in its representation of the

Southern soldiers. The depicts the Confederates committing monstrosities against Northerners, with smaller captions within the page explaining the scenes, for example, “Southern Women Gloating over Dead Union Soldiers,” “Stabbing Wounded Union Soldiers,” and “Throwing Sick and Wounded U.S. Soldiers in the Road to Die.” The center of the illustration shows a Confederate holding up the decapitated head of presumable a Union soldier, at the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas).

His work for the union continued in 1864, with five cartoons helping reelect Lincoln. Nast’s 1865 illustration, “Compromise with the South—Dedicated to the Chicago Convention” depicts a dejected Union soldier shaking hands with a triumphant Confederate soldier, near a gravestone reading, “In memory of the Union Heroes who Fell in a Useless War.” The illustration describes the platform on which McClellan’s was running for the presidency, and that was compromising with the South in order to end the war. Nast clearly illustrates the viewpoint that adopting this platform would be conceding defeat for the North.

The Civil War ended when Nast was still a young man. He continued working for *Harper’s Weekly*, illustrating cartoons for political campaigns. After the war, *Harper’s Weekly* addressed post-war issues like reconstruction and the continuing mistreatment of freed slaves. Nast’s March 30, 1867 illustration of the “Massacre of the Innocents” at New Orleans shows Andrew Johnson as a Roman emperor watching the police charge and kill freed slaves. Other illustrations around that time bolster support for Ulysses Grant’s run for presidency, as they had for Lincoln in earlier years. Grant proclaimed of Nast that he did as “much as any one man to preserve the Union and bring the war to an end.” Nast died on December 7, 1902.

Sigrid Kelsey

SEE ALSO Bull Run, First Battle of; *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*; *Harper’s Weekly*; Lincoln, Abraham; Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

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Newspapers (Civil War)

Civil War era newspapers, from the one-sheet daily papers to the illustrated weeklies, provided the principal means of information for citizens to learn about news events during the war. The information therein was almost always biased, and depending on the title, showed support or outrage for the union, confederacy, abolition, and a host of other political and wartime matters. Newspapers strived to shape public opinion about the war, boost morale, and campaign for enlistment for whichever side they supported.

Typical Civil War newspapers were issued either daily or weekly. With a circulation of 1.4 million a day, daily newspapers accounted for only about ten percent of the over 3700 America newspapers in circulation at the beginning of the war (Coopersmith xv). In New York City, 300,000 people bought a daily newspaper in the year preceding the war, and the onset of war increased the citizens' hunger for news, and likewise, newspaper circulation. The New York daily newspapers doubled production during the first week of the war, with sales spiking throughout the war during pivotal events (Coopersmith xiv). Moreover, newspaper offices were frequently swamped with customers eager for the latest wartime news, so that news was posted on bulletin boards at the office.

The format for daily newspapers consisted of one large sheet of paper, folded in half to create four pages. A few of the larger dailies, like *The New York Times*, produced two folded sheets, for a total of eight pages. Articles in the daily newspapers were usually short, because the information for them was most often sent by telegraph, and rarely did they contain illustrations. Daily newspapers were commonly packaged into a weekly or semi-weekly edition, which was delivered by mail to subscribers outside of the city, whereas the daily editions were carried to local subscribers or sold on the street.

Weekly illustrated newspapers circulated widely at the time of the Civil War. Unlike dailies, weeklies published illustrations and political cartoons. The most popular illustrated weekly newspaper of the time was the pro-union *Harper's Weekly*, and other titles of the kind included *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and the *New York Illustrated News*. With a longer production schedule, weeklies had time to turn out illustrations of wartime events that did not appear in the dailies. The weeklies could produce illustrations in 10 days to 2 weeks after an event—faster than ever before.

Pro-Union *Harper's Weekly* employed the best illustrators available, including German-born Thomas Nast, whose artwork of the time period has popularized enduring symbols like the Republican elephant, the Democrat donkey, and Uncle Sam. Abraham Lincoln proclaimed Nast the union's "best recruiting sergeant" because of his illustrations designed to boost enrollment and morale. Throughout the war, *Harper's Weekly* published illustrations of battles, cartoons depicting political events or urging men to enlist in the union army, and protesting against the treatment of African Americans. Recognizing the magazine's influence, The War Department went so far as to suspend its production in April 1862, concerned that two maps published in that issue gave "aid and comfort to the enemy."

William Lloyd Garrison published the *Observer* from 1831 to 1865. Based in Boston, it was the most extreme abolitionist newspaper, calling for the immediate emancipation of all slaves. His newspaper was influential enough to provoke the state of Georgia into offering a \$5,000 reward for his capture, and slaveholders to demand that the newspaper cease publication. Garrison closed his paper when the war ended, stating that his "vocation as an abolitionist is ended," and he spent his remaining days campaigning for women's suffrage.

Henry N. Walker took over as editor of the *Detroit Free Press* when William Storey left during the first months of the war. The paper, although Northern, was strongly

Democrat, antiabolitionist, and racist. Walker published racist editorials, and when Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, the paper denounced it.

Most papers of the era had their origins in politics, and besides some notable exceptions, like the *Detroit Free Press*, the majority of Northern editors and writers supported the relatively new Republican political party and were pro-union, while Southern papers usually supported the Democratic party and defended the succession. Slavery was a delicate topic among Northern newspapers, with some focusing on pro-union platforms that avoided the topic altogether, such as defending the government and punishing the Southern traitors, but a handful of Abolitionist newspapers argued fiercely for their cause. While many Southern papers defended slavery, they also argued for state sovereignty and protection against Northern aggressors.

Sigrid Kelsey

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Emancipation Proclamation; Garrison, William Lloyd; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*; *Harper's Weekly*; Lincoln, Abraham; Nast, Thomas

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Photography (Civil War)

"Infancy" is the single most common term used when historians describe the field of photography during the American Civil War, and for good reason. The technology was utterly primitive, requiring subjects to hold still for long exposure periods and the use of dangerous chemicals to develop the latent images after a "wet plate" was exposed. Understanding Civil War photography, therefore, requires at least a little understanding of the technology available at that time.

The first commercially viable means of creating an exact visual image on a lasting medium was developed by the Frenchman Louis Daguerre in 1839. His laborious process initially included an extremely long exposure time. Moreover, it also exposed the photographer, who was usually the person who not only took the picture but also was the one who "developed" the image, to mercury vapors. Obviously, this was not a good

thing, but it would be some time before the medical effects of mercury exposure were understood. In the meantime, the process became an international sensation across Europe and the United States. Indeed, in the 1840s celebrity scientist-engineer Samuel Morse (inventor of the Morse code) promulgated and popularized the technique of taking “daguerreotypes” to such a degree that by the early 1850s there were some 70 daguerreotype studios in New York City alone. The studios were a necessity because of the large amount of equipment needed to produce the images and the need to immediately process the exposed glass “plate” using chemicals in a darkroom.

In the years immediately preceding the war, two new advances occurred that set the stage for Civil War photography “in the field,” as well as removing the minor problem of the chemicals being used actually killing the photographers over time: the “ambrotype” (1854) and the tintype (1856). These new processes for capturing an image on either glass or a tin plate were the product of a technology known as the “collodion wet plate process,” which allowed for both a shorter exposure time and, in the case of the ambrotype, for reproduction of the images through the creation of a “negative.” American studios, while not entirely abandoning the daguerreotype, very quickly adopted the new options. With these new procedures, pictures could be recorded more quickly, developed more easily, and used chemicals that might be stored and used almost anywhere that a darkroom could be set up.

The earliest known photographs of war are a handful of daguerreotypes taken during the Mexican War. Most of these were made by an anonymous local photographer and show American troops in and around Saltillo, Mexico, while another surviving daguerreotype shows volunteer troops in Exeter, New Hampshire, getting ready to leave for Mexico in 1846.

There is no dispute over the fact that the most celebrated photographer of the Civil War was Mathew Brady. Born ca. 1832 in upstate New York, he was the son of Irish immigrants. Brady had some artistic talent and, in the early 1840s, he set out to make his mark in New York City. By the age of 22, demonstrating a talent for business as well as art, Brady had established his own Daguerreotype studio in the city. In the 1850s, ever an “early adopter” of new technologies, Brady began offering ambrotypes in his newly relocated studio in Washington, DC. By the time that the Civil War began in 1861, Brady was a well-established name with several employees running the studio for him while he solicited new business among the rich and the powerful. (It appears that in the late 1850s his eyesight began to deteriorate, partially necessitating this change in his business from that of a single “artist” to a larger quasi-brand name effort.)

It was Brady who apparently was the first to have both the idea, and the resources, to outfit a traveling darkroom/photography studio. Mounted on a fairly large carriage chassis, Brady’s innovation allowed him to take to the field, with the U.S. Army’s cooperation, and photograph the Union Army in its campsites. His first major foray, to the disastrous (for the Union) battlefield near Bull Run Creek, was cut short by the near complete collapse of the Union Army. Thereafter it appears that Brady himself rarely ventured far from Washington. Instead, he would dispatch teams of his employees with one of a couple of different traveling darkroom/studios, while he would remain in the



Dead Confederate soldier at the Devil's Den, a rocky outcropping on the battlefield in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in July 1863. (Library of Congress)

city and attend to the business side of things. All photos taken by his employees, and there were eventually more than a dozen of them, were displayed and sold as “Photos by Brady.”

This lack of credit for their own work rankled more than a few of Brady's employees, perhaps none so more than the manager of Brady's studio and one of its most accomplished photographers, Alexander Gardner. The man probably had a right to his attitude, as it was Gardner who actually took some of the most famous photos of the war. Particularly rankling, apparently, were the path-breaking images displayed in Brady's studio in late 1862 entitled, “The Dead at Antietam,” all of which appeared under the “Photos by Brady” label though the images were actually taken by Gardner and another man. It was the first time that most Americans had seen a photograph of the true costs of the conflict and the series was an instant smash.

Gardner opened his own DC-based studio soon after that happened and almost immediately hired away a large percentage of Brady's staff, promising them credit for their photographs. It was Gardner who, again among the first photographers to arrive in the wake of a major battle, took another infamous photo of a dead soldier. This one was of a Confederate “sniper” in the “Devils Den” portion of the battlefield at

Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. What was not known at the time (and would not be known for more than a century) was that Gardner and his assistant had used the same dead Confederate in several shots taken in the area, dragging the body from location to location so as to get the best artistic effect.

These are probably the best-known Civil War photographers. Other well-known photographers were George Barnard who accompanied General Sherman on his march through the South in 1864–1865, and Captain Andrew J. Russell, attached to the U.S. Military Railroads Bureau, who may have been the only official military photographer.

Civil War photographers with the Union forces had great freedom of action, within technical limitations, little censorship, and slowly moving armies. The battlefield photographer, limited to shooting the aftermath of battle, did not shy away from showing the reality of dead bodies and ruined buildings.

Robert Bateman

SEE ALSO Barnard, George Norton; Brady, Mathew; Bull Run, First Battle of

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Presidential Proclamation of May 18, 1864

On May 18, 1864, a proclamation signed by President Abraham Lincoln appeared in two New York newspapers, *New York Journal of Commerce* and *New York World* that called for a day of “fasting, humiliation and prayer” and ordered the conscription an additional 400,000 soldiers to put down the rebellion. The solemn wording of the proclamation implied significant military reverses for the Union on the battlefield. Fearing that the war would continue to drag on for years, investors at the New York Stock Exchange that morning bought gold and the price increased 10 percent.

By late morning, many in New York City wondered why the proclamation appeared in only two newspapers. Major General John A. Dix, commander of the Department of the East, informed Secretary of State William Seward of the publication of the proclamation.

Seward soon replied with a short telegram addressed to the American public stating that the proclamation was “an absolute forgery.”

Dix launched his own investigation of the incident and learned that the forged New York Associated Press dispatch arrived at each of the city’s newspapers around three thirty in the morning but was only published in the *New York Journal of Commerce* and *New York World*. The other local papers had managed to discover the forgery before going to print. Dix reported later in the afternoon to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton that the proclamation was nothing more than a “gross fraud” and concluded that it was a simple case of wartime speculation. News of a military failure would produce a sharp rise in the price of gold and one could make a fortune if they bought large amounts of gold on the exchange prior to the publication of the proclamation. By tracking those who had recently made large purchases of gold, Dix was confident he could find the perpetrators.

President Lincoln was furious, considered the proclamation an act of treason, and believed it gave “aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and to the rebels now at war against the Government.” Lincoln ordered Dix to arrest and imprison the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the two newspapers and to take possession of their printing establishments. Dix procrastinated in carrying out the president’s orders, believing that the proclamation was nothing more than a plot by someone looking to get rich quick, and that the editors of the newspapers were victims of the forged proclamation, not the ones responsible for it. However, after receiving an angry telegram from Stanton commanding him to carry out his orders, Dix arrested the editors of both papers, closed their offices, and those of the Independent Telegraph Company. The editors were only detained briefly and released, but the newspapers were shut down until May 22.

Meanwhile, two days after the publication of the bogus proclamation, Dix captured the perpetrators, Francis A. Mallison, a reporter for the *Brooklyn Eagle*, and Joseph Howard Jr., the city editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*. Mallison admitted that he was an accomplice to the crime but that Howard planned the scheme. Howard made a full confession and explained that his motivation was financial gain. He explained that he invested heavily in gold on May 17, and then sent the bogus proclamation, with Mallison’s help, to the various newspapers in the city that night. After its publication the next morning, he sold his investment and profited handsomely. Howard was sent to Fort Lafayette, where he only served a three-month sentence before being released by President Lincoln on August 22, 1864. Mallison was also sent to Fort Lafayette and was released September 23, 1864.

The response by the Lincoln administration to the publication of the bogus proclamation received harsh criticism for suppressing the newspapers and for the seizure of the Independent Telegraph Company, which had nothing to do with the hoax. The administration’s handling of the incident is significant since it is the only time that the president himself ordered the arrest of editors and the closure of newspapers and it came at a pivotal time of the war, especially with the presidential nominations and election looming. The bogus proclamation affair clearly demonstrated how the wartime system of public communication in the United States could be undermined. As a result of this event, the

government reestablished exclusive control over the news, most notably by connecting the lines of the Independent Telegraph Company with the War Department, subjecting them to governmental supervision and censorship.

James Scythes

SEE ALSO Lincoln, Abraham; Newspapers (Civil War)

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Press Association

Six days after the surrender of Fort Sumter, South Carolina, the Associated Press of New York cut its telegraph lines in the South. This left the newspapers of the Confederacy without any cooperative ways to gather or to distribute news. To solve this, Southern editors made several attempts to create an organization that would make it easier for them to get the news to their readers in the midst of what were becoming increasingly difficult communication problems.

The editors established the Confederate Press Association (CPA) in March 1863 as a cooperative news service; it provided war news for the South’s dailies and weeklies. It had 27 permanent correspondents in the field and 6 “occasional” reporters who would report on local news for the wire service’s 40-plus members who received a limited amount of copy, usually only 3,500 words of news each week.

From the beginning, the CPA faced problems, including an uncooperative Richmond press and the loss of key newspapers over the course of the war, but through the efforts of an aggressive superintendent and a group of dedicated members, the CPA continued to serve the essential needs of the South’s readers for war news.

CPA was based in Atlanta and it provided news to subscribing newspapers from 1863 until the end of the war. For example, a CPA correspondent was filing stories by daily telegraph as Joseph E. Johnston’s Army of Tennessee was trying to block Union General William Sherman’s invasion into North Carolina. As a trade association, CPA worked out agreements with Southern commanders for access to military information and the Southern Congress for copyrights on news stories.

The CPA was also a source of news from the North. The exchange of Northern newspapers was often received from the Confederate Signal Bureau, a branch of the

Confederate Secret Service, that regularly received mail from Washington, DC In return, Southern editors willingly published these stories, often giving them a negative interpretation. For its part, CPA hired an agent and provided him with the necessary funds to get these newspapers through the lines.

During the Civil War, CPA was partly responsible for the evolution of journalistic standards since it was a mutual news-gathering service, a wire service and a trade association, Its standards were accepted by local writers whose copy had to adapt to CPA rules that Press Association dispatches had to be timely, truthful and accurate, and news stories, especially intelligence items, were not to be scooped by others.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Civil War)

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Press Coverage

The called themselves, not without some justification, "The Bohemian Brigade." Some of them carried weapons. A few found themselves working as de facto staff officers for senior generals. They ranged the gamut physically and intellectually, but these men of the Bohemian Brigade shared two things in common. They were civilians and they were journalists covering the Union side of the American Civil War.

Their self-selected name is itself descriptive. In the mid-19th Century, the term "Bohemian" was still fairly fresh. In common usage it referred to an attitude of urbane disinterest coupled with a caustic wit and a self-acknowledged sense of elitism. Most American journalists of the time barely approached the model, but they did enjoy the comparison. These personal characteristics, of course, put many of the members of the Bohemians into a direct collision course with that most plebian of professions, the one that they were covering, the U.S. military.

In 1860, there was no such thing as a dedicated "defense intellectual," let alone a whole sub-field of journalism focused upon issues relating to the Army and the Navy, and why would there be? In the years preceding the American Civil War, the U.S. Army ranged in size from a few thousand to as many as 25,000, dispersed across an entire continent. The Navy, for its part, had few ships capable of more than coastal movement, fielding just a handful of moderate sized frigates and only a very few of the larger ships that would then have been known as "Line of Battle Ships" (now more commonly known



The *New York Herald's* wagon in the field near Bealton, Virginia, in August 1863. Newspapers played a vital role for both the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War. Whether they were agitating for or against slavery or reporting battlefield details, newspapers served as lightning rods for public opinion, informing both the public and government leaders alike. (Library of Congress)

as “Battleships”). America was a nation that paid little attention to the military in general and journalism then as now, reports on the things that interest the reading public.

It is no surprise then that when the war finally did come in April 1861, much of the initial reporting reflected this almost complete lack of knowledge or understanding about things military in general, and warfare in particular. But then at the outset nobody on either side, military or civilian, expected the conflict to last more than one or two glorious rounds of fighting before the issue was settled and the nation returned to peace.

Compounding the issue of a lack of basic knowledge about the topic that they were sent to cover (the raising, equipping, training, and then fighting of armies) was another problem that afflicted early journalism: blatant and thorough political partisanship.

Journalism was then in its infancy as a craft, let alone as a proto-profession. Bedrock tenants of modern journalism such as political neutrality, accuracy, fact-checking, and objective analysis were, if not wholly unknown, then at least vanishingly tiny when compared to the forces of partisanship. Almost all newspapers were specifically geared towards a readership of a particular political inclination. Some newspapers published pro-Republican news and commentary (the two were not yet distinct either), some went the route of the pro-War Democrats, while others adopted and supported the planks of the antiwar “Copperhead” Democrats. All of these papers deeply infused their particular political stance into the reporting, the story selection, the story placement, and the editing applied.

Smaller newspapers, and there were thousands at the time, often offered a locally recruited man serving in a locally raised regiment, a small fee for sending home news from the hometown unit and allowing them to publish the message. These reports, uncensored, unfiltered, and often quite crude and parochial, came straight from the battlefields and reflected all the limitations of what an individual line soldier might see in a smoke-filled battlefield within his own particular unit, as well as immediate and direct news (often inaccurate) of things like casualties and morale.

With all of these factors in play, one can easily see how the quality of Civil War journalism varied wildly. To be sure, eventually some truly standout journalists did appear, men such as H. Whitelaw Reid, Henry Villard and Charles Coffin. But in truth, they were the exception, and before they came to the fore, there was quite a lot of substandard reporting and even outright deception. Battles were reported as having occurred by reporters who were not there (though they reported themselves as an “eye-witness”) on days when no conflict took place. Other reporters abandoned any skepticism they might have had and reported the stories of any old soldier they could find . . . which at the Battle of Shiloh resulted in initial reports of a massive Union defeat (the battle was a Union victory) because the reporters only interviewed those who had run away from the front lines and who were therefore accessible in the rear areas.

Journalism in the American Civil War was devoutly partisan, rife with mistakes and deliberate deceptions, and almost wholly unreliable for understanding the whole of any issue, let alone any battle. Yet it stands as the first example of a truly deep effort to report on the utter chaos that is war.

Robert Bateman

SEE ALSO Censorship of News Media during Wartime (Civil War); Copperhead Press; Newspapers (Civil War)

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Prisoners of War. See Committee on the Conduct of the War

Richardson, Albert Deane

Albert Deane Richardson, journalist, was born in Franklin, Massachusetts, October 6, 1833, the son of Elisha Richardson by his second wife, Harriet Blake. He attended the public schools and the Holliston Academy, and then taught schools in Medway and other nearby towns. At eighteen, he planned to travel to the West but he only made it as far as Pittsburgh where he taught school, worked on a newspaper, studied shorthand, wrote farces for Barney Williams, the actor, and acted on the stage. In 1852, Richardson went to Cincinnati where he wrote for various newspapers. In April 1855, he married Mary Louise Pease of Cincinnati; they had five children. In 1867, he took his family to Sumner, Kansas, near Atchison, but he spent much of his time at Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Topeka as a correspondent for the *Boston Journal*. He also served as adjutant-general of the Territory and secretary of the legislature. In 1859, he accompanied Horace Greeley and Henry Villard to Pike's Peak and traveled by himself through the Southwest, which was then little-known territory.

A year later, he went to New Orleans as secret correspondent for the *New York Daily Tribune* where he undertook several dangerous assignments that almost, on occasion, resulted in his being lynched. During the Civil War, he became the chief correspondent for the *Tribune*. On May 3, 1863, while attempting, with fellow correspondents Junius Henri Browne of the *Tribune* and Richard T. Colburn of the *New York World*, to run past the Confederate batteries at Vicksburg in a tugboat, Richardson was captured; he spent the next 18 months in various Confederate prisons. On December 18, 1864, he and Browne made their escape and a month later they arrived at the Union lines near Knoxville, Tennessee, but while Richardson was making his escape, his wife and an infant daughter, whom he had never seen, died at his parents' home in Massachusetts.

Richardson wrote two books based on his experiences. His first, *The Secret Service, the Field, the Dungeon, and the Escape* (1865), detailed his adventures in the Civil War. The second, *Beyond the Mississippi* (1866), described his earliest adventures in Kansas. His *Personal History of Ulysses S. Grant* (1868) was considered superior to the ordinary campaign biography. After his death, his widow collected his miscellaneous writings as *Garnered Sheaves* (1871).

He died suddenly. In 1869, he became engaged to marry Abby Sage McFarland, who had recently been divorced from her husband, Daniel McFarland, who had pronounced paranoiac tendencies. On November 25, 1869, McFarland shot Richardson at his desk in the *Tribune* office. Richardson died a week later at the Astor House, on December 2, 1869. On his deathbed, he married Mrs. McFarland. At his murder trial, McFarland was acquitted.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Civil War)

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Stowe, Harriet Beecher. See *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Thompson, John Reuben

John Reuben Thompson, editor, poet, and staunch secessionist, was born in Richmond, Virginia, on October 23, 1823, the son of John Thompson of New Hampshire and Sarah Dyckman Thompson of New York. He attended the University of Virginia from 1840 to 1842, read law in the office of James A. Seddon, and returned to the law class of the university, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1845. For two years, he practiced law in Richmond. His father, then a prosperous merchant, purchased for him *The Southern Literary Messenger*, which he owned from 1847 to 1853, then continued as editor until 1860.

In 1854, Thompson sailed to Europe. His travel sketches were printed in 1856 as *Across the Atlantic*, but the whole edition was destroyed in a New York fire, except for one volume. Thompson left the *Messenger* in 1860 to become editor of a weekly publication in Augusta, Georgia, the *Southern Field and Fireside* but when Virginia seceded from the Union, Thompson became one of the staunchest supporters of the Confederacy. In addition to his duties as assistant secretary of the Commonwealth of Virginia, he helped edit the *Richmond Record* and *The Southern Illustrated News* and wrote poems (“Music in Camp,” “The Burial of Latane,” “Lee to the Rear,” “The Window-Panes at Brandon,” and “Ashby”) that revered the Southern way of life and its traditions. When his health failed, Thompson resigned his office and he ran the blockade to England in July 1864, where he was the chief writer on *The Index*, the pro-Confederate journal created by Henry Hotze that included latest direct intelligence from the South, foreign correspondence, advertisements, and pleas for Southern prisoner-of-war relief. In England, his influence was especially helpful to the Southern cause because of his wide friendship among celebrated British writers such as the Brownings and William Thackeray. After the defeat of the South, he supported himself in England as a journalist and as a writer for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and he helped edit *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence* (September 1865–June 1866; published in two volumes in 1866) from the notebooks of Major Heros von Borcke.

In September 1866, Thompson returned to the United States as American correspondent for the *London Standard*. In April 1867, he left Virginia for New York where he was appointed by William Cullen Bryant to the literary editorship of the *New York Evening*

Post, a position he held until the tuberculosis forced him to seek rest in Colorado in 1873. He died in New York on April 30, 1873; he was buried in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO American Civil War “Propaganda”; Confederacy Propaganda in Europe; Europe as a Propaganda Target; Hotze, Henry; Williams, James

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Trent Affair. See **Foreign Reaction toward United States**

Uncle Sam. See **entry in Chapter 2**

Uncle Tom's Cabin

Written by New Englander Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), this powerful propaganda novel that attacked slavery was a major mouthpiece of the abolitionist movement, a powerful indictment of slavery that was first serialized in the *National Era* between June 5, 1851 and April 1, 1852. It drew on the familiar genre of the slave narrative cast in a fictional tale with regional types and racy slang. It contributed significantly to the abolitionist movement.

The book was an antislavery tract, with a rather sentimental plot, that provoked strong attitudes, both positive and negative, towards the slavery question and it had propaganda value to both sides in the Civil War as well as abroad. It was heavily attacked by southerners who argued that Stowe distorted plantation life but President Lincoln allegedly called her “the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war” when she visited the White House in 1862.

Stowe had no experience with plantation life and her book was strongly influenced by Lydia Child's *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (1933) and



Harriet Beecher Stowe is famous as the author of the best-selling antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which so aroused northern feeling against slavery in the United States that it is considered one of the causes of the American Civil War. (National Archives)

Theodore Weld's classic work, *American Slavery As It Is* (1839) with their attacks on the atrocities of the slave system. The story was originally written as installments in the Washington, DC, antislavery newspaper, *National Era*. In its first year of publication (1851), it sold more than 300,000 copies. The book was an antislavery tract, with a rather sentimental plot that introduced characters such as Tom, George, Eliza, Topsy, "the angelic little Eva" and the slave-master, Simon Legree, and provoked strong attitudes, both positive and negative, towards the slavery question. The novel was later condemned by African-American groups as tokenism and "Uncle Tom" became a derogatory term for a black man who helped the white cause. As a response to her critics, Stowe published *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853). Today "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is considered a "period" piece with its quaint story and characters.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Lincoln, Abraham; Slavery Issue

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U.S. Signal Corps

The U.S. Army Signal Corps was created on June 21, 1860, when Congress, at the recommendation of the Secretary of War, passed an act that appropriated money to procure equipment and apparatus for a system of signal communication based on a plan devised by Albert J. Myer, an assistant Army surgeon. The act authorized the appointment of a

Signal Officer on the Army's staff, under the Secretary of War, to have charge of all signal duty and all books, papers, and apparatus connected with the office. Myer was appointed to the post as the first Signal Officer, with the rank of major, effective June 27, 1860. Two weeks later, he was ordered to the Department of New Mexico to participate in the campaign against hostile Navajos.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Myer was recalled from the West to establish a signal system for the Union Army on General McClellan's staff in August 1861 but he eventually became Chief Signal Officer of the Army of the Potomac. With his assistants, trained at several camps of instruction, he set up headquarters in the Georgetown section of Washington, DC. On March 3, 1863, Congress passed an act providing for a separate Signal Corps. For the duration of the war, Myer maintained an operation of some 2,900 officers and enlisted men, although not all at the same time.

A conflict over the control of telegraphic communication developed between the Signal Officer and the Superintendent of the United States Military Telegraph, a civilian bureau within the War Department that was responsible for telegraph service before the Signal Officer returned from the West. Myer was unsuccessful in this administrative battle but he did succeed temporarily in obtaining signal telegraph trains for a portable telegraph system. However, a later attempt by the Signal Officer, in fall 1863, to gain some control over the electric telegraphs resulted in the removal of the portable system from the jurisdiction of the Signal Corps, the transfer of the telegraph trains to the United States Military Telegraph, and the relief of Myer as Chief Signal Officer.

At the end of the Civil War, the Signal Corps and the United States Military Telegraph were terminated but an act of July 28, 1866, fixing the military peace establishment, provided for a Chief Signal Officer and a limited Corps. For the next two decades, the most important military activity of the Signal Corps was the extension and operation of military telegraph lines along the frontier where commercial lines were not yet available.

During the Spanish American War of 1898 and the Philippine Insurrection, the Corps rendered an important service in its construction, rehabilitation, and operation of telephone and telegraph wire lines, including the laying of several cables. It also employed combat photographers and renewed the use of balloons that Myer first experimented during the Civil War. Shortly after the war, in 1900, telegraph and cable lines were constructed in Alaska as the Washington-Alaska Military Cable and Telegraph System (WAMCATS), also known as the Alaska Communications System (ACS).

In World War I, the Signal Corps developed radiotelephones, which were introduced into the European theater in 1918 but telephone and telegraph continued as the major technology of the war. With World War II, General George C. Marshall created the Army Pictorial Service (APS), headquartered in New York, to produce motion pictures for both the training and the entertainment of American troops; they produced over 2,500 films during the war with over 1,000 redubbed in other languages.

The U.S. Signal Corps was abolished on February 28, 1964.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Telegraph

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Vizetelly, Frank

British “special artist” who covered the American Civil War from both the Union and Confederate perspectives. Frank Vizetelly was born in London, on September 26, 1830, to a publisher of Venetian ancestry. He spent some time at school in Boulogne, and in his twenties, worked as an apprentice for the *Pictorial Times* in London, where his older brother, Henry, was managing editor. One of his earliest commissions for the paper was to



British artist-correspondent Frank Vizetelly who covered the American Civil War from both the Union and the Confederate perspectives. (Library of Congress)

cover the birth of the Emperor Napoleon III’s son, the Prince Imperial in 1856. Three year later, he was sent to Italy to document the war against Austria, and was arrested on one occasion and accused of spying. A few months later, he became a “special” for the *Illustrated London News* and accompanied Garibaldi’s 30,000 “Red Shirts” during the invasion of Sicily in 1860. A year later, in May 1861, he boarded a steamship in Liverpool bound for Boston to record the rebellion that had broken out between the states. His first story, written in New York City on May 24 appeared in the *News* on June 15.

Within a few weeks, he was covering the war in northern Virginia including the “terror-stricken” Federal stampede at Bull Run. In 1862, he accompanied General Ambrose Burnside on the expedition to Roanoke Island and recorded the successful combined operations before heading back to Washington to travel with the Army of the Potomac on an attack at Manassas Junction. Vizetelly along with several foreign military observers were issued passes to accompany

the army, but these were revoked by Secretary Edwin Stanton, who feared unfavorable publicity. Unhappy with the decision, the artist quitted Virginia and headed for Corinth, Mississippi.

His letters written in May and June 1862 and published in the *Illustrated London News*, revealed his changing views about the outcome of the war and his growing admiration for the struggle of the Southern states to break free from “Yankee supremacy.” He wrote of the “undying determination of the Confederates to fight on and on in spite of the tremendous odds against them.” A second attempt at gaining permission to rejoin the Union Army having failed, Vizetelly decided to throw in his lot with the Confederacy. He headed to Baltimore, then by steamship along the Chesapeake Bay, eventually reaching Richmond.

Letters and drawings were frequently lost as his lines of communication became increasingly hazardous but material did get past the Federal blockade and reached London. Some of his letters discredited his own earlier writings against the South. Some of his dispatches were captured and appeared in *Harper’s Weekly*. In Richmond, he befriended Generals Lee and Stuart, developing a strong friendship with the latter. In December 1862, he witnessed the battle of Fredericksburg from the Confederate field headquarters and was almost killed when Federal batteries opened up on the town the following day.

The next year found him living at a hotel in Charleston and sketching the defenses of the harbor. He accompanied General P. G. T. Beauregard to Savannah, but was back in the South Carolina port to cover the siege in April 1863. From his vantage point atop the walls of Fort Sumter, he could see a panorama of the fighting, including the bombardment of the Federal ironclads from the shore batteries and forts. In the early summer, he traveled to Vicksburg but quitted the city after its capture by General Ulysses S. Grant on July 4, returning to Charleston, which was still under attack. Later he recounted his experiences during the siege in an article published in July 1864.

In September 1863, he was present during the battle of Chicamauga, and actually served as a mounted courier; for this, he was commissioned as an “honorary captain” by General James Longstreet. The following year found him at Charleston, Richmond, Petersburg, and the Shenandoah Valley, where he met Colonel John S. Mosby. In January 1865, he sketched the fall of Fort Fischer, but found it increasingly difficult to get his drawings and letters out. Following Lee’s surrender at Appomatox, the artist made his way south and recorded the departure of President Jefferson Davis, with whom he traveled for a short while.

Vizetelly departed America in August 1865, and his subsequent career saw him covering the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 and the Carlist Insurrection in Spain in 1868. He was traveling with a British column in Sudan in January 1883 on behalf of the *Graphic* newspaper to observe the campaign against the Mahdi when he was apparently killed, usually given as November 1, 1883, in the massacre of General William Hicks’ (Hicks Pasha) force at El Obeid. While this was never confirmed, attempts to find out the truth about his death were unsuccessful.

Field Marshal Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had met Vizetelly in Richmond during the Civil War referred to him as “an artist of very high order.” He was considered “a brave

correspondent, a man of most genial character, good nature and kindness of manner, a man, indeed who had no enemy—except himself.”

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Bull Run, First Battle of; *Harper's Weekly*

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“War Prayer.” See Whitman, Walt

Whitman, Walt

The poet Walt Whitman addressed themes that were uniquely American, celebrating in particular the life of common people in a democracy. His free verse changed forever the form of American poetry with his important volume *Leaves of Grass*, first published in 1855.

Whitman was born on May 31, 1819 in the rural community of West Hills, Long Island, New York, the second son of nine children born to Walter Whitman and Louisa Van Velson Whitman. He attended public schools in Brooklyn, then apprenticed in turn as a law clerk and a printer, working in Brooklyn and in Manhattan.

Whitman moved to Huntington on Long Island in 1836, taught for several years in country schools, founded and edited for a year the newspaper the *Huntington Long Islander*, and then worked as a compositor at the *Long Island Democrat*. He returned to New York City in 1840, working as a printer and briefly as an editor at a string of newspapers, publishing poems and stories in popular magazines.

In 1845, Whitman returned to Brooklyn as a reporter for the *Star* and a year later, assumed the editorship of the *Daily Eagle*. He lost the latter position in 1848 over his editorial support of the free-soil movement, which sought to prevent the legal extension of slavery into new U.S. territories. Traveling south to New Orleans, he worked briefly at

the *Crescent* before quitting over disagreements with the editors then returned to Brooklyn where he founded a free-soil newspaper, the *Freeman*, which lasted for a year (1848–1849). He then spent several years working with his father and writing poetry in his spare time. In 1855, he published at his own expense 12 untitled poems in a slim volume entitled *Leaves of Grass*.

Whitman worked from 1857 to 1859 as editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Times*. He continued writing poetry. In 1860, a Boston publishing house brought out a third edition of *Leaves of Grass*, including many new poems, one of which, the “Calamus” poems, celebrated the love of men for each other, became controversial because some readers felt the poems celebrated homosexuality.

During the Civil War, Whitman volunteered to help nurse wounded soldiers at army hospitals in Washington, DC He occasionally assisted the doctors but spent most of his time distributing reading material, talking to patients, and helping them write letters. He subsequently published a volume of poems called *Drum-Taps* (1865), which gathered his impressions of his service. *Sequel to Drum-Taps*, published the following year, included “When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom’d,” a now famous elegy to Abraham Lincoln, as well as the popular rhymed poem, “O Captain! My Captain!”

Whitman’s war service earned him a clerk’s job at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but he was fired when the new interior secretary, James Harlan, discovered that Whitman had authored *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman’s friends promptly helped him find a similar slot in the attorney general’s office, where he worked from 1865 until he suffered a paralyzing stroke in 1873.

In 1871, Whitman published a new edition of *Leaves of Grass*, containing his poem “Passage to India,” a celebration of engineering advances such as the Suez Canal, which Whitman hoped would open the way to intercultural understanding and eventually a utopian world community. In 1881, another edition of *Leaves of Grass* was published in Boston, but distribution halted after a suit was threatened over poems with sexual content that Whitman refused to remove. The suppression of the book in Boston actually boosted sales elsewhere, and in 1884, Whitman used the proceeds to buy a house in Camden.

Whitman lived in Camden for the rest of his days, enjoying an intellectual circle of friends, as well as entertaining prominent visitors from the United States and abroad. With some help, he assembled a final edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1891–1892), which became known as the deathbed edition, because Whitman prepared it during his final illness. He died on March 26, 1892.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Lincoln, Abraham; Newspapers (Civil War)

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Williams, James

James Williams, journalist and diplomat, was born in Grainger County, Tennessee, on July 1, 1796, son of Ethelred and Mary (Copeland) Williams. Little is known of his early life but it seems he had military experience. In 1841, he founded the *Knoxville Post*, which he edited for some years. Then, in 1843, he was elected to the Tennessee House of Representatives then, after a short term in the legislature, he and his brother William organized the Navigation Society. Williams soon began promoting railroads and he founded the Deaf and Dumb Asylum of Knoxville.

Back in Nashville, he published numerous essays under the pseudonym of “Old Line Whig” but the antislavery trend of his party in the North and its final absorption into the Republican Party caused him in the late 1850s to ally himself with the Democrats. In recognition of his political importance to the party, President James Buchanan appointed him minister to Turkey in 1858 where he traveled through Syria, Egypt, and Palestine on behalf of the American missionaries in these countries to obtain local concessions for their protection.

When Lincoln was elected in 1860, Williams resigned his ministerial position and returned home but when the war began, he returned to Europe, where he acted as Confederate propagandist and minister at large. In London, he gave much aid to Henry Hotze, the Confederate propagandist chief and editor of the Confederate organ, *The Index*.

Williams proved to be an effective propagandist as he presented the history of the sectional struggle between North and South and explained the slavery question in articles to various British newspapers. Some of his essays concerning slavery were gathered into a volume published in Nashville in 1861 as *Letters on Slavery from the Old World*, which was later revised as *South Vindicated*. Hotze had it translated into German and circulated among the German people. In 1863, Williams published *The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic*. While trying to promote European public opinion toward the Southern cause, he kept in touch with Confederate diplomats and maintained a secret correspondence with President Jefferson Davis. When French intervention in Mexico developed into a French conquest with the prospect of the Habsburg archduke Maximilian as puppet emperor, it was Williams who visited the archduke at Miramar and persuaded him to either maintain an alliance with the Confederacy or, at least, to recognize it. If Napoleon III

had not intervened, Maximilian would probably have recognized the independence of the Confederacy.

After the war, Williams remained in Germany with his wife, the former Lucy Jane Graham of Tennessee. He died in Gratz, Austria, April 10, 1869, and was buried there. His two daughters married officers in the Austrian army while his widow and son later returned to Tennessee.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO American Civil War “Propaganda”; Confederacy Propaganda in Europe; Europe as Propaganda Target; Hotze, Henry

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Wilson, Augusta Jane Evans. See Propaganda

Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

During wartime, especially in such conflicts as the Civil War, World War I, and World War II, the image of American women as wives, mothers, and girlfriends left at the home front was used heavily in enemy propaganda to persuade the American fighting man to give up the battle and return home. While he was away, his wife or girlfriend was involved in unpatriotic activities, usually sexual, with the man left at home, and not in uniform. Cartoons distributed by the enemy emphasized that the wife or sweetheart would not wait for her fighting man to return and was involved with the man left behind. Another type of portrayal of women was in popular magazines, newsreels, movies (*Conquer the Clock*, *Swing Shift*; *Maisie*), and other media images as the sacrificing partner left behind on the home front to carry on while her man was fighting for his country (“Longing won’t bring him back sooner . . . Get a war job!” “One woman can shorten this war! You’re that woman. Yes, you!”).

During the American Revolution, women were often the subject of broadsides, such as “The Sentiments of an American Woman,” a 1780 broadside that speaks of the gratitude of American women toward “the valiant defenders of America” in the Army that was widely distributed by the “Association,” an organization of women formed by Esther

Reed, wife of Pennsylvania governor Joseph Reed. The “Association” solicited donations of money from women to be presented to soldiers as “the offering of the Ladies.” Then there was the legendary “Molly Pitcher,” originally thought to be Mary Ludwig Hays who, at the Battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, on June 28, 1778, who not only carried water to the soldiers but when her husband was wounded, also fired his cannon at the advancing British. Hays was often confused with another woman, Margaret Cochran Corbin, who, at the battle of Fort Mifflin in November 1776, stepped forward to take her husband’s place when she was killed. Wounded in the battle, she later received a military pension. Persons continually confuse the two; most likely, the term “Molly Pitcher” was a generic name used to refer to any woman who carried water to thirst soldiers on duty.

One of the most enduring legends of the American Revolution was Betsy Ross of Philadelphia and her creation of the first official national flag of the new United States in June 1776, at the behest of George Washington. There is no evidence to substantiate such a claim. Washington was not in Philadelphia at the time and there is no record that Congress ever specified the need for such a flag before it approved the first one in 1777 but Americans did not care. The romantic story soon was part of legend.

In the Indian wars, the captive narratives were highly popular story telling, especially those about women who were captured by “the savage beast” and forced to endure the most hideous treatment. The first, by Mary Rowlandson, detailed her imprisonment by a combined force of Narragansett and Nipmuck Indians during King Philip’s War in 1676. A later one, by Fanny Kelly in 1864, detailed carefully and with more accuracy than usual, her capture by Sioux Indians; it became a popular bestseller in the 1870s.

However, the Civil War was the real beginning of women as important propaganda images, especially in music and in literature. One such legend was that of Barbara Frietchie, a real woman and the heroine of John Greenleaf Whittier’s poem, who supposedly risked her 90-year-old life to wave the U.S. flag defiantly at the Confederate forces of Stonewall Jackson as they passed her home in Frederick, Maryland, in September 1862. The poem was first published in the October 1863 issue of *Atlantic Monthly* and became an instant success. It was reprinted in many patriotic anthologies and Frietchie became honored as one of the Civil War’s bravest and most famous women but there is no evidence to support Whittier’s narrative.

In music, women were the objects of sentimental verse in popular songs such as the crossover “Weeping, Sad and Lonely,” about separated sweethearts, which appealed to both North and South listeners and “Lorena,” written four years before the war, about separated lovers, that touched thousands of homesick soldiers and was sung so often that it appeared, at times, to be almost a new national anthem. It became so popular during the war years that hundreds of Southern girls, several pioneer settlements, and even a steamship were named for the song’s heroine. Another favorite was “Somebody’s Darling,” a tearfully sentimental ballad penned during the war by Marie Ravenal de la Coste, a young woman from Savannah, Georgia; it was set to music by the South’s famous composer and balladeer, John Hill Hewitt, who set it to music. It became wildly successful and eventually had more musical settings and eight different melodies in the North as well.

With the advent of the Spanish-American War, the artist Howard Chandler Christy created his trademark “Christy Girl,” who took the form of an idealized young woman of the early 20th century and appeared on war bonds posters and in patriotic magazines supporting the war effort. During World War I, many of Christy’s pictures of idealized young women successfully recruited men for the nation’s armed forces.

During World War II, a classic image was Rosie the Riveter, the quintessential female factory worker, who took on all forms and shapes as a propaganda image, as women proudly held down jobs in factories and offices until the men returned from war, when it was expected they would gladly give the jobs up and return to home and hearth to raise children and be the supportive helpmate. Norman Rockwell’s *Rosie the Riveter* was the best-known image but other artists depicted her as well. Government posters and pamphlets, books, films and articles, and even a comic book character (Wonder Woman) called on women to practice wartime housekeeping and take up volunteer work. Such propaganda was quite extensive in the United States and proved crucial in converting women to industrial work so that men could be freed to fight overseas. The reality was different: women held down jobs previously held by men and were reluctant to give them up when the war ended. After World War II, women in the workplace became a common occurrence, but media images still reverted to the wife and mother stereotype. This quickly changed as the feminist movement took off in the 1960s.

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SEE ALSO Captivity Narratives; Christy, Howard Chandler; Music (Civil War); *She Would Be a Soldier*

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6

Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars

INTRODUCTION

On April 25, 1898, the United States declared war on Spain following the sinking of the battleship, USS *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. As a result, Spain lost its control over the remains of its overseas empire: Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, Guam, and other islands.

The Spanish-American War (April–August 1898) was the first conflict in which the military action was initiated by the media, especially newspapers and the new medium of film, and the first in which war coverage became almost a daily thing. It also marked a turning point in U.S. history. It left the United States exercising control or influence over islands in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific.

By the 1890s, Cuba and Puerto Rico were the only remnants of Spain's once vast empire in the New World, and the Philippine Islands comprised the core of Spanish power in the Pacific. The outbreak of war had three principal sources: popular hostility to autocratic Spanish rule in Cuba; U.S. sympathy with the Cuban fight for independence; and a new spirit of national assertiveness, stimulated in part by a nationalistic and sensationalist press.

By 1895, Cuba's growing restiveness had become a guerrilla war of independence but President Cleveland was determined to preserve neutrality. However, in 1898, during the administration of William McKinley, the USS *Maine*, sent to Havana on a "courtesy visit," blew up in the harbor.

The *Maine* was probably destroyed by an accidental internal explosion, but most Americans believed the Spanish were responsible. National anger was further stirred up by sensationalized press coverage. McKinley tried to preserve the peace, but within a few months, he recommended armed intervention.

The war with Spain was swift and decisive. During the four months it lasted, not a single American reverse of any importance occurred. A week after the declaration of war, Commodore George Dewey, commander of the six-warship Asiatic Squadron then at Hong Kong, steamed to the Philippines. Catching the entire Spanish fleet at anchor in Manila Bay, he destroyed it without losing an American life.

Meanwhile, in Cuba, troops landed near Santiago, where, after winning a rapid series of engagements, they fired on the port. Four armored Spanish cruisers steamed out of Santiago Bay to engage the American navy and were quickly destroyed. At that time, Spanish troops stationed on the island included 150,000 regulars and 40,000 irregulars and volunteers while rebels inside Cuba numbered as many as 50,000. U.S. Army strength at the time totaled only 26,000; this necessitated the passage of the Mobilization Act of April 22, 1898, that soon recruited an army of at least 125,000 volunteers, which was later increased to 200,000, and a regular army of 65,000. On June 22, U.S. troops landed at Daiquiri where they were joined by Calixto García and about 5,000 revolutionaries.

U.S. troops attacked the San Juan heights on July 1, 1898. Dismounted troopers, including the African-American 9th and 10th cavalries and the Rough Riders commanded by then Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, went up against Kettle Hill while the forces led by Brigadier General Jacob Kent charged up San Juan Hill and pushed Spanish troops further inland while inflicting 1,700 casualties. On July 16, the Spaniards agreed to the unconditional surrender of the 23,500 troops around the city. A few days later, Major General Nelson Miles sailed from Guantánamo to Puerto Rico. His forces landed near Ponce and marched to San Juan with virtually no opposition.

Across the country, there was much celebration when word came that Santiago had fallen. Newspapers dispatched correspondents to Cuba and the Philippines, who promoted the nation's new heroes, especially Dewey and Roosevelt. The peace treaty, which was signed on December 10, 1898, transferred Cuba to the United States for temporary occupation preliminary to the island's independence. In addition, Spain ceded Puerto Rico and Guam in lieu of war indemnity, and the Philippines for a U.S. payment of \$20 million. The war had cost the United States \$250 million and 3,000 lives, of whom 90 percent had perished from infectious diseases.

Officially, U.S. policy encouraged the new territories to move toward democratic self-government, a political system with which none of them had any previous experience. In fact, the United States found itself in a colonial role as it maintained formal administrative control in Puerto Rico and Guam, gave Cuba only nominal independence, and harshly suppressed an armed independence movement in the Philippines.

The Philippines Insurrection, an offshoot of the Spanish-American War, happened a year later (1899–1902) and involved the United States in another, lesser known and poorly understood, conflict, America's first true colonial war as a world power. However, the Filipinos had been fighting a bloody revolution against Spain since 1896, and had no intention of becoming a colony of another "imperialist power." In February 1899, fighting broke out between the conquering American army and the Filipino forces under Emilio Aguinaldo. American forces held the capitol of Manila while Aguinaldo's army

occupied the trenches outside the city but by the summer of 1899, the war had become a bloodbath.

As his forces were pushed further back by the far superior American war machine, Aguinaldo changed his tactics from traditional methods to guerilla tactics and the conflict became a savage confrontation of ambushes, massacres, and attribution, with atrocities to civilians and to prisoners, as both sides engaged in violence and slaughter.

Perhaps most harrowing was the massacre at Balangiga, on the island of Samar, on September 28, 1901, when an occupation troop of American soldiers were surprised and murdered in such grisly circumstances, with at least 48 deaths and 18 wounded. The campaign was unsuccessful and Smith and Waller were court-martialed and acquitted, but their careers were over.

Aguinaldo was captured in March 1901 and opposition from his followers quickly subsided. Although the official end to the war was proclaimed by President Theodore Roosevelt as July 4, 1902, actual fighting continued as individual tribes in Luzon (the main Philippine island) and the Moros of the southern islands engaged in further uprisings for several more years. The Philippines became a territory of the United States until July 4, 1946, when it became an independent nation, with Aguinaldo as its first president.

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PROPAGANDA

The Spanish-American War (April–August 1898) was the first conflict in which the military action was initiated by the media, especially newspapers and the new medium of film, and the first in which war coverage became almost a daily thing.

Prior to the explosion of the USS *Maine*, members of both the media and military were calling for intervention by the United States to assist the Cuban revolutionaries who were trying to win independence from Spain. American newspapers ran rather sensational stories that depicted atrocities allegedly committed by the Spanish, depicting everything from Cubans placed in concentration camps to stories of gruesome murders, rapes, and slaughter.

American involvement actually started when the USS *Maine*, a second-class battleship, launched in 1885, was blown up in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898. The *Maine* arrived in Havana on January 25 on an alleged goodwill visit. The explosion killed 260 and the incident became a sensation in the American press who laid the blame on the Spanish, with whom the United States was then having bad relations, and served as a rallying point to the American people to “Remember the *Maine*,” a highly effective propaganda slogan. Admiral Hyman Rickover later argued that the *Maine* exploded because of sporadic internal combustion but further investigations never conclusively placed the blame on any one party. The destruction of the battleship accelerated the pace toward war.

In the days following the explosion, Hearst ran a story, “The War Ship *Maine* was Split in Two by an Enemy’s Secret Infernal Machine,” which “claimed” that the Spanish planted a torpedo beneath the USS *Maine* and blew it up from shore. Hearst followed this story with diagrams and blueprints of the torpedoes used by Spain. These stories fired up American public opinion, with expected divided results: those who wanted to attack the Spanish and those who leaned toward confirmation of an actual attack.

The most important propaganda tool was newspapers, the “Yellow Press,” which brought the casualties down to the level of the average reader with lurid front-page headlines and pictures. The efforts of William Hearst’s *New York Journal* to promote the war with Spain are now regarded as classic propaganda; he used name calling, atrocity stories, and appeals to American honor and sympathy for the underdog to inflame public opinion against Spain as a “cruel imperialist” and an “enemy of the United States.” One of the major factors given for the initiation of U.S. hostilities against Cuba were the propagandistic efforts of Pulitzer and Hearst, involved in a circulation war, which “encouraged” the United States “jingoistically” to go to war with Spain. The *World* and the *New York Journal*, along with other newspapers that published material from these two New York City newspapers, exerted a strong influence on America’s decision to go to war by stirring up interventionist enthusiasm. Often overlooked is the role of Cuban nationalists in encouraging U.S. involvement in the conflict but the publishers’ primary concern was increased circulation rather than human rights.

During the 1898 conflict in which the United States sent troops and warships to Spanish territories in the Caribbean and in Asia, the U.S. Army provided daily bulletins

to the press and highly patriotic films, such as *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag!*, excited audiences while phony pictorial “news” accounts, typified by *The Campaign in Cuba* (actually filmed in New Jersey) showed a flagrant disregard for the truth. The use of films, in a military exercise that was popularly known as the “Spanish-American War,” was effective as this was the first U.S. military conflict that was documented on film; these were used effectively for propagandistic purposes. Highly patriotic films such as *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag!* (1898) electrified U.S. audiences when the hated European emblem was replaced by “Old Glory,” a dramatic, crowd-rousing hit. J. Stuart Blackton directed the scene in a 10 ft. × 12 ft. room with the building next door as background. While an operator managed the camera, Blackton raised the flag. The tremendous popularity of this film, which was actually filmed on a New York City rooftop, produced a host of imitators once war began. Because cameramen were often prohibited from gaining access to authentic battleground footage due to military censorship, much of the visual “reportage,” such as the series released *The Campaign in Cuba* (1898), was secretly filmed in New Jersey wilderness.

The power of film in this war with its “actuality” and “documentary” effects freed propagandists for the first time from nearly complete reliance on publications and on the printed word. “Remember the *Maine*” became the impassioned slogan and war cry of Americans urging war with Spain. The battleship *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion while docked in Havana. The American public was led to believe that it was blown up by agents of Spain, a sentiment that supported American resentment against Spanish oppression of Cuban nationalism.

An offshoot of the Spanish-American War happened a year later when the United States was involved in another, lesser known and poorly understood, conflict with the Philippine Insurrection (1899–1902), America’s first true colonial war as a world power. After defeating Spain in Cuba and in the Philippines in 1898, the United States purchased the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and several other islands from the Spanish. However, the Filipinos had been fighting a bloody revolution against Spain since 1896, and had no intention of becoming a colony of another “imperialist power.” In February 1899, fighting broke out between the conquering American army and the Filipino forces under Emilio Aguinaldo. American forces held the capitol of Manila while Aguinaldo’s army occupied the trenches outside the city but by the summer of 1899, the war had become a bloodbath.

As his forces were pushed further back by the far superior American war machine, Aguinaldo changed his tactics from traditional methods to guerilla tactics and the conflict became a savage confrontation of ambushes, massacres, and attribution, with atrocities to civilians and to prisoners, as both sides engaged in violence and slaughter.

Perhaps most harrowing was the massacre at Balangiga, on the island of Samar, on September 28, 1901, when an occupation troop of American soldiers were surprised and murdered in such grisly circumstances, with at least 48 deaths and 18 wounded. Graphic reports of the horribly mutilated bodies incited an urge for retribution among American forces on Samar. Brigadier General Jake Smith ordered a Marine detachment under Major Littleton W. T. Waller to unleash a “kill and burn” campaign and turn Samar

into a “howling wilderness.” The campaign was unsuccessful and Smith and Waller were court-martialed and acquitted, but their careers were over.

As the bloody conflict escalated, Americans were further divided on the wisdom of another involvement only a year after the Spanish-American War and their introduction to Yellow Journalism. A major opponent was the Anti-Imperialist League, which opposed Spain’s cession of the Philippines to the United States. It was established in Boston on November 19, 1898. The league’s 1899 Chicago platform warned of imperialism, militarism, press censorship, and the undermining of representative government.

The league adopted modern techniques of persuasion, publishing pamphlets, broadsides, and public letters, and editing a collection of antiexpansionist verse titled “Liberty Poems,” which were rewritten for contemporary relevancy, such as the lyrics of “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” Mark Twain contributed “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” his criticism of the Philippine-American War.

The league challenged administration censorship while war correspondents complained their reports attributing responsibility for the outbreak of the Philippine-American War were suppressed.

American newspapers were divided on the decision to extend sovereignty over the Philippines. *Literary Digest* magazine said its informal survey of 192 daily newspapers showed that 44 percent supported annexing the Philippines, 33 percent opted for just establishing a naval station there while 23 percent favored other resolutions, such as establishment of an American protectorate or selling the islands outright. However, news coverage was less extensive than that of the Spanish-American War as expenses associated with reporting on a far-flung conflict along with the guerilla nature of the fighting did much to discourage any sustained coverage but it not hinder the U.S. press.

Aguinaldo was captured in March 1901 and opposition from his followers quickly subsided. Although the official end to the war was proclaimed by President Theodore Roosevelt as July 4, 1902, actual fighting continued as individual tribes in Luzon (the main Philippine island) and the Moros of the southern islands engaged in further uprisings for several more years. The Philippines became a territory of the United States until July 4, 1946, when it became an independent nation, with Aguinaldo as its first president.

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SEE ALSO Anti-Imperialist League; Crane, Stephen; Davis, Richard Harding; Hearst, William Randolph; *New York Journal*; Pulitzer, Joseph; Remington, Frederic; Roosevelt, Theodore; USS *Maine*; Yellow Journalism

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Anti-Imperialist League

The Anti-Imperialist League opposed Spain's cession of the Philippines to the United States and the resulting Philippine-American War. It agitated from the Treaty of Paris negotiations beyond the 1900 election.

Established in Boston on November 19, 1898, and founded by Massachusetts Reform Club fellows, George S. Boutwell became president and members included George F. Edmunds, John Sherman, Grover Cleveland, John G. Carlisle, Carl Schurz, Samuel Gompers, Charles Francis Adams, Andrew Carnegie, and literary figures William James, William Graham Sumner, Mark Twain, and William Dean Howells. The league's 1899 Chicago platform warned of imperialism, militarism, press censorship, and the undermining of representative government. Support emerged from unions worried about low-wage migrants, farmers concerned about tobacco and beet competition, and racists alarmed about Asian immigration. Formed with units in various cities, the organization transferred its main office from Boston to Chicago and renamed itself the American Anti-Imperialist League. Yet its 30,000 members centered in the Northeast with Boston's New England Anti-Imperialist League its busiest branch and Erving Winslow its most active speaker.

The league adopted modern techniques of persuasion. It published 400 individual pamphlets, broadsides, and public letters, a mass of issued print exceeding one million. The organization edited a collection of antiexpansionist verse titled *Liberty Poems* and rewrote for contemporary relevancy the lyrics of nationalistic songs such as the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Twain contributed "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," his criticism of the Philippine-American War. It also issued two documents revealing the 1906 slaughter of Filipino Muslims.

League members supported Philippine leader Emilio Aguinaldo's fight for independence and received criticism by administration backers. Theodore Roosevelt, the Grand Army of the Republic, *The New York Times*, the *New York Tribune*, *Puck* cartoonist Joseph Keppler Jr., and *Judge* cartoonist Grant Hamilton portrayed them disloyal.

The league challenged administration censorship. War correspondents complained their reports attributing responsibility for the outbreak of the Philippine-American War were suppressed. Edward Atkinson's attempt to mail league material to U.S. officials in Manila was checked when the postmaster general directed its San Francisco office to withdraw his leaflets from the Philippine post.

By 1905, disagreements split the league into two rival groups, the original organization and the new Philippine Independence Committee superseded by the Filipino Progress Association. Its countrywide establishment broke down and its New York office dissolved. The national association operated from its New England headquarters but, despite its lobbying, failed to end the colonial war and to prevent the acquisition of the Philippines. The league went out of existence in 1921.

Rodney J. Ross

SEE ALSO Broad­sides; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Roosevelt, Theodore; Twain, Mark

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Bryan, William Jennings

William Jennings Bryan was an American lawyer, orator, presidential candidate for the Democrat Party (1896), and the 41st Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson. As a great champion of the common man, he was called “The Great Commoner.”

Bryan was born March 19, 1860 at Salem, Illinois, to Silas Lilliard and Mariah Elizabeth (nee Jennings) Bryan. As a teenager he joined the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He was also taught respect for education and a commitment to the Democrat Party. His father, a politically active judge, inspired his commitment to political action.

Following primary school (Whipple Academy) Bryan attended Illinois College where he (1884). He graduated with a law degree from Union College of Law (later Northwestern Law School) in 1883 and joined the Illinois bar. Shortly afterward, he married Mary Baird (1884) and moved to Jacksonville, Illinois, to practice law. However, the practice was not successful so he moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1887.

In 1890, Bryan won election to Congress as a Democrat and reelection in 1892. As a member of Congress, he polished his oratorical skills speaking in defense of rural Western and Southern interests. His focus as a populist champion was as an advocate of a monetary policy that would be based upon silver and that would expand the money supply in order to provide relief for farm debts especially during the agricultural depressions of the times. He also sought to have an income tax enacted and progressive actions that would favor rural people.

In 1894, Bryan, a candidate for the U.S. Senate, went on a speaking tour as the “Boy Orator of the Platte.” He was not elected to the Senate by the Nebraska legislature. He then became editor of the *Omaha World Journal*. In 1896, he attended the Democrat Party convention (Madison Square Garden) where his “Cross of Gold” speech in support of free silver policies won him the nomination for President as the Democrat Party candidate; however, he lost to William McKinley.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Bryan was appointed a colonel in a Nebraska regiment that spent the war in Florida. Supporting the war, he advocated freedom for the former Spanish colonies and opposed any American imperialism. The paramount issue arising from the war was whether the country should annex any of the

overseas territories Spain had been forced to relinquish—whether the nation should embark on a policy of imperialism, as had most of the other major nations of the world. Bryan, a dedicated anti-imperialist, felt certain that by referendum the people would repudiate any administration that declared for annexation but he argued for approving the Treaty of Paris ending the war, by which the Spanish would cede Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the United States, saying that the United States should first secure the freedom of the Philippines from Spain and then award them independence when the international situation was more favorable.

Bryan coupled anti-imperialism with free silver as the major issues of the 1900 campaign, in which he again opposed President McKinley and was again defeated. The gradual disappearance of hard times had lessened the appeal of free silver, and the American people were too pleased with the outcome of the Spanish-American War to support anti-imperialism.

Bryan was nominated the Democrat Party candidate in 1900 against William McKinley, but again lost. Following his defeat, he began in 1901 to publish a weekly newspaper, *The Commoner*. Between 1900 and 1912, he was a Chautauqua speaker delivering thousands of paid speeches.

By-passed for the Democrat Party presidential nomination in 1904, Bryan was nominated in 1908 only to be defeated by William Howard Taft. In 1912, he was able to be the king maker to secure the nomination for Woodrow Wilson. In recognition of the support, Wilson appointed Bryan to be his Secretary of State.

Uncomfortable as a pacifist with the Wilson Administration's drift toward war, Bryan resigned in 1915. He then joined peace activists in New York City in opposing the war. During the war and immediately afterward he support the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) and the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote.

Bryan today is most remembered for his role in the Scopes ("Monkey") Trial—*Scopes v. State*, 152 Tenn. 424, 278 S. W. 57 Tenn. 1926. The trial at Dayton, Tennessee was instigated by local townsmen seeking to attract hometown attention. However, it became a great media event as Clarence Darrow, the defense attorney for Scopes, and Bryan, the de facto prosecutor, dueled over the subject of evolution.

Andrew J. Waskey

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Cartoons (Spanish-American War)

Print media and political cartoons strongly influenced public attitudes regarding events leading up to and during the Spanish-American War. So too did they reflect American attitudes toward overseas expansion and the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). This relatively new mode of communication emerged during the Civil War (1861–1865) and became a major vehicle of political expression in the closing decades of the 19th century. Increasing tensions with Spain prompted a circulation war among major newspapers in the United States, most notably those owned by Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, who were perhaps the greatest paradigms of so-called “Yellow Journalism” in the nation. In their papers especially, political cartoons played a significant role in defining the stark nature of the conflicts.

The genre of political cartoons greatly appealed to editors who desired graphic representations of Spanish tyranny and oppression. Political cartoons also appealed to readers who preferred a clear pictorial representation of the issues. Many politicians favored the cartoons as a way to garner wide-ranging support from American citizens. As such, the political cartoonists’ creativity and political astuteness satisfied these often competing demands.

In the months leading up to the war, political cartoons alerted the American public to the ruthless tyranny of Spanish rule and domination. General Valeriano Weyler, the Spanish commander in Cuba and the architect of the infamous *reconcentrado* (reconcentration) system, was termed “the butcher” and was vilified by the Hearst papers in a series of cartoons that portrayed mass starvation across generations with great attention paid to the shriveled and emaciated bodies of infants and young children. In contrast, the Spanish were usually portrayed as corpulent beasts. These cartoons helped prompt a strong humanitarian response from most Americans who were willing to risk war to rescue the “downtrodden” Cuban people from the grip of Spanish rule.

On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* sank in Havana harbor and cartoonists quickly produced sketches of heroic acts by the American sailors and pointed to Spanish culpability for the explosion that sank the



Cartoon titled *Uncle Sam's new class in the art of self-government* shows Uncle Sam as a schoolmaster hitting two boys, “Cuban ex-patriot” and “guerrilla,” who are fighting, August 27, 1898. (Library of Congress)

ship. There was, of course, no hard evidence to indicate Spanish treachery in the affair, but political cartoonists and yellow journalists nevertheless used the incident to further encourage pro-war sentiments. In newspapers across the United States, the image of the sinking of the *Maine* competed with mastheads dominated by carefully choreographed American flags bolstered by images of the Founding Fathers.

As in most political cartooning, the visual images from this era relied upon purposeful exaggeration as a means by which to highlight an issue or issues. In one famous cartoon, President William McKinley, drawn in huge proportions and dressed as Uncle Sam bulging out of his too-small clothing, is shown being measured by a tailor for a new suit. On the sleeves are written “Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Philippines,” a clear reference to imperialism.

While the Spanish were invariably portrayed as dictatorial tyrants and beasts, Filipinos were often portrayed as diminutive, often feminized characters, particularly during the Philippine-American War. The caricatures were none too subtle: Filipinos were allegedly weak, naïve, and childlike, unable to take care of their own affairs. The Americans, who took many forms in these cartoons, invariably played a protective, usually paternalistic, role toward their Filipino “children.” Other cartoons were patently racist, likening the Filipino guerillas to African Americans and referring to them by such incendiary terms as “niggers” and “gugus.”

The influence of political cartoonists was significant during the short-lived Spanish-American War and continued to dominate media discourse during the opening years of the 20th century. These artistic expressions reflected competing ideologies, portrayed the hegemony of American expansion, and captured the emotions of many Americans at the turn of the 20th century. While most cartoonists fashioned pictorials to satisfy the inclinations of politically motivated editors and newspaper owners, they nonetheless introduced a potent form of political expression that endures to the present day.

Political cartoons fanned hysteria on the part of many Americans, bolstered ideas of national supremacy, showcased American racism, and helped drum up popular support for a particular point of view. These political cartoons not only provide a chronology of the war but also reflect the attitudes and ideas of the American people toward this global conflict.

James F. Carroll and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Hearst, William Randolph; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Pulitzer, Joseph; USS *Maine*; Yellow Journalism.

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Christy, Howard Chandler

American artist and illustrator. Howard Chandler Christy was born in rural Morgan County, Ohio, on January 10, 1873. After completing local schools in Ohio, he went to New York City at age 17 to study art at the National Academy of Design and the Art Student League, studying under William Merritt Chase, best known for his paintings in impressionism.

At a time in which many magazines in New York were demanding more and more illustrations to attract new readership, the talented Christy had little trouble finding work. In 1895, his “Christy Girl” painting that appeared in *The Century* magazine drew much praise. By age 24, he had earned the reputation as a top illustrator. His illustrations for an 1897 edition of *Hamlet* are not today well known, but drew much attention when they were published. Sometime in 1897 or 1898, Christy met Theodore Roosevelt, then assistant secretary of the navy. This began a long friendship between the two men and inspired Christy to create numerous illustrations of Roosevelt and the Rough Riders during the Spanish-American War.

When the war broke out in April 1898, Christy was sent to Cuba as chief illustrator for *Leslie’s Magazine*. He produced numerous illustrations while in Cuba, including scenes from the Battle of Las Guásimas, the Battle of San Juan Heights (where he helped immortalize Roosevelt and the Rough Riders), and other smaller engagements during the campaign for Santiago de Cuba. His first illustration in Cuba, that of several wounded Rough Riders straggling toward Siboney, Cuba, accompanied an article by famed war correspondent Richard Harding Davis. His work was so evocative that it ended up in the pages of *Scribner’s Magazine*, *Harper’s Magazine*, and *Leslie’s Magazine*, among others. Readers were drawn to the young artist’s renderings, which made it appear that the viewers were themselves were part of the scene. Christy’s series entitled *Men of the Army and Navy* that ran in *Collier’s Weekly* in 1899 was especially well received.

By 1899, Christy, now very well known, embarked on ever-more elaborate and complex projects, including the celebrated portfolio *Pastel Portraits from the Romanic Drama*. By the early 1900s, his illustrations graced the pages of *McClure’s*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Harper’s*, and numerous others. Christy preferred to work in black and white, although he did work in color, and to good effect. His work portrays a singular facility, a bold but not excessive style, and usually represents a strong sense of contemporary American values. The so-called “Christy Girl,” which he first drew in 1895, featured a somewhat romantic view of women.

During World War I, Christy created a number of recruitment posters, both for the Red Cross and the U.S. Navy. Perhaps his most famous war poster portrayed a stylized woman in a navy uniform with the tag: “Gee!! I wish I were a man—I’d join the Navy!” In addition to his prolific art production, he also found time to teach at the Art Students League, the New York School of Art, the Cooper Union, and the Chase School, founded by his mentor William M. Chase. After he had gained fame and fortune, Christy lived mostly in his native Ohio, where he had constructed an elaborate studio.

When photography and printing improvements rendered illustrations increasingly obsolete after World War I, Christy turned to portrait painting. He produced portraits of Presidents Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, as well as celebrities such as Will Rogers, Eddie Rickenbacker, Emilia Earhart, Norman Vincent Peale, and Mrs. William Randolph Hearst. Christy even painted a portrait of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. He worked non-stop, even during the lean years of the Great Depression, producing portraits and paintings with astounding quality and regularity. Perhaps his most famous color painting is an almost mural-sized *Scenes of the Signing of the Constitution of the United States* (1940), which currently hangs in the Capitol in Washington, DC. During World War II, Christy once again lent his talent to the production of war posters. Christy died at his home near Duncan Falls, Ohio, on March 3, 1952.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Davis, Richard Harding; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Clemens, Samuel L. See Twain, Mark

Comics and Comic Strips. See Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War; Yellow Journalism

Correspondents (Spanish-American War)

In some small way, we may probably credit the reporting of the Spanish-American War with the true birth of quality American journalism as it is known today. This is not because the reporters and editors bringing the news of that war exhibited the

glimmerings of professionalism, indeed almost exactly the opposite appears to be the case. Rather, it was the excesses of the reporters of that era of “Yellow Journalism,” on the battlefield and in their editorial chairs, that brought about the backlash that eventually led to something like a professional ethic among journalists akin to what we know today.

The Spanish-American War was probably the second most poorly considered and popular-opinion-driven war the United States ever fought. Underpinning the conflict was a general sense among the American public that now that the United States reached from “sea to shining sea,” the nation needed to begin moving beyond the coasts of the continent. Partially playing upon this sentiment were two of the largest news consortiums of the time, one owned by media mogul William Randolph Hearst, and the other by his peer, Joseph Pulitzer. Their competing flagship newspapers (both tycoons owned many newspapers spread out across the country) were the *New York Journal* (Hearst) and the *New York World* (Pulitzer).

In their attempts to trump one another, each went to successively greater extremes. Hearst’s *Journal*, for example, threw their full editorial weight behind the so-called “insurrectos” of Cuba who were attempting to win independence from Spain for their island. Pursuing this objective the *Journal* sent one of the most famous American journalists of the day, Richard Harding Davis, to report on the conflict beginning in 1896. Hearst also sent Frederic Remington to visually depict the conflict, but it was really Davis’s dramatic prose, epitomized by his famous report, “The Death of Rodruigez” (in which he describes the death by Spanish firing squad of a local insurrecto) that went the furthest in inflaming public opinion in the United States.

When the American battleship USS *Maine* blew up during a port call in Havana Harbor, the drums of war increased to a crescendo. Both Hearst’s and Pulitzer’s papers went to increasingly hysterical levels—Hearst in particular directly claimed that the ship was blown up by an “infernal device” employed by the Spanish, and indeed this was the initial finding of a U.S. Navy investigation. (Historians and naval archeologists still cannot agree on the issue of what caused the explosion in the *Maine*’s ammo bunker. Some have come to believe that the blast was caused by internal issues inside the coal bunkers of the *Maine* and not any outside charge, while other evidence points toward a mine, though nobody knows who might have set the mine.) In any event, the public pressure drove the Administration and Congress to declare war on Spain in April 1898. A flood of volunteers followed, and closely behind them, the reporters.

Davis was long gone from Cuba by the time U.S. Army forces landed, but into his shoes stepped other extravagant personalities such as James Creelman. This reporter identified so closely with those on whom he was writing that he offered to accompany (some say lead) a bayonet assault against a Spanish bunker. The charge was successful, but before he could file his story, he was wounded. Only later, when he was found in an aid station by Hearst himself, did he dictate his first-person account of the charge to the owner of the chain, who then personally filed the story via telegraph.

By and large, in this war exaggeration was the rule. Reporters who were nowhere near the scene filed wildly inaccurate and hyperbolic “personal” accounts of events that bore

only the most passing relationship to the actual truth. In seeking to outdo one another, the stories became increasingly lurid and even downright fantastical. At the same time, while the Army maintained some control of the lines of communication from more distant battlefields such as San Juan or the Philippines, the fighting in Cuba was reported nearly instantaneously by a variety of means. As the Army still had no organized concept of the idea of censorship, and did not feel that it was their position to correct inaccurate reports (so long as they did not reflect poorly on the Army), very little corrective pressure existed for the reporters to check their facts.

Robert Bateman

SEE ALSO Creelman, James; Davis; Richard Harding; Hearst, William Randolph; *New York Journal*; Pulitzer, Joseph; Remington, Frederic; USS *Maine*; Yellow Journalism

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Crane, Stephen

Stephen Crane was born on November 1, 1871, in Newark, New Jersey, the 14th child of a Methodist minister. He began writing stories at a young age and attended Lafayette College and Syracuse University but never earned a degree. By 1890, both his parents were deceased and Crane moved to New York City, where he worked as a journalist and freelance writer. In 1895, his second novel, *The Red Badge of Courage*, became a popular and critical tour de force. Considered the first truly modern war novel, it traces the life of a soldier during the Civil War. It remains a classic of its genre.

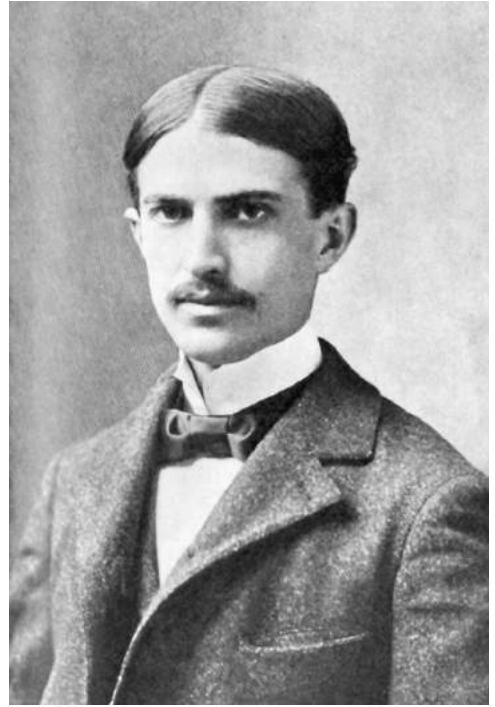
Because of his journalistic expertise and international repute as a writer, in 1896 Crane was employed as a war correspondent by the Bachelier Newspaper Syndicate to cover the Cuban rebellion. Crane's ship sank en route, leaving Crane and 7 other passengers drifting for 30 hours in an open boat awaiting rescue. This provided him a backdrop for his most famous short story, "The Open Boat" (1898). Thwarted in his attempt to cover the Cuban revolt, Crane soon began to report on the Greco-Turkish War, which gave the young novelist his first personal look at war.

In 1898, Crane again became a war correspondent when war broke out between Spain and the United States. This time his assignment was to cover several Cuban battles for a

number of New York papers. Crane was said to have seen more of this war, including both naval engagements and land battles, than anyone else and was also recognized for his coolness under fire. As with most of the other American reporters, Crane saw little distinction between participant and reporter. He carried weapons and helped U.S. forces, even being praised in at least one official report that acknowledging his assistance.

Crane's early war reporting was almost jingoistic in its patriotic mantra. As the conflict continued his reports matured, mixing opinion with actual events, and the uncommon with the everyday. He also focused not on celebrities or high-ranking officers, but on rank-and-file soldiers.

By mid-1899, Crane's health was rapidly deteriorating, a condition brought on by malaria he had contracted in Cuba. He had also contracted tuberculosis. Crane died, only 28, in Badenweiler, Germany, on June 5, 1900. Crane's writing was not only typical of its time—sensationalistic, Anglo-centric, and at times jingoistic—but it also set the stage for modern journalistic techniques. Indeed, if Crane was the first author to pen a thoroughly modern war novel, his reporting during the Spanish-American War represented a new style of journalism that endures to the present day.



American author Stephen Crane, best known for his Civil War novel, *The Red Badge of Courage*, served as a war correspondent during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

Margaret Sloan

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Spanish-American War)

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Creelman, James

Writer, journalist, editor, and quintessential practitioner of Yellow Journalism. James Creelman was born in Montréal, Canada on November 12, 1859, to a working-class family. He attended primary school in Canada but left home in 1872 at age 13 to move to New York City. Creelman's first full-time job was in the print department of the Episcopal newsletter *Church and State*. This began his long fascination with writing and publishing. Creelman dabbled in poetry, but quickly realized that he was unlikely to make a living from that pursuit alone. He did not, however, give up on his dream to become a well-read writer. After working for several small newspapers, in 1876 he landed his first big job as a reporter for the *New York Herald*.

Early on, Creelman exhibited reporting and writing techniques that would serve him well in the era of Yellow Journalism. While working for the *New York Herald*, he relished traveling great distances and putting himself at considerable risk to ferret out and report on a story. He was reportedly shot at while attempting to report on the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud, and he broke an arm while participating in a hot-air balloon ride. By the early 1880s, Creelman had become the newspaper's star reporter and had exposed fraud in the railway and steam ship industries. Several of his stories prompted court action or government inquiries, including U.S. congressional hearings in which he was a principal witness.

In 1889, James Gordon Bennett Jr., the owner and publisher of the *New York Herald*, asked Creelman to take over the editor's desk of the London edition of the *Herald*. That newspaper was in serious trouble, however, and Creelman proved unable to make it financially viable. In 1890, he joined the Paris edition of the *Herald*. It was here where the journalist developed his trademark penchant for seeking out and successfully conducting interviews with notorious, obstreperous, or secretive individuals. Among his most famous interviews were those with Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy and Pope Leo XIII. Creelman was the first non-Catholic, English-speaking journalist to talk with the pope. He also interviewed Chief Sitting Bull and Mexican President Porfirio Díaz, among other interesting characters.

In 1891, now back in New York, Creelman edited the *Evening Telegram* before returning to the *New York Herald*, for which he reported for several months from Haiti, covering that country's political and cultural scene. Two years later, in 1893, he left the newspaper business for a brief foray into magazines. For a short time he worked for *Illustrated American* and *Cosmopolitan*. Creelman soon tired of the more staid employment offered by magazines and returned to the newspaper world in 1894. This time, he took a reporting job with Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, a publication that became synonymous with Yellow Journalism. His first assignment was to cover the conflict between the Japanese and Chinese in China, where he followed the Japanese Army. He went missing for a time, and was mistakenly reported to have been beheaded by the Chinese. He then moved on to Korea, where the Japanese were also actively involved. Creelman interviewed the Korean monarch while he was on assignment there. His

reporting of atrocities committed by the Japanese during the fighting at Port Arthur earned him great attention, although many Americans questioned the validity of some of his reporting.

In 1896, Pulitzer sent Creelman to Cuba to report on the Spanish-Cuba conflict. His reporting of Spanish atrocities and mistreatment of the Cubans helped whip up U.S. condemnation of Spain. The Spanish were not amused by his reporting, however, and expelled him from the island. The following year, William Randolph Hearst, the other great scion of Yellow Journalism, recruited Creelman to write for his *New York Journal*. Creelman was dispatched first to Europe to gain interviews with leaders and politicians there and then briefly reported on the Greco-Turkish War before going to Cuba as war was about to break out in the spring of 1898. Ever the adventurer, Creelman joined the 12th Infantry in July 1898 and was badly wounded in the arm during an engagement with Spanish troops. Throughout his reporting from Cuba, from 1896 on, Creelman made no bones about his sympathy for the Cubans and his antipathy for the Spanish.

Creelman returned from the war something of a war hero and greatly admired for his reporting from the front. By now, Creelman's almost unbelievable journalistic exploits and the fame he had garnered because of his writing had far exceeded his expectations when he entered journalism some 20 years earlier. With this sense of accomplishment came a momentous ego, however, and he found himself at constant odds with his publishers, including Pulitzer and Hearst.

Creelman turned to book writing for a time, publishing *On the Great Highway* (1901), a record of his exploits, and a novel entitled *Eagle Blood* (1902). Creelman then turned to writing editorials until 1906, at which time he took a position as a civil servant in New York, with an eye toward affecting reform. Soon realizing that fighting city hall was almost impossible, he went back to Hearst's *New York Journal* and covered the beginning of World War I in Europe. In poor health, which was exacerbated by his 30-cigar-a-day smoking habit, he fell ill soon after reaching Germany. Creelman died in a medical clinic in Berlin on February 12, 1915.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Hearst, William Randolph; *New York Journal*; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

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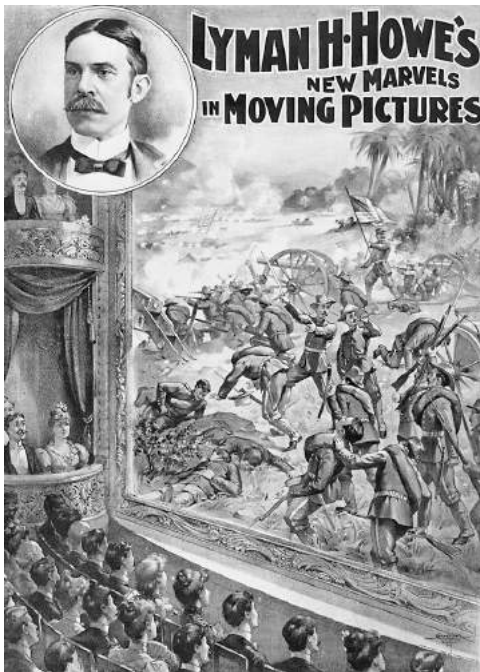
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Davis, Richard Harding. See entry in **Chapter 7: World War I**

Dunne, Finley Peter. See *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War*

Film (Spanish-American War)

The Spanish-American War provided unique opportunities for the emerging film industry to use heightened patriotism and military developments to advance this new communication medium. The earliest cinematic efforts took place in the decades following the American Civil War and were focused mainly on entertainment. The outbreak of Spanish-American War in 1898 and the dawn of the American Century provided a wide array of opportunities to focus on new film genres and ideas—the horrors of combat, political themes, reports from newly acquired territories, and patriotic ideals. The Spanish-American War was the first conflict in which film played a significant role in recording events and garnering support for the war. These films, however, were quite unlike modern-day movies; they lacked sound, were sometimes difficult to focus, and were usually quite short, some lasting little more than a couple of minutes.



An advertisement for “Lyman H. Howe’s new marvels in moving pictures,” depicting an audience watching a film of an infantry attack during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

The emergence of film as a means of communication can be traced back to a pair of events that occurred virtually at the same time. First, advances in technology spearheaded by the Edison Manufacturing Company and the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, which produced most of the films during this period, insured ready access to the necessary equipment. Second, the opening of a conflict that spanned the globe from the Atlantic to the Pacific provided excellent film footage, fresh concepts, and creative uses for the employment of film. Prior to the start of the war, many vaudeville houses had transitioned, in part, to accommodate short feature films as part of their performances. Between 1898 and 1901, however, the war was the dominant theme of these films and captured the support and imagination of many Americans.

In efforts to report the events of the war and to insure its continued popularity, filmmakers provided reenactments of major battles and engagements. While a small

number of films were actually recorded on the battlefield, most were staged on film sets, constructed specifically for the purpose. The filmmakers were willing to circumvent the historical record, randomly mixing and matching military accouterments to satisfy their needs, and to overlook significant factual points to achieve their artistic objectives. In *The Skirmish of the Rough Riders* (1899), for example, New Jersey National Guardsmen relied on second-hand accounts to recreate then Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill during fighting in Cuba. In addition, the first truly propagandistic film *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag* (1898), a 92nd film, was completely fabricated, yet the positive public response underscored the strong influence that film had on shaping public perceptions and attitudes.

The appearance of film as a major means of communication ensured that competing attitudes on the conflict were considered, compelling disagreements on the objectives of the war were aired, differing political perspectives were featured, and varying viewpoints on imperialism highlighted. Because these ideas influenced a broad spectrum of the population and shaped public opinion, films became important barometers in political calculations. For instance, the drama *Love and War* (1899) told of the human sacrifices and antipathy towards the war and received wide acclaim from audiences. Because film theory and critical analysis did not exist at this point, producers relied on first-hand accounts of audience response to monitor the success of their endeavors, while politicians used the same responses to determine public attitudes.

While much effort was made to improve film production and delivery methods during the war years, the still picture remained the prominent feature in films produced during the Spanish-American War. Photographers on the front lines captured realistic visuals of the war using cumbersome equipment capable of transferring the images of war into still life. Still pictures were often inserted into war films with appropriate narrative that provided a context and backdrop for the scene. These documentaries were the primary means of engaging the American people. American Vitagraph also sent two photographers with the V Corps to Daiquirí at the behest of Roosevelt.

Films produced during the Spanish-American War were often called "visual newspapers" and became powerful tools for informing and shaping the opinions of the American people. There were, however, several shortcomings connected with this medium. The most glaring was the general inability to capture live war footage because of advances in weaponry that made battlefields extremely dangerous for photographers and the primitive nature of cinematic technology. Rapid movement of motion-picture equipment was also most difficult. As a result, the reliance on reenactments and commentaries frequently compromised the historical accuracy and importance of these efforts.

The most extensive collection of films produced during the Spanish-American War is maintained by the Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, which has digitized, catalogued, and summarized dozens of films from the period. Moreover, these efforts have been critically evaluated by film scholars who apply modern theories to these early endeavors to use film to reach mass audiences. These films cover battles, parades, ships,

notable commanders and politicians, etc. Included among them are some short films pertaining to the Philippine-American War through 1901, but the brutality and unconventional nature of that struggle did not attract as much attention from filmmakers as had the Spanish-American War.

The Spanish-American War was the first war to be captured on film, which meant that the challenges and horrors of the events were shared by large segments of the population. While these early endeavors were rudimentary, they nevertheless laid an important foundation for new cinematic ideas and improved technology that would strongly influence film use in later wars. Just 15 years later, when World War I began, battles and engagements of all types were captured on film, and by that time technological advances in cinematic equipment and new forms of cinematography made film a widely accessible medium to people around the world.

In the 20th century, the Spanish-American War was not frequently the subject of Hollywood films. It was soon eclipsed by the far more important and global world wars. What is more, the war provided few pitched battles and lasted less than four months, characteristics that led many filmmakers to simply overlook it. The few films that did feature the conflict tended to be American-centric and rather patriotic in nature. In 1927 a silent film portraying the exploits of the Rough Riders was released, but surprisingly no other major films were made about that subject until 1997, when a made-for-TV miniseries entitled *The Rough Riders* appeared starring Tom Berenger (as Roosevelt), Gary Busey, Sam Elliot, and George Hamilton. The movie documented well the gritty realities of war, but did nothing to diminish Roosevelt's heroic standing in the conflict. A number of good documentaries have been made about the war. In 1999, the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) produced an excellent factual overview of the war entitled *Crucible of Empire*. In 2007, the History Channel produced *The Spanish-American War: First Intervention*, which featured actors, reenactments, and scholars discussing the war, all of which was interspersed with film and still photos dating to the war itself, including the use of a replica of a camera used by the Edison Manufacturing Company for authenticity.

James F. Carroll

SEE ALSO Photography (Spanish-American War); Roosevelt, Theodore

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Glackens, William

Born in Philadelphia on March 13, 1870, Glackens enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts at the age of 21. At the same time, he was sending sketches to a local newspaper. Following a visit to Paris, he returned home in 1895 settling in New York where he found work as an artist for the *New York Herald* and the *Sunday World*.

Following the outbreak of war with Spain in 1898, he was approached by *McClure's Magazine* with an offer to supply images of the fighting. The manager of the magazine's art department wrote to Glackens asking him to go to Cuba with the American troops and "send illustrations telling the story of the departure, voyage and arrival and subsequent work and fights of the U.S. troops in Cuba."

Arriving at Tampa, Florida, in early May 1898, he was instructed to meet up with the writer Stephen Bonsal. The letter continued "whatever Mr. Bonsal and yourself decide, then do, but keep in mind what we want from you is the story of the U.S. troops going to and in Cuba. . . . Of course, I forgot to tell you something which is so naturally implied that with all the bustle and hurry of your departure it was forgotten—about your being our exclusive correspondent and all the stuff you make on the trip is ours. Send it along in any shape it may be—we will use it either in the magazine or in some way." In the steamy heat of Tampa, Glackens set about sketching the army as it gathered for the campaign. He drew the arrival of the troops at the marshalling yards, feeding the soldiers, loading horses on the transports at Port Tampa, the arrival of a Spanish spy, and views across the bay showing the transports at anchor drawn on June 10 and on the 13th.

Bonsal and Glackens embarked for Cuba in mid-June aboard the transport *Vigilancia*, which he sketched, arriving at Daiquiri. Here he recorded the disembarkation of the troops, horses and equipment, and the army headquarters. He observed the first hostile action when the woods above the harbor were shelled on June 23. Arrangements had been made for Glackens to travel anywhere on boats hired by the *New York World* in return for "some of your drawings. Whenever you have any rough things done quickly send them along and I will pass them along to the World." It is not known whether he took up this offer but he certainly accompanied the army to El Pozo and San Juan Hill. The result were sketches on life in the trenches, the field hospital on the night after the battle, refugees from Santiago gathering at El Caney, and the subsequent surrender and ceremonies at the Governor's Palace in Santiago including the flag raising. As with most artists embedded with the army, Glackens had to be granted permission to move around. However, one surviving pass issued by army headquarters to him on June 29, 1898, granted him access to the city of Santiago "until 7 p.m. to-day." As Santiago was still in Spanish hands on this day, either the month was written incorrectly, or he was indeed allowed to go to the city as a civilian.

Glackens' first drawing of the conflict actually appeared in *Munsey's Magazine* in June but by October, his pictures began to be published in *McClure's* accompanying an article on the battle of Santiago written by Bonsal. Two months later, his sketches were

published alongside another Bonsal article, this one describing the attack at San Juan Hill. In 1899, more of his sketches illustrated war stories written by Stephen Crane in the magazine. *Munsey's* also used his pictures in a three-part article on the war that was published in the same year.

The artist succumbed to malaria aboard the transport back to the mainland and was unable to finish his sketches until sometime after the signing of the peace protocol on August 12. Consequently, only a handful of his pictures were published because of an editorial decision not to print war pictures following the end of hostilities due to a perceived dwindling of interest. Adding to this dilemma was the fact that Glackens was paid only for those pictures that were actually published. Therefore, many of his finer pictures of the war remained unpublished. His war pictures are unique documents. They do not glorify the campaign but are almost photographic in the nature.

In his subsequent career, Glackens became a significant artist and was a one of the eight member Ashcan Group who rebelled against impressionism and desired to show life, particularly in the cities, in its true reality; he later distanced himself from the group to pursue his own style. He died on May 22, 1938.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Christy, Howard Chandler; Crane, Stephen; Remington, Frederick

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Hearst, William Randolph

William Randolph Hearst was an American publisher who sought to influence American political life through his media empire. His innovations revolutionized journalism.

Hearst was born in a San Francisco hotel room on April 29, 1863, the son of George and Phoebe Appertton Hearst. His father, George, was a wealthy mining prospector and investor. Among his holdings was the Comstock Load silver mine in Virginia City, Nevada. His father was frequently far from home on mining trips so his mother Phoebe who was a schoolteacher from Missouri was in charge of most of his education. This included private tutors and long grand tours of Europe where George developed his limitless passion for art that would lead to the amassing of the largest private collection of the times.

In 1882, Hearst entered Harvard College (now University) where he was a lackluster student. He found his place as the business editor of the *Harvard Lampoon*. He was expelled in his third year for a crude prank on the faculty that was one too many. He found a job as a reporter with the *New York World* owned by Joseph Pulitzer. Two years later, he quit and returned in 1887 to San Francisco to operate *The Daily Examiner*. His father had acquired the paper as payment for a gambling debt.

Hearst turned *The Daily Examiner* into a journalistic theater with a greatly increased circulation. He published sensationalism as news. To gain readership he hired the best writers available including Ambrose Bierce (1842–1914?).

George Hearst died in 1891. Hearst's mother soon gave him over seven million dollars gained from her sale of his father's interests in the Anaconda Copper Company.

In 1895, he used the money to buy the struggling New York City newspaper the *Morning Journal*. He changed its name to the *New York Journal* and hired the best writers and staff available, many of whom were pirated away from Joseph Pulitzer's *World* newspaper. Using sensationalism that soon came to be called "Yellow Journalism," he added daily comics, sports, frenetic reporting about any crime, sex scandal, or human-interest story that could be found or invented on slow news days.

For months before the explosion that destroyed the USS *Maine* in Havana's harbor, Hearst's publication had made the sufferings of the Cubans under their Spanish colonial masters a sensational cause. Following the sinking of the *Maine*, Hearst's publication sought to whip the country into war frenzy. He sent Fredric Remington to Cuba to make pictures, allegedly saying, "I'll provide the war."

Circulation for the growing Hearst media empire soared and so did revenues. Hearst began expanding his media empire acquiring the *Chicago American* (1900), the *Chicago Examiner* (1902), the *Los Angeles Examiner* (1904) and over two dozen other publications including *Cosmopolitan Magazine*.

Hearst was twice elected to Congress as a Democrat from a district in New York; however, he was frequently absent in order to attend to his business interest. He was defeated in his bids to be elected Mayor of New York City, Governor of New York, and an attempt to become President of the United States.

Hearst returned to California where he developed businesses with the nascent movie industry. He also built a huge "castle" on top of a coastal mountain at San Simeon.



As head of a vast newspaper empire in the United States, William Randolph Hearst helped introduce yellow journalism and bring on the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

The Hearst Castle was part of a cattle ranch he had inherited that overlooked the Pacific. In 1941, Orson Wells made *Citizen Kane*, a thinly disguised biography of Hearst with Hearst Castle called “Xanadu.” Outraged, Hearst was able to limit the showing of the movie and to virtually black list Wells.

Hearst was a supporter of the progressive or liberal wing of the Democrat Party. However, prior to both World War I and World War II, Hearst supported isolationism. His media also espoused similar views. His virtually uncontrolled spending, especially for huge quantities of art filling warehouses in unopened crates, came to an end during the latter part of the Great Depression. He lost a good portion of his holdings but managed to keep San Simeon and his key newspapers.

By the end of World War II, Hearst had grown conservative. He was a strong anti-Communist. He died at his home in Beverly Hills on August 14, 1951.

Andrew J. Waskey

SEE ALSO *New York Journal*; Pulitzer, Joseph; Remington, Frederic; USS *Maine*; Yellow Journalism

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Jingoism

Jingoism is a term that refers to excessive or chauvinistic patriotism or nationalism. Jingoism is usually associated with going to war or having warlike attitudes. The origin of the word *jingo* probably dates back to the 17th century and seems to have been a catchphrase used by magicians. It was also used as an interjection indicating surprise or to add emphasis to a subject. However, the association of the word with extreme patriotic or nationalistic feelings did not occur until the late 19th century.

The terms *jingo* and *jingoism* date to the late 1870s and were a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, which brought about a Russian victory. The Treaty of San Stefano, which formally ended the hostilities, required the Ottoman Empire to cede territory south of the Caucasus Mountains to Russia, provided independence to Serbia and Romania, promised reforms in Bosnia, and indicated that Bulgaria would become autonomous. The Russian victory and occupation of Istanbul along with the treaty aroused much concern in

Great Britain that, along with the French, had worked to prevent a Russian incursion into the eastern Mediterranean Sea and into the Middle East. War talk flared in Britain as public opinion began to call for a confrontation with Russia to protect British interests in the region. Reflecting the attitudes of many, a song written for a popular entertainer of the time, Gilbert MacDermott, contained this lyric that gave rise to the term *jingoism*: “We don’t want to fight, but by jingo if we do, we’ve got the men, we’ve got the ships, we’ve got the money too!” London war hawks latched on to the song and were first referred to as “Jingoes” in the London *Daily News* in March 1878. The British government dispatched naval units to the Mediterranean, and a general Anglo-Russian war seemed likely.

Diplomacy saved the day, however, as the crisis was defused by the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which reworked the San Stefano agreement. Russia kept the territory south of the Caucasus Mountains, Serbia and Romania remained independent, and Istanbul was restored to the Ottomans. Great Britain acquired the island of Cyprus, which was of great strategic value to its position in Egypt and the Suez Canal, while France expanded from Algeria into Tunisia. By 1880 or so, *jingoism* became a fixed word in the English language.

The term was often applied to American expansionists in the 1890s and early 1900s, most notably among them Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Henry Cabot Lodge, and William Randolph Hearst, to name but a few. American jingoism at the turn of the century reflected a revived sense of Manifest Destiny tied together with a strong sense of extra-continental imperialism. Many Americans, including numerous business leaders like E. H. Harriman, the railroad tycoon, believed that the United States was destined to expand beyond its borders. These influential men argued that America should extend its authority over other lands by political, economic, or military means.

American jingoism is probably best illustrated by the events leading up to the nation’s declaration of war against Spain in April 1898. The American public had closely followed the events in Cuba since the outbreak of revolution there in 1895. Most favored Spain’s removal from the island and its replacement by American influence, if not outright acquisition. Fueling this growing American sentiment for war with Spain in the late 1890s were business interests, certain expansionist politicians, and the sensationalist “Yellow Press.” Indeed, the circulation war waged for readers by the newspaper magnates William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer played a significant role in the shaping of jingoist attitudes among Americans. Both newspaper empires sent correspondents to Cuba to cover the fighting between Cuban rebels and the Spanish forces there. The exaggeration of events, sensationalist writing, and graphic reporting of Spanish atrocities helped arouse the sentiments of Americans in support of the Cuban revolution. Ultimately, this led to increasing pressure on the McKinley administration to go to war with Spain.

Screaming headlines in the press asked “how long” the United States would sit idly by while the Spanish committed atrocity after atrocity in Cuba, suggesting that the nation had a moral obligation to intervene. Tied to this was the growing fear raised by business interests that American property in Cuba would be lost or destroyed unless the United States intervened. Adding to the increasing pressure for war were Democratic charges that the McKinley administration was cowardly and unwilling to safeguard American

interests. Even jingoist members of McKinley's own party, Theodore Roosevelt in particular, were frustrated by the president's reluctance to go to war. Eventually, however, the president would bow to public and political pressure and the United States would declare war on Spain. The rationale for war emphasized a variety of concerns: the need to protect American property and citizens overseas; the defense of U.S. interests abroad; and the moral obligation to intervene for humanitarian reasons. Clearly, the American war with Spain is a clear example of jingoism in action.

Nor was the United States the only nation that felt the effects of jingoist sentiments. Other examples might include Japan's war with China in 1894–1895, and, especially, that nation's war with Russia in 1904–1905. Competition with Russia for influence in and control of Korea and the northeastern region of China energized strong public sentiments for war in Japan on both occasions. Jingoist sentiments might also be attributed to the outbreak of almost any war in the 20th century as well.

Jingoism is probably best thought of in a pejorative context. Critics of wars that are perceived as unnecessary or imperialist in nature may accuse national leaders of jingoism. Those opposed to or critical of the Iraq War (2003–) have labeled President George W. Bush and other members of his administration, particularly Vice President Richard Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, for example, as jingoists. Jingoists are unlikely to brand themselves as such when pressing for an aggressive foreign policy or arguing for war. Critics and opponents of excessive patriotic or nationalist zeal and their role in bringing about war are most likely to accuse those who favor such attitudes or policies as jingoists.

Gregory Moore

SEE ALSO Bush, George Herbert Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hearst, William Randolph; Manifest Destiny; Pulitzer, Joseph; Roosevelt, Theodore; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Yellow Journalism

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Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War

“Mr. Dooley” was the facetious pen name of Chicago-based Finley Peter Dunne (1867–1936), a political reporter for the *Chicago Evening Post*. Dunne's creation, Dooley, was an Irish immigrant allegedly opining from a pub somewhere on the South Side of Chicago. Dooley's commentary on social, political, and military issues of the day was

often laced with biting sarcasm. Written in a phonetic style to convey a thick Irish brogue, the “Mr. Dooley” columns were extremely popular in Chicago, but they were largely a local commodity until the Spanish-American War of 1898 when Dunne wrote a Dooley essay on the topic of Admiral George Dewey’s spectacularly one-sided victory over the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, Philippines. In modern parlance, the essay “went viral,” and catapulted Dunne’s creation to national prominence.

Soon after this, Dunne received a book contract for a collection of his previously published “Mr. Dooley” essays. The result, *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War*, came out in November 1898 to great acclaim and even greater success. It was the beginning of a long and prosperous period for Dunne, as over time he wrote more than 700 “Mr. Dooley” columns and managed to get paid twice (once for the newspaper version, now in syndication, and a second time for the book version) for many of them. Eventually, there were eight books in the “Mr. Dooley” series.

Dunne’s creation is, somewhat ironically, best known today for a quote that was misappropriated by more modern journalists. The line is often seen in corrected English, and purports to be a succinct statement of the purpose of true journalism. It states that the role of journalists is to, “comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable.” The lines originally appeared in the book *Observations by Mr. Dooley* (1902), in an essay entitled, “Newspaper Publicity,” and in this column Dunne was sarcastically writing about the self-righteous hubris of journalists. The full quote is: “Th’ newspaper does ivrything f’r us. It runs th’ polis foorce an’ th’ banks, commands th’ milishy, conthrols th’ ligislachure, baptizes th’ young, marries th’ foolish, comforts th’ afflicted, afflicts th’ comfortable, buries th’ dead an’ roasts thim aftherward. They ain’t annything it don’t turn its hand to fr’m explaining th’ docthrine iv thransubstantiation to composin’ saleratus biskit.”

The line has also been, at various times, used by both clergy and political leaders as their own *raison d’être*.

Mr. Dooley continued to discuss war until the end of his journalistic career, in the mid-1920s. Nearly 50 different pieces dealt with the Spanish-American War and its aftermath as well as other military conflicts, such as the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, and World War I. As Dunne aged, his already pessimistic view about war became even more jaundiced.

Robert Bateman

SEE ALSO Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Yellow Journalism

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Music (Spanish-American War)

The musical scene during the Spanish-American War was particularly interesting, owing much of its variety and popularity to recent inventions like the gramophone and phonograph, which for the first time allowed Americans to listen to quality music that had been prerecorded. In an age before radio, television, or even movies with sound, listening to music, playing music, and dancing to music were favorite American pastimes. Spectacularly popular songwriters and bandleaders, such as John Philip Sousa, dubbed the “March King,” and new forms of musical expression lent to the music scene their own unique richness. Patriotic music and songs also played a central role in keeping civilians as well as soldiers enthusiastic about the war effort.

In addition to the gramophone and phonograph, which few people in fact could afford, the majority of Americans in the 1890s listened to music in-person in such venues as dance halls, vaudeville and minstrel shows, concert halls, and outdoor band shells.

Many Americans were also introduced to new music and new musical genres by sheet music, which was sold for piano and for parlor singing at home. At the time, pianos were household fixtures in many middle- and upper-class American homes. The companies holding the rights to sheet music would often send musicians on “musical tours,” so that the songs could be performed and sales of sheet music encouraged. These tours were usually performed by young and up-and-coming musicians who would one day become highly popular songwriters, musicians, and singers. Advertisements for sheet music were to be found in both magazines and newspapers; the covers of sheet music were often dramatically and elaborately illustrated to help sales and set a “mood” for the music.

During the 1890s a section of New York City known for its high density of musicians, songwriters, and music publishers, dubbed “Tin Pan Alley,” became a fertile testing-ground for new songs and genres of music. Considered by many to be the precursor of jazz, ragtime had become enormously popular by the late 1890s. Among its most illustrious composers were Scott Joplin and Vess Ossman. A sort of hybridized form of marches with roots also in African-American music, ragtime began as up-tempo dance music written usually in 2/4 or 4/4 time that featured highly syncopated melodies. Ragtime would come to feature a wide array of styles during its heyday.

Among the more popular songs during the Spanish-American War were: “Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight,” a very popular song among U.S. troops who often sang it in camp; “After the Ball”; John Philip Sousa’s “El Capitan March,” another favorite among soldiers and military bands; “My Wild Irish Rose”; and “Sweet Rosie O’Grady,” among others. When the U.S. Asiatic Squadron began its voyage to Manila Bay in 1898, the band on board the *Olympia*, Commodore George Dewey’s flagship, played “El Capitan March.”

Songs dealing specifically with the war and military service were very popular among soldiers and were designed to stress esprit de corps and war propaganda all at the same

time. “Brave Dewey and his Men” celebrated the American victory at the Battle of Manila Bay, while “The Charge of the Rough Riders” immortalized the service of Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill. Songs such as “The Belle of Manila” and “Ma Filipino Babe” spoke of American intervention in the Philippines and the hardships it had engendered. The emphasis in many of these songs was undiluted patriotism and sacrifice for a noble cause. Other such songs were blatantly racist and spoke of African Americans’ service in the war as well as Filipino insurgents whom U.S. forces began to fight in February 1899.

Undoubtedly the most popular and influential musician of the time was John Philip Sousa, who had led the U.S. Marine Band for 12 years before retiring and branching out on his own in 1892. He became an instant sensation, known not only for the plethora of jaunty and memorable marches he wrote, but also for his leadership of his own band of hand-picked musicians that toured the nation exhaustively throughout the 1890s. Souza was indeed the forerunner of a modern-day rock-and-roll superstar.

Musically speaking, Sousa was the right man for the times. His unflinching patriotism, long affiliation with the Marine Corps, and rousing marches all fed into the upsurge in American patriotism during the 1890s. Sousa’s quintessentially American sound also helped the great masses of immigrants become instantly familiar with a key part of American culture. Of course, the timing of the Spanish-American War could not have been better, for Sousa’s marches were played nearly ad nauseum in civilian parades, military reviews, and the like. Sousa’s most famous march, “The Stars and Stripes Forever,” composed in 1896, was written less than 18 months before the Spanish-American War began in April 1898. In an age prior to electronic media, with no radio or television, Sousa’s music took its place as a musical form of propaganda, stirring American patriotism and showcasing Americans’ new-found pride as a nation on the edge of greatness.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Roosevelt, Theodore

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Myths and Slogans. See Remember the Maine; Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

Newspapers (Spanish-American War)

Daily and weekly newspapers played a major role in American life in the late 19th century by conveying day-to-day information to a mass audience. Indeed, in the absence of electronic or broadcast media, most educated people read several daily and weekly papers. In particular, the latter half of 1890s was a period of great prosperity for the newspaper industry, as a strong economy spurred the advertising industry to buy large amounts of ad space at high rates. By the end of the decade, advertisements occupied half of the space in most newspapers.

Most dailies also shifted distribution to the afternoon to cater to people leaving work, who bought papers on a daily basis in increasing numbers. Cable, the telephone, and the telegraph allowed people to read about events only a day after they happened. Other developments that contributed to the success of the industry included the expanded use of the typewriter and telephone and the creation of a process to make newsprint cheaply from wood pulp. Also, the look of papers recently changed when multi-column headlines became possible, while color printing and the ability to print half-tone photographs developed. Although the technology existed to allow for the electronic transmission of photographs, as a practical matter publishing illustrations still required an artist to draw a sketch or make an engraving. As a result, their renditions of photographs, people, scenes, and maps appeared only in feature stories.

The leading papers of the era were the *New York Herald*, *New York Journal*, *New York Sun*, and the *New York World*, all of which had their headquarters along Park Row in New York City, making the city the center of the nation's newspaper industry. In the early part of the decade, the *Herald* had the largest circulation, in part because wealthier New Yorkers supported it. At five cents per copy, the paper was relatively expensive. Daily editions ran from twelve to twenty pages and carried more news, illustrations, and advertisements than any of its contemporaries. The first two pages displayed a dense text of death notices and similar announcements, surrounded by personal ads and commercial advertisements. News, especially sensational local stories, appeared in the next portion of the paper, which was heavily illustrated. Unsigned editorials usually appeared on page eight. Remaining pages were illustrated, and contained shipping notices, sports, interviews, reprints from other papers, political cartoons, society pages, weather, and financial information.

Papers in other cities routinely reprinted articles from the *Herald*, but its position weakened after Joseph Pulitzer took over the rival *World* in 1893. Within two years the rival paper's Sunday edition was the most popular. Sunday editions were quadruple the size of an average weekday edition and were always more widely read. Morrill Goddard, head of the *World's* Sunday staff, included several pages of news and editorials but also created large page spreads about sordid topics to attract readers' attention. Regular features related advice for relationships, happenings in high society, and profiles of popular sports topics. Another source of the paper's success was the eight-page comic section that included the famous "Yellow Kid" strip among four colored pages. This helped to coin the term "Yellow Press," as result.

William Randolph Hearst's acquisition of the *Journal* in 1895 led to a famous circulation war in which both the *World* and *Journal* successfully increased readership by employing the sensationalism that characterized Yellow Journalism. Large, screaming headlines about scandals and crime grabbed the interest of the masses and the copy itself was quite evocative. Combined sales of the *World's* morning and evening editions reached 1 million per day by 1897, and the *Journal's* Sunday edition reached 600,000 in sales by 1898. Meanwhile, the *Herald's* James Gordon Bennett Jr. maintained an authoritative, conservative, and even-handed tone for his paper, even though his father had pioneered the effort to increase the popular appeal of newspapers during his tenure. Subscribing to a morning daily increased one's status, but many readers supplemented them with more interesting afternoon tabloids.

The growing conflict in Cuba, which began in earnest in 1895, was a common topic for these and other New York papers, including the *Times*, *Evening Post*, *Telegram*, and *Tribune*. After Captain-General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau's appointment as governor-general in Cuba in 1896, Spanish atrocities, real and invented, became a mainstay for the New York press. Horatio Rubens, legal counsel for the Cuban Junta, regularly hosted a group of more than 40 different reporters, informally called the Peanut Club because of the snacks he provided. He also gave the reporters handouts emphasizing Cuban victories and Spanish wickedness that the newsmen accepted at face value and used extensively in their articles.

The papers also spent a great deal of money putting people and other assets in place to cover the more interesting aspects of the growing conflict. The *World*, *Herald*, *Sun*, and *Journal* each had between 5 and 20 permanent correspondents in Cuba. Many of them were experienced war reporters like James Creelman, Edward Marshall, and Murat Halstead. Others, such as Frank Norris, John Fox, and Stephen Bonsal, were primarily authors. Newspapers also retained noted artists, including R. F. Zogbaum, W. A. Rogers, and John T. McCutcheon. Hearst hired a duo made up of celebrity novelist Richard Harding Davis and artist Frederic Remington and sent them to the island. When Remington requested to come home because he believed there would be no more, Hearst reportedly told him to provide the sketches and he (Hearst) would provide the war. Davis actually got permission to travel in the countryside and visited one of the Spanish fortified trenches, called a *trocha*, and wrote a moving story called "The Death of Rodriguez" about the execution of a young Cuban farmer by a Spanish firing squad. Davis also wrote a provocative account of how several young Cuban women who supported the insurgency were strip-searched three times before being sent into exile. However, he omitted the fact that the searches had been conducted in private by female authorities. The drawing that accompanied the article featured leering Spanish soldiers conducting the search.

Heart sent correspondent Karl Decker to rescue Evangelina Cisneros, daughter of famed Cuban revolutionary Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, who was imprisoned for allegedly helping organize an assassination attempt on the military governor of Cuba's Isle of Pines. The rescue, the stuff of a Hollywood movie, was trumpeted with great fanfare in the United States. Acclaimed American novelist Stephen Crane also spent time with the Cuban rebels and reported on their point of view.

Most American reporters stayed in Havana, where they interviewed Weyler or the American consul general, Fitzhugh Lee. Many reporters had low standards for journalistic integrity and cared more about interesting copy than accuracy. For instance, men who never left Havana often submitted “eye witness” reports of action in the countryside. Those who ventured forth into rural areas often related the revolutionaries’ side of the conflict because the most lurid, and therefore attractive, stories involved the mistreatment of Cubans. Common topics included imprisonment in horrid conditions, brutal executions, and mistreatment in the reconcentrados. The Spanish authorities required journalists to submit their dispatches to a military censor, who often drastically revised the copy.

Both the American public and the papers had generally negative attitudes toward Spain, which were fed by the Yellow Press. Hearst disliked the Spanish monarchy and was genuinely sympathetic to the Cubans, and his paper reflected his views. Editorials and political cartoons critical of Spain were actually common in all the leading papers for three years leading up to the Spanish-American War, however. The *Herald’s* choice of news stories promoted war sentiments, but unlike the other three papers with reporters in Cuba, it did not promote war in its editorials because victory was not assured, the U.S. military was not adequately prepared, and the war would increase costs for the government. The *Herald* even urged restraint in the wake of the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in February 1898.

Although other papers like the *Evening Post* and *Tribune* also avoided condemning Spain, the two leading Yellow Journalism papers seized on the opportunity to exploit the explosion. The *Journal* immediately blamed Spain and repeatedly attacked President William McKinley in editorials and political cartoons for his non-interventionist policy, while the *World* claimed that it had information that Spain had perpetrated the act. Newspapers also readily acted as a venue for the expression of policymakers’ opinions. Senator William E. Chandler, Republican from New Hampshire, told a newspaper publisher that the McKinley administration was not “militaristic” enough in its policies toward Spain.

When the war did come in April 1898, reporters had good access to Cuba during hostilities. Eighty-nine correspondents rode aboard various vessels in the invasion fleet that carried troops to Cuba. *Herald* correspondents learned of the conflicting priorities of the Army and Navy regarding how to best put pressure on the defenders of Santiago de Cuba and made the inter-service rivalry public. Newspaper tugs accompanied various naval squadrons and made runs back and forth between Cuba and Key West to send cables. Several correspondents were employed by the military to make contact with Cuban insurgents and establish lines of communication. Some reporters even participated in combat. James Creelman of the *Journal* led an attack on a small fort. One group of newsmen followed American soldiers through the surf during an assault near Abolitas Point, despite the proximity of the firefight.

The Spanish-American War had a dramatic impact on the newspaper business. The tension in Cuba and the subsequent war provided a steady stream of content for its pages.

Readership increased as the crisis deepened, and daily circulation for the *World* surpassed the million mark during the war, and the *Journal* had almost one and a half million readers at one point while about a half million read the *Herald*. Pulitzer, who had military experience, backed away from a jingoistic approach during the war and began to advocate for an early end to the hostilities. Even postwar activities stimulated the industry as papers ran exposes decrying various examples of incompetence and inefficiency in the Cuban campaign and the various camps in the United States.

For their part, newspapers in the Spanish-American War left a legacy all their own. Although less than a third of the papers in New York City were “yellow” at the time, a sensationalist brand of journalism remained for 20 years and persists in some ways today. In their quest to capture the public’s attention, they exposed much of the gritty reality of city life and thus created an awareness that laid the foundation for Progressivism, which flourished from 1900 to 1920 or so. They also pioneered investigative journalism techniques that have allowed newspapers to promote democracy by exposing abuses of government power. However, the traditional view that the Yellow Press played a large role in creating war with Spain has lost much of its popularity because the papers that advocated the most drastic action were not located in New York and there is little evidence that the Yellow Press unduly influenced policymakers.

Matthew J. Krogman

SEE ALSO Crane, Stephen; Creelman, James; Davis, Richard Harding; Hearst, William Randolph; *New York Journal*; Pulitzer, Joseph; Remington, Frederic; Yellow Journalism

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New York Journal

The New York Journal, a newspaper, agitated for war against Spain to free Cuba. William Randolph Hearst bought the *New York Journal* in 1895 and rivaled Joseph Pulitzer’s the

New York World for circulation. Their sensational “Yellow Journalism,” a term originating from the setting of full-colored drawings to Sunday issues like R. F. Outcault’s images, stirred war fever against Spain. By 1898, each marketed more than 800,000 papers daily and Hearst’s publication eventually reached 1,500,000.

To incite war feeling, the *Journal* assigned Alfred Henry Lewis to report from Cuba. Wire services spread the news throughout the United States and the *Journal* affiliated with the *Associated Press*. Its columns expressed glaring style, rash untruths, imaginary drawings, and screaming banners. The paper dispatched artist Frederic Remington to Cuba to sketch illustrations.

Hearst exaggerated events to shake, appall, excite, or sicken. The *Journal* demanded revenge when a Spanish ship fired on an American vessel, thinking it was involved in insurrectionist activities. The paper voiced anger after Spaniards seized the *Competitor*, an American craft actually employed in the rebellion, and condemned two U.S. citizens to execution. It accused Spanish general Valerino Weyler of war crimes and censured his reconcentration policy. When Spanish loyalists demonstrated in Havana, American newspapers saw a threat to U.S. citizens and Hearst proclaimed that war against Spain was necessary. Articles broadcasting misery, inhumanity, rape, and killings occupied the press with many allegations fabricated by Cubans.

The *Journal* chronicled the supposed violations of women. It recorded the search of Cuban females on a vessel carrying the American flag accompanied by a Remington sketch picturing depraved Spanish authorities undressing a woman. When Evangelina Cisneros was imprisoned in Havana and charged with aiding the murder of a Spaniard whom she claimed menaced her virtue, Hearst sent reporter Karl Decker to Havana.

He engineered her jailbreak and escape. The publisher prepared a New York welcome for Ms. Cisneros. The *Journal* received an outpouring of compliments, and one governor proposed that Hearst assign 500 newspapermen to liberate Cuba.

On February 9, 1898, Hearst printed a letter critical of President William McKinley penned by Dupuy de Lôme stolen from the Havana post office and passed on to the *Journal*. De Lôme, the Spanish minister to the United States, resigned once the letter made front page news. When the U.S. warship *Maine* sunk in Havana harbor on February 15, Hearst blamed Spain. He urged intervention and advanced a \$50,000 reward for the identity of those responsible. The *Journal* pressed Congress for war and downplayed Spain’s armistice proposal.



People in front of the *New York Journal* building reading newspaper bulletins during the Spanish-American War. (Library of Congress)

The *New York Journal* was retitled *American* in 1901, united with the *New York Evening Journal* in 1937, and went out of existence in 1966.

Rodney J. Ross

SEE ALSO Hearst, William Randolph; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Pulitzer, Joseph; USS *Maine*; Yellow Journalism

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New York World. See Hearst, William Randolph; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Pulitzer, Joseph; Yellow Journalism

Photography (Spanish-American War)

The war was the first conflict in American history to be recorded by both still photography and moving images. At the outbreak of hostilities, William Dinwiddie, formerly of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was at Key West and Tampa photographing the preparations on behalf of *Truth* magazine. He was allowed to travel on the yacht hired by the *New York Herald* in exchange for sharing his photographs with the paper. According to the magazine, "his equipment on the field is the very best, his camera outfit alone costing over \$1,000. Compared with the average \$5 Kodaker the results produced by Mr. Dinwiddie will be as a mountain to a molehill."

One of the leading photographers of the Cuban campaign was John Hemment. Four months after the sinking of the USS *Maine*, he sailed on the *Seguranca* out of New York bound for Havana, and thereafter covered most of Santiago campaign on behalf of Hearst newspapers including the aftermath of the battles at El Caney and San Juan, and the stranded Spanish ships following the naval battle of Santiago. He used a cabin on board one of Hearst's yacht, the *Sylvia*, as a darkroom, but found making photographs in a tropical climate difficult due to the excessive heat and humidity.

Other photographers hired by the pictorial press included James Burton, special photographer to *Harper's Weekly*, James Hare, and a fellow Englishman, Charles M. Sheldon, special photographer and artist to *Leslie's Weekly*. Hare covered the war for

Collier's Weekly and has been called the first professional photojournalist for his work in Cuba and subsequent coverage of later wars.

The illustrated newspapers published both photographs of the actual places alongside sketches drawn by special artists because the camera could not capture movement. Many of the artists were also equipped with small cameras to record scenes and people to assist them in composing their finished drawings.

The conflict witnessed the earliest moving images of an American war, and back in the States enterprising impresarios began to show them to paying audiences although many of the scenes were faked. Charles Dickson's *Biograph War Views* included pictures in and about Havana and the departure of troops "in actual life motion." Edison's *Waro-graph* showed scenes of the siege of Santiago hourly between 10:00 a.m. and noon, and 2:00 and 5:00 p.m., while his *Electrograph*, "with sensational films of the Hispano-American War," toured around the United States and abroad. A number of Edison's alleged war incidents were actually staged and filmed in New Jersey, while scenes of the naval battles at Santiago and Manila Bay were shot on a table-top using model ships floating in a basin of water.

Some of the still photographs taken during the war were made available to the public for purchase. For example, sets of five photographs of the Santiago campaign by Dinwiddie could be acquired through *Truth* magazine for \$2.50. Stereoscopic scenes were also very popular and companies such as Underwood and Underwood, or Keystone sold numerous sets. Lantern slides were also available.

Cameras were becoming very portable and some servicemen carried Kodaks that could be purchased for as little as \$5.00.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Hearst, William Randolph; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); USS *Maine*

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Pulitzer, Joseph

Pioneering newspaper reporter, publisher, and sponsor of the Pulitzer Prizes but also associated with the Yellow Journalism that surrounded the Spanish-American War. Joseph Pulitzer was born in Makó, Hungary, on April 10, 1847, the son of a well-to-do,

Jewish grain merchant and a devout, Roman Catholic German mother. Until the age of 17, Pulitzer was educated by private tutors and at private academies. He then sought to join the military, but was rebuffed on at least three attempts because of his poor eyesight and fragile health. While traveling in Germany, however, in late 1864, he met a bounty recruiter for the U.S. Army, with whom he contracted to enlist as a substitute for an American draftee. Pulitzer sailed for the United States speaking only limited English, although he was fluent in Hungarian, German, and French. He went on to serve for almost a year until the end of the Civil War in April 1865, assigned to a unit with a number of German-speaking men.

Following the war, Pulitzer worked at a number of odd jobs. Moving to St. Louis, he read voraciously, mastering English and immersing himself in legal studies. In 1868, he took a job as a reporter for a German-language newspaper and quickly distinguished himself. In 1872, Pulitzer was given controlling interest in the paper, which was teetering on insolvency. From there, the enterprising journalist engaged in a number of risky but very successful business ventures that included the acquisition of other St. Louis-area newspapers. By 1878, Pulitzer was now the owner of the *St. Louis-Dispatch* and had already established national reputation in journalism and publishing.

It was with his *St. Louis-Dispatch* that Pulitzer became known for his gritty, mass-appeal journalism and his championing of the average American. Soon, Pulitzer—who worked long hours—had pioneered the genre of investigative reporting to uncover government corruption and abuses in private enterprise. Now in precarious health, in 1883 Pulitzer and his wife left St. Louis for New York ostensibly for a European vacation. Ever the dealmaker, he instead met with New York financier Jay Gould and negotiated the purchase of the *New York World*, a paper that had been on the skids financially. He immediately threw himself headlong into his latest acquisition, involving himself in every aspect of the newspaper.

To increase circulation, Pulitzer resorted to sensationalist reporting, the extensive use of illustrations, and staged news “events” to attract more attention and readers. Indeed, Pulitzer’s approach had all the hallmarks of Yellow Journalism. By the late 1880s, the *New York World* was the nation’s most-read newspaper.



As the owner of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and later of the *New York World*, Joseph Pulitzer used his newspapers as an instrument to urge reform upon American society. (Library of Congress)

By 1890, however, Pulitzer had fallen victim to a vicious circulation war with Charles Anderson Dana, Pulitzer's chief rival in New York and publisher of *The Sun*. Dana had engaged in a despicable personal smear campaign against Pulitzer, whose health was now broken. Nearly blind and suffering from a nervous condition that made him terribly sensitive to any noise beyond a whisper, he spent most of his time in seclusion either aboard his yacht or in his homes in Maine or New York (usually in "sound-proof" rooms). Nevertheless, Pulitzer kept his hand on the pulse of his newspapers and never entirely relinquished editorial or managerial control.

When William Randolph Hearst bought the *New York Journal*, sparking a circulation war with Pulitzer's *New York World*, Pulitzer upped the ante by engaging in ever-more salacious and sensationalistic news stories. Increasingly, the stories focused on events in Cuba. In certain instances, his reporters were encouraged to fabricate stories, which badly hurt Pulitzer's journalistic reputation. Both Hearst's and Pulitzer's papers clamored for war after the February 15, 1898, destruction of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor. Following the end of the Spanish-American War, Pulitzer turned away from Yellow Journalism, but unfortunately, the damage to his reputation had already been done.

Pulitzer returned to his roots by sponsoring a series of hard-hitting investigative news stories after the turn of the century, although his health prevented him from returning to the newspaper offices he so loved. Pulitzer died aboard his yacht in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, on October 29, 1911. Pulitzer had directed in his will that Columbia University should receive a large sum of money from his estate to create a school of journalism. In 1912, the Columbia School of Journalism came into being. It remains one of the most prestigious of its kind in the United States. Columbia also created the Pulitzer Prize, which recognizes superlative work in journalism, history, literature, and musical compositions.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Hearst, William Randolph; *New York Journal*; USS *Maine*; Yellow Journalism

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Remember the *Maine*

A jingoist expression used by American journalists and members of the general public for the pretext for going to war with Spain in April 1898. After a mysterious explosion sank the U.S. second-class battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, hawkish

Americans who were already inclined to go to war with Spain over the situation in Cuba began to use the slogan “Remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain” as a patriotic rallying cry to increase pressure on President William McKinley to declare war on Spain.

President McKinley had ordered the *Maine* to Cuba to protect American interests and pressure Spanish authorities. The massive explosion that sank the *Maine* resulted in the death of 266 sailors. Although the U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry waited until March 28, 1898 to assert that an external mine had caused the explosion, American newspapers, lacking any concrete evidence, immediately reported that the explosion was the result of Spanish treachery.

Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal*, already in fierce competition for readers, exploited the sinking of the *Maine* to boost newspaper sales. The *New York Journal* carried the sensationalistic headline: “The War Ship *Maine* Was Split In Two By An Enemy’s Secret Infernal Machine.” Below the headline, a drawing of the *Maine* floating in the harbor on top of mines with wires leading to a Spanish fort further enraged American readers. Given its desire to avoid war with the United States, the Spanish government had no logical reason to sink the *Maine*. Nevertheless, within days of the explosion, Americans across the country, fueled by the persuasiveness of Yellow Journalism, demanded that McKinley force the Spanish government to relinquish control of Cuba.

The popular phrase, modeled after the equally popular “Remember the Alamo,” which had encouraged the people of Texas to support the revolution against Mexico in 1836, served as a powerful catalyst for the Spanish-American War. The phrase helped shape American public opinion and gave McKinley the support he for a declaration of war against Spain in April 1898. Indeed, the rallying cry helped convince many Americans that the war against Spain was a justifiable defense of American national honor.

Michael R. Hall

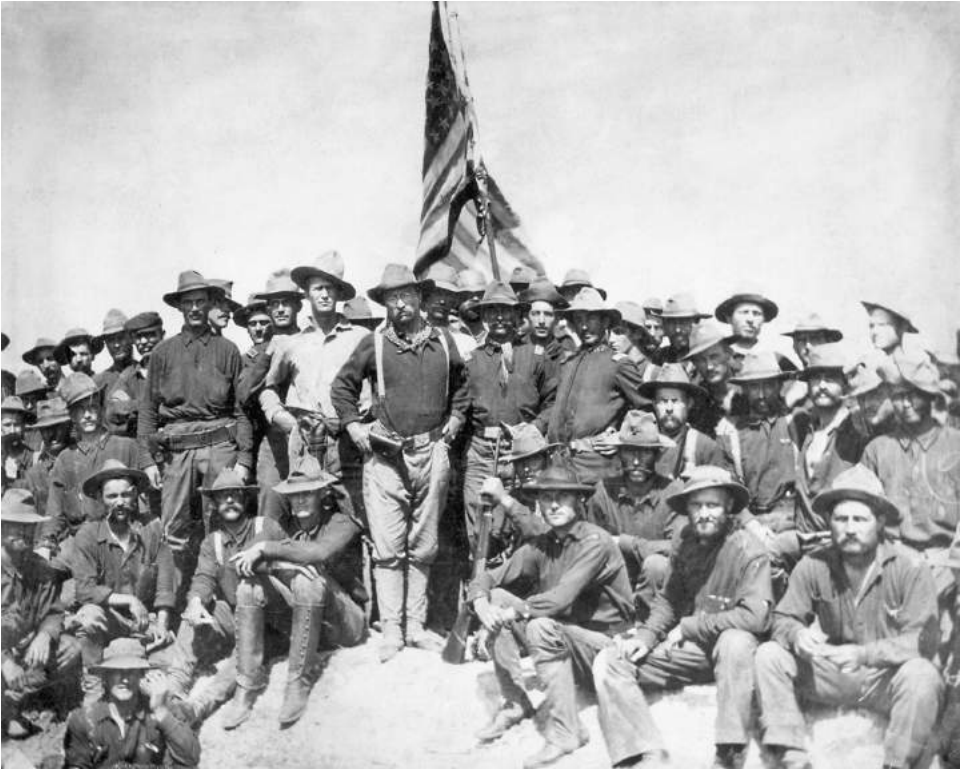
SEE ALSO Hearst, William Randolph; *New York Journal*; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Pulitzer, Joseph; USS *Maine*; Yellow Journalism

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Roosevelt, Theodore

Political leader and president of the United States (1901–1909). Theodore Roosevelt was born on October 27, 1858 in New York City to a prominent wealthy family. He grew up in a life of privilege. He was educated by private tutors and graduated with honors from



Col. Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders pose at the summit of San Juan Hill in 1898. The Rough Riders, also known as the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, were recruited largely by Roosevelt and consisted of a varied assortment of both upper and lower-class citizen soldiers. (Library of Congress)

Harvard University in 1880. He married his first wife Alice Lee in 1880 and embarked on the Grand Tour of Europe. His wife's death, along with that of his mother in 1884, affected Roosevelt deeply. Between 1884 and 1886, he made a venture in cattle ranching in the Dakota Territory, which failed after a disastrous blizzard killed off much of his herd. In 1886, he married Edith Carow, an old acquaintance.

Roosevelt was an especially prolific author. Between 1880 and 1900, he wrote books on history and nature such as *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, *The Winning of the West*, and *The Strenuous Life*. His naval history of the War of 1812 is still read today.

When he was a law student at Harvard, Roosevelt developed the belief in protecting the common good. He believed that he should work for the common good and politics provided the means to accomplish this. In 1881, he was elected as a Republican to the New York Assembly. Exposed to the machine politics of the day, Roosevelt soon developed his commitment to reform. He took a brief absence from politics following his wife's sudden death in 1884 and the unsuccessful venture in cattle ranching.

Roosevelt returned to politics in 1886 by running for the office of mayor of New York City, but was unsuccessful. Between 1889 and 1895, he served as the civil service

commissioner in Washington, DC In 1895, he became police commissioner for New York City. In 1896, realizing he could not defeat Tammany Hall by himself, Roosevelt tied his hopes to the Republican Party, from which he hoped to gain a position after victory in the elections. Through his connections with Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt secured appointment as assistant secretary of the navy. During the 1890s Roosevelt was part of an influential circle of people in Washington who believed that the United States should play a larger role in international politics. He was especially influenced by U.S. naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan, who argued that a large navy and the coaling stations to provision that navy was essential to world power. As assistant secretary of the navy, Roosevelt had a grand vision of the United States, which included the acquisition of Hawaii and islands in the Caribbean, an isthmian canal across Central America, and a large battle fleet.

The deteriorating situation in Cuba presented a unique opportunity for Roosevelt to apply his world vision. The continuing conflict between Cuban revolutionaries and the Spanish colonial government in Cuba threatened U.S. economic interests on the island. Roosevelt was especially eager to involve the United States in a war against Spain. Indeed, he told President William McKinley that in the event of war, he would resign his post in the Navy Department and enlist. Following the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898, and even as investigations were underway to determine the cause of the explosion, Roosevelt positioned warships in the Atlantic and the Pacific for action. He ordered Commodore George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Asiatic squadron to sail to Hong Kong and be prepared to take action against the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. On April 11, 1898, the United States declared war on Spain.

Roosevelt was determined to be a part of the war. He faced skepticism from his friends and colleagues who tried to persuade him that the country required his services as assistant navy secretary more than on the battlefield. Also, he was 40 years old, not in the best of shape, and would be subject to malaria and typhoid. Roosevelt helped organize the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, which came to be known as the Rough Riders, a diverse group of Texas cowboys, New York policemen, lawyers, and Ivy League college graduates. The Rough Riders were first stationed in Florida, until they were transferred to Cuba in June 1898.

Roosevelt gained national prominence during his service with the Rough Riders, particularly at the Battle of San Juan Hill. Richard Harding Davis's account in *Scribner's Magazine* (October 1898) colorfully described the Rough Riders' charge at San Juan heights on July 1, 1898, particularly Roosevelt ("without doubt the most conspicuous figure in the charge"). Davis's reports about Roosevelt leading the charge at the Battle of San Juan helped seal Roosevelt's warrior reputation. Being a national hero enhanced his political prospects when he returned from Cuba, and he easily won the office of governor of New York.

In 1898, Roosevelt ran again on a Progressive bent against the excesses of early 20th-century U.S. big business, particularly against the owners of railroads and streetcar companies. During the 1900 election, Roosevelt became the vice-presidential candidate of the Republican Party, running with presidential candidate William McKinley. On

September 6, 1901, McKinley was assassinated at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, by anarchist Leon Czolgosz, and Roosevelt became president.

Secure in his destiny, Roosevelt was not overwhelmed by the prospect. As the youngest U.S. president, Roosevelt transformed the image of the presidency. His energy, young family, social prominence, and reputation as war hero endeared him to the public. Roosevelt's domestic policy was marked by his relentless Progressivism. In 1902, he mediated in the anthracite coal strike, and he was instrumental in the dismemberment of the Northern Securities Company. Roosevelt conserved 51 million acres of western land as national forests. In 1905, he passed the Hepburn Railway Rate Act, which strengthened the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and he signed into law the Pure Food and Drug Act, which established the Food and Drug Administration. He established his reputation as a trust buster, someone who was willing to discipline corporations that did not serve the public interest.

As president, Roosevelt applied his vision for U.S. foreign policy. Victory over Spain announced the arrival of the United States as an international power. Indeed, the United States had acquired from Spain as a result of the war both Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands. One manifestation of the new U.S. foreign policy was the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in 1904, which stated that not only was the Western Hemisphere off limits to European exploitation, but that the United States had the right to intervene in the hemisphere when it saw fit to do so. Roosevelt applied this in 1902 when he prevented Germany's encroachment in Venezuela by offering arbitration between both countries. The second application of the Roosevelt Corollary occurred in the events surrounding the construction of the Panama Canal. The Spanish-American War had demonstrated the necessity of a canal connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific across Central America. Nicaragua had originally been considered a possible site for construction, but a volcano eruption rendered moot that possibility. Roosevelt participated in the intrigues behind the acquisition of the rights to build a canal through Panama. When the Colombian Senate rejected an American offer for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, Roosevelt encouraged a revolt in Panama and then prevented the Colombians from suppressing it, allowing the United States to enter into an agreement to build the canal.

Roosevelt also fostered a rapprochement with Britain, sought by London because of Germany's decision to build a powerful battle fleet. The resolution of final disputes with Britain allowed U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere, and provided a community of interest that would lead to the United States entering World War I on the side of Britain. In 1904 and 1906, Roosevelt helped mediate in the crisis between France and Germany over Morocco. In 1905, he mediated the end of the Russo-Japanese War, the treaty for which was signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and which garnered him the 1905 Nobel Peace Prize. Before he left the presidency, he sent off the Great White Fleet in 1908 on a cruise around the world as a showcase of U.S. naval power.

Roosevelt easily won a second term in 1904 but left the presidency in 1909 with the promise not to run for a third term but soon broke with Taft, and in the 1912 presidential election, broke his promise and ran as an independent under the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party. Roosevelt split the Republican vote, which handed the presidency to

Democrat Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt continued as a prominent figure in American politics until his death on January 16, 1919.

Dino E. Buenviaje

SEE ALSO Davis, Richard Harding; USS *Maine*

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Rough Riders. See Roosevelt, Theodore

Stratemeyer, Edward L.

Edward L. Stratemeyer was born October 4, 1862, in Elizabeth, New Jersey, the son of Henry Julius, a tobacconist and dry goods dealer, and Anna (Siegal) Stratemeyer. He attended public schools in Elizabeth, NJ and worked in the family's tobacco shop until 1889. During this period, he tried to write stories modeled on those of William Taylor Adams ("Oliver Optic") and Horatio Alger. In 1888, he sold his first story, "Victor Horton's Idea," to *Golden Days for Boys and Girls*, a weekly published in Philadelphia.

Between 1886, when he wrote his first story, and his death in 1930, Stratemeyer wrote, outlined, and edited more than 800 books and numerous short stories under a minimum of 65 different pseudonyms, and in several book series.

From 1891 to 1893, Stratemeyer wrote six serial stories for Frank A. Munsey's *Argosy*. In 1893, he became editor of *Good News*, a weekly magazine for boys, to which he contributed many stories during the years 1893–1895; in 1895, he edited *Young People of America*, and in 1896, he created a periodical, *Bright Days*.

His first book, *Richard Dare's Venture; or, Striking Out for Himself*, appeared in 1894 as the first volume of the "Bound to Win Series," and about 1896 he became a full-time writer of full-length stories in series. The first of these to gain him popularity was the "Old Glory Series," which began with the success of *Under Dewey at Manila* (1898).

In 1899, he started the "Rover Boys' Series for Young Americans," perhaps most popular of all his work; the series continued until 1926. Under the name of Captain Ralph Bonehill, he wrote the "Flag of Freedom Series" (1899–1902), the "Mexican War" Series (1900–1902), the "Frontier" Series (1903–1907), and the "Boy Hunters" Series (1906–1910), and others, as well as numerous separate volumes.

During 1906, Stratemeyer founded his literary syndicate in New York City, an operation that was to employ many writers of juvenile fiction to develop stories that he outlined. These stories, often describing prep school and college life, and usually focusing on the middle and upper class American lifestyles, were thrilling and action-packed but made little attempt at character development and, in the beginning, to portray the changing ethnic climate of these years.

The syndicate produced juvenile favorites such as the "Tom Swift and Motor Boys" Series for boys and the "Bobbsey Twins" for young children. Stratemeyer based his plots on a variety of data and he wrote and edited his books at a steady pace throughout his life. At his death, his total output averaged over 150 books. He also developed over 600 others.

Stratemeyer's first success as a novelist came in 1898, during the Spanish-American War. The original story, about several young men serving on a battleship, was submitted shortly after news of Admiral Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay reached the United States but the publishers asked Stratemeyer to revise his story to feature Dewey's victory. The result was the very popular *Under Dewey at Manila; or, The War Fortunes of a Castaway*. Subsequent books featured the characters from this novel in the "Old Glory" and the "Soldiers of Fortune" series. The author expanded this market for these stories with other books that featured boys in the French and Indian War, the American Revolution, and the Mexican War.

Late in 1899, Stratemeyer introduced one of his most successful series, the "Rover Boys Series for Young Americans," which chronicled the adventures of three brothers, Dick, Tom, and Sam Rover, at Putnam Hall, a military boarding school, and later at Midwestern Brill College.

To publicize his books and to keep up with the increasing demands for more stories, Stratemeyer initiated many innovative (for their time) publishing strategies in order to get his many series published. By 1906, increasing demand against barely sufficient supply resulted in the establishment of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, a factory production in which Stratemeyer created plot outlines for series titles then sent them to contract writers, who wrote the actual stories for a nominal fee, usually under pseudonyms (e.g.,

Victor Appleton, Victor Appleton II, Franklin W. Dixon, Laura Lee Hope, Carolyn Keene, Ann Sheldon, Helen Louise Thorndyke) as Stratemeyer retained all rights to the stories.

Stratemeyer died in Newark on May 10, 1930. He was survived by his wife and his two daughters, Harriet Adams and Edna Squier, who jointly took over the management of the Stratemeyer Syndicate. Although Squier took no operative role in the Syndicate after 1942, Adams remained an active partner until her death.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO *USS Maine*

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Tearing Down the Spanish Flag! See Film (Spanish–American War)

Twain, Mark

Mark Twain, best known for his tales of boyhood along the Mississippi River, is remembered as America's greatest humorist and one of its finest novelists of the late 19th century. In *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, he has been credited with having written the first truly American novel.

Mark Twain was the pseudonym adopted by Samuel Langhorne Clemens; the name derived from a phrase called out on Mississippi riverboats to denote that a channel was two fathoms deep and thus safe for travel. Twain was born on November 30, 1835 in Florida, Missouri, but he grew up in the small town of Hannibal, on the west bank of the Mississippi River. At 18, he began selling humorous sketches to newspapers, and at 21, he began to pursue his childhood dream of becoming a riverboat pilot.

The Civil War shut down riverboat service on the Mississippi, and Twain enlisted briefly as a Confederate soldier. He deserted after three weeks and traveled west with his brother Orion, an abolitionist who had been appointed by President Abraham Lincoln

to serve as secretary to the governor of the Nevada Territory. He wrote about his brief Civil War experiences in his short story, “The Private History of a Campaign That Failed,” which was first published in *Century Magazine* (December 1885).

Twain worked briefly for his brother and even tried his hand at mining for gold before taking up a succession of reporting jobs, first at the Virginia City, Nevada *Territorial Enterprise*—where, in 1863, he first used the name Mark Twain on a story—and later at the San Francisco *Morning Call*.

In 1866, Twain made his debut as a humorous travel writer with a trip to Hawaii for the Sacramento, California *Union*. The following year, he signed on for the voyage of the steamship *Quaker City* to Europe and the Holy Land; his dispatches for the San Francisco *Alta California* were later rewritten as *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), the book that won him an international reputation and made his fortune.

Twain wrote a series of books in quick succession, including *Roughing It* (1872), an account of his adventures in California and Hawaii; *The Gilded Age* (1873), a satiric novel of the hectic post-Civil War development boom and a collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner; *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), a travel book featuring Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; and *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), a novel set in Tudor England about two boys who change places in the days before one of them is to be crowned King Edward VI.

During this period, Twain also wrote the three books for which he is most remembered, all of which harken back to his boyhood in Hannibal. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) concerns a mischievous boy and his experiences growing up in St. Petersburg, Missouri, a little town based on Hannibal.

Twain’s acknowledged masterpiece is *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). While the novel’s apparent moral ambiguity has stirred debate, critics agree that the story remains true to Huck as a character and that Twain’s achievement in narrating the tale in Huck’s voice was to fully define for the first time an American literary vernacular.

When *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was published, Twain was at the peak of his career, but his fortunes reversed soon thereafter. He had invested heavily in the prototype of a new typesetting machine, but its inventor, James Paige, never completed it. Twain wrote furiously in an attempt to stave off bankruptcy, but the project soaked up all the profits from such books as *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (1889), *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894), and *The Tragedy of Pudd’nhead Wilson* (1894). Twain was forced into bankruptcy, though fortunately, he managed to transfer his copyrights to his wife, and so protected his most valuable property.

In June 1898, he became a leader and founding member of the Anti-Imperialist League, which opposed the annexation of the Philippines by the United States. Twain wrote many political pamphlets for the organization. *The Incident in the Philippines*, posthumously published in 1924, was in response to the Moro Crater Massacre, in which six hundred Moros were killed. Many of his neglected and previously uncollected writings on anti-imperialism appeared for the first time in book form in a 1992 book, edited by Jim Zwick.

In opposition to the Philippine-American War, Twain wrote *The War Prayer*, a scathing indictment of war and particularly of blind patriotic and religious fervor as motivations for war, depicting an unnamed country that goes to war as patriotic citizens attend a church service for soldiers who have been called up. Suddenly, an “aged stranger” appears and announces that he is God’s messenger to proclaim for the suffering and destruction of their enemies. Rest of story is a grisly depiction of hardships inflicted on war-torn nations by their conquerors. The story ends on a pessimistic note as the messenger is ignored.

Twain apparently dictated it around 1904–1905; it was rejected by his publisher, and was found after his death among his unpublished manuscripts. It was first published in his *Europe and Elsewhere* (1923). It was later republished as campaign material by Vietnam War protesters.

Twain died in Redding, Connecticut on April 21, 1910.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Abolitionist Propaganda; Anti-Imperialist League; Lincoln, Abraham;

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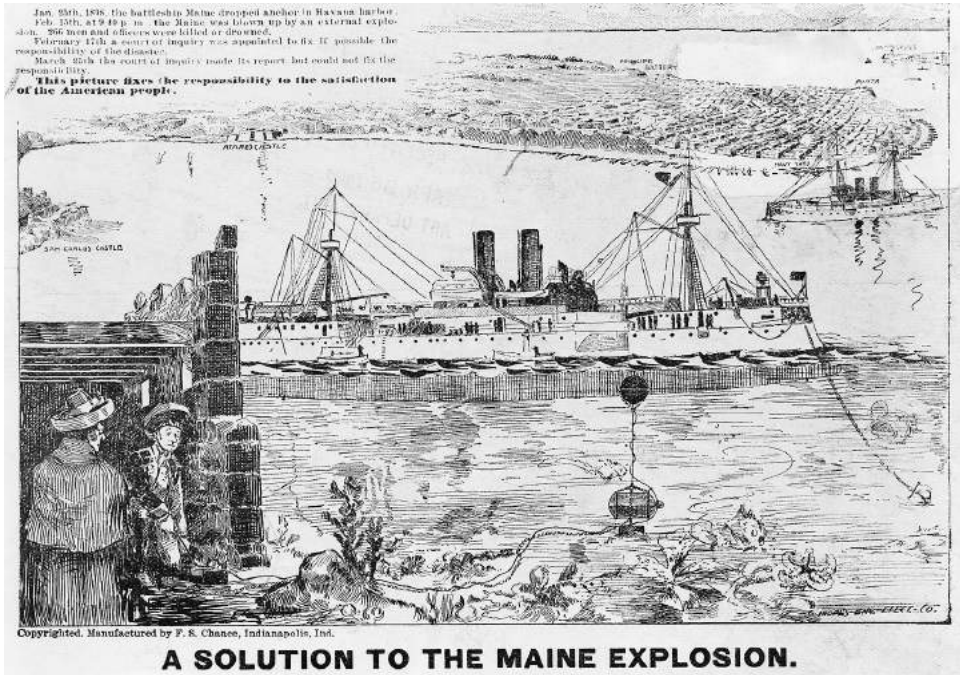
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USS Maine

The U.S. Navy warship *Maine*, was authorized by Congress on August 3, 1886, as an armored cruiser (heavy cruiser), but was designated by the navy as a second-class battleship. Built at the New York Navy Yard, supposedly on the design of the *Riachuelo*, built by Samuda for Brazil, the ship was laid down in October 1888, launched in November 1889, and commissioned on September 17, 1895. The *Maine* was 319 feet in length overall by 57 feet in beam. It displaced 6,682 tons (7,180 fully loaded) and had a speed of 17.5 knots. Its coal capacity largely limited it to a coast-defense role. Typical of such warships at the time, it had a decidedly mixed battery to allow the ship to fight at long, intermediary, and close ranges. It was armed with four 10-inch guns in twin en echelon turrets and six 6-inch guns in the superstructure (two forward, two amidships, and two aft). It also carried seven 6-pounders, four 1-pounders, and four Gatling guns and had



A fanciful illustration of 1888: “A solution to the *Maine* explosion,” depicting two men about to blow up the *Maine* with an underwater mine. Although there was no proof of this, speculation was rife in the American press that the Spanish government was behind the destruction of the American warship. (Library of Congress)

six 18-inch above-water torpedo tubes. Protection came in the form of a 180-foot long steel armor belt, three feet above the waterline and four feet below it. The top portion of the belt tapered from 12 inches in thickness to 6 inches at the lower edge. It also had 2 inch deck armor forward and 2–3 inches aft. Barbette and turret armor was 12 and 8 inches, respectively.

The renewal of fighting in Cuba between revolutionaries bent on independence and Spanish troops determined to prevent that created concern for the security of U.S. interests in Cuba and fears that a European power, most probably Germany, might seek to take advantage of the situation. On January 24, 1898, President William McKinley ordered Captain Charles Sigsbee of the *Maine* to steam from Key West, Florida, to Havana, supposedly to protect U.S. interests in Cuba but actually to pressure Spain to change its policies there and to enforce the 1823 Monroe Doctrine. This was certainly a provocative act, much resented by Spain, although Madrid had reluctantly agreed to it. The *Maine* arrived in Havana Harbor on January 25.

Although the Spanish authorities in Havana extended full courtesies to the *Maine*’s crew, Sigsbee refused to allow the sailors shore leave in order to avoid a possible incident. At 9:30 p.m. on February 15, the *Maine* sank in Havana harbor when its forward magazines, containing nearly five tons of powder charges, exploded. It claimed 266 lives. A total of 260 men died immediately or shortly thereafter. Another six men died

later from their injuries. The casualties represented nearly three-quarters of the ship's crew. Sigsbee and most of the officers survived because their quarters were located aft in the ship. Spanish ships and the civilian steamer *City of Washington* set about rescuing the survivors.

While the circumstances of the ignition of the magazines remained in controversy, the loss of the *Maine* provided a rallying point for Americans who wanted war. The cry "Remember the *Maine*—To hell with Spain!" swept the country, and the day after the board of inquiry's report, President William McKinley sent Madrid an ultimatum that ultimately led to the April 11, U.S. declaration of war against Spain. It may be misleading to say that the explosion aboard the *Maine* in and of itself brought about the war declaration, but it is hard not to conclude that the incident gave the United States a perfect pretense for war, and was indeed the last in a long series of U.S.-Spanish clashes over Cuba.

Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Remember the *Maine*

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Yellow Journalism

A term often used to characterize sensationalist, jingoistic, and sometimes fabricated or embellished news stories by chiefly large circulation newspapers to stir up support for the Cuban rebels and encourage the United States to go to war with Spain in the 1890s. Although many of the tawdry tactics used in Yellow Journalism well predate the 1890s, the term was struck in the lead-up to the Spanish-American War, from about 1895 to 1898, when sensationalist and jingoistic news reporting reached its zenith. Two New York City newspaper publishers—Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst—best exemplified Yellow Journalism in the 1890s.

The circulation war between Pulitzer and Hearst was underway well before the United States declared war upon Spain in 1898. After achieving financial success with the



Frederic Remington illustration from the Spanish-American War titled, "Spaniards Search Women on American Steamers." (*The New York Journal*, 1898)

print industry or the Hearst-Pulitzer rivalry over the "Yellow Kid" comic strip, created by cartoonist Richard Outcault.

The fierce struggle for circulation also convinced Hearst that the public clamor for violence might be fed through war mongering. Both Pulitzer and Hearst sought to exploit American sympathies with Cuban revolutionaries seeking independence from Spain. While the newspaper publishers often exaggerated their reports of Spanish atrocities in Cuba, the policies of Spanish Governor General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, who herded Cuban peasants into reconcentration camps, provided ample ammunition for the pages of the *World* and *Journal*.

Reporters and artists like Richard Harding Davis and Frederic Remington often submitted stories dealing with the Spanish harassment of imprisoned Cuban women as well as the starvation of Cuban children. Although probably apocryphal, a story associated with Remington's January 1897 arrival in Cuba clearly illustrates the nature of Yellow Journalism. After sizing up the situation, Remington remarked that the military and political situation on the island was quiet and that he was preparing for a return to the United States. Hearst implored Remington to stay in Cuba, allegedly remarking, "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." Anti-Spanish resentment was exacerbated on February 9, 1898, when the *Journal* published a personal letter from the Spanish minister to the United States Enrique Dupuy de Lôme to a friend, José Canalejas y Méndez, criticizing President William McKinley.

On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* was destroyed while anchored in Havana harbor, with great loss of life. While the exact cause of the explosion was not immediately known, the Pulitzer and Hearst papers immediately labeled the explosion an act of Spanish treachery. On February 17 a *Journal* headline proclaimed, "*Maine* Blown Up by Torpedo." As clamor for war increased around the country, McKinley

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Joseph Pulitzer purchased the *New York World* in 1882. Seeking to tap the immigrant market, the *World* featured illustrations and crime stories often accompanied by a sexual titillating angle, all for only two cents a copy. The politically ambitious and wealthy mining heir William Randolph Hearst was impressed by how Pulitzer made the *World* the largest circulation paper in New York City. Hearst used similar tactics with the *San Francisco Examiner*, and in 1895, he decided to compete directly with Pulitzer by purchasing the *New York Journal*. Hearst raided the *World*'s staff and slashed the paper's price to a penny per copy. The term "Yellow Journalism" is probably derived either from the yellow paper used in the

presented Congress with a declaration of war, which was approved on April 25, 1898. Newspaper coverage also made war heroes of Theodore Roosevelt and Admiral George Dewey.

While the Yellow Journalism of Hearst and Pulitzer certainly encouraged the jingoism that led to war, it is simplistic to blame the war on these journalists alone, as business interests in the United States certainly supported a policy of territorial and economic expansion in pursuit of overseas markets and more profits. Others sought American expansionism on religious, moral, and chauvinistic grounds.

Ron Briley

SEE ALSO Davis, Richard Harding; Hearst, William Randolph; USS *Maine*; *New York Journal*; Newspapers (Spanish-American War); Pulitzer, Joseph; Remington, Frederic; Roosevelt, Theodore

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Encyclopedia of Media and Propaganda in Wartime America

VOLUME TWO

Martin J. Manning and Clarence R. Wyatt, Editors



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Preface

In a society as open as that of the United States, the connections between social and cultural characteristics and public policy are powerful and complicated. And in a society as open as this one, media of various forms—journalistic, artistic, and popular—form the lines of communication, both influencing and reflecting official policies and public sentiments. Nowhere is this phenomenon more important than in the area of national security, when the decisions regard the commitment of American treasure and American blood.

From the beginning of the 20th century, several factors have come together to make the role of media in national security even more important. First, growing literacy rates and, later, the rise of a middle class with greater disposable income created a voracious appetite for media of all types. Second, technological innovation—with high-speed presses, telecommunications, radio and television, film, and the Internet—rose in an effort to feed that appetite, in the process creating a mass media market. Finally, these developments coincided with the rise of the United States to superpower status, with an expansive conception of its own security interests and the power and willingness to enforce them against a variety of challenges.

The entries in this volume touch on a rich variety of topics dealing with the broad subject of media and American military conflict. However, together, they shed light on a few central ideas.

One first has to be aware of some key American cultural characteristics that provide the context in which the media play their varied roles. First, Americans as a people tend to be quite self-centered—“ethnocentric,” in the sociologist’s term. All societies tend to focus on those issues and events that touch them most directly. However, with their tradition of self-perceived exceptionalism—whether it goes by the name of “divine Providence” or “Manifest Destiny”—Americans have long believed that the world revolves around them. In the areas of diplomacy and military force, this has often meant that Americans cultivate an almost willful ignorance until that world rudely breaks into the great American monologue. And when it does, Americans still tend to react with little interest in or regard for the particular natures of these societies. It is not much of stretch to say that, in the view of most Americans, the peoples with whom the United States comes into conflict, or comes into conflicts to support, have no history until the

American cavalry is called to the rescue. Such blindness has often led that cavalry into some very sticky situations. Media, whether news or entertainment (and the line between those two becomes more dangerously blurred by the second), have over the years both reinforced and sought to overcome that self-absorption. The degree to which they succeed or fail in one or the other has a significant effect on the ultimate wisdom and success of the decisions American citizens make regarding the use of force.

Americans also tend to be possessors of a collective short attention span. The United States was, after all, founded and built by people who couldn't or wouldn't sit still. This restlessness, this looking for the next thing, has often served Americans well, providing a forward-looking energy. However, it also creates an impatience that profoundly affects, for good or ill, how willing Americans are to stick with military commitments. It is not that Americans fold easily or are cowardly; rather, it is their desire for instant gratification. And, again, the media reflect and reinforce this characteristic. When covering military situations, the mainstream news media tend to focus on the police beat, the "who, what, when, and where, just the facts, ma'am" elements of the story, the how many miles covered, how many bombs dropped, how many enemy dead measures of progress that may or may not tell us much at all, with the "why" and "what does it mean" relegated to the opinion journals or National Public Radio. Media at large do their part—the 22-minute long evening news broadcast, the headline on the radio, the crawler on the bottom of the television screen, the truncated (read "butchered") grammar of the text message, the all-the-news-that's-fit-to-print-in-140-characters tweet.

Other factors have come to shape the media and the messages that they convey. Journalism itself has changed dramatically. Throughout much of the nation's history, in fact well into the 20th century, newspapers and journals openly identified with—in fact, were often run by—particular political parties, or at the least, clearly advocated ideological positions on the editorial page and in the news hole. But in the period following World War I, journalism evolved from a craft into a profession, with graduate schools and codes of ethics. Newspapers might express strong opinions in their editorials, but the news pages were the sanctum sanctorum of "objective journalism." After World War II, news organizations also tended to become big business, owned by corporate entities that brought a corporate mentality with them. The need to pay dividends and increase stock values made economic pressures even greater, which subtly—and sometimes not so subtly—became a factor in news judgments. Mainstream news organizations tended to become more conservative, not in an ideological sense, but in terms of being cautious in challenging authority, of getting too far out on the limb of a story.

Of course, this context of consensus was also formed by the clear threats faced by the United States during much of this period—fascism and militarism during World War II, Communism during the Cold War, and, more recently, terrorism. This consensus was not only political, but also cultural, and media of all types have played significant roles in shaping and re-shaping that consensus. Certainly, the news media have helped to create moments of profound national consciousness during times of crisis—Pearl Harbor, the Cuban Missile Crisis, JFK's assassination, the *Challenger* explosion, and the September 11

attacks, for example. But media also help to identify, moderate, accommodate, and legitimize changes in politics, society, and culture on a continuing basis.

Technology has also rendered changes in media of all kinds. It has, of course, made information more available more immediately to more people. However, as the electronic media have become more dominant, the emphasis on unfiltered experience and speed of delivery has driven discussions of broader context and meaning to the hinterlands. Journalism, at its best, is the art of taking a torrent of information and rendering it comprehensible and usable to the larger public through an informed, skeptical, and fair process. Technology has also fostered an atomization of media. No longer are great financial resources needed to create and disseminate content. Interest groups, business entities, and individuals can reach their own audiences relatively inexpensively. Even the movie and music industries have had to accommodate to the rise of iTunes and YouTube. While these new technologies, whether it be cable TV or the Internet, have added great richness and diversity to the media landscape, they have also fostered a tendency for individuals to seek out only those sources that reflect and reinforce their own preconceptions. The cultural, social, and political marketplace is no longer a place in which we have to rummage around, maybe finding that idea that we might not have considered before. Instead, it's a place where ideas pre-packaged just for us are ready for purchase, no muss, no fuss.

A final major issue that provides context for the entries contained here is government control of information. Over the course of the 20th century, the willingness and ability of the federal government to control information grew along with American power and the threats challenging that power. Control over information flowed especially to the Executive Branch and, most particularly, the Office of the President. Certainly, some of this was justified. Facing decisions in which the fate of human civilization hung in the balance, Presidents rightly wanted to control the context in which those decisions were made. However, the impulse to secrecy often went beyond this concern, and served political expediency rather than issues of life and death. This impulse has not gone unchallenged by the media, but, again, during World War II, the Cold War, and the Global War on Terror, the ability of the government to control information remains strong. The technological changes noted above have provided the means to challenge that control, but in a fractured media environment, it is also easier for the government to manipulate information and perceptions, at least on a short-term basis. At the same time, these changes make it significantly more difficult to maintain a broad-based consensus for military action of any significant length, except in the face of the most profound threat.

"Blaming the messenger" is, it seems, a fundamental human tendency. We blame the news media for being biased one way or the other, we blame television for being trashy, we blame video games for being violent, rap music for being obscene. However, in the end, the media is us. We get what we want, or at least what we'll tolerate. As we consider how media affects and reflects our decisions on the use of military power, we would do well to remember that. Neither Keith Olberman nor Rupert Murdoch send troops overseas—or keep them home. The power to decide to go to war or, at least, to sustain war, is still in our hands. If we do not exercise that power, we have only ourselves to blame.

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Chronology of Important Events

1905–2010

- 1905, November** Japan occupies Korea and declares it a Japanese protectorate. Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War leads to recognition of Japan's "paramount interest" in Korea.
- 1910, August 22** Under Japanese coercion, Korean Prime Minister Lee Wan-Yong signs the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty. For the next 35 years, Korea will endure harsh rule at the hands of the Japanese.
- 1914, June 28** Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife are assassinated by a Serb nationalist in Sarajevo, setting of the chain of events that would lead to World War I.
- 1914, August–1918, November** The Great War, as it was known until superseded by the even greater horror of World War II, took place between alliances of the great powers of Europe, and eventually drew in other nations, including the United States. Before the war ended, military and civilian deaths would total over 16 million, with another 21 million wounded.
- 1914, August 1–7** Germany declares war on Russia and France on the 1st and 3rd, respectively. On the 4th, Germany declares war on and invades neutral Belgium. In response, Britain declares war on Germany and Austria-Hungary on the same day. British troops arrive in Belgium on the 7th.
- 1914, August 2** The British Government imposes strict censorship on reporting of news from the front.
- 1914, August** German atrocities during the sweep through Belgium provide some of the first and most dramatic propaganda material of the war.

- 1914, August 19** President Woodrow Wilson declares United States neutrality, calling on Americans to be neutral “in thought as well as in action.”
- 1915, February 2** Germany declares blockade of Britain, to be enforced primarily through the use of submarines, which will become a major propaganda and political issue. Britain declares a blockade of German ports, to be enforced primarily by Britain’s superiority in surface ships, on March 11.
- 1915, April 23** French, Australian, and New Zealand troops land at Gallipoli in Turkey. Turkey, which had entered the war on the side of Germany, controlled the Dardanelles. The Gallipoli operation sought to force open the straits and allow shipping to Russia, and possibly force Turkey from the war. However, the Allied troops were pinned down on the narrow beaches until December 1915. The failure of the Gallipoli campaign, and the refusal of British authorities to acknowledge it—even at the cost of hundreds of thousands of casualties—became one of the great scandals of the war and one of the few occasions in which the British press was willing to challenge censorship and the wartime consensus.
- 1915, May 7** At 1:20 p.m., the *Lusitania*, a passenger liner of the Cunard line, is torpedoed by a German submarine off the Irish coast. The unarmed ship sank in just eighteen minutes, taking 1,198 of its 1,959 passengers and crew to the bottom of the Irish Sea. Among the dead are 128 Americans, causing the first major diplomatic crisis between the United States and Germany and providing another propaganda boon to the Allies.
- 1915, July 14–1916, January 30** In a series of letters between Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner for Egypt, and Hussein bin Ali, the Sharif of Mecca, the Allies promise to support Arab nationalism in exchange for assistance in fighting the Ottoman Empire. The exchange becomes known as the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence.
- 1915, August 19** A German submarine attacks the British liner *Arabic*, killing 40 passengers and crew, including two Americans. The United States demands that Germany place restrictions on submarine warfare; in the so-called “Arabic Pledge,” the Germans agree to give non-military ships 30 minutes warning before they are attacked.

1916, January–February

President Woodrow Wilson, having quietly instructed the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to prepare defense plans the previous July, goes on a speaking tour to sell Americans on the idea of military preparedness.

1916, March 24

The French liner *Sussex* is attacked by a German submarine in the English Channel; 50 passengers are killed, and several Americans are among the injured. On April 19, President Woodrow Wilson threatens to break diplomatic relations with Germany if such attacks continue. On May 4, Germany issues the Sussex Pledge, promising an end to all attacks on passenger ships and to attack merchant ships only after the presence of weapons had been determined.

1916, April 24

The Easter Uprising begins, as the Irish attempt to throw off British rule. Given the large number and political clout of Irish-Americans, the British suppression of the rebellion becomes a significant complication in Anglo-American relations.

1916, May 16

Anticipating the post-war collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Britain and France sign the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement, laying out post-World War I spheres of influence in the Middle East.

1916, June–1918, September

Encouraged by Britain, the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire takes place. British Army Captain T. E. Lawrence, who had traveled extensively in the area prior to the war, serves as a liaison to the Arabs, fighting with them in several campaigns, and earning the name “Lawrence of Arabia.” He chronicled his exploits in *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, and was portrayed by Peter O’Toole in the 1962 film, *Lawrence of Arabia*.

1916, November 7

Woodrow Wilson is re-elected to the presidency on the slogan “he kept us out of war.”

1916, December 18

Attempting to position himself as a mediator, Woodrow Wilson sends a “peace note” to the belligerents, asking for a formal statement of their war aims.

1917, January 1

British poet and army officer Wilfred Owen arrives in France. Owen’s poems, such as “The Sentry,” capture the horror of war. Owen is killed in action on November 4, 1918, exactly one week before the signing of the armistice.

- 1917, January 22** Wilson calls for peace talks and an end to the cycle of punitive peace treaties in his “peace without victory” speech to the U.S. Senate.
- 1917, February 1** Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare; the United States breaks diplomatic relations with Germany two days later.
- 1917, February 24** American war correspondent Floyd Gibbons, writing for the *Chicago Tribune*, traveled to France in February 1917 aboard the liner *Laconia*, prepared with a waterproof suit and food tablets to have the ship torpedoed from under him for the sake of a good story. On the evening of February 24, the *Laconia* is attacked by a German submarine, sinking in some forty minutes. After arriving by lifeboat on the British coast the next morning, Gibbons files a long dispatch describing the attack and its aftermath that became one of the classic pieces of World War I reporting.
- 1917, March 1** Newspapers across the United States publish the Zimmerman Telegram. On January 19, British intelligence intercepted a telegram in which German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmerman instructed the German ambassador to Mexico to offer the return of territory taken by the United States in the Mexican War if Mexico would declare war against the United States. The British give the telegram to the U.S. government on February 24. Its release further inflamed anti-German sentiment in the United States.
- 1917, April 6** The U.S. Congress, in response to President Wilson’s request of April 2, declares war on Germany.
- 1917, April 13** By executive order, President Wilson establishes the Committee on Public Information, also known as the Creel Committee, which will manage a wide variety of media in a successful effort to create and maintain support for American involvement in World War I.
- 1917, May** Filmmaker Robert Goldstein attempts to release *The Spirit of ’76*, intended as a patriotic, if somewhat over-the-top, portrayal of American heroism during the Revolution. However, the film’s depiction of British atrocities, including rape and baby killing, is declared to be harmful to the war effort and caused the Creel Committee to force it from distribution. Goldstein would serve three years in prison for violating the Espionage Act.

- 1917, June 15** Congress passes the U.S. Espionage Act, which will provide the U.S. government the power to prosecute a very broad range of speech under the auspices of supporting the war effort, severely inhibiting political dissent.
- 1917, June 16** The first U.S. troops arrive in France. At a parade on July 4, 1917, an aide to General John J. Pershing would shout, “Lafayette, nous sommes ici!—Lafayette, we are here!” as a gesture of thanks for French assistance during the American Revolution.
- 1917, November 2** With the Balfour Declaration, the British government states its support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The statement comes in the form of a letter from British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to Baron Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community.
- 1917, November 11** The Bolsheviks overthrow the Kerensky government in Russia, installing a communist government under Lenin. The Bolsheviks agree to an armistice with Germany on December 3, 1917, and withdraw from World War I following the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. With autocratic Russia out of the war, the Allies and the United States can more easily portray the war as a struggle between constitutional government and dictatorship.
- 1917, November–1941, June** Even prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, relations between the United States and Russia had been uneasy at best. For example, during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, President Theodore Roosevelt, who would win the Nobel Peace Prize for mediating the Treaty of Portsmouth that ended that war, publicly referred to the Czar as “a contemptible little creature.” Following the Bolshevik Revolution in November, 1917, the United States, fearing socialism abroad as well as at home, tried to limit or even turn back the Soviet government’s reach. The United States participated from August 1918 to April 1919 in an international coalition, known as the Archangel Expedition, to intervene in the Russian Civil War. The U.S. government also cracked down on socialism at home during the 1919–20 Palmer Raids. Finally, the United States did not extend diplomatic recognition to the Soviet government until 1933.
- 1918, January 8** President Wilson outlines a vision of a post-war world in his “Fourteen Points” speech to Congress. The Fourteen Points

call for an end to the kind of secret agreements that led to World War I, as well as decolonization, guarantees of self-determination for national groups, free trade, arms limitation, and an organization to promote collective security—the League of Nations.

1918, February 8

The first edition of *Stars and Stripes*, a newspaper published by and for American troops, appears.

1918, March–June

Germany launches a series of Spring Offensives, in a final push to win war before the American troops pouring into the country become effective.

1918, June 6

In action at Bellau Wood, a small contingent of U.S. Marines stymies a major German advance on Paris. Correspondent Floyd Gibbons is severely wounded while covering the fighting.

1918, July–September

Allied and U.S. forces launch counter-offensives against the Germans—at Amiens on July 1918, at St. Mihiel on September 12, and against the Hindenburg Line, which is broken on September 27.

1918, November 11

An armistice ending the fighting is signed in a railroad car at Compiegne, France. On October 3, 1918, Germany and Austria-Hungary had sent peace notes to President Wilson; negotiations began on November 7.

1919, January 18

Peace treaty negotiations begin in Paris.

1919, April 28

The League of Nations is established.

1919, June 28

The Treaty of Versailles is signed. Wilson’s desire for a “peace without victory” runs into British and French desire for vengeance, and only by compromising on these issues was he able to secure the establishment of the League of Nations. However, he would fail in two attempts to persuade the U.S. Senate to ratify the Treaty and join the League.

1919, November and 1920, January

U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer orders a series of raids against a wide range of labor unions, magazines, newspapers, and other organizations that he has deemed to be subversive. The raids, which come to be known as the “Palmer Raids,” are carried out by the Justice Department’s General Intelligence Division, under the direction of newly appointed J. Edgar Hoover.

1933, January 30

Exploiting economic distress and resentment caused by the punitive terms of the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, Adolf Hitler, leader of the National Socialist German

Workers Party, or Nazi Party, is elected Chancellor of Germany. On March 23, the German national assembly, the Reichstag, will pass the Enabling Laws, giving Hitler dictatorial powers over Germany.

1933, March 4

Franklin D. Roosevelt, having run against the inability of incumbent Herbert Hoover to effectively address the Great Depression, is inaugurated President of the United States.

1933, March 12

President Roosevelt demonstrates his mastery of the relatively new mass medium of radio as he makes the first of his “fireside chats”—informal radio conversations with the American public that he will undertake throughout his presidency. The straightforward tone of these chats is captured in this first broadcast, dealing with the banking crisis, as Roosevelt says, “I want to tell you what has been done in the last few days, why it was done, and what the next steps are going to be.”

1933, March 13

Hitler centralizes control of all media with the creation of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, which was headed by Joseph Goebbels.

1933, March 20

Germany completes construction of Dachau, the first in a series of concentration camps that will become the sites of Hitler’s “Final Solution”—the effort to exterminate European Jews, Slavs, gypsies, and other so-called “inferior peoples.”

1935, March 28

One of history’s most powerful pieces of film propaganda, *Triumph of the Will*, premieres. Hitler convinced German filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl to document the September 1934 Nazi Party rally in Nuremberg. Riefenstahl’s use of lighting and camera angle captured the drama and spectacle of the rally, and made the film not only an extraordinary piece of propaganda but a milestone in filmmaking technique.

1935, October 2

Italy, under Fascist leader Benito Mussolini, pursues its ambition to establish a new Roman Empire by attacking Ethiopia.

1936, March 7

With no protests from Britain, France, or the United States, Hitler begins his program of territorial expansion when German forces re-occupy the Rhineland, a prime agricultural and industrial area that had been stripped from Germany following World War I.

1936, March 19

The German-American Bund, under the leadership of Fritz Kuhn, is established. The Bund engaged in pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic propaganda for several years, reaching its high-water mark at a rally in Madison Square Garden on February 20,

1939, at which Kuhn and other speakers denounced Franklin Roosevelt as a tool of American Jews. However, the Bund's influence waned following the rally, as Kuhn was investigated by local authorities for embezzlement and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), established in May, 1938, severely limited the Bund's activities.

1937, July 7

Several dates could plausibly be given for the beginning of World War II. Most Americans think of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, while the war in Europe is usually dated from the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. However, the first major fighting that would become part of World War II began on July 7, 1937, at the Marco Polo Bridge near Beijing, with a skirmish between Japanese forces that had been reaching deeper into China and the Chinese forces seeking to resist them.

1937, October 5

Using the occasion of a speech dedicating a newly constructed bridge in Chicago, President Roosevelt denounces Japanese aggression in China, referring to it as a disease in need of "quarantine." The speech raises the ire of isolationist elements in the United States, especially newspaper publishers such as the *Chicago Tribune's* Robert McCormick, forcing Roosevelt to backtrack.

1937, December 13

Japanese forces capture the Chinese city of Nanking. For the next six weeks, Japanese soldiers will systematically rape, torture, and kill hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians. The death toll is estimated at 250,000–300,000, with some 20,000–80,000 Chinese women raped repeatedly. The Rape of Nanking, as this episode comes to be known, feeds later propaganda characterizations of the Japanese.

1938, March 12

Hitler's expansionism continues unopposed as German troops occupy Austria in preparation for the *Anschluss*, or annexation of Austria into the greater German Reich.

1938, June 8

Congress passes the Foreign Agents Registration Act, intended to limit the growing distribution of Nazi and communist propaganda in the United States.

1938, September 30

On September 21, Czechoslovakia had ceded the Sudetenland, an area of the country populated by ethnic German peoples, to German control. The Czechs received no assistance from France or Britain, who were willing to accede to Hitler's expansionism in an effort to avoid war. On September 30, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain meets Hitler in

Munich to sign the Munich Agreement, which recognized the annexation of the Sudetenland. Upon his return to London, Chamberlain declared that the agreement had guaranteed “peace in our time.” “Munich” would soon come to become shorthand for criticism of the appeasement of aggression.

1939, March 15

German forces occupy the remainder of Czechoslovakia.

1939, July

The United States withdraws from its commercial treaty with Japan, cutting off key exports to Japan and signaling President Roosevelt’s growing ability to generate public support for resistance to Japanese aggression.

1939, August 23

German Foreign Minister Joachim Von Ribbentrop and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov sign the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, clearing the way for Hitler to invade Poland.

1939, September 1

Germany invades Poland. Britain and France mobilize their armed forces and, following the expiration of an ultimatum demanding that Germany withdraw from Poland, declare war on Germany on September 3.

1939, November 4

Congress passes the Neutrality Act of 1939. In 1935, 1936, and 1937, isolationists had won the establishment of policies forbidding the sale of arms or the extension of loans to nations at war. Following the German invasion of Poland, President Roosevelt convinces Congress to repeal the earlier acts and allow the British and French to buy arms on a “cash-and-carry” basis.

1940, May 10

Germany launches a massive offensive against Western Europe, attacking through Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands. On the same day, Winston Churchill becomes Prime Minister of Great Britain.

1940, May 20

Prominent journalist William Allen White announces the establishment of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, which advocated providing significant aid to the Britain and France.

1940, June 25

France surrenders to Germany.

1940, June 29

Japan declares the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, which becomes the ideological vehicle for Japan’s challenge to western influence in Asia and its own efforts to dominate the region.

1940, September 2

President Roosevelt moves to support Britain more closely through the “destroyers-bases deal,” in which the United

- States gives the British Navy 50 destroyers to aid in the escort of merchant shipping in exchange for 99-year leases to British naval bases in the Caribbean.
- 1940, September 4** The America First Committee is founded at Yale University, with the stated purpose of keeping the United States out of the war in Europe. The Committee drew members from across the political spectrum and counted a wide variety of celebrities, including Walt Disney, Lillian Gish, Sinclair Lewis, and Charles Lindbergh, on its rolls.
- 1940, September 7** The “Blitz,” Germany’s sustained bombing of Great Britain, begins, and will continue until May 10, 1941. Edward R. Murrow’s descriptions of the bombing for CBS Radio become some of the most dramatic news coverage of the war.
- 1940, November 5** Franklin Roosevelt wins an unprecedented third term as president.
- 1941, March 11** Passage of the Lend-Lease Act enables the United States to provide extensive material aid to Britain and other Allies, and represents a further weakening of isolationist influence.
- 1941, April 19** The Fight for Freedom is established by prominent foreign policy commentators to advocate for formal American entry into what they viewed as an undeclared war against Germany.
- 1941, June 22** Adolf Hitler launches Operation BARBAROSSA, Nazi Germany’s invasion of the Soviet Union, despite the non-aggression pact signed by the two countries in August, 1939. With the invasion, the Soviet Union becomes an unlikely ally of Great Britain and, following Pearl Harbor, the United States. When asked about the alliance with the Soviets, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill replies, “If Hitler were to invade Hell, I would make favorable reference to the devil in the House of Commons.”
- 1941, July 26** Japan completes occupation of French Indochina; President Roosevelt freezes Japanese assets in the United States and, on September 1, cuts off oil sales to Japan.
- 1941, August 9** Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, meeting on HMS *Prince of Wales*, draft the Atlantic Charter, a joint statement of war aims and a vision of security for the post-war world. The document is immediately released to the press, serving as a propaganda statement in opposition to the Axis Powers.
- 1941, December 7** On what President Roosevelt will refer to as a “date which will live in infamy,” Japan attacks U.S. naval and air forces in Hawaii. Congress declares war on Japan the next day. On

- December 11, Germany and Italy declare war on the United States; the United States reciprocates the same day.
- 1941, December 18** Congress passes the War Powers Act, giving President Roosevelt broad powers to manage U.S. resources in prosecution of the war. The next day, Roosevelt issues an executive order under the auspices of the Act creating the Office of Censorship, appointing respected journalist Byron Price as its director. The Office of Censorship established voluntary Codes of Wartime Practice for print and radio that outlined categories of information that would be of aid to the enemy.
- 1942, January–1945, April** The Grand Alliance of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union keep their competing agenda in check in pursuit of the common goal of defeating Hitler. Much of the credit goes to the personal diplomacy of U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, who along with Churchill and Stalin, came to be known as the “Big Three.” The greatest tension is over the issue of the opening of a second front in Western Europe. From June 1941, the Russian people bore the brunt of the war against Germany, while disagreements between Roosevelt and Churchill delayed the cross-Channel invasion until June, 1944. Stalin regarded the delay as a deliberate effort to weaken the Soviet Union.
- 1942, February** The War Advertising Council, an organization formed by the advertising industry to support the war effort, begins operations.
- 1942, February 24** The Voice of America, a radio broadcast service of the U.S. Office of War Information, goes on the air for the first time, providing news and entertainment to Axis-held areas in the Pacific and Europe.
- 1942, February 25** Through an executive order from President Roosevelt, the internment of Japanese-Americans begins.
- 1942, March 11** General Douglas MacArthur, vowing that “I shall return,” leaves the Philippines just ahead of the advancing Japanese forces.
- 1942, April 18** The bombing raid against Tokyo, launched from the deck of the U.S. aircraft carrier *Hornet* and led by Col. James Doolittle, provides a major morale boost to the American people.
- 1942, May 4–8 and June 4–7** The Battle of Coral Sea and the Battle of Midway become history’s first naval first battles in which the opposing ships never saw one another. The U.S. Navy wins decisive victories in both encounters, turning the tide of the war in the Pacific.

- 1942, May 26** The U.S. War Department establishes the Armed Forces Radio Service to provide news and entertainment to American troops in Europe.
- 1942, June 13** The Office of War Information is established, and will manage all overt U.S. propaganda, domestic and foreign, during the war. On the same day, the Office of Strategic Services is established to conduct covert operations, including the spreading of disinformation or “black propaganda” among German troops.
- 1942, August 7** The Guadalcanal Campaign, the first step in General Douglas MacArthur’s “island-hopping” strategy of advancing toward the Japanese home islands, begins.
- 1942, September 2** The Manhattan Project, with the goal of developing an atomic bomb for use in World War II, is formally established under the control of General Leslie Groves; acclaimed physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer will serve as scientific director.
- 1942, November 8** Operation TORCH, the Allied invasion of Axis-occupied North Africa, begins.
- 1943, February 2** The Battle of Stalingrad, which had begun the previous September, ends in disaster for the German Army. For the first time, Hitler’s government acknowledges a defeat to the German people.
- 1943, May 13** Over 250,000 troops of the German Afrika Korps surrender to American and British forces.
- 1943, May 27** “Prelude to War,” the first in producer Frank Capra’s seven-part *Why We Fight* series of propaganda films, is released.
- 1943, August 3** U.S. General George S. Patton slaps a soldier suffering from battle fatigue while visiting a hospital in Sicily. Widespread publicity surrounding the incident results in Patton’s being relieved of command for 10 months.
- 1943, November 27** In the final statement from the Cairo Conference, the United States, Great Britain, and China declare that “in due course, Korea shall become free and independent.”
- 1943, November 28–30** At the Tehran Conference, the Big Three of Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin agree on a June 1944 cross-Channel invasion of Europe.
- 1943, December 3** Edward R. Murrow, who accompanied Allied bomb crews on raids over Germany, delivers a classic broadcast, called “Orchestrated Hell,” describing a Royal Air Force night raid over Berlin.

- 1944, January 22** In an effort to break a growing stalemate in the Italian Campaign, Allied forces land at Anzio, and will hold the beachhead against fierce assaults for the next four months.
- 1944, June 4** Rome becomes the first Axis capital to fall to the Allies as British and American troops enter the city.
- 1944, June 6** On what will go down in history as “D-Day,” American, British, and Canadian troops assault the Normandy coast in Operation OVERLORD. Print and radio journalists accompany the troops ashore and provide vivid coverage, but censorship prevents the release of all but the most general information.
- 1944, June 15** American troops land on Saipan. Once secured, the island will become the base for the first sustained bombing attacks by American aircraft against Japan itself.
- 1944, October 23** The largest sea battle in history, the Battle of Leyte Gulf, begins. American victory in the battle opens the door for U.S. reoccupation of the Philippines.
- 1944, November 6** Franklin Roosevelt is elected to a fourth term as president.
- 1944, December 15** German forces counterattack against the American and British advance in what will become known as the Battle of the Bulge.
- 1945, January 27** Auschwitz is the first concentration camp liberated.
- 1945, February 4–11** The last gathering of the Big Three takes place at the Yalta Conference, on the Crimean Peninsula in the Soviet Union. Yalta displays the fraying of the Alliance, as the impending defeat of Hitler allows the Allies’ competing visions of post-war Europe to come to the fore, in the form of disagreements over the occupation of Germany, a future government in Poland, and issues in the United Nations.
- 1945, February 23** U.S. troops raise the American flag on Mt. Suribachi on Iwo Jima. Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal’s photo of what was actually the second flag-raising on Iwo Jima became the basis for a greatly successful war bond drive, and remains one of the most iconic images in American history.
- 1945, February 25** A two month-long firebombing campaign against Tokyo begins.
- 1945, April 1** The Battle of Okinawa begins.
- 1945, April 12** President Roosevelt dies of a cerebral hemorrhage, and is succeeded by Vice President Harry Truman.
- 1945, April 18** Ernie Pyle, who had become a beloved figure among American soldiers for his honest coverage of the hardships they faced, is

- killed while accompanying U.S. Marines during the Okinawa Campaign.
- 1945, April 30** Hitler commits suicide in his bunker beneath the Chancellery building in Berlin.
- 1945, May 7** German General Albert Jodl signs the surrender to the Allies on behalf of the German Reich, effective at 12:01 a.m. on May 8—Victory in Europe, or V-E Day.
- 1945, July 16** Manhattan Project scientists at Los Alamos National Laboratory in Alamogordo, New Mexico successfully test an atomic weapon.
- 1945, July 17–August 24** The Potsdam Conference, in the suburbs of Berlin, takes place with Stalin, new U.S. President Harry Truman, and Winston Churchill (replaced by new Prime Minister Clement Atlee following British elections in the midst of the conference). Potsdam confirms the partition of Germany into zones of occupation and sees divisions over other issues in post-war Europe harden. Also at Potsdam, the victorious Allies agree that Korea will be temporarily occupied, with the Soviets in control north of the 38th parallel and the Americans in control south of that line.
- 1945, August 6 and 9** U.S. aircraft drop one atomic bomb each on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ushering in the nuclear age.
- 1945, August 15** In an unprecedented step, Japanese Emperor Hirohito addresses his people through a radio broadcast, announcing that Japan would surrender.
- 1945, September 2** In a ceremony broadcast around the world by radio-link, Japan surrenders to the Allies, ending World War II.
- 1945, September 2** With Japan's surrender, what was intended to be a temporary partition of Korea is established.
- 1945, September 2** Following the surrender of Japanese forces that had occupied Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (Revolutionary League for the Independence of Vietnam) or Viet Minh, declares the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).
- 1945, September 5** Igor Guozenko, a clerk in the Soviet Embassy in Canada, defects and provides information detailing a Soviet espionage ring operating in Canada and the United States, setting off a spy scare that will grip American politics, diplomacy, and culture for the next several years.

- 1945, September 12** Despite cooperation between the United States and the Viet Minh during World War II, and earlier declarations by the late President Franklin Roosevelt that the United States would not assist France in re-colonizing Vietnam, the Truman Administration signs an agreement to supply the French government with vehicles and other equipment to be used in returning to Indochina.
- 1945, December 27** At the Moscow Council of Foreign Ministers Conference, the British, Chinese, Americans, and Soviets agree to a four-power trusteeship of up to five years, leading to an independent and united Korea. The United States and the Soviet Union would form a Joint Commission to supervise the trusteeship.
- 1946, March** By spring of 1946, it becomes clear that the trusteeship will not work. The Soviets and the Americans each want a government in Korea friendly to its own interests, while Koreans of all political persuasions want an independent Korea united under their particular ideologies.
- 1946, March 5** Winston Churchill, in a speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, contributes one of the defining metaphors of the Cold War when he declares that “an iron curtain has descended across the continent” of Europe.
- 1946, March 6** Hoping to accelerate the withdrawal of Chinese Nationalist troops from northern Vietnam, Ho signs an agreement with France that recognizes the DRV as a free state within the French Union, in exchange for French control of Vietnamese external affairs.
- 1946, August 1** The Atomic Energy Act is signed into law. Less than three weeks following the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, bills had been introduced in Congress to establish a system of controls over atomic information. The bill that emerged, known formally as the Atomic Energy Act, was commonly referred to as the McMahon Act, named for its chief sponsor, Senator Brien McMahon. The act also established a degree of information control unprecedented in U.S. history. Prior to the McMahon Act, information had to go through a process of being declared confidential or secret, hence the term “classified.” However, under this new concept, broad categories of information were presumed to be secret automatically, or from “birth.”

- 1946, November 23** When the Viet Minh resist French efforts to seize the northern port city of Haiphong, French naval vessels shell the city, killing over 6,000 Vietnamese, thus marking the beginning of war between France and the Viet Minh.
- 1947, January 1** The British and Americans join their respective areas of occupation in Germany together as one administrative unit known as “Bizonia,” representing a first step toward the creation of a German state out of the Western zones.
- 1947, March 12** In a speech to a joint session of Congress, President Harry Truman uses the opportunity of asking for emergency aid to Turkey and Greece to resist socialist insurgencies to declare that the United States will provide such assistance to any nation seeking to resist communist subversion or aggression. The Truman Doctrine, as this policy becomes known, is a major expansion in American security commitments.
- 1947, March 21** President Truman creates the Loyalty Program, in which current and prospective federal employees must swear loyalty oaths to the U.S. government and submit to background investigations.
- 1947, June 5** Secretary of State George C. Marshall, in the commencement speech at Harvard University, outlines a plan for massive economic aid to Western Europe. The Marshall Plan will help those countries to rebuild and to achieve social stability, lessening the appeal of communist parties that had grown strong, especially in Italy and France.
- 1947, July** The article “Sources of Soviet Conduct” appears in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. The article was written under the pseudonym “Mr. X” by George F. Kennan, chairman of the State Department’s Policy Planning Council and the leading American expert on the Soviet Union/Russia. In the article, Kennan articulates the policy that will become known as “containment”—resisting communist aggression until its own internal weaknesses brought it down.
- 1947, July 26** President Truman signs the National Security Act into law. The Act reorganizes U.S. security and defense agencies in order to better counter the Soviet threat. Among other things, the Act consolidates the War and Navy departments into one Department of Defense, creates the Central Intelligence Agency to provide coordinated intelligence gathering and analysis (and, later, covert operations), and establishes a National Security Council that reports directly to the

President, independent of the State and Defense departments. The Act represents a further step in the centralization of authority over security and defense matters in the office of the President.

1947, September 22–27

Delegates from Communist-bloc countries meet in Poland and establish the Communist Information Bureau, or “Cominform,” as a propaganda bureau aimed particularly at developing nations.

1947, October 27

The “Hollywood Ten” refuses to answer questions from the House Un-American Activities Committee. Several actors, producers, and directors had been summoned to testify—some cooperated, others refused to appear altogether. However, ten people, including acclaimed screenwriter Dalton Trumbo and director Edward Dmytryk, appeared but refused to answer the question “Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?”

1947, November 29

The UN General Assembly adopts a “Partition Plan” to create independent Jewish and Palestinian states out of the old British-controlled Palestinian Mandate established by the League of Nations following World War I. Fighting between Palestinians and Jews begins almost immediately.

1947, December

The civil war resumes in China.

1948, March 10

A Soviet-backed coup establishes communist control of Czechoslovakia following the death, allegedly by suicide but most probably by murder, of anti-communist Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk.

1948, March 17

Alarmed by the Soviet coup in Czechoslovakia, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg create a mutual defense organization, the Western European Union.

1948, May 14

On the day before the British mandate expires, Israel declares its existence. The United States and the Soviet Union recognize the new State of Israel immediately.

1948, May 14–1949, July 20

The First Arab-Israeli war takes place. On the same day that Israel declared its independence, forces from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen attack Israel. Over the course of the fighting, which ends with a series of separate armistices, Israel expands its original territory by more than 50 percent.

1948, June 21

The British-American-French areas of occupied Germany, known as Trizonia, authorize the issuance of German

- currency, a last step before the creation of a new West German state.
- 1948, June 24** Stalin declares a blockade of Berlin. In response, the Allies begin a year-long airlift to maintain access to a Free Berlin.
- 1948, July** Koreans in the U.S. zone of occupation adopt a national constitution on July 17 and elect Princeton-educated Syngman Rhee as president on July 20.
- 1948, August 2** Former *Time magazine* correspondent Whittaker Chambers testifies to the House Un-American Activities that, 10 years earlier, former State Department official Alger Hiss passed secret government documents to him for transmission to the Soviet Union. On December 15, a federal grand jury will indict Hiss of two counts of perjury for lying about his past connections to Soviet espionage.
- 1948, August 15** The Republic of Korea (South Korea) is established.
- 1948, September 9** Kim Il-sung, a long-time Marxist and anti-Japanese partisan, establishes the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea).
- 1949, April 4** Meeting in Washington, D.C., 12 nations of Western Europe and North America establish the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). U.S. participation in this permanent alliance represents a sea change in nearly 150 years of American foreign policy.
- 1949, May 12** The Berlin Blockade ends.
- 1949, May 23** The German Federal Republic (West Germany) is created.
- 1949, August 29** The Soviet Union tests its first atomic bomb.
- 1949, October 1** Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong declares the creation of the People's Republic of China.
- 1949, October 7** The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) is created.
- 1950, January 14** The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China extend diplomatic recognition to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and China begins to provide the Viet Minh with modern weapons.
- 1950, January 21** Alger Hiss is convicted of perjury in denying espionage charges, and is sentenced to five years in prison.
- 1950, January 31** President Truman announces that the United States is developing a hydrogen bomb, exponentially more destructive than the fission bombs developed thus far, marking a new stage in the arms race with the Soviet Union.

- 1950, January–November** Equipped with modern weaponry, the Viet Minh launch a series of offensives in northeastern Vietnam, taking control of key areas along the Chinese border and inflicting heavy casualties that begin to take a toll on French military capability and French public opinion.
- 1950, February 9** The McCarthy Era begins. At a speech before the Republican Women’s Club of Wheeling, West Virginia, Senator Joseph McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, declares that he has a list of 205 active members of the Communist Party who are currently working in the State Department and that the Truman Administration is knowingly harboring these employees.
- 1950, March 1** Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek establishes a government on the island of Taiwan, which the United States continues to recognize as the Republic of China, and which retains China’s seat as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.
- 1950, April 14** NSC-68, a comprehensive review of U.S. national security strategy, is presented to President Harry Truman. The document contends that the Soviet Union’s growing military capability will soon allow it to intimidate the United States into submission, and recommends a massive American defense build-up in response. President Truman, skeptical of this recommendation, at first rejects the document, sending it back for further clarification.
- 1950, June 17** The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrests Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, charging them with treason for having passed atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. The couple is implicated by Ethel’s brother, David Greenglass, who worked as a machinist on the Manhattan Project.
- 1950, June 22** The right-wing journal *Counterattack* issues a report entitled *Red Channels*, listing 151 figures from the arts and entertainment worlds whom it claims are Communists or Communist sympathizers. Included on the list are such people as composers Leonard Bernstein and Aaron Copland, actors Burgess Meredith and Zero Mostel, journalist Howard K. Smith, and dancer Gypsy Rose Lee. *Red Channels* becomes the basis for “blacklisting,” in which those under suspicion are denied employment, a practice that will continue for much of the decade.
- 1950, June 25** Following months of cross-border skirmishes initiated by both governments, North Korean forces swarm across the

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38th parallel at dawn, marking the beginning of the Korean War.

1950, June 25

The United States calls on the United Nations to condemn North Korea's aggression. With the Soviet Union absent and Yugoslavia abstaining, the UN Security Council adopts a resolution insisting that North Korea cease hostilities and withdraw to its own territory. The resolution also calls on all UN member states to render assistance in enforcing this demand.

1950, June 29

Seoul, the South Korean capital, falls to North Korean forces.

1950, June 30

President Truman commits U.S. forces to support UN demands.

1950, July 6

The first Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (MASH) unit is established near Taejon. These units would provide the subject matter for the 1970 Robert Altman film *MASH* and the hugely successful television series of the same name, which aired from 1972–1983.

1950, July 7

The UN Command, the overall military structure for the war, is established, with U.S. General Douglas MacArthur in command.

1950, July 8–August 3

North Korean forces push United States and South Korean troops to the southeastern corner of the country, where the Americans and South Koreans establish a defensive perimeter around the port city of Pusan. During their advance, the North Koreans had deliberately targeted South Korean civil servants and intelligentsia for execution.

1950, August 3

In addition to supplying the French with material support, the United States provides training to French troops when the first 35-man contingent of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group arrives in Vietnam.

**1950, August 7–
September 15**

The Battle of the Pusan Perimeter takes place in Korea.

1950

A combined force of United States and South Korean troops makes a daring landing at Inchon, on the northwest coast of South Korea, well behind North Korean lines.

**1950, September
19–29**

UN troops break out of the Pusan Perimeter and, in conjunction with the forces coming ashore through Inchon, rout the North Koreans, retaking Seoul and reaching the 38th parallel on September 29.

1950, September 27

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff authorize General MacArthur to conduct operations north of the 38th parallel, with the

ultimate goal of destroying the North Korean regime and uniting Korea under Syngman Rhee.

1950, October 1

South Korean troops cross the 38th parallel, followed on October 9th by UN forces. By October 19, UN troops had seized the North Korean capital of Pyongyang and reached near the border with China.

1950, October 15

President Truman and General MacArthur meet on Wake Island. MacArthur attempts to convince Truman to allow operations across the Chinese border, answering Truman's concerns about Chinese intervention with the statement that if the Chinese did so, they would suffer "the greatest slaughter." On the same day, the first elements of the Chinese People's Liberation Army slip south across the Yalu River.

**1950, October 25–
November 6**

The Chinese launch their "First Phase Offensive," inflicting significant casualties before withdrawing into the mountains.

1950, November 24

Not believing that the Chinese had intervened in earnest, the UN Command begins its "Home By Christmas" offensive in northern North Korea.

**1950, November 25–
1951, January 14**

Chinese troops cross the Yalu River en masse, pushing UN forces back across the 38th parallel and taking Seoul on January 9, 1951. On January 14, 1951, UN forces hold along the 37th parallel.

**1950, November 27–
December 13**

Some 60,000 Chinese troops trap 30,000 UN troops around the Chosin Reservoir. Fighting in brutal cold, the UN forces break out of the encirclement, inflicting crippling casualties on the Chinese.

1950, December 20

General MacArthur imposes battlefield censorship. For the first six months of the war, journalists had operated under a voluntary code, but a number of leaks, including hints of the landing at Inchon, move reporters to ask for more formal guidelines.

1950, December 23

The United States signs a mutual defense treaty with France, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam—the French Associated States. U.S. aid to France in 1951 will exceed \$500 million.

1951, January–June

French forces go on the offensive against the Viet Minh attempting to take control of the Red River Delta. By summer, Viet Minh commander General Vo Nguyen Giap will be forced to return to lower-level guerrilla warfare.

**1951, February 5–
March 14**

UN forces counterattack against the Chinese, retaking Seoul on March 14.

- 1951, March 29** The Rosenbergs are convicted of treason and sentenced to death. The fight to save the couple, who have two young sons, from execution becomes a political and cultural divide in America.
- 1951, April 11** President Truman relieves General MacArthur of command for challenging Presidential authority over the military. General Matthew Ridgway assumes command of UN forces.
- 1951, April–June** In Korea, the opposing armies attack and counterattack across the 38th parallel. By the beginning of July, the war had settled into a stalemate that would last for the next two years. Over that time, the military action would aim to consolidate positions and test resolve in the context of the quest for a political resolution.
- 1951, July 10** Truce talks to end the fighting in Korea begin at Kaesong.
- 1951, September** President Truman significantly expands the cult of secrecy through Executive Order 10-290, which enables a wide range of Executive Branch personnel to declare information as classified. News organizations protest.
- 1951, September 13–October 15** In the Battle of Heartbreak Ridge, UN troops take a heavily fortified North Korean position, but at a high cost in casualties. Heartbreak Ridge becomes the first example of the kind of actions fought in a limited war; the futility of the operation accelerates a decline of support for the war among the U.S. public.
- 1951, November 27** Peace talks shift to Panmunjom.
- 1952, January–November** The Viet Minh returns to large-scale warfare, seeking to weaken French resolve in campaigns stretching from the northwestern mountains to the river deltas south of Hanoi.
- 1952, February** President Truman, his popularity eroded by the stalemate in Korea, withdraws from the 1952 Presidential election.
- 1952, February** North Korea charges the United Nations with conducting biological warfare by having released typhus against the North Korean population.
- 1952, September 23** Television becomes a significant factor in Presidential politics for the first time, as Democrat Adlai Stevenson and Republican Dwight Eisenhower each make use of advertising. The most dramatic use of television was by GOP Vice Presidential candidate Richard Nixon. Under fire for supposedly accepting inappropriate gifts from wealthy California businessmen, Nixon buys thirty minutes of air time to defend

himself in what comes to be known as “the Checkers Speech.”

1952, October 25

The Republican nominee for President, General Dwight Eisenhower, captures the frustration of the American public with limited war in a campaign speech in which he vows to do whatever is necessary in order to achieve a quick and honorable end to the war, including the promise, “I shall go to Korea.”

1952, November 1

The United States successfully tests its first hydrogen bomb, IVY MIKE.

1952, November 4

General Dwight Eisenhower is elected President of the United States, in a landslide over Democratic nominee Adlai Stevenson, governor of Illinois.

**1952, November
15–27**

The North Koreans stage a “POW Olympics” as a propaganda ploy to try to convince the world that UN troops held as POWs were being well treated. The spectacle bore little reality to the harsh treatment the prisoners received for most of their captivity.

1952, November 29

President-elect Eisenhower fulfills his promise to go to Korea.

1953, March 5

Josef Stalin dies of a brain hemorrhage, setting off a power struggle in the Soviet Union. By September, Nikita Khrushchev will take control as Communist Party First Secretary.

1953, June 8

At the truce talks at Panmunjom, agreement is reached on the repatriation of POWs. This issue had been the major sticking points in negotiations to end the war.

1953, June 19

The Rosenbergs are executed in the electric chair at Sing-Sing Correctional Facility in New York.

1953, July 6–July 11

In the last major battle of the war, Chinese troops seize Pork Chop Hill on July 6. UN forces launch repeated assaults in an attempt to retake the position, but after four days and nearly 1,200 casualties, the UN commander abandoned the effort. Pork Chop Hill symbolized the frustration of limited war.

1953, July 27

Chinese, North Korean, and UN-U.S. representatives sign a cease-fire agreement at Panmunjom, but South Korean ruler Syngman Rhee refuses to participate. A demilitarized zone is established along the 38th parallel separating the two countries, an area that has become one of the most heavily fortified places on earth.

- 1953, July 27** The end of the Korean War allows the People's Republic of China to increase its aid to the Viet Minh, who in turn increase the pressure on French forces.
- 1953, August 8** The Soviet Union announces that it has successfully detonated a hydrogen bomb.
- 1953, August 19** In one of its first major covert operations, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assists the Iranian royal family in overthrowing Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh, who had moved to nationalize the assets of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and whom the United States had suspected of alignment with the Soviets.
- 1953, September 4** The repatriation of POWs begins at Panmunjom.
- 1953, November 20** French commander General Henri Navarre, hoping to lure the Viet Minh into a set-piece battle, creates an irresistible target as he begins to build a fortified base in the valley at Dien Bien Phu, in northwestern Vietnam.
- 1954, January 12** U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles articulates the defense policy that will come to be known as "massive retaliation." Under pressure to cut government spending, the Eisenhower Administration moves toward a greater dependence on nuclear weapons, which are less expensive than large-scale conventional forces, to deter Communist aggression.
- 1954, February 18** Foreign ministers of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, meeting in Berlin, agree to convene a conference later that spring in Geneva to resolve issues in French Indochina.
- 1954, March 9** In an episode of the CBS documentary series *See It Now*, correspondent Edward R. Murrow and producer Fred Friendly use clips of Joseph McCarthy to reveal his use of slander and innuendo. McCarthy eventually accepted Murrow's invitation to appear on the show. However, as McCarthy attempted to refute the earlier broadcast, his bombast only tarnished his image further.
- 1954, March 13** The Viet Minh launch their attack on Dien Bien Phu. Backed by long-range artillery dug into impregnable positions in the hills surrounding the French base, the Viet Minh cut off the 15,000-man French garrison.
- 1954, April 26** The Geneva Conference opens.
- 1954, May 7** French efforts to re-establish their control of Vietnam fail when Vietnamese forces capture the French garrison of

Dien Bien Phu following a 77-day siege. At the Geneva Conference later that summer, Vietnam will be divided, with the Communists under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh controlling the north and Emperor Bao Dai ruling the south.

1954, May 25

The great combat photographer Robert Capa is killed by a landmine near Thai Binh in northern Vietnam, making him the first American photojournalist to die in Vietnam.

1954, June 9

Joseph McCarthy is further discredited during hearings of his Senate Subcommittee on Investigations' inquiry into Communist infiltration of the U.S. Army. These "Army-McCarthy hearings" began on March 16, 1954; on April 22, ABC Television began gavel-to-gavel coverage, thus putting McCarthy's tactics on display to the millions of Americans who sat transfixed. On June 9, McCarthy challenges Army chief counsel Joseph Welch regarding the former affiliation of a young attorney in Welch's firm with what McCarthy alleged to be a subversive organization. Welch had anticipated the attack and, in a well-laid trap, showed McCarthy for the bully he was, famously saying to McCarthy, "Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. . . . You've done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?"

1954, June 18

The CIA stages another successful coup, this time installing Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas as the leader of Guatemala after overthrowing elected President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

1954, July 21

The Geneva Accords are signed, formally ending hostilities in Vietnam and putting in place a process to establish a unified, independent Vietnam. The country is to be divided for a period of two years, by which time elections will have been held, the winner to be the ruler of Vietnam.

1954, December 2

The Senate votes overwhelmingly to censure Joseph McCarthy, effectively ending his national influence. He would die of conditions related to alcoholism on May 2, 1957.

1955, April–June

Non-communist nationalist leader Ngo Dinh Diem, whom Emperor Bao Dai had appointed Prime Minister of South Vietnam, consolidates his control of the country as he defeats armies of two religious sects and the South Vietnamese Mafia. In the process, Diem wins the confidence of previously skeptical U.S. leaders. American news organizations begin to cover the growing American support of Diem's government.

- 1955, April** The Non-Aligned Movement is formed by Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Josip Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana as a counter to the polarization of the world into pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet blocs.
- 1955, May 14** The Warsaw Pact is established as the Communist counterpart to NATO.
- 1955, October 23** Diem defeats Bao Dai in a rigged referendum to decide who will rule the new Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam). The United States embarks on a program of “nation-building,” in which it will provide assistance to build South Vietnam up economically, politically, and militarily.
- 1956, July 26** Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser seizes control of the Suez Canal.
- 1956, October 23** Hungarians rise up against the Communist government, but the rebellion is crushed by the Soviet military.
- 1956, October 29–December 4** The Suez Crisis escalates when Israel, later joined by Britain and France, attack Egypt in an effort to retake control of the Canal. The United States strongly opposes the attack, and supports resolutions in the UN General Assembly calling for a cease fire and the withdrawal of the attacking forces from Egyptian territory.
- 1957, October 1** The Strategic Air Command goes on permanent alert, a status that it will maintain until 1991.
- 1957, October 4** The Soviets launch the first artificial satellite, Sputnik, or “little star.” The launch sets off alarm in the United States and leads to major increases funding for scientific research and education. The United States will launch its first satellite, Explorer I, on January 31, 1958.
- 1958, July 14** A group of army officers overthrows the Hashemite monarchy and declares the creation of the Republic of Iraq.
- 1958, October 23** Soviet author Boris Pasternak is awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, but is forced to refuse the award by Nikita Khrushchev.
- 1959, January 1** Forces led by Fidel Castro enter Havana, forcing the resignation of the pro-U.S. government of President Fulgencio Batista.
- 1959, May** The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) begins large-scale infiltration into the South.

- 1959, July 8** Major Dale Buis and Master Sergeant Chester Ovnand, advisors working near Bien Hoa north of Saigon, are the first Americans killed in the Vietnam War.
- 1959, July 24** Standing in a full-scale reproduction of an affordable American home built for the American National Exhibition in Moscow, Vice President Richard Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev argue the merits of their respective ideologies in the “Kitchen Debate.” Broadcast on all three television networks the next day, Nixon’s performance wins him praise and enhances his prospects for the Republican presidential nomination the following year.
- 1959, September 15** In a brief easing of tensions, Khrushchev arrives in New York for the beginning of a U.S. tour hosted by President Eisenhower.
- 1960, May 1** Pilot Frances Gary Powers is captured by the Soviets when his U-2 spy plane is shot down during a mission over Sverdlovsk, deep inside the Soviet Union. At first, the Eisenhower Administration attempts to deny the mission, but when Khrushchev produces Powers and photographs from the plane’s cameras, the Administration is caught in an embarrassing effort at disinformation, inspiring anger from the press.
- 1960, September 26** Demonstrating television’s growing power, candidates Senator John Kennedy and Vice President Richard Nixon meet in the first televised presidential debate. Kennedy’s skill at the use of the medium—dark suit, tan, focus on the television audience—and Nixon’s unease contribute to the viewing audience seeing Kennedy as a leader of experience and substance equal to Nixon.
- 1960, November 8** Democrat John F. Kennedy is elected President of the United States.
- 1960, December 4** Citing the growing internal opposition to an increasingly repressive Diem regime, as well as the threat from a more active insurgency, U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Elbridge Durbrow warns that the United States may have to look for a replacement for Diem.
- 1960, December 20** The National Liberation Front (NLF), the political structure of the Communist-led southern insurgency against Diem, is established. The NLF and its military, the People’s Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF), are dubbed the “Viet Cong,” or Vietnamese Communists, by Diem.

- 1961, January 17 and 20** In his farewell address on the 17th, President Eisenhower warns of the growing influence of the “military-industrial complex.” At his inaugural ceremony on the 20th, President Kennedy will issue a strong statement of American commitment to standing against Communism when he says, “let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and success of liberty.”
- 1961, January 25** President Kennedy holds the first live televised presidential press conference.
- 1961, April 12** Major Yuri Gagarin of the Soviet Union becomes the first human being in space.
- 1961, April 17** The new Kennedy Administration suffers a major embarrassment with the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba. Planning for an invasion by CIA-trained Cuban exiles had begun in the last days of the Eisenhower Administration; pressured by the CIA and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Kennedy allowed the idea to move ahead, believing that the invasion would spark an uprising against Cuban leader Fidel Castro. However, Castro had infiltrated CIA training camps in Central America, and investigative journalists working for *The New York Times* and other papers had also learned of the operation. Kennedy, in fact, convinced *Times* publisher Orville Dryfoos to downplay the story prior to the operation. When the 1,300-man exile force landed, it was met and captured by some 20,000 Cuban troops.
- 1961, May 5** Commander Alan Shepherd becomes the first American in space.
- 1961, May 25** President Kennedy announces that the United States “should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth.”
- 1961, June 3–4** The Vienna Summit between Kennedy and Khrushchev ends in acrimony, as the Soviet leader attempts to bully the inexperienced and seemingly vulnerable JFK.
- 1961, August 12** The East Germans close the border between East and West Berlin and begin construction of the Berlin Wall.
- 1961, October 18–24** Presidential aides General Maxwell Taylor and Walt Rostow visit South Vietnam. Their report will urge President Kennedy to commit up to 8,000 ground troops under the cover

of flood relief. Kennedy rejects the advice, instead significantly increasing the number of advisors and the amount of military supplies going to South Vietnam.

1961, November

As American involvement in Vietnam grows, so does the interest of the American press. Malcolm Browne arrives in Saigon in November 1961 to open the Associated Press bureau there, and is soon followed by Homer Bigart of *The New York Times* and Ray Herndon of United Press International.

1962, January 12

In Vietnam, Operation RANCH HAND, the spraying of defoliants to deny the enemy food and cover, begins, continuing until 1971. The illnesses and birth defects suffered by civilians and military alike are among the war's most lasting legacies.

1962, February 6

The old MAAG is replaced by the Military Assistance Command-Vietnam (MACV), commanded by four-star General Paul Harkins. The change signals a move toward a more direct U.S. operational role in South Vietnam.

1962, February 20

Colonel John Glenn, United States Marine Corps, becomes the first American to orbit the earth.

1962, February 20

State Department Cable 1006 formalizes the Kennedy Administration's policy of denying the American press all but the most general and positively spun information regarding growing U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

1962, February 27

Dissident South Vietnamese Air Force pilots attempt to bomb the Presidential Palace.

1962, September 9

Newsweek reporter Francois Sully is expelled from South Vietnam for writing articles critical of Madame Nhu, sister-in-law of President Diem.

1962, October 14–28

The Cuban Missile Crisis brings the world closer to nuclear war than at any time during the Cold War. On October 14, a U.S. reconnaissance flight detected the installation of Soviet missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads to the entire continental United States, excepting the Pacific Northwest. In a national television address on October 22, Kennedy tells the public of the installation of the missiles and announces a naval "quarantine" of Cuba to prevent more missiles from reaching the island. Underscoring the growing power of television to shape the political and diplomatic environment, on October 26, U.S. Ambassador to the UN Adlai Stevenson demands an answer from Soviet UN Ambassador Valerian

Zorin regarding the installation of weapons in Cuba, dramatically declaring that he is prepared to “wait until hell freezes over” for a response. Stevenson then surprises Zorin with photographs of the sites in Cuba. John Scali, ABC News diplomatic correspondent, is contacted by the KGB station chief in Washington to convey Khrushchev’s desire to break the impasse. On October 26, Soviet Premier Khrushchev offers to withdraw the missiles in exchange for a pledge for Kennedy not to invade Cuba. On October 28, Khrushchev announces that the missiles will be removed.

1962, December 31

More than 11,000 American military personnel are serving in Vietnam; during 1962, 109 Americans were killed or wounded.

1963, January 2

In the Battle of Ap Bac in the northern Mekong Delta, 2,500 South Vietnamese troops backed by armor and helicopters suffer heavy losses as they fail to trap a force of 300 Viet Cong. American advisors vent their frustrations to the resident press corps, whose reports bring them into conflict with American officials in Saigon and Washington, and with other journalists working in the United States.

1963, January 20

In one of the first breaks in the arms race, Kennedy and Khrushchev exchange letters that make a treaty limiting the testing of nuclear weapons more possible.

1963, May 8

The Buddhist Crisis begins as thousands of the faithful are attacked by South Vietnamese police and troops as they celebrate the 2,578th birthday of the Buddha. Nine people are killed and fourteen others wounded. The attacks come as government forces confronted the Buddhists for displaying the Buddhist flag, in violation of a law prohibiting the flying of all but the South Vietnamese national flag. Just days before, President Diem’s brother, the Archbishop of Hue, had displayed the Vatican flag at a celebration of the 25th anniversary of his bishopric.

1963, June 10

Kennedy signals a thaw in the Cold War and his growing maturity as a leader in his commencement address at American University in Washington, DC. He declares Communism to be “abhorrent,” but finds much to admire about the Russian people. He calls for a nuclear test ban treaty, saying that “our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children’s future. And we are all mortal.”

- 1963, June 11** Buddhist monk Thich (Venerable) Quang Duc burns himself to death at a downtown Saigon intersection to dramatize the growing tension between Diem and his people. The Buddhists had informed the foreign press corps ahead of time to be at the intersection. The AP's Malcolm Browne photographs the incident, winning himself a Pulitzer Prize and forcing Vietnam into the consciousness of most Americans for the first time.
- 1963, June 26** Kennedy reaffirms U.S. support for West Berlin when, during a visit to the city, he declares that "All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words 'Ich bin ein Berliner!'"
- 1963, August 5** The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which prohibits all nuclear tests except those conducted underground.
- 1963, August 21** South Vietnamese secret police, disguised as regular army soldiers, raid Buddhist pagodas across the country, arresting, beating, and killing hundreds of Buddhist monks and nuns, as well as ordinary citizens. By this time, elements from across South Vietnamese society have joined the Buddhists in opposition to Diem.
- 1963, August 22** Republican Henry Cabot Lodge, a former political rival to President Kennedy, arrives in Saigon as the newly appointed U.S. Ambassador. Lodge's appointment signals a tougher attitude toward Diem and also brings a more open, less adversarial relationship with the press, as Lodge seeks out reporters for their assessment of the crisis.
- 1963, September 2** President Kennedy appears on the CBS Evening News in television's first 30-minute news broadcast. In the interview, Kennedy tells CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite that the Diem regime must make efforts to win popular support if the war against the Viet Cong is to be won.
- 1963, October 5** South Vietnamese generals plotting a coup against Diem receive assurances that the United States will not stand in the way and that military and economic aid will continue.
- 1963, November 2** President Diem and his brother and closest advisor Ngo Dinh Nhu are assassinated as the generals launch their coup. General Duong Van Minh assumes the presidency.
- 1963, November 22** President Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas. Three days later, his successor, Lyndon Johnson, announces that U.S. support of South Vietnam will continue.

- 1964, February** The Viet Cong step up activity against Americans, including an attack on a military compound in the Central Highlands and terrorist attacks on civilian facilities in Saigon.
- 1964, February 4** In a sign of the growing split between the Communist powers and pressure on Khrushchev, the People's Republic of China accuses the Soviet premier of cooperating too closely with the United States.
- 1964, April** North Vietnam begins to infiltrate units of its army, the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) into the south.
- 1964, Summer** The more cooperative press policies regarding Vietnam that evolved in the latter days of the Kennedy Administration are formalized as Operation MAXIMUM CANDOR. This approach is based on the belief that providing the press with information gives the government its best opportunity to shape the story. As part of this approach, the decision is made not to impose traditional battlefield censorship, instituting instead a series of ground-rules describing categories of information not to be released without authorization.
- 1964, June 20** General William C. Westmoreland succeeds General Paul Harkins as MACV commander.
- 1964, August 2 and 4** On August 2, North Vietnamese patrol torpedo boats engage the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* off the southern coast of North Vietnam. Two days later, other PT boats may have deployed against the *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy*, but evidence is much less certain.
- 1964, August 5** President Johnson orders retaliatory airstrikes against installations in southern North Vietnam. During the raids, Lt. Everett Alvarez is shot down, becoming the first of some 600 U.S. airmen taken prisoner during the war. Johnson is praised by press, politicians, and the public for his firm, but restrained response.
- 1964, August 7** The Johnson Administration uses this "Gulf of Tonkin Incident" as the opportunity to seek Congressional approval for a program of increased pressure against North Vietnam. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorizes Johnson "to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force," to protect U.S. interests in Vietnam, passes 416 to 0 in the House and 82 to 2 in the Senate.
- 1964, September 7** "The Daisy Girl" television ad appears on NBC. The ad depicts a little girl counting as she picks the petals from a daisy. When she reaches nine, her voice is replaced by a male

voice doing a countdown. The little girl's face turns toward something in the sky, and the camera zooms into her pupil, blacking out the screen, which soon fills with the image of a nuclear explosion. Audio from a speech by President Johnson, in which he says that "we must love each other or we must die," plays, followed by an announcer calling on voters to turn out for President Johnson. The ad, which aired only once, added powerfully to the Johnson campaign's efforts to paint Republican candidate Senator Barry Goldwater as a mad bomber.

1964, October 14

In response to his outreach to the United States, hardliners in the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party oust Khrushchev from all his positions in the party and the government. He is succeeded by Leonid Brezhnev as first secretary of the Communist Party, and by Alexi Kosygin as premier.

1964, October 16

The People's Republic of China tests its first atomic weapon.

1964, November 3

President Johnson is elected in his own right, winning 61 percent of the popular vote.

1964, December 24

Viet Cong agents set off a bomb at the Brinks Hotel Bachelors Officers Quarters in downtown Saigon. Two Americans are killed and 58 others injured.

1965, February 6

The Viet Cong attack an American compound near Pleiku in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam, killing eight Americans, wounding 126, and destroying ten aircraft. The next day, Johnson will order retaliatory bombing raids against the North, in Operation FLAMING DART.

1965, March 2

Operation ROLLING THUNDER, a sustained bombing campaign against North Vietnam, begins.

1965, March 8

The first U.S. regular combat troops arrive in Vietnam, as 3,500 Marines splash ashore at Da Nang to guard the air bases located there.

1965, April 17

The first student protests against the Vietnam War take place in Washington, D.C.

1965, July 28

President Johnson announces that U.S. troop strength in Vietnam will be immediately increased to 125,000, with more to follow as needed.

1965, August 5

A film report by CBS newsman Morley Safer airs, showing U.S. Marines setting fire to thatched huts in the village of Cam Ne, near Da Nang in South Vietnam. The report sparks

a visceral reaction from President Johnson, who pressures his old friend Frank Stanton, president of CBS News, to fire Safer.

1965, September

Why Vietnam? A documentary produced by the Department of Defense to explain the commitment of U.S. troops to Vietnam, is released. The film, modeled on Frank Capra's World War II series *Why We Fight*, places Vietnam firmly in the World War II-Cold War context of resisting aggression early.

1965, Fall

Tring Thi Ngo, better known as "Hanoi Hannah," begins thrice-daily broadcasts aimed at the morale of U.S. troops.

1965, October 15

David Miller becomes the first antiwar protester to burn his draft card at the Whitehall Induction Center in lower Manhattan. Captured on film and broadcast on the national news, Miller's act will eventually result in his serving 22 months in federal prison.

**1965, October 19–
November 17**

The Ia Drang Valley Campaign marks the first major engagement between U.S. troops and soldiers of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN). A battalion of troops from the 7th Cavalry Regiment, 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile), under the command of Lt. Col. Hal Moore, successfully defends Landing Zone X-Ray against heavy North Vietnamese assaults. The press criticizes efforts to minimize the U.S. casualty count and to exaggerate enemy body count. The fighting at LZ X-Ray will be chronicled in the book *We Were Soldiers Once . . . and Young*, by Hal Moore and Joe Galloway, who covered the fighting for UPI, and the film *We Were Soldiers*.

1966, February

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Democrat J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, holds televised hearings on the war.

1966, June 4

A three-page antiwar ad, signed by over 6,400 teachers and professors, appears in *The New York Times*.

1966, August 8

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party launches the Cultural Revolution in order to root out what it called "liberal bourgeois" elements that were infiltrating the party. Over the next 10 years, the Cultural Revolution would create a reign of terror in China, with even minimal civil liberties repressed, cultural and historical artifacts destroyed, and from one million to three million people murdered.

1966, September 6

President Johnson signs the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), creating processes by which citizens could request the partial or full disclosure of documents generated and held

by the Executive Branch. The FOIA marked a reaction to the growing inclination and power of the Executive Branch of the federal government to withhold information from the public.

1966, December 26

Veteran *New York Times* foreign correspondent and assistant editor Harrison Salisbury files the first of fourteen articles from Hanoi, taking issue with the U.S. government's claim that the bombing of the North was hitting only military targets. Salisbury's reports inspired sharp criticism from political and journalistic leaders. Even his own paper distanced itself from his reports.

1967, February 21

Bernard Fall, one of the greatest scholars and journalists of the war, is killed as his jeep strikes a mine on Highway 1 north of Hue.

1967, April 15

Antiwar demonstrations totaling 200,000 people take place in New York and San Francisco. Martin Luther King comes out against the war.

1967, June 5–10

The Six-Day War takes place. Israel launches a preemptive air strike against Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian air forces in response to growing threats by the three states. In the fierce fighting that followed, the Arab armies are devastated, with Israel gaining control of the Sinai peninsula from Egypt, the West Bank of the Jordan River from Jordan, and the strategic Golan Heights from Syria.

1967, June 23

President Lyndon Johnson and Soviet Premier Alexi Kosygin meet in the small town of Glassboro, New Jersey. Although the summit reaches no substantial conclusions, the amiable air surrounding the meeting becomes known as the "Spirit of Glassboro."

1967, July 7

The North Vietnamese Politburo authorizes preparations for a "general offensive" against South Vietnam, which it envisions as the final stage of the war, scheduled for early 1968.

1967, October

The Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom, better known as the Douglas Committee for its chair, former Illinois Senator Paul Douglas, is established. Secretly organized and supported by the Johnson White House, the Douglas Committee attempts to generate support for Administration policy in Vietnam.

1967, October

The antiwar movement gains momentum and turns violent. On October 17, students at the University of Wisconsin stage a sit-in, which is broken up by a police assault. The March on the Pentagon, on October 21–23, draws 55,000 demonstrators,

also resulting in skirmishes between the marchers and federal troops and marshals.

1967, October

For the first time since pollsters began asking the question in summer, 1965, more Americans answer “yes” than “no” to “do you believe American involvement in Vietnam is a mistake?”

1967, September–November

The Johnson White House mounts a formal “progress campaign” intended to counter growing frustration regarding the war among the American public. The progress campaign reaches its height in November. General Westmoreland, accompanied by U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Ellsworth Bunker and pacification chief Robert Komer, returned to the States to join a public relations blitz of speeches, television appearances, and meetings with the editors of important magazines and newspapers. Top administration officials, including President Johnson and Vice President Hubert Humphrey, also participate.

1967, November 3–December 1

The Battle of Dak To, one of a series of engagements initiated by the North Vietnamese to pull American troops away from population centers in preparation for the general offensive, takes place in the Central Highlands. U.S. forces suffer heavy casualties, especially in the fight for Hill 875. The AP’s Peter Arnett covers the repeated assaults, providing some of the most outstanding combat journalism of the war.

1967, November 30

Antiwar Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota announces that he will challenge President Johnson for the Democratic nomination for President.

1968, January 5

With the election of Alexander Dubcek as first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the so-called “Prague Spring” begins. The effort to liberalize political and cultural life under Communist leadership will continue for the next several months, until crushed by the invasion of 22 divisions of Soviet troops on August 20th and 21st.

1968, January 21

The 77-day siege of the Marine combat base at Khe Sanh, near the Laotian border just south of the Demilitarized Zone, begins. President Johnson becomes obsessed with the siege, fearing comparisons to the French debacle at Dien Bien Phu.

1968, January 23

North Korea seizes the U.S. intelligence-gathering ship *Pueblo* in international waters in the Sea of Japan. The crew will be held hostage for the next 11 months.

1968, January 31

The long-planned North Vietnamese and Viet Cong general offensive, which comes to be known as the Tet Offensive,

begins. The effort is a major military defeat for the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong, with the latter nearly wiped out as an effective fighting force. The “general uprising” of the South Vietnamese people that the offensive was supposed to inspire also fails to materialize. Conventional wisdom will come to characterize the Tet Offensive as the point at which public opinion turned against the war, primarily because of press and television coverage. However, public support had turned against the war as it was being conducted months earlier, and actually spiked upward briefly during the Offensive, then resuming its steady downward decline.

1968, February 1

General Nguyen Ngoc Loan, chief of the South Vietnamese National Police, executes a Viet Cong prisoner just taken from the An Quang Pagoda in central Saigon. AP photographer Eddie Adams captures the exact moment that the bullet smashes into the man’s skull, while NBC cameraman Vo Suu records the scene on film. Together they become some of the most recognizable images of the war.

1968, February 27

CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite returns from a trip to Vietnam and, acknowledging that he is now editorializing, tells his viewers that he believes the war will, at best, end in stalemate.

1968, March 12

Eugene McCarthy nearly defeats President Johnson in the New Hampshire primary.

1968, March 16

Senator Robert Kennedy announces his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for President, calling for a negotiated settlement and the withdrawal of American troops. Kennedy acknowledges his own participation in the early decisions regarding U.S. involvement.

1968, March 16

Troops from the Americal Division rape, torture, and murder more than 500 Vietnamese civilians in the village of My Lai. Combat photographer Ronald Haeberle documents the slaughter, but it will be more than a year before the Army’s cover-up of the massacre is broken. Investigative reporter Seymour Hersh hears that platoon commander Lt. William Calley has been charged with murder and is awaiting trial at Ft. Benning, Georgia. After interviewing Calley and others involved in the massacre, Hersh writes his stories, but cannot convince mainstream news outlets to touch the story. On November 12, 1969, the Dispatch News Service, an alternative news organization based in California, reports Hersh’s

story. Eight days later, establishment news organizations such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and CBS pick up the story.

1968, March 31

President Johnson, in a late-night television address, announces the initiation of peace talks, a suspension of bombing of portions of North Vietnam, and, in the biggest surprise, his withdrawal from the 1968 election.

1968, April 4

Martin Luther King, Jr. is killed in Memphis, Tennessee, setting off days of rioting in cities across the country.

1968, June 5

Robert Kennedy is murdered in Los Angeles just after accepting victory in the California Presidential primary.

1968, July 1

William Westmoreland is replaced as MACV commander by General Creighton W. Abrams.

1968, July 1

The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which aims for limits on the spread of nuclear arms.

1968, July 17

The Ba'athist Party takes control of Iraq in a bloodless coup. Saddam Hussein is named vice president.

1968, August 26–29

At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, antiwar forces clash with Chicago police and National Guard troops in what an investigative commission will later call “a police riot.” Inside the convention hall, delegates supporting a quick withdrawal of U.S. forces lose to those who support a continuation of current policies as Vice President Hubert Humphrey wins the nomination over Eugene McCarthy.

1968, November 5

Richard Nixon, having avoided specific statements regarding the war, but projecting a statesman-like aura, defeats Humphrey and independent candidate George Wallace, governor of Alabama, whose running mate General Curtis LeMay advocated “bombing the North Vietnamese back to the Stone Age.”

1969, January 25

The Paris Peace Talks open.

1969, April 30

U.S. troop levels in Vietnam peak at just over 543,000.

1969, May 9

William Beecher of *The New York Times* discloses a secret bombing campaign against Cambodia, Operation MENU, initiated by President Nixon in March. While Beecher's story causes little stir, Nixon's penchant for secrecy moves him to investigate the source of the leak by establishing a special White House unit, the Plumbers. The Plumbers' activities will broaden to include investigation and intimidation of Nixon's political opponents, leading to the Watergate Scandal.

- 1969, June 8** President Nixon, in a joint press briefing following meetings with South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu on Midway Island, enunciates the policy of “Vietnamization”—placing more of the combat burden on South Vietnamese forces—and announces the withdrawal of 25,000 U.S. troops, the first installment in a gradual American withdrawal from Vietnam.
- 1969, June 27** *Life* Magazine publishes photographs of almost all of the 242 Americans killed in Vietnam during the last week of May.
- 1969, July 20** Neil Armstrong becomes the first human being to walk on the moon, declaring it to be “one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind.”
- 1969, July 25** In an interview with reporters, Nixon declares that while the United States would continue to support its allies, those allies must bear a greater share of the burden of their own defense. This policy comes to be known as the Nixon Doctrine, and signals Nixon’s realization that the alignment of power in the world is shifting.
- 1969, September 2** Ho Chi Minh dies of a heart attack at the age of 79.
- 1969, November 15** “The Mobilization” draws 250,000 demonstrators against the war to Washington, D.C.
- 1969, December 1** The draft lottery, in which birthdays are randomly assigned to numbers 1–366, is instituted. Those birthdays with lower numbers have a higher likelihood of being drafted. The new system reduces the number of educational and other deferments that had been available.
- 1970, February 21** Secret peace talks begin between U.S. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and North Vietnam envoy Le Duc Tho.
- 1970, March 18** Longtime Cambodian ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk is overthrown by a group of generals led by General Lon Nol. The generals then attack North Vietnamese troops that had been using Cambodian border areas as a sanctuary, along with the Cambodian Communist insurgency, the Khmer Rouge. These attacks will cause the North Vietnamese to increase their presence in Cambodia, as well as their assistance to the previously weak Khmer Rouge.
- 1970, April 30** President Nixon announces that South Vietnamese troops, backed by U.S. forces, will enter the border areas of Cambodia to attack the sanctuaries. Nixon portrays the incursion as a means to speed Vietnamization and the withdrawal of U.S. troops. The incursion also breathes new life into the antiwar

movement, which had been losing momentum, as a wide spectrum of American society protests this perceived widening of the war. The war in Cambodia proved particularly dangerous for journalists. During the incursion, some seventeen reporters or photographers would be captured, killed, or go missing. By the end of the war in 1975, a total of 25 journalists would die or disappear in Cambodia.

1970, May 4

Over the previous weekend, students at Kent State University in Ohio had protested against the Cambodian incursion, with some incidents of violence. On Monday, May 4, Ohio National Guard troops turn and fire on a group of demonstrators, killing four and wounding another nine. Singer Neil Young, hearing of the killings, writes the song “Ohio” in 10 minutes. Its refrain, “Tin soldiers and Nixon comin’, we’re finally on our own/This summer I hear the drummin’, four dead in Ohio,” becomes a rallying cry for continued protests.

1970, May

The killings at Kent State set off demonstrations and disturbances at college and university campuses across the country; some 400 institutions close the spring semester early. On the night of May 14–15, 2 students are killed and 12 wounded when police open fire on a crowd at Jackson State College in Mississippi. More than 100,000 people gather at the White House and other landmarks in Washington, D.C. President Nixon will quietly slip out of the White House and talk with demonstrators gathered at the Lincoln Memorial.

1970, October 8

Prominent Soviet author and political dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn is awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

1970, November 12

Lt. William Calley’s trial begins at Ft. Benning, Georgia.

1970, December 22

The Cooper-Church Amendment, sponsored by Republican Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky and Democrat Frank Church of Idaho, forbids the use of American ground troops in Laos or Cambodia.

1971, January 30

Operation LAM SON 719, a major invasion of southern Laos, begins, continuing until early April. The operation, to be carried out by South Vietnamese ground forces supported by American air and artillery, seeks to interrupt the flow of supplies down the Ho Chi Minh Trail and to serve as a demonstration of the progress of Vietnamization. However, the North Vietnamese set a trap for the South Vietnamese forces, inflicting significant casualties on the South Vietnamese as they retreat in panic back across the border. Press reports,

such as those by *The New York Times*' Gloria Emerson, portray the operation's failure. On February 10, photojournalists Larry Burrows of *Life* Magazine, Henri Huet of the Associated Press, Kent Potter of UPI, and Keizaburo Shimamoto of *Newsweek*, are killed when a South Vietnamese helicopter crashes in Laos. Journalists had been barred from riding on American-piloted helicopters.

1971, March 29

Lt. William Calley is found guilty of the murder of 22 civilians at My Lai and sentenced to life in prison at hard labor. On April 1, President Nixon, responding to a groundswell of pro-Calley sentiment, orders him released from the stockade and placed under house arrest pending review of his case. His sentence will eventually be commuted. Calley is the only person convicted of crimes in relation to My Lai.

1971, April 12

The U.S. table tennis team visits the People's Republic of China to compete against Chinese teams in what comes to be known as "ping pong diplomacy."

1971, April 19

Operation DEWEY CANYON III, a week-long protest in Washington by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, begins. Former Navy lieutenant John Kerry's articulate testimony before Congress sets him on the path to a career in politics.

1971, June 13

The New York Times begins publication of a series of articles based on the "Pentagon Papers," a secret history of American involvement in Vietnam authorized by then-Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in 1967. The Nixon Administration would seek to prevent publication of the articles, first by the *Times* then by *The Washington Post*. On June 30, the Supreme Court, which took the case on an expedited basis, rules 6 to 3 in favor the newspapers. However, the Court does leave the door open to future attempts by the Executive Branch to impose prior restraint on news organizations.

1971, September 3

The Four-Power Agreement allows for greater access between East and West Berlin.

1971, October 25

The United Nations recognizes the People's Republic as the sole legitimate government of China.

1972, February 21

President Nixon begins his visit to China, as he seeks to ease tensions with that country while also putting pressure on the Soviet Union in a process known as "playing the China card."

1972, March 30

The Easter Offensive, a massive armor and infantry attack by the North Vietnamese in northern and central South Vietnam, begins. A gamble by General Vo Nguyen Giap to conquer the

South outright, the attack is repulsed by heavy American air support, including B-52 strikes against the North, and effective fighting by some South Vietnamese units. However, it is not until September that the South Vietnamese regain territory lost to the North Vietnamese advance.

1972, May 22

Nixon arrives in Moscow, where he and Soviet Premier Kosygin sign the SALT I Treaty, limiting the number of strategic missile launchers held by the two powers. More important, the visit signals a period of “détente,” or easing of tensions between the United States and Soviet Union.

1972, June 8

The AP’s Nick Ut photographs nine year-old Phan Thi Kim Phuc, running down the road near her home in Trang Bang, northwest of Saigon. Phuc had suffered severe burns when her home is hit by napalm. Ut helps to evacuate her to a hospital, where doctors say that her burns are too severe to survive. However, she survives, and now lives in Canada. Ut wins the 1972 Pulitzer Prize for the photograph. Richard Nixon contends that the picture was staged.

1972, June 17

Five men working for Nixon’s Committee to Re-elect the President are caught while breaking into Democratic Party headquarters at the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. Journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of *The Washington Post* pursue the story, eventually uncovering a wide range of illegal activities by the Nixon campaign.

1972, July 18

Actress and political activist Jane Fonda visits Hanoi. The North Vietnamese make wide use of statements made by Fonda in which she accuses the U.S. military of deliberately bombing the dike system that prevented the Red River from flooding Hanoi, and radio broadcasts in which she denounced American leaders as war criminals. The most enduring image of her visit, however, is of her seated in an anti-aircraft battery. Fonda would later express deep regret over the photographs, but did not disavow her opposition to the war. Her characterization as “Hanoi Jane” has become one of the most persistent and myth-laden legacies of the war.

1972, August 23

The last U.S. combat troops leave Vietnam.

1972, October

The peace process reaches a crisis point. On the 8th, Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho each make concessions—Kissinger agrees to allow North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South, while Le drops the North’s insistence that South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu’s government be

dissolved. In a meeting with Kissinger on the 22nd, Thieu angrily rejects the terms, refusing to back down even when threatened by Nixon with a total cut-off of aid. Thieu takes his objections public on the 24th. On the 26th, despite Thieu's denunciations and objections from the North, Kissinger announces that "peace is at hand," just days before the Presidential election between Nixon and Democratic candidate Senator George McGovern on November 7.

1972, November 14

Nixon secretly pledges to Thieu that any North Vietnamese violations of the peace terms will be met with "swift and severe retaliatory action."

1972, December

After Kissinger presents new demands to Le, peace talks break down again on the 13th. On the 18th, Nixon orders massive bombing of the North; the so-called "Christmas bombings" are roundly condemned, but force the North Vietnamese to resume talks.

1973, January 9

Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho resolve all outstanding differences.

1973, January 22

Former President Lyndon Johnson dies at his ranch of a heart attack.

**1973, January 23
and 27**

On the 23rd, Nixon announces that a peace agreement has been reached; on the 27th, the Paris Peace Accords are signed by the United States, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Vietnam, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (Viet Cong).

**1973, February 12–
April 1**

American POWs are released in Operation HOMECOMING.

1973, May 17

The Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, better known as the Watergate Committee, begins hearings. Chaired by North Carolina Democrat Sam Ervin, with Tennessee Republican Howard Baker as ranking member, the hearings are broadcast live on network television and radio. Revelations on July 16th by White House aide Alexander Butterfield that all Oval Office conversations involving Nixon were taped takes the Watergate investigation to a new level.

1972, September 1

In Reykjavik, Iceland, American Bobby Fisher defeats Soviet Boris Spassky in the World Chess Championships, breaking the Soviet Union's 24 year-long reign.

1973, September 11

In a coup backed by the United States, the Chilean military ousts the Marxist government of President Salvador Allende.

- 1973, October 6–26** In an attempt to redress the defeat and loss of territory suffered during the Six-Day War, Egypt and Syria attack Israel. The conflict brings the United States and Soviet Union close to direct conflict as each mobilizes forces in the region.
- 1973, November 7** Congress passes the War Powers Act, which requires the President to seek direct Congressional approval within 90 days of sending American troops abroad.
- 1974, May 9** Congress begins impeachment proceedings against President Nixon.
- 1974, August 8** Facing certain impeachment and trial, Nixon announces his resignation, effective at noon on August 9. Gerald Ford, whom Nixon had appointed Vice President following the 1973 resignation of Spiro Agnew, becomes President.
- 1974, September 4** Having assumed the presidency less than a month before following Nixon's resignation, Gerald Ford appoints Republican National Committee chair George H.W. Bush as the United States' first envoy to the People's Republic of China. On the same day, Ford appoints former Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper as the first American Ambassador to East Germany.
- 1974, September 16** President Ford announces a clemency program for draft evaders.
- 1974, December 18** Encouraged by the taking of Phuoc Long Province in South Vietnam (and the lack of American military response), the North Vietnamese Politburo adopts plans for a major offensive for the next spring. North Vietnamese leaders assume that the final conquest of the South will take a year.
- 1975, March 10** The final offensive begins with an assault on Ban Me Thuot in the Central Highlands. The key town falls in one day.
- 1975, March 13** President Thieu abandons the northern two-thirds of South Vietnam, setting off a panicked exodus toward Saigon.
- 1975, April 21** Under pressure from U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin, President Thieu resigns. In a televised speech to the nation, he bitterly denounces the United States for failing to honor its word. Thieu is succeeded by Duong Van Minh, who had taken over following the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963.
- 1975, April 29** Ambassador Martin orders Operation FREQUENT WIND, the final evacuation of Americans from Saigon. The televised images of desperate South Vietnamese trying to reach helicopters lifting off the American Embassy roof provide a final, poignant punctuation mark to American involvement.

- 1975, April 29** Marine Corporal Charles McMahon and Lance Corporal Darwin Judge are the last Americans to die as a result of combat in Vietnam as Tan Son Nhut Airport is overrun by North Vietnamese troops.
- 1975, April 30** Colonel Bui Tin accepts the surrender of South Vietnam from President Duong Van Minh.
- 1975, June 25** Portugal leaves its former African colonies of Angola and Mozambique, setting off civil wars that become a proxy contest between the superpowers and testing the limits of U.S. military aid post-Vietnam.
- 1975, July 17** American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts shake hands in space as Apollo and Soyuz spacecraft dock in the first joint U.S.-Soviet space mission.
- 1975, August 1** The Helsinki Accords are signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, Canada, and European nations. The Accords recognize existing national borders, a seeming affirmation of Soviet control of Eastern Europe, but also affirm human rights across Europe, which dissident movements in the Eastern bloc will later cite.
- 1975, November 21** The Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, better known as the Church Committee after its chair, Idaho Democrat Frank Church, issues the first of a series of reports detailing abuses by the CIA and FBI. Over the next year, the Church Committee's investigations will lead to major reforms and increased Congressional oversight of U.S. intelligence activities.
- 1975, December 10** Elena Bonner, wife of Soviet physicist and dissident Andrei Sakharov, accepts the Nobel Peace Prize on his behalf.
- 1976, September 9** Mao Zedong dies.
- 1977, January 1** Charter 77, a declaration of human rights and civil liberties, is issued by Czech dissidents, and is smuggled to the West on January 6.
- 1978, April 27** Pro-Communist rebels murder Afghan President Sardar Mohammed Daoud; a Communist regime will be installed in December.
- 1978, September 17** The Camp David Accords are signed by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and U.S. President Jimmy Carter. The Accords, which called for Israel's return of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt in return for the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between

the two states, set the stage for the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty signed in March 1979.

1978, October 16

The College of Cardinals elects Karol Cardinal Wojtyla to the papacy. Taking the name John Paul II, he becomes the first pope from a Communist country.

1978, December 15

President Jimmy Carter announces the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China, to take effect the following January 1.

1979, July 16

Saddam Hussein, in a bloody purge of the Ba'ath Party, assumes the presidency of Iraq.

1979, July 17

Fighters of the leftist Sandinista movement take over Nicaragua, forcing U.S.-backed President Anastasio Somoza to flee.

1979, November 4

As the Islamic fundamentalist leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini consolidates his control following the February Revolution that overthrew Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Iranian students seize control of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, holding 52 Americans hostage until January 20, 1981. The crisis further weakens an already shaky Carter Administration and sets off a spate of anti-Islamic sentiment in American popular culture.

1979, December 24

Upon request of the Communist government in Afghanistan, Soviet forces invade to help against anti-government fighters, or mujahideen. The invasion marks the end of détente and begins a 10-year-long conflict that will contribute significantly to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The United States will provide significant covert assistance to the mujahideen.

1980, February 22

The U.S. ice hockey team defeats the heavily favored Soviet team at the Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games in the "Miracle on Ice."

1980, April 22

The U.S. Olympic Committee votes to boycott the upcoming Summer Games in Moscow. The boycott, joined by 61 other countries, is among a series of steps taken by President Carter in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

1980, August 14

Led by machinist Lech Walesa, shipyard workers in Gdansk, Poland go on strike, demanding the right to form independent labor unions, giving birth to the Solidarity Movement, or *Solidarnosc*.

**1980, September 22–
1988, August 20**

The Iran-Iraq War begins on September 22, 1980, as Iraq invades Iran, attempting to squelch potential Iranian influence among Iraq's Shiite population and redress border disputes.

- The war quickly settles into a World War I-like stalemate, resulting in an estimated 500,000 military and civilian dead.
- 1980, November 4** Running on a campaign of restoring American power and influence, Republican Ronald Reagan defeats Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter and independent John Anderson for the presidency.
- 1981, March 2** In the first action of what will become known as the Reagan Doctrine, President Reagan extends aid to the government of El Salvador to resist a leftist insurgency.
- 1981, October 10** In a sign of European dissent against the re-chilled Cold War, 250,000 West Germans demonstrate against the planned deployment of nuclear-armed U.S. cruise missiles.
- 1982, November 10** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev dies, succeeded by former KGB chief Yuri Andropov.
- 1983, March 23** In a televised address, President Reagan announces the Strategic Defense Initiative. Better known as “Star Wars,” the initiative seeks to develop a land- and space-based shield against Soviet missiles.
- 1983, June 16** Pope John Paul II visits his native Poland for the second time, this time meeting with Solidarity leader Walesa.
- 1983, September 1** Soviet fighter jets shoot down a civilian airliner, Korean Air Lines flight KAL 007, after it accidentally entered Soviet airspace.
- 1983, October 23** Islamic Jihad launches suicide-bombing attacks in Beirut on barracks housing U.S. and French troops that are part of a multinational force overseeing the withdrawal of Palestine Liberation Forces from Lebanon. The attacks kill 241 American and 58 French service personnel.
- 1983, October 25** U.S. forces invade the Caribbean island of Grenada to rescue American medical students and prevent Cuban control of the island. Controversy surrounding restrictions on news media access will inspire a re-examination of post-Vietnam press policies.
- 1984, February 9** Soviet leader Andropov dies, succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko.
- 1984, May 8** The Soviet Union announces that it will boycott the Summer Olympic Games to be held in Los Angeles.
- 1984, October 20** The Chinese government, with reformer Deng Xiaoping leading the way, announces a relaxation of state controls of the economy.

- 1985, March 10–11** Soviet leader Chernenko dies on March 10, replaced the next day by 54-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev. On April 23rd, in a speech to the Communist Party Central Committee, Gorbachev calls for a restructuring, or “perestroika,” of the Soviet economy.
- 1986, October 10–12** Reagan and Gorbachev hold their second summit meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland. At the meeting, they move toward the reduction of intermediate-range nuclear forces, and come close to an agreement on the staged elimination of all nuclear weapons.
- 1987, May 5** The U.S. Congress begins hearings on revelations that the Reagan Administration, in violation of U.S. law, has been selling arms to Iran and using the proceeds to fund the “contras,” anti-Sandinista regime rebels in Nicaragua.
- 1987, June 12** During a visit to Berlin, President Reagan, in a dramatic moment emblematic of his presidency, demands, “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.”
- 1987, December 7–10** Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa visit Washington, D.C., where they are greeted by wildly enthusiastic crowds in a demonstration of “Gorbymania.”
- 1988, February 8** Gorbachev announces that Soviet forces will begin to withdraw from Afghanistan on May 15.
- 1988, May 11** Symbolic of Gorbachev’s policy of “glasnost,” or “openness,” the journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, published excerpts from George Orwell’s *1984*.
- 1988, August 11** The first meeting of the organization that would become al-Qaeda takes place. As the Soviet military effort in Afghanistan winds down, different groups of mujahideen look to the future. Osama bin Laden founds al-Qaeda to expand jihad, or holy war, beyond Afghanistan.
- 1988, November 8** In a first indication of the loosening of the Soviet Union’s grip on Eastern Europe, the Baltic state of Estonia, occupied as a Soviet republic since 1940, declares itself to be sovereign.
- 1989, April 22–June 5** China faces a political crisis in the pro-democracy Tiananmen Movement. On April 22nd, crowds that will eventually total more than 100,000 begin to gather in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, demonstrating following the death of former Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, who had supported pro-democracy reforms. On May 30, students defy authorities by erecting a 30-foot tall statue named “the Goddess of Democracy,” which resembles the Statue of Liberty. On June 4,

troops supported by tanks begin to move into the Square. On June 5, photographs and film capture images of an unknown man blocking a column of tanks.

1989, May 2

Hungarian officials begin to dismantle the barbed-wire barrier that forms the portion of the Iron Curtain running along the Hungarian border with Austria.

1989, July 7

Gorbachev announces that the Soviet Union will not interfere in decisions by Warsaw Pact members to determine their own political futures.

1989, August 24

In Poland, the Solidarity Movement, after winning parliamentary elections, forms the first non-Communist government in the Eastern bloc.

**1989, October–
December**

Following the example of Poland, Communist governments in East Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania fall. On November 9–10, an East German official announces that the border between East and West Berlin is open, and crowds begin to dismantle the Berlin Wall. On December 2–3, President George H.W. Bush and Gorbachev meet in Malta, declaring a de facto end to the Cold War.

1990, August 2

The Gulf War begins as Iraq, citing old territorial claims and complaints about poaching of its oil resources, invades Kuwait. The same day, the UN Security Council passes a resolution condemning the invasion and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces. The same day, in Operation DESERT SHIELD, President George H. W Bush begins to assemble an international coalition to exert diplomatic and, if necessary, military force on Iraq and to protect Saudi Arabia.

1990, August 11

The Kuwaiti Government, working through Hill and Knowlton, then the world's largest public relations firm, creates Citizens for a Free Kuwait to create propaganda in the United States on behalf of Kuwait and to encourage U.S. military intervention. Citizens for a Free Kuwait channels nearly \$11 million to Hill and Knowlton over the next six months. This organization is just part of a massive propaganda and lobbying effort by the Kuwaiti Government. Many of the allegations of Iraqi atrocities in Kuwait, such as babies being ripped from incubators and left to die on hospital floors, are later revealed to be outright fabrications.

1990, November 29

UN Security Council Resolution 678 sets a January 15, 1991 deadline for Iraqi withdrawal and authorizes the use of "all necessary means" to secure that withdrawal.

- 1991, January 15** Pentagon ground rules governing media coverage of military operations go into effect. The main feature of this arrangement, derived from the earlier Sidle Commission Report on media-military relations, is press pools, in which representatives of different media were to provide coverage to other news organizations. While the intent was to provide quicker and more direct access to the battlefield, the pools in practice become a means to restrict and manipulate coverage.
- 1991, January 17** Coalition forces, led by the United States, launch a massive airstrike against Iraqi forces and key installations in the city of Baghdad, as Operation DESERT STORM begins. Cable News Network (CNN) establishes itself as a major news organization as it provides the only live coverage of the opening of the attack. Reporters John Holliman, Peter Arnett, and Bernard Shaw broadcast dramatic images of the bombing around Baghdad.
- 1991, February 23–28** The ground aspect of DESERT STORM begins. Iraqi forces abandon Kuwait City with little resistance, and then retreat rapidly toward Baghdad. By the 26th, Coalition troops are within 150 miles of the city. On the 28th, President Bush declares a cease-fire.
- 1994, August–1998, August** During the Afghan Civil war that follows the collapse of the Soviet Union and the overthrow of its client government in Afghanistan, the Taliban—a group of scholars and former mujahideen—take control of 90 percent of the country, and begin to brutally implement a strict interpretation of Islamic law.
- 2000, November 7–December 12** The U.S. Presidential election becomes entangled in recounts and lawsuits when both the Republican candidate George W. Bush and the Democratic nominee Al Gore fail to win a majority in the Electoral College. Florida's 25 Electoral College votes will determine the winner, but when the Florida Supreme Court orders a statewide recount, the Bush campaign challenges the constitutionality of the order. The U.S. Supreme Court takes the case and rules 5 to 4 in favor of candidate Bush on December 12.
- 2001, January** The new Bush Administration begins to develop plans to overthrow Saddam Hussein.
- 2001, September 11** Al-Qaeda operatives hijack four U.S. domestic aircraft. Two are flown into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing the buildings to collapse within

minutes. A third plane slams into the Pentagon, causing significant damage and loss of life. The fourth plane, most probably headed for either the White House or U.S. Capitol, crashes outside Shanksville, Pennsylvania as passengers struggle with the hijackers for control of the plane. The attacks kill 2,976 people, not including the 19 hijackers who also perish. Live coverage of the second aircraft crashing into the South Tower of the World Trade Center, and the collapse of the two towers, provides some of the most terrifying and dramatic images in television journalism history.

2001, October 7

Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the NATO effort to oust the Taliban from control of Afghanistan and to eliminate terrorist training camps there, begins the Afghan War, which continues as of this writing. By early December 2001, NATO troops had driven the Taliban from their strongholds, dispersing them into remote areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

2001, October 26

Congress passes the Patriot Act, which greatly expands the federal government's ability to investigate, without judicial authority, American citizens. Supporters claim the powers are necessary to combat terrorism, while critics see great potential for damage to civil liberties.

2002, March 2–16

In Operation ANACONDA, NATO and Afghan forces attack a reconstituted Taliban and al-Qaeda insurgency in eastern Afghanistan.

2002, October 11

Congress passes a joint resolution authorizing the use of military force to compel Iraqi compliance with UN disarmament requirements.

2002, Fall

Ground rules and press policies for the impending war in Iraq are established. Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Victoria C. Clarke abandoned the pool approach used in the Gulf War, with its inherent and obvious restrictions, for a more open policy. This effort to shape the story by embracing the press was most clearly represented in the practice of embedding reporters with combat units.

2002, November 8

The UN Security Council unanimously passes Resolution 1441, calling on Iraq to comply fully with disarmament obligations set out following the Gulf War. New inspections, looking for evidence of Iraqi development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), begin.

2003–2005

The insurgency in Afghanistan increases as the Taliban successfully recruits among former mujahideen and others

alienated by the failure of NATO forces and the Afghan government to deliver basic services and security.

2003, February 5

Despite the fact that UN inspectors reported Iraqi cooperation and no evidence of WMD has been found, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell makes a presentation to the UN Security Council contending that Iraqi defectors had provided the United States with evidence of WMD development. Modeled on Adlai Stevenson's Security Council presentation during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Powell's appearance is televised nationally. His prestige, credibility, and effectiveness help to convince a majority of Americans that the Iraqi threat exists and that force will be necessary to eliminate it.

2003, March 20–May 1

The Iraq War begins with Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the invasion of Iraq. U.S. and British forces, with small contingents from Australia and Poland, quickly defeat the Iraqi Army, taking Baghdad on April 9 and forcing Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi leaders into hiding. This phase of fighting is declared complete on May 1. On May 2, President Bush lands on the deck of the aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln* and declares victory in Iraq, with a huge banner reading "Mission Accomplished" behind him.

2003, March 23

Private First Class Jessica Lynch is taken prisoner during an ambush in the city of Nasiriyah and taken to a hospital, where Iraqi doctors and nurses treat her. On April 1, 2003, a U.S. Special Forces team raids the hospital and frees her, carrying her out on a stretcher and delivering her to military authorities for medical treatment. Footage of the rescue operation is released to the media, and Lynch quickly become a symbol of American fortitude and resolve in the early days of IRAQI FREEDOM. Much of the media portrays Lynch as a hero, although suspicions soon grow that the Bush administration and the media have embellished the story to increase public support for the war and turn her rescue into compelling headlines.

2003, April 3

Michael Kelly, editor for the *Atlantic Monthly* and columnist for *The Washington Post*, becomes the first American journalist killed in the Iraq war when his Humvee comes under fire. The vehicle swerves into a canal, where Kelly and the driver drown.

2003, April 21

The U.S.-run Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) assumes all legislative, executive, and judicial authority in Iraq. The

- CPA, and differing judgments regarding its performance, will become one of the more controversial aspects of the Iraq War.
- 2003, June** The end of the Saddam Hussein dictatorship and the CPA's failure to consolidate control of the country unleashes sectarian violence that develops into internecine fighting and an insurgency against U.S. troops.
- 2003, July 14** The conservative newspaper columnist Robert Novak reveals that Valerie Plame is a covert operative for the Central Intelligence Agency. The information presumably comes from a senior Bush Administration official, and is used in retribution against Plame's husband, former Ambassador Joseph Wilson. A week before, Wilson publicly refuted Bush Administration claims that Iraq had attempted to purchase enriched uranium in Niger; Wilson had been asked by the Administration to carry out the investigation, but reported that no evidence of such activity existed. The revelation triggered a federal grand jury investigation, as it is illegal for a government official to knowingly reveal the identity of a covert CIA agent. Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, was indicted on several charges, including lying under oath and obstruction of justice. He was found guilty in March 2007, but Bush quickly commuted his sentence. The investigation highlights the complicated relationship between journalists and government officials.
- 2003, December 13** After receiving information on Saddam's whereabouts from his family, U.S. forces capture him near Tikrit. He will eventually be found guilty of crimes against humanity by an Iraqi court and executed by hanging on December 20, 2006.
- 2004, March 31** The Iraqi insurgency escalates with the beginning of the First Battle of Fallujah. On the 31st, four private guards working for the firm Blackwater are captured while providing security for a food convoy. They are killed, their bodies set ablaze, and the burned corpses hung from a bridge. Photos of the bodies are released to the press, causing widespread outrage in the United States. In response, U.S. forces seek, unsuccessfully, to pacify the city.
- 2004, April 28 and 30** In a broadcast on April 28, the CBS program *60 Minutes II* reveals that U.S. forces have abused inmates at Abu Ghraib prison. On the 30th, veteran investigative reporter Seymour Hersh also reports the abuses in *The New Yorker* magazine.

- 2004, June 28** The Coalition Provisional Authority signs over sovereignty to the Iraqi Interim Government.
- 2004, July 26** The September 11 Commission releases its report to the public. The Commission was created by Congress and President Bush on November 27, 2002 to investigate and make recommendations regarding intelligence lapses leading to the 9/11 attacks.
- 2005, November** Sunni tribal leaders, turning against the brutality of al-Qaeda in Iraq, propose an alliance with U.S. forces. By September 2006, the “Sunni Awakening” will be receiving significant support from the United States. The Awakening is widely credited for helping to reduce the level of insurgent violence.
- 2006, January 29** Bob Woodruff, anchor of ABC News’ World News Tonight, suffers a severe brain injury when a roadside bomb explodes near his vehicle while traveling north of Baghdad. Woodruff’s cameraman, Doug Vogt, was also seriously injured. The two men were embedded with a unit of the Fourth Infantry Division.
- 2006, March 15** Reacting to the growing insurgency and unpopularity of the war at home, Congress appoints a bipartisan Iraqi Study Group to examine current policy and make recommendations. The group’s report, entitled *A Way Forward—A New Approach*, was released on December 6, 2006. The report says that the situation in Iraq is “grave and deteriorating,” and calls for a build-up of Iraqi forces, supported by the United States, with the goal of beginning a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops.
- 2006, November 7** Fueled by public discontent with the war in Iraq, Democrats take control of the House and Senate in off-year elections.
- 2007** In Afghanistan, coalition forces redeploy throughout the country in an effort to step up pressure on the increasingly strong and aggressive Taliban. By October, it is estimated that Taliban forces total near 10,000, with some 2,000—3,000 fulltime fighters.
- 2007, January 10** In a televised speech to the American public, President Bush announces the “surge”—the deployment of some 20,000 additional U.S. troops to support the Iraqi army. At the same time, he asks for \$1.2 billion in new reconstruction programs for Iraq.
- 2007, February 10** General David Petraeus, the U.S. Army’s leading expert on counter-insurgency, takes command of the Multi-National Force-Iraq.

- 2007, September 10** General Petraeus, speaking to Congress, announces the withdrawal of a Marine brigade, the beginning of a reduction of U.S. forces by some 30,000 over the next year.
- 2008, Spring** Recognizing that the situation in Afghanistan is growing more precarious, the United States decides to increase troop strength in the country, including some troops being redeployed from Iraq. The Taliban becomes more aggressive, launching a series of attacks from June through September, including seizing a prison in Kandahar and freeing 1,200 prisoners, among them over 400 Taliban. The year 2008 becomes the deadliest for coalition forces since the beginning of the war in 2001, with 113 U.S. and 108 British troops killed.
- 2008, March** In their first major independent military action, Iraqi forces attack Shiite militia in locations throughout the country, eventually compelling them to cease hostile action.
- 2008, March** Attacks on Iraqi civilians and coalition forces drop dramatically.
- 2008, Summer and Fall** Tensions grow between the United States and its ostensible ally Pakistan, as Pakistani leaders protest U.S. drone attacks on Taliban sanctuaries inside Pakistan and as evidence emerges of Pakistani intelligence agency ties to the Taliban.
- 2008, November 4** Democrat Barack Obama defeats Republican John McCain in the U.S. presidential election.
- 2008, December 4** The Iraqi government approves the “Status of Forces Agreement,” which states that U.S. forces will withdraw from Iraqi cities by June 30, 2009 and will leave Iraq completely by December 31, 2011.
- 2009, January** Some 3,000 troops from the 10th Mountain Division form the first wave of additional troops ordered to Afghanistan.
- 2009, February 27** President Obama, in a speech to Marines at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, announces that U.S. combat operations in Iraq will end by August 31, 2010, with some 50,000 troops remaining until the end of 2011 to assist in training Iraqi forces.
- 2009, June 15** General Stanley McChrystal replaces General David McKiernan as commander of coalition forces in Afghanistan. McChrystal brings a new emphasis on counter-insurgency and civil operations.
- 2009, December 1** In a speech at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, President Obama announces the deployment of up to 30,000 additional U.S. troops to Afghanistan.

- 2010, February** Coalition and Afghan forces begin a major offensive against the Taliban stronghold in Marja. With scheduled increases in Afghanistan and the continued drawdown in Iraq, troop strength in Afghanistan will exceed that in Iraq for the first time since 2001.
- 2010, February 17** U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates announces that on August 31, 2010, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM will end, to be replaced by Operation NEW DAWN.

7

World War I

INTRODUCTION

World War I, or the Great War as it was known until its even more destructive successor came along in 1939, has often been portrayed as the first modern war. In terms of its nature and its conduct, it differed greatly from any previous war, and it brought profound changes to international politics and economics. It also saw the mobilization of all of the resources—material, human, and intellectual—of the major combatants in support of total war, rendering major changes in the domestic societies, as well.

World War I was primarily concerned with the struggle for mastery in Europe, but it was a global conflict that reached across five oceans and three continents. It was, in many ways, the culmination of conflict generated within a centuries-old system of great power alliances. The dynamic of this system was generated by successive attempts by a particular power or powers to assert dominance over Europe, only to be countered by an opposing alliance. In the case of World War I, Germany was the new pretender, with the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy as its primary partners in the Triple Alliance. In response to growing German ambitions, Britain, France, and Russia joined together in the Triple Entente.

These alliances had prepared for war for several years. The great powers assumed that any war among them would end quickly due to the development of new weapons with vastly greater potential for death and destruction. Thus, Europe had become a row of dominoes, awaiting only one action to set the chain in motion. That push came on June 28, 1914, when Serb nationalist Gavrilo Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo. The Austro-Hungarian Empire cracked down on the Serbs, who then appealed to their Slavic big brothers, the Russians, for help. With that, the alliance systems kicked in, and by early August, all the great powers of Europe were at war, with fighting on the Eastern Front in Poland and Russia, and the Western Front in Belgium and France. Over the next

three years, the Western Front provided the most dramatic examples of the horrors of industrialized war.

The initial German plan to defeat France by means of a flanking march through Belgium ultimately failed. The checking of the German offensive in northern France in 1914 more or less coincided with a Russian victory in Galicia. The combination of technology, modern communications systems, and growth in the power of the state pointed to an unprecedented ability to raise allies, but it also underscored the elusiveness of victory. Armies had become too big to be beaten in single campaigns, much less in single battles. Losses could usually be recovered within a single year through conscription. The war thus became one of inconclusiveness on the battlefield and exhaustion on the home front, as both sides sought to mobilize their full resources. The relationship between industrial development and victory became a close one. Russia had an advantage over such countries as Turkey and Austria-Hungary, but was subjected to successive defeats at the hands of the Germans. Germany, for its part, was to be ultimately subdued in 1918 by the combination of Great Britain, France, and the United States.

The Allied victory in 1918 really represented the victory of the larger worldwide community over central Europe, because the British and French war efforts necessarily involved their empires. Indeed, World War I was the first conflict in nearly seven centuries in which non-Europeans appeared on European battlefields in significant numbers. Troops from the French *La Marine* and *L'Armée d'Afrique* and from the British dominions and India arrived in Europe in 1914–1915, and it was the latter that were primarily responsible for conducting the war in Africa and the Middle East. Japan, which had assumed primary responsibility for the conduct of operations in China in 1914, and throughout the Pacific and Indian oceans in 1914–1915, sent naval forces to the eastern Mediterranean in 1917. These forces were to be useful in checking the German submarine offensive against shipping. This German effort, initiated in February 1917, was a deliberate and calculated attempt to break the deadlock on the fronts by driving Britain out of the war. It was this offensive that brought the United States into the war in April 1917. The combination of German miscalculation, belated but effective countermeasures by the British, and American industrial and financial resources checked the German submarine campaign and brought Allied shipping losses down to tolerable levels.

This success, limited though it was, was the basis of the greater Allied victory. With Russian contributions hampered by revolution and the onset of civil war, the United States was able to dispatch to France troops that, by November 1918, would outnumber British forces there. During 1918, the Germans launched their Spring Offensive in an attempt to defeat the British on the Western Front before the Americans could arrive in significant numbers. The German offensives failed in large part because the German armies could not stage any single, definitive attack across so wide a sector of the front. The German efforts were successful in inflicting a series of defeats, primarily upon British forces, but the overall effect was simply an exhaustion of Germany's already scarce resources.

The American presence was crucial both militarily and because it raised British and French morale. The addition of American troops meant that Anglo-French losses were

now covered, whereas those of Germany were not. If the war had lasted into 1919, the U.S. Army would have undoubtedly been the most important of the Allied armies on the Western Front. After July, 1918, the Allies put together a new form of offensive—a series of limited local attacks, characterized by overwhelming superiority of artillery, tanks, and aircraft, each of short duration but successively staged in order to keep the enemy off-balance—that was to bring Germany to the point of defeat. At the same time, the realization of the inevitable consequences of the failure of the German Spring Offensive was instrumental in the unraveling of Germany's allies. Already at the point of economic and military exhaustion, they had been kept in line only by the promise of an eventual German victory. When that proved elusive, Germany's allies quickly fell by the wayside. The Allied offensive at Salonika in September 1918 led almost immediately to the collapse of Bulgaria, and the British offensives in Palestine and northern Mesopotamia similarly led to the collapse of Turkey in October. Austria-Hungary was falling to pieces by the time of the Italian (Italy had abandoned its former allies and joined the war on the side of Britain and France) offensive at Vittorio Veneto in October–November. This collapse of its allies helped hasten a comprehensive German defeat—militarily in the field, economically in terms of the naval blockade and industrial exhaustion of the country, and culturally in terms of the collapse of the German imperial system.

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PROPAGANDA

World War I was the first international conflict in which full-scale use of propaganda was employed by all of the governments concerned. From its inception, both Germany and Great Britain sought the United States as an ally and geared much propaganda to that

effect, while all the warring nations organized campaigns to win the support of their own people for the war effort.

In Germany, a group of staff officers at the High Command was assigned to generate propaganda on the home front. They began by issuing completely fictitious news bulletins about the “alleged” sabotaging of German water supplies by French, British, and Russian troops, and managed to convince most German citizens that the German armies were acting in self-defense. Germany also attempted a few short-wave broadcasts in the new communication medium of radio.

For Americans, the first major propaganda initiative was the Zimmermann Telegram, written January 16, 1917, by German Under Secretary of State Arthur Zimmermann to the German minister in Mexico. Zimmerman proposed that should the United States join the war against Germany, a German-Mexican alliance should be forged, with Mexico receiving financial aid and restitution of its lost territories in return for its aid to Germany against the United States. The telegram was intercepted and decoded by British intelligence and then passed on to the United States, where it had a great effect on President Woodrow Wilson, who arranged for the telegram to be released on March 1 by the Associated Press. After it was made public, the telegram damaged U.S.-German relations and accelerated U.S. entrance into World War I.

The United States was the last major power to enter World War I, but it was the first to establish an open, fully coordinated propaganda unit. The Committee on Public Information (CPI), established by President Woodrow Wilson on April 13, 1917, with George Creel as its civilian chairman, was to “to sell the war to America.”

To help attain its goals, CPI established a national speakers’ bureau of “four-minute men” who stirred audiences with carefully timed short propaganda messages supporting Liberty Bond sales drives. Creel also recognized the importance of films and arranged for cooperation between the private motion picture industry, including newsreel companies, and the military.

CPI focused its attention on both its domestic and foreign audiences. The committee instituted voluntary press censorship, produced films, hired speakers (especially the “four-minute men”), distributed literature that praised the nations allied with the United States, commissioned posters, bought newspaper ads, and sent agents to targeted countries. Leaflets were attached to hydrogen balloons, dropped from airplanes, and shot from guns to get the American message to the German people, what Creel called “the world’s largest adventure in advertising.”

Without the radio and television of later conflicts, the poster was an important instrument of mass persuasion in World War I, especially in military recruiting, combining both glamour and shame to reach eligible recruits. Before the United States entered the war, the propaganda posters that raised men and money for the war effort in Europe began appearing in America. The poster had a simple message: failure to enlist was akin to treason. Recruiting propaganda of the same sort found its way into popular music and vaudeville entertainment. Probably the most famous poster was American painter James Montgomery Flagg’s “I Want You” (1917), which shows “Uncle Sam,” still a staple of

military recruiting, pointing a finger directly at the viewer. This poster was used in both world wars; more than 4 million copies were distributed.

World War I was the first full-scale use of leaflet propaganda; it was employed by all of the governments concerned and it became a major military instrument as all the warring nations organized campaigns to win the support of their own people for the war effort. Along with the CPI, the Propaganda Section (or Psychological Section), General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces (U.S. Army), under Captain Heber Blankenhorn, concentrated on morale and surrender leaflets.

Stars and Stripes, the famous newspaper of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) in World War I, started in February 1918 and continued until June 1919. It evolved from the complaints of almost 2 million soldiers for reliable news from home. When the AEF discovered it could print a paper by selling subscriptions and advertisements, it began publishing its own newspaper. The stories tried to present a favorable opinion of U.S. efforts but its quality writing made it more than a propaganda tool. It disseminated useful information on subjects as varied as baseball, hygiene, and politics.

One of the major achievements of World War I propaganda was its effectiveness in the breakup of both the Austro-Hungarian and the German empires in 1918. Once policy agreements were arranged, propaganda operations began with the establishment of an Inter-Allied Propaganda Commission at the Italian General Headquarters, with one member designated to represent each of the Allied powers. The first step was publication of a news sheet that soon became a weekly publication printed in four languages. These and the pamphlets were distributed by airplane, balloon, rocket, grenade, and infantry patrols.

World War I, historically significant as the beginning of contemporary mass propaganda, failed to be the “war to end all wars” but it marked a significant break with the past. The public lies about national aims, the wasteful policy of attrition, and the breaking down of social barriers as the costly, bloody conflict continued helped explain the onset of postwar disillusionment as each side emphasized propaganda that differed in its approach toward the United States. The warring nations conducted widespread propaganda operations, especially the pro-German reportage that appeared in books, in films, in pamphlets, in periodicals, and in newspapers; the last included the *New York Evening Mail*, secretly purchased by representatives of the Kaiser in 1915. German propaganda operations in the United States, aimed at keeping America out of the war, were helped considerably by George S. Viereck, a German-American propagandist and strong advocate of any German government, who supported both Kaiser Wilhelm II’s Germany in World War I and Hitler’s Germany in World War II.

On November 11, 1918, (“11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month”), the Armistice was declared.

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SEE ALSO Censorship (World War I); Committee on Public Information; Film (World War I); Four-Minute Men; *Stars and Stripes*; Viereck, George Sylvester; Zimmermann Telegram

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American Entry, Opposition to

The chain of events through which the United States eventually entered World War I was shaped by many competing forces. While the interests of specific groups in U.S. society certainly worked for and against American entry into the war, many of the arguments on both sides articulated deeply held concepts of American history and identity. Indeed, the special interests often couched their rhetoric in terms of broader American tradition. This phenomenon is clearly evident in the case against U.S. participation.

With the outbreak of war in Europe in the summer of 1914, the first instinct of Americans and their president, Woodrow Wilson, was to remain neutral “in thought and in action,” in Wilson’s famous phrase. That reaction sprang from a variety of sources. First, in the years immediately preceding World War I, the United States had seen a huge wave of immigration, resulting in the massive presence of so-called hyphenated-Americans. Nearly 30 percent of the American population in 1915 had either themselves been born in, or had a least one parent who had been born in, one of major combatant nations. While these Americans certainly had personal sympathy for family members who were enduring the trauma of war, balancing those conflicting sympathies within a diverse America made neutrality a logical reaction.

Most American business interests also sought to avoid direct American intervention. American farmers, financial interests, and manufacturers saw great opportunity in being able to trade with *all* of the nations at war, which they could do only if the United States remained a non-belligerent, asserting its rights as a neutral under international law to trade freely. This industrializing America moved others to oppose intervention for a different set of reasons. Movements dealing with many of the consequences of an urbanizing, industrializing, economically and financially complex America had come together under the umbrella of Progressivism. Many of its advocates feared that involvement in the war would divert financial and political resources from reform, as well enhancing the power of those interests they saw as most opposed to social change.

Other Americans wished to avoid intervention out of more traditional concerns, most of them wrapped up in a belief that America was and should remain different and apart from Europe. Harkening back to the idea of America as a “cittie on a hille,” in the words of Massachusetts Bay Colony founder John Winthrop, Americans felt that their society represented a refuge from the poverty, class division, autocracy, and seemingly perpetual warfare that plagued Europe. World War I presented a particularly horrific but not unexpected confirmation of those feelings, moving many Americans to avoid the taint of a depraved and corrupt Europe.

During the early days of the war, many news organizations and publications supported various aspects of this non-interventionism. But as the war dragged on, President Wilson’s thinking changed, and with him went much of the mainstream of American politics and media. He saw the continuing slaughter pulling the world toward the extremes of autocracy and socialism, and as a threat to what he regarded as the highest achievements of Western civilization—democracy, capitalism, liberalism, and the rule of law. Also, the cultural, political, and financial ties with the Allies—especially Great Britain—pulled the United States increasingly toward tacit cooperation. During 1916,

even while campaigning on the slogan “he kept us out of war,” Wilson began an effort to build up the U.S. military in anticipation of U.S. intervention, and those voices in opposition became fewer but no less passionate. Under publisher Robert McCormick, the *Chicago Tribune* established itself as a leading voice of traditional isolationism in America. William Randolph Hearst’s chain of newspapers also argued against American intervention out of a long-standing anti-British sentiment. Publications aligned with the Progressive movement and that had supported non-intervention took different paths as the United States moved toward war. *The Nation*, under editor Oswald Garrison Villard, broke with Wilson and opposed the military buildup, and became an outlet for Progressive political figures such as Senator George Norris of Nebraska and Senator Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin, who argued and voted against the U.S. declaration of war. On the other hand, *The New Republic*, edited by Willard Straight and including such leading Progressive voices as Herbert Croly and Walter Lippman, supported Wilson, fearing that to break with him would jeopardize the larger reform agenda.

With American entry in April 1917, the Wilson Administration sought to harness all of the resources of American society—military, economic, and political—for what he characterized as a war to save human civilization. With this came a centralization of control over information, a mobilization of thought, that left only a few American publications willing to criticize the war effort, and those publications faced charges of propagandizing for the enemy or advocating radicalism.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Committee on Public Information; Fourteen Points; Zimmermann Telegram

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Antiwar. See **American Entry, Opposition to**

Art (World War I)

No conflict prior to or since the Great War has generated so much art in its various forms. The war came at a time when photography still had not completely eclipsed the graphic illustration, and editors sought out artists to capture the action and movement

of battle—scenes that the camera could not obtain. Much of this representational imagery was anachronistic, with glorious charges of cavalry or scenes of hand-to-hand fighting guaranteed to add an element of excitement as well as offering encouragement to would-be volunteers. It was propaganda at its highest level.

Several of the belligerent countries dispatched official artists to cover the campaigns. Germany and France, in particular, saw the value of documenting the successes of their respective forces for public consumption and as a future record. In 1914, veteran illustrators, including Theodore Rocholl and Ludwig Koch, accompanied the German and Austrian armies, respectively, while Lucien Jonas, Jean Berne-Bellecour, Charles Huard, and François Flamang covered the French army on the Western Front and later the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF).

Britain, on the other hand, was reluctant to allow artists to travel with its armies, and did not establish an official art program until 1916–1917. Prior to this, most of the images of the war appearing in Britain were the products of illustrators, such as Fortunino Matania and Frederic Villiers, working for illustrated papers. Souvenir prints were sold through these papers as well as by companies wishing to advertise their products.

The poster was the medium of choice when it came to recruiting the armies as well as raising money through war bonds, and many leading painters were commissioned to create suitable images. In Britain, important lithographic artists such as Frank Brangwyn and Gerald Spenser Pryse produced evocative scenes, but perhaps the most famous British poster of the war was Alfred Leete's enduring portrayal of Lord Kitchener pointing out to the viewer that Britain "Wants You." Well-known American illustrator Howard Chandler Christy similarly caught the imagination of the public with his glamorous "Christy Girls" urging their menfolk to enlist in 1918.

It is the work of the official artists and those who fought in the war that truly distinguishes the art of the Great War in modern perception. Some British artists, such as Eric Kennington and Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson, had already served in the trenches prior to their commissioning. Based on his experiences, Kennington created quite a stir in May 1916 with his painting on glass, *Kensingtons at Laventie*, which included a vignette of the artist himself. Nevinson's best-known work from his time as an official artist was *Paths of Glory*, which shocked many when it was exhibited. The



Howard Chandler Christy plays on the patriotism and manhood of American males by depicting an attractive woman in a marine uniform in his World War I recruiting poster. (Library of Congress)

picture portrayed two dead British soldiers lying entangled in barbed wire. When it was first exhibited, a censor's label covered part of the canvas. One British official artist, William Orpen, had his paintings of the Western Front profiled in a book, as did the first official artist, David Muirhead Bone, who produced over 400 drawings and prints of the war. The magazine *Country Life* published a series entitled *British Artists at the Front*. One of these was John Nash, who painted some of the most lasting images of the war such as his naturalistic scene entitled *Over the Top*; his brother, Paul, captured the desolation of the battlefields in *The Menin Road*.

Canada, Australia, and the United States also established artist programs. Renowned society portrait painter John Singer Sargent accompanied the Canadian and British armies and produced a series of evocative paintings, the most notable being *Gassed*—a huge canvas depicting victims of a gas attack. Accompanying the AEF to France in 1918 were eight specially picked artists. Other American artists served with the AEF in an unofficial capacity and documented their experiences in drawings and etchings.

Some of the younger generation of artists who were called up to serve in the official programs had already rejected the stunted academic art that had come to dominate the annual exhibitions. Indeed, several artists such as Percy Wyndham Lewis and other avant-garde members of a group called the Vorticists had welcomed the war with enthusiasm as a way of destroying the old established ways. While they soon realized the true horror of the conflict, they nonetheless did not abandon their modern approach to war, and they created a body of work that was a mix of realism and abstract. Lewis's *A Battery Shelled* is a case in point. Lewis, Nevinson, and others recognized the power of technology and the mechanization of war, and this emerges in many of their pictures. In some cases, the human figures are portrayed as more machine than mortal.

In Germany, paintings by soldiers began to eclipse much of the output of the early illustrators. The works of Max Beckmann and Otto Dix saw the full flowering of artistic expression of the war experience. Dix served as a young artillery officer for the duration and was wounded several times. Following the peace, he began a series of paintings and engravings capturing the horror of the fighting. His cycle of etchings entitled *War*, dating from 1924, was an indictment of the conflict and frequently included macabre images of death.

Surprisingly, when it came to memorializing the war after the armistice, architects and designers returned to representational images of glory with frequent reference to the spiritual aspects of war, themes that were almost completely absent from the imagery created by the official artists.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Propaganda; Women as Propaganda Images in Wartime

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Atrocities

Atrocities are omnipresent in war, and World War I was no exception. Random killing of civilians occurred between 1914 and 1918, as did officially sanctioned exterminations. Many incidents were exaggerated for propaganda purposes. Other so-called atrocities lacked documentary evidence and witness corroboration. Many were simply ignored, in part because of the realization that all armies sometimes commit horrible acts.

Allied propaganda portrayed the German invasion of Belgium in August 1914 not as a military campaign but as an attack on civilization. Belgium was a neutral state, protected by an internationally recognized treaty that Prussia signed in 1839. German army leaders believed that a rapid invasion of France through Belgium offered the best chance at quick victory. Within a few days of the German invasion, stories appeared of Belgian homes being looted and burned, priests being strung up and used as church bell clappers, nuns being raped, and prisoners of war being crucified.

While such stories were purposely exaggerated by the Allied governments, there was also some truth to them. On August 23, 1914, German soldiers torched the Belgian town of Visé, killing several hundred innocent civilians. More than 700 other residents were deported to Germany to work as slave labor, while 4,000 fled as refugees to France and Holland. In the town of Dinant, 600 people—including a number of women and children—were lined up in the town square and shot. The Germans also destroyed a number of important medieval buildings in Louvain, including the university library with its priceless collection of manuscripts. More than 200 people were killed and some 600 more deported east. Stories coming out of Belgium were powerful propaganda, particularly in the neutral United States, and they significantly influenced world opinion in favor of the Allies.

Similar atrocities occurred in France as the Germans advanced. Random attacks on civilians there revealed the indiscriminate nature of German killing, often in bizarre contexts. Sixteen birders in northern France were summarily executed when German soldiers thought the raptors they kept were pigeons being used to send messages to the French army. Many of the dead were women and children. Some had been used as human shields, and others had been raped.

Estimates place the number of Belgian civilians slain by the German army in August 1914 at some 5,500 people. Another 500 died in France.

Excused by some as the infrequent actions of soldiers gripped by war, the reality turned out to be something quite different. In Visé and Dinant, atrocities were committed by German soldiers belonging to primarily rear echelon units that had yet to see any fighting. Moreover, these were deliberate acts, legitimized by the German high command, which believed that if a civilian population fully experienced the ravages of war, this would lead to a more rapid enemy capitulation.

Another powerful propaganda piece was the May 7, 1915 sinking of the British passenger liner *Lusitania*. A total of 1,198 died, including 128 Americans. Allied propaganda pointed out that submarine attacks against civilian vessels were unique to the Central Powers. They stressed that the British navy never preyed upon neutral shipping. Seeking to capitalize on the atrocities committed by the Central Powers, in May 1915 the British government established the Bryce Commission. Its report detailed the extent of atrocities committed by the Central Powers. The Germans countered the Bryce Commission Report with their own detailed exposé alleging Belgian and French atrocities against German soldiers. The damage, however, had been done, and the Allies had won the first round in the propaganda war. In the eyes of many people, Germany was alone guilty of horrific crimes. This weighed heavily in the U.S. decision to declare war on Germany in April 1917.

In 1915, the Ottoman Empire began a systematic campaign of genocide against the Armenians who, along with others in the Caucasus region, struggled for independence during the war. Between 600,000 and 1.5 million Armenians died as a result of Turkish government policies. Many were killed, while many more died of disease and malnutrition in the forced relocation of the Armenian population. The extent of the Turkish action prompted the British government to accuse Turkey of “crimes against humanity,” the first time that term was ever officially used by the government of a major state. Even after the war, when Britain successfully forced the defeated Turks to hold war crimes trials to account for the massacre, the Armenian genocide went largely unpunished. Only two of the nine top Ottoman officials implicated in the genocide were convicted.

As with Turkey, the other defeated Central Powers were supposed to be held accountable for wartime atrocities. In the Treaty of Versailles, the Germans were accused of crimes against Belgian and French citizens and Allied prisoners of war. They were also held responsible for specific events, such as the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Even individual deaths, such as the execution of British nurse Edith Cavell in Belgium by the Germans, were labeled atrocities. However, subsequent war crimes trials held at Leipzig proved to be a fiasco in which few Germans were ever convicted. Almost all atrocities committed in Belgium and France went unpunished.

Not surprisingly, after the war little attention was paid to atrocities committed by Allied soldiers against the Central Powers. These paled in comparison to the offenses committed by the Central Powers, but it is also true that history is written by the victors, and in this respect, the extent of Allied crimes was never fully gauged.

Arne Kislenko

SEE ALSO Committee on Public Information; Propaganda

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Bellau Wood, Battle of. See Gibbons, Floyd Phillips

Censorship (World War I)

Censorship is the review and vetting of mail or publications by government or military officials to eliminate information or portrayals that would damage domestic or troop morale or aid the enemy. During World War I, prepublication censorship of newspapers and journals was virtually universal among combatant countries, as was the interception, review, and sanitizing of telegraph messages. This was true even in those nations with a tradition of press freedom, including Britain, its colonies, and the United States.

In Britain, the Defence of the Realm Act became law on August 8, 1914, giving the government new coercive powers, including authority to imprison espionage suspects without trial and to suppress published criticisms of official policies. Publication of information that could be of use to the enemy became a criminal offense. Over time, this provision also covered descriptions of military actions, activities, or policies as well as of news items that might impede military recruitment. That same month, the British government created the War Office Press Bureau, which censored news items before issuing them to the press for publication.

Complaints about the vetting of war news soon prompted a reevaluation of British policies. In January 1915, the government allowed a few additional journalists to report on the war, but their reports were also censored by the British Army's Military Intelligence Department. Its chief censor, former newspaper editor Charles E. Montague,

accredited Britain's war journalists, who had to accept his control over their dispatches or lose access to the front. Meanwhile, more than 500 American correspondents were covering the war, but British, French, and German forces were instructed to arrest them if they ventured near the front. American correspondents sometimes paid British officials to gain authorized access to the battlefield and then submitted their dispatches to British censors.

Britain's censorship of civilian publications did not go unchallenged. In 1916, the Clyde Workers' Committee, which protested employment restrictions on war industry workers, published an article critical of the restrictions. The authors were sentenced to prison for censorship violations. New organizations, including the National Council for Civil Liberties that criticized both censorship and military conscription, vigorously protested the government's policies.

By 1918, works of fiction began to reflect the public's war-weariness, and they also fell victim to such controls. A. T. Fitzroy's *Despised and Rejected*, a pacifist novel about conscientious objectors, was banned immediately after its April 1918 publication, unsold copies were seized, and its publisher was tried and convicted of sedition. A critical novel by Rose Macauley, *What Not: A Prophetic Comedy*, was scheduled for publication in 1918 but was banned until after the armistice.

Although the United States declared its neutrality at the beginning of the war in Europe, the U.S. Departments of State, War, and the Navy established a framework for censoring public information. Restrictions were placed upon publication of information about troop strength and locations, weapons, and tactics. On August 5, 1914, President Woodrow Wilson issued an executive order authorizing the U.S. Navy to intercept and censor all radio and telegraph messages to and from the United States.

America's entry into the war in 1917 prompted the military to monopolize all radio communications. President Wilson also created a Committee on Public Information, headed by George Creel, to manufacture pro-government propaganda. The committee developed a "voluntary censorship code" that editors and journalists had to observe in publishing both war news and war-related photographs. Only 80 American reporters were allowed access to the front in 1917–1918, and their reports were vetted by military censors. Censors also monitored civilian photographers and regularly banned publication of images deemed harmful to domestic or troop morale.

On the home front, the U.S. Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts, which banned publication of "disloyal" or "profane" materials. The Sedition Act also outlawed publication of writings deemed disrespectful toward the federal government, the U.S. Constitution, the American flag, or American military uniforms. The U.S. Post Office refused to deliver suspect printed material, and many newspapers and magazines were forced to change their editorial positions or cease publication.

Postal censorship was widespread during World War I. Censors were particularly vigilant of mail sent to or by troops in the field. To minimize their work, the British Forces Postal Office issued postal cards on which servicemen could select preprinted options, such as "I am well." American servicemen's mail was also intercepted and

censored. Soldiers were forbidden to disclose their location, and letters containing graphic descriptions of battles or other subjects deemed objectionable or immoral were confiscated. Separate “military post control” offices attached to German military units censored both incoming and outgoing mail. Civilians’ letters and cards were subject to seizure and censorship. There was no mail delivery, and citizens had to pick up their mail in person. Letters had to be sent unsealed to expedite the censors’ work.

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SEE ALSO Committee on Public Information; Correspondents (World War I); Propaganda

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Committee on Public Information

Just after the United States entered the Great War in April 1917, President Woodrow Wilson formed the Committee on Public Information (CPI). Wilson was a student of history and appreciated the power of information, especially during times of war. In order to ensure that the distribution of information remained in safe hands, the president appointed George Creel to run the organization, and placed a multimillion-dollar budget at his disposal. Creel had been a muckraker who advocated child labor reform and women’s suffrage in Kansas City and Denver during the height of the Progressive era, and had become a key figure in Woodrow Wilson’s presidential candidacies in 1912 and 1916.

Now, as head of the CPI, Creel sought to prevent the circulation of misinformation and rumors by funneling all information concerning the war through a single organization. “Censorship” and “propaganda” never appeared in Creel’s rhetoric; he believed that the CPI was merely guiding U.S. perceptions of the war in the proper direction. The CPI called upon Americans to unite in a global struggle for peace and democracy against an evil enemy. Creel was faced with the task of conveying a sense of nationalism across the diverse U.S. immigrant population. To meet this challenge, Creel endorsed a program of “soft” assimilation. The CPI presented information to immigrant communities in their



Colorado editor and progressive political leader George Creel organized and directed the Committee on Public Information, better known as the Creel Committee, the first official federal propaganda agency, in order to sell U.S. participation in the World War I to the American public. (Library of Congress)

native tongues and according to their own ethnic understandings of the United States. Carrying CPI information across class lines was also a challenge; this was especially true after Russia's Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917. Creel worked to maintain an overall sense of national duty, while convincing business owners and labor organizations that they had a stake in the war, and that cooperation would be advantageous to both parties.

During the course of U.S. participation in the Great War, the CPI issued 75 million pamphlets, and distributed 6,000 press releases to newspapers and magazines nationwide. Seventy-five thousand "Four-Minute Men" conveyed CPI information to public audiences in brief speeches, poems, or songs. As the war progressed, CPI methods of dispersing information expanded to include purchasing advertisements in newspapers and magazines, printing posters, erecting billboards, and organizing parades. Newspapers and magazines that were planning to print wartime information that was

not received through CPI press releases were urged to submit it to the committee for approval. If an article suggested disloyalty in any way, the editor of the publication could be prosecuted under the Sedition Act of 1918.

Newsreel producers and filmmakers were also held to this standard. The CPI Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation urged Commissioner of Education P. P. Claxton to draw up "war study courses" to emphasize patriotism in the classroom. Professor Samuel B. Harding of Indiana University wrote the curriculum for U.S. high schools; nearly all of his research was based upon CPI pamphlets and press releases. The prevention of spying and sabotage eventually became part of the CPI's agenda. Creel planned to increase public awareness about subversion by instilling fear; the result was paranoia and hatred. Anti-Germanism manifested itself all across the United States in the burning of German books, the ostracizing and beating of German immigrants, and a lynching. Creel and the CPI condemned this vigilante activity. Ironically, they failed to realize that it was their methods of distributing information that had caused it. The CPI was officially dissolved in June of 1919.

Jeffrey Lamonica

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War I); Four-Minute Men

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Correspondents (World War I)

Correspondents covering World War I operated under severe official restrictions and constant pressure to serve more as propaganda agents than reporters. Still, many war correspondents showed exceptional professional and physical courage in producing some outstanding examples of compelling journalism.

When the war began, all of the major combatants banned correspondents from the fighting fronts. Instead, military staff produced regular reports that were released to the press, either in rear headquarters or in the national capital. The British military even issued orders that any reporter found in the field be arrested, his passport taken, and be sent back to Britain. With the broad powers of the Defence of the Realm Act behind it, the British government also had the power to charge reporters with treason.

However, pressure began to build on the British military to make some accommodation for reporters. Newspaper owners and editors were almost uniformly eager to support the war effort, but they were just as eager to capture the increased sales and profits that war coverage would bring. In an effort to provide that coverage, correspondents such as Philip Gibbs of the London *Daily Telegraph*, William Beach Thomas of the London *Daily Mail*, and Geoffrey Pyke of the London *Daily Chronicle* faked or charmed their way to the front in Belgium. Thomas was arrested and jailed by the British Army, and Pyke was captured by the Germans and sent to prison as a spy. After six months, he escaped and made his way to Holland.

Unable to generate under these conditions the steady coverage that their readers craved and for which they would pay, publishers and editors began to lobby various government officials in the hopes of getting at least limited access to the battlefield. It was pressure from the United States that finally caused the British government to relent, however slightly. In early 1915, former President Theodore Roosevelt warned British Foreign Secretary Edward Grey that the clampdown on coverage was causing Britain and France to lose the battle for American public opinion. Grey, convinced that Roosevelt was correct, moved the Cabinet to pressure the British military, which, in June of 1915, accredited a small handful of reporters.

Still, the combination of tight censorship and the general pressure to support the war effort meant that most of the reports filed contained paeans to the bravery of Allied troops but very little hard news. It was even rarer that some story critical of the military appeared. One such story was filed by Keith Murdoch, who was covering troops from his

native Australia and New Zealand for a group of Australian papers. Murdoch's descriptions of the incompetence of British commanders during the Gallipoli campaign eventually became the basis of a Parliamentary investigation that brought the disastrous campaign to an end.

American correspondents had been present since the war's beginning. In fact, it was an American, Granville Fortescue, who got the first big scoop of the war, the German invasion of Belgium in August 1914. Fortescue had been working as a free-lancer in Belgium. Trying to get information about the growing tensions in Europe, he visited the American Embassy in Brussels, where he overheard two brothers talking about seeing German troops moving across the Belgian frontier. Richard Harding Davis, working for the *New York Tribune*, also filed compelling reports of the assault on neutral Belgium. By late 1915, more than 500 American correspondents were working in Europe for various news organizations.

American entry into the war in the spring of 1917 heightened American public and press interest even more, and some of the most intriguing characters in American journalism soon came to France. For example, Floyd Gibbons, writing for the *Chicago Tribune*, traveled to France in February 1917 aboard the liner *Laconia*, prepared with a waterproof suit and food tablets to have the ship torpedoed from under him for the sake of a good story. On the evening of February 15, he got his wish, as the *Laconia* was attacked by a German submarine, sinking in some 20 minutes. After arriving by lifeboat on the British coast the next morning, Gibbons filed a long dispatch describing the attack and its aftermath that became one of the classic pieces of World War I reporting. Gibbons' desire to be at the center of the action would lead to him suffering serious injuries, including the loss of his left eye, as a result of German machine gun fire during the Battle of Bellau Wood in June 1918.

Peggy Hull had become friendly with General John J. Pershing while covering Ohio National Guard troops participating in the expedition against Pancho Villa. She remained in the southwest, going to work for the El Paso *Morning Times*, which agreed to send her to France in June 1917. Even though she could not win accreditation, her friendship with Pershing allowed her access to the troops, whose daily lives she shared and reported in a way that made her popular with the soldiers and readers back home. Soon, her male colleagues began to resent her access and acclaim, and pressured the American Expeditionary Force to send her back to Paris for the remainder of the war.

The soldiers' newspaper *Stars and Stripes* also started during World War I, and benefitted from the work of soldiers who would become some of America's most distinguished journalists. For example, the paper was edited by Harold Ross, who would go on to found *The New Yorker*. The staff included Grantland Rice, the most celebrated sportswriter of the 1920s and 1930s; Stephen Early, who would serve as press secretary to Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman; and Alexander Woollcott, who would gain fame as a critic and commentator.

Despite the ability and courage of many of the men and women who served as correspondents during World War I, the coverage that they produced was almost uniformly shaped by the heavy censorship and equally heavy pressure of wartime political

consensus. They served as a virtual extension of the British and American propaganda efforts, making this period, in the eyes of more than one observer, one of the most undisputed in the history of combat journalism.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War I); Davis, Richard Harding; Gallipoli Campaign; Gibbons, Floyd Phillips; Hull, Peggy (Deuell, Henrietta Eleanor Goodnough); Rules of Accreditation, American

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Creel Committee. See Committee on Public Information

Davis, Richard Harding

Davis was an American novelist and journalist famous for his coverage of the Spanish-American War and World War I. Richard Harding Davis was born on April 18, 1864, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the son of journalist Lemuel Clarke Davis and novelist Rebecca Harding Davis. He studied at Lehigh and Johns Hopkins universities during 1882–1886, where he published his first short stories. His lackadaisical attitude toward formal studies prevented him from earning a degree from either school, however.

Davis began his newspaper career in 1886, writing first for the *Philadelphia Record*, and later the *Philadelphia Press*. In 1889, Davis moved to New York where he wrote for the *New York Sun*. His coverage of the 1889 Johnstown, Pennsylvania, flood earned him many accolades. Davis's literary success as a fiction writer earned him the managing editorship of the well-read and prestigious *Harper's Weekly* in 1890.

In 1895, Davis joined the *New York Journal*, then an upstart newspaper owned by William Randolph Hearst, and reported from the battlefields of the Greco-Turkish War two years later. Soon afterwards he was commissioned by William Randolph Hearst to cover the Cuban rebellion against Spain, which had begun in 1895. His widely read stories focused on the struggle of ordinary Cubans and aroused sympathy for their cause in the United States. However, when Hearst changed one of his stories to make it more dramatic, Davis was outraged and promptly resigned his position. He continued to cover the war for Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, *Scribner's Magazine*, and the *London Times*.

As soon as hostilities between Spain and the United States commenced, Davis was ready to travel to the war zone and report from the front. When he befriended then Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and the soldiers of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry (the “Rough Riders”) in Cuba, Davis solidified his already sterling journalistic stature. He joined them in action in the Battle of San Juan Heights (July 1, 1898), and his reports helped to create the legend surrounding Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. Roosevelt even offered him an officer’s commission in the unit for his abilities in combat, but Davis declined and accepted honorary membership instead. Davis’s vivid and meticulously documented reporting provided a lasting record of the Spanish-American War in the Caribbean.

By the time of the South African or Boer War (1899–1902), Davis enjoyed a reputation as one of the world’s leading journalists and war correspondents. He covered that conflict from both the English and Boer perspectives and later published his first-hand accounts in a book entitled *With Both Armies* (1902). Upon the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, Davis travelled to Europe to report from the front. Soon after his arrival in Belgium, however, he was captured by the German Army. As his passport had been issued in London, the Germans considered him a British spy and threatened him with execution. Davis was ultimately able to convince them that he was an American journalist and returned to the United States in 1915. His reports about the European battlefields no longer stressed the glory of war, however, as had many of his Spanish-American dispatches. Rather, they portrayed embittered and disillusioned soldiers trapped in endless warfare and dismal trenches.

Davis’s early fiction achieved instantaneous success, especially his *Gallagher and Other Stories* (1899). He also wrote novels and plays, some of which were illustrated by Charles Dana Gibson. Davis is believed to be the model for the dashing young gentleman escorting the “Gibson Girls.” His most popular novel, *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897), was made into a play and later a movie. Other works include *Cuba in Wartime* (1897), *The Lion and the Unicorn* (1899), *Ranson’s Folly* (1902), and *Notes of a War Correspondent* (1910). His first marriage to Cecile Clark in 1899 ended in divorce in 1910. Two years later, he married the musical comedy star Elizabeth G. McEvoy, with whom he fathered a daughter in 1915. Davis died of heart failure in New York City on April 11, 1916.

Katja Wuestenbecker

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War I); Correspondents (World War I)

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Film (World War I)

The cumbersome nature of camera equipment of the period and the technological improvements in weapons made filming combat extremely difficult and as dangerous as the combat itself. Nonetheless, the war film had begun to come into its own just before the war. British war correspondent Winston Churchill had filmed scenes from the Boer War of 1899–1902, and in the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 more than 20 cameramen had worked to capture images of the conflict.

As music halls in Britain and other nations showed combat film footage, there developed an increased audience appetite for war images, which, in turn, led to a widespread practice of faking such footage. Audiences also clamored for the relatively small number of fictionalized war films, most of which are today lost. Most war films were short and of poor quality. The most important early film was the Danish *Ned med Vaabnene* (*Lay Down Your Arms*) of 1914. In the United States during the prewar years, fictional war movies were a great source of audience delight. Movie theaters were soon importing fake and real documentary footage of the war in Europe. Pacifist films such as *Lay Down Your Arms*, *Prince of Peace*, and *The Envoy Extraordinary* found receptive audiences in a nation that was busily trying to avoid the conflict.

Once American entry into the war seemed inevitable, moviemakers released films such as *To Hell with the Kaiser* (1918), which portrayed German soldiers as brutish thugs. Studios geared their advertising campaigns to support the war effort. At the forefront of this propaganda effort was the world's greatest movie star, Mary Pickford, in *The Little American* (1917). Other films, such as *The Unbelievers* (1918), made with the cooperation of the U.S. military, portrayed the gallantry of American troops.

Other nations used cinema to rally their peoples behind the war effort. Newsreels from companies such as the French firm Pathé brought the conflict directly to the home front. Most of these films constituted brief snapshots edited together randomly around a given topic. French theaters showed relentless images of the scourge of war to remind the civilian population of what Germans had inflicted on their country. Films also showed the nation's young men enlisting in support of the "glorious cause." Sometimes such nationalist efforts backfired. The British government's decision to show images of the Battle of the Somme was a great box-office success, but it also revealed the horror and great cost of war.

Following the November 1918 armistice, the world was decidedly weary of war, and consequently very few war films were produced. Those that did emerge in Europe in the

immediate postwar period tended to be pacifistic in tone. In time, the films concentrating on the Great War, more so than for any other conflict in film, came to symbolize tragedy and loss. Unlike the action films of World War II, the films of World War I, with few notable exceptions, saw only dark narratives of the futility of war.

In the United States, combat films entered a lull and bottomed out in 1921, when only nine such movies were released. This changed in 1925 with King Vidor's *The Big Parade*. The first realistic war drama, it served as a model for other films. Based on writer Laurence Stallings's experiences as a Marine in northern France, the film told of the war's impact on the ordinary soldier. Other World War I films of the 1930s that continued the antiwar message included *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), based on Erich Remarque's great antiwar novel (remade for TV in 1979); *Journey's End* (1930); *The Road to Glory* (1936); *The Road Back* (1937); and *Three Comrades* (1938). Yet unlike European cinema, which saw the war only as a political, economic, and moral holocaust, American films continued an undercurrent of regarding the war as a romantic adventure.

The most unusual and most successful of American films about the Great War was *Sergeant York* (1941), which told the story of U.S. soldier and war hero Sergeant Alvin C. York. The movie is today regarded more as a commentary on the interventionist debate sweeping the United States than a depiction of combat. Hollywood returned to World War I as a demonstration of military incompetence in *Paths of Glory* (1957), *Johnny Got His Gun* (1971), *Goodbye Billy* (1971), and *The Frozen War* (1973). Australian director Peter Weir's *Gallipoli* (1981) depicted the Anzac campaign in Turkey.

While some national cinemas, such as that of Russia, remained largely silent about the war, British directors chose to explore its various aspects. As in America, during the war the British film industry released a number of movies to support the war effort. In 1914 alone, Great Britain released forty-four films with war themes. Most of these efforts were unremarkable yet patriotic in nature. In the decade after the war, the British film industry mirrored that of most other countries, largely avoiding the subject. The most important and controversial British movie of this era was Herbert Wilcox's *Dawn* (1928), which told the story of the life and execution of nurse Edith Cavell. The movie was notable for its sympathetic portrayal of German characters. In the 1930s, English cinema echoed the notion that there was little that was positive in war. The three most prominent antiwar films were *Journey's End* (1930), *Tell England* (1931), and *Things to Come* (1936).

French cinema presented some of the darkest depictions of the war. In 1914, the movie industry within the country largely collapsed as movie theaters were closed and French film studios lost most of their personnel to the war effort. While some French theaters were reopened to promote propaganda, American film largely filled the void during the war years. After the armistice, Abel Gance released the antiwar film *J'accuse* (1919). Another six years passed before French moviemakers attempted to address war themes. With the success of *The Big Parade*, however, French cinema began to address the war in earnest. The two most important films during this era were *Verdun, visions d'histoire* (1929) and *Les Croix de bois* (1932).

German cinema, unlike that of other European nations, prospered during World War I. The British blockade led to a strong demand for films in other parts of Europe, creating an export market for German producers. While there were few German film companies prior to the conflict, by 1919 there were 240. They produced many strongly pro-German documentaries. These companies also produced numerous fictional films. In the postwar years, an antimilitarist tone entered German film. The three most powerful representations of these are *Westfront 1918* (1930), *Kameradschaft* (1931), and *Niemandsland* (1933). With the rise of the Nazis, German film altered its stance on World War I. War films became useful Nazi propaganda vehicles, emphasizing Nazi claims of the responsibility of leftists, Jews, and politicians for the nation's defeat.

Taken together, the world's filmmakers—during and since the Great War—have found much to plumb in the experiences of World War I, which itself had a profound impact on increasing the demand of steadily growing audiences in many lands for movies of all kinds.

T. Jason Soderstrum and Spencer C. Tucker

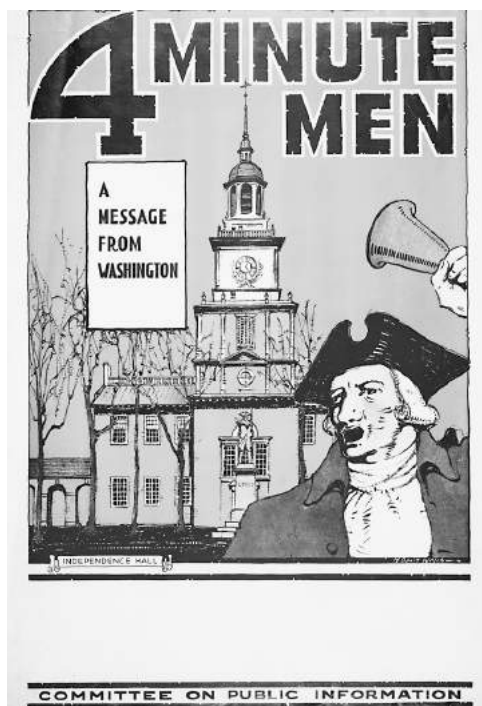
SEE ALSO Committee on Public Information; Propaganda

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Four-Minute Men

Four-Minute Men were U.S. volunteer public speakers exhorting Americans to support the war effort. Organized under the auspices of the federal Committee on Public Information (CPI) headed by George Creel, the Four-Minute Men ultimately numbered some



The “Four Minute Men” were volunteers organized and trained by the Creel Committee to speak to a wide variety of audiences, urging support of American involvement in World War I. As the group’s name and the cover of the pamphlet shown here make clear, the Creel Committee sought to connect this war to the legacy of the American Revolution. (Library of Congress)

75,000 individuals. Mostly made up of men, the organization also included a Women’s Division, children, college students, and foreign allies. The Four-Minute Men gave short patriotic speeches in public places, including camps, churches, Indian reservations, theaters, and lodge meetings. The most popular locations for their speeches and for singing patriotic songs were movie theaters, and it was from this venue that the appellation “Four-Minute Men” is derived. In the early 20th century, it took about four minutes to change the reels on the projectors used for feature-length silent films.

Four-Minute Men, who were organized in every state, were supplied with material in bulletins from the CPI in Washington. Their themes included support for war bonds, food conservation, relief organizations, patriotic behavior, the draft, and federal policy issues.

The Four-Minute Men were immensely successful in the crusade to enlist all Americans in the war effort.

A. J. L. Waskey

SEE ALSO Committee on Public Information; Propaganda

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Fourteen Points

The Fourteen Points were U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's statement of American war aims in the First World War announced to a joint session of the U.S. Congress on January 8, 1918. Based upon the research of the Inquiry—a group of approximately 150 scholars and experts organized in September 1917 by Wilson advisor Colonel Edward M. House to prepare studies in preparation for the peace settlement—the Fourteen Points unilaterally set forth an American blueprint for the postwar world. It was organized into three groups and contained five general guarantees essential to the peace: “open covenants, openly arrived at”; freedom of the seas; free and equitable access to trade and markets; “reduction of armaments to the lowest level consistent with national security”; and the fair settlement of colonial claims. There were also eight specific territorial guarantees relating to issues of occupied territory and autonomy for national groups currently under the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. Finally, there was a fourteenth—and to Wilson's mind indispensable—point, the creation of “a general association of nations” to guarantee “political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.”

Wilson's statement of war aims had several purposes. First, he sought to distinguish American war aims from those of the Allies, which he believed if obtained would only perpetuate the unending cycle of European wars and thereby continue to threaten American national security. Second, Wilson sought to boost the morale of the Allied peoples and drive a wedge between the Kaiser's government and the German people by holding out to them the option of a humane and reasonable peace. Finally, Wilson was greatly concerned about how to keep Russia in the war, and he sought to offer a liberal peace program that would prevent the Bolsheviks from signing a separate peace with Germany. The world's treatment of Russia, Wilson warned, would be “the acid test of their good will.”

Popular response to the Fourteen Points in America and among liberal circles within the Entente was generally positive, although key Allied leaders such as French Premier Georges Clemenceau and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George were either dismissive or skeptical. Clemenceau is thought to have remarked that “Even God Almighty had only ten.” Bolshevik and German leaders dismissed Wilson's blueprint out of hand, though American circulation of 60 million copies of the Fourteen Points in Germany, Russia, and other areas of Europe and the world surely contributed to subsequent disillusionment on the home fronts of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Charles F. Brower IV

SEE ALSO American Entry, Opposition to; Atrocities; *Lusitania*, Sinking of; Propaganda

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Gallipoli Campaign

The Gallipoli campaign was an Allied operation in 1915 on the Gallipoli Peninsula of European Turkey in the battle between the Allies and Turkish forces for control of the Dardanelles Straits. The initial plan was to force the straits with a naval operation alone. Turkey had entered the war on the side of Germany and the Central Powers. British leaders saw a campaign against Turkey as offering several advantages. A successful attack against the Dardanelles might drive Turkey from the war and open a supply lane to Russia. In addition, an Allied victory might draw German troops to the East. Advocates of the plan also believed that Greece, and perhaps Romania and Italy, would abandon their neutrality and join a Balkan coalition against Turkey. The prime mover behind the plan was First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill, but War Minister Field Marshal Horatio Kitchener joined Churchill in supporting the expedition.

In January 1915, a huge fleet of French and British ships gathered at Lemnos Island 60 miles from the entrance to the Dardanelles, which was mined and guarded by Turkish forts on both sides. The first attack was launched on February 19 against the forts at the entrance of the straits, but the attack was called off due to weather. The second attack was made on February 25. The defensive positions were overpowered by the naval bombardment, and the Turkish and German defenders withdrew.

When the attack continued on March 13, however, the defenders shelled the Allied minesweepers with howitzers, repulsing the Allied attack. On March 18, the Allied fleet tried once again to force the straits, and nearly succeeded. However, when three Allied capital ships were sunk by mines and two others were put out of action, the attack was abandoned.

Efforts then shifted to an amphibious landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula. There were very few efforts to prepare the Allied troops, most of whom had little or no combat experience. The Turkish army was held in such contempt that no serious efforts were made to study its methods, command structure, strength, or dispositions. To make matters worse, maps of the peninsula were out of date and often inaccurate, and no detailed reconnaissance of the landing areas had been undertaken.

Meanwhile, 84,000 Turkish and German defenders had not been idle. The German commander made excellent use of the hilly and rocky terrain, fortifying the hills just

beyond the likely Allied invasion beaches and placing the bulk of his troops in locations where they could be rushed to any eventual Allied landing site.

On April 25, 1915, some 75,000 troops went ashore, including 30,000 from Australia and New Zealand and some 17,000 from France. The French troops went ashore on the Asiatic side of the straits at Kum Kale, where they encountered a large Turkish force. Advance there proving impossible, on the 27th, the French were extracted and transferred to Cape Helles.

On the European side of the Dardanelles the Allies attacked the heights in the peninsula's center at Cape Helles, where the shoreline was rent by ravines and gullies. The Turks were well entrenched, and the difficult terrain concealed enemy machine-gun nests and snipers. The advantage went to the defenders, who rushed forces to counter the landings, and the Allies soon found themselves pinned down on the beaches.

The Anzac Corps made a separate landing north of the promontory of Gaba Tebe (later called Anzac Cove). The troops made it to the landing beaches in good order, but before they could move inland, Turkish troops occupied the Sari Bahr Ridge that dominated the landing sites. The Anzacs gained little ground against the defenders. For the next three months, they held this land at terrific cost.

Kitchener, Churchill, and the British cabinet clung tenaciously to the hope of a strategic victory in the East. However, by September it was clear that the Gallipoli campaign was a disaster, but it was not until year's end that British authorities could accept the fact and order a withdrawal.

The Gallipoli campaign proved an expensive enterprise. A half million men had deployed to the Dardanelles, of whom about 252,000 became casualties. Turkish records are incomplete, but their official casualty record of 151,309 is undoubtedly far too low. Regardless, the way to Constantinople was still blocked and would remain so for the rest of the war. Russia was cut off from easy access to its Allies, and the ensuing economic chaos helped bring on the Russian Revolution of 1917. Instead of a morale-building victory, the Gallipoli campaign had brought the British and French a costly failure.

James H. Willbanks

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Gibbons, Floyd Phillips

Floyd Gibbons, who came to be known as “the Headline Hunter,” was one of the most flamboyant of the American correspondents during World War I. Following the war, he went on to become one of the early stars of the age of radio.

Gibbons was born July 16, 1887, in Washington, DC, and grew up in Des Moines, Iowa and Indianapolis, Indiana. He returned to Washington to attend the George Washington University School of Law, but dropped out when he decided to pursue a career in journalism.

Gibbons’ reputation as a colorful reporter in the tradition of “The Front Page” was established from the beginning. He went to work for the Milwaukee *Daily News* in 1907, assigned to cover the federal courthouse. Most of the activity of that court dealt with business law, particularly bankruptcy, not usually the stuff of high drama and banner headlines. However, Gibbons found a way to embellish even that relatively dry material, to the point that his editor fired him, instructing him to “Go to Timbuktu!” Many years later, Gibbons would find himself in Timbuktu, from which he wired his old boss, saying, “In Timbuktu, carrying out your instructions.”

Gibbons went to Chicago, landing a job with the *Tribune*, in the heyday of sensationalist journalism in that city. Gibbons became a star for the paper, and got his first taste of war reporting when he was assigned to cover General John J. Pershing’s expedition against Mexican rebel leader/bandit Pancho Villa.

When it became clear in early 1917 that the United States was heading toward entering the war, Gibbons sailed for Europe. He refused the opportunity to travel aboard a ship that was carrying the German Ambassador to the United States back to Germany, a ship that would certainly be safe from attack by German submarines. Instead, he chose the *Laconia*, a ship in the Cunard Line, that he hoped would become a target, preparing for the attack by purchasing a waterproof, buoyant “lifesuit” and food tablets to last for several days. Sure enough, the *Laconia* was torpedoed off the southern coast of Ireland late in the evening of February 25, 1917. From the accounts of other survivors, Gibbons was one of the heroes of the evening. When his lifeboat came ashore early the next morning, he immediately wired his editors, telling them what had happened, and that he would have a story to them soon. He went to work almost immediately, interviewing many of the survivors and including his own experiences. Gibbons’ 4,000-word dispatch became one of the best pieces of reporting from the entire American phase of the war and added even more to his reputation for being at the heart of the action.

Gibbons regularly challenged the tight censorship imposed by the American Expeditionary Forces’ (AEF) director of correspondents Frederick Palmer, as well as expressing disdain for reporters who were content to get their material from AEF briefings. His derring-do resulted in his suffering severe wounds during the Battle of Bellau Wood. In the spring of 1918, the Germans had launched a counter-offensive, hoping to make one last drive on Paris and force an end to the war. That advance was met by a relatively small contingent of U.S. Marines under the command of Major Benjamin Berry. Major Berry urged Gibbons to turn back, but finally relented. As the Marines and Gibbons

walked across an opening in the woods, German machine gun fire opened up in front of them, pinning them to the ground. Stealing an upward glance, Gibbons saw Major Berry still standing, his right hand clutching the stump of his left wrist. Gibbons yelled for Berry to get down and began to make his way toward him. Gibbons was hit first in the left arm just above the elbow, then again through the left shoulder. A third round ripped out his left eye, fractured his skull, and left a three-inch wide hole in the right side of his helmet. The Marines remained pinned down until dark, some three hours after the firefight; Gibbons retained consciousness the entire time. For the remainder of his life, Gibbons would wear an eyepatch, only adding to his adventurous image.

In addition to covering World War I, Gibbons reported on the Irish Uprising, the civil wars in Germany and Russia, Spain's war against tribes in Morocco, the war between Japan and China, and the Spanish Civil War. However, he soon became a star in the new medium of radio, becoming a news commentator for the National Broadcasting Company. His rapid-fire delivery—once clocked by NBC staffers at 217 words a minute—became his trademark and made him one of the most popular radio personalities of his day.

Gibbons died of a heart attack on September 24, 1939, at his farm near Saylorsburg, Pennsylvania.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Correspondents (World War I)

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Hull, Peggy (Deuell, Henrietta Eleanor Goodnough)

Goodnough, who wrote for most of her career under the byline of "Peggy Hull," was the first female journalist accredited by the U.S. War Department, and was also a founder of the Overseas Press Club. Born in Kansas in 1889, Goodnough exhibited great ambition even as a child. She started her journalism career in Junction City, Kansas, followed by stops in Denver, San Francisco, and Hawaii. She later moved to Minneapolis, changing her byline at this time to Peggy Hull.

In 1916, Hull moved to Cleveland to write an advertising column while running a shopping service. Wishing to report on the activities of the Ohio National Guard, she joined its Women's Auxiliary. When the Ohio Guard was mobilized to deal with the instability along the U.S.-Mexican border, especially Pancho Villa's raids into New Mexico, under General John J. Pershing, Hull traveled to Texas ahead of the unit as a freelancer. Once in Texas, she was hired by an El Paso newspaper. She accompanied the 20,000-man expedition



Peggy Hull was the first female journalist accredited by the United States War Department and a founder of the Overseas Press Club. She covered both world wars. (Library of Congress)

on a 15-day march in New Mexico, and in February 1917 she rode out to meet the soldiers, managing to be filmed riding with Pershing at the head of troops.

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, the *El Paso Morning Times* agreed to send her to France, but the War Department did not consider the paper large enough to warrant an accredited reporter. She sailed anyway in June 1917, writing stories on her experiences while her acquaintance with Pershing helped her get access to the troops. As the articles she sent back to the United States gained popularity, other reporters complained, resulting in Hull being recalled to the United States. In the summer of 1918, she was accredited and authorized to travel with the American Expeditionary Forces to Siberia, sponsored by the Newspaper Enterprise Association (NEA) and the *Cleveland (Ohio) Press*.

Hull next worked in Shanghai and was there in January 1932 when the city was attacked by the Japanese. She wrote about the Japanese attack on China for the *New York Daily News*. She was again accredited during World War II for the Pacific theater, reporting from Hawaii, Guam, and other islands. She was awarded the U.S. Navy Commendation for her service writing about the day-to-day lives of ordinary sailors.

Hull was married to George Hull, John Kinley, and Harvey Deuell; the first two marriages ended in divorce and the third with the death of Deuell. She spent the last several years of her life in California and died of breast cancer on June 19, 1967.

Katherine Burger Johnson

SEE ALSO Correspondents (World War I); Pershing, John Joseph

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Lusitania, Sinking of

The *Lusitania* was a British passenger liner sunk by a German submarine off the south coast of Ireland. The *Lusitania* entered service in 1907 as one of a pair Cunard Line vessels designed for the prestigious North Atlantic run. The *Lusitania* was built with



The sinking of the RMS *Lusitania* in a sneak attack by a German submarine on May 7, 1915 confirmed portrayals of German ruthlessness and moved the American public closer to support for Great Britain and eventual U.S. entry in the war. (Library of Congress)

a government subsidy, which required that it be made available for Admiralty use at times of national need and that all its officers and at least half its crew be members of the Royal Naval Reserve or the Royal Naval Fleet Reserve. Both sister ships were constructed with reinforced decks to allow emplacement of up to a dozen 6-inch guns for service as armed merchant cruisers. However, when the war began, the *Lusitania* was determined to be too large for service as an armed merchant cruiser and remained in Cunard service.

Partially in response to the tightening British blockade of Germany, Germany declared a war zone around the British Isles on February 4, 1915, warning that any ship within the zone risked submarine attack. A growing number of merchant and naval vessels fell to German torpedoes in the months that followed.

On the morning of May 1, 1915, as the *Lusitania* prepared to sail for Liverpool on its 202nd crossing, the German Embassy published a warning in New York newspapers that Atlantic passengers sailed into the declared war zone around Britain at their own risk. Despite the warning, the *Lusitania* carried more than 1,200 passengers (its highest total since the war began, although still 1,000 under her capacity) and a crew of about 700. Senior Cunard Captain William Turner was in command.

German navy Lieutenant Walther Schwieger had navigated the submarine *U-20* from Emden, Germany, a day earlier, bound for the busy approaches to Liverpool to enforce the declared war zone. Over the next week, the *U-20* traversed the North Sea around both Scotland and Ireland and entered the Irish Channel. On May 6, 1915, the *U-20* sank two small British merchant steamers and, with only three torpedoes remaining, began to retrace its route back to Germany.

The *Lusitania* received several wireless warnings of submarine activity ahead as it approached Ireland. The ship operated under standard Admiralty rules to avoid the coast and steer a midchannel course, maintain speed (though to save coal not all its boilers were in service), mount extra look-outs (which were in place), preserve wireless silence (only partially accomplished), maintain a zigzag course (which it was not doing when struck), and arrive off Liverpool with the tide to allow quick entry into the busy port.

Schwieger sighted the *Lusitania* at 1:20 p.m. off the Old Head of Kinsale, Ireland, and fired one torpedo, which struck the liner almost directly under the bridge. The resulting explosion was followed shortly by another larger blast. *Lusitania* sank by the bow in just 18 minutes. Few lifeboats were launched because of the steep angle of the sinking hull. Rescue vessels steamed from nearby Queenstown, but of the 1,959 on board, only 764 survived. Nearly 100 children were lost, as were 128 of 197 Americans on board.

A British Board of Trade investigation in June determined that Cunard and the ship's master made significant mistakes but that the vessel was lost because of Germany's policy of torpedoing ships without warning. Turner continued to captain smaller Cunard vessels, though Schwieger was lost with the *U-88* in September 1917. The *Lusitania* wreck lies about 300 feet down near the Irish coast.

The sinking created a propaganda blitz of attacks on Germany for killing defenseless civilians. A "*Lusitania* medal" that had been designed by Karl Goetz as a limited-circulation German attack on Cunard for trying to continue business as usual during wartime was now reissued in the thousands as anti-German propaganda by the British.

Controversy abounds over the disaster. The second and larger explosion after the torpedo struck was almost definitely from loose coal dust igniting, not exploding cargo. Germany maintained that the *Lusitania* was armed (guns had not been mounted) and that it carried military cargo (small-arms ammunition were not on the cargo manifest) or soldiers (none on board). Accusations that the British Admiralty conspired to set up the *Lusitania* as a target to bring the United States into the war still circulate, although there is no proof to support such claims.

Christopher H. Sterling

SEE ALSO Atrocities; Committee on Public Information; Fourteen Points; Propaganda

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Newspapers. See Correspondents; Stars and Stripes

Owen, Wilfred

Owen was a British poet and army officer. Born on March 18, 1893 in Oswestry, England, Wilfred Owen failed to be admitted to a university and decided in 1911 to pursue a career in the Church of England as a lay assistant and pupil to the vicar of Dunsden. After clashing with the vicar, he found part-time employment as a teacher of English in the Berlitz School in Bordeaux, France, in 1913. Owen became a private tutor to a French family in 1914, and in July of that year he left for Bagnères-de-Bigorre in the Pyrenees to tutor the sons of an English family.

Reluctant to join the war, Owen remained in France until October 1915. He then enlisted in the 28th London Regiment, and in June 1916 received a commission as a second lieutenant with the Manchester Regiment. Arriving in France on January 1, 1917, he went as an officer replacement to the front line. His poem "The Sentry" tells of a man he posted on January 12, 1917: "In all my dreams, before my helpless sight, / He plunges at me . . . / Eyeballs, huge-bulged like squids." Owen's poems focus on the waste and horror of war. In "Anthem for Doomed Youth" he asks, "What passing-bell for these who die as cattle?" In "A Terre (Being the Philosophy of Many Soldiers)" he is critical of those who glorify combat: "I have my medals?—Discs to make eyes close. / My glorious ribbons?—Ripped from my own back / In scarlet shreds. (That's for your poetry book.)"

On May 2, 1917, Owen was evacuated to a hospital in Scotland with shell shock. Here he became friendly with the older war poet Siegfried Sassoon, who served as a literary mentor. Declared fit for service in June 1918, Owen won a Military Cross for an October 1918 attack on the Fonsomme Line, in which he captured a machine gun and a number of German prisoners. While assisting with construction of a bridge across the Sambre-Oise Canal on November 4, 1918, Owen was fatally wounded in a fierce fight along the riverbank. On Armistice Day, his parents received notification of his death.

Owen's poems remained largely unpublished until the early 1930s, though Sassoon edited a volume of 20 of them in 1920. Owen's literary reputation gradually appreciated over time, helped by the antiwar mood of the 1960s and the composer Benjamin

Britten's musical settings of some of the finer poems in his *War Requiem* (1962). Owen remains one of the most important of British war poets, his popularity attributable both to his condemnation of war and his tragically absurd death.

Caryn E. Neumann

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Pamphlets (World War I)

The development and distribution of pamphlets and leaflets during World War I was a pivotal era in the history of propaganda. The international political context of the war and the recognition of influence as an operational tool to further political and social agendas made psychological operations in this conflict particularly unique. The distribution of pamphlets also gained in importance due to the advances in delivering material through the use of airplanes, kites, and balloons. Overall, it was during WWI that governments, particularly the British Government, began to recognize the importance and impact of well-developed messaging through the medium of leaflets.

Pamphlets, more accurately described as leaflets in military terminology, were a critical tool of influence in WWI. Typically, leaflets were designed to affect German and Central Powers troops in the early periods of the war and were often disseminated 10 to 15 miles behind enemy lines. From 1918 to the Armistice, leaflets were also used to influence civilian audiences in addition to German troops, in order to encourage compliance with measures developed in the Armistice.

The distribution of material was limited to the range of airplanes, which the Allies utilized until 1917. In that year, British airmen were captured by German forces and court-martialed. These actions caused the British Government to discontinue leaflet dissemination by airplane along the western front, although this delivery platform did continue in the Italian theater. Specially made balloons, while not as efficient or

far-reaching as airplanes, became prevalent in late 1917. Kites, also, were used but on a limited basis due to the interference caused by wire tethers. Notably, an ingenious invention known as “Gamage’s Automatic Kite Conveyer” relayed leaflets from the ground to the kite through a controllable collapsible wing that ascended by wind along the kite wire until the point of release. After release of material, the wing would collapse and return to the kite controller and the process repeated. While kites and balloons were used, it was the airplane that was overwhelmingly the greatest disseminating resource. Also of importance were advances made in calculating wind speed, distance to target audience and material used for leaflets.

Leaflets were first developed as early as 1914 through the work of Lord Northcliffe, an individual critical to the development of British WWI propaganda. The “Wellington House” was one of the earliest organizations set up for the development of propaganda. This organization formed the basis for the Ministry of Information and the later subgroup, the “Crewe House” of which, notably, the author and publicist, H. G. Wells, was a member.

While leaflets sought to inform German soldiers of Allied advances and especially the increasing numbers of American forces being introduced into the conflict in 1917, a very significant effort was made to gain the compliance of German troops in order to create an effective peace in Europe. As the *Times History of the War* stated in December 1919, “The primary war aim of the Allies became the changing of Germany. Without the honest cooperation of Germany, disarmament on a large scale would be impossible, and without disarmament social and economic reconstruction would be impracticable.” Although highly effective tactically, leaflets did not enact the lofty goals through which they were to create lasting peace.

Nathaniel Moir

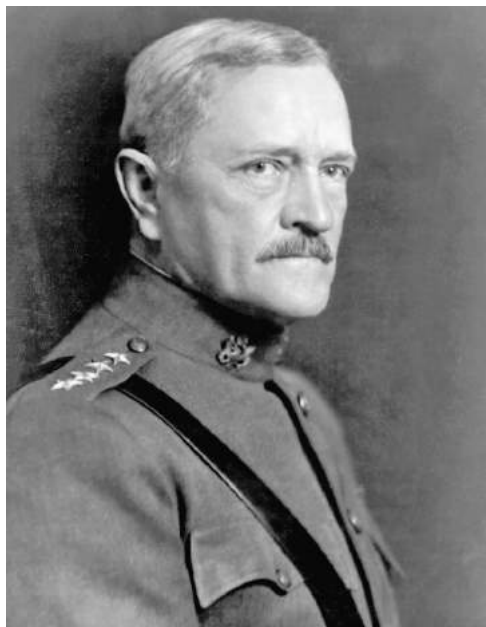
SEE ALSO Propaganda

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Pershing, John Joseph

General of the Armies of the United States and commander of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF), Pershing was born in Laclede, Missouri, on September 13, 1860. Upon graduation from the U.S. Military Academy in 1886, he joined the 6th Cavalry Regiment in New Mexico, where he saw limited action in the final subjugation of the



General of the Armies of the United States John J. Pershing commanded the American Expeditionary Forces in France during 1917–1918. (Library of Congress)

Apache Indians. In 1891, Pershing participated in the campaign to quiet the Sioux following the tragic confrontation at Wounded Knee.

Later in 1891 Pershing became professor of military science at the University of Nebraska, where he studied law in his off hours. He completed a law degree in 1893 and, frustrated by the lack of military advancement, even considered a legal career. In 1895, he returned to the field with the 10th Cavalry, one of four regiments in the service comprised of African-American soldiers. In 1897, Pershing became an instructor of tactics at West Point. Here, cadets unhappy with his dark demeanor and rigid style labeled him “Black Jack,” a derogatory reference to Pershing’s 10th Cavalry posting.

Pershing distinguished himself in several politically and militarily challenging assignments prior to WWI. During the Spanish-American War, he again commanded the

10th Cavalry, winning praise for his troops’ performance. Returning to the United States, Pershing was charged with overseeing the War Department’s new Bureau of Insular Affairs, in which he was dispatched to the Philippines where he successfully put down the Moro rebellion. Pershing returned to the United States in 1903 to attend the Army War College. In 1905, as a military attaché to Japan, he became an official military observer of the Russo-Japanese War. Having won the appreciation of former Secretary of War Elihu Root and President Theodore Roosevelt, Pershing in September 1906 experienced a great rarity in U.S. military history when Roosevelt nominated the captain for direct promotion to brigadier general, vaulting him ahead of hundreds of senior officers. In March 1916, Mexican revolutionary leader Francisco “Pancho” Villa led a raid on the small border town of Columbus, New Mexico that prompted a massive response by the United States. Pershing took charge of the Punitive Expedition into Mexico, with orders to capture or kill Villa and his followers while avoiding conflict with Mexico. Although Villa escaped, Pershing used the expedition to test some of the new technologies of war, including machine guns, aircraft, motorized transport, and radio.

Again, Pershing’s military skill, administrative ability, and sensitivity to political realities endeared him to his civilian superiors. In May 1917, President Woodrow Wilson named Pershing, only recently promoted to major general, to command the AEF, which was to fight in Europe as a distinctive U.S. army. Once more Pershing faced an incredibly delicate situation, as he was forced to maintain U.S. military autonomy amid persistent

pressure from his European allies for U.S. divisions to fill holes in their deteriorating ranks. Pershing, promoted to full general in October 1917, stubbornly refused to have his forces fed piecemeal into the trenches, and he labored to avoid subjecting his men to the failed practices that made this war so horrible. But during the crisis occasioned by Germany's 1918 spring (Ludendorff) offensives, Pershing offered individual U.S. divisions to the Allied command, and the U.S. troops quickly proved their worth in the heavy fighting at Cantigny, Belleau Wood, and Château-Thierry and during the Second Battle of the Marne.

Pershing continued to ready his fighting force, the U.S. First Army, for independent action, and in September 1918 the largest U.S. military operation since the Civil War struck and reduced the German-held Saint-Mihiel salient. Pershing then directed U.S. efforts to participate in the massive Meuse-Argonne offensive that began on September 26 and lasted until the armistice in November. Pershing's attention to logistics and his emphasis on maneuver and mobility complemented his soldiers' tenacity in battle and allowed the United States to play the decisive role in the final months of the war. After overseeing the demobilization of U.S. forces, in 1919 Pershing returned to the United States a hero.

In September 1919, Congress confirmed Pershing as general of the armies. He became army chief of staff in 1921 and entered a busy retirement in 1924. He excelled as an author, receiving the Pulitzer Prize for his book, *My Experiences in the World War* (1931). A mentor to such future leaders as George Marshall, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Douglas MacArthur, Pershing lived to see the men he influenced triumph in the Second World War. As a soldier, he served in an army that evolved from a frontier constabulary to an international police force and finally to world power, and played a large role in fostering that evolution. Pershing died at Washington, DC, on July 15, 1948.

David Coffey

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War I); Committee on Public Information; Correspondents (World War I); Hull, Peggy (Deuell, Henrietta Eleanor Goodnough); Propaganda

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Poetry. See Owen, Wilfrid

Reed, John

John Silas Reed's spirited accounts of labor strife, and of revolution and war in Mexico and Europe, brought the reality of those events to the American people. He was also a founder of the communist movement in the United States before the end of his brief life.

Reed was born in Portland, Oregon on October 20, 1887. His father was a successful businessman from the East; his mother came from a wealthy pioneer family. At Harvard University, Class of 1910, Reed was involved with the literary set, dramatics, sports, and student pranks. When Reed met the California muckraker Lincoln Steffens, a family friend, the older man encouraged a first interest in social problems. After graduation and several months of wandering in England and France, Reed returned home to find his father's business in difficult straits and himself on his own.

Having fixed his sights on being a writer, Reed headed for New York and, with Steffens' help, got a post on a popular magazine, the *American*. He soon became a well-known figure in the radical scene of Greenwich Village. He moved leftward in his political views and, in 1913, readily accepted an invitation from Max Eastman to work on the left-wing *Masses*. Reed covered the strike of 25,000 silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey and experienced his first of many arrests, this one for an altercation with a policeman. The next year, he went to Mexico for *Metropolitan* magazine to cover the campaigns of the rebel leader Pancho Villa. His articles, which brought him a national reputation, were published as *Insurgent Mexico* (1914).

In the spring of 1914, Reed went to Colorado to report the massacre of striking coal miners at Ludlow, and he wrote articles that indicted the Rockefeller interests that owned the company. With the outbreak of World War I, the *Metropolitan* sent him to cover action in Eastern Europe, and his reports were published as *The War in Eastern Europe* (1916). When the United States entered the war, Reed told the Congressional Committee on Military Affairs, "I do not believe in this war [and] I would not serve in it." (He would not have qualified for the draft, in any case, because he had lost a kidney to disease.)

Reed and Louise Bryant, whom he had married in November 1916, were determined to observe events in Russia and arrived in time to witness the October 1917 revolution. Reed became a close friend of Vladimir Lenin and helped to write Bolshevik propaganda leaflets predicting an enduring proletarian government. His dispatches to the *Masses* had much to do with the American government's suspension of the magazine for sedition and, upon returning to New York, Reed's papers were seized and he was arrested for seditious actions, although the indictment was dropped.

During 1918, Reed published his famous eyewitness account of the Russian Revolution, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, for which Lenin wrote an introduction. Reed threw himself into the formation of the American Communist Party and, though again indicted

for sedition, left the country on a forged passport, and worked passage to Russia, where he sought Bolshevik help for the American party. Seeking to return home for trial, he was arrested and detained in a Finnish prison. After he was released to Russia, he became active in the Soviet government. At a congress of the Communist International, he urged American communists to work for unity of “the Negro and the white laborer in common labor unions . . . to destroy race prejudice and develop class solidarity.”

In weakened health, Reed fell ill of typhus. With Louise Bryant beside him, he died in Moscow on October 19, 1920. The Soviet government buried him in the wall of the Kremlin.

William McGuire and Leslie Wheeler

SEE ALSO American Entry, Opposition to; Censorship (World War I)

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Rules of Accreditation, American

Rules of accreditation refer to the requirements that prospective war correspondents had to meet in order to receive authorization from the Allied Expeditionary Force (AEF) to work in the war zone. The rules of accreditation in World War I were consistent with the wider efforts of the U.S. government and military to control information in their scope, aggressiveness, and, at times, downright silliness.

To receive accreditation, correspondents had to appear personally before the Secretary of War or his representative and swear that they would report the truth but would also not disclose information that might be detrimental to the war effort—a line that would prove to be extraordinarily difficult to walk. The reporters also had to provide an affidavit that included a detailed biographical record, as well as an extensive description of their previous employment record and journalistic work. In addition, the correspondents were required to provide testimony as to the state of their characters and physical health, along with a statement regarding where they planned to go and what they planned to cover once they arrived in Europe.

The military authorities also demanded that the reporters or their employers provide \$1,000 up front to cover expenses and take out a \$10,000 bond certifying that the reporters would conduct abide by the rules of conduct and behave as proper gentlemen. If reporters failed to meet this standard, the bond was forfeited.

Of course, the major requirement of correspondents was that they submit to the stringent and arbitrary censorship imposed by the AEF. Censorship dealt with the expected issues of troop location and strength, casualties, and future operations. However, AEF commander General John J. Pershing and Frederick Palmer, an experienced war correspondent who headed press management and censorship on behalf of the U.S. military, cast the net of censorship widely. Sometimes that net caught the seemingly most innocuous of information. At others, it was also used in an attempt to prevent news of mismanagement of the war effort from reaching the public. In an example of the former, reporters writing of a gift of wine by grateful French citizens to a group of American soldiers had their copy pulled because it might make the U.S. soldiers look like sots and, as well, inflame the sentiments of advocates of prohibition. More sinister was an example of the latter. For months following the U.S. entry into the war, supply shortages plagued American troops, a circumstance that was obvious to anyone who spent time in the field. Several reporters were investigating the story, but their reports were repeatedly rejected by military censors. When one reporter returned to New York to write a series of stories about the ineptness of the U.S. logistical effort, his accreditation was suspended and his employer forfeited his \$10,000 bond.

Correspondents chafed under these rules and, occasionally, found ways to get around them, but for the most part, the information control apparatus worked well. The management of correspondents in the field, along with the massive propaganda effort undertaken at home by the Committee on Public Information, was borne of the Wilson Administration's belief that in a total war, public opinion was perhaps the most important national resource of all. Control of the information that might affect that opinion justified whatever actions authorities might deem necessary in a crusade to save Western civilization.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War I); Committee on Public Information; Pershing, John Joseph

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Speakers Bureau. See Four-Minute Men

Stars and Stripes

Stars and Stripes first appeared as a paper for Union soldiers during the American Civil War, producing only four issues. It was reestablished by the U.S. Army during World War I to be a publication produced by and for the enlisted soldier. The paper was the

The Official
Newspaper
of the A. E. F.

The Stars and Stripes

By and for
the Soldier
of the A. E. F.

VOL. 2—NO. 19.

FRANCE, FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1919.

PRICE: 50 CENTIMS; RETAIL PRICE: 100 CENTIMS.

TANKS STOOD GAFF FROM BELGIUM TO ARGONNE BATTLE

American Machines Few in
Number but Active All
the Time

PERSONNEL LOSSES HEAVY
Some Part Bunch of Tank Armies
on Highway Line and Argonne
Battlefield in Particular

The tank, a machine of war, is a new weapon, the first of its kind, that has been used in battle. It is a machine that can move over any kind of ground, and it can carry a large number of men and weapons. It is a machine that can move over any kind of ground, and it can carry a large number of men and weapons. It is a machine that can move over any kind of ground, and it can carry a large number of men and weapons.

The tank, a machine of war, is a new weapon, the first of its kind, that has been used in battle. It is a machine that can move over any kind of ground, and it can carry a large number of men and weapons. It is a machine that can move over any kind of ground, and it can carry a large number of men and weapons. It is a machine that can move over any kind of ground, and it can carry a large number of men and weapons.

Plan of Machine Line Before
Several Days of Battle—Argonne
and Meuse—Some of the Tanks
Used in the Battle of Meuse

STARS AND STRIPES IS HAULED DOWN WITH THIS ISSUE

Cooker Wash Tools To The
Bogies! After Setting
This Head

SERVED A.P.F. 16 MONTHS
Tanks One Paper War for the
Soldier First Last and All
the Time—Goodbye!

The Stars and Stripes, a newspaper of the American Expeditionary Force, is being hauled down with this issue. It has been a part of the life of the soldier for 16 months, and it has been a part of the life of the soldier for 16 months.

The Stars and Stripes, a newspaper of the American Expeditionary Force, is being hauled down with this issue. It has been a part of the life of the soldier for 16 months, and it has been a part of the life of the soldier for 16 months.

FOR THE SAKE OF AULD LANG SYNE



YANKEE DIVISIONS
WERE DECIDING
AID AT WAR'S END

HE'S A UNION JACK ALL BY HIMSELF

Per. Catling's Gun to Cut Nine
Stare on His Rifle

A man who has been known as the "Union Jack" of the American Expeditionary Force, is now a member of the "Union Jack" of the American Expeditionary Force. He is a man who has been known as the "Union Jack" of the American Expeditionary Force, and he is now a member of the "Union Jack" of the American Expeditionary Force.

CHAUMONT ALMOST DESERTED VILLAGE

Only Occasional Footsteps
Sound Through Former
Seat of G.H.Q.

The village of Chaumont, which was the headquarters of the German High Command, is now almost deserted. Only occasional footsteps are heard through the former seat of the German High Command.

ONLY ONE-FOURTH OF A.E.F. TO REMAIN AFTER TEN DAYS

Two-Quarter March Nearly
Attained in Home-
Bound Journey

S. O. S. LEAVING RAPIDLY
New York Greatest Part of Recip-
ient, Newport News Second,
and Boston Third

The American Expeditionary Force is leaving France in a rapid journey. Only one-fourth of the A.E.F. will remain after ten days. The journey is a two-quarter march, and it is nearly attained in the home-bound journey.

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Established during World War I, *Stars and Stripes* was a newspaper run by and for American troops. The paper suspended publication in June 1919, but was revived during World War II and has continued publication since then. (Library of Congress)

brainchild of Guy T. Vishinskki, a veteran newspaperman serving in Paris as a captain with the American Expeditionary Force. Vishinskki sold the idea to General John J. Pershing following discussions with Hudson Hawley and James Britt, two former newspapermen also serving in the Army in France. Vishinskki aimed the paper at the common soldier, wanting every enlisted man to feel like "a stockholder and a member of the board of directors" of the publication.

The first edition of *Stars and Stripes* appeared on February 8, 1918. In addition to Vishinskki and Hawley, the early editorial staff included Charles Phelps, John T. Winterich, William K. Michael, and Alban A. Wallgren. The group worked out of an office in a converted bedroom of the Hotel Ste. Anne in Paris. The staff was expanded in summer 1918 with the addition of such reporters-turned-soldiers as Harold Ross, who would found *The New Yorker* magazine; Grantland Rice, who would become the most celebrated sportswriter of the 1920s and 1930s; Stephen Early, who would serve as press secretary for Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman; and Alexander Woollcott, who would gain fame as a critic, commentator, and member of the Algonquin Roundtable. The articles were augmented by cartoons produced by artists

including Cyrus Leroy Baldridge, Wallace Morgan, Charles Dana Gibson, and Bruce Bairnsfather.

During its early months, the large-format paper, measuring 62 by 45 centimeters, was printed at the plant of the Continental edition of the London *Daily Mail*. Costing 18 centimes, the paper appeared every Friday, containing news from home, editorials, news from the front, sports, letters to the editor, poems, advertisements, and information about organizations serving the troops. The paper also served as a medium to encourage troops to make contributions to French relief organizations, such as a campaign to “adopt” for one year 3,000 orphans of French soldiers, which resulted in contributions from soldiers of more than 500,000 francs.

During World War I, *Stars and Stripes* ran for 71 issues, the last number appearing on June 13, 1919. This issue was accompanied by an eight-page, all photograph “victory edition” supplement. The final issue also provided a summary of the paper’s achievements. It noted that within 12 months of its appearance, the circulation reached 526,000, amounting to one copy for every three soldiers. The paper was distributed by a network of 105 field agents serving with almost every unit in the AEF. A roster of every soldier who had worked for the paper was also included, with “Dismissed” printed below. The paper earned a profit of some \$700,000 for the Army’s Quartermaster Department.

However, the paper’s greatest accomplishment was in what it did for the soldiers for whom it was established. As one observer stated, “there was nothing which contributed more to the welfare of the men of the American Expeditionary Force, or to their spirit and morale,” than *Stars and Stripes*.

Stars and Stripes was revived following U.S. entry into World War II, with the first issue appearing on April 18, 1942. Later that year, it moved from a weekly to a daily paper. The paper has published continuously since then as an editorially independent publication, authorized by the Defense Department, serving U.S. military personnel, contractors, and their families around the world.

Peter Harrington

SEE ALSO Correspondents (World War I); Pershing, John Joseph

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Viereck, George Sylvester

George Viereck was a prominent example of a phenomenon present in many of America's conflicts—Americans who provide propaganda for enemy governments or forces. Viereck was a German-American who supported both Kaiser Wilhelm II's Germany in World War I and Hitler's Germany in World War II.

Born in Munich on December 31, 1884, Viereck came to the United States in 1897. He graduated from the City College of New York, where he was elected class poet, in 1906. Upon graduation, he began his life's work in newspapers and magazines with the magazine *Current Literature*, from 1906 to 1915. He then worked for his father Louis' German-language magazine *Der Deutsche Vorkämpfer* (*The German Pioneer*). After his father returned to Germany, Viereck became editor of the monthly *Rundschau Zweier Welten* (*Review of Two Worlds*). When that magazine failed in 1914, Viereck became editor of *The Fatherland*, whose masthead motto, "Fair Play for Germany and Austria," suggested the political sympathies Viereck revealed in his early editorial positions.

During World War I, Viereck was employed by the German Embassy to organize anti-British and pro-German propaganda. It was his idea in 1915 to put an advertisement, signed by the German government, in American newspapers warning U.S. citizens not to sail on British ships. The idea proved to be a public relations disaster. The *Lusitania* was sunk a few days later, giving the incorrect impression that the German Embassy had known in advance of the *Lusitania*, inspiring strong anti-German feelings among Americans.

During the 1920s, Viereck wrote for the Hearst chain of newspapers. When the Nazis came to power, he was again employed by the German government to edit the Nazis' news magazine and to organize covert propaganda. However, Viereck refused to write any anti-Semitic or anti-American propaganda, a clause written into his contract. Following U.S. entry into World War II, Viereck was convicted in 1943 of violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and served four years.

Throughout his career, Viereck's work emphasized four major themes—maintaining U.S. neutrality, promoting closer U.S.-German commercial and political ties, warning of the dangers of an entangling alliance with Great Britain, and exposing the pro-British bias of the U.S. news media. In addition to his writings in newspapers and magazines, Viereck published several books, including: *Confessions of a Barbarian*, 1910; *My First Two Thousand Years: The Autobiography of the Wandering Jew*, 1928; *Spreading Germs of Hate*, 1930; and *Men into Beasts*, 1952.

Viereck was married to Margaret Edith Hein, with whom he had two sons. One son, George, was killed at the Battle of Anzio, fighting Germans while his father served time in prison for spreading pro-German propaganda. Viereck died in Holyoke, Massachusetts, on March 18, 1962.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO *Lusitania*, Sinking of; Propaganda

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Zimmermann Telegram

On March 1, 1917, newspapers across the United States published a telegram sent from German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann to the German ambassadors to the United States and Mexico. News of this telegram inflamed anti-German sentiment in the aftermath of the German decision announced on January 31, 1917 to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. The so-called Zimmermann Telegram helped speed U.S. entry into the First World War in early April.

Arthur Zimmermann called on Heinrich J. F. von Eckhardt, the German ambassador to Mexico, to propose to the Mexican government an alliance. If Germany and the United States were to go to war and Mexico joined the German side, then Germany would supply that country with generous financial support and, on a German victory, restore the territory it lost to the United States in the 1840s. Zimmermann also implied that Japan might be induced to join the anti-U.S. alliance. Zimmermann implied that there was little risk for Mexico, since “the ruthless employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace.”

In retrospect, the Zimmermann Telegram appears hard to believe, but it must be viewed in the context of the severely strained relations between the United States and Mexico. U.S. forces had occupied Veracruz in 1914, and Mexican revolutionaries under Pancho Villa had murdered American mining engineers in northern Mexico and then raided Columbus, New Mexico. In retaliation, President Woodrow Wilson had sent U.S. troops under Brigadier General John Pershing into northern Mexico in a vain effort to track down Villa.

Both the U.S. State Department and British intelligence intercepted the cable. British decoders needed several weeks to break the two-part message, one part on the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare and the other part on Germany’s offer to Mexico. The message was passed on to President Wilson on February 24 and then made public on March 1. On that date, *The New York Times* headlined “Germany Seeks Alliance Against U.S.; Asks Japan and Mexico to Join Her.” Mexico and Japan denied their complicity, but on March 3 Zimmermann foolishly admitted that he had sent the telegram. With a mounting toll of U.S. merchant ships sunk by German submarines, on April 6, 1917, President Wilson requested and the U.S. Congress approved a declaration of war against Germany. On April 14, despite repeated German efforts to convince it to join the war, the Mexican government announced that it would remain neutral.

The Zimmermann Telegram played a role in the U.S. decision to declare war but chiefly as justification for the action, which was taken largely because of the German decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare.

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SEE ALSO Atrocities; Pershing, John Joseph

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8

World War II

INTRODUCTION

World War II was the most destructive enterprise in human history. More resources, material, and human lives—over 50 million—were expended on the war than on any other human activity.

The roots of this conflict can be traced back to its predecessor, World War I. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson had couched American intervention in terms of creating a new world order, in which the old great power alliance systems that had wrought centuries of warfare would be replaced by an international organization that would guarantee collective security. To break this cycle of war, Wilson also called for a peace in which the vanquished Germany would not be punished, but rather reformed and brought into this new global partnership.

However, Wilson's dreams ran into some harsh realities. First, British and French publics had suffered horrendous casualties and were in no mood to forgive and forget. As a result, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles ascribed guilt for the war to Germany, stripped it of its colonial possessions, and handed Germans a reparations bill totaling \$33 billion. Wilson acceded to these terms in order to win the support of British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and French Premier Georges Clemenceau for the League of Nations. However, the League would prove to be ineffective due to another reality—a growing desire on the part of Americans to turn inward following the war. Wilson was unable to win ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and U.S. membership in the League from a skeptical U.S. Senate.

The punitive peace created resentment and desire for revenge in Germany that would be nurtured and manipulated by the Nazi Party. When the Nazis, under the leadership of World War I veteran Adolf Hitler, took control of Germany in early 1933, they embarked on a program of restoring German greatness in the form of the Third Reich and establishing the supremacy of the so-called Aryan race by exterminating Jews, gypsies, Slavs, and

other supposedly inferior peoples. The weakness of the League, the move toward isolationism in the United States, and the pacifism caused by the trauma of World War I combined to give Hitler a free pass. The same can be said of the Japanese, who were determined to establish themselves as the dominant power in East Asia and who resented efforts by the West to deny their ambitions for great power status. Indeed, while the traditional and widely accepted date for the start of World War II is September 1, 1939, with the German invasion of Poland, the fighting that became part of World War II actually began between Japan and China in 1937.

Germany's quick strike into Poland brought France and Great Britain into the conflict on September 3, 1939 in accordance with their guarantees to Poland. The Germans learned from their Polish Campaign and mounted a true blitzkrieg offensive against the Low Countries and France that commenced on May 10, 1940. The Allies were simply outmaneuvered, losing France in six weeks. The Germans found that the French Routes Nationales (National Routes), designed to enable French forces to reach the frontiers, could also be used in the opposite direction by an invader. The Germans themselves would relearn this military truth on their autobahns in 1945.

Germany suffered its first defeat of the war when its air offensive against Great Britain, the world's first great air campaign, was thwarted in the Battle of Britain in the summer and fall of 1940. The main advantages of the Royal Air Force (RAF) in this battle were radar and the geographic fact that its pilots and their warplanes were shot down over home territory. German pilots and aircraft in a similar predicament were out of action for the duration of the war, and they also had farther to fly from their bases. But Britain's greatest advantage throughout this stage of the war was its prime minister, Winston L. S. Churchill, who gave stirring voice and substance to the Allied defiance of Adolf Hitler.

Nonetheless, by spring 1941, Nazi Germany dominated the European continent, with the exception of Switzerland, Sweden, and Vatican City. Greece, which had held off and beaten back an inept Italian offensive, finally capitulated to the German Balkan blitzkrieg in spring 1941.

Nazi Germany, which had negotiated a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union in 1939, turned on its erstwhile ally on June 22, 1941, in Operation BARBAROSSA. Joseph Stalin's own inept generalship played a major role in the early Soviet defeats, and German forces drove almost to within sight of the Kremlin's towers in December 1941 before being beaten back.

Early that same month, the war in the Pacific and East Asia broadened with Japan's coordinated attacks on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor and on British, Dutch, and American imperial possessions. With the Soviet Union holding out precariously and the United States now a belligerent, the Axis had lost the war, even though few recognized that fact at the time. The United States' "great debate" as to whether and to what extent to aid Britain was silenced in a national outpouring of collective wrath against the new enemy.

Japanese forces surprised and outfought their opponents by land, sea, and air. British and Dutch forces in Asia, superior only in numbers, had been routed in one of the most

successful combined-arms campaigns in history. Singapore, the linchpin of imperial European power in Asia, surrendered ignominiously on February 16, 1942. Only the Americans managed to delay the Japanese seriously, holding out on the Bataan Peninsula and then at the Corregidor fortifications until May. The end of imperialism, at least in Asia, can be dated to the capitulation of Singapore, as Asians witnessed other Asians with superior technology and professionalism completely defeat European and American forces.

And yet, on Pearl Harbor's very "day of infamy," Japan actually lost the war. Its forces missed the American aircraft carriers, as well as the oil tank farms and the machine shop complex. On that day, the Japanese killed many U.S. personnel, and they destroyed mostly obsolete aircraft and sank a handful of elderly battleships. But, above all, they outraged Americans, who resolved to avenge the attack. Japan would receive no mercy in the relentless land, sea, and air war that the United States was now about to wage against it. More significantly, American industrial and manpower resources vastly surpassed those Japan could bring to bear in a protracted conflict.

The tide in the Pacific would not begin to turn until the drawn-out naval and air clash in the Coral Sea in May 1942, the first naval battle in which neither side's surface ships came within sight of its opponent. The following month, the U.S. Navy avenged Pearl Harbor in the Battle of Midway, sinking four Japanese carriers, again without those surface ships involved ever sighting each other. The loss of hundreds of superbly trained, combat-experienced naval aviators and their expert maintenance crews was as great a blow to Japan as the actual sinking of its invaluable carriers. The Americans could make up their own losses far more easily than the Japanese.

By this time, U.S. production was supplying not only American military needs but also those of most of the Allies. Everything from aluminum ingots and the canned-meat product Spam to Sherman tanks and finished aircraft crossed the oceans to the British Isles, the Soviet Union, the Free French, the Nationalist Chinese, the Fighting Poles, and others. Moreover, quantity was not produced at the expense of quality. Although some of the Allies might have had reservations in regard to Spam, the army trucks, the boots, the small arms, and the uniforms provided by the United States were unsurpassed. The very ships that transported the bulk of this war material—the famous mass-produced Liberty ships ("rolled out by the mile, chopped off by the yard")—could still be found on the world's oceanic trade routes decades after they were originally scheduled to be scrapped.

The Soviets, who had been carrying the brunt of the effort against Germany since June 1941, had been pressing their British and American allies to open a second front as soon as possible. Although considered a sideshow by the Soviets, Operation TORCH, the invasion of North Africa in November 1942, was of the utmost strategic importance and, until mid-1943, it was the only continental land campaign that the Western Allies were strong enough to mount. Had North Africa, including Egypt, fallen to the Axis, the Suez Canal could not have been held and German forces could have gone through the Middle East, mobilizing Arab nationalism, threatening the area's vast oil fields, and

even menacing the embattled Soviet Union. In a prelude to the invasion, General Bernard Montgomery amassed superiority in armor over Germany's General Erwin Rommel and defeated him at El Alamein in October 1942 and slowly pushed back toward Tunisia. U.S. and British landings in Algeria and Morocco to the rear of Rommel's forces were successful, but the American troops received a bloody nose at Kasserine Pass. The vastly outnumbered North African Axis forces did not capitulate until May 1943.

After the North African Campaign ended in 1943, the Allies drove the Axis forces from Sicily, and then, in September 1943, they began the interminable Italian Campaign. It is perhaps indicative of the frustrating nature of the war in Italy that the lethargic Allies allowed the campaign to begin with the escape of most Axis forces from Sicily to the Italian peninsula. The Germans conducted well-organized retreats from one mountainous fortified line to the next. The Italian Campaign was occasionally justified for tying down many German troops, but the truth is that it tied down far more Allied forces. German forces in Italy ultimately surrendered in late April 1945, only about a week before Germany itself capitulated.

In the meantime, the war in the Pacific and East Asia became an effort to establish island bases closer and closer to Japan itself in order to mount a sustained bombing campaign in preparation for an invasion. This "island-hopping" strategy, devised by U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, reached its climax with the battles for Iwo Jima and Okinawa in the spring and mid-summer of 1945.

However, the Manhattan Project, a secret program to develop an atomic bomb, was also reaching its climax. Following the successful test of an atomic device on July 16, 1945 at Los Alamos, New Mexico, President Harry Truman gave orders to use the bomb against Japan. On the morning of August 6, the *Enola Gay* dropped the first atomic bomb used in warfare over the city of Hiroshima, killing 70,000–80,000 people instantly and injuring another 70,000. Three days later, another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, immediately killing between 45,000 and 75,000 people.

The aftermath of World War II proved considerably different from that of World War I, with its prevailing spirit of disillusionment. Amazingly, all of World War II's belligerents, winners and losers alike, could soon look back and realize that the destruction of the murderous, archaic, racist Axis regimes had genuinely cleared the way to a better world. All enjoyed peace and the absence of major war. Even for the Soviets, the postwar decades were infinitely better than the prewar years, although much of this measure of good fortune might be attributed simply to the death of Stalin. By the 1950s, both war-shattered Western Europe and Japan were well on their way to becoming major economic competitors with the United States. The uniquely sagacious and foresighted Western Allied military occupations of Germany, Japan, and Austria in many ways laid the foundations for the postwar prosperity of these former enemy nations. (For the most part, however, similar good fortune bypassed the less developed nations.) Within a few years, former belligerents on both sides could agree that, despite its appalling casualties and destruction, World War II had been if not perhaps "the Good War" then at least something in the nature of a worthwhile war.

However, like its predecessor, World War I laid the groundwork for the next conflict. The victorious Allies, united in their commitment to defeat Hitler, saw their individual agendas come into contention once that goal was achieved. World War I shattered the old international order that World War II had weakened. The traditional great powers of Britain and France assumed second-tier status, as the United States and the Soviet Union became the world's two superpowers. The old great power alliance system that had governed international politics for centuries was now replaced by a bi-polar order, with nations aligning themselves with one of the two superpowers. Also, World War I accelerated the breakup of the old colonial empires, and the efforts of societies to establish independence would become one of the most important developments of the 20th century and one of the most contentious theatres in the Cold War. World War I also changed the nature of warfare, as the Americans and the Soviets developed huge arsenals of nuclear weapons far more powerful than the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. For the first time, humanity held the potential for its own extinction in its hands.

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PROPAGANDA

Propaganda as a modern psychological weapon of war was first systematically applied by all major combatants in World War I. With more modern media available—and a far clearer ideological conflict between democracy and fascism—propaganda became

much more pervasive in World War II. While some was aimed domestically to encourage support for the war, the best-known efforts were directed at opponents.

The Axis Powers: Germany, Italy, and Japan

Germany's stellar propaganda efforts drew on Hitler's own experience of Allied propaganda during World War I. Germany developed centralized control of all media from the beginning of the Nazi regime with the March 1933 creation of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, which was headed by Joseph Goebbels. Initial efforts were largely domestic and soon included a steady beat of anti-Semitic and anti-Communist content. Another theme was how World War I had been lost not on the battlefield but thanks to subversion and internal collapse. By the late 1930s, propaganda focused on how others had attacked Germany and on the "decadent" Slav people. There was also a steady building of the Hitler personality cult.

Two media were especially valuable to Goebbels—radio and dramatic films and newsreels. *The Triumph of the Will* (1935), Leni Riefenstahl's heroic film portrayal of the Nazi Party's 1934 Nuremberg rally, epitomized how sound, Wagnerian music, and dramatic photography combined to illustrate Germany's growing might. Likewise, short-wave radio, including the use of turncoat broadcasters such as "Lord Haw Haw" and "Axis Sally," was invaluable in attempts to weaken enemy morale and soften up target countries before and during attacks. Germany's propaganda was clearly the most effective and cohesive of any belligerent in the war.

Italian efforts were more for internal consumption and dated to the beginning of Benito Mussolini's regime in 1922. The fascist movement was pictured as reviving the glorious days of Imperial Rome. Central to that message was building a cult around the maximum leader, Benito Mussolini.

Japan's approach to propaganda, or what its leadership termed "thought war," centered on the conception of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. This economic empire backed by Japanese arms was described as liberating Asia for Asians as old colonial powers were beaten back. The glory of empire was personified again, this time in the role of the virtually godlike emperor.

Japan relied on extensive use of shortwave radio, and "Tokyo Rose" and others broadcasted directly to American troops. Internal propaganda emphasized Japanese victories and expansion even when that was no longer true. Japanese listeners were thus stunned when they first heard Emperor Hirohito call for an end to hostilities in August 1945, having had no idea of the true direction of the war for the previous two years.

The Allies: Britain, United States, and Soviet Union

Allied propaganda efforts began as a response to Axis messages. The British divided internal and external propaganda operations. The former involved considerable reliance on media cooperation with authorities rather than government orders. Prime Minister Neville

Chamberlain's government established a Ministry of Information in January 1940. Winston Churchill also established a Political Warfare Executive in September 1941 to direct propaganda aimed at enemy countries. These efforts included massive leaflet drops from bombers and effective use of BBC news and other broadcasts.

Prominent themes emphasized that all Britons were in the war together. "We" might be "standing alone" but "London can take it." These themes helped to rally domestic support even at the height of the Blitz. In its 4,000 theaters, Britain made excellent use of hundreds of motion pictures, including both features and short news items. Some were also screened in the United States to encourage U.S. support of Britain's fight. The BBC played a central role, including broadcasting Churchill's gripping speeches.

Through 1941, the United States remained heavily isolationist and wary of foreign propaganda, given the World War I campaign that had helped lure the nation into the war. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and several initial organizational attempts, President Franklin D. Roosevelt formed the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942 under respected radio news commentator Elmer Davis. The OWI established domestic and overseas sections, the latter eventually becoming the Voice of America.

American propaganda emphasized Roosevelt's Four Freedoms (of speech and worship, and from fear or want). The need for women's efforts to back the fighting men was evident in posters featuring "Rosie the Riveter" and in Hollywood films that presented a positive view of the war. Frank Capra's seven-film "Why We Fight" series comprised some of the best wartime documentaries made. Films by John Ford and John Huston, among others, and wartime application of famous cartoon characters and comic book heroes, all contributed to the effort. Commercial radio broadcasts incorporated the war effort in nearly all drama, variety, and music programs.

Soviet Russia remained largely neutral in the propaganda wars until the German invasion on June 22, 1941. Messages then focused on the Russian "motherland" and traditional values, historical victories, and the once-vilified Russian Orthodox Church. All were combined in propaganda depicting Stalin as architect of victory in the "Great Patriotic War."

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SEE ALSO Censorship (World War II); Film (World War II); Office of War Information; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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America First Committee

The America First Committee was the leading U.S. anti-interventionist organization prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The America First Committee was established in July 1940 as the presidential election approached. Both Republicans and Democrats nominated pro-Allied candidates and some prominent Americans were convinced that the United States was in grave danger of being needlessly and foolishly drawn into World War II. The organization's founders included several Midwestern businessmen, including Robert E. Wood of Sears, Roebuck and Robert Douglas Stuart of Quaker Oats, who provided much of the organization's financial support.

Most America First members were Midwestern Republicans, many from the party's conservative wing. Some, however, such as Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin and Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, were political liberals or even radicals. America First also included a contingent of liberal Democrats, such as Chester Bowles and Kingman Brewster of Connecticut, and the radical historian Charles A. Beard. Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, the famed aviator, was its most celebrated member. Former President Herbert Hoover, although he held aloof so as not to compromise his efforts to feed children in occupied Western Europe, sympathized strongly with the group's stance.

America First members generally united around the belief that the European crisis did not threaten the security of the United States sufficiently to justify American intervention. They also believed that American involvement in war would be highly detrimental to the United States domestically. While supporting measures to strengthen U.S. defenses, they generally opposed, albeit with little success—especially after President Franklin D. Roosevelt's electoral victory in November 1940—many measures the administration introduced. The latter included the establishment of Selective Service (September 1940), the 1940 Destroyers-for-Bases deal, Lend-Lease (March 1941 military aid program to various nations), and the administration's aggressive naval policies against Germany in the Atlantic. America First members opposed these on the grounds that they were moving the United States ever closer to war with Germany. After Pearl Harbor, America First members, despite lingering private misgivings over past administration policies, largely rallied around the wartime president. On April 22, 1942, the organization was officially dissolved.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies; Fight for Freedom (Century Group); German-American Bund; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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American Forces Network, Europe

Prior to World War II, there were several radio stations based at American military bases, but none were officially recognized until 1942; however the success of these individual radio stations helped pave the way for the American Forces Network, Europe (AFN) that actually traces its origins back to May 26, 1942, when the U.S. War Department established the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS).

With the end of World War II, many American soldiers remained in Germany with the occupation forces. The AFN, brand name used by the United States Armed Forces American Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS), was created during the war (1943) in London.

The first transmission to U.S. troops began on Independence Day, July 4, 1943, with less than five hours of recorded shows, including a BBC news and sports broadcast. Its first military broadcaster was Corporal Syl Binkin. The signal was sent from London via telephone lines to five regional transmitters to reach U.S. troops in the United Kingdom as they made preparations for the inevitable invasion of Nazi-occupied Europe.

AFN accompanied advancing forces after D-Day, and it was transmitted to the occupied territories of Belgium and France, but was expanded (1945) as a news information service to American servicemen and their families to counter the pervasive postwar propaganda bombarded on other radio stations in Western Europe. The programs offered both entertainment and current news programming. Unlike other international broadcasting services, AFN carefully avoided programming to European audiences, broadcast only in English, and devoted the largest portion of its programming to popular entertainment. Newscasts and discussion programs, compiled from U.S. sources, were relatively open on American political and social problems, a situation that many in its audience found to be a rather positive and appealing image of the United States.

On December 31, 1945, AFN London ended its broadcasts and AFN closed all its stations in France in 1948, starting an on-going cycle of building up AFN stations during a military conflict then closing them down when the military engagement was over. Of the 300 stations in operation worldwide in 1945, only 60 remained by 1949.

A television service started in 1954 with a “pilot” station at Limestone AFB, Maine. Until the early 1970s, U.S. military television service was provided in Central Europe

by Air Force Television at Ramstein Air Base, Germany. On October 28, 1976, AFN television moved to new color television studios in Frankfurt and, in the 1980s, the network added affiliates with studio capabilities in Würzburg, Germany, and Soesterberg, The Netherlands.

All of the Armed Forces broadcasting affiliates worldwide merged under the AFN banner on January 1, 1998. In 2004, AFN Europe headquarters relocated to Coleman Barracks in Mannheim, Germany.

AFN continues to operate today, airing music, news, and other information around the clock on the network's studio stations that produce both radio and television programming.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Radio (World War II)

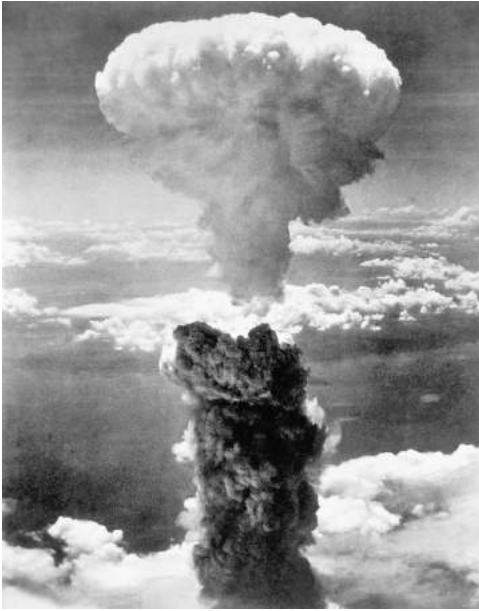
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Atomic Bomb

These weapons use energy released from the nuclei of atoms to generate destructive power. Nuclear energy is created when atoms are split in fission or when atoms are combined in the fusion process. During the 1920s and 1930s, scientists suggested that the energy within atoms could be used to produce an incredible source of power, including the potential to create weapons significantly more destructive than any then in existence. Early in World War II, Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States had research programs examining the potential of nuclear weapons.

Although the German nuclear program had significant potential because of a strong prewar scientific community, it failed to produce a weapon. Historians debate the reason for the German failure, with arguments citing a lack of resources and high-level support, basic technological and scientific errors or failures, and possible intentional slowdowns by German scientists. The Japanese program, with some assistance from Germany, made limited progress in basic research but did not come close to producing a viable weapon. Soviet nuclear research activities were disrupted by the German invasion in June 1941. However, the Soviet research effort was reborn in late 1942, motivated by appeals from Russian physicists and reports of nuclear advances in Germany as well as Britain and the



Smoke rises more than 60,000 feet into the air over the Japanese port city of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945, a result of the dropping of the second atomic bomb three days after the United States dropped the first bomb on Hiroshima. Japan unconditionally surrendered five days later on August 14, 1945. (National Archives)

nuclear research activities in August 1942 by creating a highly secret top-priority program that was given the cover designation of “Manhattan Engineer District,” normally shortened to the Manhattan Project. Brigadier General (later Major General) Leslie Groves, a U.S. Army engineer, directed the program. The central research facility was established at Los Alamos, New Mexico, with support provided by a nationwide network of facilities, including university laboratories, industrial sites, and major new nuclear production sites at Hanford, Washington, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. The Manhattan Project was a massive undertaking that involved solving the theoretical foundations for nuclear fission and fusion designs and then the practical engineering challenge of creating a functional weapon.

The Manhattan Project produced two successful atomic bomb designs. Both designs brought sufficient fissile material together quickly to create a supercritical mass, which was triggered into a rapid fission chain reaction by an initiator that injected neutrons into the mass. The result was the explosive release of the binding nuclear energy. The simplest design used a gun assembly to fire one subcritical mass, termed a bullet, into a second subcritical mass, the target, to create a supercritical mass. The gun-assembly weapon used uranium-235 as fuel and was the design of the “Little Boy” bomb dropped

United States. The Soviet nuclear weapons project continued throughout the war and afterward. Assisted by information provided by an active espionage network in the United States and Great Britain and the contributions of captured German scientists, the Soviets exploded a nuclear device on August 29, 1949.

Only the Americans, assisted by British, Canadian, and émigré scientists, were successful in developing an atomic bomb during the war. The perception of a significant German scientific capability, reinforced by intelligence reports of progress in nuclear matters, was a strong motivation for the British and American research efforts. In the United States, émigré scientists, including Leo Szilard and Enrico Fermi, were key participants in and advocates of nuclear research. In August 1939, Albert Einstein wrote a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt that drew attention to the potential of the concept and gained increased government support for the American scientific research effort.

The U.S. government accelerated its

on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The second approach used an implosion technique and plutonium-239 as the fuel. The implosion design used shaped conventional high-explosive charges to compress a subcritical mass into a denser mass that became supercritical. The implosion design was used for the first atomic test explosion on July 16, 1945, when a device named “Gadget” was detonated at the Trinity Site on the Alamogordo Bombing Range in New Mexico. The “Fat Man” bomb dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945 was also an implosion design.

The two bomb designs included significant emphasis on safety. In addition to designed safety and arming procedures, key parts of the bombs were not inserted until after the B-29s of the 509th Composite Group took off from their base on Tinian Island. This procedure was intended to prevent a full nuclear explosion if an accident occurred, although the Little Boy design still had significant inherent safety problems. Both bombs used radar altimeters for fusing and had a barometric altimeter as a backup.

The effects of nuclear weapons are generally described in terms of a comparable amount of thousands of tons of conventional explosives, kilotons, of yield. The “Little Boy” bomb was estimated to have the explosive power of 15 kilotons and the “Fat Man” bomb 21 kilotons. This description does not fully describe the effects of these weapons, as in a normal bomb design approximately half of the yield was produced in blast energy, approximately one third of the energy was thermal radiation, and the remainder was released in the form of radiation.

The decision to use atomic weapons against Japan remains one of the most enduring issues of World War II. Several scientists of the Manhattan Project, as well as senior American military and civilian leaders, expressed doubts about the necessity of using the bombs. Many of these figures, as well as later critics, contended that alternatives existed beyond just the two of the use of the bombs against Japanese cities or a massive invasion of Japan itself. The Manhattan Project itself, followed by the postwar decisions to try to maintain an atomic monopoly and to develop an extensive nuclear arsenal, would form the foundation of a dramatically greater concern for secrecy and control of information on the part of the U.S. government.

Jerome V. Martin

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War II); Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Cartoonists. See Mauldin, Bill

Censorship (World War II)

Every nation involved in World War II applied censorship—the review, editing, and/or suppression of information—to some degree. But exactly what was censored and how it was censored varied from country to country. Totalitarian Germany and the Soviet Union generally manipulated the news by completely controlling the newspapers and radio stations: citizens normally knew only what their governments decided they should know. German Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, for example, rigidly controlled the flow of news to the German people. The governments of Italy and Japan held similar powers and used them frequently, but there were also surprising instances when newspapers were able

to criticize those governments without severe repercussions. In Great Britain, the wartime government preferred to enforce censorship through prior restraint by creating a detailed censorship code and having government employees enforce it by carefully reviewing the contents of all news before it could be published or broadcast. Most of the Commonwealth nations followed suit, creating censorship codes and enforcing them as Britain did.

The U.S. system of wartime censorship also employed written censorship codes, but the government enforced these codes in a less intrusive way. This unique system of “voluntary self-censorship” was created just after Pearl Harbor. President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided that American censorship should begin with separate spheres for military information and domestic news. Thus, the U.S. Army and Navy kept control of their



A page from the notebook of Robert C. Miller, United Press correspondent, has parts removed after being subjected to Naval censorship in 1942. (Library of Congress)

information by such traditional expedients as editing the mail of military personnel (the extent varied widely from unit to unit) and issuing very general press releases. In the field, the army and navy required American correspondents to agree to specific rules or be banned from combat theaters. Military censors also reviewed the copy written by correspondents, which had to be approved before it could be transmitted to their home offices.

For the most part, correspondents accepted military censorship without protest. At one point, virtually the entire press corps in Sicily voluntarily suppressed the story about Lieutenant General George S. Patton slapping two soldiers. Writer John Steinbeck, who spent about five months in Europe as a war correspondent, remembered that he and his colleagues censored themselves more vigorously than did the military.

For domestic news, Roosevelt created the Office of Censorship. This body was similar to the Creel Committee of World War I, which had developed a general censorship code that the media then pledged to follow. However, knowing how American reporters and editors had resented George Creel's heavy-handed approach, Roosevelt shrewdly selected Byron Price, lead editor of the Associated Press, to head his new office. Price, in consultation with a censorship operating board composed of representatives of several federal agencies, handled the press fairly by applying the new censorship codes for the press and for radio news in a consistent manner.

Neither of the codes was very long, and the details were deliberately somewhat vague. Price preferred to ask editors to guide their own actions by asking themselves, "Is this information I would like to have if I were the enemy?" This appeal to patriotism worked well, for throughout the war editors tended to censor their agencies' stories so heavily that Price's staff and the volunteer monitors who reviewed local newspaper stories for the office often suggested that deleted information could be returned to the text.

The most serious challenge to censorship came in June 1942, when Stanley Johnston, a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune*, gained access to a confidential navy communiqué based on the navy's ability to read Japan's naval codes. From this information, Johnston wrote a story revealing that the U.S. Navy had advance information about the Japanese attack on Midway. This scoop, which the *Chicago Tribune* published without submitting it to Price's censors, threatened to expose U.S. code-breaking operations. Outraged at the harm this could have done to the war in the Pacific, the Department of Justice prepared a case against the newspaper for violating the Espionage Act. In the end, however, the government dropped the matter, partly because the story had not contravened the existing censorship code but largely because a public trial would only further jeopardize the code-breaking secret. Fortunately for the Allies, the Japanese apparently were not aware of the story.

The censorship code was then revised and reissued with greater restrictions. The main impact of the incident seems to have made most editors even more cooperative in censoring their own stories. By 1944, a few reporters had picked up gleanings about the purpose of the top-secret Manhattan Project, yet all of them kept quiet. The fact that one of these reporters was the notorious whistle-blower Drew Pearson only underscores how readily the media accepted the need for wartime censorship.

Throughout the war, most of the Office of Censorship's 15,000 employees were not battling with the press but instead were monitoring the vast amount of mail, cables,

and telephone calls that went overseas, seeking to keep information from falling into the wrong hands. As had the media, American citizens accepted this censorship without great protest. Indeed, few Americans seemed to complain about censorship at all, which was very different from the way they groused about rationing, taxes, shortages, or many of the other restrictions that the war had placed on their freedoms.

Even after 1945, there was remarkably little criticism of wartime censorship, in marked contrast to the complaints that followed the war in Britain and elsewhere. These attitudes shed light on popular American views of the emergency in the early months after Pearl Harbor. They also suggest that Byron Price had been right when he told President Roosevelt that he would get more cooperation from Americans by asking them to help him rather than telling them what to do.

Terry Shoptaugh

SEE ALSO Atomic Bomb; Correspondents (World War II); Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press; Office of War Information

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Clandestine Radio

Clandestine radio refers to covert, unidentified, and misidentified broadcast operations. In propaganda terminology, politically motivated radio operations that claim to be broadcast by enemy forces but are in reality opposing enemy efforts are known as “black” propaganda. “Grey” propaganda refers to operations conducted by unknown, unattributed or misattributed operators. During WWII, the severity and reach of security forces such as the Gestapo in Germany made “black” operations very difficult to conduct. Since measures of effectiveness were not uniformly documented and varying accounts of radio operations’ successes are recorded, it is difficult to factually identify the impact of clandestine radio. Overall, due to the difficulty in measuring effectiveness, the importance of clandestine radio during WWII remains contested.

During WWII, British Clandestine Radio Operations primarily originated with the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) organization. The PWE included staff from a range of groups such as the Special Operations Executive (SOE), the Ministry of Information, and the British Broadcasting Service (BBC). The PWE also worked to develop newspapers and leaflets for dissemination in continental Europe (see Pamphlets [World War II]). The

PWE developed several clandestine stations during WWII, including *Gustav Siegfried Eins*, *Soldantensender Calais*, and *Kurzwellender Atlantik*. Medium wave radio bands were most commonly used, although *Kurzwellender Atlantik* was a shortwave station and capable of being received at great distances. It is notable that *Soldantensender Calais'* broadcasts were commonly reprinted and disseminated in a companion newspaper, *Nachtriden Fur Die Truppe*, directed to German troops. The PWE sought to utilize known facts to strengthen the credibility of its messaging in both radio and written media. Nazi propaganda, conversely, did not emphasize credibility to the extent of Allied sponsored propaganda.

The Nazi organization, the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, also created clandestine radio stations that sought to undermine public morale in occupied territory and especially Great Britain. The program "Germany Calling" was one program the Nazis developed, using a series of announcers who were derogatorily known as "Lord Haw-Haw" by British listeners. One of these "Lord Haw-Haw" broadcasters for the Nazis, William Joyce, was a known member of the British Union of Fascists and was later tried and executed for treason. A great deal of propaganda, regardless of origin, was produced and consumed in the form of news broadcasts and, depending on the source, contained significant inaccuracies and political tirades.

In the Pacific Theater, Radio Tokyo broadcast the "Orphan Ann" segments by the infamous "Tokyo Rose" broadcaster. Like the "Lord Haw-Haw" persona, "Tokyo Rose" was a series of individuals who broadcast under that call sign. Due to the geographic realities of the Pacific Theater, Allied broadcasts were limited when compared to Imperial Japanese broadcasts. Allied broadcasts did exist, such as the counterpoint to "Orphan Ann," the "Tokyo Rose" program and radio broadcasting platforms, including ship-borne transmitters that were operated by the U.S. Army and Navy.

Nathaniel Moir

SEE ALSO Propaganda; Radio (World War II)

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Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press

The Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters and the Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press were a series of guidelines for the "voluntary" censorship of print and radio journalists during World War II. Prior to U.S. entry into the war, newspapers had been asked to refrain from publishing any information that would aid

a potential enemy. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, voluntary censorship was codified via the December 18, 1941 War Powers Act.

Both the Army and the Navy had already developed blueprints for media censorship in case the United States should enter the war. After Pearl Harbor, the FBI assumed control of all media traffic entering and leaving the United States, and 11 days later, with the passage of the War Powers Act on December 18, Congress created the Office of Censorship, naming Byron Price, at the time the executive news director of the Associated Press, as its director.

Under Price's leadership, the Office of Censorship established the Code of Wartime Practices, which provided for voluntary censorship of news related to troop strength and movement, plane and ship construction and movement, war production, armaments, fortifications, photographs, and maps. Even such things as weather forecasts during baseball games were banned. The code also extended to advertisements. After examining advertisements that appeared in mass media, the Federal Trade Commission forwarded offenders to the office for punishment.

Despite the government's fears, after Pearl Harbor the press was by and large extremely supportive of the war effort and was willing to self-censor. Media coverage of the war primarily focused on human interest without providing gory battlefield details or operational data. The positive slant helped to keep morale high on the home front and proved ultimately to be good for sales as well.

Keith Murphy

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War II); Correspondents (World War II); Office of War Information

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Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

Established in May 1940 at the prompting of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Committee to Defend America (CDA) was a private organization dedicated to assisting Britain and France by providing American support, both moral and material. The Committee was the most prominent pro-Allied lobbying organization in the United States prior to American intervention in World War II. The Committee developed from an earlier 1939 lobbying group that had helped to bring about changes in American neutrality legislation permitting Allied purchases in the United States. Headed by William Allen

White, a prominent Kansas journalist, the CDA's organizing committee recruited 650 prominent Americans to join and form local committee chapters. Around 600 such groups eventually existed nationwide, their estimated membership totaling between 6,000 and 20,000 people.

Some CDA members favored outright intervention in the war, but publicly, the organization sought only to aid the Allies, short of going to war—a circumspect stance that was made particularly politic in the bitterly fought 1940 presidential election, in which foreign affairs and peace were major issues.

Supposedly “one step ahead” of the Roosevelt administration, CDA leaders worked closely with pro-Allied officials, including Roosevelt, Secretary of War Henry Lewis Stimson, and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. Indeed, measures that CDA representatives proposed to the government—for example, increased American naval protection for convoys bound for Britain, enhanced material aid, and extended wartime protective zones—often originated within the administration. These tactics enabled the government to claim it was responding to popular pressure. CDA officials also rallied popular and congressional support for government initiatives, including the 1940 destroyers-for-bases deal with Britain, the introduction of Selective Service conscription, and 1941 Lend-Lease legislation. By mid-1941, with the election past, Roosevelt increasingly took executive action on foreign issues, which decreased the CDA's significance. After Pearl Harbor, the CDA disbanded.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO America First Committee; Fight for Freedom (Century Group); Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Concentration Camps, German

During World War II, Germany established a number of different types of concentration camps. They may be grouped as penal, transit, labor, or extermination centers. Most served more than one purpose; that is, they were typically both penal and labor. But all of the camps saw brutality and merciless loss of life, whether as the result of disease, starvation, torture, exposure to the elements, forced labor, medical experiments, or outright execution. All major camps had subcamps that were sources of slave labor. Collectively, the camps numbered in the thousands.



This June 1958 image shows buildings behind a defunct high voltage electric fence of the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz I, Poland, which was liberated by the Russians, January 1945. Auschwitz Camp I was the largest of the four camps here and housed the majority of the prisoners. (AP/Wide World Photos)

The Nazis opened their first concentration camp at Dachau, near Munich, in March 1933, only two months after Adolf Hitler came to power. This camp was the model for the many others to follow. It operated continuously until April 1945, when the U.S. Army liberated the inmates. Originally intended for the temporary detention of political prisoners, the camps became permanent institutions manned by the Schutzstaffel (SS) Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head detachments). In these camps, the more sadistic guards, of whom there was no shortage in the SS, were more or less free to inflict indescribable cruelties on the inmates without fear of disciplinary action. The camp system gradually evolved from penal camps to the infamous death mills of Auschwitz, Belzec, Chelmno, Maidanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

At first, the camps housed political enemies. Foremost were Communists and Social Democrats. Jews were initially targeted insofar as they belonged to these other groups, but they were considered “spoilers of German blood” and quickly became the primary victims. In time, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and the mentally ill all fell prey to the Nazis and their collaborators. By 1939, seven large camps existed, with numerous subcamps. These seven large camps were Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, and Ravensbrück. The Nazis found accomplices among the local population throughout the occupied areas.

On arrival at a concentration camp, men and women were segregated and taken off for “medical inspection.” There, they were forced to strip naked and were deloused. Heads were shorn, the hair retained to use for manufacturing mattresses and upholstering furniture. Following a cursory medical inspection, those pronounced fit to work were given clothes, had numbers tattooed on their arms, and were assigned to barracks where they would exist until they became too weak to work any longer. Those judged unfit to work were taken off in another direction to be executed. The sign over the camp gate reading *Arbeit macht Frei* (work brings freedom) meant the work of slave labor and freedom only in the release of death.

For those who passed the medical inspection, life in the camp was defined by deliberate degradation, with every effort expended to break them physically, mentally, and morally. Barracks were so overcrowded that there often was not enough room for everyone to lie down at once. Buckets were frequently the only sanitary facilities provided, and there were never enough of these. Barracks were unheated, and in many, there was no cover provided, even in winter. Nourishment was totally inadequate. Breakfast usually consisted of a cup of ersatz coffee and a small portion of stale or moldy bread. Lunch was typically a cup of poorly fortified soup. And dinner routinely consisted of a small serving of bread, perhaps some potatoes or cabbage, and putrid tea.

Punishment in the camps was frequent and brutal, and it often occurred without justification. Often, the inmates were assembled to witness punishments and executions, and prisoners were sometimes placed in solitary confinement in total darkness in cells where they could neither stand nor sit nor lie for days or weeks. At Buchenwald, Belsen, and elsewhere, medical experiments were carried out on unwilling victims, who, if they survived, were often maimed for life.

A number of German industries—such as I. G. Farben, the giant chemical firm that also manufactured the Zyklon B gas employed in the death camps—were attracted to Auschwitz and other camps with the promise of cheap slave labor. At Auschwitz, I. G. Farben built an enormous factory to process synthetic oil and rubber in order to take advantage of the slave labor available. Work was physically exhausting, and beatings for any breach of the rules were common. At least 25,000 people were worked to death at I. G. Auschwitz.

All inmates had to wear insignia (colored triangles) revealing the reason for their incarceration. There were variations, but typically, Jews wore two superimposed triangles that formed a yellow star. Common criminals wore green. Political prisoners had red. Persons considered asocial (e.g., Gypsies and vagrants) wore black. Homosexuals wore pink and Jehovah’s Witnesses purple.

The Nazi concentration camp system took the lives of millions and was the principal instrument of the Holocaust.

Dewey A. Browder

SEE ALSO Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Propaganda

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Correspondents (World War II)

Coverage of World War II by American correspondents combined a high degree of journalistic integrity and professionalism with significant cooperation between the press and the military.

American journalism invested heavily in its coverage of the war. The U.S. military accredited nearly 1,700 journalists during the course of the war, with some 500 working abroad at any given time. The largest bureaus belonged to press associations, such as the Associated Press and United Press, and radio networks CBS, NBC, ABC, and Mutual Broadcasting. Major newspapers also deployed large staffs, most prominent among them being *The New York Times* and the *New York Herald-Tribune*, and the *Daily News, Tribune*, and *Sun* in Chicago. *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek* magazines also had significant contingents of reporters and photographers overseas.

Some of the most distinguished names of 20th century American journalism covered World War II, and to point out any by name is not meant to slight the contribution of the many others who worked diligently, often at risk to their own lives. Among the early correspondents was the Chicago *Daily News*' Leland Stowe, who covered the first days of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. Hal Boyle of the AP won a Pulitzer Prize for his work, as did *The New York Times*' military analyst Hanson Baldwin and Homer Bigart of the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

Women journalists continued to carve out a place for themselves as war correspondents. Peggy Hull, who had covered World War I, was back working for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. Margaret Bourke-White, one of the creators of photojournalism, had already established herself through extensive work at home and abroad by the time the United States entered the war. Working for *Life* magazine, she shot some of the most compelling photographs of the war, especially her coverage of the liberation of the death camp at Buchenwald by American troops.

Radio came into its own as a news medium during World War II. William L. Shirer chronicled the nature of Hitler's Germany from Berlin for CBS. Later, Edward R. Murrow's broadcasts from Allied bombers brought the war into American homes with an unprecedented immediacy and intimacy, also for CBS. George Hicks of ABC provided an iconic account of the early moments of D-Day from a recording made on a landing barge just off the Normandy beach.

Among all these outstanding journalists, Ernie Pyle of the Scripps-Howard chain is generally acknowledged as the most respected. Certainly, he was the best loved by the

American soldier, whose experiences he shared and described in a style accessible yet powerful in its simplicity. After covering action in Europe, Pyle went to the Pacific in 1944, and was killed by a Japanese sniper during the Okinawa campaign in April 1945. Pyle was one of 37 American journalists to die while covering World War II.

The relationship between correspondents and the military was not without its tensions. For example, reporters covering the Pacific War felt pressure to portray General Douglas MacArthur in a favorable light, and stories of problems with supply shortages and mismanagement of military operations were killed. However, under the leadership of Byron Price, the well-respected executive editor of the AP, the Office of Censorship developed a largely cooperative relationship with reporters. Vital information, such as the work on an atomic bomb and preparations for D-Day, was held in confidence by reporters for significant periods of time. This cooperation was made possible by Price's understanding of the needs of the working journalist and, more importantly, the overwhelming consensus and commitment to victory among the American public and press during World War II.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War II); D-Day; Gellhorn, Martha; Office of War Information; Pyle, Ernest Taylor "Ernie"; Radio (World War II)

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D-Day

"D-Day" is a common military term used to denote the launch date of an operation. However, the term has become inextricably linked with June 6, 1944, the date upon which the Allied forces invaded Adolf Hitler's "Fortress Europe," marking a new stage of World War II in Europe.

The need to open a so-called "second front" had been clear priority from the time that Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. From that time, the Russian people bore the full force of the German military, paying a horrendous price in military and civilian casualties; estimates of Russian dead during the course of the war range from a conservative 10 million to as high as 20 million. However, even as Soviet leader Josef Stalin continued to push his other partners in the "Big Three," U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the latter two disagreed between themselves as to the timing and location of an invasion. Churchill, seeking as much as anything to place an Allied force between Hitler and British-controlled oil fields in the Middle East, argued for an invasion into Southeastern Europe—the Continent's "soft underbelly." Roosevelt, more sympathetic to the plight of the Russian people and



U.S. infantrymen wade through the surf as they land at Normandy in the days following the Allies' June 1944, D-Day invasion of occupied France. An allied ship loaded with supplies and reinforcements waits on the horizon. Photo by Bert Brandt, war pool correspondent. (AP/Wide World Photos)

already emerging as the mediator of the Allies' competing interests, argued for an invasion across the English Channel. The two compromised with the November 1942 invasion of North Africa. This operation, followed by Allied invasions of Sicily and the Italian peninsula, drained vital resources, delaying the eventual invasion of France from summer 1943, which Roosevelt had promised Stalin, by a full year.

Once preparations commenced, they were carried out with great earnestness. British and American air forces began a bombing campaign against German military and civilian facilities that went on virtually around the clock. England became a huge supply depot and training base, with nearly 3 million men eventually a part of the invasion force. The Allies also carried out extensive and largely successful efforts to spread misinformation, including building entire fake armies around U.S. General George S. Patton, to convince Hitler that the invasion would occur not at Normandy, but at the Pas de Calais, the Channel's narrowest point.

In a sign of the cooperation that marked most American military-press relations during World War II, key correspondents had been given some advance indications of the invasion, if only in the broadest of strokes. When D-Day came, print and radio journalists accompanied the troops ashore and soon began getting information back to London.

However, because of Allied censorship of reporting of continuing military operations, those early reports were sketchy and vague at best, and could not provide information about the locations of specific units or about casualties—the news that anxious parents, wives, and friends craved most.

Within hours of the initial landings early on June 6, Allied troops had begun to punch holes in the German defenses. In the days and weeks that followed, more troops and supplies poured through, and the race to Berlin would be on. The people of the Allied nations both hailed and welcomed the Normandy invasion's success. Even the cynical Josef Stalin called it a feat unsurpassed in the history of war.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War II); Correspondents (World War II); Eisenhower, Dwight D.

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Fight for Freedom (Century Group)

An interventionist U.S. pro-Allied lobbying organization established before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Fight for Freedom was formally launched in New York City on April 19, 1941 by prominent Americans who believed the United States was effectively already at war with Germany and should behave accordingly. Its members found the noninterventionist stance adopted by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies (CDA), the other leading pro-Allied group, inadequate. Fight for Freedom advocated measures liable to cause outright war with Germany, such as attacks by American ships on German naval patrols.

Fight for Freedom developed from an earlier, amorphous group of about 30 well-connected Americans who met, beginning in June 1940, at the Century Club in New York. Among them were: Francis Pickens Miller of the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations; Whitney H. Shepardson, also prominent in the council; Lewis W. Douglas, a former congressman; Admiral William H. Standley, a past chief of naval operations; and William Joseph Donovan, who was later head of the Office of Strategic Services.

Allegations are exaggerated that British officials effectively created and manipulated Fight for Freedom. Nevertheless, Century Group members undoubtedly enjoyed close ties with representatives of the New York-based British Information Service, the intelligence organization British Security Coordination, and Britain's Washington embassy. As the United States moved closer to war with Germany in 1941, Fight for Freedom initiatives

overshadowed CDA ventures, and the two organizations discussed a merger. After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Fight for Freedom's members accepted a wide variety of wartime assignments and the organization, its mission accomplished, soon disbanded.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO America First Committee; Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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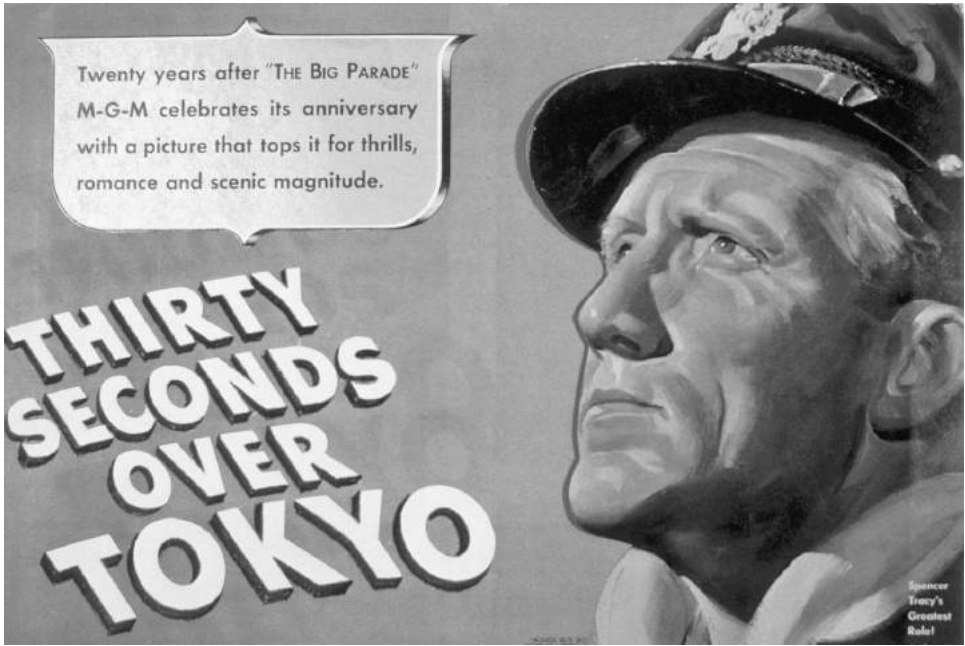
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Film (World War II)

By the beginning of World War II, the governments of the nations involved certainly had grasped the proven persuasive power of film, as well as its potential for motivating or manipulating their populations. Whether employed in narrow focus for military training and indoctrination or more widely as documentaries, newsreels, spectacles, dramas, and comedies produced for mass consumption, the medium played a journeyman role during the war years in promoting and sustaining sentiments of national unity and patriotism.

Men and women in military service on all sides of the conflict received intensive practical training, and as a matter of course, they also participated in activities designed to increase morale, unit cohesion, and unity of purpose. For many, this preparation included viewing hours of films both instructional and inspirational. In the United States, for example, training films ran the gamut from featurettes or “shorts” on personal hygiene, literacy promotion, and knowing the enemy to detailed elucidations of artillery, aircraft, or naval component operation and maintenance—even a 1942 U.S. Army series on horsemanship for cavalry recruits. The Disney Studios weighed in between 1942 and 1945 with dozens of animated and live-action educational shorts remembered with varying degrees of fondness by many World War II veterans.

In the years leading to war, film studios in the United States, which led world production, began addressing the larger political environment beyond its borders. Hollywood, with its influential Jewish contingent, reflected a concern with the growing Nazi and Fascist threat in Europe. For example, Charles Chaplin portrayed a buffoonish Adolf Hitler-like character in his *The Great Dictator* (1940). After the United States entered



Hollywood signed on to the war effort during World War II, making films that celebrated American heroism. *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*, released in 1944, depicted the April 1942 raid on Tokyo led by Lt. Col. James Doolittle, played in the film by Spencer Tracy. (MGM/Photofest)

the war, the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt mobilized Hollywood with creation of the Office of War Information (OWI) in 1942. Directors and movie stars alike assisted the war effort in a wide variety of ways, from production of training films to starring roles in an increasing number of war epics. Director Frank Capra, famous for his screwball comedies, created an important seven-part documentary series intended for both military and civilian audiences, *Why We Fight* (1942–1944). The studios steadily turned out films that portrayed the heroic efforts of the American armed services, including Lewis Seiler's *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943), Delmar Daves' *Destination Tokyo* (1943), and Mervyn Le Roy's *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944). While Disney labored to produce training films, it also released a popular cartoon in 1943 called *Der Fuehrer's Face* or *Donald Duck in Nutzi Land*. Warner Brothers, on the other hand, routinely spiced theater fare from 1939 through 1945 with a cavalcade of propaganda cartoons featuring Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck. More complex, studied treatment of the war's personal impact was offered in American films such as Michael Curtiz's *Casablanca* (1943) and Alfred Hitchcock's *Lifeboat* (1944). As the war ground on toward its end, grimmer depictions of real combat emerged from Hollywood, among them John Ford's *They Were Expendable* (1945). Hollywood stars were also prominently active in bond rallies, United Service Organizations (USO) tours, and Red Cross events.

Before 1937, mainstream British cinema addressed little in the way of international politics or foreign policy, but with the onset of war in 1939—and under heavy government

censorship via the Ministry of Information—Britain began one of the most aggressive propaganda film efforts of any warring power. Newsreels abounded, and dramatized documentaries such as *Target for Tonight* (1941) and *Western Approaches* (1944) had widespread and enthusiastic audiences. Feature films such as Penrose Tennyson's *Convoy* (1941), Anthony Asquith's *Freedom Radio* (1941), David Lean's *This Happy Breed* (1944), and Asquith's RAF tribute *The Way to the Stars* (1945) personified the resolute British determination to see the war through to victory.

The Soviet film industry, in the firm grip of Stalinist censors by the mid-1930s, produced works preceding the war that glorified traditional Russian and Soviet heroes such as Peter the Great and socialist-realist author Maxim Gorky, balanced evenly by a stream of purely escapist fare. Director Sergei Eisenstein anticipated the coming war with Germany in his epic *Alexander Nevsky* (1938). Fridrikh Ermler directed perhaps the most emblematic Soviet narrative of the Great Patriotic War, *She Defends the Motherland* (1943), which, along with Mark Donskoi's *The Rainbow* (1944), celebrated Soviet women partisans. Unlike in other major Allied and Axis film industries, wartime Soviet production focused primarily on the war at hand, departing from that agenda only to present historical dramas or filmed versions of opera.

With the German occupation of France in 1940, French directors and actors found work in the Vichy-governed free zone or with the German-controlled industry in Paris. Filmmakers were safest producing escapist comedies, musicals, and period dramas such as *Children of Paradise* (1943–1945), which nonetheless managed to boost the independent-French spirit. Postliberation film production at first concentrated on documentaries and features detailing the heroic French Resistance. Within several years, however, the war theme became submerged for a time as postwar French film reestablished its place in world cinema.

Italy, like France, endured wartime division, but one of both territory *and* time, marked by the September 1943 armistice and the subsequent military occupation by Germany of its former Axis ally. Since 1926, the Fascist Party had enjoyed a monopoly on the production of documentaries and newsreels, but it displayed ambivalence in using feature films as convenient propaganda vehicles. Only about 5 percent of the more than 700 films produced in Italy between 1930 and 1943 overtly championed Italian accomplishments or adventures in World War I.

As the Nazis consolidated their power during the 1930s, film became the medium of choice for promoting their government's point of view to the German people. By 1937, the National Socialist Party exercised total control over the German film industry, and five years later no private film production companies remained in Germany. Joseph Goebbels took charge of monitoring the film industry, advising executives as to what constituted a "good" film and banning outright several dozen films he believed ran counter to Third Reich values. Of the more than 1,000 films made in Germany under the aegis of the Nazi regime, however, fewer than 15 percent constituted pure propaganda. These were powerfully conceived, such as Leni Riefenstahl's masterful prewar *Triumph of the Will* (1935).

Japan's conquest of China spawned scores of films in the 1930s that lionized the military. By 1936, the film industry operated under the Media Section of the Japanese

Imperial Army. Strict laws enacted in 1939 governed the production of national policy films designed to portray the dedication and bravery of Japanese warriors and their supporters on the home front, among them Tomotaka Tasaka's *Mud and Soldiers* (1939) and Yamamoto Kajiro's *The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malaya* (1942).

Since the war's end in 1945, filmmakers in countries touched directly or indirectly by World War II have examined and reexamined its details and have tried to express its lasting political or personal effects throughout the world. Immediately after the war, films such as William Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) depicted the trauma of servicemen returning to civilian life in the United States. Heroism and bravery characterized Allan Dwan's *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), and Henry King's *Twelve o'Clock High* (1949). More complex in tone were Fred Zinneman's *From Here to Eternity* (1953) and David Lean's *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957). The 1960s and 1970s brought several epic historical dramas to the screen, including *The Longest Day* (Andrew Marton, Ken Annakin, and Bernhard Wicki, 1962), Franklin Schaffner's *Patton* (1970), and the Japanese-American collaboration *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (Masuda Toshio, Fukasaku Kinji, Ray Kellogg, and Richard Fleischer, 1970). As the 21st century approached, the horrors of combat in World War II, which has been called "the good war," were startlingly revisited to great realistic effect, notably in Terrence Malick's *The Thin Red Line* (1998) and Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (1999).

The Soviet Union's nearly Pyrrhic victory in World War II left an indelible mark on the USSR. Such was the collective trauma of coping with more than 20 million deaths that memorializing the Great Patriotic War became, in effect, the secular state religion. Film would become indispensable in the solemnization of the immense national loss, but in the immediate postwar period, Soviet studios were hamstrung by a general ideological retrenchment that oppressively slowed film production. Emerging from this situation was a film expressing the apotheosis of the Stalinist cult of personality blended with the glory of the recent victory over Germany, Mikhail Chiaureli's two-part *The Fall of Berlin* (1949–1950). In the years after Josef Stalin's death in 1953, a cultural thaw gradually yielded more expressive and complex war films, such as Mikhail Kalatozov's *The Cranes Are Flying* (1957). The stagnant Leonid Brezhnev years of the late 1960s to the early 1980s produced forgettable rote panegyrics to the war's memory, but standing out due to its massive scale, length (five parts), and sheer volume was Iurii Ozerov's epic *Liberation* (1972). Even with the artistic freedom afforded them beginning in the late 1980s by Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost, the war still loomed in Ozerov's *Stalingrad* (1989) and Mikhail Ptashuk's *August 1944* (2000).

France and Italy evinced complex and ambivalent political and artistic landscapes as a result of their war experiences. The war's compromised memory was expressed in haunting films from French director Alain Resnais, such as *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1959) and *Muriel* (1963), and by Italian directors Roberto Rossellini's *Open City* (1945), Carlo Borghesio's satirical *How I Lost the War* (1947), and Rossellini's grim *Paisa* (1946) and nihilistic *Germany, Year Zero* (1948).

Germany and Japan shared in their utter defeat and subsequent occupation by the Allies, and their film industries came under strict censorship. In Japan, copies of more

than 200 films on topics forbidden by the Americans were rounded up and burned in 1946; similar German films not already expropriated by the Soviets were likewise confiscated. In East Germany, the base of the film industry, Wolfgang Staudte depicted the postwar situation in *The Murderers Are Among Us* (1946). West Germans were held to a strict regimen of Allied reeducation, under which depressing melodramas like Josef von Baky's *The Sky Above Us* (1947) found approval, but U.S. imports like *Gone with the Wind* were banned. In West Germany in 1951, Robert Siodmak exposed the Gestapo in *The Devil Strikes at Midnight* (1957), and Bernhard Wicki questioned the war in *The Bridge* (1959). Ichikawa Kon directed moving Japanese war stories in *The Burmese Harp* (1956) and *Fires on the Plains* (1959), Kumai Kei explored Japanese treatment of American prisoners of war in *The Sea and Poison* (1986), and Japan's nuclear trauma was expressed in Imamura Shohei's *Black Rain* (1989). Perhaps the most outstanding film ever produced about submarine warfare was the German film *Das Boot* (1982), directed by Wolfgang Petersen.

Whether triumphant, tragic, sentimental, dispassionate, or cynical in tone, these postwar films bear witness to the persistence of World War II in collective human memory and the questions the war continues to provoke.

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SEE ALSO Office of War Information; Propaganda; Radio (World War II); War Advertising Council; War Bond Drives

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Foreign Agents Registration Act

The Foreign Agents Registration Act was enacted into law on June 8, 1938 [Chapter 327, 57th Congress; 52 Stat. 631] to restrict distribution of foreign films and publications into the United States, mostly to counter the growing influence of propaganda from communist, fascist, and national socialist (Nazi) governments that circulated within the United States. Section 4 of the act contained the provisions relating to the filing and labeling of political propaganda by persons required to register under the Act. Its original title was the McCormick Act, in recognition of its primary sponsor, Rep. John W. McCormick (D-Massachusetts).

The Act requires people and organizations who are under foreign control (“agents of a foreign principal”) to register with the Department of Justice when acting on behalf of foreign interests. This law defines the agent of a foreign principal as someone who:

- Engages in political activities for or in the interests of a foreign principal;
- Acts in a public relations capacity for a foreign principal;
- Solicits or dispenses any thing of value within the United States for a foreign principal; and
- Represents the interests of a foreign principal before any agency or official of the U.S. government.

The original intent of these regulations applied only to political propaganda transmitted in the U.S. mails or by any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce for or in the interests of the foreign principal. Individuals and organizations that disseminated propaganda or participated in related activities on behalf of another country had to file public reports with the U.S. Department of Justice’s Criminal Division. Although there are exemptions in the legislation (commercial, religious, scientific, artistic, academic), the act was mainly used to prohibit unlabeled political propaganda (prints, radio broadcasts, telecasts) from coming in, or to limit access to political materials hostile to the United States.

The Act was revised on June 29, 1942, and then amended further on several occasions, the most recent being on July 4, 1966. One of the major purposes of the 1966 amendments was to refocus the Act to protect the public’s right to identify sources of foreign political propaganda. During the 1980s, the act was given a new interpretation by the Reagan Administration when the U.S. Department of Justice tried to label three films produced by the National Film Board of Canada as propaganda. The Justice Department ordered the Film Board to include a disclaimer with the films, two about acid rain and the Oscar-winning “If You Love This Planet,” that the U.S. government considered the films “political propaganda.” Under U.S. law, the Film Board of Canada was required to provide the names of the persons and organizations in the United States who ordered the films. The “political propaganda” label was challenged through the courts by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) but the Supreme Court upheld the decision to label the three Canadian films as “propaganda.”

The term “political propaganda,” which has appeared in previous reports on the administration of FARA, was deleted as a result of passage of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, and replaced by the new term, “informational materials.” (cf. *Meese v. Keene*, 481 U.S. 465 [1987])

Another use of FARA is to target countries out of favor with an administration, such as Venezuela or Iraq during the George W. Bush administration. In the 1960s, the American Zionist Council was found to be engaged in massive violations of FARA by being funded by and acting on behalf of Israel and was ordered by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to register as a foreign agent. The Justice Department reversed those enforcement efforts under pressure from both the Israel lobby and the Johnson administration during its reelection bid.

Controversy regarding lobbying on behalf of Israel continued after the American Zionist Council was reorganized as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), with former Senator William Fulbright and former senior CIA official Victor Marchetti calling for registering the lobby. The issue was renewed in 2004 by the AIPAC espionage scandal.

Another prominent case was that of Samir Vincent, an Iraqi-American businessman who admitted helping Saddam Hussein’s government in the oil-for-food scandal. Vincent was fined \$300,000 and sentenced to probation. He was charged, among other counts, with conspiracy to act as an unregistered agent of a foreign government.

In the six-month period ending December 31, 2008, the Department received 29 new registration statements and terminated 17 registrations. A total of 393 active registrations, representing 547 foreign principals, were on file during the period of July 1, 2008 through December 31, 2008. Individuals acting as officials or employees or rendering assistance to a registrant for or in the interests of the latter’s foreign principal filed 346 new short-form registration statements under the Act, bringing the total short-form registrations to 1,868 during the period of July 1, 2008 through December 31, 2008. There were 61 new agreements with foreign principals reported by agents under the Act during this period.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Propaganda; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Gellhorn, Martha

Martha Gellhorn was a pioneering journalist and activist, whose skill, passion, glamour, and independence made her a celebrity and one of the most important figures in 20th century journalism.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri on November 8, 1908, Gellhorn was the daughter of George Gellhorn, a prominent physician, and Edna Gellhorn, who was a leading advocate for women's suffrage. As Gellhorn herself said, she was the product of a privileged background. She attended a prestigious private school in St. Louis, then Bryn Mawr College in Philadelphia, leaving the latter in 1927 before graduating.

Gellhorn had grown impatient to pursue a career as a journalist, a profession that suited her desire for adventure, independence, and intellectual challenge. Her first work appeared in *The New Republic* in 1927. In 1930, she went to Paris, where she would work for United Press, beginning her long career as a foreign and war correspondent. Over the next four years, she toured Europe, experiencing life in high society but also studying the growing militarism of the Continent as well as the effects of the Great Depression. She also wrote her first book, a novel entitled *What Mad Pursuit*.

She returned to the United States in October 1934. Soon after her return, Marquis Childs, a prominent St. Louis journalist and family friend, introduced her to Harry Hopkins, one of President Franklin Roosevelt's most trusted aides and head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Hopkins was hiring field investigators to examine the plight of America's unemployed and to judge the effectiveness of relief efforts. For nearly a year, Gellhorn chronicled the plight of American workers, eventually losing her job after she encouraged workers in Idaho to riot in order to draw attention to their plight. In the process, however, Gellhorn met President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and the latter would become one of Gellhorn's closest friends and supporters. Her work also formed the basis of her second book, *The Trouble I've Seen*, published in 1936.

That same year, Gellhorn met Ernest Hemingway during a vacation with her mother and brother in Key West. The two connected with each other almost immediately, each finding an intellectual challenge to match the physical attraction. The two soon began living together, and would travel to Spain in 1936–1937 to cover the civil war there, Gellhorn working for *Collier's Weekly*. Gellhorn would remain in Europe, reporting on growing German aggression. In 1940, she and Hemingway married, but he grew to resent Gellhorn's dedication to her work and her success. She covered World War II in both Europe and the Pacific for *Collier's*. On D-Day, she hid aboard a hospital ship, bound for the French coast. She went ashore as a stretcher bearer, gaining a perspective and filing reports denied to Hemingway, who was trapped aboard a landing ship. Hemingway criticized her for not following proper procedure—a compliment to the independent Gellhorn—and would later deny that she had made it ashore. Tired of Hemingway's attempts to control and repress her, Gellhorn told him that she wanted out of the marriage, and they divorced in 1945.

Gellhorn covered the liberation of the Nazi death camp at Dachau in May 1945, an event that would mark a dividing line in her life. Always sensitive to human suffering,

Gellhorn's experience there inspired hatred for Germany and a fierce advocacy for Israel, a perspective that would inform her writing for the remainder of her career.

In early 1946, Gellhorn covered the Indonesian rebellion against Dutch colonial rule, but soon realized that nearly 10 years of covering war had taken an emotional and physical toll on her. She retreated from the world for the next five years, spending much of that time in Mexico, with only the occasional reporting trip. One such trip, to Italy, resulted in her adoption of her son Sandro, or Sandy, as she would call him. While the time in Mexico was a necessary time of recovery, Gellhorn also grew restless at what she deemed a lack of focus in her life. She was in and out of brief relationships, eventually marrying Tom Matthews, the editor-in-chief of *Time*, in 1954. They would divorce in 1964.

In the meantime, Gellhorn returned to work as a reporter, covering a wide variety of topics and locations, including the wars in Vietnam, the Middle East, and Central America for publications such as the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Guardian*. At the age of 81, she reported on the U.S. ouster of Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega.

A few years later, Gellhorn developed cancer, which eventually left her nearly blind and extremely debilitated. On February 15, 1998, at the age of 89, Gellhorn committed suicide in London.

A prolific writer of novels, essays, short stories, in addition to her voluminous work as a reporter, Gellhorn embodied important trends in American journalism. She was, of course, a trailblazer for other women in the field. Contemptuous of the idea that a reporter could remain objective, especially in the face of great suffering, she was also an early example of what has come to be known as advocacy journalism. Yet she never gave over to intellectual dishonesty—she acknowledged her perspectives, but was unfailingly accurate in her reporting.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Correspondents (World War II); D-Day; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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German-American Bund

Fritz Kuhn (1910–1967) was a native German who emigrated to the United States and set up the Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund, largest and most influential of all pro-Nazi organizations in the United States, in 1936 during a period of high national stress. He visited Germany at the time of the 1936 Summer Olympics and met Hitler, who didn't express much enthusiasm for Kuhn. Upon his return to America, Kuhn decided to reinterpret the Nazi's message in the spirit of a "new" Germany. Aside from its admiration for Adolf Hitler and the achievements of Nazi Germany, the German American

Bund program included anti-Semitism, strong anti-Communist sentiments, and the demand that the United States remain neutral in the approaching European conflict.

The German American Bund carried out active propaganda for its causes, published magazines and brochures, organized demonstrations, and maintained a number of both adult and youth camps run like Hitler Youth camps, where Germans could live the vision of a Nazi America, and the Bund youth camps could transform impressionable youth into “little” Nazis. Like their counterparts, much of their political activities involved confrontation, even street battles, with other groups, most notably with Jewish groups. At a February 1939 rally in Madison Square Garden, held on George Washington’s birthday to proclaim the rights of white gentiles, the “true patriots,” there was an estimated crowd of 20,000 who consistently booed President Franklin D. Roosevelt and chanted the Nazi salutation “Heil Hitler.” During Kuhn’s speech, a protestor rushed the stage while demonstrators smoldered outside. In the press coverage the following day, the media used the “Trojan Horse” analogy to describe these simultaneous events. The Bund also cooperated with the “Christian Front” organized by the anti-Semitic broadcasting priest Father Charles Coughlin.

In 1938, Congress passed the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which severely limited Bund activities as did constant demands by both Jewish and non-Jewish Congressional representatives that the Bund be investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), chaired by Martin Dies. The Committee hearings, begun in 1939, showed clear evidence of German American Bund ties to the Nazi government but these investigations ended after Pearl Harbor. The Bund dispersed shortly afterward.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Foreign Agents Registration Act; House Un-American Activities Committee; Propaganda

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German-American Bundists [Motion Picture]

Notes: The History 8mm Documents Project released this film, originally produced by Thorne Films, Boulder Colorado, 1967, that showed Bundist youth camps, meetings, distribution of literature and the George Washington Day celebration with Kuhn as speaker. It was transferred to videotape by Token Media, Richfield, Minnesota, in 2000.

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Nazi Bund Exposed [Motion picture]

Producer: [n.p.] Filmrite Associates. Released by Official Films, 1960.

Notes: Footage from the Sherman Grinberg Film Libraries; discusses the organization of the German-American Bund by Fritz Kuhn in the 1930’s, describing the outdoor camps in various sections of the country, the training of American Storm Troopers,

and the program of hatred and prejudice against Semitism. Explains why the Bund collapsed and Congressman Martin Dies' campaign against the organization.

Notes from *Nazi America: A Secret History* [TV documentary on The History Channel, 1/21/2000].

Ronald W. Johnson. "The German-American Bund and Nazi Germany, 1936–1941." *Studies in History and Society* 6, no. 2 (1975): 31–45.

Holocaust. See Concentration Camps

Intervention. See Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies; Fight for Freedom (Century Group)

Isolationism. See America First Committee

Iwo Jima. See Beech, Keyes

Kuhn, Fritz. See German-American Bund

Manhattan Project. See Atomic Bomb

Mauldin, Bill

William Henry Mauldin, one of America's foremost political cartoonists of the 20th century, created the U.S. Army characters Willie and Joe while serving in the army during World War II. He received the Pulitzer Prize twice during his career for being a self-defined professional "stirrer-upper."



Cartoonist Bill Mauldin's depiction of the everyday life and struggles of the GIs Willie and Joe made him one of the best-known and best-loved figures among American soldiers during World War II. His work won him two Pulitzer Prizes. (Library of Congress)

Mauldin was born in Mountain Park, New Mexico on October 29, 1921. When he was a child, he suffered from rickets, which made it difficult for him to engage in strenuous activity. Mauldin was a spindly child, which made his head look like it was too big for his body. When he was just eight, he overheard one of his father's friends say, "If that were my son, I'd drown him."

Mauldin never forgot that insult; he directed the energy from his anger toward learning to draw. His family soon moved to Phoenix, Arizona, and while he was still in high school, he enrolled in a correspondence cartoon school. Mauldin left high school and moved to Chicago to study at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts. He returned to Phoenix and began selling his drawings to magazines like *Arizona Highways*. During the 1940 gubernatorial campaign in Texas, Mauldin created cartoons for both sides. When it was discovered that he was working for both sides, he liked to recount that he joined the Arizona National Guard to avoid retribution from the Texas candidates.

The Arizona National Guard required no physical, which Mauldin believed he would have failed, and he was accepted. When the National Guard was federalized, he became an enlisted man in the U.S. Army. He scored 140 on his army IQ test and, according to Mauldin, the army did what they do with all the bright enlisted men and gave him KP (kitchen) duty for four months. He was later transferred to the 45th Division in

Oklahoma to draw cartoons, first as a volunteer and then as a staff member of the *45th Division News*. He started drawing cartoons that depicted life during training camp. Once his division was shipped overseas, the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes* started to print Mauldin's work.

Mauldin's cartoons frequently lampooned insensitive drill sergeants, the relationships between enlisted men and officers, and civilians in liberated countries who took advantage of the GIs who freed them by charging them double for meals and drink. He became a hero to his fellow enlisted men. His most memorable characters were Willie and Joe, who represented the world-weary foot soldier. He created Joe's character first, before the Pearl Harbor attack; it was after the attack that Joe met Willie and went through the Italian campaign with him. Mauldin quickly became the nemesis of General George S. Patton, whom he skewered frequently. Patton constantly threatened to throw him in jail, but as Mauldin was fond of saying, he had "too many low-ranking friends" standing in his way for the general to take any action. A year after he won his first Pulitzer Prize, Mauldin and his creations appeared on the cover of *Time*, and he returned to the United States a celebrity.

Once back in the United States, Mauldin was lost for a bit, but he eventually managed to get a job covering the Korean War for *Collier's* magazine. He wasn't happy with his work; he had revitalized the Willie and Joe characters and made Joe a war correspondent writing to Willie stateside. In 1958, Mauldin became the editorial cartoonist for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the following year, he won his second Pulitzer Prize for his depiction of Boris Pasternak in the Gulag. In 1962, he joined the *Chicago Sun-Times*, where he took on segregationists, red-baiters, and politicians. Mauldin's most memorable—and imitated—editorial cartoon came after the assassination of John F. Kennedy; he featured Abraham Lincoln, as portrayed in the Lincoln Memorial, stooped with his head in his hands.

Mauldin revisited the war experience when he visited his son during the Vietnam War in 1965, and during the Persian Gulf War, he visited U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia. His health was in decline, and he was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease. Mauldin spent the remainder of his life in a nursing home. While there, Mauldin was contacted by Jay Gruenfeld, a World War II veteran who, once he had found out about Mauldin's disease, contacted veterans' groups and columnists to urge others to contact the cartoonist. It was not long before Mauldin began receiving hundreds of cards and letters daily from former GIs with stories of how much his work had meant to them.

Mauldin died on January 22, 2003 in Newport Beach, California.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Correspondents (World War II); Pyle, Ernest Taylor "Ernie"

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Office of Strategic Services

The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was a U.S. intelligence agency created during World War II. It planned and engaged in covert operations including espionage, guerilla warfare, psychological warfare, and the spread of propaganda in order to support the U.S. military victory over the Axis powers. After World War II, the government dismantled the OSS, but parts of it evolved into the Central Intelligence Agency.

OSS was created on June 13, 1942 and placed under the leadership of William Donovan, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Coordinator of Information and one of America's leading propagandists. The role of OSS was deliberately and vaguely created to protect President Roosevelt if the organization failed. OSS's many rivals, including the Federal Bureau of Intelligence, army intelligence (G-2), naval intelligence (ONI), and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs essentially limited OSS's role to the European Theatre, covert operations, and "black propaganda." Even the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who controlled OSS, initially distrusted the civilian-led organization.

From the beginning, OSS leadership believed that the end (American victory) justified the means. Lies, subversion, and "black propaganda" were essential in undermining enemy morale. The OSS Morale Operation Branch enlisted highly trained civilian personnel to design news sheets, leaflets, and newspapers for distribution to Axis soldiers and civilians. Written materials spread false information, gave instructions on how to desert, listed bombed streets in German cities, and spread rumors about Nazi Party members taking sexual advantage of German soldiers' wives at home. The Morale Operation Branch sent death notices to soldiers' families claiming that their sons were victims of mercy killings. OSS printed fake copies of *Das Schwarze Korps*, a SS newspaper, and special issues of *Time* and *Life* with stories of German prisoners of war living in luxurious accommodations in the United States. Using transmitters, OSS agents clandestinely posed as resistance groups within occupied nations. OSS recruited German prisoners of war to spread propaganda behind enemy lines.

The Morale Operations Branch frequently opposed official Allied positions during the war, yet it did not prove a major distraction to the U.S. Army on the front, since the army focused on breaking the enemy line, code cracking, and prisoner of war interrogations. However, OSS confused military intelligence experts in Washington, DC, when German intercepts contained Morale Operations Branch propaganda that U.S. officials did not know about. While OSS considered such intercepts as proof of its success, few post-war studies were conducted to officially establish OSS's effectiveness.

Victory in Europe spelled the end for OSS, although it did make significant contributions during the last year of the war in Asia. OSS managed to hold on for a few months after the victory over Japan, but Congress tired of "war agencies" and President Harry S. Truman did not like William Donovan. On September 20, 1945, Truman gave Executive Order 9621 dissolving OSS on October 1, 1945. Eventually, the remnants of OSS

journeyed from the Strategic Services Unit, to the Central Intelligence Group, and to the Central Intelligence Agency, established in 1947.

Jeff Ewen

SEE ALSO Office of War Information; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

In 1938, a Division of Cultural Relations was established in the U.S. Department of State to handle official propaganda directed at Latin Americans. In conjunction with this, an Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation (SCC) and Division of Cultural Cooperation were established in the State Department. President Franklin Roosevelt created the Office of the Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics (OCCCRBAR) by Council of National Defense order on August 16, 1940. Nelson A. Rockefeller was appointed the coordinator. It was abolished by Executive Order 8840 (July 30, 1941) and its functions were transferred to the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA).

CIAA was primarily concerned with commercial and financial problems of the Latin American countries. However, an increase in defense preparations and the creation of the Board of Economic Warfare made it essential that CIAA increasingly identify with cultural relationships, primarily to counter Nazi propaganda in that region. Under CIAA auspices, there were exchange of persons programs, binational centers, and libraries; in 1942, the first U.S. government sponsored library opened in Mexico City.

Its Motion Picture Division, set up in October 1940, was directed by John Jay Whitney, Vice President of the Museum of Modern Art and President of the Film Library. CIAA's film activities were notable for educational cartoons of Walt Disney and its vigorous exhibition policy carried on with traveling shows. An agreement on part of U.S. distributors to withdraw all U.S. films from theater operators who showed Axis films was a major achievement in an informational war. Immediate effects resulted in an increased showing of newsreels. Except in Argentina, German and Japanese newsreels ceased to be generally shown but it became necessary for CIAA to provide other materials.

It was a war information agency. If Rockefeller had not made strenuous efforts to keep the American Republics separate as an area of cultural exchange, the Budget Bureau would have combined the agency with the others that formed the Office of War Information in June 1942. During World War II, Rockefeller promoted a favorable U.S. image in this region. CIAA became the Office of Inter-American Affairs in 1945 but was abolished in 1946 when it transferred its functions into the State Department. Its cultural activities were absorbed into the U.S. Information Agency in 1953.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Film (World War II); Propaganda; Office of War Information; Radio (World War II); Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Office of War Information

President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942 to coordinate U.S. overt propaganda activities in World War II. It was formed by the merger of the overseas functions of the Coordinator of Information, Office of Facts and Figures, and an overseas component known as the United States Information Service (USIS). Believing that citizens of a democracy distrust propaganda, Congress limited OWI to nondomestic activities, but it still did an effective job of supporting the war effort. Also, President Roosevelt, who was assistant secretary of the navy in World War I, was determined that he was not going to give OWI and its director, veteran radio journalist Elmer Davis, the wide power and authority that George Creel and his Committee on Public Information wielded during the earlier war.

To make the war understandable to Americans, OWI utilized the services of hundreds of people in government public relations work. Responsible for both internal (domestic or home front) and external (overseas) information, including embassy news bureaus and the Voice of America, which went on the air in February 1942, it also consolidated coordinating propaganda policy with Allied nations.

OWI and other U.S. government agencies produced thousands of posters, billboards, radio spots, and newspaper ads to mobilize citizens' support. Negative images of the enemy were often used to promote patriotism in the basest of ways. A coordinator of

government films worked with the Hollywood community in preparing movies that sold the war effort on the domestic front. The Division of Public Inquiries and the Division of Press Intelligence issued summaries of radio and press comments. The OWI also played a crucial role in mobilizing black support and interpreting U.S. race relations to an international audience through its publications and broadcasts.

Posters were among the most effective examples of the OWI's work. Some of the messages included "Someone Talked!" (1942), Norman Rockwell's "Four Freedoms" (1943), and "This is the Enemy" (1943), along with the classic "Loose Lips Sink Ships." The poster campaign, inexpensive, colorful, and immediate, provided the ideal medium for delivering messages about an American's duties on the home front. The posters touched on all aspects of wartime life, from the factory, where workers were instructed to take shorter cigarette breaks and focus on increased production ("KILLING Time Is KILLING Men"), to the home, where conserving scarce resources was essential ("We'll have lots to eat this winter, won't we, Mother? Grow your own"), to the farm, where eggs and meat were wartime weapons in their own right ("Our Allies Need Eggs"). Its publication, *Victory* magazine, similar in format to *Life* magazine, was translated into at least six languages.

The OWI did not operate flawlessly, however. It suffered from internal disharmony among staffers and a lack of full support of the Roosevelt administration. The military was slow with respect to releasing information, and Republican politicians attacked the organization as too partisan. When World War II ended, President Harry Truman abolished OWI but merged its functions into the U.S. Department of State.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Censorship (World War II); Correspondents (World War II); War Advertising Council

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Pamphlets (World War II)

The U.S. government made extensive use of pamphlets to encourage and enable American civilians and military personnel to support the war effort most effectively. These pamphlets can be divided into several rough categories. Some provided technical information on

issues as diverse as food preparation, making use of scrap materials, and personal finance. Many of the pamphlets dealt with social issues, such as the status of women, children, and minorities. Still others discussed more directly war-related topics as varied as civil defense, enemy atrocities, and U.S. defense production. Some dealt more directly with issues of morality and personal conduct, while others provided information about countries or major cities around the world, especially U.S. allies.

Even a small sampling reflects the extraordinary mobilization of information accomplished during the war years. *99 Ways to Share the Meat*, produced in 1943 by the Department of Agriculture, begins by saying that “anyway you figure it, there isn’t enough meat to satisfy all appetites during wartime . . . Men in the fighting forces naturally have first call on our meat supplies. Our fighting allies are often in desperate need of more meat. And men and women working here at home for long hours on hazardous war jobs have a special right to their share of the meat.” The pamphlet then lists 99 ways to make meat rations go farther, ending with the statement “Share and share alike is the American way.”

A Negro Community Works in Behalf of Its Families was the first in the “American Family” series published by the Consumer Division of the Office of Price Administration. The series was designed to “help build total victory in terms of the homes and needs of every family, and the resources of every community.” This pamphlet told the story of the Andrews family—hard-working husband, two young children, and the wife and mother who tried to stretch their \$10 weekly wages. The pamphlet went on to describe the many public and private agencies available in the community, especially resources dedicated to African-American families in a still-segregated America.

In November 1943, the Office of Community War Services released *Citizens of Tomorrow: A Wartime Call to Community Action*. The pamphlet provided an action plan to ensure that the war disrupted the lives of children and adolescents as little as possible, including ensuring “livable homes, good health protection, broad-scale education, opportunity for recreation and social contact, effective work training and work experience, guidance and protection for young people in difficulty, and law enforcement safeguards.”

The Social Protection Division of the Federal Security Agency produced what is in retrospect one of the more amusing pamphlets, 1945’s *She Looked Clean, But . . .* With a drawing of an alluring woman on the cover, the pamphlet went on to describe how venereal disease, and the prostitution through which it was most commonly spread, were dangers to the war effort. Armed with detailed statistics, accompanied by another drawing of a slinky woman, the pamphlet made its point by saying that “for every man the enemy puts out of action—she puts out three.”

In 1943, the War Department also commissioned the American Historical Association to create a series of pamphlets called “The G.I. Roundtable Series.” As described in the foreword to the bound collection of the pamphlets, the series represented “a war-time experiment in the education of a citizen army,” seeking “to increase the effectiveness of the soldiers and officers as fighters during the war and as citizens after the war.” Between 1943 and 1945, historians produced 90 pamphlets, although some were cancelled for a variety of reasons, including censorship. The pamphlets dealt with issues ranging from readjusting to peacetime in the home and workplace to the prospects for

international peace, with such titles as *Will There Be Work for All?*, *What Shall be Done About Germany After the War?*, and *Can War Marriages Be Made to Work?*

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Propaganda; Pamphlets (World War I)

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Patton, George Smith Jr.



Gen. George S. Patton commanded the U.S. Third Army in Europe. His drive across France in the summer of 1944 remains one of the most brilliant operations in U.S. military history. By the end of the war, his army had covered more ground and liberated more territory than any other Allied force. (Library of Congress)

Born on November 11, 1885 in San Gabriel, California, George Patton Jr. attended the Virginia Military Institute for a year before graduating from the U.S. Military Academy in 1909. An accomplished horseman, he competed in the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games.

On U.S. entry into World War I, Patton deployed to France as an aide to American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) commander General John J. Pershing, but he transferred to the Tank Corps and, as a temporary major, commanded the first U.S. Army tank school at Langres, France. He then commanded the 304th Tank Brigade as a temporary lieutenant colonel. Wounded in the Saint-Mihiel Offensive, he was promoted to temporary colonel and took part in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.

After the war, Patton remained an ardent champion of tank warfare. He graduated from the Cavalry School in 1923, the Command and General Staff School in 1924, and the Army War College in 1932. Returning to armor, Patton was promoted to temporary brigadier general in October 1940 and to temporary major general in April 1941,

when he took command of the newly formed 2nd Armored Division. Popularly known as “Old Blood and Guts” for his colorful speeches to inspire the men, Patton commanded I Corps and the Desert Training Center, where he prepared U.S. forces for the invasion of North Africa.

In November 1942, Patton commanded the Western Task Force in the landing at Casablanca, Morocco, part of Operation TORCH. Following the U.S. defeat in the Battle of the Kasserine Pass, he won promotion to lieutenant general and assumed command of II Corps in March 1943. He quickly restored order and morale and took the offensive against the Axis forces.

In April, Patton received command of the Seventh Army for the invasion of Sicily in July 1943. He used a series of costly flanking maneuvers along the northern coast of the island to reach Messina ahead of the British Eighth Army on the eastern side. Patton, however, ran afoul of the press and his superiors when he struck two soldiers who suffered from battle fatigue.

Relieved of his command, Patton became a decoy to disguise the location of the attack of Operation OVERLORD, the cross-Channel invasion of France. The Germans assumed that Patton would command any such invasion, but he actually remained in Britain in command of Third Army, the fictional 1st U.S. Army Group, in a successful ruse to trick the Germans into believing the invasion would occur in the Pas de Calais area.

Following the Normandy Invasion, Patton was at last unleashed in August when his Third Army arrived in France and spearheaded a breakout at Saint-Lô and campaigned brilliantly across northern France. Moving swiftly, his forces swung wide and then headed east, although he was frustrated by the refusal of General Omar Bradley and Supreme Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower to recognize the importance of sealing the Falaise-Argentan gap. Patton’s forces crossed the Meuse River in late August to confront German defenses at Metz, where the Germans held the Americans until December. During the German Ardennes Offensive (Battle of the Bulge), Patton executed a brilliant repositioning movement and came to the relief of the hard-pressed American forces at Bastogne.

By the end of January, Patton began another offensive, piercing the Siegfried Line between Saarlautern and Saint Vith. On March 22, the Third Army crossed the Rhine at Oppenheim. Patton continued his drive into Germany and eventually crossed into Czechoslovakia. By the end of the war, his men had covered more ground (600 miles) and liberated more territory (nearly 82,000 square miles) than any other Allied force.

Promoted to temporary general, Patton became military governor of Bavaria. He soon found himself again in trouble for remarks in which he criticized denazification and argued that the Soviet Union was the real enemy. Relieved of his post, he assumed command of the Fifteenth Army, slated to write the official U.S. Army history of the war. Patton suffered a broken neck in an automobile accident near Mannheim and died at Heidelberg on December 21, 1945.

T. Jason Soderstrum and Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Correspondents (World War II); D-Day; Eisenhower, Dwight D.

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Pearl Harbor, Attack on

The Japanese military action against the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, the Hawaiian Islands caused America to enter the war. Japan’s invasion of China beginning in 1937 and its occupation of French Indochina in 1940 and 1941 had led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to embargo scrap metal and oil and to freeze Japanese assets in the United States. The Japanese particularly resented the embargo on oil. Japan had no oil of its own and had limited stockpiles. Without oil, the Japanese would have to withdraw from China. An army-dominated government in Tokyo now sought to take advantage of British, French, and Dutch weakness in Asia to secure resources, even if that meant war with the United States. The United States misread Tokyo’s resolve, believing that it could force Japan to back down.

Both sides visualized the same scenario for war in the Pacific. The Japanese would seize U.S. and European possessions in the Far East, forcing the U.S. Navy to fight its way across the Pacific to relieve them. Somewhere in the Far East, a great naval battle would occur to decide Pacific hegemony. In March 1940, commander of the Combined Fleet Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku scrapped the original plan in favor of a preemptive strike against the U.S. fleet based at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu. Yamamoto believed that the attack, destroying the U.S. carriers and battleships, would buy time for Japan to build its defensive ring. Yamamoto also misread American psychology when he believed that such an attack might demoralize the American people and force Washington to negotiate a settlement. With both sides edging toward war, U.S. Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and army Lieutenant General Walter C. Short prepared for the defense of Oahu. Both men requested additional resources from Washington, but with the United States only then rearming, little additional assistance was forthcoming.

The Japanese, meanwhile, trained extensively for the Pearl Harbor attack. They fitted their torpedoes with fins so that they could be dropped from aircraft in the shallow water of Pearl Harbor, and they also planned to use large armor-piercing shells to be dropped as bombs from high-flying aircraft. No deck armor would be able to withstand them.

Following the expiration of a self-imposed deadline for securing an agreement with the United States, Tokyo ordered the attack to go forward. On November 16, 1941, Japanese submarines departed for Pearl Harbor, followed 10 days later by the First Air Fleet. This attack force centered on six aircraft carriers, which carried 423 aircraft, 360

of which were to participate in the attack. Accompanying the carriers were two battleships, three cruisers, nine destroyers, and two tankers.

Surprise was essential to the attack’s success. A “war warning” had been issued to military commanders in the Pacific, but few American leaders thought the Japanese would dare attack Pearl Harbor. The Japanese planned to approach from the northwest and move in as close as possible before launching their aircraft, and then recover them farther out, forcing any U.S. air reaction force to fly two long legs.

At 7:50 a.m., the first wave of Japanese aircraft began its attack. Most U.S. planes were destroyed on the ground, made easy targets by the decision to guard against sabotage by bunching the planes together and storing ammunition separately. The attack achieved great results for the Japanese. Over some 140 minutes, the Japanese sank four of the eight U.S. battleships in the Pacific and badly damaged the rest. Seven smaller ships were also sunk and four were badly damaged. A total of 188 U.S. aircraft were destroyed, and 63 were badly damaged. The attack also killed 2,280 people and wounded 1,109. The attack cost the Japanese only 29 aircraft and fewer than 100 aircrew dead.

However, the attack was not a total success. American aircraft carriers, away from Pearl Harbor on maneuvers, were not struck. The Japanese also failed to hit the oil tank storage areas, without which the fleet could not remain at Pearl. Nor had they targeted the dockyard repair facilities. Most important, the Pearl Harbor attack also solidly united American opinion behind a war that ultimately led to Japan’s defeat.

T. Jason Soderstrum and Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO MacArthur, Douglas; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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Pyle, Ernest Taylor “Ernie”

Pyle was arguably the most beloved American journalist of World War II. Born on August 3, 1900 near Dana, Indiana, Ernie Pyle attended Indiana University from 1919 to 1923, leaving just short of securing a degree in journalism to accept a job with a local newspaper, the *LaPorte Herald*. A few months later, he went to work for the *Washington*



Reporter Ernie Pyle's simple, honest dispatches brought the misery, camaraderie, and heroism of the common American soldier into millions of homes during World War II. He was killed on April 18, 1945, while covering action on Okinawa. (Library of Congress)

Daily News, a Scripps-Howard paper. During two stints with the paper, he wrote the first daily column about aviation news, and he later became managing editor.

Pyle found the lives of ordinary people fascinating and full of rich lessons. In 1935, he began a syndicated column for Scripps-Howard recounting his experiences as he drove across America. During the next four years, Pyle crossed the United States 35 times, chronicling the lives of everyday people doing sometimes extraordinary things.

In 1940, Pyle went to Britain to cover the Battle of Britain for Scripps-Howard. Like radio commentator Edward R. Murrow, Pyle became the eyes and ears of America in London. His description of the hardships and courage of the average Briton tugged at the conscience of a nation not yet at war. When the United States did go to war, Pyle joined American troops as they landed in North Africa. Later he followed them through Sicily, Italy, and even to Normandy on D-Day. Always near the front, Pyle gained a reputation for understanding the

drudgery and fear that the average GI had to endure. He focused his stories and reports on combat infantrymen and soon became loved by the regular soldier and the public back home.

By 1944, Pyle's columns were carried by more than 400 daily and 300 weekly newspapers. That same year, he won the Pulitzer Prize for Journalism and was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine. Pyle's wartime books, *Here Is Your War* (1943) and *Brave Men* (1944), both compilations of his wartime experiences, became best-sellers many times over.

In early 1945, at the request of the U.S. Navy, Pyle deployed to the Pacific Theater to cover Navy and Marine operations. Pyle accompanied a Marine rifle company. On April 18, 1945, during the Okinawa Campaign, Pyle was preparing a story on the island of Ie Shima, not far from Okinawa, when he was killed by Japanese machine-gun fire. Later in 1945, famed director William Wellman released a film about Pyle titled *The Story of GI Joe* and starring Burgess Meredith as Ernie Pyle.

William Head

SEE ALSO Correspondents (World War II); Mauldin, Bill

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Radio (World War II)

By the 1930s, radio had become an integral part of American popular and military culture. By 1935, two out of every three American homes had radio receivers, and there were 4 national and 20 regional radio networks that broadcast programming across the United States around the clock. One year later, radio proved its impact as a medium when presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt utilized this new medium more convincingly than his challenger, Alf Landon, en route to winning the November election. Together the candidates spent \$2 million on radio advertising, a record for the time.

As war clouds darkened over Europe, radio brought the conflict into American living rooms, reflecting growing jitters at home. In 1938, two radio programs mirrored America's fears about the coming war. *Air Raid*, written by Archibald MacLeish and broadcast by CBS, used poetry to warn listeners about the dangers of fascism. On October 30, 1938, Orson Welles's *War of the Worlds* broadcast about a fictional Martian invasion created a panic in the streets in many cities.

One critical event, in September 1938, turned everyone to radio news. Six months after Hitler conquered Austria, he set his sights on Czechoslovakia. The weeks-long Munich Crisis that almost brought war that month established radio as the primary source of news. Less than a year later Europe would be at war.

By 1939, radio was revolutionizing the reporting of the news. Thanks to radio and telephone, rapid and live coverage of events became possible, which allowed listeners to the 44 million radios in America to experience vicariously events that would have been remote and distant by the delay of print journalism. The broadcasts also allowed an intimacy that the print medium rarely achieved.

At the forefront of this evolution in journalism was Edward R. Murrow, who became an international celebrity with his regular reports for CBS of the German air attacks on London. Beginning in 1940, his shortwave *London After Dark* series provided intimate, first-person dispatches that brought the war in Europe home for Americans. In 1943, Murrow would fly 25 combat missions over Europe, many of which would be broadcast back to American listeners.

Murrow was not the only broadcaster to bring the war to American living rooms. Mutual of Omaha featured Gabriel Heatter. NBC's coverage was anchored by Lowell

Thomas and Walter Winchell. The radio networks and local stations were now bringing daily newscasts that not only summarized the day's war-related events but also brought listeners live reports of breaking news.

Perhaps radio's biggest influence on the home front came on December 8, 1941, when President Roosevelt spoke to a stunned nation. As a candidate and as president, Roosevelt made effective use of radio. His "fireside chats" were a series of 30 evening radio talks that brought him into American living rooms to speak to the average American about issues of the day.

At 1:07 p.m. EST on December 7, 1941, the Associated Press broke into regular programming with the first bulletin announcing the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. By 2:30, the networks had interrupted their programming to bring news of the attack, which was still in progress, to the nation. The following day, Roosevelt used radio to soothe a frightened nation and prepare it for war. Roosevelt's address to a joint session of Congress was carried live on all four radio networks. The speech, which began "Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy," has become one of the most important moments in American, military, and communications history. The speech served as a rallying point that brought the nation together to face the Axis threat.

Prior to and during the war, Americans also turned to radio for entertainment and reassurance. However, as the country moved into the war itself, this "entertainment" leaned more toward propaganda. For instance, an NBC public service broadcast entitled "Pacific Story" described the Japanese as desperate people who live on "rice, eels, and raw roots." Music programs followed suit, playing such songs as Carson Robinson's "We're Gonna Have to Slap the Dirty Little Jap" and Kay Kyser's "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition." Radio was also used to remind those at home to "do your part" for the war effort, reminding listeners to conserve gasoline or participate in recycling programs.

Radio was also used as a weapon of war. By 1941, voice communication replaced Morse code in radio transmissions in both naval and air operations. Between 1943 and 1945, voice communication with radio was implemented tactically and used to replace flag and light signals. Voice communications provided field commanders with faster and more accurate battlefield assessments and tactical information.

Military dependence upon radio for communication meant that, in many ways, World War II was a cryptographers' war. Because radio waves spread over borders and are easily intercepted, it was essential that means of encrypting radio messages had to be developed to protect military secrets. The development of secret codes was naturally followed by the development of units designed to break them.

Although most cryptanalysis work done in World War II was accomplished by the British, the Americans scored some victories. Among the most critical victory was the interception and decoding of Japanese Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto's plan to ambush the U.S. Pacific fleet at Midway. The U.S. victory at Midway is considered a turning point in the war in the Pacific.

Another radio-related victory came in the guise of the Navajo Code Talkers. These Native Americans, assigned to U.S. Marine units, transmitted secure information, which

included messages referring to the development of nuclear weapons, in their native tongue. It was the only code the Axis did not crack during the war.

Keith Murphy

SEE ALSO Film (World War II); Propaganda; Office of War Information; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Voice of America

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Roosevelt, Franklin D.

Roosevelt was a U.S. politician and president from 1933 to 1945. Born on January 30, 1882 at his family's Hyde Park estate in Dutchess County, New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was educated at home until age 14. He then attended Groton Preparatory School, Harvard University, and Columbia University Law School. In 1905, Roosevelt married his distant cousin Eleanor Roosevelt, President Theodore Roosevelt's niece.

In November 1932, Roosevelt was elected president of the United States, triumphing over incumbent President Herbert Hoover. He promised the American people a "New Deal," and he told them that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." He also began regular radio broadcasts to the American people, the first U.S. president to do so. Known as "fireside chats," these addresses were designed to restore morale. Legislative products of his first 100 days in office included banking reform, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), and the Public Works Administration (PWA). During this time, Roosevelt also established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to oversee stock trading.

With the beginning of World War II in Europe in September 1939, Roosevelt increasingly turned his attention to foreign affairs and military preparedness. On September 8, 1939, he proclaimed a limited national emergency, which allowed expansion of the army from 135,000 men to 227,000. Believing that the security of the United States demanded the defeat of the Axis powers, Roosevelt gradually moved the United States from its isolationist stance. Later in September, he called on Congress to amend the Neutrality Act, which it did the next month, allowing the Allies to purchase arms in the United States on a cash-and-carry basis. Following the defeat of France in 1940, Roosevelt pledged to support Britain in every manner short of declaring war. In September, he traded Britain 50 World War I-vintage destroyers in return for rights to bases located in British territory in the Western Hemisphere. He also initiated a major rearmament program and secured passage of the Selective Service Act, the first peacetime draft in the nation's history.



President Franklin Roosevelt, shown here signing the declaration of war against Japan on December 8, 1941, was a master of the new medium of radio, using it to rally the American public during the depths of the Great Depression and World War II. (National Archives)

By early 1941, Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill were coordinating their policies toward the Axis powers. In the spring of 1941, Roosevelt ordered U.S. destroyers to provide protection as far as Iceland for the convoys bound for Britain. In March 1941, on his urging, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act that extended U.S. aid to countries fighting the Axis powers.

Roosevelt also began pressuring Japan to leave China, which the Japanese had invaded in 1937. When Japanese troops occupied Indochina in the spring of 1941, he embargoed scrap metal and oil shipments to Japan. The embargo caused Japanese leaders to opt for war with the United States. On December 7, 1941, Japanese aircraft attacked the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The following day, Roosevelt called for a declaration of war on Japan, referring to the Japanese attack as “a date which will live in infamy.” No solid evidence exists to substantiate persistent allegations that the president set up the fleet

at Pearl Harbor in order to bring about the U.S. entry in the war.

Roosevelt skillfully guided the United States through the war and worked to ensure a secure postwar world. The United States fielded not only a navy larger than all the other navies of the world combined but also the largest air force and the most mobile, most heavily mechanized, and best-armed army in world history. It also provided the machines of war, raw materials, and food that enabled other nations to continue fighting the Axis powers. In these circumstances, full economic recovery occurred in the United States.

In 1944, Roosevelt ran successfully for an unprecedented fourth term against Republican candidate Thomas Dewey. In February 1945, he met Churchill and Soviet dictator Josef Stalin at Yalta in the Crimea. The Yalta Conference built on decisions already reached at the prior Tehran Conference and was an effort to secure a stable postwar world. Roosevelt gambled that, with his considerable charm, he could convince Stalin that he had nothing to fear from the United States and that the allies could cooperate to secure a peaceful postwar world. Although accused of making unnecessary concessions to the Soviet Union at Yalta, Roosevelt really had little choice but to do so, as the Red Army already occupied much of Eastern Europe and the U.S. military wished to induce the Soviets to enter the war against Japan.

After Yalta, an already ill Roosevelt sought rest at his summer home in Warm Springs, Georgia. He died there of a massive cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945. Franklin Roosevelt, one of the best-loved presidents in U.S. history, had successfully led the nation through two of its greatest trials—the Great Depression and World War II.

Kathleen J. Hitt and Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO America First Committee; Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies; D-Day; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; MacArthur Douglas; Pearl Harbor, Attack on; Radio (World War II)

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Subversive Activity. See Foreign Agents Registration Act (1938)

Thompson, Dorothy

Dorothy Thompson was one of the leading political commentators of the pre-World War II period and an effective propagandist against the rise of fascism. Thompson was born on July 9, 1894 in Lancaster, New York, near Buffalo. She was the eldest child of an

impoverished Methodist minister, Peter Thompson. Her mother died when she was eight, and her father married the church organist, who proved to be a severe stepmother. Thompson graduated in 1914 from Syracuse University, where she became well known as an orator and a women's suffrage activist. After college, Thompson joined the staff of the New York State Suffrage Association, which worked successfully for a state suffrage amendment.

During World War I, Thompson hoped to go overseas as a journalist, but instead had to settle for a social work job in New York City. She did make it to Europe in 1920. On ship-board, she met a group of Zionists going to a conference in London, covered the event, and persuaded International News Service to hire her as a freelancer. Soon she was working as a stringer for American newspapers while studying at the University of Vienna. She married a Hungarian writer, Josef Bard, in 1922; they divorced five years later.

Thompson was a notably good reporter. Typical of her style, she disguised herself as a Red Cross worker and got past the guards to obtain an exclusive interview with Zita, the deposed Empress of Austria. John Gunther remarked that Thompson blazed through Europe like "a blue-eyed tornado." She also had a gift for giving parties to which political and intellectual celebrities flocked. In 1925, the *New York Evening Post* and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* made her head of their Berlin office, the first woman to head an overseas news bureau. In Berlin, Thompson met the American novelist Sinclair Lewis, with whom she embarked on a stormy marriage in 1928. Their son Michael was born in 1930 after they returned to live in New England. From her home base, Thompson lectured, wrote, and traveled. She went back to Berlin in 1931 to interview Adolf Hitler for *Cosmopolitan* and concluded that he could never take power, an prediction she made again in her book *I Saw Hitler!*, published in 1932. When she returned to Germany in 1934, her attack on the anti-Jewish campaign and criticism of the Führer caused her to be the first correspondent to be expelled, at the order of Hitler himself.

Thompson's work as a news columnist and commentator was the peak of a career during which she was on friendly terms with many of the world's leaders. In 1936, she began to write "On the Record," a column for the *New York Herald Tribune*, which eventually was syndicated in 170 newspapers. As the international crisis became graver, she warned increasingly of the danger of Nazism. In 1939, at a pro-Nazi rally in Madison Square Garden, she created a sensation and put herself at risk by loudly heckling the speakers. After the outbreak of war in Europe, she denounced Charles Lindbergh for his isolationist views and his contacts with the Hitler government. Thompson avoided conflict with her paper's conservative political stance. She supported Wendell Willkie for the Republican presidential nomination until late in the 1940 campaign, when she endorsed Franklin D. Roosevelt as the more effective leader against fascism. The *Herald Tribune* forced her to resign, and she switched to the Bell Syndicate.

In 1941, Thompson helped to found Freedom House, a liberal internationalist organization. In 1942, she divorced Lewis and, soon afterward, married an Austrian-Czech painter, Maxim Kopf. In the postwar years, her career began to decline. After visiting Palestine in 1945, she took up the cause of the Palestinian Arabs. Though she had consistently supported Jewish causes, she was accused of anti-Semitism, and the *New York Post*

dropped her column. She became involved in the American Friends of the Middle East in 1951—an anti-Zionist body backed by oil interests and, perhaps unknown to her, by the Central Intelligence Agency. Her publishers insisted that she leave the American Friends organization in 1957. The next year, after her husband's death, she stopped writing her column. Thompson seemed to have lost her spirit, though in 1960, she published an article paying tribute to Lewis that many considered her finest work. Thompson died on January 30, 1961 while visiting her grandsons and daughter-in-law in Lisbon.

William McGuire and Leslie Wheeler

SEE ALSO America First Committee; German-American Bund

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Voice of America

Voice of America gave the United States a radio presence overseas during World War II. Voice of America originally consisted of 13 privately owned shortwave transmitters that were taken over by the Office of War Information (OWI) to spread Allied propaganda in an effort to defeat the Axis powers. By 1945, Voice of America was broadcasting 129 program-hours daily in 40 languages over 36 transmitters. The goal of Voice of America was to destroy enemy morale by presenting truthful information substantiated by facts and figures.

Voice of America was founded in January 1942 and placed under the authority of the Radio Program Bureau. Voice of America was considered the flagship service of the OWI. Beginning on February 24, 1942, Harlan Hale broadcast fifteen minutes of New York City-produced programming daily. As the war progressed, programming increased to include spot-news bulletins, eyewitness accounts from the front, news commentaries, and music. Voice of America conducted thousands of wartime interviews.

While Voice of America broadcast mild propaganda including “United America Fights,” which portrayed the United States as a diverse, democratic country with post-war goals of peace and freedom, most programming concentrated on factual information that became more depressing for the Axis powers as the war wore on. Voice of America was committed to broadcasting truthful information, even early in the war when the Axis powers were dominant. Voice of America broadcasts praised the efforts of the Red Army in the East and downplayed the threat of communism, while stating the inevitability of

an Allied invasion in the West. By 1943, Voice of America programming stressed German political weakness and isolation, Allied production figures, and German U-boat and Luftwaffe losses. The air war was a frequent topic before D-Day, and German civilian defeatism and military failure dominated afterward.

It was difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of Voice of America during World War II, because it focused on truthful information that naturally became better propaganda as Allied successes increased and Axis successes declined. Yet, as early as April 1942 the enemy began jamming Voice of America transmissions, and forty percent of French language programming was mentioned in German broadcasts. Voice of America ceased broadcasting to Germany on July 15, 1945, and later in the year it was transferred to the State Department. Voice of America suffered from mediocre support after World War II, but it gained strength with the rise of the cold war and it still broadcasts today.

Jeff Ewen

SEE ALSO Office of War Information; Radio (World War II)

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War Advertising Council

The War Advertising Council (WAC) was critical to the advertising industry during World War II, and its message was endorsed by its motto, "A War Message in Every Ad Campaign." The Council was a group of national advertisers who worked as liaison between advertising and government agencies. WAC was created before Pearl Harbor to cooperate with the government in the pending war effort. From this cooperation, the Network Allocation Plan was devised as a propaganda scheme in which the radio industry accepted OWI's Radio Division as the central clearing station for all government propaganda and as the authority on the types and priority of specific propaganda messages. In return, OWI provided every national radio advertiser with a schedule of propaganda themes at least a month in advance of the actual broadcasts.

The most important collaboration of WAC and the government was the national gas rationing effort after the Office of Price Administration (OPA) decided gas rationing was the best way to conserve rubber, a most essential commodity in wartime; there

was not a shortage of fuel. Radio comedians Fibber McGee and Molly used their weekly NBC show to promote the government's message on gas rationing. Another was Jack Benny, whose comic reputation as a tightwad made him the perfect celebrity to defuse the public's growing resentment against rationing by exploiting its comic possibilities on his radio show. Networks had pro-business program bias and advertising played a crucial role. The government allowed businesses to write off up to 80 percent of their advertising costs as long as they participated in the propaganda effort. Advertising and commercial radio became an integral collaboration, helped immeasurably by images such as "Rosie the Riveter" and, most important of all, by Hollywood films. On a personal level, there were home front symbols, such as gold stars, for mothers who lost a child in the war, or flags on the lawn indicating that a family member was in the service.

The poster campaign, inexpensive, colorful and immediate, was the ideal medium for delivering messages about an American's duties on the home front during World War II; they were seen in schools, in workplaces, and in other public spaces. The posters touched on all aspects of wartime life, from the factory, where workers were instructed to take shorter cigarette breaks and focus on increased production ("KILLING Time Is KILLING Men"), to the home, where conserving scarce resources was essential ("We'll have lots to eat this winter, won't we Mother? Grow your own") was essential, to the farm, where eggs and meat were wartime weapons in their own right ("Our Allies Need Eggs" and "Grow It Yourself—Plan a Farm Garden Now").

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press; Film (World War II); Office of War Information; Radio (World War II)

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The War Advertising Council was responsible for images such as J. Howard Miller's "We Can Do It!," an iconic representation of female factory workers, known collectively as "Rosie the Riveter," during World War II. (National Archives)

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War Bond Drives

War bonds were an important means of financing the U.S. military effort in World War II. During the war, the U.S. government sold \$185.7 billion worth of war bonds to over 85 million U.S. citizens. Many important Hollywood celebrities participated in eight bond drives, which began in 1942 and ended in 1945. Whereas these drives occurred periodically, Liberty Bonds were continuously promoted and sold during World War II, through measures such as the Payroll Savings Plan.

On May 1, 1941, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau sold the first Series E U.S. Savings Bond to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. At first, the bonds were known as Defense Bonds, but the name was changed to War Bonds following the December 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The war bonds were sold in denominations of \$10, \$25, \$50, \$75, \$100, \$200, \$500, \$1,000, \$10,000, and \$100,000.

The War Finance Committee, which was charged with supervising the sale of the bonds, obtained free advertising from newspapers, magazines, and radio. To make the advertising appealing to the general public, the government enlisted the help of top New York advertising agencies and Hollywood entertainers. War bond rallies were held throughout the country, often led by popular entertainment personalities such as Carole Lombard, Greer Garson, Bette Davis, and Rita Hayworth. Advertising for the bonds relied on colorful posters enhanced by nationalistic slogans. A war bond purchased for \$18.75 would yield \$25.00 in 10 years. The campaign assiduously worked to combine nationalism with consumerism.

Michael R. Hall

SEE ALSO Film (World War II); Office of War Information; Radio (World War II); War Advertising Council

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Winchell, Walter

Perhaps best known as the developer of the modern gossip column, Winchell was also an important figure in the development of radio journalism. He was popular with both newspaper columns and a regular network radio show. He was known for his

support for those who acknowledged his abilities and for his diatribes against those who crossed him.

Winchell was born in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City on April 7, 1894. His parents were recent Jewish immigrants from Russia. Winchell's father, who operated several small shops that failed, eventually deserted his family. Winchell and his younger brother often lived with their grandmother or other family members while their mother tried to find work. Raised in poverty, Winchell dropped out of school in the sixth grade.

Winchell gained his real education from the street and the stage. He was a street-wise gang leader and worked as a newsboy as well as other odd jobs. His passion, however, was vaudeville. When he was 12 years old, Winchell formed a singing group with other youngsters. The Newsboy Sextet sang and danced and joined a national tour of child performers. Winchell developed a taste for backstage gossip, with jargon, malice, and innuendo.

In 1920, Winchell began typing a gossip sheet on vaudeville performers, which he posted backstage. The gossip sheet proved to be very popular, and Winchell became obsessed with it. He began submitting items to *Variety* and the *New York Vaudeville News*. In 1922, Winchell started working for the *Vaudeville News*. In 1924, Winchell moved to the *Evening Graphic*, a sensationalist tabloid, as a columnist and amusement editor. He began writing a gossip column called "Your Broadway and Mine," which produced most of the paper's sales. In 1929, he went to work for William Randolph Hearst's *The Mirror*. His column, "On Broadway," was syndicated by King Features to more than 800 papers.

Beginning in 1931, Winchell had a regular network radio show. His signature opening was often caricatured, but it was unforgettable. Winchell would shout "Good evening, Mr. and Mrs. North America and all the ships at sea. Let's go to press! Flash," while he tapped at a telegraph key. His gravely voice and the background Morse code gave an urgency to Winchell's stories. He continued with this format for 25 years.

Winchell realized that entertainers and politicians needed to become celebrities to advance themselves and that he could help or hurt them. Those who ignored Winchell, or refused to tell him secrets, would risk public attack. He held private conversations with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and supported the New Deal. Winchell's friendship with J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was legendary and a source of inside information.

Radio journalism had come into its own by the time of American entry into World War II. Winchell supported a strong stand against Axis aggression long before more mainstream journalistic figures, and was an ardent supporter of President Roosevelt's wartime policies. Along with figures such as Edward R. Murrow and Gabriel Heatter, Winchell's voice provided an unprecedented immediacy and intimacy to coverage of the war.

By 1950, Winchell was at the height of his popularity. His decline began when he sided with vehement anticommunist forces such as Senator Joseph McCarthy, buying into the idea of communist conspiracies. Winchell also attracted negative publicity in 1951 over a vendetta he pursued against Josephine Baker. The expatriated dancer charged that she and her party had been discriminated against at the Stork Club,

Winchell's longtime New York hangout. Winchell's attack on her resulted in many critical letters.

In January 1952, a series of articles attacking him as an egotist and liar was published the *New York Post*. He fell into a serious depression and was unable to write or do his radio show for a time. Although he recovered, he never was able to master newer forms of communication. ABC simulcast his radio show on television for a short time, but Winchell was seen more and more as a holdover from an earlier age. The decline of Broadway and the rise of television entertainment sealed his doom.

By 1960, Winchell's column appeared in only 150 newspapers. When *The Mirror* closed in 1963, his column disappeared. Winchell retired in 1969, following the suicide of his only biological son. Winchell died from cancer in Los Angeles, California on February 20, 1972.

Tim J. Watts

SEE ALSO Radio (World War II)

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9

Korean War

INTRODUCTION

Prewar and Opening Moves

As the first major conflict of the nuclear age and the Cold War's first "hot war," the Korean War marked a significant turning point in the development of the Cold War. As such, it set a number of important precedents that not only affected the individual combatant nations, but the international scene as well.

The Korean War had its origins in the immediate post–World War II period. At the July 1945 Potsdam Conference, the Soviets and Americans agreed to a temporary division of Korea along the 38th Parallel. The Soviets occupied the northern part of the peninsula while the Americans controlled the south. The two occupied halves were to be reunited once elections were held. However, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union could agree on the conditions necessary for a unified Korea. The Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) was founded on August 15, 1948, with Syngman Rhee as president. On September 9, 1948, Kim Il Sung formed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea). Korea was now permanently divided between two hostile governments, one communist and one anticommunist.

Rhee and Kim each believed that he was the rightful ruler of all of Korea. Kim was especially eager to unite Korea under his leadership and to introduce Soviet-style communism there. While Kim received support from the Soviets, the Americans were reluctant to extend significant aid to Rhee. They feared that to do so would embolden him to attack North Korea and start a civil war. The end result was that Kim, who had been planning to attack South Korea since the spring of 1949, was in a much stronger position than Rhee by 1950. Kim launched a massive attack against South Korea on June 25, 1950. South Korean forces were badly outnumbered and outgunned, and

embarked on a hasty retreat to the south and southeast. At this initial stage, the war was basically a civil war between Koreans.

UN Intervention

President Harry S. Truman immediately pledged to come to South Korea's defense. Meanwhile, the United Nations requested a cease fire, which was ignored by North Korea. On June 27, the United Nations asked its members to assist South Korea. On June 30, Truman committed U.S. ground forces to the fight. One week later, the United Nations called for the formation of a multinational military coalition, led by the United States, to defend South Korea, turning the Korean War into an international conflict.

This first phase of the war saw UN forces wage a series of bloody defensive battles, as they were pushed back to a perimeter around the southern port city of Pusan. On September 15, 1950, UN forces staged the daring Inchon Landing, taking the North Koreans by surprise and placing UN forces deep inside enemy territory. It also turned the tide of war.

This success led to the second phase of the war, in which the Truman administration and the United Nations called for the complete defeat of North Korean forces and the unification of Korea under a democratic government. By mid-October, UN forces had the North Koreans retreating far to the north, almost to the Chinese border. But this second phase of the war was short-lived. The People's Republic of China (PRC) intervened in the war in limited fashion on October 25, 1950. But Chinese forces retreated quickly, and UN commander General Douglas MacArthur ignored what was a clear warning of a bigger intervention to come. On November 25, 1950, 260,000 Chinese troops entered in the war. They clashed violently with UN forces, pushing them into one of the longest retreats in modern military history.

The third phase of the war now involved UN troops fighting both China and North Korea. In spring 1951, the battle lines stabilized close to the 38th Parallel. For the next two and a half years, the war dragged on, bringing heavy casualties and destruction to both sides. Cease-fire negotiations bogged down over the status and repatriation of prisoners of war (POWs). A final armistice was not signed until July 27, 1953. No peace treaty was ever negotiated, and the two Koreas remain technically in a state of war to this day.

Implications for the United States and the Koreans

In the political realm, Korea fanned the flames of anticommunism and McCarthyism in the United States. The war gave urgency to Senator Joseph McCarthy's anticommunist witch hunt, and brought with it political turmoil and civil liberty violations. The conflict also strengthened the powers of the presidency, as Truman decided to go to war without explicit congressional approval. He also resorted to unconstitutional acts in the name of national security, as his 1952 order to seize American steel companies made clear. The stalemate that the war became led ultimately to the repudiation of the Democratic Party and the resurgence of the Republicans. In China, as well as in North and South Korea,

the war helped the leaders of those nations consolidate their power and to shape their homelands according to their leaders' own ideological visions. This was perhaps best exemplified by Chinese leader Mao Zedong's Resist America, Aid Korea Movement to stamp out opposition and reorganize society.

Korea also had wide-ranging economic implications. In the United States, the Korean conflict precipitated a massive increase in defense spending. Between 1950 and 1953, the defense budget ballooned from \$13.5 billion to more than \$52 billion. The Korean rearmament program brought with it shortages of raw materials, inflation, government-mandated wage and price controls, and budget deficits. After the war ended, defense budgets never again fell to prewar levels. Large military budgets became a Cold War hallmark, and the government's fiscal economic philosophy shifted accordingly. Additionally, the military-industrial complex had its roots in the Korean War. West European nations also suffered from shortages, inflation, and deficits after the autumn of 1950, when they were asked to join in the rearmament effort. In Asia, the Korean War revitalized the Japanese economy. During 1950–1954, the Americans bought \$2.37 billion worth of military and military-support items from the Japanese. This set Japan on a course that would make it one of the world's largest economies by the 1970s. Similarly, in South Korea, the permanent stationing of U.S. troops and the construction of U.S. military bases there boosted the economy once the war ended.

The war also had extraordinary geopolitical effects. The Korean War legitimized the United Nations, as the conflict was the first significant Cold War crisis in which it intervened. The Korean War also introduced the Cold War to Asia and militarized the containment policy of the United States. The United States committed itself to containment in Asia, including its involvement in a series of regional alliances beginning in 1951. These included the 1951 Australia, New Zealand, and United States Mutual Security Treaty (ANZUS) and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), founded in 1954. More ominously, American involvement in the Vietnam War began during the Korean War. The war turned China into the preeminent regional power in Asia, put Chinese-American relations on ice for 20 years, and temporarily drew the Chinese and Soviets closer together. Yet the war also set the stage for the eventual Sino-Soviet split in the late 1950s, as the Chinese concluded that the Soviets had not done enough to aid them during the war.

Society and culture were also affected by the conflict. The war accelerated the racial integration of American armed forces, raising expectations at home and giving impetus to the Civil Rights Movement. It also reinforced the primacy of the cult of domesticity in the United States, which extolled the virtues of the nuclear family in which women were to be exclusively housewives and mothers. In the two Koreas, the war militarized daily life. Both regimes focused their efforts on security and defense, which left little room for dissent or democracy. North Korea's staggering human casualties necessitated a large-scale movement of women in the workforce. This was nothing short of a social revolution in a culture in which women's roles were traditionally limited to the home. Finally, the large and continuing U.S. presence in South Korea and Japan helped to "open" these societies and introduced them to Western cultural values.

International Implications

The Korean War was a watershed military event. It was the first “limited war” of the nuclear age. Because of the existence of atomic weapons, both sides sought to limit the conflict so that it did not escalate into a nuclear war. Korea brought into sharp relief the frustration that Americans feel with high casualties and little discernible progress toward a clearly defined goal, a dynamic that would play out in subsequent conflicts. The war forced the United States to build a permanent mobilization base so that it would never again have to rearm from scratch. It also precipitated a major arms race. During the 1950s and beyond, atomic and thermonuclear weapons were built by the thousands and served as a deterrent to an all-out East-West war. During 1953–1964, China, France, and Great Britain became nuclear powers. As such, national air forces became the largest recipient of increased defense spending. Falsely believing that the Korean War was a precursor to a Soviet offensive against the West, U.S. policy makers sent large troop deployments to Western Europe to shore up North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) defenses. This added commitment to NATO also opened the door to the rearmament of West Germany. The Korean War also greatly accelerated the modernization and professionalization of China’s armed forces. Since the Korean War, in fact, the West tended to overestimate China’s military power, which ultimately affected U.S. policies in Asia, particularly in the Vietnam War.

The conflict saw the application of new technologies, such as the widespread use of helicopters in evacuation and combat support roles. The first jet battle in history took place in November 1950, between an American F-80 and a Soviet MiG-15. The advent of mobile army surgical hospitals (MASH units) revolutionized medical treatment for wounded soldiers and cut the number of military deaths significantly. The war also served as a reminder that air power alone does not win wars, while command of the sea was shown to be a decisive factor in modern warfare.

Costs of the War

In the end, the most horrific result of the Korean War was its grim cost. Almost every city and town in North Korea was partly or wholly destroyed, while industry and infrastructure were leveled. In South Korea, the destruction was less intense but still catastrophic; the capital city of Seoul saw its population cut by 60 percent during 1950–1952. The United States suffered 142,091 casualties (33,686 killed in action). South Korea suffered 300,000 casualties (70,000 killed in action). North Korea and China sustained a staggering 1.5 to 2 million killed in action. Perhaps as many as 3 million Korean civilians were killed, while several million more became refugees.

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PROPAGANDA

The Korean War saw an intense propaganda battle between the communist bloc and the UN forces led by the United States. The most serious and persistent communist charge against the U.S.-led forces in Korea was the accusation that the United States employed biological agents to spread disease in North Korea and China. This major Soviet, Chinese, and North Korean disinformation campaign generated significant media attention.

The charges began in February 1952, following a recurrence of typhus in North Korea. Under intense psychological pressure, 38 U.S. prisoners of war (POWs) signed confessions of participation in germ warfare. The communist side also produced photographs of hollow projectiles allegedly used to transport flies, fleas, spiders, and other vectors to introduce anthrax, plague, cholera, and other diseases into North Korea. The photographs, displayed in a major exhibit in Beijing, led to a mass campaign in China to rid the country of pests such as flies and rats.

The United States countered with a request in the United Nations for an investigation by the International Red Cross (IRC), but the Soviet Union vetoed this on grounds that the IRC was a U.S.-dominated organization. The evidence for U.S.-sponsored germ warfare in the signed confessions was discredited when the returning POWs recanted after the war. However, through their propaganda, the Communists succeeded in raising the possibility that the Americans had been testing biological warfare agents in Korea.

The second communist propaganda campaign involved POWs taken by the Korean side. A large percentage of U.S. POWs, mostly under duress, made anti-American statements that the Communists used in propaganda broadcasts and in publications. After the war, when some POWs accused other prisoners of having collaborated with the Communists, Congress decided to investigate these charges. One of these investigations dealt with the dissemination of communist propaganda among POWs and the alleged treasonable activities of the communist front organization, the Save Our Sons Committee.

The West used two types of propaganda during the Korean War: political persuasion and psychological warfare. The first supported political and military efforts by the United Nations Command (UNC) against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea). As the war progressed, such propaganda sought to justify the

UN effort. The second propaganda effort was aimed directly at the North Korean and Chinese military forces and at the North Korean civilian population, accusing North Korea of aggression and atrocities in its invasion of South Korea.

During the war, the UNC conducted extensive psychological warfare, or psywar, operations. Leaflets dropped by air and broadcasts from Radio Japan aimed at reassuring the South Koreans that help from the United States and United Nations would soon arrive.

The sole tactical psywar U.S. Army unit was the Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company (L&L) stationed at the war's outbreak at Fort Riley, Kansas. By the fall of 1950, the company was in Korea, where it became part of the newly organized Radio Broadcasting and Leaflet Group (RB&L). Leaflets varying in size from three by five inches to newspaper dimensions were distributed by either aircraft or artillery. At peak production, 20 million leaflets were produced weekly, with more than 2 billion leaflets delivered during the war.

The most successful of the leaflet drops, Plan Strike, was directed at the North Korean civilian population. Residents of a targeted city or area were warned by leaflet that, because their homes were suspected of being used to conceal military personnel and equipment, they were going to be bombed on a certain date. The civilians were instructed that to flee on specific roads that would be spared from bombing. If nothing else, Plan Strike demonstrated the inability of the North Korean and Chinese militaries to protect noncombatants from air attack.

Leaflets were also used to persuade North Korean and Chinese military personnel to surrender. Because of the estimated 30 percent illiteracy rate among enemy soldiers, the surrender invitations were presented in simple phrases accompanied by cartoons and symbols, such as an easily decipherable map that identified the route that the individual might follow to Allied lines. The leaflets stressed the hopelessness of the communist cause, the availability of UN medical assistance, the large number of North Korean and Chinese casualties, and the overwhelming firepower of the UNC. Photographs on the leaflets depicted enemy atrocities or the humane treatment provided for UNC POWs, while safe-conduct passes were printed on higher-quality paper so that they could be carried for months in a packet or shoe. A third of the enemy POWs who voluntarily surrendered were influenced to some extent by the leaflets.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Germ Warfare, Allegations of; MacArthur, Douglas.

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Keyes (rhymes with “size”) Beech was one of the most experienced and distinguished of America’s war correspondents. Born in Giles County, Tennessee in 1913, Beech began his reporting career in St. Petersburg, Florida. He joined the Akron (OH) *Beacon Journal* as a reporter in 1937, working there until he joined the Marines in 1942.

It was with the Marines that Beech’s long career as a war correspondent began. He served with the Second Marine Division as a combat correspondent, participating in some of the unit’s most intense combat, including the landing at Tarawa and the fight for Iwo Jima. Staff Sergeant Beech was the first correspondent to reach the top of Iwo Jima’s Mount Suribachi, and is portrayed in the film *The Flags of Our Fathers*.

Following World War II, Beech worked briefly as the Washington correspondent for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. In 1947, he joined the *Chicago Daily News*, for which he would work as Far East correspondent until 1977. He was in Seoul in June 1950, when the North Koreans swept across the 38th Parallel. Beech escaped to Tokyo, where his vivid dispatches were among the first reports of the war. He returned to Korea in a few weeks, reporting on the war until its end. The former Marine identified with the common soldier, priding himself on covering combat first-hand, and was a critic throughout the war of what he saw as lack of adequate material support for the troops. Beech shared the 1951 Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting with Homer Bigart and Maggie Higgins of *The New York Herald Tribune*, all honored for their coverage of the Korean War.

From his base in Tokyo, Beech was one of the regional reporters who provided some of the limited coverage of the efforts of the United States to support the Diem regime and an independent, non-communist South Vietnam. As U.S. involvement grew during the Kennedy Administration, Beech began to devote more attention to Vietnam. In 1965, Beech moved his base to Saigon, where he would remain until the end of the war in 1975.

Beech became a player in the drama of press conflict in Vietnam in the early 1960s. Reporters like David Halberstam of *The New York Times*, Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press, and Neil Sheehan of United Press International, had emerged as critics of what they saw as the Diem regime’s growing isolation, repressiveness, and military incompetence. Their views were shaped largely by their contact with American military advisors to the South Vietnamese military, men who were their peers in age and professional status. These advisors were among the only sources reporters like Halberstam, Browne, and Sheehan had, given the stonewalling practices of the Diem regime and U.S. military. The reports filed by these correspondents criticized Diem and the Kennedy Administration for its seemingly blind commitment to him. Beech, in turn, joined other more senior journalists like Maggie Higgins and the columnist Joseph Alsop in criticizing the three for hurting the American effort to support South Vietnam against the communist insurgency, blaming their lack of perspective on their relative youth and inexperience.

Beech remained committed to the Vietnam story until the end of the war; indeed, he had to scramble over the wall of the U.S. Embassy in order to make one of the last helicopters out of Saigon as the city fell on April 30, 1975.

When the *Chicago Daily News* folded in 1978, Beech joined the Bangkok bureau of the *Los Angeles Times*, where he worked until his retirement in 1983. Beech died in Washington, DC on February 15, 1990, of emphysema.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Bigart, Homer; Browne, Malcolm Wilde; Correspondents (Korean War), Correspondents (World War II), Correspondents (Vietnam War); Halberstam, David; Higgins, Marguerite; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Bigart, Homer

Homer Bigart was the model of modern war reporting, combining a focus on accuracy and objectivity, a healthy skepticism of authority, and the ability to see the deeper truth in a story.

Bigart was born October 25, 1907 in Hawley, Pennsylvania. He briefly studied architecture at Carnegie-Mellon University, then transferred to New York University to study journalism. He dropped out of college in 1927 when he took a job as a part-time copy boy for *The New York Herald Tribune*. Over the next several years, Bigart worked his way up the ranks to reporter. In 1941, he was assigned to cover the war in Europe, and would gain his first fame as a member of the "Writing 69th," a group of reporters assigned to fly on daytime bombing raids over Germany. His willingness to take on such a dangerous assignment—one-quarter of the planes on such raids were usually downed—marked Bigart's penchant to put himself where he story was, no matter the risks. Bigart also showed courage in taking on military authority when he reported what he saw as incompetence on the part of particular commanders. In the fall of 1944, Bigart moved to cover the war in the Pacific, including the last American bombing raid over Tokyo. Bigart reported the Japanese surrender on September 2, 1945, and the next day was one of the first reporters to visit the atom bomb-ravaged city of Hiroshima. Bigart received the first of his two Pulitzer Prizes in 1946.

Following World War II, Bigart next covered the Greek Civil War, following up on the work of CBS's George Polk, who was killed while covering the conflict. Bigart was the first recipient of the award named in Polk's memory, which honors investigative journalism.

With the outbreak of war in Korea, the *Herald Tribune* sent Bigart and his long-time colleague and rival Marguerite Higgins to cover the war. Other reporters said that the *Herald Tribune's* coverage surpassed that of other papers because Bigart and Higgins hated one another, driving a competition between the two that far exceeded that with another paper. Bigart continued to challenge authority, inspiring the special ire of UN commander General Douglas MacArthur, who accused Bigart of being biased against the UN effort. Bigart won his second Pulitzer in 1951 for his work, sharing the award with five other reporters, including Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News* and his rival Maggie Higgins.

Bigart left the *Herald Tribune* for *The New York Times* in 1955, working in the United States until he was sent to open *The New York Times* bureau in South Vietnam in January 1962. Bigart was part of the first wave of resident reporters to come to Saigon. At 55 years of age, he was among the oldest and certainly the most respected of the foreign correspondents in that early group. Bigart's combat experience, natural skepticism, and insight led him to the conclusion that the Diem regime was inherently flawed, and that as long as the Kennedy Administration remained committed to him, so was the U.S. effort in South Vietnam. Bigart's criticisms rankled Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, as well as the senior U.S. diplomatic and military officials in Saigon. Bigart also challenged the press policies instituted by the Kennedy Administration. For example, resident reporters were rarely granted permission to ride on helicopter missions in support of the South Vietnamese troops, and Bigart had been waiting for a chance for weeks. However, when columnist Joe Alsop, a personal friend of President Kennedy and a supporter of his policies in Vietnam, arrived in Saigon, he was given access to an operation immediately. So dismayed was Bigart by this blatant favoritism and the *Times's* failure to protest it that he threatened to resign.

Bigart did not quit, but did leave Vietnam in July 1962. During his relatively brief time in-country, he served as a role model for younger reporters and set a standard for intelligence and integrity that was not surpassed by any journalists who followed him to Vietnam. Bigart retired in 1972, and died in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on April 16, 1991.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Korean War), Correspondents (Vietnam War), Higgins, Marguerite; MacArthur, Douglas

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Censorship (Korean War)

During World War II, the American military establishment and the U.S. media maintained a cooperative, even collegial, relationship. Such was not the case, however, during the Korean War. Advances in broadcast technology and changes in the relationship between the press and military led to such adversarial interactions that General Douglas MacArthur, UN commander in Korea, felt the need to impose strict media censorship on December 20, 1950. This occurred only a few weeks after the massive intervention of Chinese troops into the war.

The advent of television changed the face, the politics, and the media coverage of warfare. When the Korean War began in June 1950, the two existing national broadcast networks, NBC and CBS, brought war reporting to the 10 percent of U.S. homes that owned a television. In 1950, there were only 70 credentialed reporters in Korea. By the end of the conflict in 1953, however, 40 percent of the nation's homes had televisions, and the Korean peninsula was being covered by some 238 credentialed U.S. and international reporters.

Television changed the war because it brought graphic and moving images of the conflict directly into Americans' living rooms and, for the first time, those images were frequently not the slickly produced pro-American propaganda that Americans had seen during World War II. Rather, these were images that showed the bloody effects of combat, pictures of men crying, and stories of the failures and inadequacies of the American war effort. Undoubtedly, such coverage contributed to the war being immensely unpopular with the American public.

The issue was further complicated by the simple fact that, at the beginning of the conflict, MacArthur saw no need to continue the censorship regulations that the media had endured during World War II. Therefore, war correspondents now found themselves in a difficult situation, often with access to information that might be of great interest to the enemy. This included troop strength, locations of forces, and even battle plans.

During the first six months of the Korean War, mainly because of the positive relationship fostered between the press and the military in World War II, journalists reported under a kind of voluntary code of censorship. However, security violations soon began to occur. The development of readily available long-distance telephone lines meant that reporters could post dispatches much more quickly than in previous wars. Field commanders, used to the time delay of old technology, did not hesitate to give reporters "sensitive" information that led to reporters filing dispatches that violated national security. This, plus media competition to be the first to "scoop" the competition with the story, often compromised the security dictates of the military. These developments actually reached a point at which the North Koreans were listening to American commercial radio stations to gain intelligence on United Nations Command (UNC) troop deployments and movements.

The "leak peak" occurred prior to the September 15, 1950 Inchon Landing. *Time* magazine's July 24, 1950 issue included a very accurate article speculating about amphibious assaults during the planned invasion. It hit the newsstands while UNC ships were just

beginning to organize for the landing. In August, a CBS Television reporter provided a live report of an infantry landing. Matters eventually got so out of hand that two reporters were expelled from Korea because their stories were considered to “helpful to the enemy.” The situation became confusing enough that the correspondents themselves asked for guidelines so that they would be certain to be protected from military or civilian prosecution.

As a result of these leaks, as well as negative coverage of the UN retreat after the Chinese intervention and stories blaming MacArthur for China’s entry into the conflict, MacArthur imposed formal censorship on December 20, 1950. Stories that endangered national security or were deemed to be dangerous to morale or embarrassing to the United States would now be censored. As a result, all news stories and film had to be cleared through and approved by appropriate military censors at the 8th Army Headquarters in Korea, and then again in Tokyo. By January 1953, the Joint Field Press Censorship Group had been instituted as a filter to censor all news copy and film before it reached the U.S. public.

MacArthur’s efforts at censorship did not prove to be very effective, however. Initially, the U.S. Army’s Signal Corps ran the only long-distance telephone line that connected Korea to Japan, thus giving the army an easy means of intercepting and censoring all outgoing stories. Journalists caught on to this quickly, however, and began to fly to Japan. From there, their stories could be phoned or radioed in, uncensored, to the United States.

Chiefly because of the Korean War, the press and the military maintained a love-hate relationship that endured, in many ways, until the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Meanwhile, the continued advancement in communication technology has made censorship virtually impossible since the end of the Korean War.

B. Keith Murphy

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Korean War); MacArthur, Douglas

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Chinese Intervention

The massive intervention by the People’s Republic of China (PRC) dramatically changed the nature of the war in Korea, both on the battlefield and in the political arena in the United States. China’s entrance into the war took Washington by surprise.



Chinese troops, such as those shown here, poured across the Yalu River separating China from North Korea in November, 1950, in response to the approach of UN forces under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, changing the dynamic of the war and creating a political and public relations crisis for the Truman Administration. (AP/Wide World Photos)

U.S. military intelligence at first thought that the Chinese in Korea would “avoid any overt intervention” against U.S. forces. By November 1, 1950 U.S. commanders had come to realize that the Chinese Peoples Volunteer Army (CPVA) was not in Korea just to handle supplies for the Korean People’s Army (KPA, North Korea), but were trained combat veterans intent on major military activities.

From the beginning of the war, both North Korean and Chinese leaders had been confused over the policy and intentions of the U.S. government. Both North Korea and China believed that the UNC would stop at the 38th parallel. Thus, the United Nations Command (UNC) crossing of that line on October 9, 1950 surprised the governments of both the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) and the PRC. Beijing now decided to intervene militarily and on October 18, Chinese troops began crossing the Yalu River into North Korea.

Reacting to the sudden Chinese entrance into the war, U.S. 8th Army Commander General Walton H. Walker ordered the First Cavalry Division to block the Chinese force that had overrun ROKA forces. Chinese broke through the ROKA positions, forcing ROKA units to retreat. Chinese soldiers soon mixed with the South Koreans, making distinctions between Communist and UN units difficult. Some Chinese even appeared in

South Korean uniforms. But by November 6, the position was stabilized and the Chinese units surrounding U.S. forces suddenly vanished. To this day, there are no clear answers as to why the CPVA suddenly withdrew. Some have speculated that the first engagements were a warning to Allied forces to withdraw from North Korea. Others believe that the CPVA had run out of food and ammunition and needed to regroup and resupply before beginning any new offensive.

Although the Chinese had first entered North Korea in late October 1950 and made limited contact with Allied Forces, they then withdrew back into the mountains to build up their forces. Then, in late November two Chinese army groups entered the conflict. In the west the CPVA Thirteenth Army Group attacked the Eighth Army directly. However, CPVA movement was slow, allowing Eighth Army to maintain a deliberate, orderly withdrawal back into South Korea.

Instead of linking up with Eighth Army in the west, X Corps received orders to attack north toward the Yalu River. On November 28, the CPVA mounted a counter-assault against the over-extended Americans. All during this period of bitter cold weather, the Chinese kept attacking the Marines, attempting to cut them off from their base of supply. In spite of heavy losses by U.S. forces, those sustained by the CPVA in northeast Korea in November and December 1950 amounted to a disaster. The CPVA Third Field Army started with 12 divisions of 120,000 men. Marine Corps studies estimate that in these divisions, both battle and non-battle casualties amounted to some 72,000 men.

On New Year's Eve 1950, the CPVA crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea, with the focus of the attack directly north of Seoul. Other Chinese forces drove across the parallel in the center and east of the Korean peninsula. By daylight on January 1, 1951, CPVA forces had penetrated the UNC defense east of Seoul and threatened to envelop the city. General Matthew B. Ridgway, who had taken command of Eighth Army, ordered the U.S. I and IX Corps to fall back into a bridgehead around Seoul. The defense of Seoul was thwarted, however, when ROK units on the central front collapsed.

In spite of Chinese pressure, the U.S. I and IX Corps conducted an orderly withdrawal from Seoul. Indeed, the major problem in the evacuation of the two U.S. corps from Seoul was a flood of South Korean refugees who clogged the roads and river crossings by the thousands. Cold weather added to their suffering as they herded in masses just ahead of the slow-moving CPVA. In spite of much confusion, a large number of refugees were able to board trains south of the river and travel directly to Pusan.

In the meantime, the CPVA continued its drive, shifting its thrust to central South Korea. This move threatened to envelop the U.S. I and IX Corps. To prevent this from occurring, on January 6 Ridgway ordered the withdrawal of all UNC forces to a new defensive position. Once the army was stabilized, Ridgway ordered aggressive patrolling. The bitter cold winter was having its effect on Chinese forces and drastically slowed their movement. In this circumstance, Ridgway planned a counterattack to regain the territory recently lost by the Eighth Army.

The failure of the Chinese to overwhelm UN forces, and the similar inability of the UN Command to push the Chinese back to their own borders, turned the Korean Conflict

into a frustrating stalemate. The initial Chinese intervention launched a political storm in the United States, as President Harry Truman and UN Commander Douglas MacArthur tried to push responsibility on to each other. This fight would climax in a showdown between the two strong personalities, resulting in MacArthur being relieved of command. This public squabble, along with bloody but inconclusive fighting in Korea, contributed to declining American public support for the war and increasing unpopularity of the Truman Administration.

Daniel R. Beirne

SEE ALSO Beech, Keyes; Bigart, Homer; Censorship (Korean War); MacArthur, Douglas; Public Opinion, United States; Truman, Harry S.

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Correspondents (Korean War)

The Korean War marked the continuing evolution of American war reporting. Korea brought to light the challenges of covering a “limited war,” in which military objectives were even more clearly shaped by political considerations, all under the shadow of the



A throng of correspondents gathers outside the site of the peace talks at Panmunjom in July 1953. Korea, a limited war unlike World War II, saw the U.S. government experiment with changes in its censorship of reporters. (National Archives)

possible use of nuclear weapons. Korea was also the first American conflict in which television began to have a journalistic presence.

The North Korean invasion on June 25, 1950 caught the press as much by surprise as it did the U.S. government and military. In fact, the outside world first learned of the invasion from United Press reporter Jack James, who happened to hear the news while at the U.S. Embassy the morning of the invasion. His flash report beat the American ambassador's cable to Washington by some 20 minutes.

Other reporters began covering the action even before President Truman ordered General Douglas MacArthur to resist the attack and a June 28th UN Security Council resolution in support of that action. Veteran correspondents Marguerite Higgins of *The New York Herald Tribune* and Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News* flew into Seoul, both narrowly escaping death as the city fell; four American journalists would be killed in action during the war's first month, the first among a total of ten American reporters who would die in the war.

As the North Koreans advanced, the press corps retreated with South Korean and American forces to the defensive perimeter set up around the southern port city of Pusan. Among them were Higgins, Beech, Homer Bigart of *The New York Herald Tribune*, Fred Sparks of the *Chicago Daily News*, and Relman Morin and Don Whitehead of the Associated Press. These six would share the 1951 Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting.

In the war's first days, MacArthur did not establish any clear press policies, including provisions for the logistical support of correspondents or battlefield censorship. As the UN retreat turned into a rout, reporters accompanying the troops reported the soldiers' anger and frustration with the lack of preparation or leadership from their superiors. MacArthur took these reports as personal attacks on him, and threatened to expel critical reporters. The success of the September 1950 landing at Inchon broke the North Korean advance and began a UN drive into North Korea. With this success, press-military relations eased. However, when the Chinese entered the war in November and threw UN forces back across the 38th Parallel, tensions between the press and MacArthur's command flared up once again. Finally, MacArthur imposed stringent censorship in January 1951, designed as much to protect his image as to safeguard military information.

Many of the frustrations correspondents felt derived from the nature of limited war. Military objectives and strategies had to be viewed in light of the nuclear-era fear that any conflict could quickly escalate to catastrophic levels. The United States learned this when MacArthur dismissed the possibility of Chinese intervention as it attempted to destroy the North Korean regime. The war soon settled into a stalemate whose aim was to restore the status quo ante bellum, not a war aim designed to inspire the public in the same way that "on to Berlin" had done. Soon, the more than 300 reporters from some 19 countries covering the war found themselves following the actions of the respective armies as they pushed each other back and forth across the 38th Parallel, while turning more attention to the just-as-stalemated peace talks that began in July 1951.

Television journalism had its first significant wartime presence in Korea. Technical limitations of this still-new medium, combined with battlefield censorship and the 15-minute long newscasts of the networks, meant that television coverage of the war was largely limited to documentaries and specials, rather than breaking stories from the front. The most important television news figure during the Korean War was CBS's Edward R. Murrow. Through installments of his show "See It Now," and through the specials "Christmas in Korea: 1952" and "Christmas in Korea: 1953," Murrow used television to create an intimacy with the experience of war that would, over time, redefine war reporting and its implications for public and political opinion.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Censorship (Korean War); Beech, Keyes; Bigart, Homer; Duncan, David Douglas; Higgins, Marguerite; MacArthur, Douglas; Public Opinion, United States; Television

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Duncan, David Douglas

David Douglas Duncan, along with Margaret Bourke-White and Robert Capa, are the first great figures of modern combat photojournalism. Duncan was born in Kansas City, Missouri on January 23, 1916. Duncan developed an early interest in photography after viewing a slide show presented at his elementary school by a big-game hunter. Duncan went to the University of Arizona to study archaeology. On January 24, 1934, Duncan began his career as a photojournalist by accident. Having just received a camera for his birthday, he used it to photograph a fire at a downtown Tucson hotel. Duncan shot several photos of one of the hotel's guests repeatedly trying to reenter the hotel to retrieve his suitcase. It turned out that the man in question was John Dillinger, and the suitcase contained the proceeds of his most recent bank robbery. Duncan sold the photos to the local paper, which lost them before they could be processed and published.

Duncan completed college in 1938 at the University of Miami, majoring in zoology and Spanish, but photography—and particularly the new field of photojournalism—was already his career choice. For the next five years, Duncan would serve as a freelance photo editor for dozens of American magazines and newspapers. In 1943, he enlisted in the Marine Corps and was commissioned a second lieutenant. Duncan was attached as a combat photographer to the Marines' Southern Pacific Combat Air Transport Command, based in the New Hebrides Islands, and this assignment gave him wide latitude to cover a variety of operations. In all of them, he displayed his focus on capturing war on a human scale, getting as close to the action and its consequences as possible. This impulse brought him into role of combatant on the island of Bougainville.

Duncan's wartime work caught the eye of *Life* magazine, which hired him following his separation from the Marines. Over the next five years, Duncan covered stories around the world, before being assigned to the Korean War in the summer of 1950. It was here that Duncan established his reputation as one of the great photojournalists of his time. His photographs of the early days of the war and, later, of the Marines trapped in the Chosin Reservoir, brought home the fear and resolve of American soldiers in a way that few photographers have. Duncan published *This is War!*, a collection of his work from Korea, in 1951, donating the royalties to the widows and orphans of Marines killed in the war.

Duncan returned to combat coverage in 1967, again on assignment for *Life*. By this time, Duncan was becoming increasingly dismayed by the waste of war, especially one fought as incompetently as he felt was the case in Vietnam. He published his work from Vietnam in two collections, *I Protest!* in 1968, and *War Without Heroes* in 1970. In both books, Duncan raised his drive to chronicle war's impact on individual human beings to an even higher, more passionate level. *I Protest!*, which chronicled Duncan's eight-day visit to the Marine combat base at Khe Sanh while it was under siege during the Tet Offensive in early 1968, remains a classic examination of the futility of war.

Throughout his career, Duncan published collections of photographs in addition to his work as a combat photojournalist. His travels across the United States provided the material for collections like 1969's *Self-Portrait: USA*. Duncan also published a

photo-essay autobiography in 1966 entitled *Yankee Nomad*, which was reissued in 2003 as *Photo Nomad*. Duncan also became friends with Pablo Picasso, eventually publishing seven collections of photos of the artist.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Korean War); Correspondents (Vietnam War); Inchon Landing; Tet '68 Offensive

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Eisenhower, Dwight D.

Eisenhower reached the highest levels of his chosen professions—the military and politics. Born in Denison, Texas, on October 14, 1890, Dwight David Eisenhower grew up in modest circumstances in Abilene, Kansas. In 1915, he graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. In 1918, he was posted to the U.S. Expeditionary Force in France, but World War I ended before his arrival. He excelled in a variety of postings, including the Command and General Staff College and the Army War College.

As the United States prepared for World War II, Eisenhower initially served as chief of staff to the new Third Army. In November 1942, he commanded the Allied invasion of North Africa, and in 1943 he launched the invasion first of Sicily and then Italy. In December 1943, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt made him commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force to invade Western Europe. Eisenhower commanded this force through the end of the war in Europe. In December 1944, he was promoted to general of the army, and by the end of the war he was a national hero.

From May to November 1945, Eisenhower commanded Allied occupation forces in Germany. He then returned to Washington to serve as chief of staff of the army until his retirement in February 1948, when he became president of Columbia University. Eisenhower strongly endorsed the Truman administration's developing Cold War policies, including intervention in Korea. On January 1, 1951, Eisenhower took leave from Columbia to strengthen the infant North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), becoming the First Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

Eisenhower hoped to translate his fame into a political career even though he had never voted and had no party affiliation. In 1952, the Republican Party turned to Eisenhower. Eisenhower campaigned hard, though he left the harsher attacks on the Democrats to his running mate, Senator Richard M. Nixon of California, and Senator

Joseph R. McCarthy. Republicans criticized the Democrats for mishandling the war in Korea, especially the recall of former UN commander General MacArthur, and suggested that these weaknesses were the result of the presence of Communist spies, agents, and their associates within the administration.

During the campaign, Eisenhower promised that, if elected, he would pay a personal visit to Korea, which he secretly did in early December 1952 as president-elect. This trip confirmed his suspicions that a major new military offensive was not feasible and that the United States should bring the armistice negotiations to a speedy conclusion. This emphasis was reinforced by his desire to reduce military spending and balance the budget.

Once inaugurated, Eisenhower moved quickly to end the war. He did so in part through a strategy of calculated escalation. In an effort to pressure the People's Republic of China (PRC) to negotiate seriously, in February 1953 the President announced that the United States would permit Taiwan's Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek to attack the Chinese mainland. The same month, the National Security Council decided that, were an armistice not concluded in the near future, UN forces should bomb Chinese bases and supply camps in Manchuria, impose a blockade upon the mainland, and possibly employ tactical nuclear weapons. These decisions were deliberately conveyed to PRC leaders through Jawaharlal Nehru, India's prime minister, and Eisenhower believed that they were responsible for persuading China to open serious bargaining.

By June 1953, a compromise settlement had been reached. President of the Republic of Korea (ROK) Syngman Rhee, hoping to prolong the war in order to reunify Korea under his rule, tried to sabotage the negotiations, but, if anything, they hardened the resolve of both Americans and Chinese to reach a settlement. In return for dropping his objections, Rhee was promised a mutual security treaty, \$200 million in immediate economic aid, and U.S. assistance in expanding the ROK Army to 20 divisions was guaranteed.

In 1954, Eisenhower firmly rejected suggestions by Rhee that their two countries should embark on nuclear action against North Korea. Eisenhower's stand reflected his broad disinclination to use nuclear weapons in any circumstances, even as his defense policy relied increasingly upon a nuclear deterrent. Rhee's suggestions were ostensibly prompted by the Chinese and North Korean failure to hold further talks to address outstanding issues still unresolved.

In recent years, historians have lauded the relative moderation and restraint of his foreign policy. Although his policies were undoubtedly more restrained than the more extreme suggestions advocated by such figures as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Joint Chiefs Chairman Admiral Arthur Radford, overall Eisenhower subscribed to the prevailing Cold War orthodoxy and helped to ensure its general acceptance.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO Presidential Election of 1952; Public Opinion, United States

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Film (Korean War)

That the Korean conflict is the United States' forgotten war may be attributed at least in part to the reluctance of book publishers and moviemakers to exploit the war in the pursuits of enlightenment and entertainment. In what might later be described as a Catch-22 situation, the book and movie people shunned the Korean War because it was not popular, and the war remained unpopular without the cheerleading and propaganda benefits the popular arts could provide, as was especially true in the case of World War II.

The modest first wave of movies that focused on the Korean conflict were medium- to low-budget flag-wavers with emphasis on action and without political or ideological substance. These minor efforts include *Battle Taxi*, *Battle Zone*, and *Mission Over Korea*, all arriving before 1952.

Two movies directed by Samuel Fuller—*The Steel Helmet* and *Fixed Bayonets*—earned praise for their realistic battle creations in a Korea filmed in the Ventura Hills near Hollywood. Joseph Lewis's similarly constituted *Retreat, Hell!* had documentary-like authority in depicting the U.S. Marine withdrawal from Korea's Changjin Reservoir in the wake of a massive Chinese offensive. Such entries appeared to have little impact on the public, however.

Tay Garnett's *One Minute to Zero* (Robert Mitchum, Ann Blyth) and Richard Brooks's *Battle Circus* (Humphrey Bogart, June Allyson) boasted established directors and popular stars of the period, but were torn to ribbons by the critics. *Battle Circus*



Frank Sinatra, actor-singer, helps Laurence Harvey, British actor, from the lake at Central Park in New York, February 7, 1962, during the filming of *The Manchurian Candidate*. In the scene from the film, Harvey has, according to script, reacted to a random suggestion: “Go jump in the lake.” (AP/Wide World Photos)

was remade by Robert Altman—drastically revised to its everlasting benefit—as *M*A*S*H*, which in turn spawned the long-running television show of the same name. An outstanding Korean War movie, filmed before the war’s end but released in 1954 after its conclusion, was *The Bridges at Toko-Ri*, directed by Mark Robson and based on James Michener’s novel, one of the more eloquent Korean War-based fictions. This film contained two splendid performances, one by William Holden, as an officer recalled from the Naval Reserve, and the other by Fredric March.

Some other notable Korean War-themed films appeared intermittently over the following years. *Pork Chop Hill* (1959), with Gregory Peck, was a visual triumph for veteran director Lewis Milestone. Hall Bartlett’s *All the Young Men* (1960) offered valuable comment on race relations among Korean War troops as depicted by Alan Ladd and Sidney Poitier. John Frankenheimer’s *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962) offers a provocative examination of psychological aftereffects of the Korean War, as well as Frank Sinatra’s finest straight acting on film. As late as 1977, Joseph Sargent’s *MacArthur*, with Gregory Peck in the controversial title role, devoted much of its footage to General Douglas MacArthur’s flamboyance during the Korean War, climaxing with his dismissal by President Harry Truman.

Larry Swindell

SEE ALSO *MacArthur*, Douglas; *Pork Chop Hill*, Battle of; Public Opinion, United States

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Germ Warfare, Allegations of

Biological warfare, also termed germ or bacteriological warfare, has existed for centuries. During World War I, German agents reportedly inoculated horses with glanders and cattle with anthrax, and in World War II the infamous Japanese Unit 731 conducted experiments with plague in Manchuria in the early 1940s. During the Korean War, allegations by the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) of biological warfare by the United States became a key element of Communist propaganda.

Communist press and governmental accusations concerning U.S. employment of biological warfare in China and North Korea first surfaced in 1951. No details were given in these communiqués other than the allegations of the spread of smallpox. More formal accusations came in February and March 1952, by the foreign ministers of North Korea and of China (PRC). These charges were supported by the Soviet Union and vigorously denied by the United States.

These accusations were backed by the 1952 *Report of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China*. The main incidents chronicled in the report were numerous appearances of plague, anthrax, and cholera in North Korea and China. The report alleged that U.S. planes dropped bombs containing insects or rodents or objects such as feathers or packets of clams infected with various diseases. Supporting evidence was provided by recovered bomb fragments and containers and by the testimonies of captured U.S. intelligence agents (South Koreans) and U.S. pilots.

In reality, the epidemics of these diseases resulted from poor sanitation and health conditions stemming from the war and a lack of effective civilian medical care. However, Communist leaders used these epidemics as a propaganda tool and as a means to hide the inadequacies of their health care system. The transparency of this propaganda ploy was illustrated by two events. First, on April 23, 1953, as the war was winding down, the United Nations General Assembly created a commission to investigate the accusations of biological warfare. After the Armistice Agreement was signed, however, the Communists dropped the matter and references to these accusations have since disappeared from East European literature. Second, it was later determined after repatriation that the captured U.S. pilots who had signed false statements of U.S. biological

warfare activity had been tortured, threatened with mock execution, and brainwashed into doing so.

The employment of biological warfare by the United States would have made even less sense than that of chemical warfare, which the Communists had also alleged. World opinion, U.S. adherence to Western laws of war, and the likelihood of such biological agents also affecting U.S. and Allied troops and the South Korean population made the validity of such charges highly improbable.

Interestingly enough, within a decade after the war ended, the United States admitted that it had the capability to wage biological warfare in Korea. In fact, Japanese Lieutenant General Shiro Ishii, who was involved with the Manchurian plague experiments, had been given immunity by the United States in return for his help in further developing its program, which began around 1941. However, in January 1959, a sworn statement was signed that stated that the U.S. “bacteriological warfare capability was based upon resources available and retained only within the continental United States.”

Robert J. Bunker

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Korean War); Public Opinion, United States

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Higgins, Marguerite

Higgins was a pioneer journalist, not only as a woman reporting from combat zones, but also as one of the leading figures in American overseas journalism. Higgins was especially renowned for her reporting from the front in Korea. Born on September 3, 1920 in Hong Kong and educated in France and Britain, Higgins graduated from the

University of California at Berkeley in 1941. The following year she earned a master's degree from Columbia University's School of Journalism.

Higgins had already been a campus reporter for *The New York Herald Tribune* and went to work for the newspaper full time after leaving Columbia University. Initially assigned to the city staff, she was more interested in obtaining an assignment overseas to report on World War II. After much campaigning, she finally received the assignment she so desperately wanted. In 1944, she went by sea to Southampton. After a brief period in London, she moved to Paris, later joining the U.S. Seventh Army's advance into Germany and filing battlefield reports along the way. By 1945, she was chief of the Berlin bureau for the *Herald Tribune* and covered the Allied liberations of the concentration camps at Buchenwald and Dachau.

In April 1950, Higgins went to Tokyo as chief of *The New York Herald Tribune's* Tokyo Bureau. She was thus one of the first reporters to arrive in Seoul after the June 25, 1950 North Korean invasion of South Korea. She fled the city with other U.S. nationals on June 27 and returned to Tokyo. However, she quickly went back to South Korea and was in Suwon when General Douglas MacArthur visited there on June 29, 1950. She flew back to Tokyo with the general aboard his aircraft, the *Bataan*. During an exclusive interview, MacArthur told Higgins that the Republic of Korea Army (ROKA) was in good condition but lacked effective leadership, and he therefore intended to recommend the commitment of U.S. ground forces.

Higgins was the only female war correspondent in Korea, and many in authority did not appreciate her presence in the theater. In July 1950, Eighth Army Commander Lieutenant General Walton W. Walker barred women from combat zones, but Higgins appealed to MacArthur, who lifted the ban.

Higgins reported from the front and was the first correspondent to note the inadequacy of the 2.36-inch bazooka against Korean People's Army (KPA, North Korean) tanks. She also accompanied the U.S. Marines at the landing at Inchon. In 1951 she won a Pulitzer Prize for her war-front reports, and that same year she published a book, *War in Korea: Report of a Woman Combat Correspondent*, which became a bestseller. By all accounts, Higgins was tough and courageous, and she was credited with helping to save the lives of many wounded soldiers and Marines, earning much respect in the process.



Marguerite Higgins, a bureau chief with the *New York Herald Tribune*, reports from the front during the Korean War. The only female U.S. war correspondent in Korea, she won a Pulitzer Prize in 1951 for her coverage of the war. (Library of Congress)

After the Korean War, she stayed in Asia until 1958, when she returned to Washington as a diplomatic correspondent for the *Herald Tribune*. Higgins died on January 3, 1966 of a rare tropical disease she had contracted during a tour of Vietnam, Pakistan, and India. She was buried in Arlington National Cemetery under a simple stone engraved with the following words: “And now she is with her boys again.”

James H. Willbanks

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Korean War); Correspondents (Vietnam War); Inchon Landing; MacArthur, Douglas

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Inchon Landing

The amphibious assault at Inchon on September 15, 1950 turned the tide in the early days of the Korean War and provided a major boost to flagging U.S. military and public morale. By mid-July 1950, Republic of Korea Army (ROKA, South Korean) and U.S. troops were restricted to the Pusan perimeter on the southeast coast of South Korea. Even as the U.S. forces endeavored to blunt the Korean People’s Army (KPA, North Korean) offensive and secure the vital port of Pusan, MacArthur was making plans to present the North Koreans with a two-front war.

MacArthur chose Inchon, on South Korea’s west coast, as the site of the assault. Korea’s second largest port, Inchon, was only 15 miles from the ROK capital of Seoul. This area was the most important road and rail hub in Korea and a vital link in the main KPA supply line to their forces on the Pusan perimeter. Cutting the line here would starve KPA forces facing Eighth Army. Kimpo Airfield near Inchon was one of the few hard-surface airfields in Korea. The capture of Seoul would strike a serious psychological and political blow at the North Koreans, rescue the reputation of U.S. military capability, and provide a much-needed morale boost for the American people in just the sort of grand gesture that so appealed to MacArthur.

However, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and most of MacArthur’s subordinate commanders opposed the choice. Both the tide and terrain made the operation extremely hazardous. Tidal shifts at Inchon were sudden and dramatic, and at best the landing forces would have only a three-hour period on each tide in which to enter or leave the port.

On August 23, MacArthur met with his critics in a final dramatic meeting in the Dai-Ichi building in Tokyo. After lengthy presentations of objections to Inchon, MacArthur spoke for about 45 minutes. He said he recognized the hazards but expressed confidence in the

navy and Marines to overcome them. “The very arguments you have made as to the impracticalities involved will tend to ensure for me the element of surprise. For the enemy commander will reason that no one would be so brash as to make such an attempt.” He concluded, “I can almost hear the ticking of the second hand of destiny. We must act now or we will die. . . . We shall land at Inchon, and I shall crush them.” Although some senior officers at the briefing remained unconvinced, MacArthur’s remarks were the turning point in the debate.

On August 28, MacArthur received formal approval from the JCS. The Chiefs took the unusual precaution of securing the written approval of President Harry Truman for the operation, reflecting their fears that they would be held responsible should it fail. The armada of vessels carrying nearly 70,000 men was a makeshift affair. It included ships from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, France, Holland, and Great Britain. Marine aircraft from two escort carriers, naval aircraft from the *Boxer*, and British aircraft from a light British carrier were to provide air support over the landing area. Thirty-seven of forty-seven LSTs in the invasion were hastily recalled from Japanese merchant service and were run by Japanese crews.

The convoy reached the Inchon Narrows just before dawn on September 15, the fifth day of air and naval bombardment of Wolmi-do Island, which controlled access to the harbor. At 6:33 a.m. the Marines went ashore at Wolmi-do, meeting light resistance; by noon Wolmi-do was secure. At 4:45 p.m. the first wave of landing craft left the transports for Inchon, and at 5:31 p.m. the first Americans climbed up ladders onto the seawall.

The sun was setting and visibility was further inhibited by smoke and drizzle. Careful plans went awry or were forgotten as the landing craft made for the waterfront. Some in the second wave grounded and the men were forced to wade ashore, but within six hours, the Marines were firmly lodged in Inchon.

On the morning of September 16, the Marines began the drive east toward Seoul. By September 18, Kimp'o Airfield had been taken. On September 16, a day after the Inchon invasion, General Walker’s Eighth Army began its breakout along the Pusan perimeter and drove north. Seoul was retaken late on September 25, three months to the day after the North Korean invasion. On September 29, MacArthur presided over an emotional ceremony in the Capitol Building marking the liberation of Seoul.

The Inchon-Seoul campaign greatly increased MacArthur’s self-confidence—he now tended to dismiss reservations from Washington about his plans. The KPA was so badly beaten that MacArthur was certain the war for Korea had been won and that it was just a matter of mopping up. Certainly, MacArthur did not anticipate massive Chinese intervention.

Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Chinese Intervention; Higgins, Marguerite; MacArthur, Douglas

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MacArthur, Douglas

Supreme commander of UN forces during the Korean War, Douglas MacArthur was born on January 26, 1880 at Fort Dodge, Arkansas. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at the head of his class in 1903.

After the United States entered World War I in April 1917, MacArthur went to France as chief of staff of the 42nd Infantry Division. Promoted to temporary brigadier general, he fought with the division in the Second Battle of the Marne. MacArthur then led the



General Douglas MacArthur, shown here observing the Inchon landings in September 1950, was extraordinarily conscious of his public image and went to great lengths to manage it. (National Archives)

8th Infantry Brigade in the Saint-Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensives. He commanded the 42nd Division at the end of the war.

Following occupation duty in Germany, MacArthur returned to the United States as superintendent of West Point (1919–1922), where he carried out much-needed reforms. He served in the Philippines and claimed that his extensive service there gave him special insight into the “Oriental mind.” MacArthur was then chief of staff of the army (1930–1935), his reputation suffering in the 1932 Bonus Army Incident when he employed force to oust a protest by World War I veterans in Washington, DC In 1935, MacArthur returned to the Philippines as adviser to the Philippine government in establishing an army capable of resisting a Japanese invasion. He retired from the U.S. Army in 1937 and became field marshal of Philippine forces.

Recalled to active service with the U.S. Army in July 1941, MacArthur received command of all U.S. forces in the Far East. Believing his forces could defend the islands, he scrapped the original, sound plan to withdraw into the Bataan Peninsula. His refusal to allow Major General Lewis Brereton to launch an immediate retaliatory strike against the Japanese on Formosa following the attack on Pearl Harbor meant that most of his air force was caught and destroyed on the ground.

Although the Japanese force invading the Philippines was composed of only 57,000 men, half that of MacArthur’s own numbers, many of the general’s men were poorly trained (some were recent inductees), and they were thinly spread. The Japanese had little difficulty taking Manila and much of the island of Luzon. MacArthur then ordered his forces to follow the original plan for withdrawing into the Bataan Peninsula. Unfortunately, the bases there were not ready, and the retreating troops had to abandon precious stocks of supplies and ammunition in the process. Over the next months, MacArthur spent most of his time on Corregidor. Rather than see him become a prisoner of the Japanese, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to Australia on February 22, 1942, where he became Supreme Commander of Allied forces in the southwest Pacific. MacArthur also was awarded the Medal of Honor, an honor that many defenders of Bataan and Corregidor believed was undeserved. Officials in Washington were also upset by MacArthur’s acceptance of a \$500,000 payment from his friend Manuel Quezon, the Philippine president.

From Australia, MacArthur initially developed a deliberate strategy to return to the Philippines. The slow pace of the Allied advance led Washington to insist on a leap-frogging approach that would bypass strongly held Japanese islands and positions, such as Rabaul on New Britain Island and Truk. In the spring of 1944, MacArthur’s troops invaded New Guinea and isolated Rabaul. By September, they had taken Morotai and the rest of New Guinea.

In a meeting with Roosevelt in Hawaii in July 1944, Admiral Chester Nimitz, who commanded forces in the Central Pacific, proposed moving against Formosa, whereas MacArthur sought to retake the Philippines. The goal of both approaches was to deny Japanese forces access to supplies in the south. The upshot was that Roosevelt agreed that MacArthur would be allowed to retake the Philippines, and Nimitz shifted his resources against Okinawa.

MacArthur commanded ground forces in the liberation of the Philippines. In October, U.S. troops landed on Leyte. They then secured Luzon between January and March 1945, followed by the southern Philippines. An invasion of Japan proved unnecessary, and MacArthur, one of those promoted to the new rank of General of the Army, presided over the formal Japanese surrender ceremony on the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2 in his capacity as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers.

Following his triumphal command of U.S. forces in the Pacific during World War II, MacArthur became Supreme Commander of Allied Powers in Japan, which included responsibility for the U.S. occupation of South Korea. By 1950, MacArthur's Far East Command (FEC) was in no shape to fight a war. Drastic cutbacks in the U.S. defense budget had severely reduced its troops and equipment. MacArthur had also allowed readiness and training in his command to deteriorate.

The weakness of U.S. forces was made clear on June 25, 1950 when North Korea launched a full-scale invasion of South Korea. On June 29, MacArthur flew to Korea to view the situation. The Republic of Korea (ROK-South Korea) capital of Seoul had already fallen, and roads were jammed with refugees and troops of the defeated ROK Army (ROKA) heading south. President Truman quickly gave MacArthur "full authority to use the ground forces under his command" and placed him in command of the UN forces in Korea.

The ill-equipped Americans were badly mauled in their first actions against the Korean People's Army (KPA, North Korean). The Eighth Army was forced into a perimeter around the vital port of Pusan in southeast South Korea. On July 27, a "grim faced" MacArthur arrived at Eighth Army headquarters and declared that further retreat would be "unacceptable."

MacArthur then gave full attention to his scheme for landing U.S. troops deep in the enemy's rear. The plan, christened Operation CHROMITE, called for an amphibious assault on the port of Inchon, on Korea's west coast twenty miles from Seoul. The invaders would seize the capital, cutting the lines of communication of the KPA, while the Eighth Army broke out of the Pusan perimeter. But the general had to convince skeptical members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). Inchon was less than ideal for an amphibious operation. It had high tides and swift currents and lacked landing beaches. MacArthur acknowledged the difficulties involved and assured his superiors that surprise was guaranteed because the North Koreans would never suspect such a daring operation. The JCS and President Truman gave their reluctant approval to Operation CHROMITE, which commenced on September 15.

MacArthur had been correct; the Koreans were taken by surprise and U.S. casualties were light. U.S. and ROKA troops captured Seoul while the bulk of Communist forces, far to the south, disintegrated and fled northward following the breakout of the Eighth Army from the Pusan perimeter. The landings had worked brilliantly; it was the high point of MacArthur's career, and a dangerous aura of invincibility now surrounded the general.

In the wake of Inchon, an overly optimistic Washington and UN decided that United Nations Command (UNC) forces should enter North Korea, destroy remaining Communist

forces, and reunite the peninsula under a democratic government. MacArthur received this directive on September 27, but was also warned not to allow non-ROK forces to enter any of the provinces bordering China. On October 1, ROK troops crossed the parallel. Two days later, the Chinese issued a warning that U.S. troops entering North Korea would “encounter Chinese resistance.” Chinese troops began secretly entering North Korea on October 14.

On October 15, MacArthur met with President Truman on Wake Island. MacArthur assured Truman that Chinese intervention was unlikely and that even if the Chinese did enter the conflict there would be “the greatest slaughter” of Chinese troops. MacArthur and Truman then departed, seemingly in agreement about the progress of the war. However, MacArthur grumbled that the meeting’s purpose was to allow the president to bask in the reflected glow of the successful general.

On October 24, MacArthur, ignoring the JCS directive forbidding non-ROK troops to enter the provinces along the Yalu River, ordered all his forces north. The next day, Chinese forces struck several UNC units without warning, inflicting heavy casualties. MacArthur ignored this evidence of Chinese intervention and on November 24, he launched the UNC drive that, he told reporters, would “get the boys home by Christmas.” Over the next three days, some 300,000 Chinese troops slammed into UN troops.

His forces in full retreat, MacArthur ignited another test of wills with Washington, demanding that restrictions on the bombing of Yalu bridges be lifted. Washington gave way, but the attacks, restricted to the Korean ends of the bridges, were largely ineffective. MacArthur, stung by press criticism, blamed restrictions placed on his forces by Washington as the reason for the disaster. He demanded a naval blockade of China, bombardment of the Chinese mainland, and utilization of Nationalist troops from Formosa. He informed the JCS that if these demands were turned down, defeat and evacuation were the only alternatives. He issued a public statement to the same effect. This open defiance convinced Truman that the general had to go. On April 11, 1952, MacArthur, in Tokyo, received the news that he had been relieved of all his commands. He turned to his wife and said simply, “Jeannie, we’re going home at last.”

Despite his statement to a joint session of Congress, he refused to simply fade away. At the Congressional investigation of his dismissal, he attacked Truman administration policies in Asia. He toured the country in full uniform, giving shrill speeches at every stop. But, gradually, he lost his following among the public and a chance at a run for the presidency.

MacArthur spent his remaining years quietly, living with his wife in New York City’s Waldorf Hotel. MacArthur died on April 3, 1964 at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, DC. He is buried in Norfolk, Virginia.

Duane L. Wesolick

SEE ALSO Censorship (Korean War); Censorship (World War II); Chinese Intervention; Correspondents (Korean War); Correspondents (World War II); Inchon Landing; Truman, Harry S.

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Pork Chop Hill, Battle of

The Battle of Pork Chop Hill was actually a series of small, violent battles fought between March 23 and July 11, 1953. Hill 234 on the western side of the Korean peninsula near the 38th parallel, became known as Pork Chop Hill because of its shape. The hill was originally taken from the Chinese army by United Nations Command (UNC) forces on June 6, 1952 and was made into a defensive outpost, one of many such positions making up the UNC line. These outposts, located on hills or ridges, were built for all-around defense. Created by the stalemated nature of the war by 1952–1953, this system emphasized small-unit combat fought on a seemingly endless number of hills that crossed the center of the peninsula. The hill and the fighting around it became more important for their propaganda and public relations importance than for any tactical or strategic significance.

In November 1952, Chinese troops attacked Pork Chop Hill, which was successfully defended by a battalion from Thailand. The most serious attempts to capture the hill, however, came in the spring and summer of 1953. On March 23, the Chinese launched simultaneous assaults against Pork Chop Hill and the nearby hill known as Old Baldy. Old Baldy was lost by UNC forces, but a U.S. battalion managed to hang on to a portion of Pork Chop Hill; a counterattack retook the entire hill on March 24. Eighth Army headquarters then decided to give up Old Baldy, but Pork Chop Hill, which now stuck out into the Communist lines, was maintained as a fortified outpost.

The best known of the struggles for the hill began after 10:00 p.m. on April 16, 1953. By moving swiftly and silently, Chinese troops managed to penetrate UN defenses around the hill practically unobserved. They overwhelmed a U.S. force of only 76 men, 20 of whom were strung out in listening posts in front of the hill and five more of whom were on patrol at the time. This patrol was the only group that had seen the oncoming Chinese force, but it had been unable to relay a message back to the men on Pork Chop.

Attempts were then launched to try to retake the hill starting in the early hours of April 17 and lasting into the next day. The UNC did not at first realize just how complete the Chinese success had been and, as a result, many of the units that moved up the rear of the hill came under Communist fire almost immediately and soon found themselves thrown back or cut off and surrounded. Confusion was common at this stage, and one U.S. unit even fired into one of their own companies by mistake. Troops also suffered shortages of water and ammunition, as well as a lack of communication with headquarters. During the battle both sides poured unusually heavy artillery barrages onto Pork Chop Hill, which had the effect of pinning everyone in their dugouts and battered trenches, preventing either side from advancing successfully.

Throughout the battle, Eighth Army command had to decide how many men it was prepared to lose in order to retake and hold Pork Chop Hill, a decision dependent on how important it was to prevent the Chinese from flaunting a victory for propaganda purposes, especially as peace talks at Panmunjom continued. U.S. leaders determined that the hill must be kept, and a final assault led to the recapture of the heights on April 18. Sporadic fighting for Pork Chop Hill continued into the summer of 1953.

What finally underlined the essence of the Battle of Pork Chop Hill was the decision later made by high command to give Pork Chop Hill back to the Chinese. The evacuation of the hill took place without incident on July 11, two weeks before the armistice. Pork Chop Hill symbolized the last two years of the Korean War. It was an example of the hopeless, bloody stalemate into which the war had evolved and it pointed toward the type of limited warfare of the future that both the military and civilians found to be so frustrating during the era of the Cold War. Pork Chop Hill ended up within the demilitarized zone created to separate South and North Korea at the war's conclusion. The battle provided the subject matter for one of the few major American films made about the war, 1959's *Pork Chop Hill*, starring Gregory Peck.

Eric Jarvis

SEE ALSO Chinese Intervention; Film (Korean War)

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Presidential Election of 1952

The 1952 presidential election matched Republican General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower against Democrat Adlai Stevenson, the governor of Illinois. Eisenhower enjoyed enormous popularity due to his service as commander of Allied forces in Europe during World War II. Eisenhower defeated Stevenson handily, receiving 55 percent of the popular vote to his opponent's 44 percent and dominating the Electoral College count by 442–89. The election also produced slim Republican majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Thus, the Republicans gained control of the presidency and both houses of Congress for the first time since 1932.

The Korean War heavily influenced the 1952 campaign, beginning with each party's nomination process. A political casualty of the war was Democrat Harry Truman, the incumbent president. In mid-1952, the war had ground to a stalemate. Even though armistice negotiations had been underway for a year, no end to the conflict was in sight. As a result, only 23 percent of the public approved of Truman's performance, the worst popularity rating of any president in polling history. Although Truman was eligible to run for another term, he reluctantly stepped aside for the good of his party. Truman searched for an alternative candidate for his party, finally convincing a hesitant Stevenson to run for the Democratic nomination.

The war figured prominently in the Democratic campaign. Although the Illinois governor distanced his views on domestic policy from Truman's, he solidly backed Truman's policy of containing global communism. Despite the stalemate in the war, the party platform proclaimed that the Korean intervention was a successful example of collective security. At the convention, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois credited the Korean War with keeping Asia from going completely communist. Eleanor Roosevelt told the convention that failing to defend South Korea would have been no different from the appeasement of Adolf Hitler over Czechoslovakia in 1938. Thus, the Democrats entered the general election committed to defending Truman's decision to repel the North Korean invasion.

The Korean War also had a large effect on the selection of the Republican nominee. Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, the acknowledged leader of the party, had declared his candidacy early on, but his views on the war vacillated between calling the war a mistake to proposing taking the war into mainland China. Eisenhower, having turned down an offer by the Democrats to be their candidate, responded to an invitation from anti-Taft Republicans to run for the nomination. Eisenhower easily won the nomination on the first ballot. To appeal to the hard-line anticommunist wing of the party, Eisenhower chose Senator Richard Nixon of California as his vice-presidential running mate.

The Republican Party platform also spotlighted the Korean War, asserting that it should not have occurred in the first place but became necessary due to failed Democratic policies. Even though Eisenhower, like Stevenson, endorsed Truman's containment policy, his party's platform condemned it. Instead, the party endorsed

the idea of liberating people from Soviet domination rather than merely containing communism. Eisenhower went along with this contradiction to his personal views to unify the party.

As the campaign got underway, the war continued to be a major factor. Eisenhower did not pursue the “liberation” rhetoric of his party’s platform. Instead, he chose a middle-of-the-road position between a proposed invasion of China and Taft’s focus on securing only those areas that could be protected by U.S. air and sea power. Stevenson voiced support for the peace negotiations that were in progress and counseled patience, arguing that this was the best way to end the war.

In October 1952, two events helped swing the election to Eisenhower. On October 8, the peace talks at Panmunjom reached an impasse over the terms for returning of prisoners of war (POWs), halting the negotiations. As a result, heavy fighting broke out in Korea again, costing the United States some 1,000 war casualties per week in the closing days of the 1952 campaign. As a result, Americans did not have much confidence in Stevenson’s urgings to have patience with the peace talks. Then, Eisenhower delivered a master stroke. Responding to Democratic attacks that he had proposed no concrete solution, on October 24, Eisenhower declared, “I shall go to Korea.” Eisenhower explained that he needed to see the situation in Korea personally in order to figure out what to do. Given his military track record, this vow resonated with voters, giving Eisenhower the aura of a candidate who could solve the Korean problem.

Despite Eisenhower’s landslide victory, Republican gains in Congress were not as significant. This suggests that voters had more faith in Eisenhower personally than they did in the Republican Party to end the war. Ironically, while Eisenhower did personally visit Korea, he apparently concluded that the Truman administration was following the most feasible policy after all. By July 1953, the Korean armistice had been signed with virtually the same conditions pursued by Truman when the negotiations broke down in 1952.

Larry Wayne Blomstedt

SEE ALSO Eisenhower, Dwight D.; MacArthur, Douglas; Public Opinion, United States; Truman, Harry S.

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Public Opinion, United States

Although Americans generally supported the nation's participation in the Korean War, their support fluctuated with the course of the war. In early July 1950, 77 percent of Americans polled by Gallup responded that they supported President Harry S. Truman's decision to commit United States air, naval, and ground forces to a larger UN force in defense of the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea), which had been invaded by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea). Despite this approval, 43 percent believed it would lead eventually to another world war, while 14 percent believed that the war would not last more than a year. Americans indicated their strongest support for the war when questions contained the words "Communist invasion" rather than "defend South Korea."

American support remained strong through late November 1950, as UN forces, led by U.S. troops, made significant progress against the North Koreans. On September 8, 1950, UN forces stopped the North Korean invasion at Pusan, in the southeastern corner of South Korea. A week later, UN forces landed at Inchon and marched to the ROK capital of Seoul, liberating it from the North Koreans. A few weeks later, Allied forces invaded North Korea, and on October 19, they captured its capital of Pyongyang. On October 25, Allied forces engaged Chinese troops and forced their retreat back into China. Promises that American troops would be home by Christmas evaporated on November 25, when a massive Chinese army stormed across the Yalu River, and drove the UN forces back to South Korea. In response to the Chinese invasion and subsequent Allied retreat, public support for the war dropped 25 points to a 52 percent approval rating.

Early in 1951, public support for the war increased, but this tapered off by the end of the year, equaling its low levels after the Chinese invasion in 1950. In February, public support reached about a 60 percent approval rating after the United Nations forced the Communists back across the 38th parallel. After reaching its lowest level in 1952, public support climbed after the peace talks resumed in Panmunjon on October 25. By the time the armistice was signed on July 26, 1953, public support for the war reached the high 60 percent range.

During the course of the war, pollsters measured American public opinion on the withdrawal of U.S. forces, bombing supply bases inside China, and the use of atomic weapons. At various times, 15 to 35 percent of Americans generally favored withdrawal from the Korean War. Throughout 1951 and 1952, 55 to 60 percent of Americans supported bombing supply bases inside China. Asked three times about the use of atomic weapons, Americans generally supported the possibility. Early in the war, only 19 percent approved of using atomic weapons, but by the end of 1951, 36 percent supported their use against "military targets." Americans offered their strongest support for the use of atomic weapons, 56 percent, if truce talks failed to bring an end to the conflict.

But while support for the war was high, opposition to the Truman administration rose to a dramatic peak in spring and summer 1951 after Truman's dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur. While the aggressive general's reception obviously reflected frustration over

the war rather than a belief that it was unjustified in the first place, it served as a focus for dissatisfaction with the president. For the remainder of his term, Truman's popularity ratings remained exceedingly low, hampering his effectiveness in dealing with Congress, while public discontent with the war's prosecution was consistently high.

The impending presidential election of 1952, which Republican politicians, smarting from five successive defeats since 1932, were determined to win, added yet more fuel to all these existing fires. The intensely vitriolic attacks to which conservatives subjected Truman and his administration, together with the war's broader unpopularity, were almost certainly the most important reasons for Truman's decision, reached in late 1951, that he would not stand for reelection. Alternatively, Dwight D. Eisenhower promised that, if elected, he would bring the war to a speedy end, though he studiously left it vague whether he would accomplish this through negotiations or a battlefield victory. His successful conclusion of an armistice agreement in June 1953 finally ended the hostilities, though for the rest of the century the United States retained its commitment to South Korea.

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SEE ALSO Censorship (Korean War); Film (Korean War); Television

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Pusan Perimeter. See Inchon Landing

Television (Korean War)

With America experiencing a post-World War II war boom, television had become more accessible to the general population. This was despite a freeze in the number of licenses granted to potential networks by the Federal Communications Commission due to interference problems, with some parts of the country having little or no coverage while others had full access. In 1950, at the war's outset, only 10 percent of American homes owned a television; by the war's end in 1953, over 40 percent of American homes had a television set.

However, although it was the first war coverage to occur within the realm of this new information medium, the Korean War was not a televised war. Technology was not advanced enough for direct coverage and film had to be transported stateside by air, thus losing its immediacy and impact. Coverage of the Korean War came mainly through

government-provided newsreels and black and white photos. They were not hard hitting and tended to be “sanitized,” focusing on the courage and patriotism of the soldier as he fought to eradicate the free world of communism.

In fact, reporting on the Korean War was not one of the main priorities of programming during the early years of television. The viewing public and advertisers showed a minimum of interest in sitting down to watch programs covering news of the remote Korean War.

First, television broadcasters tended to be very cautious in terms of programming because of the Red Scare. In June 1950, *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*, was published by *Counterattack: The Newsletter of Facts to Combat Communism*, paralleling the struggle against communism in the Korean War. The blacklist that it contained listed alleged sympathizers who were supposedly infiltrating the entertainment arena, causing the networks to be vigilant as to whom they employed, and using censorship to make sure no reference to communism appeared in storylines. Commercial sponsors gained power, refusing support if any hint of communism was present in the networks. As television was in its infancy, this had a considerable impact.

As the boom continued, there was a shift in thinking within the population. The marketplace saw more wholesome programs that reflected the increasing concern for peaceful pursuits, traditional family structure, togetherness, and the American way of life. The family unit became the focus of attention. Family values, togetherness, moving to the suburbs, and living the American dream became priorities, rather than the concerns of a war and the fight against communism that many Americans felt had no direct bearing on their lives.

Television began to emphasize the “ideal” family. The importance of good neighbors and community were shown in the likes of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* and *I Love Lucy*. Such programming reinforced traditional gender and family roles, showing men, women, and children living in harmony while supported by caring neighbors and community. This notion of domesticity portrayed youth as being content to stay within the family unit.

The year 1952 saw the first use of television in a presidential election campaign. Seeing the potential for reaching mass audiences through television, Dwight D. Eisenhower commissioned advertising spots as a forum in which to make election promises. These spots are the starting point for what would become the televised election campaigns of today.

Shelley G Allsop

SEE ALSO Censorship (Korean War); Film (Korean War)

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Truman, Harry S.

Harry S Truman served as President of the United States from 1945 to 1953. Born in Lamar, Missouri, on May 8, 1884, Truman spent most of his formative years on his family's 600-acre farm near Grandview. He hoped for a college education and tried to secure appointments to West Point and Annapolis, but was turned down because of bad eyesight. In World War I, he served as an officer with Battery D of the 129th Field Artillery and rose to the rank of captain.

After World War I, Truman studied law at night at Kansas City School of Law and won election, with the aid of "Boss" Tom Pendergast, to a judgeship on the Jackson County court. He served in that position between 1926 and 1934. In 1934, he was elected to the U.S. Senate and was reelected in 1940, achieving prominence as the chair of the Senate committee to investigate the national defense program.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt included Truman on the 1944 Democratic Party ticket as a compromise vice-presidential candidate. When Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945, Truman became the thirty-third president of the United States. Although he had little experience in foreign policy and had not been included in many major policy decisions, Truman guided the United States through the conclusion of World War II. He did not shrink from difficult decisions, especially that of employing the atomic bomb against Japan.

Truman provided firm leadership in the Cold War. He implemented the policy of containing Communist expansion, known as the Truman Doctrine, by coming to the aid of Greece and Turkey in 1947. His administration also undertook to strengthen Europe against Communist subversion with the Marshall Plan that same year.

Truman was reelected president in 1948 in the midst of the first major confrontation



President Harry Truman, shown here a week after taking office following the death of Franklin Roosevelt in April 1945, fell victim to the American public's growing frustration with the stalemate in Korea. (Library of Congress)

of the Cold War, the Berlin airlift. However, the 1949 Communist victory in China and the Soviet Union's successful test of an atomic bomb intensified attitudes in the United States toward the Cold War.

Although the U.S. military government in southern Korea ended with elections and the proclamation of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the South on August 15, 1948, the United States concluded a defense agreement with that country on January 26, 1950. Unfortunately, in a speech two weeks earlier, Secretary of State Dean Acheson had excluded the ROK from the U.S. defense perimeter.

Nonetheless, President Truman reacted decisively to the June 25, 1950 invasion of the ROK by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea). Truman appointed General Douglas MacArthur as commander of UN forces in Korea and supported his requests for more troops. The conflict led to the calling up of four National Guard divisions to active duty, an increase in the size of the regular army, and an emergency appropriation of \$10 billion for defense purposes. The United States was unprepared militarily for the war and, by summer's end, Truman announced plans to significantly strengthen U.S. military forces and to double the armed forces to 3 million men, warning that the nation's defense burden would become greater still.

Truman was not fond of MacArthur but approved his Inchon plan, despite reasonable concerns raised by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) General Omar N. Bradley and others. He also approved MacArthur's request, with JCS concurrence, to pursue the North Koreans across the 38th parallel with the proviso that he not carry the war into Chinese or Soviet territory.

At a meeting with MacArthur on Wake Island on October 15, 1950, Truman and MacArthur discussed the possibility of Chinese or Soviet intervention. MacArthur dismissed the possibility of Chinese intervention. MacArthur was proved wrong when the PRC made good on its threat to enter the conflict. Truman reluctantly approved MacArthur's plea to bomb bridges over the Yalu, with the proviso that it was vital "to avoid violation of Manchurian territory and airspace."

Although he had resisted earlier suggestions to relieve General MacArthur from his command, Truman was angered by an interview in which MacArthur sought to lay the blame for the UN retreat on the administration's limited war restrictions. To curb MacArthur, the administration issued a series of extraordinary directives that required prior State Department or White House clearance before the release of any statements of a political nature. Still, MacArthur announced his own ultimatum to the Chinese, demanding their surrender and scuttling any possibility of an early cease-fire. Frustrated by MacArthur's repeated challenges, Truman now began to consult his advisors about the possibility of removing the general from command. Truman, concerned over the political impact of removing his field commander, wanted the unanimous concurrence of the JCS before taking such a momentous step.

Then, on April 5, 1951, Republican House Minority Leader Joseph Martin released a letter written by MacArthur that yet again revealed the general's disagreements with the administration. After midnight on the 11th, the president called a hasty news conference to announce that he was relieving MacArthur from his commands. The timing was

dictated by fears that press reports of the planned action might get to MacArthur first and allow him to resign before Truman's relief order arrived. MacArthur had forced this decision, which did, however, serve to preserve the vital principle of civilian control of the military and to preserve the president's policy of fighting a limited war in Korea.

Truman approved a National Security Council policy statement of May 17, 1951 that sought stabilization of the fighting and an armistice. Although talks did get under way in July, they achieved little. Growing public frustration over the stalemate in Korea damaged Truman's political viability, moving him to not stand for reelection in 1952.

After leaving office, Truman wrote his memoirs and arranged his papers to be placed in his presidential library in Independence, Missouri. Truman was present when President Johnson came to the Truman Library on July 30, 1965 to sign the Medicare bill, which was similar to legislation Truman had proposed nearly 20 years before. Harry S. Truman died in Kansas City, Missouri, on December 26, 1972.

Claude R. Sasso

SEE ALSO Censorship (Korean War); Chinese Intervention; MacArthur, Douglas; Presidential Election of 1952; Public Opinion, United States

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10

Vietnam War

INTRODUCTION

The conflict that Americans commonly refer to as the “Vietnam War” actually encompasses any number of struggles. For the Vietnamese, the conflict that they call the “American War” was part of a millennia-long struggle to achieve an independent and united Vietnam and to determine who would rule that Vietnam once it was secured. For Americans, it was—and remains—second only to their own civil war in the powerful divisions in American society that it evidenced. Like the Civil War, the United States’ war in Vietnam also continues to shape the cultural, political, and social fabric of the country. The media—news, artistic, and popular—played a significant role during the time of the war itself and in the years since, as Americans have continued to process that experience and its meaning.

The struggle for Vietnamese independence and unity goes back more than 2,000 years. In 111 BCE, warlords from southern China moved into the Red River Delta, seeking to take over the rich rice lands that the Vietnamese had developed there. For over 1,000 years, the Vietnamese fought an on again, off again struggle to expel the Chinese. Some of the great names in Vietnamese history led these efforts—the two Trung sisters, Trieu Au, No Quyen, and Tran Hung Dao. Finally, in 938 CE, the Vietnamese expelled the Chinese, but still had to resist attempts by them to reestablish control until the 15th century.

At the same time, the Vietnamese began an expansion southward, taking territory from other national and ethnic groups. By the 18th century, Vietnam was divided between two great clans, the Trinh in the north and the Nguyen in the south. In the mid-17th century, the French had begun to establish a colonial presence in Vietnam, seeking to spread Roman Catholicism and develop economic opportunities. By the 1770s, the French inserted themselves into the internal struggle in Vietnam, providing military assistance to Nguyen Ahn, the leader of the southern clan. With French help,

he defeated his enemies and crowned himself Emperor Gia Long, the first of the Nguyen dynasty, and established the capital of a unified Vietnam in Hue, in the central part of the country. In exchange, the French obtained commercial and territorial concessions that proved to be the beginning of a steady encroachment on Vietnamese sovereignty. By 1883, the French had taken direct control of Vietnam, dividing the country into three administrative regions, and establishing an intrusive and brutal colonial rule. The French not only exploited the Vietnamese economically, but also sought to replace important elements of Vietnamese tradition and culture. Even the use of the term “Vietnam” was outlawed.

As was the case with the Chinese, resistance to the French began almost immediately. A variety of groups and leaders tried but failed to mount a successful opposition. The key to expelling the French, as had been true with the Chinese, was to motivate the peasantry. The group that was finally able to do so was the Vietnamese Communist Party, led by Ho Chi Minh (born Nguyen Tat Thanh). But soon after the Vietnamese Communists began their resistance, World War II intervened. By the summer of 1941, the Japanese had taken de facto control of all of French Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), with the Axis-collaborator Vichy regime in nominal authority. At about the same time, the Vietnamese Communists formed a broad nationalist movement known as the Viet Minh in order to fight the Japanese. Over the next four years, the Viet Minh cooperated with American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) agents in gathering intelligence and rescuing downed American pilots.

With the defeat of the Japanese, the Viet Minh were left as the only viable Vietnamese political and military force. Thus, on September 2, 1945, Ho stood on a balcony overlooking Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi and declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, beginning his speech by quoting from the American Declaration of Independence. American military officers were seated on the platform that day.

One of the principles agreed upon by President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill even prior to U.S. entry into World War II was the idea of decolonization and national self-determination. Before his death, President Roosevelt had expressed reluctance to allow the French back into Indochina. However, those principles soon ran into the reality of the Cold War. The United States decided that French participation in an anti-Soviet defense community in Western Europe was essential, and that not standing in France’s way in reclaiming its colonies in Southeast Asia was an easy price to pay. Thus, beginning in November 1946, the First Indochina War, or the French War, began in Vietnam.

The French had assumed that they would make short work of the Viet Minh, but the latter proved to be able fighters, pursuing a strategy developed by Ho and General Vo Nguyen Giap that matched the level and pace of combat to the relative strength of the Viet Minh and French forces. Seeing the war in Vietnam as just another theatre in the Cold War, the United States was soon providing significant aid to the French, eventually paying some 80 percent of France’s cost of the war. Especially after the Communists took over China, the Viet Minh began to receive significant quantities of more modern weapons, making the war even more costly in blood and treasure for the French.

As the war dragged on, French public opinion began to push for some sort of definitive solution. In late 1953, the French military decided to force the Viet Minh into a climactic battle by creating an irresistible target for a mass attack, enabling French air and artillery to destroy the Viet Minh. The French picked a valley named Dien Bien Phu, in northwestern Vietnam. When the French gave up the high ground surrounding Dien Bien Phu, they assumed that the Viet Minh would not be able to get heavy guns into the hills, and even if they did, French artillery and bombing would eliminate them. Both assumptions proved to be fatally wrong, and following a long and devastating siege, Dien Bien Phu surrendered on May 7, 1954.

At the same time, an international conference convened in Geneva to determine the fate of French Indochina. Even though the Viet Minh had won a clear victory on the battlefield, they were forced by the Chinese Communists to accept terms that included a temporary division of Vietnam into a Communist-controlled north and a southern government under Emperor Bao Dai and, soon, Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem. At the end of two years, nationwide elections were to determine the rulers of a unified Vietnam. Even though the United States was only an observer to the talks, it did sign a statement promising not to interfere with the implementation of the Geneva Accords.

However, the United States under President Dwight Eisenhower was determined to maintain an independent, non-Communist South Vietnam, and soon began to provide significant economic, military, and administrative support to now-President Diem, in an effort known as nation-building. At first, Diem proved to be an effective leader, but soon became more isolated and repressive. Under President John F. Kennedy, the commitment to Vietnam continued to grow; however, Kennedy did resist advisors who called for the deployment of actual U.S. combat troops.

American news organizations had paid relatively little attention to the French war or the early days of the Diem regime, but as the U.S. presence in Vietnam grew, so did the interest of the American press. By early 1962, major news organizations such as the Associated Press (AP) and *The New York Times* were establishing full-time bureaus in Saigon, the South Vietnamese capital. The Kennedy Administration was eager to play down its growing involvement in Vietnam, so refused to provide any but the barest information to the resident press; the increasingly paranoid Diem regime was even less cooperative. So the reporters, in an effort to justify the significant investment that their employers were making in the Vietnam story, turned to alternate sources of information, most notably the American officers working to advise the South Vietnamese military. These officers had become frustrated by the incompetence of the South Vietnamese government and military, and by the willingness of the U.S. government and military to tolerate it. These frustrations found their way into the coverage generated by the resident reporters, bringing them into conflict not only with Kennedy Administration officials, but even with other journalists. It was during this period that what comes to be known as the myth of the adversarial press develops.

By the spring and summer of 1963, Vietnamese Buddhists led a widely based opposition to Diem. One of the first and most dramatic images of the Vietnam War was the AP's Malcolm Browne's photos of monk Thich Quang Duc burning himself to

death at a Saigon intersection in protest to Diem. By late summer, Kennedy gave the green light to a group of generals contemplating a coup, asking only that Diem and his family be allowed to leave the country unharmed. But on the evening of November 1, Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu were murdered by the coup leaders. Three weeks later, President Kennedy would also be dead at the hands of an assassin.

Diem's death set off an extended period of political instability in South Vietnam, which the North Vietnamese and the southern insurgency, the Viet Cong, moved to exploit. Lyndon Johnson, who assumed the presidency following Kennedy's death, was determined to do enough to keep South Vietnam from falling, but not so much that the war would distract from his effort to be elected in his own right later in 1964 or from his ambitious domestic program, the Great Society. As a result, Johnson steadily increased U.S. aid to South Vietnam as North Vietnamese and Viet Cong activity also grew. Johnson was able to demonstrate his firmness and restraint during the Gulf of Tonkin incident in early August 1964, when he ordered air strikes on facilities in southern North Vietnam in response to a North Vietnamese attack on an American destroyer. At that same time, Johnson secured congressional authorization for military action in Vietnam in the form of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

In November 1964, Johnson won a landslide victory over Republican Barry Goldwater, but the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong became even more aggressive. By spring of 1965, the tit-for-tat raids that Johnson had ordered became a program of sustained bombing of the North, known as Operation ROLLING THUNDER. In March 1965, Johnson dispatched a contingent of Marines to guard the air bases at Da Nang, making them the first U.S. combat troops to Vietnam. On July 28, 1965, Johnson announced that some 125,000 troops would be sent to Vietnam in the near future, with others to follow as needed. The war had, indeed, become the United States'.

With large and growing numbers of U.S. troops engaged in direct combat, the press presence grew even more. There were early incidents of tension between the press and the government. For example, Johnson berated CBS President Frank Stanton over correspondent Morley Safer's coverage of the burning of a South Vietnamese village by U.S. Marines in August 1965. During the Ia Drang Valley campaign (the first major engagement between U.S. and North Vietnamese forces) in October and November of that year, reporters began to question estimates of enemy dead, which the U.S. military had made a key measure of progress in the war. Reporters referred to these estimates as "WEG's," or "wild-eyed guesses."

For the most part, however, the press and the military in Vietnam cooperated relatively well. In the later days of the Kennedy Administration, key officials had decided that stonewalling the press had driven it to other, less easily controlled, and usually critical sources. Instead, these officials argued, the government and military should overwhelm the press with information and provide reporters with logistical and communications support. The daily briefing in Saigon known as "the five o'clock follies" was one manifestation of this process. This effort, which came to be known as MAXIMUM CANDOR, would give the government its best chance to shape the story in its favor. This approach was implemented beginning in 1964, and remained the press policy through the period of major U.S. combat

action. Battlefield censorship was rejected in favor of a set of fairly limited ground rules. To be accredited by the South Vietnamese government and U.S. military, reporters pledged to abide by these ground rules. One sign of the relative cooperation between the press and military is the fact that from 1965 to 1972, fewer than 10 reporters had their accreditation suspended for violation of the ground rules.

Despite the contention by critics of the press that they covered the war from the bar of the Continental Hotel in Saigon, many—indeed, most—reporters in Vietnam were distinguished for their physical and intellectual courage, and for their desire to understand the conflict that was taking the lives of so many Americans and Vietnamese. Journalists such as United Press International’s Joe Galloway and Kate Webb, the AP’s Peter Arnett and Horst Faas, Larry Burrows of *Life* magazine, the *National Geographic*’s Dickey Chappelle, CBS’s Jack Laurence, and freelance photographer Cathy Leroy, are just a few of many examples.

By late 1967, as the number of U.S. troops and casualties increased, the American public was growing frustrated at the seeming lack of progress toward an end to the war. In response, the Johnson Administration launched a concentrated public relations effort to claim that U.S. efforts had turned the corner and that the enemy was on the way to defeat. However, in late January 1968, the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong launched the Tet Offensive. They believed that attacks on population centers throughout the country would inspire a general uprising, overthrowing the southern government and clearing the way for Communist victory. In the end, the so-called “general offensive/general uprising” failed, at the cost of heavy casualties to the North Vietnamese and, especially, the Viet Cong. However, some critics claimed that sensationalized or deliberately misleading coverage of Tet led the American public to conclude that the offensive was an American defeat, thus turning public opinion against the war. However, polling shows that the public had turned against the war, at least current policy regarding it, in October 1965. In fact, the shock of Tet had a much greater effect on senior political and media figures, who had reinforced each other’s optimism regarding the war. The best example was CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite’s on-air editorial following a trip to Vietnam in the wake of the offensive, in which he said that the best that could be hoped for in Vietnam was a stalemate. Johnson supposedly turned to an aide and said, “if I’ve lost Cronkite, I’ve lost the country.” Johnson had, in fact, lost the country months before.

Following a contentious and tragic Democratic nomination contest, in which Robert Kennedy was assassinated, Republican Richard Nixon won the presidency in 1968, and soon concluded that the United States could no longer afford a major direct combat commitment in Vietnam. Desiring to eliminate Vietnam as a complication in his effort to achieve détente with the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China, Nixon began to withdraw American troops in the fall of 1969, in a process that came to be known as “Vietnamization”—a somewhat cruel joke, given the fact that some three million Vietnamese died during the course of the war. However, the withdrawal of troops also reduced the number of American deaths in Vietnam, thus reducing Vietnam’s importance as a domestic political issue. When, in April 1970, Nixon ordered the incursion of American troops into Cambodia to root out North Vietnamese sanctuaries, the antiwar

movement briefly revived, resulting in disturbances at campuses across the country, including the killing of students at Kent State University and Jackson State College. But soon, the public's attention turned elsewhere.

Despite his seemingly successful management of the war as a domestic issue, Nixon's own desire for secrecy and control would prove his undoing. To support Vietnamization, Nixon had ordered the secret bombing of North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia. When the bombing was disclosed by *The New York Times* in May 1969, Nixon ordered the creation of a secret investigative unit to find the source of the leak. This effort would become the infamous Plumbers Unit, which carried out various illegal activities on behalf of Nixon, including the June 1972 break-in at Democratic Party headquarters at the Watergate complex in Washington, DC. In 1971, Nixon fought the publication of the Pentagon Papers, portions of a secret Defense Department history of the war, which had been leaked to *The New York Times* by former Pentagon analyst Daniel Ellsberg. The U.S. Supreme Court ultimately ruled 6–3 against Nixon.

The withdrawal of U.S. troops continued, and on January 23, 1973, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese envoy Le Duc Tho signed the Paris Peace Accords, which were less a true settlement than a cease-fire in place, allowing the United States to secure the release of its prisoners-of-war and leave the country. Nixon assured South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu that the United States would provide massive air support in the event of a North Vietnamese offensive. However, Nixon would be forced from the White House by the Watergate scandal in August 1974. When the North Vietnamese launched their final offensive in early March 1975, Nixon's successor Gerald Ford did not have the political capital, and the American public did not have the stomach, for renewed military action. The North Vietnamese originally believed that the final offensive would last a year. But, less than two months later, on April 30, 1975, North Vietnamese tanks crashed through the gates of the Presidential Palace in Saigon, and Vietnam was unified under a Communist government.

The end of the war has not, of course, meant an end to its effect on many aspects of American life. Johnson's effort to fight a war on poverty at home and a war in Vietnam set the stage for the devastating inflation of the 1970s. Support of or opposition to the war became a short-hand for all sorts of divisions in American life. The political ramifications are still with us today, as politicians' service (claimed or real) or lack thereof in Vietnam can still stir emotions in American elections. The loss of 58,000 American lives, and the physical and emotional challenges that many American veterans of the war face is another powerful legacy of the war. Add to this the devastating aftermath of the war for the people of Vietnam, and the horror that the Cambodian people endured under the Khmer Rouge.

In all of these arenas, and many more, the American people continue to deal with the legacy of their involvement in Vietnam. Sometimes we confront that legacy directly, and at other times we seek to avoid or deny it, and the media have been an important part of that process. In some cases, they have become points of controversy themselves. For example, as Americans sought explanations for their defeat in Vietnam, the press

became a major scapegoat, the belief being that the press, either through bias and incompetence or willful deception, sapped the will of the United States to pursue the war to victory. This idea has come to color many aspects of American life to this day. In many ways, various media—journalism, film, music, the visual arts, and others—have provided tools with which we can try to understand our time in Vietnam. The Vietnam War also wrought broad changes in the ways in which media relate to and consider American military conflict, and the ways in which the public regards the media themselves, changes that still affect us today.

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PROPAGANDA

All of the governments directly involved in the war in Vietnam—the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), and the United States—produced propaganda. Some of these efforts were directed at the respective governments' own troops and civilian populations in an effort to maintain support for the war, while others were aimed at the enemy in the hope of eroding his morale. Activities by the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are of particular interest.

The North Vietnamese government mounted wide-ranging efforts to sustain the commitment of its people through years of war. Much of this was done through political indoctrination performed by Vietnamese Communist Party cadres ensconced in almost every segment of North Vietnamese society, from schools to the workplace to the military. However, other media were used to reach the people. For example, films celebrated the sacrifices of soldiers on the battlefield and those on the home front. One such film depicted the bravery of young, beautiful woman who led a Viet Cong attack on an American unit operating near the Cu Chi tunnels northwest of Saigon, hailing her prowess as an “American killer.” The North Vietnamese also made skilled use of revolutionary art. Sculptors and painters were commissioned to produce works that depicted the cruelty of the American enemy and reinforced virtues of bravery and self-sacrifice among the people. Poster art disseminated this work widely among the North Vietnamese population, with themes such as “Greater Food Production is the Key to Expelling the Americans” and “Hurrah, How Talented are the Soldiers who Shot Down

3000 Planes.” Originals of these posters are now collectors’ items, fetching hundreds and even thousands of dollars.

The North Vietnamese government also attempted to influence American troops and the American public back home in a variety of ways. Efforts directed at U.S. troops included leaflets that sought to portray the soldiers as pawns of a cruel, bloodthirsty U.S. government. One such example, aimed at the First Air Cavalry Division, asked “Why does Nixon always mouth peace and the withdrawal of U.S. troops home, yet the Air Cav Division is still stretched out along a line of more than 200 km in these dense, rough, and dangerous jungles?” The leaflet urged the troops to refuse to go out on operations and to demand the withdrawal of American forces, and concluded by telling soldiers, “Don’t be the last man to die a worthless death in the last battle in Vietnam!”

The North Vietnamese also sought to reach U.S. troops through radio broadcasts by “Hanoi Hannah.” Several women worked as “Hanoi Hannah,” but the most prominent and skilled was Trinh Thi Ngo. Trinh, born in 1931 to a wealthy Hanoi factory owner, learned English in order to watch her favorite movies without subtitles. In 1955, she put her skills to work for the Voice of Vietnam, an English-language broadcast service of the North Vietnamese government. When U.S. troops arrived in large numbers beginning in 1965, she began thrice-daily broadcasts that mixed news drawn from American newspapers and magazines with American pop and rock music, all wrapped around admonitions to abandon an immoral war and expressions of sympathy for how the soldiers were being deceived and misused by their government.

The North Vietnamese tried to influence public opinion in the United States by admitting visitors to North to report on conditions there. These visitors included journalists, humanitarian workers, and antiwar activists. All of the visits were tightly managed in order to convey messages that the North Vietnamese thought would be beneficial to their cause. However, the reports generated by these visitors caused great controversy in the United States. For example, in late 1966, Harrison Salisbury, respected foreign correspondent for *The New York Times*, became the first mainstream journalist to be granted a visa to visit North Vietnam. Beginning the day after Christmas, 1966, over the next several days, Salisbury filed a total of 14 stories that took issue with the U.S. government’s claim that the bombing of the North was hitting only military targets. Salisbury’s reports inspired sharp criticism from political and journalistic leaders. Even his own paper distanced itself from his reports.

The most notorious of these visits was that by actress Jane Fonda in July 1972. Already an established star, Fonda turned to political activism in the late 1960s on behalf of a variety of causes, including opposition to the war in Vietnam. The North Vietnamese made wide use of statements made by Fonda in which she accused the U.S. military of deliberately bombing the dike system that prevented the Red River from flooding Hanoi and radio broadcasts in which she denounced American leaders as war criminals. The most enduring image of her visit, however, is of her seated in an anti-aircraft battery. Fonda would later express deep regret over the photographs, but did not disavow her opposition to the war. Her characterization as “Hanoi Jane” has become one of the most persistent and myth-laden legacies of the war.

The United States also engaged in extensive efforts to influence enemy troops and its own population. The former involved a variety of activities, some fairly benign and others more insidious. Examples of the former include the Chieu Hoi, or “Open Arms,” program that was administered by the South Vietnamese government but supported by the United States. The program distributed safe conduct passes that encouraged Viet Cong troops to “rally” to the South Vietnamese side. A bit more supernatural project was called “the Wandering Soul.” In Vietnamese tradition, a soul that met its end violently wanders until a loved one reclaims it. American psychological operations (“psyops”) troops would broadcast a tape comprised of funeral music and a dialogue between a dead Viet Cong or North Vietnamese soldier and his daughter. In the end, the “wandering soul” urges his comrades to go home before they meet a fate similar to his.

The Phoenix Program represented the most aggressive and morally ambiguous propaganda/psychological operation conducted by the United States. The Phoenix Program was conducted by the CIA under the auspices of Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS), the umbrella organization for all pacification activities in South Vietnam. As early as 1964, the United States had begun to carry out “counter-terror” operations to capture, interrogate, and, sometimes, assassinate members of the Viet Cong infrastructure—tax collectors, draft enforcers, political officers, and the like—in South Vietnam. The Phoenix Program, initiated in summer 1967, significantly expanded these activities. From 1967 through 1971, the program is credited with eliminating over 80,000 Viet Cong agents, killing over 25,000. However, as its activities became known, criticism in the United States and in South Vietnam mounted, including in the form of investigations by the U.S. Congress and South Vietnamese National Assembly.

Americans at home were also the target of various government propaganda efforts. However, because of the desire of Presidents Johnson and Nixon to minimize the war’s impact on their larger domestic and foreign policy goals, that propaganda was more muted than that seen in World Wars I and II. One of the earliest examples was the American Friends of Vietnam (AFV). Modeled on the earlier “China Lobby” that sought to generate support for the Chinese Nationalists, the AFV was founded in late 1955. The AFV focused on lobbying the U.S. government for increased aid to South Vietnam and its president, Ngo Dinh Diem. Not coincidentally, two of the founders of the AFV were public relations agents retained by the Diem government for a \$38,000 annual fee. The AFV attracted support from such politically diverse figures as Francis Cardinal Spellman, publisher Henry Luce, Justice William O. Douglas, and Senators John F. Kennedy, Mike Mansfield, Hubert Humphrey, and William Knowland. The organization nearly fell apart in 1963 amidst internal division over Diem’s growing repressiveness, but revived in a more limited form to support the increasing U.S. commitment in the mid-1960s.

The establishment of the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam, better known as the Douglas Committee, was another such arm’s-length initiative. As U.S. involvement deepened and casualty rates escalated in the spring and summer of 1967, public concern about the war increased dramatically. In response, Johnson stepped up his efforts to generate support for his policies. Dissatisfied with the effectiveness of

pro-administration groups such as the American Friends of Vietnam, administration officials sought in May 1967 to create an ostensibly private group of prominent persons from every segment of American society and from both political parties. Former Illinois Senator Paul Douglas served as chair of this who's who of American leaders, including former presidents Truman and Eisenhower, former secretaries of state James Byrnes and Dean Acheson, academics such as historians Oscar Handlin and T. Harry Williams, and labor leaders such as AFL-CIO chairman George Meany.

Also in 1967, the Johnson Administration launched what came to be known as the "progress campaign." Beginning in September and running up the Tet Offensive of 1968, a flurry of cables and memoranda swirled within and between Washington and Saigon, detailing a variety of measures to reassure the press and the public that progress was being made. Reporters received captured enemy documents describing the difficulties that U.S. operations were causing the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces. Successes in the pacification program were highlighted, and the South Vietnamese government and military were featured more prominently and positively. Efforts to use private groups to validate claims of progress were stepped up, and statistical measures of progress were reexamined for use in the campaign. The effort reached its climax in November. President Johnson made progress in Vietnam the focus of his November 17 news conference. Vice President Humphrey made the same point during an appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press" later that month. The top leaders of the effort in Vietnam—Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, pacification chief Robert Komer, and General William Westmoreland—came back to the States for a series of speeches, television appearances, and meetings with editorial boards.

Film also played a role in propaganda, the two most prominent examples being *Why Vietnam?* and *The Green Berets*. *Why Vietnam?* was produced by the Department of Defense in 1965 to help sell the deployment of U.S. ground troops to South Vietnam. The film used Frank Capra's World War II series *Why We Fight* as its model. The film set the American effort in Vietnam firmly in the World War II/Cold War context of stopping aggression early. Depictions of suffering at the hands of the Communists were contrasted with the prosperity and happiness of the South Vietnamese as aided by the Americans. But even by 1965, the effectiveness of such a film was limited. Even its producers had seemed to realize this, as revealed in the hesitant title *Why Vietnam?*, as opposed to a more declarative *Why Vietnam*, without the question mark.

The Green Berets was a feature film produced in 1968 by John Wayne's Batjac production company and starring Wayne himself. Wayne wanted to create a film to stem the antiwar sentiment that he saw growing across the United States, and especially in the film industry. He based his film on Robin Moore's 1965 book of the same name. Moore, a Harvard classmate of Robert Kennedy, gained access to U.S. Special Forces training in the United States and deployed briefly with Green Beret advisors in 1963. The film received extensive assistance from the Johnson White House and the Pentagon, but still failed to achieve any sense of relation to the war that was then being fought by American troops in Vietnam. With its melodramatic plot of the kidnapping of a Viet

Cong general and the climactic scene in which the sun sets in the east, the film generated more laughter and disdain than support for the war.

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SEE ALSO American Friends of Vietnam; Douglas Committee; Film and the Vietnam Experience; Progress Campaign of 1967; Salisbury, Harrison E.

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Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules

As the Kennedy Administration deepened the American commitment to South Vietnam, both in terms of material aid and a dramatic increase in the number of advisors, attention from the news media grew as well. In order to keep track of and have some measure of control over the journalists coming into the country, the South Vietnamese and U.S. governments established a process of granting accreditation to those journalists.

Throughout the war, but especially in the early 1960s, the U.S. government was sensitive to South Vietnamese sovereignty. Thus, in order to receive accreditation from the U.S. Military Assistance Command-Vietnam (MACV), an individual had to first secure accreditation from the South Vietnamese. This process was fairly simple, requiring only a valid passport and entry visa, a letter of employment by some publishing or broadcast concern, and a record of immunization against cholera, smallpox, and the plague. Once this was done, for MACV accreditation one only had to present a letter on news-agency stationery affirming employment and stating that the employer assumed “full responsibility for his professional actions, including financial responsibility and personal conduct as these affect his professional action.” Freelancers went through a similar process, except that the news agency’s letter certified an agreement to purchase copy or photographs from the person.

Accreditation was required to live and work in Vietnam, but also gave journalists access to a wide range of American facilities. Accredited reporters could shop at military post-exchanges, attend briefings, gain access to military and government installations and offices, and use military transportation, and, on occasion, even military or government communications facilities.

Security regulations required that all employees of news organizations, not just working journalists, be accredited—including everyone from the bureau chief to the Vietnamese clerk or driver. Also, accreditation was usually granted for a period of six months, renewable on application. However, journalists visiting for only a few days or weeks received full accreditation, further swelling the ranks of news personnel. Together, these factors would create some mistaken impressions regarding the journalistic presence in Vietnam. At the height of the U.S. involvement, some 600 or so accredited personnel were in Vietnam, leading some casual observers then and since to overestimate the manpower on the ground. In reality, the number of actual news-gathering personnel was only five to ten percent of those accredited.

Those individuals operated under a different arrangement than had their peers in earlier American conflicts, when the usual practice had been for the U.S. military to impose battlefield censorship. Under this procedure, reporters agreed to submit copy and photographs to military censors, who would delete any information that was determined to be harmful to the war effort. That information could include such obvious items as the number and disposition of troops, plans, and supplies, but it could also include more ambiguous information, such as troop morale. In return for agreeing to this process, reporters usually gained great access to information given on background by commanders. This process enabled journalists to have a greater understanding of the overall picture, albeit the one the military wanted them to have, of the larger picture of a particular battle or campaign—one that they could then share with their audience.

During the Korean Conflict, the United States and the United Nations experimented briefly with allowing reporters to file their work without prior censorship, asking them instead to abide by a set of ground rules. However, the system of battlefield censorship was soon reinstated at the request of military commanders who had grown comfortable with the level of control it gave them.

Formal military censorship was briefly considered on two different occasions in the spring of 1965 at the behest of President Lyndon Johnson, who had grown concerned about the increasing attention that the war was getting from the news media. However, censorship was rejected both times. Any effective censorship would, as a practical matter, have to involve the South Vietnamese government. The memory of the Diem regime's attacks on American reporters was fresh, and the current government's willingness to crack down on its own press was quite clear. U.S. officials believed that putting the American press again at the mercy of the South Vietnamese would be a grave mistake. Imposition of censorship would also have negative political repercussions in the United States.

Instead, reporters in Vietnam agreed to abide by a set of ground rules detailing types of information that could and could not be released. Though they changed slightly from time to time, restricted information generally fell into the following categories:

1. Future plans, operations, or strikes.
2. Information on or confirmation of rules of engagement.
3. Amounts of ordnance and fuel moved by support units or on hand in combat units.
4. Exact number and types of identification of casualties suffered by friendly units.
5. During an operation, unit designations and troop movements, tactical deployments, name of operation and size of friendly force involved, until officially released by MACV.
6. Intelligence unit activities, methods of operation or specific location.
7. The number of sorties and the amount of ordnance expended on strikes outside the Republic of Vietnam.
8. Information on aircraft taking off for strikes, en route to, or returning from target area. Information on strikes while they are in progress.
9. Identity of units and location of air bases from which aircraft are launched on combat operations.
10. Number of aircraft damaged or any other indication of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of ground antiaircraft defenses.
11. Tactical specifics, such as altitudes, course, speeds, or angle of attack.
12. Information on or confirmation of planned strikes that do not take place for any reason, including bad weather.
13. Specific identification of enemy weapon systems utilized to down friendly aircraft.
14. Details concerning downed aircraft while search and rescue operations are in progress.

Reporters were warned that violation of these ground rules could result in the suspension or cancellation of accreditation, which meant loss of access to American and South Vietnamese facilities, loss of access to information, even the loss of the right to remain in country. However, so carefully did the press comply voluntarily with these guidelines that from 1965 to 1972, fewer than 10 reporters had their accreditation suspended for violating them.

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SEE ALSO Correspondents (Vietnam War); MAXIMUM CANDOR; Mecklin, John

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American Friends of Vietnam

One of the first private associations promoting U.S. interests in Vietnam. American Friends of Vietnam (AFV) was announced to the press in December 1955, formed by prominent liberals and conservatives who considered Vietnam a critical contest in the Cold War. AFV was modeled after the “China Lobby” that earlier worked to generate support for Chiang Kai-shek. AFV had its roots in an earlier network of people that vigorously promoted U.S. support for Ngo Dinh Diem, the Vietnamese Catholic considered the anticommunist/nationalist answer to Ho Chi Minh. When Diem came to power in the South after the 1954 Geneva Accords, the “Vietnam Lobby” organized formally and pushed the Eisenhower administration to bolster the new nation of South Vietnam. International Rescue Committee members Leo Cherne and Joseph Buttinger founded AFV along with Harold Oram and Elliot Newcombe, both of whom were employed by the New York public relations firm hired by Diem at an annual fee of \$38,000. AFV attracted support from such politically diverse figures as Francis Cardinal Spellman, publisher Henry Luce, Justice William O. Douglas, and Senators John F. Kennedy, Mike Mansfield, Hubert Humphrey, and William Knowland.

AFV members had the specific goal of saving Vietnam from communism. They sponsored conferences and relief projects, solicited business investments, and published articles to win support for Diem’s regime. The U.S. government provided information, speakers, and fund-raising assistance to help AFV counter criticism of U.S. Vietnam policy. In the early 1960s, AFV activities dwindled when its members bitterly divided over how to respond to Diem’s autocratic rule. Still believing a non-Communist South Vietnamese nation was necessary and possible, AFV revived after Diem’s 1963 ouster. Working closely with the Johnson administration, AFV supported military escalation against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and countered criticism of U.S. policy with government help and funds. These official connections made AFV a frequent

target of policy critics and antiwar protesters. At one point, AFV considered merging with the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam, the so-called “Douglas Committee” that was established with assistance from the Johnson Administration in 1967, but those talks fell through. By the 1970s, financial and administrative problems plagued the organization and undermined its operations, and by 1975 it had all but ceased to exist.

Evaluating the influence of AFV over U.S. policy in Vietnam has sparked much debate. Contemporary critics charged that the lobby purposely distorted Diem’s capabilities and set the ideological stage for American intervention in Vietnam. AFV’s first two presidents, Generals William Donovan and John O’Daniel, were so intimately connected to the United States’ covert operations that some scholars suggest that the group likely had the endorsement if not the veiled support of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Still, most historians argue that AFV’s influence was marginal because the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations were always strongly committed to Vietnam, hence the association was preaching to the converted. Still, the group represents the shared assumptions held by those Americans who supported and advanced U.S. intervention in Vietnam. It also illustrates how private groups attempt to sway the government, the press, and the public.

Delia Pergande

SEE ALSO Douglas Committee; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Ngo Dinh Diem

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Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War

The movement against American involvement in Vietnam was, along with the civil rights campaigns of the 1960s, one of the most divisive forces in 20th-century U.S. history. The antiwar movement actually consisted of a number of independent interests, united only in opposition to the Vietnam War.

A small peace movement had long existed in the United States, largely based in Quaker and Unitarian beliefs, but failed to gain popular currency until the Cold War era. The escalating nuclear arms race of the late 1950s led to the founding of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) in 1957. SANE was soon joined by a



More than 100,000 antiwar protesters rally near the Lincoln Memorial on October 21, 1967 before marching to the Pentagon. This march represented the growing strength of the antiwar movement as the number of American troops and casualties increased dramatically. (Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library)

about the foundations of U.S. involvement. The teach-in format spread to campuses around the country. On April 17, 1965, an SDS-organized march on Washington brought between 15,000 and 25,000 people to the capital, a turnout that surprised even the organizers. Movement leaders soon expanded their methods and gained new allies. In spring 1967, over 1,000 seminarians wrote to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara advocating recognition of conscientious objection on secular, moral grounds; soon other students suggested alternative service for those who opposed violence. A two-day march on the Pentagon in October 1967 attracted nationwide media attention. The movement spread to the military itself; in 1966, the “Fort Hood 3” gained acclaim among dissenters for their refusal to serve in Vietnam. Underground railroads funneled draft evaders to Canada or to Sweden.

The most significant development of the period between 1965 and 1968 was the emergence of civil rights leaders as active proponents of peace in Vietnam. In January 1967, Martin Luther King Jr. expressed support for the antiwar movement on moral grounds.

campus-based organization, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). SDS formed in 1960, and within a year was taken over by student radicals Al Haber and Tom Hayden, both of the University of Michigan. In June 1962, SDS members met at Port Huron, Michigan, where they drafted the manifesto of the New Left—the Port Huron Statement. Written by Hayden, the document expressed disillusionment with the military-industrial-academic establishment. Hayden cited the uncertainty of life in Cold War America and the degradation of African Americans in the South as examples of the failure of liberal ideology. By the beginning of 1965, a general antiwar movement base had coalesced on campuses and lacked only a catalyst to bring wider public acceptance to its position.

That catalyst appeared early in February when the United States began bombing North Vietnam. In February and March 1965, SDS organized marches on the Oakland Army Terminal, the departure point for many troops bound for Southeast Asia. On March 24, faculty members at the University of Michigan held a series of “teach-ins” that sought to educate the student population

Reverend King expanded on his views in April at the Riverside Church in New York, asserting that the war drained resources from domestic programs. He also voiced concern about the percentage of African American casualties in relation to the total population.

Doubts about the wisdom of escalation also began to appear within the administration itself. In the summer of 1965, Undersecretary of State George Ball counseled President Johnson against further military involvement in Vietnam. In 1967, Johnson fired Defense Secretary McNamara after the secretary expressed concern about the moral justifications for war. Most internal dissent, however, focused not on ethical but on pragmatic criteria, with many officials believing that the cost of winning was too high. But widespread opposition within the government did not appear until 1968. Exacerbating the situation was the presidential election of that year, in which Johnson faced challenges from peace candidates Eugene McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, and George McGovern, all Democrats. On March 25, Johnson learned that his closest advisors now opposed the war; six days later, he withdrew from the race.

The Tet Offensive of late January 1968 led many Americans to question the administration's veracity in reporting war progress. Dissent soon escalated to violence. In April, when protesters occupied the administration building at Columbia University, police used force to evict them. Raids on draft boards soon followed, as activists smeared blood on records and shredded files. Facilities of Dow Chemical, manufacturers of napalm, were targeted for sabotage. The brutal clashes at the August Democratic National Convention in Chicago typified the divided nature of American society.

The antiwar movement became both more powerful and less cohesive between 1969 and 1973. Most Americans opposed escalating the U.S. role in Vietnam, believing the economic cost too high; in November of 1969, a second march on Washington drew an estimated 500,000 participants. At the same time, most Americans disapproved of the counterculture that had arisen alongside the antiwar movement. The clean-cut, well-dressed SDS members were replaced as movement leaders by others tagged with the label "hippie," who faced much mainstream opposition from middle-class Americans. Cultural and political protest had become intertwined within the movement's vanguard. The new leaders became increasingly strident, greeting returning soldiers with jeers and taunts. Most Americans now supported the cause but opposed the leaders, methods, and culture of protest.

The movement regained solidarity following several disturbing incidents. In February 1970, the My Lai massacre became public, igniting widespread outrage. In April, President Nixon, who had previously committed to a planned withdrawal, announced that U.S. forces had entered Cambodia. Protesters soon took to the streets with renewed focus. Then, on May 4, Ohio National Guardsmen fired on a group of student protesters at Kent State University, killing 4 and wounding 16. Days later, two students were killed by police at Jackson State University in Mississippi. Death, previously distant, was now close at hand. Congress, including some Republicans, challenged Nixon's authority. Antiwar sentiment, previously tainted with an air of anti-Americanism, became instead a normal reaction against zealous excess. By January 1973, when Nixon

announced the effective end of U.S. involvement, he did so in response to a mandate unequalled in modern times.

Mark Barringer

SEE ALSO Cambodia; Douglas Committee; Fonda, Jane Seymour; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Music (Vietnam War); Posters (Vietnam War); Underground Press (Vietnam War)

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Ap Bac, Battle of

This battle on January 2, 1963, took on great importance in the evolution of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and in relations between American news organizations and the U.S. government and military. Lieutenant Colonel John Vann, senior advisor to the 7th Division of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), had spent great effort preparing plans for aggressive action against the Viet Cong. His greater challenge was to move division commander General Huyhn Van Cao to commit his forces. Cao rarely took his troops into real action, fearing the political consequences of significant casualties, causing increasing frustration in Vann and the other American advisors working with him in the area.

In late December 1962, U.S. Army intelligence detected a Viet Cong radio transmitter operating near the Mekong Delta town of My Tho, the headquarters of the 7th Division. Stung by the October 1962 loss of a South Vietnamese Ranger platoon and concerned about the ease with which the Viet Cong were recruiting support in the important Delta region, Vann hoped that he could trap the Viet Cong at Ap Bac and its sister hamlet, Ap Tan Thoi, located approximately 40 miles southwest of Saigon. Success would give both the ARVN and the U.S. military an important victory.

But instead of the 120 or so troops that Vann had anticipated, the ARVN troops and their American advisors encountered the Communist 261st Main Force Battalion of 320 men, augmented by about 30 regional guerrillas, who had decided to stand and fight. They assumed strong defensive positions in tree lines and along canals; dedicated fighters, they demonstrated superior weapons discipline throughout the day.

Conversely, the 7th Division exhibited cowardice, confusion, and incompetence. Despite Vann's well-conceived plan calling for a three-pronged attack from the north,

south, and east, the mission quickly disintegrated as ARVN soldiers refused to advance under fire, despite exhortations of the few U.S. advisors on the scene. By noon, five U.S. helicopters carrying ARVN soldiers were downed. Intermediate ARVN commanders refused to act. Finally, hoping to contain the Communist forces, ARVN paratroopers dropped into the battle zone, but they landed on the west, not the east, side of Ap Bac. As in October, the greatly outnumbered Communist troops outfought ARVN forces and, when nighttime covered their movements, escaped.

Miscommunication, perhaps intended, compounded the negative consequences of the battle. General Paul Harkins, then the senior-ranking American military officer in South Vietnam, stated that the mission was successful because Ap Bac had been secured, although he neglected to mention that this occurred after the enemy had escaped the ARVN's blunder-filled attack. However, reporters David Halberstam, Neil Sheehan, and Malcolm Browne, covering the battle at the site, revealed what they observed to be a debacle: Even with the assistance of American technology and planning, the ARVN was still an inferior fighting force. Although the Communist forces lost 18 men killed and 39 wounded that day, ARVN suffered about 80 dead and over 100 wounded in action.

Rather than demonstrating a strengthening South Vietnamese Army, as officials had hoped, the battle at Ap Bac became symbolic of that army's difficulties. Furthermore, in mishandling communication about this event, the U.S. military damaged its credibility with the press corps, a problem that increased as the war continued.

Charles J. Gaspar

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Vietnam War); Halberstam, David; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Mecklin, John; Ngo Dinh Diem; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Browne, Malcolm Wilde

Browne is among the most prominent journalists in the story of American involvement in Vietnam. Malcolm Wilde Browne was born on April 17, 1931, in New York City. He was educated at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania and New York University. His career in journalism began when he was drafted into the army during the 1950–1953

Korean War and was assigned to write for *Pacific Stars and Stripes*. When he returned home from the war, he continued his career as a journalist, joining the Associated Press and working in for the *Middletown, New York Daily Record* (1958–1960) and in Baltimore for the Associated Press (1960–1961), at which point he became chief correspondent for Indochina. He was among a group of young journalists who reported serious problems regarding the Ngo Dinh Diem regime in the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) and with the conduct of the war there, contradicting the optimistic reports coming from Ambassador Frederick Nolting and head of the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) General Paul Harkins.

In January 1963, Browne covered the Battle of Ap Bac, reporting on the ineptitude of the South Vietnamese armed forces. On June 11, 1963, he photographed the self-immolation of Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc in Saigon. The photograph of the Buddhist's supreme act of protest against the government in Saigon reportedly helped convince President John F. Kennedy that South Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem would have to be removed from office. Browne and David Halberstam of *The New York Times* shared the Pulitzer Prize in 1964 for their 1963 reporting from Vietnam.

Browne worked for ABC News from 1965 to 1966. He joined *The New York Times* in 1968 as foreign correspondent, and later became a science reporter. Browne returned to Vietnam, covering the spring 1972 Easter Offensive. During that time, he experienced some of the same hostility from the South Vietnamese military that he had encountered earlier in the war. One ARVN captain said that South Vietnamese troops believed that American reporters were “agents of the Viet Cong,” and that Browne should not “be surprised by what might happen to you newsmen here.” Browne found out when an ARVN officer deliberately gave Browne directions that nearly sent him into the hands of North Vietnamese troops.

Browne left the *Times* for several years to serve as a senior editor for *Discover* magazine, but returned to *The New York Times* science department in 1985. In 1991, he covered the Persian Gulf War, but he has primarily been a science writer in recent years.

James H. Willbanks

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Halberstam, David; Ngo Dinh Diem; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Cam Ne

Coverage of an incident at the village of Cam Ne in early August 1965 represented television's first big splash in Vietnam. Television news underwent a dramatic maturation in the early and mid-1960s. Prior to the fall of 1963, television evening news broadcasts were only 15 minutes long and involved limited use of film, especially for foreign news. Television news had only a very limited presence during the Korean War and in the early days of the conflict in Vietnam. But by 1963, TV news operations had matured dramatically. CBS and NBC went to half-hour evening news broadcasts in September 1963, followed by ABC in early 1965. Audiences, and advertising revenue, grew significantly, providing funds to make the news operations even bigger and more sophisticated. As Vietnam became more an American war in the summer and fall of 1965, the three television networks led a growing press presence—by the end of that year, the networks had the largest news operations in Vietnam.

On the August 3, 1965 broadcast of the “CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite,” the network's young Vietnam correspondent, Morley Safer, read a description of a squad of U.S. Marines burning the hamlet of Cam Ne, near Da Nang. Safer said that the Marines put the mud and straw houses to the torch after receiving only one short burst of automatic weapons fire, and that they ignored villagers' pleas for time to remove their belongings.

Film of the incident was still in transit from Vietnam. When it aired two days later, it depicted Marines moving down a line of huts whose thatched roofs were consumed in flame. A weary-looking Safer stated that “Today's operation shows the frustration of Vietnam in miniature. There is little doubt that American firepower can win a military victory here. But to a Vietnamese peasant whose house means a life of backbreaking labor, it will take more than presidential promises to convince him that we are on his side.”

Reactions to the Cam Ne story were immediate and visceral. Early in the morning after the film aired, CBS News president Frank Stanton was awakened by a ringing telephone. The voice on the other end let loose a profanity-laced tirade. “Who is this?” the groggy Stanton asked. “Frank,”



CBS correspondent Morley Safer reports as a Vietnamese man watches his home burn following a sweep by American troops in August 1965. The film, depicting U.S. Marines setting fire to thatch huts with Zippo lighters, sent President Lyndon Johnson into a rage; Johnson angrily accused Morley Safer of treason and demanded that CBS News president Frank Stanton fire him. (Getty Images)

the voice drawled, “this is your President, and yesterday your boys shat on the American flag.” Johnson, sure that Safer was a communist, ordered a background check of the reporter. When nothing incriminating, other than Safer’s Canadian citizenship, turned up, Johnson had the Marine officer in command at Cam Ne that day investigated, equally convinced that Safer had bribed him to set the huts on fire. Pentagon spokesman Arthur Sylvester echoed that charge, and called for CBS to remove Safer from Vietnam. The Defense Department also began monitoring network evening news broadcasts, creating an archive of that the networks themselves had not bothered to start. The public reacted just as strongly. CBS was flooded with calls and letters critical of Safer’s report and the negative light in which it cast American servicemen. From that point on, television became a lightning rod for discussion of the role of the news media in Vietnam.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Vietnam War); Cronkite, Walter Leland; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Television and the Vietnam Experience

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Cambodia

Cambodia, the last of the countries of Indo-China to be drawn into the violence of the Vietnam War, ultimately endured an even greater tragedy of death and devastation than any of its neighbors.

With well-watered fields and rivers teeming with fish, Cambodians were traditionally well fed in times of peace, but a violent and turbulent history also brought periods of terrible hardship, as the Khmer people struggled to maintain peace and national sovereignty in the face of external challenge and internal upheaval.

Like the rest of Indochina, Cambodia won independence from France in the wake of the Geneva Accords in 1954. Prince Norodom Sihanouk’s chief concern was to prevent his country from becoming involved in the violence that was engulfing its larger neighbor. Outside Cambodia, the prince was widely regarded as erratic, even flighty. But his frequent reversals of policy did have a consistent goal: to keep Cambodia neutral.

After first cultivating relations with the United States, in 1963, Sihanouk abruptly ordered U.S. military and economic aid programs canceled and, two years later, broke relations completely. Believing that the Vietnamese revolutionaries were ultimately

going to win, he entered into a fateful compromise that allowed the Vietnamese Communists to set up bases on Cambodian territory along the border. Sihanouk hoped that if Cambodia helped the Vietnamese win their revolution, they might respect Cambodian independence after their victory. There was another benefit for Sihanouk: as part of the arrangement, the Vietnamese gave no help to the small Khmer Rouge (“Red Khmer”) insurgency that was opposing the prince’s regime.

The United States entered the Vietnam War and, instead of a quick Communist victory, the conflict became a prolonged stalemate. Violence expanded in stages. In March 1969, the United States began secretly bombing Vietnamese Communist positions on the Cambodian side of the border. In August, Sihanouk named army commander General Lon Nol to head a new right-wing Government of National Salvation. The secret U.S. bombings, meanwhile, encouraged Cambodian army commanders in the border region to conduct harassing operations against Communist Vietnamese bases. In November, reinforcements were sent to the area and attacks were stepped up. Then, in March 1970 after violent, government-orchestrated anti-Vietnamese demonstrations in Phnom Penh, Lon Nol publicly demanded a complete Vietnamese withdrawal from all Cambodian territory within 72 hours.

Prince Sihanouk, then traveling abroad, denounced the demand, but Lon Nol and his allies sent troops to surround the National Assembly and government ministries and obtained a unanimous Assembly vote on March 18 deposing Sihanouk as chief of state. The new leaders in Phnom Penh, having inflamed Cambodia’s traditional anti-Vietnamese feelings for their own political purposes, now called for national mobilization against the estimated 40,000 Vietnamese Communist troops on Cambodian territory.

U.S. military leaders perceived Cambodian events through lenses that were focused almost entirely on their own tactical needs in Vietnam. Seeing a chance to disrupt the Communist logistical network on the Cambodian side of the border, the U.S. command supported several sizable operations by Republic of Vietnam forces in Cambodia during April 1970. Then, on April 30, 1970, 32,000 U.S. troops rolled across the border. This “incursion” aroused a storm of protest at home, sparking demonstrations and violence on college campuses across the country, and resulting in the killing of four students at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State University in Mississippi. President Richard Nixon quickly promised to withdraw all U.S. troops from Cambodia by the end of June.

When the war began, the forces opposing Lon Nol’s hapless army were chiefly Vietnamese Communists. The Vietnamese moved quickly, however, to build up a Khmer resistance movement, most especially the Khmer Rouge, now allies (if uneasy and mistrustful ones) of the Vietnamese Communists. Led by two French-educated Cambodian Communists, Saloth Sar (better known by his pseudonym, Pol Pot) and Ieng Sary, the Khmer Rouge would emerge during the 1970s as the most extreme and violent of all the Indo-China revolutionary movements.

The war in Cambodia proved particularly dangerous for journalists. During the incursion, some seventeen reporters or photographers would be captured, killed, or go

missing. Among the captured were Richard Dudman of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and Elizabeth Pond of *The Christian Science Monitor*, who were held for several days. Freelance photographers Sean Flynn, son of Errol Flynn, and his friend Dana Stone rode into Cambodia on motorcycles, never to be seen again. By the end of the war in 1975, a total of 25 journalists would die or disappear in Cambodia.

The story of one journalist would capture the world's imagination. Dith Pran served as a photographer for *The New York Times* in Phnom Penh. When the Khmer Rouge took over the city, his friend, *Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg, was unable to get him out of the country. For more than four years, Dith would endure the horror of the killing fields. He finally made his way to the Thai border in October 1979, where he was soon reunited with his friend Schanberg. Dith Pran's story would become the basis of the acclaimed film *The Killing Fields*.

On April 17, 1975, Lon Nol's decrepit government surrendered. In five years of war approximately 10 percent of Cambodia's 7 million people had died. The economy was in ruins; schools and hospitals had virtually ceased to exist; half of the population had been uprooted from their homes. But worse was to come. The Khmer Rouge, bent on extirpating all traces of the old society, emptied the cities and forced millions of Cambodians into slave labor camps, murdered hundreds of thousands of real or imagined opponents, and caused more hundreds of thousands of deaths from exhaustion, hunger, and disease.

Khmer Rouge rule came to an end in January 1979 when Vietnamese forces, who had invaded Cambodia after months of escalating border clashes, occupied Phnom Penh and installed a new pro-Vietnamese government. Falling back to the countryside, Khmer Rouge guerrillas—eventually joined by two smaller groups backed by the United States and the non-Communist Southeast Asian states—mounted a stubborn resistance against the Vietnamese and their Cambodian allies. Though the Khmer Rouge terror had ended, the new war brought new miseries. A third of a million Cambodians spent years in dismal refugee camps along the Thai border, and millions of others struggled to survive in a country devastated by years of butchery.

After a 10-year occupation, Vietnamese troops withdrew in 1989, but war continued between the Khmer Rouge and its allies and the Vietnamese-sponsored Phnom Penh government headed by Prime Minister Hun Sen. A peace agreement was finally signed under United Nations (UN) auspices on October 23, 1991. All sides agreed to give up their arms, but the Khmer Rouge never fully complied; it also refused to participate in UN-supervised elections for a new government.

Despite widespread Khmer Rouge attacks meant to disrupt the voting, the election was held in May 1993. Prince Sihanouk's party, the United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (called FUNCINPEC, from its French initials), won a narrow plurality over Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party. Following the election, a new constitution restored the monarchy. On September 24, 1993, Sihanouk resumed the throne he had abdicated 38 years before. His son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, and Hun Sen shared leadership as co-prime ministers of the new government.

The power-sharing arrangement did not lead to a new era of compromise, cooperation, and multiparty democracy, as international peace brokers had hoped. The coalition's final destruction was precipitated in the late spring of 1997 when representatives of the disintegrating Khmer Rouge, in defiance of their longtime leader Pol Pot, began negotiating with associates of Prince Ranariddh on the possible surrender of their remaining forces. In the talks, the Khmer Rouge offered to join Ranariddh's alliance in opposition to Hun Sen, whom they still regarded as a puppet of the hated Vietnamese. Hun Sen seized power in Phnom Penh early on the morning of July 6, and remains in control at this writing.

In 2008 and 2009, UN-sponsored tribunals began to prosecute remaining Khmer Rouge officials in an attempt to put the time of "the killing fields" in the past.

Arnold R. Isaacs

SEE ALSO Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Film and the Vietnam Experience; LAM SON 719, Operation; War Powers Act

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Capa, Robert

One of the most renowned combat photojournalists of the 20th century, Robert Capa was the adopted name of Endre Friedman, born October 22, 1913, in Budapest. As a young man, Friedman moved from Pest to Berlin, where he studied journalism and worked as a photographer's assistant. He would later move to Paris. Continuing anti-Semitism interfered with his professional advancement, prompting his adoption of the new name, Robert Capa ("capa" being the Hungarian word for "shark") while covering the Spanish Civil War. His work during this war, most notably "The Falling Soldier," which depicts a Loyalist soldier at the very instant that he is struck by a bullet to the head, established his reputation and earned him the unofficial title of "The Greatest War Photographer in the World."

Indeed, during that war, Capa, along with his lover and fellow photographer Gerda Taro, created something of a franchise out of this new persona. Along with his well-earned reputation for photographic artistry came an equally well-earned reputation for

a life lived to excess—in drinking, womanizing, self-aggrandizement, and insensitivity. In the quest of a photograph, Capa would place himself in an almost intimate proximity to individuals at the deepest, most horrific moments of tragedy and distress. During the Spanish Civil War, tragedy would strike Capa himself, as Taro was killed in a traffic accident. Over the years, continued exposure to combat caused Capa to display the symptoms of what would come to be known as post-traumatic stress disorder.

His looks, charm, facility with languages, and professional courage allowed him access to most of the world's hotspots over the next two decades. During World War II, he covered the early fighting between Japanese and Chinese troops and the invasions of North Africa and Sicily. Capa was also in the first wave of troops on Omaha Beach during the Normandy Invasion. His evocative work, distinctive in its style of the blurred images of men in motion, in during World War II earned him a Medal of Freedom citation from General Dwight Eisenhower. Over the course of his too-short career, Capa would cover some 18 conflicts around the world.

Following World War II, Capa was one of the founders—along with fellow photographers Henri Cartier-Bresson, George Rodger, and David Seymour—of the Magnum Photo Agency. The formation of Magnum both signaled and advanced the growing importance of photojournalism. Prior to Magnum's establishment in 1947, copyrights to photographers' work were almost exclusively owned by the magazines or newspapers that published them. This practice limited the editorial freedom and earnings potential of photojournalists. As a cooperative owned and run by and for photographers, Magnum provided the photographers a base of support, as well as enabling them to retain ownership of their own work. Since its founding, Magnum has grown into one of the world's largest and most prestigious photo agencies. In 1951, Capa became president of Magnum, a position he held until his death three years later.

Unnerved by a close encounter with a bullet during fighting following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, Capa did not cover the Korean War. During this period, Capa became almost as well known for his photographs of celebrities such as Pablo Picasso as for his combat work. However, he went back into the field to cover the latter days of the First Indo-China War for *Life* magazine. On the morning of May 25, 1954, he was killed by a landmine near the village of Thai Binh in the Red River Delta of northern Vietnam, making him the first U.S. photojournalist killed while covering combat in Vietnam.

Today, Capa's name is synonymous with the quest for artistic and journalistic truth that is at the heart of great combat photography. His work lives on in the Robert Capa Gold Medal, awarded by the Overseas Press Club for "the best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise," but most powerfully in his documentation of the costs of war.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Cam Ne; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Television and the Vietnam Experience

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Correspondents (Vietnam War)

The French war in Indochina between 1946 and 1954 was the subject of the earliest American correspondents to cover Vietnam. However, those correspondents were not based in Vietnam; rather, they operated out of the few Asian bureaus maintained by major news organizations and rotated through for only limited visits. In some cases, those correspondents were thousands of miles from Vietnam, as was told by Otto Friedrich, who then worked for United Press in Paris. Friedrich took French military communiqués transmitted from Hanoi to Paris and rewrote them, more often than not making them more dramatic with only his imagination as a source.

Following the defeat of the French, American journalistic interest declined from even the limited level seen during that war—despite the fact that the United States had begun what was even then a massive commitment to build and maintain an independent, non-communist South Vietnam. When the new administration of President John Kennedy significantly stepped up the level of U.S. support to the South, in the form of military advisors, equipment, and civilian nation-building efforts in response to increased Viet Cong activity, American news organizations began to match that increased investment. Some of the great names of Vietnam-era journalism were among these early correspondents. Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press arrived in November 1961. On June 11, 1963, Browne would capture one of the iconic images of the 20th century, when he photographed Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc burning himself to death in protest of Diem regime repression. Before the end of the year, Homer Bigart, an experienced war correspondent, would open *The New York Times* bureau, and Ray Herndon would do the same for UPI. Photographer Horst Faas would soon join Browne in the AP bureau. The next April, Neil Sheehan came to Saigon for UPI, Peter Arnett joined the AP office, and in July, David Halberstam replaced Bigart for the *Times*. Some of the most important stringers and regional reporters included Merton Perry, Stanley Karnow, and Charles Mohr of *Time*, Francois Sully and Robert Elegant of *Newsweek*, Robert “Pepper” Martin of *U.S. News and World Report*, and Peter Kalischer of CBS.

Covering the war in those early days was a dream assignment for these reporters. On salaries of several hundred dollars a month, reporters could live very well in rented villas or the best hotels and dine at fine restaurants in Saigon, still “the Paris of the East.” These reporters did face challenges, however. First, the working conditions were very demanding. Offices were cramped and uncomfortable, and communications facilities were unreliable. Also, as American involvement grew, so did the appetite of editors for coverage.

The wire service reporters especially, trying to satisfy morning and evening news cycles across four U.S. time zones, worked almost constantly. The *Times* correspondents faced similar pressure to provide a daily summary of activity. The reporters for the news magazines did not have the same time constraints, but also had less control over what appeared in the magazines, as they provided weekly “files” of raw reporting, from which the editors back in New York would choose story ideas to assign to staff writers.

One of the greatest obstacles faced by these reporters was the effort by the American and South Vietnamese governments to deny them information. The Diem regime was openly hostile to the press, regarding it as a threat to its power. The Kennedy Administration, trying to keep Diem happy and to downplay its own buildup in Vietnam, restricted reporters’ access to action in the field and to information from U.S. personnel. These policies resulted in a growing animosity between the American press, on the one hand, and the South Vietnamese and American governments and militaries on the other. Reporters were denied information from more official sources just as they came under pressure to provide increasing volumes of coverage to justify their employers’ investments in the story. Thus, the reporters turned to alternate sources, most often the junior-level American officers who served as advisors, many of whom were becoming frustrated at their government’s seemingly blind commitment to what they saw as an increasingly repressive and incompetent Diem regime.

This conflict reached its height during the spring and summer of 1963, when Buddhists, joined by other segments of South Vietnamese society, began to stage demonstrations against the government. Diem’s secret police targeted reporters for attack during these demonstrations and included Neil Sheehan and David Halberstam on a hit list. The Kennedy Administration continued its own stonewalling policies and failed to intervene in repression of reporters—and, in fact, orchestrated a barrage of criticism of these correspondents by government officials and other journalists.

However, by late summer, the United States had decided that the Diem regime was now a liability and that its own information policies were counterproductive. Even before the November 1 assassination of Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, followed three weeks later by the murder of President Kennedy, a move had begun to change how the U.S. government and military dealt with the press. Dubbed Operation MAXIMUM CANDOR, the policy sought to play to reporters’ need for steady information by making them dependent on official sources in what was rapidly becoming a wider, more complex, and more American war. In order to work in Vietnam, journalists had to be accredited by the both the South Vietnamese government and the U.S. military, a process that required only a valid passport and visa and demonstration of employment by some print or broadcasting organization. Not only did the U.S. government and military provide the press with a daily torrent of statistics and action reports, but they also provided significant logistical support in the form of communications and transportation. In return, reporters agreed to abide by a relatively relaxed set of ground rules governing the timing of the release of certain categories of information. This approach would shape government-press relations for the much of the rest of the war.

American journalistic interest in Vietnam continued to grow, matching the increasing commitment of American ground troops that began in the spring and summer of 1965. Troop presence reached its peak of over 530,000 in early 1969, and journalistic presence reached its high point of some 600 accredited reporters at the same time. That number is deceptive, however. Non-journalist employees of news organizations, including drivers, secretaries, and clerks, also required accreditation. Also, the reportorial corps in Vietnam was a widely varied lot, representing employers such as *The New York Times* and CBS, but also WJZM radio in Clarksville, Tennessee and the Bucknell College alumni magazine. Even at the height of journalistic presence, the number of actual news-gathering personnel in-country for news organizations with a national audience was no more than 20 to 60 people.

This journalistic force was as limited in experience as in size. Covering Vietnam was a young person's game, but it was not age, but lack of exposure to a military and political situation as complex as Vietnam, that typified the Vietnam press corps. Also, most news organizations rotated their personnel out after relatively brief tours—12 to 18 months for print journalists, 6 months to year for broadcast. Just as with military personnel who served a one-year tour of duty, about the time journalists developed a feel for the story and a mastery of the logistics, their assignments were finished.

Despite these obstacles, however, the early work of Browne, Sheehan, Halberstam, and others was joined by some extraordinary reporters and reporting. Charles Mohr, who had left *Time* for *The New York Times*, produced some of the first work to question the accuracy of enemy body count and its value as a measure of progress. UPI's Joe Galloway provided riveting accounts of the Ia Drang Valley campaign, the first major engagement between U.S. and North Vietnamese troops in November 1965. The Associated Press's Peter Arnett showed an equal facility in covering combat and the complexities of the pacification effort, and his first-hand account of the fight for Hill 875 during the Dak To campaign of October–November 1967 takes its place among the great literature of combat reporting. Veteran *New York Times* foreign correspondent Harrison Salisbury took tremendous professional risks when, in late 1966 and early 1967, he became the first correspondent for a major American news organization to file stories from North Vietnam. Salisbury's reports inspired the anger of political and military figures, as well as other journalists, including many of his colleagues at the *Times*.

Women also took their place among the best Vietnam journalists. In early 1962, Beverly Deepe became the first permanent member of the Saigon press corps, first as a stringer for *Newsweek*, then as a special correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*. Gloria Emerson of *The New York Times* first covered Vietnam in 1956 and would return to the country over the next two decades. Her coverage of Operation LAM SON 719, the disastrous January 1971 South Vietnamese invasion of Laos, shredded the credibility of the Nixon Administration's claims regarding the progress of Vietnamization in some of the most politically and emotionally challenging writing of the war. Dickie Chappelle, who also came to Vietnam early, was an ardent anticommunist whose insistence on taking the same risks as the Marines she covered resulted in her death when she stepped

on a landmine in November 1965. French freelance photographer Cathy Leroy was a 90-pound sprite who could charm North Vietnamese troops who had captured her in Hue during Tet '68 into releasing her, but who also possessed a vocabulary of American profanity that could wilt the toughest Marine. Kate Webb started working in Vietnam for UPI in early 1967. Born in New Zealand and raised in Australia, Webb brought a sensitivity to Asia that few Western reporters possessed. Her school-girl looks did not conceal an iron will that she backed up with a punch to the face of more than one person who tried to keep her from a story.

Many Vietnamese provided invaluable service to American and other news organizations as photographers, cameramen, interpreters, and journalists in their own right. Among many examples are Nguyen Ngoc Luong, whose skill as a reporter, interviewer, and interpreter made him invaluable to *The New York Times* staff in the later years of the war. In Cambodia, Dith Pran played a similar role for the *Times*' Sidney Schanberg. The story of Dith Pran's surviving Khmer Rouge captivity and torture, and Schanberg's efforts to secure his safety, became the film *The Killing Fields*. Pham Xuan An, who became the first Vietnamese reporter for a major U.S. news organization, was also widely regarded as the best Vietnamese reporter. Charming, with an excellent command of English and great knowledge of Vietnamese military and political issues, Pham was respected and popular among Western reporters, especially his colleagues at *Time*, where he worked for most of his career. Pham was also a colonel in the People's Army of Vietnam and one of its best spies, who used his friendship with American reporters and access to U.S. officials to great benefit.

Despite the conventional wisdom, technical and editorial limitations prevented Vietnam from being the "first television war" (that label properly belongs to the First Gulf War). However, many men and women who became fixtures on television for the next several decades first became stars while covering Vietnam. The networks came to the story somewhat later than print organizations, but by the end of 1965, they had the largest bureaus in Saigon. TV made its first big splash in August 1965, when CBS correspondent Morley Safer filed a story that pictured Marines setting fire to the hamlet of Cam Ne. The morning after the film aired, CBS News president Frank Stanton was awakened by a phone call from Lyndon Johnson, who exclaimed, "Frank, are you trying to fuck me?" Dan Rather's time in Vietnam positioned him to become CBS's chief White House correspondent during the Nixon Administration and then the successor to anchorman Walter Cronkite. Ed Bradley would become one of the first prominent African-American television correspondents from his work in Vietnam for CBS. Jack Laurence, also of CBS, used his two years experience in Vietnam to produce one of the great broadcasts of the war, "The World of Charlie Company," a brutally honest and sensitive study of a company of soldiers from the First Air Cavalry Division. In August 1968, NBC News' Liz Trotta became the first woman assigned by a television network to cover combat.

Some of the more virulent critics of the press corps in Vietnam often asserted that reporters failed to get out to the war, instead gathering their information at the watering holes of Saigon. It was not in the nature of some journalists' particular jobs to cover combat, while others probably did lack the will to endure the danger and hardship.

However, many reporters, journalists, and cameramen placed themselves in harm's way, and 71 died in an effort to tell the stories of this conflict.

Another, more enduring image of Vietnam reporters was a group almost uniform in its opposition to the war and antagonistic in its relationship with U.S. officials. However, the reality was much more complicated. Personal opinions among journalists regarding the war largely reflected the range seen among the American population in general. And while some tensions did exist, for most of the war, the press and the U.S. government and military developed a working relationship based on mutual dependency. However, the myth of adversarial correspondents and the reality of a much more complicated relationship would shape attitudes and policies among the press, the government, and the public in U.S. conflicts to follow.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Browne, Malcolm Wilde; Cam Ne; Fall, Bernard B.; Five O'clock Follies; Halberstam, David; LAM SON 719, Operation; MAXIMUM CANDOR; Mecklin, John; My Lai Massacre; Pentagon Papers and Trial; Salisbury, Harrison E.; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Cronkite, Walter Leland

Often referred to as “the most trusted man in America,” Cronkite was one of the most significant figures in radio and television history. Born on November 4, 1916 in St. Joseph, Missouri, Walter Cronkite moved to Texas as a young boy. After two years at the University of Texas, he started his journalism career at the *Houston Post* in 1933. During World War II he worked for United Press International (UPI), and in 1945 and 1946 he served as chief correspondent from the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunals. Cronkite spent two years covering Moscow before joining CBS News in 1950. At CBS, Cronkite became part of a group of young reporters, most of whom had trained and worked as print journalists, who helped Edward R. Murrow and CBS chairman William Paley build the CBS News operation into the model for broadcast journalism and give CBS the well-earned name “the Tiffany Network.” Cronkite made his name as a broadcaster at the 1952 Democratic Convention. CBS executives wanted to cover the convention gavel-to-gavel, and needed someone with the ability to hold the long,



CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite, shown here during an interview with President John Kennedy at the latter's summer home in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts in September 1963, was the most trusted figure in television journalism. Cronkite's March 1968 pronouncement that the war in Vietnam had become a stalemate was seen by President Lyndon Johnson as a sign that he had lost mainstream public opinion. (Library of Congress)

rambling nominating process together, making it interesting and accessible to viewers at home. Cronkite was an immediate hit, as he brought the convention to life with an ease born of his Midwestern roots and extraordinarily thorough preparation. In the process, Cronkite demonstrated yet another dimension of television, as well as creating the role of anchorman.

In 1962 Cronkite became the anchor and editor of the CBS Evening News. Cronkite was central to most of the great moments in American history during the 19 years that he filled those roles. He took the evening news broadcast from the traditional 15 minutes comprised mostly of wire copy read by an announcer, to a 30-minute broadcast in which he gave context to reports from correspondents across the country and around the world. The first 30-minute broadcast, in September 1963, featured an interview with President John Kennedy at his home in Hyannisport, which Kennedy used to signal the Diem regime that the United States would no longer offer unqualified support. He also anchored CBS space coverage, national political conventions, and other major events. With his reputation for hard work, accuracy, competitiveness, and impartiality, Cronkite

achieved great believability, often ranking in polls as the most trusted man in the United States. His rarely seen emotions carried great significance to his viewing public. His emotional coverage of the Kennedy assassination in 1963 mirrored the grief and shock of the American public, just as the public saw their curiosity, joy, and pride at the successful moon landing of Apollo 11 in him.

Cronkite's attitudes toward the war in Vietnam were a study in the complicated relationship between the news media, government, and public opinion. Cronkite was the peer of the American military and political leaders responsible for directing policy in Vietnam. He tended to trust them because he knew them and because of the positions of authority they held, positions much like the one he held in his world. But like the American public, Cronkite grew increasingly concerned as the war dragged on, costing more in lives and money with little discernible progress. Following the 1968 Tet Offensive, Cronkite traveled to Vietnam to produce a series of reports on the state of the war. Cronkite's travels around South Vietnam, especially his conversations with CBS correspondents there, convinced him that the war had become, in the word he would use to devastating effect in his special on Tet, a "stalemate." More troops and more money would do little to change the course of the war, Cronkite said, concluding that a negotiated settlement offered the only practical and honorable solution. Upon watching the broadcast, Lyndon Johnson turned to his press secretary George Christian and said that if he had lost Cronkite, he had lost "Mr. Average Citizen."

During his career Cronkite received two Peabody awards and an Emmy award; after retiring in 1981 he was honored with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. He died on July 17, 2009.

Laura Matysek Wood

SEE ALSO Cam Ne; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Tet '68 Offensive; Television and the Vietnam Experience

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Douglas Committee

Known more formally as the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam, the Douglas Committee was named for its chair, former Illinois Senator Paul H. Douglas. The Committee was one of a variety of efforts by the Johnson Administration to shape domestic news coverage and public opinion regarding the war in Vietnam.

Inheriting an increasingly tenuous situation in Vietnam following the assassinations of Ngo Dinh Diem and John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson sought to control every aspect of U.S. involvement. Johnson feared the international consequences of either moving too

aggressively in Vietnam or of risking the fall of South Vietnam through a lack of sufficient action. He was also concerned that a growing U.S. commitment to South Vietnam could jeopardize the political and financial resources he needed to pursue his ambitious domestic political agenda, known as the Great Society. Finally, Johnson did not want Vietnam to become an obstacle to his goal of winning election to the presidency in his own right. Thus, Johnson followed an “enough, but not too much” approach to U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Controlling public information about the conflict, both in Vietnam and in the United States, was an essential element of this effort. In seeking to do so, Johnson continued and enhanced a broad information management policy, known as Operation MAXIMUM CANDOR, that had begun in the last days of the Kennedy Administration. Various formal and informal groups comprised of officials from the White House, State and Defense departments, and other agencies met to assess current information issues and to devise new tactics.

Among a wide array of such tactics, the Johnson Administration enlisted private individuals and groups to serve as conduits of the official viewpoint. Some of these efforts were conducted fairly openly, including taking community opinion leaders such as educators and ministers on government-sponsored trips to South Vietnam to assess firsthand—amply aided by civilian and military officials—the situation there. However, other actions required a more discreet government presence. The executive director of the Young Democrats, with White House guidance and support, recruited student leaders on college campuses to encourage support for U.S. policy in Vietnam. Great care was taken to avoid any traceable connection between these students and either the administration or the Democratic National Committee.

The establishment of the Douglas Committee was another such arm’s-length initiative. As U.S. involvement deepened and casualty rates escalated in the spring and summer of 1967, public concern about the war increased dramatically. In response, Johnson stepped up his efforts to generate support for his policies. Dissatisfied with the effectiveness of pro-administration groups such as the American Friends of Vietnam, administration officials sought in May 1967 to create an ostensibly private group of prominent persons from every segment of American society and from both political parties. The idea originated with Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner, who convinced Brandeis political science professor John Roche, who also served as a special advisor to Johnson, of such a group’s value. With Johnson’s approval, Roche worked with prominent Washington attorney Clark Clifford to put the group together. Former Illinois Senator Paul Douglas served as chair of this who’s who of American leaders, including former presidents Truman and Eisenhower, former secretaries of state James Byrnes and Dean Acheson, academics such as historians Oscar Handlin and T. Harry Williams, and labor leaders such as AFL-CIO chairman George Meany. At the announcement of its formation in October 1967, the Committee said that “a great test is taking place in Vietnam—that test is whether or not the rulers of one territory can cheaply and safely impose a government and a political system upon their neighbors by internal subversion, insurrection, infiltration, and invasion. These are the tactics of the Communist

‘wars of liberation,’ which depend for success upon achieving their goals at an endurable price and a bearable risk.”

The statement continued to say that “we are opposed to surrender, however, camouflaged. Yet nothing we advocate can be interpreted as unnecessarily risking a general war in Asia or a nuclear war in the world. We favor a sensible road between capitulation and the indiscriminate use of raw power . . . we believe that, in this, we speak for the great ‘silent center’ of American life, the understanding, independent and responsible men and women who have consistently opposed rewarding international aggressors from Adolf Hitler to Mao Tse-tung. And we believe that the ‘silent center’ should now be heard.”

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO American Friends of Vietnam; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; MAXIMUM CANDOR

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Fall, Bernard B.

As a reporter and scholar, Fall was one of the most astute analysts of the military and political situation in Vietnam. Born in Vienna, Austria, on November 11, 1926, Bernard B. Fall grew up in France. He served in the French Resistance against the Germans from 1942 and then in the French Army. After discharge in 1946, he was a research analyst at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. In 1951 he came to the United States as a Fulbright Scholar and the following year earned a master’s degree at Syracuse University. In 1953 he went to Indo-China to do research for his doctorate, beginning what he would later describe as a bad love affair with Vietnam. There he observed firsthand the end of French rule in Indo-China and was allowed to accompany French forces into the field on combat operations. He returned to the United States in 1954 and completed his Ph.D. at Syracuse.

Fall wrote seven books and over 250 magazine articles about Vietnam and Southeast Asia. His 1961 book, *Street Without Joy*, became a classic account of the Indo-China War. In 1966 he also published *Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu*, a definitive account of that battle. Both books were widely read by American officers and many GIs who served in Vietnam.

Fall was deeply critical of both French and U.S. approaches to the war. He admitted that the United States, with its massive mobility and firepower assets, could not be defeated militarily by the Communists. But the Vietnam War, he maintained, was first

and foremost political—a fact that neither the Americans, nor the French before them, fully understood. He was especially critical of the American reliance on technology and massive firepower, viewing it as counterproductive in a counterinsurgency. Because Fall analyzed all sides of an issue with the same degree of penetrating criticism, his writings were often cited by supporters as well as opponents of the war.

Fall believed in collecting information firsthand, and was respected by the troops for sharing their experiences for extended periods and eschewing the public relations tours staged for visiting journalists. That commitment to veracity would cost Fall his life. On February 21, 1967, while accompanying a U.S. Marine patrol near the coast northwest of Hue, he was killed as his jeep struck a Viet Cong mine on the same Highway One—the same “street without joy” that he had described so vividly.

David T. Zabecki

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Vietnam War)

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Film and the Vietnam Experience

The Vietnam War and its aftermath provided subjects for numerous television dramas and hundreds of dramatic films. Although most of them were produced in France, Vietnam, and the United States, others came from Australia, Belgium, Canada, Great Britain, Hong Kong, and Italy. Regardless of the country of origin, many of the significant productions portrayed graphic combat scenes and presented most of the standard themes of traditional literary and cinematic works about war: a young man’s coming-of-age amid the horrors of war; the basic inhumanity and senselessness of war; the effects of war on innocent civilians, both in and away from the combat zone; and the destructive effects on veterans long after their combat experiences are over.

Of 36 French movies made from 1957 to 1992 that concern Indo-China, critic Jean-Jacques Malo notes only nine that depict significant combat action. Among the best of these are *Patrouille de Choc* (1957), *Le Facteur S’en Va-t-en* (1966), and *Charlie Bravo* (1980), all directed by war veteran Claude Bernard-Aubert. Another noted director who also served in Indo-China was Pierre Schoendoerffer, whose *The 317th Platoon (Le 317eme Section)*, 1964) and *Dien Bien Phu* (1991) both center around the famous battle that precipitated the withdrawal of French from Vietnam. Schoendoerffer also directed

two documentary films, *The Anderson Platoon* (1966) and *Reminiscence* (1989). *Indochine* (1992), based on the novel of the same name, has rightly been called a multi-generational soap opera in its attempt to cover so much of the period of French control in the 20th century. Most of these French films are apolitical, preferring to emphasize the effects of war on individuals instead of examining either causes or colonialism.

Quite different in intent and politicization were most of the nearly 200 Vietnamese films produced in Hanoi during and after the war. (There were no significant dramatic films made in South Vietnam.) From the earliest title, *On the Same River* (*Chung Mot Dong Song*, 1959) until the end of the war, the film industry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) produced movies that were designed to enlighten, reassure, and inspire audiences in their opposition to the presence of what the films described as the imperialist Americans and their puppet government in the South who were conducting the “American War.” In *On the Same River*, for instance, an engaged couple is separated by the Ben Hai River, which has recently defined the 1954 division of North and South Vietnam, and the woman chooses to forego marriage and remain in the South to fight the Americans and the South Vietnamese. In *The A Phu Couple* (*Vo Chong A Phu*, 1961), only the help of Communist Party leaders permits a Meo minority couple to transcend traditional village persecution and achieve happiness. In *The Call to the Sea* (*Bien Goi*, 1967), a valiant North Vietnamese naval officer’s death inspires the officer’s crew to fight even harder. Although some of the postwar films, such as the four-part saga *The Pursued Woman* (*Nguoi Dan Ba Bi San Duoi*, 1989–1990), addressed broader issues, such as the impossibility of achieving solace in the modern world even after the war, the overall emphasis of the Vietnamese film industry remained instructional in nature. Examples are the later films *White Flowers on the River* (*Dong Song Hoa Trang*, 1989) and *Fierce Childhood* (*Tuoi Tho Du Doi*, 1990), both of which depict the heroic deaths of men and women at the hands of American and South Vietnamese enemies.

Productions from most other countries cannot be categorized and vary widely in content, accuracy, and applicability to the war. From Australia, however, which sent combat troops in support of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN), came a number of films that mainly showed the effects of the war on returning veterans. Three TV miniseries are also notable: *Sword of Honor* (1986), *Vietnam* (1987), and *Frankie’s House* (1992). Each of the first two films objectively presents both pro-war and antiwar themes, contains realistic combat episodes, has accurate and sympathetically drawn Vietnamese characters, and ends with a sense of reconciliation. *Frankie’s House* is different, graphically portraying the experiences of famed British photographer Tim Page who spent three years in Vietnam and was wounded four times. Shown on the American Arts and Entertainment (A&E) channel shortly after the end of the Gulf War, this miniseries was not as well received as it should have been. Also notable was *The Odd Angry Shot* (1979), which depicts the combat experiences of the Australian Special Air Service (SAS).

In the United States, more than 400 films and TV dramas were produced that derived major themes, characters, and subjects from the war. Differing from films about previous wars, however, many of the significant American productions presented variations on a definitely antiwar theme: not only that the Vietnam War produced individual and group

tragedies, but also that the United States was wrong to have entered the conflict at all. Some definite categories are recognizable: the antiwar protest films; the TV productions, the settings of which were more restricted and the political agendas of which were less obvious; the large number of films that depicted Vietnam veterans as criminal, suicidal, or otherwise disturbed; and the combat films (usually shot in Thailand or the American Southeast) that either attempted verisimilitude or eschewed it in favor of what many critics called “Ramboesque” exaggerations.

Three major protest films received wide recognition. The first was *In the Year of the Pig* (1968), which was nominated for an Academy Award. A collage documentary, it blends scenes of combat and news clips with statements by major antiwar leaders. *Woodstock* (1970) documents the August 1969 three-day rock music and drug festival that featured many antiwar songs. Critic Michael Lee Lanning claims that “without the Vietnam War there would have been no Woodstock,” and he notes that the two words that appear most often are “groovy” and “peace.” This film did win an Academy Award. Using a similar documentary format was *Hearts and Minds* (1974), a carefully edited film that portrays the American forces in Vietnam committing atrocities and bombing hospitals and civilians. This film also won an Academy Award.

On television, one widely popular satiric series, *M*A*S*H**, even though set during the Korean War, began to inject Vietnam themes into its episodes as public opposition to the war increased. There were also two major postwar documentary productions, *Vietnam: A Television History* (1983), by the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and *The Ten Thousand Day War* (1980) by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Both vary in intensity and coverage (the war in Laos, for instance, is rarely mentioned). The Canadian series remains generally objective, but the American series becomes selectively antiwar as its historical episodes progress.

Also produced on television were two varyingly successful longer series (with episodes usually written and/or directed by veterans who had also published fiction), one four-part series, and 40 Vietnam War-related dramas, of which a few deserve notice. The first series was *Tour of Duty* (1987–1989), which tracks a culturally diverse platoon through combat and behind-the-lines experiences. Restrained and realistic at first, this series began to incorporate more sexual subject matter, as its competitor, *China Beach* (1988–1992), began to gain audience favor because of its exploitive portrayal of female nurses. Both series contain some memorable episodes. In *Vietnam War Story* (1989–1990, Home Box Office [HBO]), Patrick S. Duncan produced 12 short dramas, the subjects of which range from a soldier’s departure for Vietnam in 1963 to the problems of veterans in a Veterans Administration hospital. These episodes rank among the best films made. Also notable is *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam* (1987), produced on HBO television. This poignant film deftly superimposes combat footage with actual letters home written by American men and women and read by leading Hollywood stars. Equally impressive was the TV movie *Friendly Fire* (1979), in which Carol Burnett portrays the mother of an American soldier accidentally killed by his own artillery. Other TV films included *The Final War of Ollie Winter* (1967), *A Rumor of War* (1980), *Kent*

State (1981), and two productions about American prisoners of war (POWs), *When Hell Was in Session* (1979) and *In Love and War* (1987).

Of the more than 200 commercial films that feature Vietnam war veterans, critic Michael Lanning categorizes them as follows: the crazed veteran (40); the not-so-welcome-home veteran (40); the criminal veteran (72); the disturbed veteran (53); and the suicidal veteran (22). As late as 1995 the April 22 Hallmark Hall of Fame TV production featured both a suicidal and a disturbed veteran in an otherwise undistinguished drama. This recurrent portrayal of veterans with severe problems helped maintain and reinforce a stereotype that applied actually to only a small percentage of former combatants. Of the few good returned-veteran films, Oscar-winning *Coming Home* (1978) and *In Country* (1989) are by far the best.

The American films set during the war all have one major deficiency: None of them portrays Vietnamese characters with accuracy and understanding. Significant productions that consider the early years of the American involvement began with *The Quiet American* (1958). Although based on the novel by Graham Greene, the movie version's changed ending attributes the deaths of civilians to the Communist Viet Minh and considerably enhances, to Greene's later disgust, the image of Americans in Vietnam. Also positive toward the U.S. presence was *The Green Berets* (1968), in which John Wayne reprises his many roles as an understanding, valiant soldier. Hardly as sanguine was *The Ugly American* (1963), starring Marlon Brando, in which Vietnam is called the country of Sarkhan and the actions of the U.S. Foreign Service are satirized. Also set before the massive force buildup that began in 1965 was *Go Tell the Spartans* (1978) in which Burt Lancaster convincingly plays the commander of an ill-fated U.S. advisory unit. The other important film about the early years was *Good Morning, Vietnam* (1987). Billed as a comedy to showcase the talents of Robin Williams, this movie accurately depicts many of the events and prevailing attitudes of the time.

From 1978 to 1989 seven significant movies were produced that featured the coming-of-age theme for Americans in full-scale combat. Of these, *84 Charlie Mo Pic* (1989), which depicts an American platoon on patrol, is the most accurate and poignant. Others were: *The Deer Hunter* (1978), which received numerous Oscars, including best picture; *Apocalypse Now* (1979); *Platoon* (1986), an Oscar winner for best picture, which was the first of Oliver Stone's Vietnam films; *Full Metal Jacket* (1987); *Hamburger Hill* (1987); and *Casualties of War* (1989). In each of these six films, gruesome brutality and symbolic scenes often masquerade as realism, and their themes universally show the American presence in Vietnam as tragically wrong. Also produced at this time was *Hanoi Hilton* (1987), which portrayed rather accurately the tribulations of American POWs in North Vietnam.

Given the intense use of air power during the war, it is surprising that so few films depicted pilots and their experiences. *Bat 21* (1988) concerns an Air Force pilot who is shot down and evades capture; *Flight of the Intruder* (1990) is a clichéd and unbelievable story of Navy airmen; and *Air America* (1990), a satiric study of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operations in Laos, contains some startlingly accurate scenes and observations.

Perhaps the best film of all was not officially about the Vietnam War but depicted its aftermath in Cambodia. *The Killing Fields* (1984) starred Sam Waterston and Haing S. Ngor, who survived the genocidal events portrayed in the movie.

The most well known American writer/producer of films dealing with the Vietnam War is Oliver Stone, himself a war veteran. After *Platoon*, Stone produced *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), adapted from the book by paralyzed veteran Ron Kovic; *JFK* (1991), which theorizes that President Kennedy was assassinated because he was becoming opposed to U.S. involvement in Vietnam; and *Heaven and Earth* (1993), the story of a Vietnamese woman who had two American husbands. In production in 1995 was an adaptation of Robert Olen Butler's 1993 Pulitzer Prize-winning collection of stories, *A Good Scent from a Strange Mountain*. Demonstrating Stone's penchant for adapting fact to make a thematic point, nevertheless, his films are, along with all of the other movies noted above, stirring cinematic experiences.

John Clark Pratt

SEE ALSO Music (Vietnam War); Television and the Vietnam Experience

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Five O'Clock Follies

The "Five o'clock Follies" was the derisive name appended by the media to daily media briefings by the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), Office of Information (MACOI) at the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office (JUSPAO) in Saigon. The Follies, which actually took place at 4:45 p.m., were one of the most visible products of an effort by the U.S. government to provide more information to the press that had began early in the Johnson Administration.

The Kennedy Administration, until its very last days, had attempted to downplay the growing U.S. role in Vietnam by keeping a tight hold on information, referring reporters to a South Vietnamese government that was becoming increasingly hostile to the press. Reporters, seeking to justify the significant financial investment that their organizations were making in the Vietnam story, turned to other sources for information. Those

sources, especially U.S. advisors frustrated with the U.S.'s commitment to an increasingly ineffective Diem regime, provided reporters with the raw material for stories that were critical of Kennedy Administration policy.

In its early days, the Johnson Administration realized that it had a better chance of shaping the news coming out of Vietnam by supplying the press with information about the war—in fact, making the press as dependent as possible on official information. This effort came to be known as Operation MAXIMUM CANDOR. Under MAXIMUM CANDOR, civilian and military public information staffs in South Vietnam were dramatically enlarged, and facilities for the press significantly expanded and improved. Information management and press relations were centralized under the JUSPAO, headed by a director who reported directly to the ambassador. JUSPAO was essentially a resource and logistics center for news people, providing many services to media personnel to assist in their quest for news. MACOI was the inter-service information office located at MACV headquarters at Tan Son Nhut Air Base outside of Saigon. The MACOI and JUSPAO staffs compiled daily communiqués from operational reports received at the MACV operations center and the embassy. The briefings were usually held in a conference room in the Rex Hotel in downtown Saigon. On a long table near the briefers' podium were stacks of news releases describing the activities of various military units and civilian aid operations. These documents usually contained long lists of numbers seeking to quantify progress in the form of tons of bombs dropped, numbers of weapons seized, enemy soldiers killed and wounded, and villages brought under South Vietnamese government control.

While reporters dubbed the briefings the “five o'clock follies,” they nonetheless came to depend on the information provided there even as they regarded it warily. The bread-and-butter of the coverage of the war by American news organizations was a daily wrap-up of activity. Not even the largest news organizations could independently gather the information needed for these summaries. Thus the Follies remained an essential element of government information policy and press coverage of the war, at least until the Nixon Administration, seeking to turn the war over to the South Vietnamese and disengage American ground forces, cut back on the information provided at the briefings.

Arthur T. Frame

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Television and the Vietnam Experience; Westmoreland, William Childs

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Fonda, Jane Seymour

Jane Fonda's anti-Vietnam War activism, especially her July 1972 trip to Hanoi, made her an easy dumping ground for the frustrations of many Americans, especially veterans. The daughter of actor Henry Fonda, Jane Fonda was born in New York City on December 21, 1937. She attended Vassar College for two years before studying acting with Lee Strasberg at the Actors Studio and beginning her Hollywood career in 1960. Impressed by her all-American good looks, the Pentagon in 1962 named her "Miss Army Recruiting." Fonda went to Paris and became an international sex symbol by starring (and disrobing) in *Barbarella*, a cartoonish, science-fiction film, directed by Roger Vadim in 1968. She was married to Vadim until 1973 and had one child, Vanessa.



Actress Jane Fonda's activities during her July 1972 visit to Hanoi, including condemnations of American soldiers and photos of her sitting at an anti-aircraft gun, caused her to become known as "Hanoi Jane." Despite her repeated apologies, she remains a focus of the sense of betrayal among many American veterans of the war. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Fonda was becoming increasingly politicized and outspoken about the Vietnam War, to the extent that the Federal Bureau of Investigation began to hatch plots to discredit her. Fonda supported Black Panther founder Bobby Seale and was accused of drug smuggling and assaulting a police officer, charges that were later dropped. In 1971, she met Tom Hayden at an antiwar rally. Hayden was one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and had helped to orchestrate the 1968 antiwar demonstrations at the Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago. Fonda and Hayden married in 1972, had a son, Troy, and were divorced in 1990.

In 1972 Fonda appeared with Donald Sutherland in *FTA* ("Free the Army" or "Fuck the Army"), a collection of skits she described as "political vaudeville." After winning an Academy Award for 1971's *Klute*—an Oscar she nearly refused as a symbolic protest against the war—she flew to Paris and then to Hanoi, where she made ten propaganda broadcasts over Radio Hanoi, a decision she would later regret. A

photograph of Fonda seated in a North Vietnamese antiaircraft gun became the symbol of what some Americans regarded as her betrayal. To them she became “Hanoi Jane,” the Vietnam equivalent of Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose. She was put on display with eight POWs, met with Vice-Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Nguyễn Duy Trinh, and returned home with a 25-minute film she had made.

The Justice Department decided to ignore Fonda’s actions so as not to make her an antiwar martyr, but her Hollywood career was compromised and she went abroad to make her next film. In 1974, after a second trip to Vietnam with Tom Hayden, Fonda made a 60-minute documentary, *Introduction to the Enemy*. Her last Vietnam-related picture, for which she garnered another Oscar, was *Coming Home*, directed by Hal Ashby in 1978 and inspired by Ron Kovic, the paraplegic veteran she met in 1972 at an antiwar rally. By 1981 she had reentered the American mainstream with *On Golden Pond*, a film that symbolized reconciliation and earned her a Best Supporting Actress Oscar nomination. However, many Americans still despised her for her antiwar activities.

In 1984 conservative protesters forced Fonda to cancel appearances at department stores in Miami, New Orleans, and New York as she toured the country promoting a new line of exercise clothing. In 1987 she had problems scouting locations in New England for the film *Stanley and Iris*, when aldermen in Holyoke and Chicopee, Massachusetts, passed resolutions to keep her out of their towns. She also was confronted in Waterbury, Connecticut, with a local campaign, mounted by a retired National Guard officer, to protest her presence.

To counter this backlash Fonda decided to make a public statement, apologizing for her 1972 actions in a Barbara Walters interview entitled “Healing Wounds” on ABC’s “20/20,” broadcast on June 17, 1988. Fonda admitted to having been “thoughtless and careless” and expressed regret if anyone who had served in Vietnam had been hurt “because of things I said or did.” This performance closed the chapter on Vietnam for Jane Fonda, who, after divorcing Tom Hayden in 1989, even put her acting career on hold and married Atlanta media mogul Ted Turner.

Fonda’s career reflects the political turmoil of her times, as Christopher Andersen pointed out in his biography, *Citizen Jane*. He described her as “the sex symbol who went on to champion feminism; the Miss Army Recruiting of 1962 who rooted for the enemy during the Vietnam war; the chain-smoking, pill-popping bulimic who became the world’s leading health and fitness advocate.” On the other hand, in her radical days Fonda spoke out courageously against the Vietnam War in defiance of government constraints, risking surveillance and blacklisting, and at the expense of alienating her public.

James Michael Welsh

SEE ALSO Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War; Film and the Vietnam Experience

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Halberstam, David

Halberstam covered major news events and trends and was a prolific popular historian across his 50-year-long career, but he remained identified with his coverage of the early stages of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Born in New York City on April 10, 1934, David Halberstam graduated from Harvard University in 1955 and began a career in journalism. He covered the early civil rights movement in the South for the Nashville *Tennessean*. Hired by *The New York Times* in 1960, the next year he reported on the bloody civil war in the Congo.



New York Times correspondent David Halberstam, shown here at his desk in New York in 1964, covered growing involvement in Vietnam during 1962 and 1963, winning the Pulitzer Prize for his work. (AP/Wide World Photos)

In September 1962 the *Times* dispatched Halberstam to Vietnam, where his honest, if impressionistic, reporting was criticized by those who wanted to portray the military situation in positive terms. Halberstam, along with journalists such as Neil Sheehan of United Press International, Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press, and Nick Turner of Reuters, chafed under the tight restrictions on information imposed by the South Vietnamese government and the Kennedy Administration. Looking for sources, they developed close working relationships with U.S. advisors like John Paul Vann, who were increasingly frustrated with the administration's support of the ineffective South Vietnamese government and military. This dynamic was clearly displayed in January 1963, when Halberstam reported that the battle at Ap Bac had been a shattering defeat for the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). Although several journalists covered this unexpected debacle, Halberstam's focus on the loss of American helicopters and his open defiance of General Paul Harkins, the senior American military officer in Vietnam, earned him the distrust of high-ranking military officials.

Halberstam also covered, in the summer of 1963, the disintegrating political situation in the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) with unflinching honesty. For reporting on the Buddhist dissent against the government, he became hated by President Ngo Dinh Diem and his family. He and Sheehan were said to have been on an assassination list maintained by the South Vietnamese secret police. His reporting of extensive mass arrests contradicted official Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and embassy accounts and thus created a crisis for his New York editors who then supported the U.S. war effort. Using the excuse that Halberstam's reporting was too subjective, President John F. Kennedy asked for his reassignment from Vietnam. Although the *Times* did not honor this request, Halberstam returned to New York in early 1964. For his powerful New Journalism style of reportage, Halberstam shared a 1964 Pulitzer Prize.

Disturbed by the deteriorating situation in Vietnam, a country he had come to love, Halberstam continued to write on the subject. *The Making of a Quagmire* is an astute early examination of the war and reflects Halberstam's desire to win a war that he feared was unwinnable. *One Very Hot Day* is a novel depicting problems with the ARVN that he had first exposed in writing about Ap Bac. *Ho* (1971) is a short, personalized biography of this charismatic leader. *The Best and the Brightest* (1972) is Halberstam's lengthy biographical and psychological examination of those in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations whose search for power led the United States into Southeast Asia. This popular work won the 1973 National Book Award.

Halberstam applied his reportorial skills to a wide variety of topics, including journalism (*The Powers That Be*), professional basketball (*The Breaks of the Game*), the decline of the U.S. auto industry (*The Reckoning*), and the 9/11 attacks (*Firehouse*). Halberstam died in a car crash in San Francisco on April 23, 2007.

Charles J. Gaspar

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Ap Bac, Battle of; Browne, Malcolm Wilde; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Harkins, Paul and Frederick Nolting. See Ap Bac, Battle of

Ia Drang, Battle of

The Ia Drang Valley campaign was the first major engagement between U.S. troops and the People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN, North Vietnam) forces. The battle was also significant because it prevented the PAVN from seizing control of the Central Highlands and cutting South Vietnam in two. While it demonstrated the possibilities of airmobility against regular army units, it also showed that the North Vietnamese and Vietcong could adapt their tactics accordingly. Finally, the battle marked the beginning of the controversy over enemy body counts that would continue throughout the war and afterward.

On October 19, 1965 PAVN troops attacked the Plei Me Special Forces camp southwest of Pleiku in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam. The First Cavalry Division initially helped the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) troops relieve Plei Me. On October 27 Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) commander General William Westmoreland ordered the First Cavalry to seek out and destroy the 32nd, 33rd, and 66th PAVN regiments.

Reconnaissance indicated a PAVN presence in the Ia Drang Valley and on the Chu Pong Massif, a mountain located near the Cambodian border. The heaviest contact developed on November 14 as Lt. Col. Harold G. Moore’s 1 Battalion, 7th Cavalry (1/7th) assaulted landing zone (LZ) X-Ray on Chu Pong. Elephant grass, scrub trees, and tall anthills obstructed fields of fire. Moore made heavy contact before his whole under-strength battalion could land. PAVN Lt. Col. La Ngoc Chau’s 66th Regiment, under intense artillery fire and bombardment, tried to outflank LZ X-Ray to the south, but Moore was able to get his companies in line just in time. One of Moore’s platoons

advanced too far and was cut off and almost destroyed, but it delayed Chau in locating the main American line.

At first light on November 15, the PAVN forces resumed the attack, but the vicious assaults were all repulsed and the lost platoon's survivors were pulled to safety. B-52 bombers began the first of six days of strikes on Chu Pong. During the night, the 66th PAVN regiment withdrew.

Early on November 16, the 2nd Battalion, 7th Cavalry (2/7th) arrived, and the 1st Cavalry Division troops located their dead and counted the dead of the 66. By body count, PAVN losses were 634, but U.S. estimates placed the number at 1,215 killed, over 10 times the losses of the 1st Cavalry. During the day Moore's battalion was lifted to Camp Holloway at Pleiku, but Lt. Col. Robert McDade's 2/7th Cavalry remained to secure LZ X-Ray. On November 17, McDade's 2/7th Cavalry marched toward LZ Albany two miles away to try to resume contact with PAVN units.

Having little combat experience, McDade's men blundered into a PAVN ambush, and a savage battle ensued. At the same time Chau ordered his men to chop the American column into many pieces and to hug it as closely as possible in order to avoid U.S. artillery fire and air bombardment.

All unit cohesion was lost as the commanders were separated from their companies and the battle devolved into many individual combats. PAVN troops moved about killing the wounded. No artillery fire or air support was possible until McDade's men could mark their positions. After two hours of close combat, the survivors threw smoke grenades, and artillery fire and napalm rained down on the 66th and 33rd PAVN regiments. Chau withdrew his men during the predawn hours of November 18. His losses were unknown, but McDade's unit lost 151 men killed.

When the Ia Drang campaign ended on November 26, the 1st Cavalry Division had successfully spoiled the PAVN attack. It also demonstrated the effectiveness of a new kind of warfare, that of airmobility, but also showed the PAVN's ability to adapt to that kind of warfare. In the entire campaign U.S. losses were 305 killed, while PAVN killed were estimated at 3,561. However, Ia Drang provided the occasion for the beginning of the controversy over estimates of enemy dead that would run for the remainder of the war, and even afterward. The United States based its strategy on destroying the enemy's forces faster than they could be replaced, believing that this approach would force the North Vietnamese and Vietcong to end the war. Enemy body count thus became a key measure of progress in the war, creating upward pressure—beginning at the platoon level and traveling up the chain of command—on estimates of enemy dead. Even as early as the Ia Drang Valley campaign, reporters talked of troops joking about senior commanders' requests for what the troops called the "WEG," or "wild-eyed guess" about enemy dead. The validity of body count as a measure of progress, and the accuracy of those counts, remain one of the most debated issues of the war.

John L. Bell

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Johnson, Lyndon Baines; MAXIMUM CANDOR; Westmoreland, William Childs

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Johnson, Lyndon Baines

Born in Stonewall, in the Texas Hill Country near Austin on August 27, 1908, Lyndon Johnson became secretary to Texas Congressman Richard Kleburg following graduation from Southwest Texas State Teachers College in 1930. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him Texas administrator of the National Youth Administration in 1935. Two years later Johnson won election to the U.S. House of Representatives. He served in the Navy during World War II, and in 1948 was elected to the U.S. Senate. In 1953 he became Senate minority leader and in 1955, Senate majority leader. In 1960, he joined the Democratic ticket as John Kennedy's running mate, and became President following Kennedy's assassination in November 1963. He was elected President in his own right in an overwhelming victory over Republican Barry Goldwater. Johnson had a long and distinguished career in politics and public service, but felt at the time of his death that his place in history would forever be defined by Vietnam, what he called "that bitch of a war" that diverted energy and resources from a program of dramatic domestic reforms—"that woman I love."

As president, Johnson tried to establish what he termed "the Great Society," an ambitious program of civil rights and social legislation. It was the war in Vietnam, however, that consumed Johnson's energy and his presidency. Johnson saw Vietnam as a test of national resolve. Johnson had been in Congress when China became Communist, and he vividly recalled the domestic political turmoil that followed as Republicans attacked Democrats for "losing" China. He would not, he said, "be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went."

The Tonkin Gulf crisis of 1964 was a crucial event in the war's escalation. In retaliation for reported attacks on U.S. destroyers, President Johnson ordered bombing of North Vietnamese naval bases and oil depots. He also asked Congress to pass the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, authorizing him to take "all necessary measures to repel any armed attacks against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." The measure passed the House by a vote of 416–0 and the Senate by 88–2.

In the years that followed, the Tonkin Resolution was used to justify presidential war-making in Vietnam. In March 1965, Johnson commenced Operation ROLLING THUNDER, a program of sustained air strikes on North Vietnam. Along with intensified bombing came increased troop commitments. In April 1965 Johnson approved Westmoreland's request to use U.S. forces for offensive operations anywhere in South Vietnam. In July 1965 Johnson announced that U.S. forces would increase from 75,000 to 125,000 men, with additional troops to be provided as Westmoreland requested them. The war became increasingly Americanized. Before the close of Johnson's presidency in January 1969, there were over 500,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam.

The war had a devastating impact on Johnson's Great Society and laid the groundwork for economic difficulties in the 1970s. The cost of the war forced cutbacks in programs and fostered inflation. Johnson agreed to a \$6 billion budget reduction in nondefense spending in 1967 and the next year he imposed a 10 percent tax surcharge. The federal deficit grew from \$8.7 billion in 1967 to \$25.2 billion in 1968.

Opposition to the Vietnam War developed at home. College students and faculty members began "teach-ins" against the war in 1964, and they were joined by others as the war continued. Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, began hearings on the war in 1966. George F. Kennan, the father of the containment doctrine, was among those who appeared before the committee to criticize the war. In October 1967, 100,000 war protestors gathered in Washington, DC, chanting "hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

The January 1968 Tet Offensive caused Johnson to reevaluate the war. When General Westmoreland requested another 205,000 troops after Tet, the president asked Clark Clifford—who had just replaced Robert McNamara as secretary of defense—to head a task force examining the request. The task force offered a dramatic reassessment of Vietnam, recommending only a 20,000-man increase there and urging increased responsibility for the war effort by the government and army of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN). Johnson's acceptance of the task force's recommendations marked the first change in policy since escalation began in 1964.

Preliminaries to the 1968 presidential election demonstrated the additional political costs of the Vietnam War. In the March 13, 1968 New Hampshire primary election, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, running on an antiwar platform, won 42 percent of the Democratic vote, which was regarded as a defeat for the president (who was not officially entered in the primary). Soon afterward, Robert F. Kennedy entered the nomination race as an antiwar candidate. In a television address to the nation on March 31, Johnson announced a halt to naval and air attacks on North Vietnam except in the area just north of the Demilitarized Zone. At the end of his speech he made the stunning announcement that he would neither seek nor accept the Democratic nomination for president.

Johnson retired to his Texas ranch following Nixon's inauguration. Vietnam continued to trouble him. Johnson died at his ranch of a heart attack on January 22,

1973—five days before the Paris Peace Accords formally ended U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

Kenneth R. Stevens

SEE ALSO Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War; Cronkite, Walter Leland; Progress Campaign of 1967; Television and the Vietnam Experience; Tet '68 Offensive; Westmoreland, William Childs

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Kennedy, John Fitzgerald

As President of the United States from 1960 to 1963, Kennedy's policies in Indochina included neutralization of Laos, a dramatic increase in U.S. military assistance to and advisors in South Vietnam, and complicity in the overthrow of the government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, on May 29, 1917, John F. Kennedy graduated from Harvard University *cum laude* in 1940 and served in the U.S. Navy as a patrol torpedo (PT)-boat captain in the Pacific theater in World War II. In 1946 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Massachusetts as a Democrat. In 1952 the citizens of Massachusetts elected him to the U.S. Senate, where he showed continuing interest in foreign affairs as a critic of Eisenhower administration policies. In 1960 Kennedy defeated his Republican opponent, Vice-President Richard Nixon, for the presidency.

As a result of the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's laying down the gauntlet at the Vienna summit and in Berlin, Kennedy felt compelled to take a stand in Vietnam against Communist "wars of national liberation." In 1961 Kennedy approved sending some 400 U.S. Special Forces personnel to Vietnam and the use of roadside defoliants and crop herbicides (Operation RANCH HAND). He also approved covert operations against the DRV. Kennedy agreed to provide funding to equip 30,000 new troops in the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)—not the 100,000 requested by South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem. U.S. advisors were also placed at every level of the RVN government and military.

Although he accepted military assistance, Diem became increasingly less willing to accept U.S. advice on political reform. Thus, the Kennedy administration focused on increasing efficiency in the war effort; for example, providing helicopters and establishing a command-level headquarters, the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), in 1962.

However, Diem lost confidence in American resolve and became more resistant to U.S.-advocated reform, which he charged would only make his country a protectorate. In the Buddhist crisis that began in May 1963, the Kennedy administration and American reporters saw religious persecution and repression that drove seven Buddhist bonzes to sacrifice their lives in self-immolations. In August, Diem's brother Ngo Dinh Nhu orchestrated a raid on the pagodas in Hue, Saigon, and other cities, arresting many Buddhists, further straining U.S. patience and endangering the war effort.

On August 24, 1963, three days after the pagoda raids, a fateful cable from acting Secretary of State George Ball instructed new U.S. Ambassador to Saigon Henry Cabot Lodge to provide direct support to "appropriate military commanders . . . urgently examine all possible alternate leadership and make detailed plans how we might bring about Diem's replacement if this should become necessary." The administration was divided as never before on this issue, but adopted a policy of "not thwarting" a coup. A military assessment by General Maxwell Taylor and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara indicated the war effort had not been hurt by the crisis, but this impression was not correct, because the Vietnamese had greatly exaggerated their success. Diem remained



Democrat John F. Kennedy, elected president in November 1960 over Vice President Richard Nixon, set in motion the process that would lead to deeper American involvement in Vietnam. When he assumed office in January 1961, some 1,000 American advisors were working in Vietnam; at the time of his assassination in November 1963, that number had grown to more than 16,000. (John F. Kennedy Presidential Library)

adamant despite the cut in aid to his government that Ambassador Lodge ordered as a signal to the generals who were plotting the removal of the Ngo brothers. Kennedy tried to put a halt to the coup after learning that the generals might not have sufficient strength to prevail. According to Attorney General Robert Kennedy (as recounted by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in *Robert Kennedy and His Times*), Lodge “didn’t pay much attention to it because he wanted a coup.” The generals struck on November 1 and Diem and Nhu surrendered the next day, only to be executed. The news shook Kennedy, but he had little time to act, since he fell to an assassin’s bullets three weeks later. His closest colleagues argued about what Kennedy might have done in Vietnam had he lived, but the United States was now a blood relation to the series of unstable military-dominated governments that followed in the wake of the coup.

Former Ambassador Frederick Nolting—who, along with Vice President Lyndon Johnson, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), opposed the coup—argued that the coup destroyed the political base of South Vietnam. General Taylor believed it prolonged the war into the next decade.

Claude R. Sasso

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Ap Bac, Battle of; Halberstam, David; Ngo Dinh Diem

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LAM SON 719, Operation

LAM SON 719, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam’s (ARVN) campaign to curtail southbound supply shipments on the Ho Chi Minh Trail, was conceived by the Nixon Administration as a major demonstration of the effectiveness of the process of Vietnamization, which would allow the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. However, the operation was military disaster for the South Vietnamese and a public relations and political embarrassment for Nixon.

Operation LAM SON 719 aimed to capture Tchepone in Laos, a key transshipment point on Route 9 some 25 miles west of Khe Sanh, severing the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the logistical corridor running through eastern Laos down which supplies could be funneled.

The Cooper-Church Amendment, passed by Congress in December 1970, forbade the use of U.S. ground forces in Laos. However, U.S. forces played a key part in LAM SON 719. U.S. helicopters ferried ARVN troops into Laos, and U.S. fighter-bombers and B-52s were available to provide air cover. On the ground in South Vietnam, Americans led the way back into Khe Sanh as a part of Operation DEWEY CANYON II. From Khe Sanh, and from surrounding fire bases inside South Vietnam, some 9,000 U.S. troops gave logistical support to the ARVN and provided artillery fire into Laos. Some 2,600 helicopters carried ARVN troops into, and later out of, Laos.

Despite the Nixon Administration's efforts to embargo news of the invasion, a build-up of this magnitude did not go undetected, either by the North Vietnamese or the press. On February 8, 1971, 15,000 ARVN troops invaded Laos. The main thrust was along Route 9, a single-lane dirt road leading from the Lao-Vietnamese border westward to Tchepone. At first the troops moved easily through the low hills that, within miles, turned more rugged and then changed to jungle. Because of the Cooper-Church Amendment, the ARVN was on its own. No U.S. advisors or air controllers accompanied the South Vietnamese.

Intelligence estimates indicated that 11,000 to 12,000 People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN, North Vietnam) troops would be present. It was thought that it would take up to a month for the PAVN to move one division from the panhandle of North Vietnam into the LAM SON 719 area of operations. In fact, within two weeks as many as five PAVN divisions were engaging the ARVN.

By the third week, the ARVN advance had stalled 12 miles inside Laos. ARVN armor was bottled up along Route 9 and other ARVN units had holed up inside fire bases in the area. PAVN forces attacked these bases with infantry, heavy artillery, and tanks. U.S. airpower was ineffective in stopping the PAVN assaults, as bad weather grounded low-flying aircraft and the combat was at too close-quarters to use B-52s. Even when the weather cleared, North Vietnamese antiaircraft fire denied the Americans effective use of the air.

Despite increasingly heavy opposition from the PAVN, President Nguyen Van Thieu ordered the ARVN commander, General Hoang Xuan Lam, to launch an airborne assault on Tchepone. By March 1 Tchepone had been abandoned by the PAVN and had little military value, but it held psychological and political value for Thieu and Nixon. On March 6, 120 U.S. Army UH-1 Huey helicopters lifted two battalions from the U.S. Marine base at Khe Sanh into Tchepone. Two days later another two ARVN battalions reached Tchepone on foot. The South Vietnamese troops spent the next two weeks ferreting out PAVN supply caches around the village.

Having achieved one of LAM SON 719's primary objectives, President Thieu then ordered General Lam to begin withdrawing the ARVN from Laos. Retreats are, however, among the most difficult of operational maneuvers. By 1971, the best ARVN units were

as good as many PAVN units, but they were not well enough trained, led, or disciplined to conduct an orderly retreat in the face of vigorous attack.

The PAVN intensified its attacks on the withdrawing ARVN. Again, poor weather hampered effective air operations. The retreat turned into a rout, as upwards of 40,000 PAVN troops, including at least two armored regiments, hammered home their attacks on a massively outnumbered and increasingly demoralized South Vietnamese force. At least 5,000 South Vietnamese troops were killed or wounded and more than 2,500 were listed as missing. Additionally, 253 Americans were killed and another 1,149 wounded during LAM SON 719. In operations over Laos, at least 108 U.S. Army helicopters were destroyed and another 618 were damaged, many so badly that they were scrapped. Seven Air Force fixed-wing aircraft were shot down.

All sides declared victory. President Richard M. Nixon, in a televised address to the nation on April 7, 1971, stated, “Tonight I can report Vietnamization has succeeded.” President Thieu dubbed LAM SON 719 “the biggest victory ever.” In North Vietnam, Radio Hanoi proclaimed “The Route 9–Southern Laos Victory . . . the heaviest defeat ever for Nixon and Company.” However, some of the most vivid reporting of the war told the story of the disaster that had befallen the South Vietnamese troops. Also, LAM SON 719 was one of the deadliest engagements of the war for journalists, including the death of photographer Larry Burrows and three other journalists who died in the crash of a South Vietnamese helicopter.

Earl H. Tilford Jr.

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Correspondents (Vietnam War)

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MAXIMUM CANDOR

Operation MAXIMUM CANDOR was the name given to a shift in information policy regarding the Vietnam War that began in the latter days of the Kennedy Administration and which set the pattern for media relations by the U.S. government and military through most of the remainder of U.S. combat involvement. By understanding the professional needs of reporters, providing extensive support and information to news organizations, and by imposing light restrictions on what couldn't be reported, MAXIMUM CANDOR

sought to make the press dependent on official information, thus exerting a subtle but powerful influence on coverage of the war.

Even as President John Kennedy increased the level of U.S. commitment to South Vietnam beginning in the fall of 1961, he did not want the conflict to become an “American” war, either in reality or in the perception of the American people. Kennedy was also sensitive to South Vietnamese sovereignty, jealously guarded by South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem. In order to address these concerns, the Kennedy Administration instituted an information policy in Vietnam that released as little information as possible about combat operations and sought to make the South Vietnamese government the source of that information as much as possible.

This policy did not achieve the desired results; in fact, it led to just the critical coverage that Kennedy had hoped to avoid. As the war heated up, and especially as the U.S. stake in the conflict grew, so did the interest and investment in the story of U.S. and other Western news organizations. That growing investment, in the form of beefed-up staffs, had to be justified in the form of steady coverage of combat-related action stories and news of American involvement—the primary interests of U.S. news consumers. To provide that coverage, reporters needed access to dependable sources of information. However, the South Vietnamese government was uncooperative and outright hostile, with U.S. civilian and military leaders in South Vietnam not far behind. Unable to get information from official sources, reporters naturally turned to the men with the greatest first-hand knowledge: U.S. troops in the field.

However, many of these officers and men, while committed to resisting the spread of Communism in Indochina, had grown increasingly critical of the politicized, ineffective South Vietnamese military, as well as of the South Vietnamese and U.S. governments that tolerated it. Unable to persuade their superiors in Saigon and Washington, the troops, such as senior advisor Lt. Col. John Paul Vann, readily turned to the reporters to get their voices heard.

These stories soon inspired even greater ire by U.S. officials and the Diem regime, leading to a poisonous atmosphere in the country. As early as the fall of 1962, some officials like Saigon embassy information chief John Mecklin realized the counterproductive nature of this approach and called for a more open, cooperative press policy. Mecklin pointed out that U.S. reporters were finding information and filing dispatches from other, usually unfriendly, sources. The government had a much better chance of getting its view of the war’s events, aims, and progress across if it provided the information that the press needed to fulfill its professional obligations. This idea came into practice during 1963, as senior Americans in Saigon and Washington began to lose confidence in Diem and used the press to exert further pressure on him.

Following the deaths of Diem and Kennedy, figures in the new Johnson administration supported this shift. Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs James Greenfield argued that the United States had to get used to “fighting in the open.” “The press will write whether or not we brief,” he continued. “You can’t prevent stories by not providing information. . . . Whenever we have taken pains to keep the press abreast of what is happening it has worked to our advantage.”

During 1964, this new philosophy manifested itself as Operation MAXIMUM CANDOR, and it remained official policy until the latter days of U.S. combat involvement. Among the early signs of the change in the summer of 1964 was the appointment of more senior and experienced information personnel in the Embassy and at military headquarters, including naming Barry Zorthian as the first overall information coordinator for the entire U.S. mission, answerable only to the ambassador. Government and military public relations staffs grew dramatically, and briefings were held regularly and provided fuller and more accurate information on a more timely basis. Top officials became much more accessible, reporters received greater assistance in getting to the field, and press facilities, both in Saigon and in other locations, were improved. In addition to such assistance, reporters worked under extremely light official restrictions on what they could report.

MAXIMUM CANDOR certainly sought to ease the tension between the press and the U.S. government and military in Vietnam during 1962 and 1963. However, its greater goal was to exert even greater influence on coverage of the war by making news organizations dependent on official information in order to provide the day-to-day coverage of the war that was the bread and butter of the U.S. news industry. As one State Department official said, “The preoccupation of the press with each day’s story can be made to our advantage to minimize the impact and duration of unfavorable events.” News organizations understood the developing dynamic, and even expressed concern at “undue reliance on centralized sources,” but they were by and large comfortable with this dependence, for they got what they needed to cover the war in the way that the characteristics of U.S. journalism dictated.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Vietnam War); Five O’Clock Follies; Halberstam, David; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Mecklin, John; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Mecklin, John

John Mecklin served as the chief public affairs officer for the U.S. Embassy in Saigon from 1962 to 1964. A veteran journalist himself, he somewhat unjustly became the lightning rod for both sides of the tensions that developed between the resident press corps and the U.S. military and government.

In late November 1961, the State and Defense departments, with White House approval, ordered all U.S. personnel to give nothing more than “routine cooperation” to correspondents

regarding combat activity. In February 1962, the commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific banned reporters for Western news organizations from U.S.-piloted helicopter missions. President John Kennedy defended the restrictions, declaring the need to be careful of information that could assist the enemy, as well as stating that the South Vietnamese government bore primary responsibility for the release of information.

Later that month, the Administration articulated this approach in a set of instructions that came to be known as Cable 1006. The cable's seven points urged U.S. personnel to avoid giving the impression of growing U.S. involvement, discourage stories on civilian casualties, provide only positive information regarding the Diem government, discuss U.S. casualties in only the most general terms, if at all, and to not take reporters on missions that might risk unfavorable coverage.

The U.S. embassy acquiesced in the expulsion of a *Newsweek* correspondent who wrote articles critical of Diem and his brother. U.S. journalists and officials became openly and personally bitter toward one another. Following an engagement that reporters described as another demonstration of South Vietnamese ineffectiveness, a U.S. admiral and a United Press International correspondent got into a shouting match at the Saigon airport. The admiral demanded that the reporter should "talk to the people who've got the facts," to which the reporter angrily responded, "you're right, that's why I went down there every day."

However, Mecklin, as the chief spokesperson for the Embassy, bore the brunt of much of the press's ire. Reporters routinely vented their frustrations with the Diem regime, U.S. Ambassador Frederick Nolting, and military commander General Paul Harkins. Some of the criticism turned bitter and personal. For example, when a group of reporters learned that Mecklin was returning to the States for surgery, one of them said that he hoped "the son of a bitch dies."

This criticism of Mecklin was at least somewhat misplaced, for as early as November 1962, he had tried to convince Ambassador Nolting and, later, President Kennedy that denying information to reporters was largely responsible for the negative reporting. His arguments eventually won out, as the U.S. government shifted to a more open and accommodating press policy, known as MAXIMUM CANDOR, in early 1964. Also, by the summer of 1963, the South Vietnamese secret police were beating Western reporters and had placed at least two, David Halberstam and Neil Sheehan, on an assassination list. On August 21, the secret police, disguised as soldiers, raided Buddhist pagodas across Saigon, beating and arresting monks and nuns who had participated in demonstrations against the government. Halberstam and Sheehan raced around the city all day and well into the night covering the story. As the day wore on, they feared that the secret police might look for them next. At 4 a.m., they arrived on Mecklin's doorstep, seeking shelter. Mecklin, despite all the criticism that he had suffered at their hands, took the two in, letting them stay with him for the next three weeks.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Halberstam, David; MAXIMUM CANDOR; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Music (Vietnam War)

If one can think of a war having a soundtrack, the one playing in the background of the Vietnam War is as rich and varied as any in U.S. history. Certainly, rock music is the genre most readily identified with the period, but Americans have used a wide variety of types of music to reflect a range of attitudes toward the war, both during the time of the conflict and since.

The messages of the songs are as varied as the styles. It is easy to think of music from that period as a vehicle of protest, but a significant number of songs expressed support for the soldiers fighting the war and resentment against those who opposed it. Others took no overt political stance, but expressed the emotions experienced by those who served and those who stayed at home.

There are thousands of Vietnam-themed songs, and the few that are mentioned here make no pretense to be the definitive songs, or even the best from a musical or lyrical point of view, that the war produced. However, they do serve as examples of the ways in which music has helped Americans deal with their time in Vietnam. They remain powerful statements on the relationship between political and social events and music—each inspiring and articulating the other.

“Ballad of the Green Berets,” the first hit song on the Vietnam playlist, reflected a generally positive attitude toward the war. The U.S. Army’s Special Forces, more commonly known as the Green Berets for their distinctive headgear, had been President John Kennedy’s point men in the counterinsurgency effort in Vietnam, making up a key element of the advisory corps. Author Robin Moore had chronicled the activities of these men in his 1965 book, *The Green Berets*. One such soldier was Staff Sergeant Barry Sadler, who served as a medic. In 1966, Moore and Sadler teamed up to write the lyrics to “The Ballad of the Green Berets,” with Sadler as the singer. The song tells the story of one young Green Beret, of his specialized training, and the dying request he made to his wife—to “put silver wings on my son’s chest, to make him one of America’s best.” The song, evoking a World War II era sense of self-sacrifice and clear purpose, became an instant hit as it resonated with many Americans who were already becoming confused and anxious about the war.

The next two songs, both from 1967, reflect the growing antiwar sentiment, though they take different tones in doing so. “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die Rag,” by Country Joe and the Fish, satirically, even farcically, attacks the war and the values of middle-

class America that the song implied created and sustained it in lines such as these: “Come on, generals, let’s move fast, your big chance is here at last”; “There’s plenty good money to be made supplyin’ the army the tools of trade”; “Come on mothers throughout the land, pack your boys off to Vietnam . . . be the first one on your block to have your boy come home in a box.” For many years, the web site for Country Joe said “welcome to the official web site of the band that ended the Vietnam War.” This is a dubious claim, but one that reflects the degree to which the song became an antiwar anthem. The second of this pair of songs, “For What It’s Worth,” by Buffalo Springfield, is somber, almost foreboding, in its tone, with its tag line, “Stop, children, what’s that sound, everybody look what’s going down,” creating a sense of tension just short of the breaking point. Buffalo Springfield was something of a rock supergroup, with Stephen Stills (the writer of the song), Neil Young, Richie Furay, and Jim Messina going on to successful careers with other groups and/or as solo artists.

However, many Americans were unnerved, even disgusted, by what they regarded as such songs’ questioning of American values. In 1969, these people found political spokesmen in the persons of Richard Nixon and George Wallace, and found a musical voice in Merle Haggard. Haggard, born in Bakersfield, California to parents who had come west to escape the Oklahoma dust bowl, had already established a solid reputation as a writer and performer of songs that reflected the lives of the working class folks who were his family and friends. In 1969, he recorded two songs that became counterpoints to songs like those noted above. “Okie from Muskogee” and “Fightin’ Side of Me” both evoke a stand against the upheaval of the antiwar movement and the counterculture. The chorus of “Fightin’ Side of Me” captures the spirit of both songs: “If you don’t love it, leave it, let this song that I’m singing be a warning, when you’re running down our country, hoss, you’re walking on the fightin’ side of me.”

Not all of the songs of Vietnam dealt with politics on the home front. “Sky Pilot,” a 1968 song by Eric Burdon and the Animals, was the first major song since “Ballad of the Green Berets” to speak from the soldier’s point of view. However, instead of the professional soldier’s pride that “Ballad” reflected, “Sky Pilot” powerfully conveys the confusion, questioning, and despair of the draftee army. The song, taking its name from a GI nickname for chaplains, tells of a group of young soldiers about to go into battle being urged on by this man of God, who tells them to go out and kill, but who himself remains behind—physically, emotionally, and intellectually safe, perhaps, but as morally vulnerable as the troopers themselves. “Sky Pilot” was a moderate hit in the States, but was a favorite of the soldiers whose stories it told.

The antiwar movement had begun to wane in the spring of 1970, but was revived, if only briefly, by President Nixon’s decision to invade Cambodia. The incursion, and the obvious widening of the war that Nixon said was winding down, inspired student protests across the country, even on campuses that had previously been fairly quiet. “Ohio,” written by Neil Young and performed by Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, chronicled the killings of four students at Kent State University. While the song is in one sense angry and defiant—“Tin soldiers and Nixon’s coming, we’re finally on our own, this summer I hear the drumming, four dead in Ohio”—the song can just as well be seen as a cry of

despair at the inability to stop the cycle of self-destruction in which the United States was seemingly trapped.

At the end of the war and in the years since, Americans have continued to use music to process their experiences. Some songs reflect the difficulty that many veterans had in readjusting to civilian life. John Prine's 1971 "Sam Stone" recounts the tragedy of a young man who came home "with a Purple Heart and a monkey on his back"—that monkey being the heroin addiction that he acquired in Vietnam. Thirty-one years later, the duo Montgomery Gentry would capture that same sense of alienation in "Didn't I," a song from the soundtrack of the 2002 film, *We Were Soldiers*. The veteran in the song asks, "Didn't I burn, didn't I bleed, enough for you?" Bruce Springsteen's 1984 "Born in the USA" has been co-opted as a patriotic anthem, but actually criticizes the government and laments the working class lives disrupted by the war. Other songs pay tribute to the heroism of combat soldiers, such as Big and Rich's "8th of November," which describes an ambush suffered by men of the 173rd Airborne Brigade on that date in 1965. Still other songs capture the anguish of those left behind. In 2003, country legend George Jones released "50,000 Names," which describes the experiences of families and friends of the fallen at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC. In 1999, the Dixie Chicks' "Travelin' Soldier" describes the sorrow of a young woman who struck up a romance with a soldier about to leave for Vietnam. At a Friday night football game, the names of local soldiers killed in the war is read aloud—"crying all alone under the stands was a piccolo player in the marching band, and one name read and nobody really cared but a pretty little girl with a bow in her hair."

As long as Americans try to make sense of their time in Vietnam, music will remain a powerful tool.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Film and the Vietnam Experience

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My Lai Massacre

On March 16, 1968, between 200 and 500 Vietnamese civilians were massacred by U.S. soldiers of Company C, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry, 11th Infantry Brigade (Light) of the 23d (Americal) Division, in the most notorious U.S. military atrocity of the Vietnam War.



The massacre of nearly 500 Vietnamese, most of them women and children, by American troops on March 16, 1968 at My Lai was documented in photographs such as the one above by army photographer Ronald Haeberle. Still, the army was able to cover up the massacre for over a year. Of the fourteen officers and men charged in connection with the massacre, only one, Lt. William Calley, would be convicted. (Ronald S. Haeberle/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Equally infamous was the cover-up of the incident perpetrated by the brigade and division staffs.

My Lai 4 was a cluster of hamlets making up Son My village of Son Tinh District in the coastal lowlands of Quang Ngai Province, I Corps Tactical Zone, Republic of Vietnam (RVN). The broad range in numbers of civilian deaths was the result of varying reports provided to the panel of inquiry through the testimony of participants and observers. In some instances, reports included an alleged related massacre in the nearby hamlet of My Khe 4 by Company B, 4th Battalion, 3d Infantry. Because of false reporting and the subsequent cover-up, actual casualty figures are difficult to substantiate.

The operation in the hamlets of Son My village, nicknamed “Pinkville” by the division’s soldiers because of the concentration of Communist sympathizers and Viet Cong (VC) activity in the area, was to be a classic search-and-destroy sweep intended to snare some of the estimated 250 VC operating in the area.

Charlie Company, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry was organized as part of an ad hoc battalion known as Task Force Barker, named after its commander, Lt. Col. Frank A. Barker Jr., reinforcing the 11th Infantry Brigade. The Americal Division, itself an ad hoc organization of separate infantry brigades, suffered from weak leadership that originated with division commander Maj. Gen. Samuel H. Koster. Some elements of

the 11th Brigade, commanded at the time by Col. Oran K. Henderson, have been described as little more than “organized bands of thugs” and had been ordained the “Butcher Brigade” by its soldiers in the field.

The airmobile assault into My Lai was timed to arrive shortly after the local women had departed for market. The soldiers had been briefed to expect to engage elements of the 48th VC Local Force Battalion, one of the most successful units in the area. Instead, they found only women, children, and old men still cooking breakfast. The soldiers of Charlie Company, commanded by Capt. Ernest Medina, ran wild, particularly the men of 1st Platoon, commanded by 1st Lt. William Calley Jr. They indiscriminately shot people as they ran from their huts, and then systematically rounded up survivors, allegedly led them to a nearby ditch, and executed them. More villagers were killed as huts and bunkers were destroyed by fire and explosives as the unit continued its sweep of the hamlet. The killing was reported to have been brought to a halt some time later when Warrant Officer Hugh Thompson, an aero-scout pilot supporting the operation, landed his helicopter between the Americans and fleeing Vietnamese and confronted the soldiers. The present museum at My Lai claims that 504 Vietnamese perished that day.

The incident was kept quiet for over a year, until the efforts of an ex-GI named Ron Ridenhour forced an investigation by the Army Criminal Investigation Division and an Army board of inquiry, headed by Lt. Gen. William Peers. The Peers Report produced a list of 30 persons, mostly officers (including the division commander), who knew of the atrocities; however, only 14 were charged with crimes. All eventually had their charges dismissed or were acquitted by courts-martial except for the most junior officer, Lieutenant Calley, whose platoon allegedly killed some 200 innocents. The Army was able to keep his trial at Ft. Benning, Georgia relatively quiet until investigative reporter Seymour Hersh was able to get mainstream news organizations interested. Calley was found guilty of murdering 22 civilians and sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was reduced to 20 years by the Court of Military Appeals and then later reduced to 10 years by the secretary of the Army. Proclaimed by much of the public as a “scapegoat,” Calley was paroled by President Richard Nixon in November 1974 after he had served about a third of his 10-year sentence.

On March 6, 1998, the Army belatedly recognized Hugh Thompson, his former gunner Lawrence Colburn, and his crew chief Glenn Andreatta (who was killed in April 1968) with the Soldier’s Medal for gallantry.

Arthur T. Frame

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Vietnam War); Westmoreland, William Childs

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Ngo Dinh Diem

Diem was the President of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) from June 1954 to November 1963. He was born in Quang Binh Province on January 3, 1901. His father, Ngo Dinh Kha, an official in the imperial court at Hue, rose to the rank of counselor to Emperor Thanh Thai. Ngo Dinh Diem was one of nine children and the third of six sons. He attended his father's private school and French Catholic schools in Hue. As a teenager, he considered becoming a priest. Instead, Diem entered the School of Law and Public Administration in Hanoi, graduating four years later at the top of his class and becoming a provincial governor at age 25. Diem became both an ardent nationalist and anticommunist in this position.

Early in 1933 newly crowned Emperor Bao Dai appointed Diem as interior minister, but Diem soon discovered that the position was powerless. After only three months he resigned, and French authorities stripped him of his decorations and rank and threatened to arrest him.

For the next 10 years, Diem lived in seclusion in Hue, meeting regularly with nationalist comrades even though the French closely watched him. In early 1942, not long after the Japanese took over in Vietnam, Diem tried to persuade them to grant independence. In September 1945, following the Japanese surrender, Diem was kidnapped by the powerful Viet Minh forces of Ho Chi Minh. After six months, Diem was taken to Hanoi, where he met Ho Chi Minh, who asked him to join the Communists. Diem refused, but Ho still released him. Later, Communist leaders realized this had been a mistake and sentenced Diem to death in absentia. Over the next four years, Diem traveled over Vietnam trying to gain political support. An attempt on his life in 1950 convinced him to leave the country.

From 1951 to 1953, Diem lived at Maryknoll Seminaries in New Jersey and New York as a novice, performing menial jobs and meditating, but also building a powerful support network that included Francis Cardinal Spellman, Justice William O. Douglas, and Senator John F. Kennedy. Diem effectively argued his case, declaring that he opposed both the French and Communists and represented the only real nationalist course.

In the summer of 1954, the Geneva Conference settled the first Indo-China War. Vietnam was temporarily divided at the 17th parallel with national elections set for 1956. Bao Dai, believing that Diem had U.S. support, appointed him prime minister. The Eisenhower Administration began to supply aid and advisors to Diem, despite doubts about his viability. But Diem moved aggressively against rivals within South Vietnam and, in October 1955, engineered a referendum between himself and Bao Dai in which he won over 98 percent of the vote, using that mandate to declare himself president.

Despite massive U.S. support, by 1960 the situation in South Vietnam was poor. The Viet Minh had resumed guerrilla activities even as Diem used eight of every ten aid dollars for internal security. Even worse, he estranged himself from the peasants as he did little to carry out land reform. When John F. Kennedy became president, he demanded that Diem institute domestic reforms. But, seeing no alternative to Diem, Kennedy also sent 400 Special Operations military advisors to Vietnam. By October 1963 U.S. forces in Vietnam had increased to 16,732 men.

Concurrently, Diem's oppression of the Buddhist majority and his political opponents grew. Diem threw hundreds of political adversaries, real or imagined, into hellish prison camps. His family and friends held all the senior government positions. Most influential were his brother Nhu and his wife Madame Nhu. In the summer of 1963, Buddhist protests and rallies became more frequent and intense. On June 11, elderly Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc publicly burned himself alive. By November, six more monks had followed suit. Madame Nhu exacerbated the crisis by calling these self-immolations "barbecues."

In late August 1963, new U.S. ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge reported to Washington that a faction of South Vietnamese generals wanted to overthrow Diem. Administration officials, with Kennedy's approval, told Lodge that, while they were "prepared . . . to tell the appropriate military commanders we will give them direct support in any interim period of breakdown of the central government mechanism." Just over an hour after midnight on November 1, 1963, the generals began their coup. Diem phoned Lodge to ask "what is the attitude of the U.S." Lodge feigned ignorance and replied, "I do not feel well enough informed to be able to tell you." He assured Diem that he would do anything possible to guarantee Diem's personal safety. Diem and Nhu fled the presidential palace through a tunnel and took refuge in Cho Lon, the Chinese section of Saigon. About 6 o'clock the next morning, the two men agreed to surrender. The generals leading the coup guaranteed them safe passage out of the country, but the brothers were shot to death and Nhu's body was repeatedly stabbed. Madame Nhu was out of the country at the time, in Los Angeles.

Washington never did find a viable alternative to Ngo Dinh Diem. Certainly no subsequent leader of the Republic of Vietnam had his air of legitimacy. As a result, U.S. leaders, who had seen Diem as an alternative to Ho Chi Minh and an agent to stop the spread of communism, soon found themselves taking direct control of the war in Vietnam.

William Head

SEE ALSO American Friends of Vietnam; Ap Bac, Battle of; Browne, Malcolm Wilde; Halberstam, David; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Nguyen Ngoc Loan

Loan, a brigadier general in the Republic of Vietnam Air Force (VNAF) and director of National Police, would become a central figure in one of the most dramatic visual images of the Vietnam War. Born in 1931 in Hue, one of eleven children of a prosperous mechanical engineer, Nguyen Ngoc Loan graduated near the top of his class at the University of Hue and became a VNAF pilot. He advanced rapidly and became commander of the Light Observation Group, then assistant commander of the Tactical Operations Center. An old classmate and close friend of Nguyen Cao Ky, Loan served as deputy commander of the VNAF in the aftermath of the 1963 coup against Ngo Dinh Diem. In June 1967 when Ky became premier of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN), he appointed Loan director of the Military Security Service (MSS). A few months later Loan became director of the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) and, in April 1966, director of the National Police. Not even under Diem had one man directed so many police and intelligence agencies.

U.S. officials were pleased to see Loan take control of the police and intelligence services and improve stability in the South, particularly in Saigon. A U.S. embassy official favorably reported that from October 1966 to January 1968 not a single terrorist incident or a National Liberation Front (NLF) meeting was recorded in districts 7, 8, or 9 of Saigon, whereas before then daytime meetings were occurring in the same areas and there were over 40 terrorist incidents a month. To finance the struggle against urban guerrillas, Loan revived the old Vietnamese Mafia's formula of systematic and large-scale corruption. Traffic in opium, which he oversaw, was an important source of cash rewards for agents reporting on NLF activities.

Loan had always been known for his ability to deal by extra-legal means with political rivals; once he marched armed guards into the National Assembly to break a legislative logjam. But Loan received international attention when during the 1968 Tet Offensive, on February 1, he shot a Viet Cong suspect in the head with a revolver on a Saigon street. The slain man was reportedly a member of a death squad that had killed the family of one of his deputy commanders. After shooting the prisoner, Loan turned to a group of reporters and said, "They killed many Americans and many of my men. Buddha will understand. Do you?" AP photographer Eddie Adams recorded the event, as did NBC cameraman Vo Suu. "The shooting occurred so quickly that I got the picture through reaction," Adams said. "As Loan's hand holding the pistol came up, so did my hand." Within hours, millions of people around the globe had seen the picture and the film. They undermined Loan's career and presented an unfavorable image abroad of the RVN government. In *Twenty Years and Twenty Days*, Kỳ bitterly remarks that Loan's act was wrongly taken as a war crime and that it was simply "an isolated incident of the cruelty of war." Nonetheless, the execution drew immediate rebukes from U.S. officials.

On May 5, 1968, Loan was severely wounded while leading an attack on a Viet Cong hideout in a suburb north of Saigon. He was forced to resign his posts to undergo surgery and extended hospitalization, first in Australia and then in the United States, where he

was denounced in Congress. General Loan was removed from influence in a purge of Ky loyalists, replaced by supporters of President Nguyen Van Thieu. On June 6, General Tran Van Hai, a Thieu follower, became director of the National Police and Loan soon disappeared from the political arena. On his return to Saigon, he seemed changed, devoting his time to working with orphans.

On the fall of Saigon, U.S. officials ignored Loan's appeal for assistance, but he escaped in a South Vietnamese plane. He then traveled to the United States and settled in northern Virginia where he opened a pizzeria. He operated it until 1991, when publicity about his past led to a sharp decline in business. Loan died of cancer at his home in Burke, Virginia on July 14, 1998.

Ho Dieu Anh and Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Tet '68 Offensive; Westmoreland, William Childs

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Pentagon Papers and Trial

The Pentagon Papers was the name given to the Defense Department study of the course of U.S.-Vietnam policy; the trial resulting from publication of the study was one of the most important moments in the history of freedom of the press.

By 1967, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was questioning the course of the Vietnam War, and he created a task force within the Defense Department to investigate the history of U.S. policy in Vietnam. The task force based its work on written materials, mostly files from the Departments of Defense and State, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the White House. The end product was a history accompanied by the texts of many of the documents on which it had been based. Formally titled *United States–Vietnam Relations, 1945–1967*, it is commonly referred to as the Pentagon Papers. The narrative and documents totaled well over 7,000 pages arranged in 47 volumes.

Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, a researcher with the RAND Corporation, was one of the study's authors. An early supporter of the war, he developed significant doubts about U.S.-Vietnam policy after traveling to Vietnam. Reading the Pentagon Papers convinced him that U.S. involvement was immoral and should end immediately. Ellsberg believed that the study should be made available to Congress and the public, and late in 1969 he began photocopying large sections of the Pentagon Papers. After failing to persuade several

U.S. senators to make the material public, in March 1971 he delivered it to Neil Sheehan of *The New York Times*.

Sheehan and others at the *Times*, working in extreme secrecy, produced a series of articles intended for publication on 10 consecutive days. Each daily installment was made up of a long article plus the original texts of some of the most important supporting documents.

The first installment was published on Sunday, June 13, 1971. On June 14, Attorney General John Mitchell informed *The New York Times* that “publication of this information is directly prohibited by the provisions of the Espionage Law.” He asked that the newspaper cease publication immediately and return the documents to the Department of Defense. The *Times* refused.

On June 15, the Justice Department sought an injunction forbidding the publication of further installments. U.S. District Judge Murray I. Gurfein issued a restraining order preventing publication for four days to allow time for the case to be argued—the first occasion that a U.S. court had restrained a newspaper, in advance, from publishing a specific article. Ellsberg immediately gave a substantial portion of the Pentagon Papers to *The Washington Post*, which began publishing articles on June 18. The Justice Department filed suit against the *Post* the same day.

The district courts in New York and Washington took only a few days to hand down decisions in favor of the newspapers. The government appealed, and both cases reached the Supreme Court on June 24. Four justices voted to reject the government’s appeal without a hearing and to allow the newspapers to proceed with publication forthwith. The majority, however, voted to combine the two cases and hear them on June 26.

The two newspapers had refused to reveal what information they intended to publish, or even what portions of the Pentagon Papers Ellsberg had given them. On June 26, the Supreme Court heard arguments. On June 30, the court found for the newspapers, 6 to 3. Justices Hugo Black, William J. Brennan, William O. Douglas, Thurgood Marshall, Potter Stewart, and Byron “Whizzer” White were able to agree on a very short statement, the core of which was that, given the constitutional protection of freedom of the press, a request by the government for prior restraint of publication “carries a heavy burden of showing justification,” and the government had not met that burden. Those who dissented—Chief Justice Warren Burger and Justices Harry Blackmun and John Marshall Harlan—were willing to grant the executive branch almost unfettered authority to decide which government secrets the press should be forbidden to publish.

The Nixon Justice Department did seek criminal charges against Ellsberg, and his trial began January 3, 1973 in Los Angeles, but on May 11 the judge dismissed the charges, citing a pattern of government misconduct including the fact that White House “plumbers,” a team selected to plug information leaks, had burglarized the office of Ellsberg’s psychiatrist in search of evidence against Ellsberg.

Edwin E. Moise

SEE ALSO Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

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Photography. See Browne, Malcolm; Capa, Robert

Posters (Vietnam War)

Posters are printed images and/or written messages affixed to vertical surfaces. Engravings that were used to create prints are historically antecedent to modern posters, and such prints have existed in the United States since the Colonial Era. Engravers such as Paul Revere created depictions of events as a form of propaganda that, in their intent, have many similarities to posters in the Vietnam era. Distinguishing features of posters during the Vietnam era were use of lithography and mass production capability, although many politically motivated posters of the era were made utilizing small presses local to the area where specific posters were distributed.

The development of pop art, rock and roll, and protest movements of the late 1950s and early 1960s was significant to the development of posters. Artists such as Alfons Mucha, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and Jules Cheret were forefathers of modern poster-related art. Posters in 1960's America were increasingly utilized for commercial purposes, such as promoting events or products, but there was a marked decrease of government-produced poster propaganda directed towards supporting policy in Vietnam when compared to material produced during WWII.

In addition to their content, posters have two main characteristics when utilized as propaganda. The first characteristic involves their dissemination. Posters, along with handbills, are usually distributed in permissive environments where material is directly positioned and affixed by individuals who may conduct such action overtly or covertly.

For example, in situations where posters are distributed by antigovernment forces or individuals in cities or regions controlled by repressive governments or pro-government forces, a certain amount of risk is assumed by the group or person distributing or posting the propaganda. In freer societies, posters may be distributed more openly, but also may be destroyed, defaced, removed, or result in legal action against the organization or individual posting material for reasons such as pollution control, violation of private property or other sanctioned rulings.

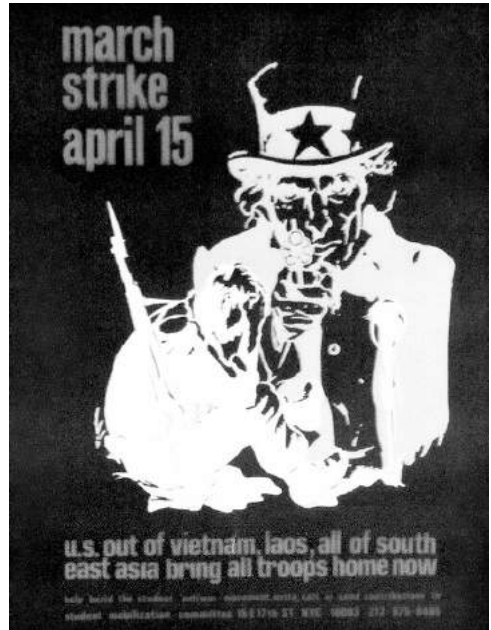
The second characteristic unrelated to content is the durability of posters. Depending on the message content of the material and the material used to make the work, posters may or may not be intended for long-term use. Posters during the Vietnam era were usually created for particular events, such as demonstrations, or to rally support (or to create a lack of support) for a specific platform. Antiwar rallies and music concerts are examples of typical events for which posters were made. Further, posters were usually posted outside and were thus affected by weather, further shortening the life span of the media. With the exceptions of posters that were collected or otherwise preserved, posters rarely outlived the specific event for which they were intended to promote or critique.

Nathaniel L. Moir

SEE ALSO Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War

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Poster produced by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in S.E. Asia, 1970. (Library of Congress)

Progress Campaign of 1967

This concentrated public relations effort in the middle and later months of 1967 was a particularly crucial period in President Lyndon Johnson's continuing effort to maintain public and political support for his policies in Vietnam. From the earliest days of his

presidency, Lyndon Johnson tried to walk a fine line in his management of the war in Vietnam, including the management of the perceptions of the U.S. public—avoiding a commitment so extensive that it might derail his domestic agenda, but doing enough to demonstrate progress toward the goal of maintaining an independent, non-communist South Vietnam sufficient to maintain public support.

However, given the nature of the war—for the most part, a counter-insurgency—measures of progress were less tangible and easy to communicate than the march to Berlin and Tokyo that was World War II. Weakening the enemy's ability and will to wage war and boosting the viability of the South Vietnamese government—the latter referred to as winning “the hearts and minds” of the South Vietnamese people—were the means to achieve the United States' objective. Measuring progress in these areas generated any number of indicators. The attrition strategy that commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam General William Westmoreland pursued against the enemy helped create such markers as sorties flown, tons of bombs dropped, weapons seized, numbers of days in the field for U.S. troops, and, of course, the infamous enemy body count. The pacification effort was assessed by, for example, an elaborate rating of each village in South Vietnam known as the “Hamlet Evaluation System,” in which hamlets' security and allegiance to the South Vietnamese government were assessed on a letter-grade scale.

Almost from the moment of President Johnson's commitment of U.S. ground troops in the spring and summer of 1965, the U.S. public's patience with that commitment began to erode. By late 1966, two different intelligence assessments concluded that the North Vietnamese were better able to infiltrate men and war materiel to the South than they had been before sustained bombing had begun 18 months before. Senior military leaders such as commander of U.S. Pacific forces Admiral Ulysses Grant Sharp had begun to fear the growing perception in Congress and among the public that the war had become a stalemate that they would no longer support. In response, Johnson began the first phase of the 1967 progress campaign in the spring, when he stepped up military action against the North and called Westmoreland back to Washington to reassure important audiences, such as the Associated Press Managing Editors Association and a joint session of Congress, of continuing advances in the war effort.

But important elements in the press, public, and Congress met Westmoreland's characterization with skepticism and grew in their sense that the war as it was being conducted was unwinnable. Important media figures such as Walter Cronkite of CBS News and Hedley Donovan, editor-in-chief of *Time*, expressed their doubts more openly. By the fall of 1967, the middle ground that Johnson had tried to sustain was sinking in a rising tide of frustration, as he received criticism from those who believed that the United States should withdraw and those who believed that the war was not being fought hard enough. To stem this tide, the Johnson White House and the U.S. command in Saigon in September developed a formal, wide-ranging program to reassure the press, Congress, and the public. For example, reporters received captured enemy documents detailing the hardships inflicted on North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops by U.S. actions. Special achievements, whether on the battlefield or in the pacification effort, were highlighted with a renewed purposefulness. The South Vietnamese government and military were

featured more prominently and positively. Private groups that supported Administration policy, such as the Douglas Committee, became more active.

General Westmoreland remained reluctant to participate in such efforts, fearing the perception that the military was playing a political role, but stories by prominent journalists such as *The New York Times*' R.W. Apple entitled "Vietnam: The Signs of Stalemate," moved Westmoreland to overcome those concerns. The progress campaign reached its height in November. Westmoreland, accompanied by U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Ellsworth Bunker and pacification chief Robert Komer, returned to the States to join a public relations blitz of speeches, television appearances, and meetings with the editors of important magazines and newspapers. Top administration officials, including President Johnson and Vice President Hubert Humphrey, also participated.

These assurances were reported widely and even had some limited effect on some public officials and news organizations. However, the press also reacted against what it saw as heavy-handed attempts at manipulation. But the effort did little to halt the erosion of public support. From the beginning of direct U.S. ground combat in the summer of 1965, the basic question of the Gallup Organization assessing public support for the war was "do you believe that American involvement in Vietnam is a mistake?" In October 1967, for the first time, more Americans answered "yes" than "no" to that question.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Douglas Committee; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Westmoreland, William Childs

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Reporting on North Vietnam. See Salisbury, Harrison E.

Salisbury, Harrison E.

A *New York Times* editor and correspondent from 1949 to 1973, Harrison Salisbury was born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on November 14, 1908. He graduated from the University of Minnesota with a B.A. in 1930 and then joined the United Press as a correspondent, a position he held until 1948. In 1949 he became the Moscow correspondent for *The New York Times*. Salisbury developed an interest and expertise in Soviet and Far East affairs that would place him among the United States' most distinguished journalists. In 1955 he won the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting. He produced a number of books inspired by or related to his Soviet experience, including *American in Russia*, *Moscow Journal*, and *The Nine Hundred Days: The Siege of Leningrad*.

Salisbury played a controversial role in the reporting of the Vietnam War. In December 1966 he was the first American newsman to be admitted to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Beginning the day after Christmas, Salisbury over the next month filed a total of 14 controversial dispatches that asserted the heavy U.S. bombing campaign was not having the anticipated incapacitating effects upon the DRV's economy, but that it was killing thousands of innocent civilians. He also emphasized that, despite the bombing, North Vietnamese morale remained high.

Members of Congress lined up on both sides of the issue. Some senators urged President Lyndon Johnson to ignore world opinion and "bomb Hanoi flat." Other members of Congress used the series to question official descriptions of the bombing. The White House and Pentagon officials strongly criticized Salisbury. Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester referred to him as "Harrison Appallsbury" and to his employer as "The New Hanoi Times." Salisbury's articles made even some of his press colleagues nervous. *Washington Post* Pentagon correspondent Chalmers Roberts, for example, said that the articles were part of a new Ho Chi Minh tactic, "one as cleverly conceived as the poison-tipped bamboo spikes his men implanted under foot for the unwary enemy." Even the *Times* itself began to back away from the series. Hanson Baldwin, the paper's military expert, wrote a four-page memo to editor Clifton Daniel, outlining what he saw as serious errors in the reporting and asserting that the stories "put *The New York Times* squarely on the side of North Vietnam." The *Times* soon ran a front page article by Baldwin that refuted much of Salisbury's work; three days later, an editorial defended the precision of U.S. bombing.

This episode initiated a greater willingness on the part of well-established newspapers to challenge official administration accounts of the progress of the Vietnam War. Salisbury's trip also opened the door to other journalists from mainstream news organizations to travel to Hanoi. Salisbury's articles failed, however, to win Pulitzer recognition. Despite substantial support from editors and correspondents, the decision to award Salisbury the coveted prize was overruled.

Until his death, Salisbury continued to travel and write extensively. In his later years he developed considerable expertise on China and produced several books, including *To Peking and Beyond, China: 100 Years of Revolution*, and *The Long March: The Untold Story*. He died of a heart attack on July 15, 1993 in Providence, Rhode Island.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Vietnam War); Fonda, Jane Seymour; Johnson, Lyndon Baines

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Sheehan, Cornelius Mahoney (Neil)

Among the first and finest correspondents of the Vietnam War. Cornelius Mahoney (Neil) Sheehan was born on October 27, 1936 in Holyoke, Massachusetts. He graduated from Harvard in 1958 and served three years with the Army in Korea and Japan. He joined United Press International (UPI) in Tokyo and was sent to Saigon in April 1962. At that time, Sheehan did not question the righteousness of the Vietnam conflict or U.S. involvement but soon learned to suspect the false optimism of senior military officials, such as U.S. General Paul Harkins, and to listen to field advisors, such as Lt. Col. John Paul Vann, who admitted mistakes.

Sheehan first angered U.S. officials with his reporting of the January 1963 Battle of Ap Bac, in which an Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) division experienced a stunning defeat by allowing a surrounded Viet Cong (VC) battalion to escape practically unscathed. Vann called Ap Bac "a miserable damn performance," but Harkins proclaimed it a victory, announcing 101 VC killed (only 3 bodies were found), while significantly understating ARVN casualties and material losses. Washington accepted Harkins's characterization of the battle and assailed the press, especially Sheehan, for misrepresenting it.

The Republic of Vietnam (RVN) government began to harass U.S. correspondents after they reported that the May 1963 Buddhist crisis might bring down the government. When Ngo Dinh Nhu's security troops raided Buddhist pagodas in August, Sheehan had to smuggle the true story out while the U.S. Embassy endorsed Nhu's version of events. That September both he and David Halberstam revealed that the CIA was backing dissident generals in a planned coup against Ngo Dinh Diem, but Sheehan's editors killed his story and recalled him to Tokyo, causing him to miss the story of the coup and assassinations of Diem and his brother Nhu. But in January 1964 Sheehan rebutted Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's report of significant progress in the Mekong Delta, concluding that the war there was "a long way toward being lost." Sheehan then left Vietnam to join the staff of *The New York Times*.

Returning in 1965 to what was becoming a U.S. war, Sheehan was among the first to dispatch firsthand accounts of the bloody fighting in the Ia Drang Valley. When he left again in 1966, still neither dove nor hawk, Sheehan had concluded that not only would General William Westmoreland's strategy of attrition not destroy the enemy's will to fight, but that it was certain to cost thousands of civilian and U.S. lives.

Sheehan continued to cover the war from Washington but would not return to Vietnam until 1972. Following the 1968 Tet Offensive, that March he and fellow journalist Hedrick Smith revealed Westmoreland's request for 206,000 more troops. Sheehan's

notoriety increased with a lengthy March 1971 article in *The New York Times Book Review* that questioned whether U.S. leaders had committed war crimes in Vietnam. That article caused national security analyst Daniel Ellsberg to seek out Sheehan and give him a copy of *The Pentagon Papers*, a secret 46-volume “history” of the United States’ involvement in Vietnam commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in 1967. Ellsberg had worked on the project for McNamara. Sheehan led a team in editing the documents, excerpts of which appeared in June 1971 issues of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*.

In 1972 Sheehan began an extended leave from *The New York Times* to write one of the most ambitious books about the war, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (1988). Vann had left the U.S. Army in 1963 but returned to Vietnam to serve as a high-ranking civilian advisor until his 1972 death in a helicopter crash. At Vann’s funeral Sheehan recognized that “We were burying the whole era of . . . boundless self-confidence that led us to Vietnam,” and that Vann’s career could serve as a metaphor for United States’ involvement. Even Vann had lost the sense of reality because he could not admit defeat. More than biography, Sheehan’s book is a virtual history of the U.S. phase of the Vietnam War, a penetrating analysis of how intelligent men had behaved stupidly and brought upon the United States and the people of Southeast Asia an enormous tragedy. The book earned Sheehan a Pulitzer Prize and a National Book Award.

A Bright Shining Lie was not Sheehan’s last word on the war. His three post-1975 visits to Vietnam are recounted in *After the War Was Over* (1995). Sheehan currently resides in Washington, DC

John D. Root

SEE ALSO Ap Bac, Battle of; Browne, Malcolm Wilde; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Halberstam, David; Ngo Dinh Diem; Pentagon Papers and Trial

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Television and the Vietnam Experience

The Vietnam War was known as the United States’ first “television war” because it was the first war for which television was a primary means of providing information to the U.S. public. For much of the war, at least from 1964 through 1973, reports were broadcast in two- or three-minute segments on nightly news telecasts of the three major



Technical issues limited television's ability to cover combat, even though Vietnam has somewhat mistakenly come to be known as "the first television war." This photo of action near Hue in March 1966 illustrates the awkwardness of television equipment, as the soundman and cameraman, tethered by a cable, try to coordinate their movements. (AP/Wide World Photos)

U.S. television networks. Even the final storming of Saigon and the evacuation of the last Americans from the embassy roof in 1975 were watched by millions of Americans sitting in their living rooms. Television viewers were eyewitnesses to the war, and this helped to shape their opinions of it.

Television coverage of the war has both its critics and its defenders. Critics claim that television producers attempted to make their coverage visually dramatic, using short "sound bites" aimed at viewers' emotions rather than their intellect, which resulted in distorted views of events. More severe critics charged that reporters with a decidedly liberal bias provided coverage that was not only distorted but intentionally inaccurate and bordered on propaganda. Extremes of this view suggest that television helped decide the war's outcome.

One problem with television coverage of the war was that it was limited to available video footage. The U.S. military permitted almost all coverage (press accreditation cards directed "full cooperation and assistance" without censorship from U.S. units), and U.S. and Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) successes and mistakes were equally available and were aired based on the reporter's or producer's judgment. It is also important to note that only some 30 percent of television coverage of the war included film. Film, and later video, footage was expensive to transmit, so most reports on the three network evening news reports on the war were copy read by an anchorman. Even that

limited amount of video was usually stock footage of troops moving through the bush, troops at a fire base, etc.—film that had a long “shelf life” and that could be flown back to the United States. Only the most dramatic film, such as the execution of the Viet Cong prisoner by Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan during the Tet Offensive, warranted the expense of cable or satellite transmission to New York.

Defenders of Vietnam War television coverage present it as essentially accurate and evenhanded. They agree that it was not perfect; mistakes were made and some inaccuracies were reported, but they argue that the print media was equally prone to make mistakes. Supporters claim that sources of inaccuracies were often military or White House representatives—military and embassy public affairs officers, who conducted daily press briefings, unceremoniously nicknamed the “five o’clock follies.” Optimistic, often glowing reports of progress presented at these briefings often did not coincide with information reported from the field.

Two related events that came to signify the controversy surrounding the media in general and television reporting in particular were the 1968 siege at Khe Sanh and the Tet Offensive, both of which were Allied tactical and operational victories. Television and print media reporting of the battle at Khe Sanh emphasized the parallels with the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu that brought about the French withdrawal from Indo-China. Although there were some similarities, the comparison was inaccurate and obscured the actual events and outcome. In fairness, however, whether influenced by media coverage or reaching their own conclusions, several government officials also were guilty of the inaccurate comparison—not the least of these was President Lyndon Johnson, who required the Joint Chiefs of Staff to attest in writing that Khe Sanh would not go the way of Dien Bien Phu.

Television reporting of the 1968 Tet Offensive has borne the brunt of criticism. Critics claim that coverage focused on the sensational to the point of being inaccurate. General William Westmoreland believed this played a large role in turning the U.S. public against the war, transforming the failed Communist offensive into a “psychological victory.” In his book *Big Story*, journalist Peter Braestrup supported the charge. However, in the face of continually optimistic forecasts of victory expressed by the military and the Johnson administration, there is little wonder that televised reporting of the Tet attacks, which fell hard upon American and South Vietnamese strongholds, caused journalists such as Walter Cronkite, and those who trusted his interpretation, to view the war as a no-win situation.

Discounting the debate that still sometimes flares over the media’s role in the Vietnam War, one positive result of television reporting is the extensive video archives amassed primarily by the major networks. These have been helpful in producing numerous documentaries about the war, many of which are available on videotape, enabling individuals to study the war at home.

Arthur T. Frame

SEE ALSO Cam Ne; Cronkite, Walter Leland; Five O’Clock Follies; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Tet ’68 Offensive; “The Uncounted Enemy”; Westmoreland, William Childs

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Tet '68 Offensive

“Tet” is the Vietnamese word for the lunar New Year celebration common throughout Asia. In January and February 1968, the forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV, North Vietnam) and the Viet Cong (VC) launched a massive offensive throughout the Republic of Vietnam (RVN, South Vietnam). The Tet Offensive is often called the decisive turning point of the Vietnam War, as the conventional wisdom holds that a generally supportive public was shocked into a dramatic change of heart by the offensive. This idea often included accusations against the news media of either incompetence or bias that resulted in misrepresentation of Tet as a defeat for the United States and RVN, rather than a North Vietnamese and Viet Cong failure. However, the offensive’s true effect on public opinion is less clear.

The war had not been going well for the VC and People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN), who were unable to compete with U.S. military firepower and mobility. DRV Defense Minister General Vo Nguyen Giap favored trying to end the war in one master stroke. Giap’s plan borrowed from Chinese Communist doctrine’s concept of the “General Offensive,” to which the Vietnamese added the idea of “General Uprising”—a one-two punch during which the people of South Vietnam would rally to the Communist cause and overthrow the Saigon government. The success of Giap’s plan depended on three key assumptions: The Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) would collapse under the impact of the General Offensive, the people of South Vietnam would follow through with the General Uprising, and American will to continue would crack in the face of the overwhelming shock.

The General Offensive was set for Tet 1968, the most important holiday in the Vietnamese year. Starting in the fall of 1967, VC and PAVN forces staged a series of bloody battles in the border regions and the northern part of South Vietnam near the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) in order to draw U.S. combat units out of the urban areas. Also, in January 1968, several PAVN divisions converged on the U.S. Marine outpost at Khe Sanh, near the DMZ and the Laotian border. Giap depended on the United States misreading history and seeing another Dien Bien Phu in the making. It worked. From January 21, 1968 until the point when the countrywide attacks erupted at Tet, the

attention of most of the U.S. military and the national command structure was riveted on Khe Sanh. The battle became an obsession for President Lyndon Johnson, who had a scale terrain model of the Marine base built for the White House situation room.

At 1:30 in the morning on January 31, the Presidential Palace in Saigon was attacked. By 3:40 a.m., the city of Hue was under attack and the Tet Offensive was in full swing. Before the day was over, five of six autonomous cities, 36 of 44 provincial capitals, and 64 of 245 district capitals were under attack.

With the exception of Khe Sanh, the old capital of Hue, and the area around Saigon, the fighting was over in a few days. Hue was retaken on February 25 after urban warfare reminiscent of Europe in World War II. The Cho Lon area of Saigon was cleared on March 7, and by March 20, PAVN units around Khe Sanh began to melt away in the face of U.S. firepower. The Tet Offensive was a tactical disaster for the Communists. More than 58,000 VC and PAVN troops died in the offensive, with the United States suffering 3,895 dead and the ARVN losing 4,954. Non-U.S. Allies lost 214. More than 14,300 South Vietnamese civilians also died.

Giap also had been wrong in two of his three key assumptions. The people of South Vietnam did not rally to the Communist cause, and the General Uprising never took place—even in Hue, where Communist forces held the city for the longest time. Nor did the ARVN fold. It required significant stiffening in certain areas, but on the whole it fought and fought well. The biggest loser in the Tet Offensive was the Viet Cong. VC guerrilla forces had led the major attacks in the South, and they suffered the heaviest casualties. The guerrilla infrastructure developed over so many years was wiped out.

Some observers believe that Giap was correct on his third major assumption, that his primary enemy did not have the will. The United States and the South Vietnamese government and military had been caught by surprise but had still won overwhelmingly. Communist forces were badly hurt, and U.S. military leaders immediately began to formulate plans to finish off the Communist forces in the South. Westmoreland and Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman General Earle Wheeler were preparing to request an additional 206,000 troops to finish the job, when a disgruntled staff member in the Johnson White House leaked the plan to the press. The story broke in *The New York Times* on March 10, 1968. With the fresh images of the besieged U.S. Embassy in Saigon still in their minds, the press and the public immediately concluded that the extra troops were needed to recover from a massive defeat.

In this view, the Tet Offensive was the psychological turning point of the war. However, other students of the war see the psychological effect of Tet acting mainly upon opinion leaders in the press, government, and military—those who had invested themselves most heavily in reports of progress in the war. Public support for the war had been declining steadily from July 1965 on. That opinion actually ticked up during the Offensive, then resumed its decline. Thus, the role of press reports regarding Tet is also less clear cut than is often portrayed.

David T. Zabecki

SEE ALSO Cronkite, Walter Leland; Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Nguyen Ngoc Loan; Television and the Vietnam Experience; Westmoreland, William Childs

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“The Uncounted Enemy”

A part of the documentary series *CBS Reports*, “The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception,” was broadcast on January 23, 1982. The documentary dealt with the topic of estimates of enemy troop strength—in military terminology, the enemy “order of battle”—one of the most controversial aspects of a very controversial war.

The premise of the documentary was that General William C. Westmoreland, commander of the Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV) from 1964 to 1968, had led a conspiracy to misrepresent the number of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong soldiers operating in South Vietnam. Westmoreland had adopted a dual strategy that sought to build up the South Vietnamese military to the point that it could take responsibility for the country’s security while, at the same time, reducing North Vietnamese and Viet Cong military capability by killing more enemy soldiers than they could replace. In this attrition strategy, the enemy order of battle became a crucial measure of progress, and demonstrating progress was a key factor in maintaining political and public support in the United States.

Enemy body counts had been a point of controversy almost from the beginning of major U.S. combat operations in the summer and fall of 1965. During the Ia Drang Valley campaign of October–November 1965, suspicion that estimates of enemy killed and wounded were being deliberately inflated had already surfaced among the press, as reporters referred to such estimates as “weg’s,” or “wild-eyed guesses.”

That controversy grew along with depth of U.S. involvement. By 1967, the greatest tension over the enemy order of battle was between the Central Intelligence Agency and MACV. Sam Adams, the CIA analyst in charge of the Agency’s estimates of enemy strength, sent a memo to his superiors contending that enemy strength was

some 200,000 more than MACV was reporting; those 200,000 were irregular troops and support personnel that the more traditional minded MACV senior command chose not to recognize as combat personnel. Col. Gaines Hawkins, the senior MACV intelligence officer working on enemy order of battle, reported similar figures based on the same criteria as Adams, prompting Westmoreland to ask him to reconsider his estimates out of concern of Congressional and public reaction.

In 1980, CBS News and producer George Crile hired Adams as a consultant to the “Uncounted Enemy” project. Largely following Adams’ contentions, the documentary claimed that the U.S. public was surprised by the Tet ’68 Offensive because of this pattern of deliberate deception—this “conspiracy,” as the broadcast asserted. Almost immediately, Westmoreland filed a \$120 million libel suit against CBS, Adams, Crile, and correspondent Mike Wallace. The suit went to trial in 1984, but was dropped by Westmoreland in February 1985 before it went to the jury. In return, CBS issued a statement saying that it never meant to question Westmoreland’s patriotism.

In the meantime, an investigation by *TV Guide* found significant flaws in the documentary. Both investigations concluded that Crile had sought to attack Westmoreland personally and that he bent the rules of journalistic practice to do so, including allowing some witnesses to screen interviews with other witnesses, then tape their interviews a second time. An internal investigation conducted by a senior CBS producer Burton Benjamin agreed with *TV Guide*’s conclusions.

While the charges of a deliberate conspiracy were somewhat sensational, the documentary did point out larger flaws in the U.S. approach to the war in Vietnam. First, Westmoreland never fully embraced the idea that the war was in large part a counter-insurgency, leading to his lack of understanding of the importance of the irregular forces that comprised the “uncounted enemy.” This same lack of understanding led to a tragically misguided focus on destroying enemy military forces, even when the tactics used to do that harmed the very South Vietnamese civilians whose confidence and loyalty was crucial to ultimate victory. Finally, “The Uncounted Enemy” points to the all-too-human tendency to avoid telling unpleasant things to those in power.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Ia Drang, Battle of; Progress Campaign of 1967; Westmoreland, William Childs

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Underground Press (Vietnam War)

The “Underground Press” of the Vietnam War era was a movement of independently published newspapers and/or newsletters. In many ways, publications of this type were propaganda that utilized what psychologists have termed “cognitive dissonance” to achieve behavioral change favorable to the organization of origin. The process of creating cognitive dissonance is enabled by challenging, disrupting, and influencing the thought processes of individuals in both overt and more inconspicuous forums. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Underground Press primarily, but not exclusively, supported a position in the left and often extreme left of liberal politics, was emphatically antiwar, and was, in some cases, antigovernment to the point of anarchism.

The Underground Press may be most accurately described as a movement of publications that shared similar intents, publication methods (for example, small press, do-it-yourself press, etc.) or, in other words, shared a characteristic ethos and pathos of protest and dissent against authority. One of the overarching goals of the Underground Press was to question government foreign policy initiatives such as the Vietnam War. Domestic policies were also targeted issues of the Underground Press.

The publication of a great number of Underground Press publications had a basis in youth culture. The environment of colleges and universities, with relatively easy access to publishing methods and easily accessible consumers of independent publications, was of primary importance to the development of the Underground Press as a movement. Some, but very few, publications that originated during this time period have become commercially successful and maintain an aura of politically liberal standing, although within parameters to ensure continued commercial acceptance. *The Phoenix* (Boston, MA and Providence, RI) and *Village Voice* (New York, NY) are two such publications and may be considered rarities to have survived the dissolution of the Underground Press movement after major resolution of many social and political issues of the 1960s and 1970s.

Publications of the Underground Press numbered in the hundreds during this time period and not all were created by draft dodgers, anarchists, or just politically motivated youth in cities or attending university. For example, the “GI Press” was a movement of publications that were organized and published by soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen of the U.S. military. While these publications were numerous, a vast majority did not publish more than one or two issues. *Bragg Briefs*, *Huachuca Hard Times*, *My Knot*, and *Navy Times are Changin’* are examples of these publications. One of the contested issues with the *GI Press* was the issue of freedom of press for service members. The U.S. Army published a *Guidance on Dissent* in 1969, which gave supervising officers direction on how to handle violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) as they related to censorship or operational security (OPSEC) of independent publications. Military personnel, according to Army Regulations, must consult with OPSEC officers before publishing some material.

As a movement, the Underground Press of the 1960s and 1970s was very influential on later youth movements and publications. Many “underground,” initially non-commercial

forms of music publications, for example *Rolling Stone*, utilized some of the modus operandi and characteristics of political publications that originated and developed through this turbulent era.

Nathaniel L. Moir

SEE ALSO Antiwar Movement, Vietnam War

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War Powers Act

The War Powers Act was an effort by the U.S. Congress effort to limit the president's war-making powers and to reassert a legislative role in the control of the nation's military. The War Powers Resolution of 1973 (Public Law 93-148, 93rd Congress, H.J. Resolution S42, November 7, 1973), simply known as the War Powers Act, requires that the president consult with Congress before military forces are sent into combat abroad, or to areas where hostilities are likely, and to report in writing within 48 hours after troops are deployed. The president must then terminate the use of military force within 60 to 90 days. The deployment can continue for another 60 days, and for another 30 days beyond that if the president certifies to Congress in writing that the safety of the force so requires. Unless Congress authorizes a continuation through a declaration of war, a concurrent resolution, or other appropriate legislation, the deployment cannot be continued beyond 90 days.

The War Powers Act was introduced by Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York after the 1970 U.S. invasion of Cambodia. At the time, many believed it was a direct result of the U.S. experience in Vietnam. Javits outlined his rationale in his 1973 book, *Who Makes War: The President versus Congress*, and stated that the act was an effort to learn from the lessons of Vietnam that had cost the United States so heavily in blood, treasure, and morale. Many members of Congress remembered and regretted their votes for the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in August 1964 that had given President Lyndon Johnson a blank check to wage war in Vietnam. Although the act was passed only months after the final U.S. withdrawal, and the Vietnam experience certainly shaped thinking, many scholars claim that the act was the product of a slow, evolutionary debate on the respective war powers of Congress and the president that had been going on for decades. The act was an attempt by the legislative branch to reassert some of the authority over the military that it had lost to the president after 1941. The law, passed by Congress (House, 284–135; Senate, 75–18)

on November 7, 1973 over the veto of President Richard Nixon, gave more authority to Congress to limit the war-making powers of the chief executive.

President Nixon vetoed the bill in the belief that it could imperil the nation in times of crisis. He also argued that it granted Congress authority over troop deployments in violation of Article II of the Constitution that granted such powers to the president. Other critics maintained that the act placed inflexible restrictions on the president's ability to conduct foreign policy. Supporters held that the act served as a necessary restraint on the president's power and inherently compelled communication between the executive and legislative branches in times of emergency. Although many flaws have been found in the act, it has not been amended since passage.

In April 1975, President Gerald Ford submitted four reports under the act that announced the use of the armed forces to evacuate refugees and U.S. nationals from Cambodia and Vietnam. On May 15, 1975, President Ford again reported to Congress that he had ordered U.S. forces to rescue the crew and retake the ship *Mayaguez*, which had been seized by Cambodian navy patrol boats on May 12. Since then, another 114 reports have been submitted to Congress under the terms of the War Powers Act, with only a very few receiving much notice. Every President since Nixon has held that the Act placed unconstitutional restrictions on his authority as Commander-in-Chief.

Clayton D. Laurie

SEE ALSO Cambodia

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Westmoreland, William Childs

General Westmoreland commanded U.S. forces in Vietnam from June 1964 to June 1968. William Westmoreland was born in rural Spartanburg County, South Carolina, on March 26, 1914. Westmoreland attended the Citadel for one year before entering the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1932, where he became cadet first captain.

In World War II, Westmoreland distinguished himself first in the February 1943 Battle of Kasserine Pass. Following the war, Westmoreland completed paratroop training and became chief of staff of the 82d Airborne Division. In August 1952, he commanded the 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Team in Korea, and that November he was



General William C. Westmoreland was one of the chief architects of U.S. strategy in Vietnam as commander of American forces there from 1964 to 1968. Westmoreland failed to understand the resolve of the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong and the negative effects of the massive firepower he unleashed on South Vietnam. (Department of Defense)

methodically during the day, and occupy strong night defensive positions, daring the Communists to attack. MACV's approach depended on superior intelligence data and sufficient airmobile combat units to reach the decisive location in time to exploit the opportunity. Search-and-destroy operations were predicated on the assumption that combat in Vietnam had moved from insurgency/guerrilla actions to larger-unit actions.

It may be that the flaw in the U.S. phase (1965–1973) of the war in Vietnam was a poorly conceived grand strategy. Neil Sheehan in *A Bright Shining Lie* says that in prosecuting a war of attrition, “The building of the killing machine had become an end in itself.” Grand strategy—the sum of political, economic, military, and other component strategies—is designed to accomplish the purpose of the war. In the most striking way, the chosen military strategy of attrition did not lead directly and resolutely to the political end of the conflict. It is not surprising that General Westmoreland and the MACV staff sought a strategic solution to the growing VC/PAVN capability through the application of U.S. technology and firepower. What is surprising is that they believed that a U.S.-style quick fix could win a protracted war. In many ways, the “other war,” pacification, was the more important stepping stone to an Allied victory. U.S. strategists discovered too late that

promoted to brigadier general. In 1956, he assumed command of the 101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. From 1960 to 1963, he served as superintendent at West Point. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1963, Westmoreland returned to Fort Campbell to command the XVIII Airborne Corps.

In June 1964, Westmoreland was named commander of the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, or MACV. Westmoreland judged the South Vietnamese to lack a “sense of urgency.” His own approach to command in Vietnam was to be one of action. Few would disagree that Westmoreland brought abundant energy and impeccable standards to his command, but some have criticized his choice of tactics and timing.

Westmoreland's strategy of search and destroy was designed to inflict more damage to the Viet Cong (VC) and the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) than they could sustain, eventually forcing them to cease combat operations and accept a non-communist South Vietnam. Allied units would enter jungle sanctuaries, search

carrying the war to the Communists at the same time as they were attempting to strengthen the South Vietnamese toward national self-sufficiency was like pulling on both ends of a rope simultaneously.

Nonetheless, in 1967 Westmoreland believed that the initiative had firmly switched to the Allies, noting that the VC and the PAVN had lost control over large areas and populations. These assertions made the surprise of the 1968 Tet Offensive even more pronounced. After the Tet Offensive, the U.S. government, reflecting the impatience and confusion of the U.S. people, began withdrawing the essential moral support and then the resources necessary for victory. It was not entirely Westmoreland's fault, only his misfortune to be the responsible official on the ground in Vietnam.

In July 1968, President Johnson recalled Westmoreland from Vietnam and appointed him U.S. Army chief of staff. Westmoreland set his professional skills to work on issues such as the all-volunteer force. In July 1972, Westmoreland retired from the Army after more than 36 years of service. In 1976, he published his memoirs, *A Soldier Reports*.

In January 1982, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and its journalist Mike Wallace aired a television documentary that accused General Westmoreland and his staff of fudging Communist casualty figures to give the appearance of progress and eventual success in Vietnam. As the general put it in his December 1994 interview, "They accused me of basically lying. . . . If there is anything that I cherish, it's character." Westmoreland brought a libel suit against CBS that resulted in a two-and-a-half-month trial and ended with an out-of-court settlement on February 18, 1985. CBS stood by its documentary but issued a statement that it did not mean to impugn General Westmoreland's patriotism or loyalty "in performing his duties as he saw them." Following his retirement, Westmoreland made a brief, unsuccessful foray into politics in search of the Republican nomination for governor of South Carolina. General Westmoreland died in Charleston, South Carolina on July 18, 2005.

John F. Votaw

SEE ALSO Accreditation Policies and Ground Rules; Correspondents (Vietnam War); Johnson, Lyndon Baines; Television and the Vietnam Experience; Tet '68 Offensive; "The Uncounted Enemy"

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II

Cold War

INTRODUCTION

The Cold War was as much an ideological battle as it was a military struggle. Although the origins of the conflict can be traced as far back as the November 1917 Russian Revolution, the Cold War began to take form in late 1945, and did not formally end until December 1991. Simply put, the Cold War can be defined as a state of mutual hostility, distrust, and rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. This contest soon pitted the capitalist West—and its allies around the world—against the communist-controlled East and its allies throughout the world. A large part of the Cold War “battle” involved competing political and economic ideologies. The capitalist West generally represented popularly elected, multiparty governments that supported individual rights and a free-market economy in which government control was limited. The emphasis was on individual initiative, personal and collective rights, and private property. While some pro-Western governments were in reality not very democratic, they usually subscribed to some form of capitalism. The communist East advocated vastly different governmental and economic systems. Nearly all communist regimes were controlled by a single political party, which exercised strict control over individual rights and political participation. Communist economies were tightly regulated by the central government, and most private property was forbidden. The idea of individual initiative was alien. Instead, the emphasis was on collective collaboration among the population. Thus, the Cold War symbolized two completely different ways of life.

Hot Wars within the Cold War

Although the Soviet Union and United States never engaged in direct military action against one other, the Cold War was marked by a series of both small and large wars. These conflicts were fought in almost every corner of the world. In most cases, the West backed one side while the East supported the other. In addition to the many small wars,

the Cold War featured three major and prolonged conflicts: the Korean War (1950–1953); the Vietnam War (1946–1975); and the war in Afghanistan (1979–1989). The Cold War also witnessed a massive arms race and the rise of permanent and powerful defense industries. Many historians have pointed out that the Cold War “militarized” everyday life in both the East and the West. The world’s major powers spent trillions of dollars on large standing armies and advanced weaponry. And unlike more conventional conflicts, which have fairly distinct beginning and end points, the Cold War endured for more than four decades. Each side was therefore obliged to arm itself to fight a large-scale, worldwide war for a seemingly indefinite period of time. Perpetual military readiness became a Cold War watchword.

The Cold War affected both national and international politics. In many industrialized Western nations, the politics of anticommunism resulted in periodic civil liberty violations and overzealous attempts to suppress or outlaw communist or leftist organizations. As such, political freedom was sometimes diminished. Oftentimes, Western nations—particularly the United States—supported repressive and undemocratic governments abroad so long as they were anticommunist; this was especially the case in the developing world. In the communist nations, the insistence on a singular political-economic philosophy brought with it periodic crackdowns against those who dared to think or act differently. Sometimes this manifested itself as internal repression, as was the case during the Cultural Revolution in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in the late 1960s. At other times, it brought external repression, as was the case when the Soviet Union crushed the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Prague Spring of 1968 in Czechoslovakia. Finally, the process of decolonization was profoundly influenced by Cold War politics. Conflicting ideologies forced many newly independent countries to choose one system or the other—capitalism or communism. Doing so could cause political instability, economic crisis, and even civil war in these fledgling nations, all of which made these societies battlegrounds in the larger Cold War conflict.

Economics

In economic terms, the cost and consequences of the Cold War are almost impossible to calculate. The arms race and the need to maintain large, permanent military establishments cost trillions of dollars. Money spent on defense and weaponry was money taken away from social welfare programs, education, health care, and housing. As the arms race accelerated and defense budgets ballooned, inflation and economic stagnation became problematic in the West. In the East, periodic, and in some cases chronic, shortages of consumer goods and food plagued many communist countries. The Vietnam War seriously harmed the U.S. economy, triggering years of inflation, high interest rates, and economic stagnation. The high cost of the Soviet war in Afghanistan contributed to an economic crisis that ultimately led to the fall of the Soviet Union.

The Cold War was also witness to a world in which dozens of relatively small “proxy wars” were fought by surrogates of the United States and the Soviet Union. These conflicts resulted in constantly shifting national borders and changes in global and regional

balances of power. They also resulted in millions of deaths and injuries. In spite of international bodies like the United Nations (UN), the constant push-pull of Cold War geopolitics often impeded international cooperation. This meant that economic development efforts, disease eradication programs, antidrug campaigns, and even nuclear nonproliferation initiatives were weakened, stalled, or halted completely.

Society and Culture

Cultural and social trends were far from immune to Cold War influences. Cold War themes were not just the subjects of movies, plays, novels, and television shows; they also gave birth to new genres of cultural expression. Spy thrillers, for example, were born of the Cold War. Science fiction moved into entirely new areas as it dealt with the political and technological consequences of the period. Even music and art reflected Cold War values. Music especially became linked with various Cold War peace movements, as demonstrated during the Vietnam War. At the same time, both sides in the Cold War engaged in propaganda through cultural expression. And censorship of “nonconforming” art forms was routinely practiced in both the East and the West, although it was far more prevalent in the East. The Cold War touched religion as well. Most communist regimes tried to stamp out organized religion by banning it or persecuting its followers. However, conservatives in both the Christian and Muslim faiths sought to fight atheistic communism by becoming more politically active. Some even became militant, sparking internal and external armed conflicts. In some Muslim nations, the advent of theocracy—or religiously imposed government—began during the last quarter of the Cold War.

Ethnic lines tended to blur as a result of the Cold War, especially in the communist bloc. Nations like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in particular insisted on artificially incorporating many different and diverse ethnic groups. They were therefore forced to deemphasize or even abandon their languages, customs, and centuries-old traditions. When internal discipline ended with the Cold War, old religious and ethnic conflicts in these cobbled-together societies emerged anew.

Not even gender escaped the impact of the Cold War. In the United States during the 1950s, for example, women and men were encouraged and even expected to fulfill very specific social roles in the belief that this would “immunize” the nation from communist influences. Women were expected to become ideal mothers and housewives and to forgo careers outside the home. Men were required to develop a career beyond the domestic sphere as the solitary breadwinner.

Military and Technology

Nuclear power, a byproduct of World War II, came into its own during the Cold War. On the positive side, nuclear technology revolutionized health care, electrical power generation, and many of the sciences. On the downside, nuclear weapons, numbering

in the tens of thousands by the end of the period, threatened the world with complete destruction. Nuclear power made all-out war among the major world powers suicidal. In that sense, some historians have argued, these weapons may have prevented World War III. By the late 1950s, nuclear-powered submarines had revolutionized naval warfare and fundamentally altered defense strategies.

Rocket, satellite, and guided-missile technologies were also Cold War inventions. But they were also a mixed blessing. They provided for space exploration and gave rise to the so-called space race, but also made a nuclear war possible with the push of a button. This greatly increased the odds of an accidental nuclear exchange. As such, modern warfare became entirely impersonal and had the potential for unleashing a global holocaust in a matter of hours.

Computers, another Cold War technology, were used almost exclusively in military and medical applications just 25 years ago. By the end of the conflict, however, they had become common household appliances. In that sense, a technology originally designed for governmental and military purposes revolutionized human existence in less than one generation. Related to this, computerization and other electronic advances emerging from Cold War applications ushered in the era of instant communication. This development empowered the media, television in particular, to reach every corner of the globe in just a few seconds.

The Cold War waxed and waned over its 46-year history. From 1945 to the early 1970s, the Cold War world was bipolar; that is, the global balance of power was split rather evenly between the Western bloc, dominated by the United States, and the Eastern bloc, led by the Soviets. As more nations decided to forge their own geopolitical strategies, however, the Cold War world became multipolar by the mid-1970s. As such, U.S. and Soviet predominance weakened and global power became more diffuse. Moreover, East-West relations were marked by periods of relaxed tensions. These occurred in the late 1950s, the 1970s, and again in the mid-to-late 1980s. Although a major world war was averted, nothing better exemplifies the danger that was always part of the Cold War than the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, when the two superpowers came as close as they ever did to a full-blown nuclear war.

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PROPAGANDA

The term “cold war” (as opposed to “hot war”) described the state of relations between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies after World War II. The Cold War unofficially ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Columnist Walter Lippmann also took credit for coining the phrase in his 1950 book, *The Cold War*, which criticized the policies of the Truman administration.

What is certain is the intense propaganda campaign that both sides waged against each other in an effort to influence international opinion and to gain allies, especially among Third World nations. The roughly 40 years of the Cold War featured several propaganda set pieces. One such example that has come to symbolize the definitive Cold War rivalry was the Brussels Universal and International Exposition (1958). The Americans and the Russians built rival pavilions, literally across from each other, that propagandized their different political systems. The Soviet pavilion was a high-tech tribute to Communism, while the U.S. pavilion was considered a “front” for U.S. intelligence agencies, a charge never effectively proved. When the exposition ended, the United States was criticized for its poor showing in what was primarily a Cold War propaganda battle with the Soviet Union.

The first major Cold War set piece was probably the *Amerasia* incident, which started in February 1945 when that low-circulation magazine, dedicated to a discussion of U.S. relations with Asia, published an article on U.S.-British activities in Siam, based on classified material; the case quickly expanded to an investigation of alleged Communists in the State Department by the FBI, the pro-Nationalist China Lobby, right-wing newspapers and, eventually, by Senator Joseph McCarthy.

An earlier challenge came with the Marshall Plan, unveiled by Secretary of State George Marshall in a commencement address at Harvard University on June 5, 1947, when he invited the European countries to draw up a program for economic recovery that would be the basis for further U.S. assistance. The Economic Recovery Program (ERP), better known as “the Marshall Plan,” cemented the Allied victory, planted the seeds of European economic integration, and strengthened trans-Atlantic ties. In support of this program, ABC-TV presented “The Marshall Plan in Action” (1950–1953), a series of television documentaries that showed how Marshall Plan aid was used to reconstruct war-devastated Europe; the films were prepared by the federal government. In Europe, many governments produced materials to explain the Marshall Plan to their citizens.

The Soviet Union challenged the Marshall Plan and waged a political and psychological warfare campaign to disrupt European recovery along democratic lines, most famously in June 1948, when the Soviets blockaded Berlin, hoping to absorb the entire city, which had been divided into U.S., British, French, and Soviet occupation zones. President Harry Truman responded with the Berlin Airlift, which resulted in highly positive psychological effects on both the people of Berlin and on the nations of the Western alliance. According to a report to the Soviet Politburo by Andrei Zhdanov, the main theme of the Soviet attack of falsification and of distortion against the Marshall Plan

(and, it might be added, others that quickly followed) was that the “American economic ‘assistance’ ” plan pursued “the broad aim of bringing Europe into bondage to American capital” with “harsher” terms dictated for the more economically unstable countries.

Perhaps the most notorious relic of the Cold War political situation was the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), with memories lingering long after its demise. It was created in June 1938 as a temporary investigating committee to deal with the growing concern over propaganda activities of both Nazi and Communist sympathizers in the United States in the late 1930s. The committee’s charge was to investigate “the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States” and “the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution.” In the course of its existence, HUAC primarily investigated Communist activities and propaganda, did extensive investigations, and issued reports on Nazi activities and propaganda, as well as on Nazi and Soviet espionage. One of its members, Richard Nixon, gained early prominence in the summer of 1948, when he acted as the unofficial prosecutor of Alger Hiss, who appeared before HUAC to deny allegations by Whittaker Chambers that he was a Communist.

From October 20 to 30, 1947, the committee conducted hearings on the Communist infiltration of the motion picture industry. One of the “friendly” witnesses was actor Ronald Reagan who, 40 years later as U.S. President, was given much of the credit for ending the Cold War. The hearings discussed specific examples of Communist propaganda, such as *Mission to Moscow* (1943), *North Star* (1943) and *Song of Russia* (1944), all produced when the Soviet Union was still a U.S. ally. Among the many witnesses subpoenaed to testify, the least cooperative were designated the “Hollywood Ten” who claimed First Amendment protection. HUAC returned to an investigation of the motion picture industry from May to November 1951 when the committee held extensive hearings. From 1952 through 1958, HUAC turned from films to the rest of the entertainment industry, particularly radio, television, and publishing. In 1969, HUAC became the House Committee on Internal Security but the committee was abolished in 1975. The Senate also conducted investigations on Communist propaganda.

However, a term that came to define the early Cold War period, and one that became part of the lexicon, was “McCarthyism,” which came from the Republican U.S. senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957). McCarthy, one of the most controversial figures in U.S. 20th century political history, alleged that Communists had infiltrated the federal government. The term was first used by cartoonist Herbert Block (Herblock) in a March 1950 *Washington Post* editorial.

McCarthy’s unyielding anti-Communist stance had more impact than any other in the early 1950s. McCarthyism came to define tactics that used the powers of government investigations, such as those by the FBI or the U.S. Congress; it was an extremely successful propaganda term for anti-communism invented by the U.S. left but widely accepted as a term even today.

From his initial attack against the State Department in early 1950 until spring 1954 when McCarthy launched his inquiry into Communist influence in the U.S. Army, the

senator generated incredible media coverage, including live presentations on television, the first opportunity for many Americans to witness McCarthy's bullying tactics.

An important Cold War initiative was the "Quantico Vulnerabilities Panel," a meeting that originated with Nelson Rockefeller to assess Soviet weaknesses and possible U.S. initiatives at the upcoming Geneva Conference. The special panel of experts convened June 5–10, 1955, at Quantico, Virginia. It was chaired by MIT's Walt Rostow. In its report, the panel concluded that the United States, operating "from a position of strength," should present the USSR "with heavy demands for major concessions"; rejected negotiations with Moscow; and agreed that the combination of Soviet vulnerabilities and Western strengths would allow the allies to "transcend the area of negotiations" to effect "a rollback of Soviet power in Eastern and Central Europe and in Asia."

Countering the U.S. efforts were Soviet Active Measures, which referred to the influence operations organized by the Soviet government. These included black, gray, and white propaganda, as well as disinformation. White (overt) propaganda was created by the Information Department of the Communist Party and included those publicly identified Soviet channels as Radio Moscow, Novosti, pamphlets, and magazines as well as official Soviet government statements. Gray (lightly concealed) propaganda was organized by the International Department of the Communist Party and used such channels as the foreign Communist Parties and the network of international Soviet fronts. Black (covert) propaganda was prepared by the KGB and included agents of influence, covert media placements and, until 1959, assassinations. Forgeries and disinformation were used by the Soviets in all modes.

A little-known Cold War operative was the Active Measures Working Group, created on September 9, 1982, when President Reagan designated the United States Information Agency (USIA) to lead an inter-departmental effort to counter Soviet propaganda and the administration created the group to bring together the information the various agencies had to counter Soviet disinformation and forgery. It served as a clearinghouse to expose such information and it had permission to use classified documents and any other resources that were required to meet this goal. The Working Group was chaired by the State Department with representatives from State, Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, USIA, and the Defense and Justice Departments. It ended in 1991. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, meetings continued into the Bush Administration but as there was no longer a Soviet Union, the group dealt with other problem areas and continued into late 1993.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Berlin Blockade and Airlift; Chambers, Whittaker; China Lobby; Film (Cold War); Hiss, Alger; House Un-American Activities Committee; Literature (Cold War); Marshall Plan; McCarthy, Joseph; Nixon, Richard; Reagan, Ronald; Soviet Active Measures.

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Acheson, Dean Gooderham

Acheson was the U.S. secretary of state from 1949 to 1953 and chief architect of U.S. foreign policy in the formative years of the Cold War. Born on April 11, 1893 in Middletown, Connecticut, to British parents, Dean Acheson attended the prestigious Groton School and graduated from Yale University in 1915. He earned a degree from Harvard Law School in 1918 and went on to serve as private secretary to Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis from 1919 to 1921. After his Supreme Court stint, Acheson joined a Washington, DC, law firm. He entered public life in 1933 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt named him under-secretary of the treasury. Acheson resigned soon thereafter, however, over a disagreement concerning gold and currency policies. In 1940, he authored a key legal opinion that led to the Lend-Lease program. In 1941, he became assistant secretary of state and then undersecretary of state in 1945.

The possessor of a brilliant legal mind, a regal bearing, and a biting wit, Acheson initially favored a policy of postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union. But he quickly reversed his view and, along with George F. Kennan, became one of the chief proponents of the Cold War containment policy. Unlike Kennan, who believed that the contest with the Soviet Union was primarily political in nature, Acheson stressed the military dimension. Sobered by the failure of democratic nations to halt the Axis powers in the 1930s, Acheson advocated a policy of developing military strength before negotiating with the Soviet Union.

Acheson also played a critical role in implementing major Cold War initiatives in Europe. When the British informed the United States in early 1947 that they no longer possessed the financial means to support Greece and Turkey, Acheson pushed the Truman administration to take quick action, warning that if the United States did not supplant British power in the eastern Mediterranean, the result would likely be Soviet control of the region. Truman then enunciated the Truman Doctrine to augment the containment policy. Acheson aggressively promoted the 1947 Marshall Plan to aid West European recovery efforts and to resist pressures that might lead to communist regimes there. Despite his role in creating the United Nations (UN), Acheson did not believe that it could prevent Soviet aggression or the spread of militant communism. Instead, he trusted military power and saw the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as the best means of defending the West from the Soviets.

When Acheson was sworn in as secretary of state on January 21, 1949, he was already recognized as the key architect of postwar foreign policy. As such, Truman, a great admirer of Acheson, gave him wide latitude in foreign policy matters. During his tenure in office, Acheson pushed through the implementation of NSC-68, a study that called for a dramatic buildup of U.S. military forces, and won Senate approval for continued stationing of U.S. troops in Europe and for extensive military aid to the NATO allies.

Acheson's tendency to view international affairs largely from a European perspective hampered his efforts to deal with rising nationalism in the developing world. Asia, possessing no significant industrial base outside of Japan, ranked low among Acheson's priorities. He based U.S. policy on the faulty premise that communist China was the puppet of the Soviet Union. He sided with the French regarding Indochina, advising Truman to make

what proved to be a fateful commitment of U.S. assistance to anti-Viet Minh forces in 1950. Acheson all but ignored Africa and Latin America, mainly because neither region was as yet on the front lines of the Cold War.

A primary target of Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy's anticommunist witch hunt, Acheson was lambasted for being friendly with alleged spy Alger Hiss, "losing" China to communism, and being unable to end the Korean War, which Acheson's enemies wrongly believed he provoked by publicly excluding it from U.S. "defense perimeter" in a January 1950 speech. Acheson also provided fodder for other Republicans, namely Richard M. Nixon, who in 1952 derided Democratic presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson for having graduated from "Dean Acheson's College of Cowardly Communist Containment."

In the 1960s, Acheson returned to public life as the head of NATO task forces, special envoy, diplomatic trouble-shooter, and foreign policy advisor for Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Acheson was noted for his hawkish advice to Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Acheson died of a heart attack on October 12, 1971 in Sandy Spring, Maryland.

Caryn E. Neumann

SEE ALSO Cuban Missile Crisis; Hiss, Alger; McCarthy, Joseph; Truman, Harry S.

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Active Measures Working Group

The Active Measures Working Group represented one aspect of the renewed Cold War. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan created the Active Measures Working Group to bring together the information in various agencies in order to more effectively counter Soviet disinformation propaganda. The group served as a clearinghouse to expose such information, and it had permission to use classified documents and any other resources that were required to meet this goal. The working group was chaired by the State Department, with representatives from the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the United States Information Agency, the

Justice Department, and the Defense Department. Meetings continued for a time following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, but the group finally went out of existence in 1993.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Soviet Active Measures

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Bay of Pigs

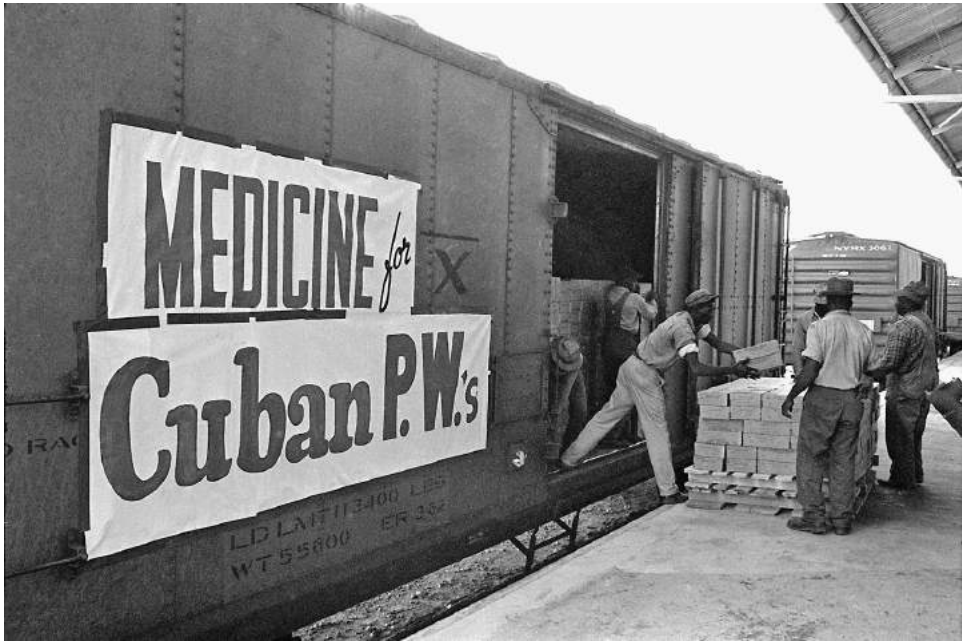
An unsuccessful 1961 invasion of Cuba led by Cuban exiles, covertly supported by the U.S. government, the Bay of Pigs Invasion was one of the United States' most embarrassing episodes during the Cold War, hardening relations between the United States and Cuba for decades, and providing a lesson in press-government relations in the Cold War.

The communist regime of Fidel Castro deposed the U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. At first, U.S. reaction to the takeover was muted, but soon became more hardened and aggressive. President Eisenhower soured on Castro after the latter nationalized a number of Cuban companies. There were also rumors of Cuban involvement in attempts to invade Panama, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic. In 1960, the United States turned down Castro's request for economic aid and broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba. Castro then met with Soviet Foreign Minister Anastas Mikoyan to secure a \$100 million loan from the Soviet Union. U.S. policymakers thus decided that Castro was becoming too close to the Soviets and should be overthrown.

In the spring of 1960, President Eisenhower approved a covert operation to send small groups of U.S.-trained Cuban exiles to work as insurgents to overthrow Castro. By the fall, the plan had evolved into a full-fledged invasion by exiled Cubans and included U.S. air support. The invasion forces deployed to Guatemala to train for the operation.

When President John F. Kennedy assumed office in January 1961, he chose not to call off the invasion. During the 1960 presidential campaign, Kennedy had criticized Eisenhower's handling of the Cuban situation and so did not find it politically expedient to back down from the invasion. Kennedy was also anxious to prove his hawkish stance toward the Soviets during a period of heightened Cold War tensions. But the new president was not well served by the CIA or its director, Allen W. Dulles, whom he inherited from the Eisenhower administration. The agency grossly underestimated the effectiveness of Castro's forces and overplayed the extent to which Cubans would rally behind the invasion force.

On April 17, 1961, an armed force of approximately 1,500 Cuban exiles landed in the Bahia de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) on the southern coast of Cuba; two days earlier,



The failure of the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro Cuban exiles in April 1961 represented a public relations disaster for President John Kennedy in his first weeks in office. Among the operation's problems was the fact that investigative reporters had discovered planning for the operation; Kennedy even asked *New York Times* publisher Orville Dryfoos to sit on a story prior to the invasion. (AP/Wide World Photos)

U.S. B-26 medium bombers with Cuban markings bombed four Cuban airfields. On April 17, the assault began between 2:30 and 3:00 a.m. as two battalions of exiles armed with U.S. weapons came ashore. Cuban aircraft promptly sank the invading force command-and-control ship and another supply vessel carrying an additional battalion. Two other ships loaded with supplies, weapons, and heavy equipment foundered just offshore. In the air, Cuban T-33 jets shot down 10 of the 12 slow-moving B-26 bombers that were supporting the invaders. President Kennedy, on the recommendation of Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other advisors, decided against providing the faltering invasion with official U.S. air support.

Within 72 hours, the invading force had been pushed back to its landing area, where the troops were soon surrounded by Castro's forces. A total of 114 exiles were killed, while the remainder of the invasion force either escaped into the countryside or was taken captive. In all, 1,189 captured exiles were tried in televised trials and sentenced to prison. In December 1962, Castro released 1,113 captured rebels in exchange for \$53 million in food and medicine raised by private donations in the United States.

One reason that the invasion failed so miserably was that it was one of the worst kept secrets of the Cold War. Castro had agents in the training camps in Guatemala, and several news organizations had run stories about some sort of covert action against Cuba. As these early stories began to leak, other reporters began to dig more deeply and uncovered

the U.S. role. In a sign of Cold War cooperation, editors at *The New Republic*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post* killed or watered down stories about the impending operation.

Besides embarrassing the new president and provoking anti-U.S. reactions throughout Latin America, the invasion increased tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Khrushchev accused the United States of being complicit in the invasion and warned Kennedy that the Soviets would help defend Cuba if necessary. Kennedy replied with an equally strong warning against any Soviet involvement in Cuba. Although the crisis quickly passed, it set the stage for increased Soviet military aid to Cuba, which led ultimately to the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962.

James H. Willbanks

SEE ALSO Central Intelligence Agency; Cuban Missile Crisis; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald

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Berlin Blockade and Airlift

The Berlin Blockade was the first serious crisis of the Cold War, precipitated by the Soviet Union's attempt to cut off access to West Berlin, which lay within Soviet-occupied eastern Germany. As part of the Potsdam Agreements, Germany and Berlin were divided into occupation zones by the victorious World War II Allies (the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Great Britain). Although the provisions of the agreement allocated occupation sectors of Berlin to the other three Allies, no formal arrangements had been made for access to Berlin via the Soviet zone.

After the war, the relationship between the Soviet Union and the West began to deteriorate steadily. The Soviets were especially alarmed at U.S.-British plans to consolidate their occupation zones in western Germany to form a single, independent state, given the fact that Russia had been invaded by Germany twice in the first half of the 20th century. After the decision of the Western powers to introduce a new currency in their zones, on March 20, 1948 the Soviets withdrew from the Four-Power Allied Control Council, which controlled Berlin. Ten days later, guards on the eastern German border began slowing the

entry of Western troop trains bound for Berlin. On June 7, the Western powers announced their intention to proceed with the creation of a West German state. On June 24, the Soviets stopped all surface traffic between West Germany and Berlin, arguing that if Germany were to be partitioned, Berlin could no longer be the German capital.

Located 110 miles inside the Soviet occupation zone, West Berlin from the start of the Cold War had been a Western outpost deep within the communist bloc, a hotbed of intelligence operations by both sides, and the best available escape route for East Germans fleeing communism and Soviet control. U.S. President Harry Truman was convinced that abandoning Berlin would jeopardize control of all of Germany. He further believed that the Soviets were determined to push the Western powers out of Berlin, thereby discrediting repeated U.S. assurances to its allies and the rest of Europe that it would not allow Berlin to fall.

A military response to the blockade was rejected, as the Western powers lacked the manpower to counter the Red Army's numerical and strategic advantage. Thus the United States, working with its European allies, undertook to supply West Berlin via air. The Berlin Airlift began on June 24, 1948 and continued uninterrupted for the next 324 days. Western fliers made a total of 272,000 flights into West Berlin, delivering thousands of tons of supplies every day.

Hundreds of aircraft were used to fly in a wide variety of cargo items, including more than 1.5 million tons of coal. By the fall, the airlift, called by the Americans "Operation VITTLES," was transporting an average of 5,000 tons of supplies a day. At the height of the operation on April 16, 1949, an aircraft landed in Berlin every minute around the clock.

The airlift was an international effort; airplanes were supplied by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, but there were also flight crews from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand. The three main Berlin airfields involved in the effort were Tempelhof in the U.S. sector, Gatow in the British zone, and Tegel in the French sector. The British even landed seaplanes on the Havel River.

The airlift gained widespread public and international admiration, and on May 12, 1949, the Soviets, concluding that the blockade had failed, reopened the borders in return for a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, perhaps believing that they could have some influence on the Western Allies' proposed plans for the future of Germany. In all, the United States, Britain, and France flew 278,118 flights transporting more than 2.3 million short tons of cargo. Thirty-one Americans and thirty-nine British citizens, most of them military personnel, died in the airlift.

In the end, the blockade was not only completely ineffective but also backfired on the Soviets in other ways. The blockade provoked genuine fears of the Soviets in the West and introduced even greater tension into the Cold War. Instead of preventing an independent West Germany, it actually accelerated Allied plans to set up the state. It also hastened the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a U.S.-West European military alliance.

James H. Willbanks

SEE ALSO Berlin Wall; Truman Doctrine

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Berlin Wall

The Berlin Wall, first erected in August 1961 by the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany), walled off access to West Berlin from GDR-controlled East Berlin. The Berlin Wall was constructed to stop the flood of East German citizens seeking asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany). The Berlin Wall became a physical symbol of Cold War divisions and confrontation.

Between 1949 when the GDR was created and 1952 when the border was sealed off everywhere but in Berlin, almost 200,000 people left for West Germany each year. After the East Berlin Uprising in 1953, the number of refugees doubled—more than 400,000 people left the GDR that year. Although flight from the GDR dropped to normal levels again for 1954, a mild economic crisis in 1956 led to another longer rise in numbers.

Walter Ulbricht, the leader of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) that controlled the GDR, proposed to Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev that the border in Berlin be sealed in early 1961. Despite Soviet misgivings, GDR army, police, and volunteer units began the construction of the barrier on the night of August 12–13, 1961. The Brandenburg Gate was closed to traffic the following day, and by August 26 all crossing points into West Berlin had been sealed off. Eventually, 12 checkpoints were established to regulate traffic between the GDR and West Berlin. The most famous, in the center of Berlin, was called Checkpoint Charlie.

The Berlin Wall went through four generations of architecture. The first two versions of the Berlin Wall consisted of concrete blocks and barbed wire. These were replaced in 1965 with a system of concrete slabs and steel girders topped by a sewage pipe to make scaling the wall more difficult. In 1975, this structure gave way to one made entirely of reinforced concrete some 12 feet high, not including the tube element on top. Behind this was the so-called death strip secured by dogs, tanks, trip-wire machine guns, and guards. There were obstacles in canals, sewer lines, and communications and transportation tunnels that formed part of the Berlin Wall system.



The Berlin Wall, erected by communist East Germany in August 1961 to block escape from East Berlin to West Berlin and freedom, became one of the most powerful images of the Cold War; its destruction in November 1989 is regarded as the symbolic end of that conflict. (Department of Defense)

While these measures prevented the flood of refugees like that of the late 1950s, they did not stop people from trying to escape from the GDR to the West. In the early days of the Berlin Wall, people jumped from buildings, used ladders to climb over the wall, or dug tunnels under it. As the system evolved, attempts became more dangerous and more complex. At least 171 people were killed trying to leave the GDR between August 1961 and November 1989, when the wall came down. More than 5,000 East Germans, including 574 GDR border guards, successfully crossed the wall.

The western half of the city became a symbol of freedom, recognized most famously in the phrase “*Ich bin ein Berliner*” (I am a resident of Berlin) in John F. Kennedy’s 1963 speech. A later U.S. president, Ronald Reagan, also recognized the symbolism of the Berlin Wall when he challenged Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to “tear down this Wall” to prove his sincerity about reform. Soviet pressure for reform in fact did play a part in the fall of the Berlin Wall.

During the transitional crisis of late 1989, the new East Berlin regime lifted travel restrictions to West Berlin. Günter Schabowski, head of the SED’s Berlin organization, announced on television on November 9, 1989 that the lifting of restrictions would be effective immediately. East Germans went, cautiously, to test this at the Berlin Wall; lacking specific instructions, border guards let them through. Within hours, Germans from both sides of the wall were sitting atop it, drinking champagne, and celebrating the end of the divided city.

Today, the only reminder of the Berlin Wall is a strip of bricks that follows its former path. Most sections of concrete are in museums, many in foreign countries. While it existed, however, the Berlin Wall was one of the most infamous and powerful symbols of the Cold War.

Timothy C. Dowling

SEE ALSO Berlin Blockade and Airlift; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Reagan, Ronald

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Black Hawk Down. See Somalia

Blacklists

Blacklists were lists of alleged Communists or communist sympathizers in the United States who were often terminated from their jobs, jailed, denied employment, and/or publicly ostracized and harassed. With the Cold War, many Americans feared the spread of communism both inside and outside the U.S. borders. An especially intense period of anticommunism lasted from the late 1940s and to the mid-1950s. This period has come to be known as the era of McCarthyism, named for Joseph McCarthy, the junior Republican senator from Wisconsin. The senator was doggedly devoted to fighting communism and alleged Soviet espionage in the U.S. government.

Blacklisting targeted people primarily involved in entertainment and education, although lawyers, writers, and other professionals were also victimized by it. Blacklisted individuals were sometimes imprisoned, and most were interrogated by various congressional committees, government agencies, or privately run panels. The Hollywood community was especially vulnerable to McCarthyism because of its high profile. The film

community was known for its somewhat radical orientation, and an active core of some 300 writers, producers, directors, and actors were openly sympathetic to the Communist Party.

On November 25, 1947, Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, issued the so-called Waldorf Statement (so named because the statement was enunciated at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel). On behalf of the head of the major Hollywood studios, he denounced communist sympathizers within the entertainment community and declared the firing of the so-called Hollywood Ten, writers, actors, and directors who had refused to testify for the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigation into the film industry. They were sentenced to prison for contempt of Congress. After that, those who did not cooperate with the HUAC cited the Fifth Amendment guaranteeing protection from self-incrimination, for which they were fired from their jobs.

The Waldorf Statement marked the official beginning of the Hollywood blacklists. No one ever admitted that the blacklists existed; however, perhaps as many as 500 people employed in the film industry lost their jobs or were denied future employment as a result. Film producers, afraid of boycotts and loss of financial backing if they chose to hire blacklisted employees, enforced the blacklist.

Other professions, vulnerable to public opinion and afraid of potential financial repercussions, wanted their employees cleared of any suspicions. This led to the creation of loyalty review boards and investigations that were sponsored by corporations, colleges and universities, and even public school districts. The accused were not usually allowed the presence of an attorney and could not cross-examine their accusers. Private agencies retained for investigating alleged communist affiliation would keep cross-referenced lists of left-oriented publications, meetings, organizations, and individuals. The lists were then published as books (for example, *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*) and newsletters (*Counterattack* or *Confidential Information*). *Red Channels* listed 151 names of actors, writers, musicians, and other radio and television personalities who were alleged Communists.

The blacklists were mainly created and maintained by private agencies, and it was almost impossible to be removed from one. Some of the organizations and individuals that initiated the blacklisting would demand a sizable fee to have accused individuals' names removed from the list. The accused also had to provide names of other communist sympathizers to have his or her own name cleared.

With such a large number of talented individuals on the blacklist, some film producers began hiring blacklisted names, especially after McCarthy was disgraced in 1954. In 1956, the failure of screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, who was previously blacklisted as one of the Hollywood Ten, to claim his Academy Award helped to bring an end to the widespread practice of blacklisting. He had been forced to write a screenplay under a pseudonym.

While it is difficult to say for certain how many people were affected by McCarthyism and blacklisting, historians have estimated that several hundred were jailed, and perhaps as many as 10,000 lost their jobs. While many of these people may indeed have had some contact or sympathy with the Communist Party, most did not. Rather, they were among the many victims of McCarthyism during the Cold War. The environment it created on the

home front—frustration, anger, and fear—was seized upon by McCarthy and his adherents to create in effect a war here at home, using fear, innuendo, and hearsay as weapons.

Anna Rulska

SEE ALSO Film (Cold War); House Un-American Activities Committee; Literature (Cold War); McCarthy, Joseph; Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty; *See It Now*

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Carter, Jimmy. See **Iranian Hostage Crisis**

Castro, Fidel. See **Bay of Pigs Invasion**

Central Intelligence Agency

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was the primary U.S. intelligence agency during the Cold War. Congress established the Central Intelligence Agency in July 1947 to centralize and coordinate intelligence and espionage activities in reaction to the deepening Cold War. Early on, the CIA's main focus was on the Soviet Union and its satellites. The CIA assumed primary responsibility not only for intelligence collection and analysis but also for covert actions. Its origins can be traced to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) of World War II that had conducted espionage, intelligence analysis, and special operations from propaganda to sabotage.

On January 22, 1946, President Harry Truman signed an executive order forming a Central Intelligence Group (CIG) modeled after the OSS. Its mission was to provide analysis and coordination of information about foreign threats and to undertake advantageous policy initiatives. Truman signed the National Security Act on July 26, 1947, replacing the CIG with the new CIA as an independent agency operating within the Executive Office.

Truman appointed legendary OSS spymaster William “Wild Bill” Donovan to serve as the first CIA director. The CIA's primary function was to advise the National Security Council (NSC) on intelligence matters and make recommendations for coordination of

intelligence activities. But because Congress was vague in defining the CIA's mission, broad interpretation of the act provided justification for subsequent covert operations, although the original intent was only to authorize espionage. The CIA director was responsible for reporting on intelligence activities to Congress and the president.

Known to insiders as "The Agency" or "The Company," the CIA consisted of three directorates. The Directorate of Operations (DO) supervised official and nonofficial agents in conducting human intelligence collection, covert operations, and counterintelligence. The Directorate of Administration managed the CIA's daily administrative affairs and housed the Office of Security (OS). Created in 1952, the Directorate of Intelligence conducted research in intelligence sources and analysis of the results.

The CIA played a key role in the overthrow of allegedly radical governments in Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954. With the advice of CIA operative Edward G. Lansdale, Philippine Secretary of National Defense Ramon Magsaysay during 1950–1954 crushed the Hukbalahap uprising in his country. CIA agents in South Vietnam infiltrated the Michigan State University Advisory Group that trained police and administrators during 1955–1962 as a basis for nation building. In Laos, the CIA operated Air America and supported rightist politicians, while Donovan, who became U.S. ambassador to Thailand, organized Thai paramilitary units to fight communist forces in neighboring countries.

President John F. Kennedy lost confidence in the CIA after the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, which failed to oust Cuba's Fidel Castro in 1961. The CIA nonetheless continued to devise imaginative but somewhat improbable schemes to assassinate or discredit Castro, efforts suspended during the Cuban Missile Crisis. In 1961, however, a Soviet military intelligence (GRU) officer began providing the CIA with information on Soviet strategic capabilities, nuclear targeting policies, and medium-range ballistic missiles that would prove critical in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. The CIA also penetrated the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry and General Staff, the GRU, and the KGB. But its covert activities—especially its operations to kill Castro and its involvement in the murders of South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem and later the Congo's Patrice Lumumba—soon caused much of the world community to view the agency as a sinister force.

As direct U.S. military action in Indochina grew, covert operations became less important, but by 1968, they witnessed a resurgence in the Phoenix Program that called for assassination of communist operatives. Debate continues over CIA involvement in the 1970 coup in Cambodia but not on its role in ousting Chile's Salvador Allende in 1973.

In 1975 public revelations of CIA assassination plots and an illegal operation to spy on U.S. citizens protesting the Vietnam War led to the creation of the President's Intelligence Oversight Board as well as an Intelligence Committee in each house of Congress. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter increased oversight of the CIA and reduced its budget but reversed course after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the CIA had failed to predict the 1979 rebellion overthrowing Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran.

During the presidency of Ronald Reagan, the CIA used its renewed power and clout to undermine communist regimes worldwide, providing support for Afghan rebel forces that included Osama bin Laden. Ignoring statutory limits, the CIA also participated in the secret sale of arms to Iran and used the proceeds to fund covert actions against

Nicaragua's leftist government. In 1991 Congress passed a new oversight law to prevent another Iran-Contra Affair.

In 1991, the CIA correctly forecast a coup against Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. But the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union beginning in August 1991 came as a complete surprise. Two-and-a-half years later, in February 1994, the arrest of agent Aldrich H. Ames for selling secrets for many years to the Soviets and compromising operatives provided critics with more evidence to back charges that the CIA had prolonged rather than helped to win the Cold War.

The CIA's failure to predict the 9/11 attacks and indications that it allowed itself to be politicized led to the creation of a Director of National Intelligence, whose job is to centralize all U.S. intelligence activities.

James I. Matray

SEE ALSO Bay of Pigs; Cuban Missile Crisis; Freedom of Information Act; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; U-2 Incident

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Chambers, Whittaker

Whittaker Chambers, U.S. communist, editor, writer, and informant, became one of the most notorious figures in the early Cold War. Born Vivian Jay Chambers on April 1, 1901 in Philadelphia, Whittaker Chambers graduated from high school in 1919, attended but was expelled from Columbia University in 1922, and joined the U.S. Communist Party in 1925. He spent 13 years in the party, writing for and editing its periodicals. Beginning in 1932, he worked in the party's underground apparatus under various aliases as a courier for a Soviet intelligence network within the U.S. government.

Appalled by Josef Stalin's notorious political purges, Chambers defected from the Communist Party in April 1938. Like many apostates, he veered sharply to the right; by the time he joined the staff of *Time* magazine 12 months later, he was an ardent

anticommunist. In September 1939, he outlined to Adolf Berle, an assistant secretary of state, his allegations about communist espionage in Washington and implicated eight individuals, including prominent State Department official Alger Hiss.

The country divided deeply over the Chambers-Hiss contest. Republicans used the case to attack alleged Democratic laxity in identifying and pursuing communist sympathizers in government. Others saw Chambers as a puppet for Republicans desperate to reclaim the White House and Congress. In some ways, the case represented a cultural divide, with Chambers the product of poverty and a broken home, and Hiss a beneficiary of a blue-blood background.

During the deepening Cold War and as anticommunist activity in the United States grew more intense, Chambers appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). On August 3, 1948, Chambers publicly identified Hiss as a communist. In a protracted, controversial, and highly publicized series of hearings and trials, Chambers leveled explicit charges of perjury and implicit charges of Soviet espionage against Hiss, who vehemently denied the allegations. Chambers appeared before HUAC and the various courts fourteen times, attempted suicide once, and lost his job at *Time*.

After the hearings were over and Hiss was convicted and imprisoned for perjury, Chambers drifted, became a Quaker, and wrote his compelling autobiography, *Witness*. Before his death on July 9, 1961 near Westminster, Maryland, Chambers worked for William Buckley's conservative *National Review*. In 1984, President Ronald Reagan, himself influenced by *Witness*, posthumously awarded Chambers the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Phillip Deery

SEE ALSO Hiss, Alger; Luce, Henry; McCarthy, Joseph; Nixon, Richard

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China Lobby

In the wake of a series of Cold War setbacks in the late 1940s and 1950s, the U.S. China Lobby sought explanations for the loss of China to the Communists in 1949. Operating partly out of a sense that a special relationship had existed between the United States and China, the desire to maintain access to the China market, and the belief that the Nationalist Government had been abandoned by the Truman administration, the China Lobby fought to support the exiled Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan and to prevent normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China.

U.S. interest in China, especially as a trade partner, dates back to the end of the Revolutionary War, when U.S. merchants and traders began to take an active role in the China trade. They were swiftly followed by U.S. missionaries who saw China as a fertile ground for their activities. The signing of the Treaty of Wangxia in 1844 formalized trading privileges for Americans in China and also provided for missionary rights. For much of the rest of the 19th century, the United States would be concerned primarily with protecting its access to the China market.

The potential of China as a dumping ground for excess industrial production and the emergence of the United States as a colonial power at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War elevated U.S. interest in China in the 1890s. Despite the efforts of various interest groups, however, U.S. China policy usually was relegated to secondary importance. The China market never reached its anticipated potential, and U.S. exports to China failed to match those sent to Europe or the markets of the Western Hemisphere. Nonetheless, many Americans believed that the United States enjoyed a special relationship with the Chinese, and thought that the United States had played a critical role in preserving Chinese independence by serving as China's guardian against European and Japanese imperialism.

As World War II ended, President Franklin D. Roosevelt held the expectation that China would play a role as one of the "four policemen" who would assume primary responsibility for maintaining peace in the postwar world. However, the Chinese communist takeover in 1949 and the subsequent Sino-Soviet alliance announced in February 1950 changed U.S. thoughts regarding China. China's fall to communism meant the loss of access to the potentially lucrative China market. The Chinese communist victory also led to charges by critics of President Truman that his administration had lost China to the international communist conspiracy. Publisher Henry Luce, a longtime supporter of Chiang Kai-shek, added his voice to the China Lobby, asking why the Truman administration had stopped supplying Chiang with weapons after the failure of the Marshall Mission in 1946. The State Department came under particular scrutiny, including a Senate investigation by the Tydings Committee, a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which failed to prove allegations that communist spies were at work within the department. Even so, the sense that China had somehow been lost because of communist sympathizers in the government and academia helped fuel McCarthyism and the "Red Scare" of the 1950s. Many "China hands" left the State Department as a result of the Red Scare, depriving the government of its best minds on China for some time to come. Congressional Republicans introduced a series of bills to provide aid for Chiang's exiled government. Battle lines were also drawn over the question of recognizing the new People's Republic of China or treating the exiled Nationalists as the legitimate government of China.

The outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, followed by Chinese intervention in the conflict in late November of that same year, only added fuel to the fire. Several Republicans, notably Senators Joseph McCarthy and Robert Taft, continued to hammer on the foreign policy failures of the Truman administration. McCarthy insisted that the Department of State was riddled with Communists, attacked foreign service officers who had been in China, and demanded to know "who lost China."

The Eisenhower administration was able to control Congress more successfully than Truman had, and this reduced the influence of the China Lobby to some extent. However, even Eisenhower had to be careful. The Committee of One Million, formed during this time, became a well-financed lobbying organization that worked to support Chiang Kai-shek's government-in-exile and to assure that there would never be any U.S. dealings with mainland China as long as it was under communist control. The group attracted conservative Republicans such as William Knowland, as well as liberal Democrats like Hubert H. Humphrey. The committee's efforts contributed to U.S. recognition of the Taiwan-based Republic of China as the legitimate government of China until 1972, when President Richard M. Nixon opened a dialogue with the People's Republic of China. Formal U.S. recognition of Communist China came in 1979 during the Carter administration.

A. Gregory Moore

SEE ALSO Acheson, Dean Gooderham; Luce, Henry; Nixon, Richard

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Cuban Missile Crisis

This international crisis was the closest that the two Cold War superpowers came to full-scale nuclear war. In 1959, an indigenous revolutionary movement led by Fidel Castro seized power from Fulgencio Batista, a U.S. client who since 1933 had been dictator of Cuba, less than a hundred miles from the U.S. coast. Although Castro initially declared that he was not a communist, U.S. economic pressure and boycotts quickly gave him an excuse to move openly into the Soviet camp.

Despite claims of a missile gap between the Soviet Union and the United States by presidential candidate John Kennedy, in practice the strategic missile imbalance greatly



The Soviet Union's installation of medium range nuclear missiles in Cuba, shown in this photograph, set off one of the most dangerous confrontations of the Cold War. During 13 days in October 1962, President John Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev stepped to, and then back from, the brink of nuclear war. (U.S. Air Force)

avored the United States, which had at least eight times as many nuclear warheads as its rival. The recent U.S. deployment of 15 intermediate-range missiles in Turkey, directly threatening Soviet territory, further angered Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist Party's general secretary, making him eager to redress the balance. Early in 1962, Khrushchev offered Soviet nuclear missiles, under the control of Soviet technicians and troops, to Castro, who accepted and oversaw their secret installation. The Bay of Pigs fiasco, followed by Khrushchev's June 1961 summit meeting with Kennedy at Vienna, apparently convinced the Soviet leader that Kennedy was weak and would be easily intimidated.

When the president learned on October 16, 1962 of the presence of the missiles, he summoned a secret Executive Committee of 18 top advisors. It would have been almost impossible for any U.S. president to accept the situation. The U.S. military calculated that the missiles would increase Soviet nuclear striking force against the continental United States by 50 percent. Kennedy, however, viewed the missiles less as a genuine military threat than as a test of his credibility and leadership. The U.S. military initially favored launching air strikes to destroy the missile installations, a course of action that would almost certainly have killed substantial numbers of Soviet troops, was

unlikely to eliminate all the missiles, and might well have provoked full-scale nuclear war. So might another option, that of invasion by U.S. ground forces. Eventually, on October 22, Kennedy publicly announced the presence of the missiles in Cuba, demanded that the Soviet Union remove them, and announced the imposition of a naval blockade around the island.

Several tense days ensued. On October 27 Soviet antiaircraft batteries on Cuba shot down—apparently without specific authorization from Kremlin leaders, whom this episode greatly alarmed—a U.S. U-2 reconnaissance aircraft. Seeking to avoid further escalation of the crisis, Kennedy refused to retaliate militarily. After some hesitation, Khrushchev acquiesced in the removal of the missiles, once his ambassador in Washington, Anatoly Dobrynin, secretly obtained a pledge from Robert Kennedy that his brother would shortly remove the missiles in Turkey. Provided that the Soviet missiles were removed and not replaced, the United States also promised not to mount another invasion of Cuba.

The Cuban Missile Crisis had a sobering impact on its protagonists. Humiliation at U.S. hands compelled Soviet leaders to undertake an expensive major nuclear buildup to achieve parity with the United States, reaching this in 1970. Khrushchev's fall from power in 1964 was probably at least partly due to the missile crisis. The crisis exerted a maturing effect on Kennedy, making him a strong advocate of disarmament in the final months before his death. His stance compelled the Soviet leadership to establish a hot-line between Moscow and Washington to facilitate communications and ease tensions during international crises. The two powers also finally reached agreement in 1963 on the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), which halted nuclear testing in the atmosphere, under water, and in space.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO Acheson, Dean Gooderham; Bay of Pigs; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald

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Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the chief domestic law enforcement and intelligence-gathering agency of the federal government of the United States. The FBI originated in 1908 when a group of special agents in the U.S. Department of Justice was organized to investigate federal crimes. These agents became prominent during the First Red Scare (1919–1921) that followed World War I and played an important role in identifying and arresting scores of Americans—mostly resident aliens—for alleged subversive and communist activities. At the same time, the First Red Scare brought to the fore a young and ambitious law enforcement bureaucrat by the name of J. Edgar Hoover, who would lead the special agent division beginning in 1924 and went on to serve as director of the FBI until 1972, acting as head of domestic U.S. law enforcement for 48 years.

During the 1930s, Hoover worked diligently to professionalize FBI agents, many of whom were trained as attorneys and accountants rather than detectives or policemen. Hoover's enforcement of Prohibition until it was nullified in 1933 and the FBI's apprehension of several high-profile criminals in the 1930s lent him and the agency an air of invincibility and respect. They also allowed Hoover entrée to the highest levels of power in the U.S. government. It was not at all unusual, in fact, for Hoover to meet with the president on a regular basis.

World War II and the early Cold War brought dramatic expansions in the FBI's personnel and operating costs. During 1936–1945, the number of FBI agents grew from approximately 600 to nearly 4,900. To maintain a sizable postwar force and budget for the FBI, Hoover contended that the Cold War confronted the United States not only with the external threat of a Soviet attack but also with an internal threat of communist subversion. The advent of McCarthyism only added to the urgency of Hoover's exaggerated warnings. By 1952, the FBI had more than 7,000 agents.

The FBI investigated federal employees suspected of belonging to or supporting the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA), in addition to many other citizens who were neither members of the Communist Party nor connected to it in any way. To counter the alleged domestic Red menace, FBI agents sometimes engaged in illegal activities, many of them conceived and authorized by Hoover, including break-ins, use of secret listening devices, mail searches, and the leaking of confidential information about subjects under surveillance to the press and congressional representatives, such as members of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

In 1956, the FBI launched a counterintelligence program, known as COINTELPRO, to infiltrate and sabotage organizations that Hoover regarded as national security threats. Although in the 1960s the FBI did investigate certain right-wing associations such as the Ku Klux Klan, it chiefly targeted a wide array of liberal and left-wing groups and individuals, including civil rights organizations, free speech advocates, Vietnam War protesters, black nationalists, women's rights activists, and student radicals. Hoover believed that such individuals and groups aided communist subversion by destabilizing and attempting to destroy U.S. society. One of COINTELPRO's most notorious cases was the clandestine surveillance and harassment of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. Hoover discontinued COINTELPRO in 1971.

Over the years, Hoover helped cultivate popular support for the FBI by encouraging favorable portrayals of agents in the press and in literature, film, and television. But in the Watergate era of the mid-1970s, many of the FBI's abuses of power came to light through citizens' activism, the news media, and the 1975 U.S. Senate investigations of the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Americans were shocked to learn of decades of surveillance of millions of U.S. citizens deemed subversive, thereby denying them their constitutional rights. They also discovered that both Democratic and Republican presidents, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, had used the FBI to investigate critics of their administrations. Detractors of the FBI charged that Hoover's obsession with communists and alleged communist sympathizers had resulted in the FBI violating the rights of the citizenry it was supposed to protect. Hoover died in 1972 and was succeeded by a host of directors, none of whom proved to be as tenacious or controversial as he. After Hoover's death, subsequent directors worked to purge the FBI of the excesses of the Hoover era.

Donna Alvah and John H. Barnhill

SEE ALSO Central Intelligence Agency; Freedom of Information Act; House Un-American Activities Committee; McCarthy, Joseph; Nixon, Richard; Watergate

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Film (Cold War)

Throughout the Cold War, the grand ideological struggle between communism and capitalism raged with particular intensity in motion pictures. During this period, several national cinemas came to challenge Hollywood's dominance. In particular, post-war Italian, French, British, and Swedish films added significant artistic touches to the Cold War film genre. While U.S. films tended toward stereotyping and even mild anticommunist hysteria in the late 1940s and early 1950s, West European films took a more nuanced and introspective look at the times. Most East European films suffered from heavy censorship, with a few notable exceptions.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) shook the U.S. film industry. There were genuine concerns at the time that communists had infiltrated the industry, and congressmen seeking the political limelight found Hollywood to be a perfect foil. Screenwriters in particular had been notably leftist in their sentiments, and some actors had flirted with the Communist Party in the 1930s. A blacklist of writers, directors, and actors soon developed. The careers of many who found themselves on the list were derailed for a decade or more, and others never found high-profile work again.



As had earlier American conflicts, the Cold War provided material for feature films. However, some of those films took a more critical tone than in previous wars. One of the best examples is Stanley Kubrick's satirical *Dr. Strangelove*, released in 1964. Here, Air Force pilot Major T.J. "King" Kong, played by Slim Pickens, prepares to ride a nuclear bomb to its target. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Blacklisting has been the theme of several movies. *The Front* (1976) featured comedian Woody Allen as a saloon cashier and numbers runner drafted by an old school friend to serve as a front for several blacklisted television writers. In a later film, *Majestic* (2001), actor Jim Carey played a blacklisted screenwriter suffering from that old radio soap opera affliction, amnesia.

Before World War II, Russians had been portrayed with something akin to veiled admiration as people willing to make sacrifices for the greater good of their homeland. During the Cold War, however, Russians appeared on screen either as sinister figures intent on forcing communism upon the world or as political prisoners through accidents of birth.

Comedic films were generally more sympathetic to Russians than were dramatic ones. *The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming* (1966) was a lighthearted farce about a Soviet submarine that ran aground on U.S. soil. After a period of initial suspicion, the Russians gain the affections of the locals by rescuing a child dangling precariously from a church steeple.

In the early Cold War period, Hollywood produced several openly propagandistic films designed to persuade Americans to view the Soviet Union as a menacing threat instead of a former wartime ally. *The Iron Curtain* (1948), based loosely on the memoirs of a Soviet dissenter, unconvincingly featured Dana Andrews and Gene Tierney as struggling Russians. *The Red Menace* (1949) engaged in crude propaganda and hyperbole.

Screenwriters and directors exploited every film genre. By its very nature, the Western was a forceful declaration of rugged individualism, self-reliance, and the American Way. In film noir, sinister communists replaced gangsters, and double agents took the place of the private eyes who had previously darkened film noir alleys and back streets. Horror films replaced Frankenstein, werewolves, and Dracula with mad nuclear scientists. Espionage became a chief subject for screen thrillers, and science fiction films often featured atomically mutated monsters and alien invaders who represented either internal or external communist subversion.

During the Cold War, several science fiction films highlighted fears of the atomic age. In *Them* (1954), exposure to atomic radiation creates giant ants that threaten the human race. *It Came from Outer Space* (1951) showcased well-meaning Martian visitors horrified by the human propensity for violence. *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), the most durable of these films, featured a wise interplanetary visitor arriving as a peace missionary to Earth.

Closely related to science fiction were apocalyptic films. *On the Beach* (1959) told a chilling tale of a group of Australians awaiting the deadly fallout from nuclear war that had already exterminated the rest of the world. Stanley Kubrick's outrageous dark comedy *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) is the recognized masterpiece of apocalyptic Cold War films. Its veiled caricatures of Henry Kissinger, Edward Teller, and Werner von Braun are no doubt overdone, although audiences savored the performances of Peter Sellers, George C. Scott, and Keenan Wynn in roles influenced by the clash of military, political, and scientific personalities.

The Cold War proved an effective subject for pure thrillers. In *From Russia with Love* (1963), James Bond dealt with Russian villains and sensual yet sneaky Russian women. *Gorky Park* (1983) was a convoluted tale of murder and collusion between U.S. criminals and the KGB. In *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962), a taut political thriller, a Korean War veteran is cleverly brainwashed by communists and programmed to kill on command so that his buffoonish stepfather, a caricature of Joseph McCarthy, can take over the U.S. government.

The cinematic scene in Cold War Europe was markedly different from that in the United States. Postwar Italian movies gained distinction by adopting a documentary-like neorealism in pictures such as *Rome Open City* (1945) and *Umberto D.* (1952) that were filmed in demolished cities or among the haunts of societal loners and the poor. French cinema of the time devoted itself mainly to juxtaposing human relationships against changing moral codes and social conditions. Greatly influenced by the film noir sensibility of U.S. B movies from the 1930s and 1940s, the so-called New Wave directors such as François Truffaut introduced heavy doses of existentialism into their movies. During the 1950s and early 1960s, British movies were chiefly noted for their distinctive comedies, Hammer Studio horror films, and a British New Wave.

The Russians had always been celebrated for their cinematic feats, but the heavy hand of state censorship loomed large. Sergei Eisenstein, one of the great geniuses of film history, was forced to suppress his *Ivan the Terrible, Part II* (1958) until after Stalin's death in 1953. The Soviet government tended to demand patriotic films or narratives that faithfully followed the principles of so-called socialist realism.

Allene Phy-Olsen

SEE ALSO Blacklists; Grenada Invasion; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; McCarthy, Joseph; Literature (Cold war); Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty; *See It Now*

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Freedom of Information Act

The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) marked a reaction to the growing inclination and power of the Executive Branch of the federal government to withhold information from the public. Signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on September 6, 1966, the FOIA created processes by which citizens could request the partial or full disclosure of documents generated and held by the Executive Branch. However, the original law contained a number of exemptions that allowed the government wide latitude in deciding what was and was not subject to release, and these exemptions have been the source of most of the controversy surrounding the FOIA.

Since its original enactment, the FOIA has undergone a number of amendments, reflecting changing political and social concerns. For example, the Privacy Act amendments of 1974 gave individuals the right to examine and correct information held by Executive Branch agencies. This change in the FOIA came in reaction to disclosures of domestic intelligence-gathering operations conducted by the Nixon Administration. In 1982, a renewed Cold War moved President Ronald Reagan to issue an executive order that greatly expanded the ability of federal agencies to withhold information under Exemption 1 of the original act, which dealt with national security issues. In his second term, President Bill Clinton rescinded much of the Reagan Administration's tightening of FOIA, leading to the declassification of thousands of documents of interest to historians of the post-World War II United States.

The Global War on Terror has inspired its own series of changes to the FOIA. For example, just weeks following the September 11, 2001 attacks, President George W. Bush issued an executive order severely limiting access to the records of former Presidents. The next year, Congress amended the Act yet again, this time restricting the ability of "other than U.S. parties" to use the FOIA. Shortly after entering office, President Barack Obama revoked his predecessor's order concerning Presidential records. However, in late 2009, President Obama issued another executive order providing for the retroactive classification of documents requested under FOIA if review concluded that the documents should have been secret.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Central Intelligence Agency; McMahon Act and Executive Order 10-290; Reagan, Ronald

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Government Control of Information. See McMahon Act and Executive Order 10-290

Grenada Invasion

The U.S. invasion of the Caribbean island nation of Grenada on October 25, 1983, code-named Operation URGENT FURY, was the culmination of increasing U.S.-Grenadian tensions that began when Maurice Bishop took power through a bloodless coup in March 1979. The operation also prompted a re-examination of U.S. government information policies.

Bishop, a Marxist, pursued close relations with the Soviets and Cubans. President Ronald Reagan believed that Bishop's policies marked increasing communist penetration of Latin America. A Cuban construction project in Grenada involving a 9,000-foot runway caused U.S. policymakers to worry that the island was being prepared as a base that could interdict U.S. logistical routes in the region.

On October 12, 1983, a radical anti-U.S. component of the governing party staged a coup, eventually resulting in Bishop's execution. Following the coup, U.S.-Grenadian tensions grew, and U.S. officials became concerned about the status of the more than 1,000 U.S. citizens on the island, especially some 600 students attending the St. George's School of Medicine. The United States was sensitive to the potential of a hostage crisis, so planners emphasized the use of a relatively large force structure to ensure a quick and decisive victory. Diplomatic efforts continued, with the objective of gaining the release of U.S. citizens or, failing that, to build an alliance that would provide international support for military action.

The assault began in the early morning hours of October 25. The Marines encountered only slight resistance and pressed south past the original dividing line on the island. The Rangers and follow-on army forces faced determined opposition at the airfield but quickly overcame Cuban and Grenadian combatants and rescued the medical students from three campus locations, placing them on evacuation flights back to the United States.

Casualties in Operation URGENT FURY were relatively light: the U.S. military suffered 19 deaths and 116 wounded; Cuban forces saw 25 killed, 59 wounded, and 638 captured; and the Grenadian defense forces sustained 45 deaths and 358 wounded. Post-conflict analyses, however, pointed out serious problems with inter-service communications and compatibility because of technological glitches and differences in doctrine and training. Combined with issues raised during the failed April 1980 Iranian hostage rescue mission, the problems that were highlighted in Operation URGENT FURY contributed directly to the reorganization of the U.S. Department of Defense under the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act.

In its planning for the operation, the Reagan Administration had decided to bar news organizations from the invasion's initial stages. Many of the military planners for the Grenada operation had come of age during the Vietnam War and had adopted the assumption that a free-roaming press corps had misreported the story there. These planners thought that denying the press access would allow the administration to control the story. However, Grenada was a dramatic military and, with the medical students held hostage angle, human-interest story that was easily accessible from the United States.

News organizations deployed their full resources, creating logistical problems and professional tensions between soldiers and journalists, all of whom were trying to do their jobs. Without direct access, journalists began to seek out other, less manageable (from the government's viewpoint, at least) sources. Just as URGENT FURY prompted a reorganization of the Defense Department, the failed press policies resulted in the creation of the Sidle Commission, chaired by General Winant Sidle, who had served as head of military information in Vietnam. The Sidle Commission noted the responsibilities of both the press and the military, creating a pool arrangement for coverage of military operations that would be in place during the First Gulf War.

Jerome V. Martin

SEE ALSO Film (Cold War); Reagan, Ronald; Sidle Commission; Weinberger, Caspar

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Hiss, Alger

Hiss was a prominent figure in the U.S. foreign policy establishment in the years before, during, and immediately following World War II. When Hiss was charged by former communist Whittaker Chambers with having passed vital information to the Soviets, Hiss became lightning rod for political and cultural divisions within U.S. society.

Born on November 11, 1904 in Baltimore, Maryland, Hiss was educated at Johns Hopkins and Harvard universities. He joined the U.S. State Department in 1936. Among several important assignments, he was private secretary to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, secretary to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944), and among the U.S. delegation to the 1945 Yalta Conference. Hiss also served as secretary-general of the United Nations' (UN) organizing conference in San Francisco (1945–1946). In February 1947, with support from John Foster Dulles, Hiss became head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In August 1948 Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed ex-communist, accused Hiss of having been a member of the Communist Party in the 1930s and of having betrayed State Department secrets to the Soviets. Hiss strenuously denied the charges under oath. He was subsequently indicted by a grand jury for perjury, as the statute of limitations for treason had expired, and was bound over for trial, which resulted in a hung jury in

July 1949. Then, in a highly publicized retrial in January 1950, Hiss was found guilty and served 44 months in the Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary. He continued to assert his innocence and so too did a large and influential body of supporters, which precipitated one of the most intense and enigmatic debates of the entire Cold War.

Archival revelations in the 1990s, including those from Russian sources, vindicated neither Hiss nor his defenders. Historical evidence now seems to suggest that Hiss was indeed guilty of treason. The strange case of Alger Hiss was a defining episode not only in the Cold War but also in modern U.S. politics. It rallied conservatives, gave birth to the excesses of McCarthyism, and spotlighted Hiss's nemesis, the little-known California Congressman Richard M. Nixon, who would later go on to become a U.S. senator, vice president, and president. Hiss died on November 15, 1996 in New York City.

Phillip Deery

SEE ALSO Acheson, Dean Gooderham; Chambers, Whittaker; Luce, Henry; Nixon, Richard

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Hollywood 10. See Blacklisting

House Un-American Activities Committee

The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was formed to investigate communist activity in the United States during the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. HUAC targeted the entertainment industry, resulting in the blacklisting of several actors, writers, directors, and producers. In addition, HUAC's activities sparked the establishment of multiple committees with the same agenda, most notably a U.S. Senate subcommittee chaired by Senator Joseph McCarthy. These anticommunist activities waned in the 1950s as a result of charges of abuse of power and a sharp decline in public support.

Tension between the Soviet Union and the United States increased after World War II. Conservative members of the U.S. Congress and some private watchdog groups

launched a search for subversive activities in the United States. While the need to guard against espionage was legitimate, the excesses of the era led to many abuses. Congress had first formed the HUAC in 1938 to investigate New Deal programs. Beginning in 1947, however, the committee focused its anticommunist efforts on the entertainment industry, known for its liberalism. Many in the industry had become members of the U.S. Communist Party before the start of the Cold War.

HUAC was soon receiving national attention, especially in 1948, when 10 Hollywood screenwriters, producers, and directors refused to testify about their own activities and those of others. They cited the First and Fifth Amendments in their defense, but federal courts upheld the inquisitorial nature of the hearings. The result was an unofficial “blacklist”—a list of people studios would no longer hire. Actors Ronald Reagan, then president of the Screen Actors Guild, and John Wayne cooperated fully with HUAC. HUAC’s blacklist destroyed the careers of many talented people in the entertainment industry.

Two politicians also gained prominence through their anticommunist efforts, riding the wave of public anticommunist sentiment. Richard Nixon, then an obscure congressman, accused Alger Hiss, a prominent liberal Democrat, of espionage in 1948 and won the 1950 senatorial election in California with the “red-baiting” tactics that unjustly tarred his opponent, Helen Gahagan Douglas, as a communist sympathizer. This fear of communism reached a state of paranoia in the early 1950s with the beginning of the Korean War, and the phrase “red scare” was revived. McCarthy gained nation-wide attention in 1950 with a speech he gave in West Virginia, in which he charged that the State Department had been infiltrated by communists. This accusation set the agenda for his senatorial career—the dogged hunt of communists as chair of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The term McCarthyism entered the English language to describe charging someone of being disloyal to the government without evidence, or unethical investigative techniques.

A series of events in 1954 brought an end to many of the activities of HUAC and similar committees. President Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected, and McCarthy was charged with abuse of power after he began hunting for communists in the army. He was eventually censured by the Senate. HUAC’s activities also ended as abuses by the committee and others became known and as the United States’ participation in the Korean War ended.

Valerie Adams

SEE ALSO Blacklists; Federal Bureau of Investigation; Film (Cold War); Literature (Cold War); McCarthy, Joseph; Nixon, Richard

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Iran-Contra Affair

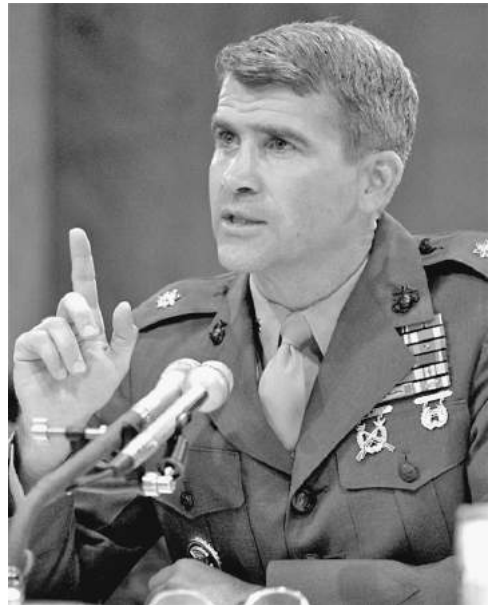
Iran-Contra was the linkage of two otherwise vastly different foreign policy problems that bedeviled the Reagan administration: how to secure the release of U.S. hostages held by Iranian-backed kidnappers in Lebanon and how to support the Contra rebels fighting against Nicaragua's Cuban-style Sandinista government. In both cases Reagan's public options were limited, for he had explicitly ruled out the possibility of negotiating with hostage takers, and Congress refused to allow military aid to be sent to the Contras.

In August 1985, Reagan approved a plan by National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane to sell more than 500 antitank missiles to Iran, via the Israelis, in exchange for the release of Americans held by terrorists in Lebanon. The deal went through, followed in November 1985 by a proposal to sell HAWK antiaircraft missiles to Iran. Colonel Oliver North, a decorated Marine attached to the National Security Council staff, was put in charge. Senior cabinet members, including Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, began to express reservations about this trade with Iran, for it was not only diametrically opposed to the administration's stated policy but was also illegal under U.S. and international law.

Nonetheless, Reagan continued to endorse arms shipments throughout 1986 and in all more than one hundred tons of missiles and spare parts were exported to Iran. The policy's success in hostage releases proved limited, however, because while some Americans were set free as acts of quid pro quo, others were quickly taken captive in their place.

Meanwhile, North had begun secretly funneling the funds from the missile sales to Swiss bank accounts owned by the Nicaraguan Contra rebels to fund training operations assisted by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). All this was in direct violation of the Second Boland Amendment of 1984, which specifically forbade the U.S. government from supporting any paramilitary group in Nicaragua.

On November 3, 1986, the affair became public when a Lebanese magazine revealed that the Americans had been selling missiles



Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North testifies before the joint House-Senate panels investigating the Iran-contra affair on Capitol Hill on July 7, 1987. North served as an aide to the National Security Council (NSC) during the Reagan administration and was a key figure in the Iran-contra scandal that erupted in 1986. (AP/Wide World Photos)

to the Iranians. Reagan denied any arms-for-hostages deal, and U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese was ordered to conduct an internal inquiry. North and his secretary, Fawn Hall, immediately began shredding incriminating documents, but on November 22 Meese's staff discovered material in North's office that linked the Iranian shipments directly to the Contras. On November 25, the Justice Department announced its preliminary findings to the press. North was fired, and National Security Advisor John Poindexter, who had replaced McFarlane, promptly resigned.

The following month, Reagan appointed an independent commission to investigate the affair. The commission's March 1987 report severely criticized the White House for failing to control its NSA subordinates, which led to the resignation of Regan. A subsequent congressional inquiry lambasted the president for failings of leadership but decided that he had not known about the transfers of money to the Contras.

In 1988, independent prosecutor Lawrence Walsh indicted North, Poindexter, and twelve other persons on a variety of felony counts. Eleven were convicted, but North and Poindexter were later acquitted on Fifth Amendment technicalities. At the end of his term in office in December 1992, President George H. W. Bush pardoned six other persons implicated in the Iran-Contra scandal, including Weinberger and McFarlane.

Alan Allport

SEE ALSO Reagan, Ronald; Weinberger, Caspar

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Iranian Hostage Crisis

The Iran Hostage Crisis was perhaps the gravest diplomatic standoff of the 1970s and became a symbol of U.S. decline and weakness in the post-Vietnam era. It crippled President Jimmy Carter's administration, led to a second energy crisis, and contributed to the election of Ronald Reagan as U.S. president in 1980.

Shah Pahlavi, re-installed in power in Iran by a CIA-backed coup in 1953, became the United States' greatest ally in the Middle East. The United States sold the Shah's government billions of dollars of weaponry in return for an Iranian pledge to keep its oil flowing and to prevent destabilization in the region. But the Shah's regime was riddled with cronyism and corruption. Opposition encountered a heavy-handed response.

The Shah's secular regime was also bent on Westernizing Iran, an Islamic nation. Such efforts did not sit well with conservative Islamic opponents.

In early January 1979, nationwide protests against the Shah forced him to flee the country. Islamic fundamentalists, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, began to stir up popular resentment against the United States. Khomeini's supporters began to act as the de facto government.

In October 1979, the Carter administration permitted the gravely ill Shah to come to the United States for medical treatment, sparking renewed anti-U.S. protests. On November 4, 1979, a mob of angry protesters stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran, took control of it, and held some 70 embassy workers hostage. The seizure of the embassy and the taking of hostages were deemed a gross violation of international law, as it is understood that a nation's foreign embassies are extensions of its national sovereignty.

Thirteen women and nonwhite hostages were released during November 19–20, and one more was released in July 1980 for health reasons. In return for the release of the remaining hostages, the Iranians demanded that the Shah be returned to Iran for trial, that the assets he took with him be immediately returned, and that the United States apologize for its meddling in Iranian affairs. The Carter administration refused the conditions, and a long stalemate ensued. Carter incited more anti-U.S. protests in Iran when he froze several billion dollars of Iranian assets and halted the importation of Iranian oil to the United States. The moratorium on Iranian oil drove gasoline and fuel oil prices to historic highs and wrecked an economy that was already teetering on the edge of a meltdown.

In April 1980, a secret operation to free the U.S. hostages ended in disaster when a helicopter developed engine problems in the Iranian desert and two military planes collided in the ensuing chaos, killing eight servicemen.

The aborted mission was made public and served only to deepen U.S. pessimism. As Americans placed yellow ribbons around trees in remembrance of the hostages, the 1980 presidential election swung into high gear. Republican nominee Ronald Reagan lambasted Carter's handling of the crisis and his foreign and domestic policies in general. Many Americans saw in Reagan an answer to the nation's emasculation. To his considerable credit, Carter chose to greatly limit his campaign appearances to give his undivided attention to the unfolding crisis. Reagan went on to win a relatively narrow victory in November 1980.

Perhaps fearful of what a new administration might do, the students seemed willing to bargain for the hostages' freedom. By early January 1981, Carter had reached an agreement whereby the U.S. hostages would be freed. The United States promised to return some \$8 billion in frozen Iranian assets and to lift trade sanctions against the country. Approximately 20 minutes after Reagan was sworn in as president, he announced that the hostages were free and on their way to a U.S. military base in West Germany. The long affair was over, but its impact on U.S. and international politics continues to play out to the present.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Reagan, Ronald

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Kissinger, Henry

As U.S. national security advisor (1969–1975) and secretary of state (1973–1977), Kissinger, together with President Richard Milhous Nixon, devised and implemented a major reorientation of U.S. foreign policy. Of German-Jewish extraction, Henry Alfred Kissinger was born on May 27, 1923 in Fürth, Germany. He left Adolf Hitler's Germany for New York in 1938 and became an U.S. citizen five years later. After serving in the U.S. Army, Kissinger became a professor of government at Harvard University, publishing his doctoral dissertation, *A World Restored* (1955), which focused particularly upon the Austrian Prince von Metternich, the architect of post-Napoleon stability in 19th century Europe, whom Kissinger saw as a model.

Kissinger's real ambitions lay in the practice, not the study, of international relations. He used his Harvard position to meet major political figures and served as an advisor to leading Republicans, including Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York and former Vice President Nixon. Kissinger's efforts won him only minor assignments under President John F. Kennedy, but when Nixon became president, he appointed Kissinger as his national security advisor. Kissinger greatly overshadowed William P. Rogers, nominal secretary of state until August 1973, when Kissinger succeeded him.

Kissinger's abilities included an immense capacity for hard work, a talent for grand designs and broad conceptualization, and the imagination to reformulate the international system to accommodate the relative weakness of the United States. He sought to de-emphasize ideology in favor of a balance of power and the pursuit of closer relations with communist People's Republic of China (PRC) and détente with the Soviet Union. This resulted in the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) I and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty that imposed limits on Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals and delivery systems; the 1975 Helsinki Accords that normalized relations between Eastern and Western Europe and created the permanent Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); and a rapprochement between communist China and the United States that Kissinger pioneered with a secret 1971 personal visit to Beijing. He also proved himself to be an excellent negotiator in complicated and protracted

shuttle diplomacy designed to resolve longstanding Arab-Israeli tensions and disputes after the October 1973 Yom Kippur War.

Kissinger's weaknesses included a penchant for secrecy and intrigue, enormous vanity, and overweening personal ambition; an overriding concern to maintain international stability that often led him to endorse brutal right- or left-wing regimes; and a focus on realism in foreign policy to the near exclusion of all considerations of morality. The latter was apparent in his involvement in the secret bombing of Cambodia in the early 1970s, an operation that Congress halted when it became public in 1973, and the 1970–1971 invasion of that country despite Nixon's promise when he took office to end the Vietnam War as soon as possible; acquiescence in a 1973 military coup that brought the death of left-wing president Salvador Allende of Chile; endorsement of Indonesia's military takeover of Portuguese East Timor in December 1975 and the brutal suppression of indigenous resistance there; and readiness to authorize wiretapping against U.S. bureaucrats suspected of leaking official information to the press.

Conservative Republicans found equally opprobrious Kissinger's willingness to accommodate the communist Soviet Union and the PRC. Under Nixon's successor, Gerald R. Ford, who became president in August 1974 when the Watergate scandal forced Nixon's resignation, both SALT I and the Helsinki Accords on Europe that Kissinger helped to negotiate with the Soviets became targets for attack by conservatives such as California governor and presidential hopeful Ronald W. Reagan. The fall of South Vietnam in April 1975, little more than two years after Kissinger had negotiated the Paris Peace Accords supposedly ending the war, also damaged his credibility.

Upon leaving government, Kissinger established an influential business consultancy firm. He continued to provide unofficial advice to successive administrations, wrote and spoke extensively on international affairs, and published three weighty volumes of memoirs.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO Cambodia; Nixon, Richard; Watergate

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Literature (Cold War)

The Cold War was fought on the literary as well as the diplomatic and political fronts. Although it did not provide so immediately absorbing subject matter as did the two world wars, it created a tense, competitive environment in which all thoughtful writers operated. Sometimes openly but often by parable or indirection, serious writers confronted the social, political, and philosophical issues raised by the conflict, which eventually split the world into two opposing ideological camps.

Many works reflected or shaped Cold War thinking. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1947), by George Orwell, was widely interpreted as a vision of what the West would become if dominated by the Soviet Union. *The God That Failed* was a collection of essays by important novelists, poets, and journalists whose earlier ideals had been betrayed by the reality of what the Soviet Union had become.

Genre fiction most directly exploited the Cold War. Spy thrillers became a staple, expertly penned by Graham Greene, Ian Fleming, John Le Carré, Tom Clancy, and others. Science fiction became the most popular literary category during the Cold War, particularly after paperbacks became widely distributed. Hundreds of paperbacks were published each year, some predicting dystopian futures in which tyranny would prevail. Others painted a horrifying panorama of a planet devastated by a Cold War turned hot in a thermonuclear disaster, such as Neville Shute's *On the Beach* and Walter Miller's *A Canticle for Leibowitz*.

Although writers in the English language have most notably confronted the Cold War in their fiction, European literature has also been strongly conditioned by the events of the period, often struggling with Cold War issues on a philosophical or religious plane. In France, Jean-Paul Sartre, highly sympathetic to Marxism although frequently critical of the Soviet Union, best represented the atheistic position. Espousing Christianity even in a France often labeled “post-Christian” were writers such as Georges Bernanos, François Mauriac, and Julian Green, a U.S. citizen who spent most of his life in France and wrote almost exclusively in the French language. In Italy, Alberto Moravia, an influential intellect tormented by the plight of the poor, skeptical of Christian solutions, and alert to the appeal that the Communist Party made to postwar Italians, became the best known of his country's novelists throughout Europe and the United States.

Russian writers faced very different problems than their Western counterparts. Soviet writers had to concern themselves with pleasing their government and following the party line or else circulating their manuscripts through a flourishing Russian underground. Ilya Ehrenburg and Mikhail Sholokhov, who became the Nobel laureate of 1965, were both acclaimed as obedient communists as well as powerful writers. Two serious Russian writers came into open conflict with their government when they were awarded Nobel Prizes. In 1958, Boris Pasternak was coerced by his government into refusing the prize, which was awarded to him not only for a distinguished body of poetry but also for his masterpiece *Doctor Zhivago*. In 1970, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was awarded the Nobel Prize. His writings—fictionalizations of personal experiences—had

exposed the underside of Soviet life, the ruthlessness of the prison camps, and the injustice of the courts. *The Gulag Archipelago*, which began publication in Paris in 1973, was considered his most thorough exposé of the notorious Soviet prison and labor camps.

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the Cold War conditioned both serious and popular literature. The unsettled quality of life and the fears generated by the reality of mutual assured destruction (MAD) may be easily discerned in the novels of several decades, although the conflict failed to call forth the epic writing that has always resulted from the world's great armed conflicts.

Allene Phy-Olsen

SEE ALSO Blacklists; Film (Cold War); House Un-American Activities Committee; McCarthy, Joseph; Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty

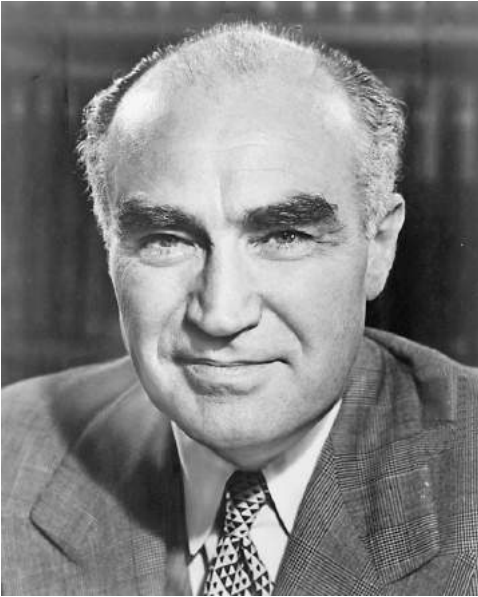
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Luce, Henry

U.S. publishing magnate, influential opinion-maker, and prominent internationalist, Luce was one of the most important media figures of the 20th century. Born on April 3, 1898 in Dengzhou, Shantung Province, China, the son of a Presbyterian missionary, Henry Luce enrolled at the elite Hotchkiss Preparatory School in Connecticut, graduated from Yale University in 1920, and studied at Oxford during 1920–1921. A brilliant student, he edited Yale's newspaper with fellow publishing enthusiast Briton Hadden. In 1923, Hadden and Luce launched *Time* magazine, a weekly magazine that covered a wide range of topics from politics, economics, the arts, and science, which quickly became a major success. When Hadden died in 1928, Luce became head of the burgeoning publishing empire.

Luce married playwright and future Republican politician Clare Boothe in 1935. The next year he brought out *Life*, the first successful photojournalism magazine. Keenly attuned to popular trends, in 1954 he launched *Sports Illustrated*, appealing to Americans' love of entertainment sports.



Henry Luce, shown here in a 1950 photograph, used his power as founder, publisher, and editor of the media empire anchored by *Time* and *Life* magazines to advance a strongly anti-communist message. (Library of Congress)

influenced the U.S. public's perceptions of the larger world. In the 1920s and early 1930s he was attracted to fascism, and his magazines published admiring portrayals of Italy's Benito Mussolini and Spain's Francisco Franco. Later, however, Luce opposed the Axis powers. In an influential editorial titled "The American Century" in the February 1941 issue of *Life*, he called for U.S. entry into World War II and the need to accept global responsibilities.

Luce's strong anticommunism, devotion to the Republican Party, and youthful experiences in China shaped his support for Jiang Jieshi and the Chinese Nationalist cause. Jiang appeared on more *Time* magazine covers than any other world leader. Like the so-called China Lobby, Luce refused to recognize the 1949 success of the Chinese Revolution, and his enormous influence helped preclude any alternative U.S. policy toward China for a generation. In the 1950s and early 1960s, he promoted the Republic of Vietnam's (RVN, South Vietnam) president Ngo Dinh Diem as the United States's new democratic champion in Asia. Luce and his publications backed both the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Luce died on February 28, 1967 in Phoenix, Arizona.

Michael E. Donoghue

SEE ALSO Chambers, Whittaker; China Lobby; Hiss, Alger; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald

In the 1950s and early 1960s, especially prior to the full emergence of television news, Luce was perhaps the single most important media figure in the United States. Political figures ardently sought his favor, which was usually dispensed to Republican candidates. In the 1960 presidential election, both Republican Richard Nixon and Democrat John Kennedy courted Luce. Kennedy harbored no illusions about winning Luce's open support, but he did hope to at least cool Luce's support of Nixon. In the course of several meetings with Luce, Kennedy succeeded, aided in part by the patrician Luce's dislike of Nixon and by Kennedy's own charisma. Following one conversation with Kennedy, Luce said to an aide, "he seduces me—when I'm with him, I feel like a whore."

Luce believed that Americans knew too little about the outside world, so he emphasized international news coverage in many of his magazines. His pro-American, pro-capitalist reading of global events strongly

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Marshall Plan

In the wake of World War II, Europe experienced a severe economic crisis because of the crippling effects of nearly six years of war. The United States had attempted to promote European recovery through limited reconstruction loans, relief assistance, German war reparation transfers, and new multilateral currency and trade arrangements. By the winter of 1947, however, it was apparent that these piecemeal stabilization efforts were not working. Millions of West Europeans were unemployed, inflation and shortages were rampant, and malnutrition had become a widespread concern.

The growing economic troubles fed frustration, hopelessness, and despair. Many Europeans had begun to seek out political solutions to their troubles. Alienated from capitalism, some began turning to communism as an alternative. In France, Italy, and Germany, the crisis had eroded government support and lent credence to communist promises of economic stability. In Great Britain, serious financial woes forced policymakers to reduce international agreements that had helped resist the spread of communism. Only by eliminating the economic conditions that encouraged political extremism could European governments withstand the influence of communism, and nobody seemed to understand that better than the Americans.

First formally proposed by Secretary of State George Marshall on June 5, 1947 in a speech at Harvard University, the plan applied to all of Europe. Aid was not directed against communism specifically but was directed toward the elimination of dangerous economic conditions across all of Europe. President Harry S. Truman believed that the United States should not unilaterally devise a plan for recovery and force it upon the Europeans. Instead, the particular aid initiatives came from the Europeans and represented not a series of individual requests but rather a joint undertaking by all of the countries in need of U.S. assistance. In other words, the United States wanted a lasting cure for Europe's problem and not a mere quick fix. The U.S. role would be to assist in the drafting of a program and to support that program with U.S. resources.

The Soviet Union together with Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, and twelve other European nations gathered at the first planning conference, convened in Paris on June 27, 1947. Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov demanded that each country be allowed to fashion its own plan and present it to the United States. Georges Bidault and Ernest Bevin, the foreign ministers of France and Britain, respectively,

opposed Molotov. They stressed that the Marshall Plan had to be a continent-wide program in order to take advantage of the economies of the continent as a whole. As the United States had predicted, the Soviets quickly withdrew, denouncing the plan as an imperialist, anti-Soviet tool.

In response, they formed the Cominform on July 6, 1947 to help coordinate international propaganda aimed at torpedoing the plan. On July 12, 1947, the Soviet Union negotiated trade agreements with its communist satellites that diverted to Eastern Europe a substantial amount of trade that had previously gone to Western Europe. Finally, later that year, the Soviets proposed the Molotov Plan for East European recovery as an alternative to the Marshall Plan.

On March 15, 1948, the U.S. Senate endorsed the plan by a 69–17 vote after the House had approved it by a 329–74 margin but only allocated \$17 billion in aid. The fundamental way in which the Marshall Plan contributed to increased European productivity was by furnishing capital, food, raw materials, and machinery that would have been unavailable without U.S. help. Participating European governments sold U.S.-financed goods to their own people. The payments received were placed in special funds that were employed where they could best serve economic recovery and ensure financial stability. During 1948–1952, approximately \$13.5 billion in Marshall Plan aid went to the revitalization of Western Europe. By 1950, industrial production in Marshall Plan countries was 25 percent higher than 1938 levels, while agricultural output had risen 14 percent from the prewar level.

The Marshall Plan also advanced European unification and integration. The West Europeans removed a number of economic barriers and established subregional agreements such as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The success of the Marshall Plan ultimately paved the way for the establishment of the Common Market in 1958.

Caryn E. Neumann

SEE ALSO Acheson, Dean Gooderham; Berlin Blockade and Airlift; Truman Doctrine

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McCarthy, Joseph

McCarthy, a U.S. Republican politician and junior senator from Wisconsin from 1947 to 1957, was one of the most prominent exploiters and instigators of the anticommunist Red Scare phenomenon in the early 1950s that would come to bear his name, McCarthyism. Born on November 15, 1908 in Grand Chute, Wisconsin, the son of a dairy farmer, Joseph McCarthy in 1935 earned a law degree from Marquette University and was admitted to the bar that same year. This legal training was, however, simply a gateway to a career in politics.

In 1939, McCarthy won election to a Wisconsin circuit judgeship in a campaign that introduced all the ugly characteristics of his later public battles. He falsely portrayed his opponent and incumbent officeholder Edgar Werner as senile and corrupt. With the outbreak of World War II, McCarthy enlisted in the Marine Corps. He performed competent but unexceptional work as an intelligence officer in the Pacific theater, a role that he later embellished to include fictionalized bombing raids against strongly defended Japanese islands. "Tail-Gunner Joe," as he liked to be called, spun his fantasies so well



Senator Joe McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, took advantage of Cold War fears of communist subversion to unleash anti-communist witch hunts that lent his name to the era. McCarthy skillfully used the press, but his eventual downfall would be at the hands of the new medium of television, through the broadcasts of CBS newsman Edward R. Murrow and, most especially, ABC News' coverage of the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954. (Library of Congress)

that he was awarded, with dubious entitlement, the Distinguished Flying Cross. While still on active duty in 1944, he campaigned unsuccessfully in the Republican primary for one of Wisconsin's U.S. Senate seats, but two years later he made a successful challenge for the other seat in a barnstorming campaign across the state.

McCarthy's first few years in the Senate were under-whelming. In search of a cause that might win him power and celebrity, not to mention a second term, he latched onto the Red Scare investigations that were being popularized so theatrically by groups such as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). On February 7, 1950, McCarthy made a speech to a Republican women's group in Wheeling, West Virginia, in which he claimed, quite dramatically, to have a list of 205 officials in the U.S. State Department who were either communists or communist sympathizers. As with so many of McCarthy's allegations, the list was bogus, and the number of those suspected changed almost daily. Nonetheless, the effect was sensational. The press gave it extensive coverage, and the ploy turned the previously obscure senator into a household name.

McCarthy followed up his feat with a series of other lurid and spurious charges, often changing the details without explanation or apology when their hollowness became clear. He had mastered the use of the Big Lie, and before long, the term "McCarthyism" had become a byword for the sort of crude finger-pointing and false accusations at which its originator excelled.

The peak of McCarthy's career came in late 1952 when, after winning a landslide reelection, he was named chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittee on Investigations. This gave him a broad mandate to probe suspected communist infiltration of public offices and invested him and his chief counsel, Roy Cohn, with sweeping and sinister authority. However, hubris and overreach led quickly to disaster. In late 1953, McCarthy launched a major inquiry into alleged subversive activity in the U.S. Army, some of the hearings being nationally televised.

These led to the harassment and bullying of several high-ranking army officers. This proved too much for President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had long detested McCarthy personally but who had been up to that point too timid and wary of challenging him in public.

In April 1954, on Eisenhower's insistence, a 36-day televised hearing was held to investigate McCarthy's allegations. His uncouth behavior, bullying of witnesses, and long-winded speeches came across poorly on television, and his popularity plummeted, especially after a celebrated dressing-down by army counsel Joseph Welch on June 9. The furious attorney pointedly asked McCarthy, "Have you no sense of decency, sir?" By December 1954, McCarthy faced Senate censure for disreputable behavior, and his reputation speedily unraveled. He was also stripped of his committee assignments. His final unhappy years were spent in futile excoriation of the enemies and traitors whom he believed had undone him. McCarthy died of alcohol-related liver disease in Bethesda, Maryland, on May 2, 1957.

Alan Allport

SEE ALSO Blacklists; House Un-American Activities Committee; Nixon, Richard;
See It Now

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McMahon Act and Executive Order 10-290

One of the most important developments of the Cold War period was the growing impulse toward secrecy on the part of the U.S. government. The McMahon Act and Executive Order 10-290, enacted during the Truman Administration, are two of the most important early steps in the development of a wide-ranging apparatus to control information. While this effort to maintain state secrets had its roots in legitimate security concerns, the potential for misuse continues to be made clear on repeated occasions.

From the beginning of the Manhattan Project, the U.S. program to develop an atomic bomb, in 1942, the U.S. government sought to shroud the research in secrecy, not only from its enemies Germany and Japan, but also from its allies Great Britain and, especially, Russia. With the use of atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, followed by the Japanese surrender on September 2, 1945, U.S. military and political leaders began to debate how to handle atomic information. Some figures, such as former Secretary of War Henry Stimson and former Vice President Henry Wallace, argued that atomic power was too dangerous to be left in the hands of any single government, even the United States. Their ideas were bolstered by scientists such as J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientific director of the Manhattan Project, who said that the atomic secret was really no secret at all, and that other countries would be able to develop atomic weapons relatively quickly. On the other side, President Truman and senior military leaders came to believe that the United States could and should retain its monopoly over its “winning weapon” as long as possible.

Less than three weeks following the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, bills had been introduced in Congress to establish a system of controls over atomic information. The bill that emerged, known formally as the Atomic Energy Act, was commonly referred to as the McMahon Act, named for its chief sponsor, Senator Brien McMahon, Democrat from Connecticut and chair of the Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy. The McMahon Act, signed into law on August 1, 1946, created a civilian

Atomic Energy Commission to manage nuclear programs, much to the consternation of the military. The act also established a degree of information control unprecedented in U.S. history by creating an entirely new concept, known as “born secret.” Prior to the McMahon Act, information had to go through a process of being declared confidential or secret, hence the term “classified.” However, under this new concept, broad categories of information were presumed to be secret automatically, or from “birth.”

As the Cold War deepened with the development of a Russian atomic bomb, domestic spy scares, the victory of the communists in the Chinese Civil War, the outbreak of war in Korea, and various other crises, the belief that the United States had to safeguard any information that might remotely be of aid to the enemy deepened as well. In September 1951, President Truman dramatically enlarged the reach of government secrecy through Executive Order 10-290. This order extended authority to hundreds of Executive Branch employees the authority to restrict any document by declaring it “confidential,” “secret,” or “top secret,” and made it a crime for any federal employee to disclose such information.

Journalists and civil libertarians decried the order, rightly predicting that this “national security mentality” would lead to the extraordinary new powers for the Presidency, and would allow holders of the office to rationalize and conceal acts that had little to do with guarding information out of legitimate security concerns and more to do with serving the more narrow political or personal interests of public figures, especially those in the Executive Branch.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Freedom of Information Act; Iran-Contra Affair; Nixon, Richard

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Nitze, Paul

Prominent U.S. Cold War strategist and arms control negotiator, Nitze was a prime example of a core of individuals who moved easily between private enterprise and significant if not high-profile positions in the U.S. defense and diplomatic policymaking community during the Cold War.

Born on January 16, 1907 in Amherst, Massachusetts, the son of a college professor, Paul Nitze graduated from Harvard University in 1928. He then became an investment banker with Dillon, Read & Company on Wall Street. In 1940, he joined the firm's former vice president and future secretary of defense, James V. Forrestal, in government service in Washington. Nitze's first assignment was to help create the Selective Service Act. In 1942, he became head of the Metals and Minerals Branch of the Board of Economic Warfare, and at war's end, he was vice chairman of the Strategic Bombing Survey.

Nitze's greatest contribution to the Cold War occurred during his directorship of the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Staff (PPS), the department's internal think-tank. He was one of the first to suggest a massive U.S. aid program as essential to European recovery. Beginning in August 1949, he was deputy director of the PPS under George F. Kennan, assuming the top spot in January 1950 after Kennan's resignation. In this post, Nitze played a central role in the drafting of the National Security Council report NSC-68.

NSC-68 was a comprehensive, top-secret review of U.S. national security policy and was triggered in part by the Soviet's first atomic bomb explosion in September 1949. Truman had authorized the study in part to quiet critics who felt that he was not adequately aggressive in resisting Soviet aggression; Nitze agreed with the criticism. As director of the study, Nitze proved to be a masterful bureaucratic politician. Within the study, he created unacceptable extreme scenarios of continued acquiescence or preemptive war. These straw men were easily dismissed in favor of Nitze's recommendations, positioned as the moderate approach. Nitze also tightly controlled information about the study, leaking details judiciously in order to box in potential challengers.

The report was given to President Harry S. Truman in April 1950. Convinced that the Cold War was entering a dangerous new phase, NSC-68's authors called for a vast conventional and nuclear rearmament program to counteract perceived Soviet aggression. At first, Truman was wary of the massive defense buildup called for by the study, but the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korean) invasion of the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) changed Truman's thinking, as well as the political and diplomatic atmosphere. The report provided the blueprint for U.S. defense planning during the next 25 years.

Nitze left the State Department at the end of the Truman administration but nonetheless continued to play an active role in the development of U.S. Cold War policy, contributing to the 1957 Gaither Report that was critical of Eisenhower's New Look defense posture. The report was most notable for warning of a missile gap between the United States and the Soviet Union, an erroneous conclusion.

After advising President John F. Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Nitze became secretary of the navy in 1963. He served as deputy secretary of defense during 1967–1969 and assistant secretary of defense for international affairs during 1973–1976. Skeptical of détente, Nitze was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and was the principal U.S. negotiator in arms-control talks in Geneva (1981–1984). In an effort to break a deadlock over intermediate-range missiles in Europe, Nitze took a walk in the woods with Soviet Ambassador Yuli Kvitsinsky in

1982, resulting in a sweeping and unauthorized compromise that was rejected, however, by President Ronald Reagan. Nitze was the principal negotiator of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty of 1987, serving until his retirement from government service in 1989 as special advisor on arms control to Reagan.

A quintessential Cold Warrior, Nitze died in Washington, DC, on October 19, 2004.

Josh Ushay

SEE ALSO Acheson, Dean Gooderham; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Truman Doctrine

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Nixon, Richard

Nixon's broad strategic thinking, his evolution from quintessential Red-baiter to architect of détente, and his ultimate downfall as the Imperial President make Nixon perhaps the defining U.S. figure of the Cold War.

Born in Yorba Linda, California, on January 9, 1913, Nixon graduated from Duke Law School and then practiced law in Whittier, California, until 1942. During World War II he spent four years in the U.S. Navy, serving in the South Pacific and becoming a lieutenant commander. In 1946, he ran successfully for Congress as a Republican and in 1950 for a California Senate seat, races notable for his use of anticommunist smear tactics against his Democratic opponents. In 1952 Dwight D. Eisenhower selected Nixon as his running mate for the presidency, and Nixon spent eight years as vice president. In 1960 he narrowly lost the presidential race to John F. Kennedy. Eight years later Nixon was elected president on the Republican ticket.

As president, Nixon belied his earlier reputation as an uncompromising anticommunist, restructuring the international pattern of U.S. alliances by playing the China card and moving toward recognition of the communist People's Republic of China (PRC) while using the new Sino-American rapprochement to extract concessions on détente and arms control from the Soviet Union. In doing so, Nixon worked closely with his energetic national security advisor, Henry A. Kissinger, who also became Secretary of State in August 1973.

In 1968, the inability of the United States to achieve victory in the controversial Vietnam War, despite increasingly high deployments of troops, dominated the political

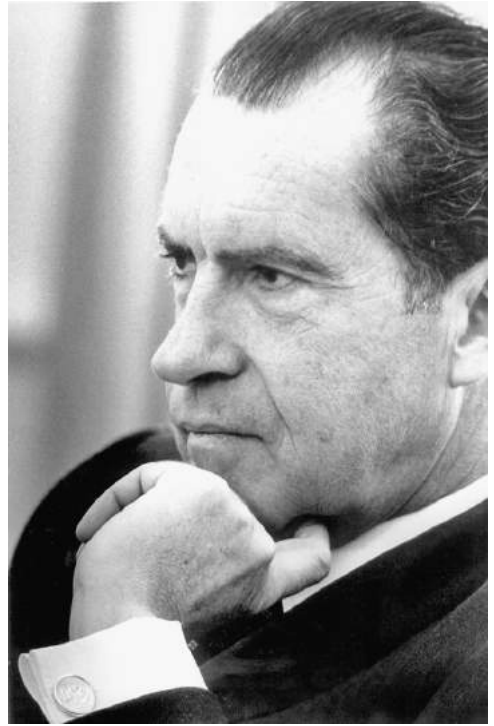
agenda. Nixon accelerated the program of Vietnamization, gradually withdrawing U.S. troops while providing Republic of Vietnam (RVN, South Vietnam) forces with massive amounts of war supplies. In August 1969, Kissinger embarked on negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV, North Vietnam). To win time for Vietnamization, Nixon ordered the secret bombing of Cambodia as well as a ground invasion of that country that helped bring the communist Khmer Rouge to power there later. At Christmas 1972, Nixon ordered a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam to pressure its leaders to accept a settlement.

U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam was only part of the broader strategic realignment that Nixon and Kissinger termed their Grand Design. The Nixon Doctrine, announced in July 1969, called upon U.S. allies to bear the primary burden of their own defense, looking to the United States only for supplementary conventional and, when necessary, nuclear assistance.

Conscious that growing economic difficulties mandated cuts in defense budgets, Nixon and Kissinger hoped to negotiate arms limitations agreements with the Soviet Union. To pressure the Soviets, whose relations with communist China had become deeply antagonistic by the early 1960s, Nixon began to reopen U.S. relations with China, visiting Beijing in 1972 and preparing to de-emphasize the long-standing U.S. commitment to the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan and recognize the communist People's Republic of China in its stead.

These tactics alarmed Soviet leaders and facilitated a relaxation of Soviet-U.S. tensions, broadly termed *détente*. At a May 1972 Moscow summit meeting, Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed two arms limitations treaties, jointly known as SALT I, that took effect the following October.

After winning a second presidential victory in 1972, Nixon hoped to move toward full recognition of the PRC and further arms control agreements. The outbreak of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973, however, diverted his administration's attention from these plans. The war precipitated an Arab oil embargo on Western states that followed



Richard Nixon was one of the most important figures in American diplomatic history. Having made his early reputation as a consummate Red-baiter, he would, as president, engineer *détente* with the Soviet Union and rapprochement with the People's Republic of China. However, his combination of hubris and insecurity would be his undoing, leading to his resignation on August 9, 1974 in the wake of the Watergate scandal. (National Archives)

pro-Israeli policies, contributing to an international spiral of skyrocketing inflation and high unemployment. Also, the Watergate political scandal, which led to Nixon's resignation in August 1974, aborted all his ambitions for further progress in overseas affairs.

Nixon devoted his final two decades to writing his memoirs and numerous works on international affairs, part of a broader and reasonably successful campaign to engineer his political rehabilitation and to win a respected place in history. In Nixon's final years, several presidents, Republican and Democrat, sought his insights on various international subjects, especially relations with the PRC and the Soviet Union. Nixon died in New York City on April 22, 1994.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO Chambers, Whittaker; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hiss, Alger; House Un-American Activities Committee; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Kissinger, Henry; Watergate

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Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty

Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL), U.S. government-sponsored international radio broadcasts, transmitted to communist nations and other authoritarian regimes. During the Cold War, they broadcast uncensored news and information to audiences in the Soviet bloc in an attempt to weaken communist control over information and to foster internal opposition. RFE broadcast to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania and, in the 1980s, to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. RL transmitted in Russian and some 15 other national languages of the Soviet Union.

Unlike other Western broadcasters, RFE and RL concentrated on developments within and about their target countries not covered by state-controlled domestic media. They

acted as surrogate home services, reporting on actions of the authorities and relaying views of dissidents and opposition movements. Notwithstanding repeated technical interference, broadcasts generally reached their intended audiences. Evidence of the impact of the broadcasts on the eventual collapse of the communist regimes has been corroborated in the testimony of leaders such as Czech President Václav Havel after 1989.

RFE and RL were conceived in 1949 by George F. Kennan of the U.S. Department of State and Frank G. Wisner, head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Office of Policy Coordination, as instruments to utilize Soviet and East European émigrés in support of U.S. foreign policy objectives. Founded as nonprofit corporations ostensibly supported with private funds, RFE and RL were in fact funded by the U.S. government through the CIA until 1972. The first official broadcast took place on July 4, 1950. RFE and RL initially adopted more confrontational editorial policies and used more aggressive language than other Western broadcasters. By the mid-1950s, however, as U.S. foreign policy toward the Soviet bloc became more conciliatory, the networks emphasized the need for liberalization and evolutionary system changes. In so doing, they broadcast news and information about domestic politics and economic issues, as well as cultural and historical traditions normally suppressed by communist authorities. Over time, the networks evolved into saturation home services, seeking large audiences by broadcasting almost around the clock and by incorporating programs on Western music, religion, science, sports, youth, and labor issues.

The networks also carefully monitored state-controlled print and electronic media and frequently interviewed travelers and defectors in field bureaus around the world. The networks cultivated ties with Western journalists and other visitors to communist countries and received information from regime opponents, often at great personal risk to the informants, within their target countries. This information was gathered to support broadcasts, but RFE and RL research reports also served many Western observers as their major source of information about the communist bloc.

RFE and RL programs were produced in Munich in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) and were broadcast via shortwave transmitters operating on multiple frequencies and high power to overcome jamming and other frequency-disruption tactics. The networks enjoyed substantial operational autonomy and were highly decentralized in function. Émigré broadcast service directors with intimate knowledge of their audiences were responsible for most broadcast content, within broad policy guidelines and under U.S. management oversight.

The communist authorities devoted major resources to countering RFE and RL broadcasts. In 1951, Soviet leader Josef Stalin personally ordered the establishment of local and long-distance jamming facilities to block Western broadcasts. Eastern bloc authorities also launched propaganda, diplomatic, and espionage campaigns intended to discredit the broadcasts. In addition, they jailed individuals providing information to either network. Ironically, the same authorities relied on secret transcripts of the broadcasts for information that they could not obtain from local media that they themselves controlled.

After 1971, direct CIA involvement in the networks ended, and they were then openly funded by congressional appropriation through the Board for International Broadcasting.

The network corporations were merged into a single entity, RFE/RL, Incorporated, in 1976.

The networks established intimate contact with their audiences during the 1970s and 1980s, when new waves of émigrés strengthened broadcast staffs and as dissidents and other regime opponents, emboldened by the Helsinki Final Act (1975), began to challenge the communist system. RFE and RL provided a “megaphone” through which independent figures, denied normal access to local media, could reach millions of their countrymen via uncensored writings. RFE and RL attracted large audiences and acted as the leading international broadcaster in many target countries. After the Velvet Revolution of 1989, many East European and Russian leaders testified to the importance of RFE and RL broadcasts in ending the Cold War. Operating today from Prague in the Czech Republic, RFE/RL broadcasts to the southern Balkans, most of the former Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq in support of democratic institutions and a transition to democracy.

A. Ross Johnson

SEE ALSO Active Measures Working Group; Soviet Active Measures

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Reagan, Ronald

Born on February 11, 1911 in Tampico, Illinois, Ronald Reagan graduated from Eureka College, worked as a sports announcer, and in 1937 won a Hollywood contract with Warner Brothers, eventually appearing in fifty-three movies. As president of the Screen Actors Guild during the late 1940s and early 1950s, the once-liberal Reagan purged alleged communists and veered strongly to the Right. His politics grew increasingly conservative in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

In 1966, the genial Reagan won the first of two terms as the Republican governor of California. During his campaign, he supported U.S. intervention in Vietnam and condemned student antiwar protesters. He soon became one of the leading figures of the increasingly powerful Republican Right, supporting deep cuts in taxes and domestic expenditures, high defense budgets, and a strong anti-communist international posture.

In 1980, when Reagan defeated Democratic incumbent President Jimmy Carter, the United States was suffering from spiraling inflation and high unemployment. In Iran, radical Muslims had overthrown Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in 1979, sending oil prices soaring, and for more than a year held U.S. diplomatic personnel hostage in

Tehran. An almost simultaneous Soviet-backed coup in Afghanistan intensified a sense of U.S. impotence. Reagan opposed compromise with communism. Convinced that a U.S. victory in the Cold War was attainable, the ever-optimistic Reagan used triumphalist, anti-Soviet rhetoric, famously terming the Soviet Union an “evil empire.”

Reagan purposefully engaged the Soviets in an arms race whereby he and his advisors hoped to break the Soviet economy. In 1982 and 1983, the president issued directives intended to deny the Soviets Western credits, currency, trade, and technology and to embargo Soviet exports of oil and natural gas to the West. In 1983, Reagan announced that the United States would begin research on an expensive new ballistic missile defense system, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), popularly known as “Star Wars,” to intercept and destroy incoming nuclear missiles.

Breaking with Carter’s policies, Reagan also deliberately de-emphasized human rights, consciously supporting dictatorships provided they were pro-American, while assailing human rights abuses within the Soviet sphere. Covert operations intensified as the United States offered support to anti-communist forces around the world. Efforts to overthrow the existing leftist Nicaraguan government included Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) mining of ports and harbors. When Congress responded by passing the Boland Amendment of 1984, forbidding funding for Nicaraguan covert actions, the Reagan administration embroiled itself in an ill-fated secret enterprise to sell arms to Iran and using the proceeds to aid the Nicaraguan Contras. Revelations of these illegal activities and his probable complicity in them embarrassed Reagan during his second term.

They did not, however, compromise Reagan’s ability to reach unprecedented new understandings with the Soviet Union. Notwithstanding his bellicose rhetoric, in practice Reagan was pragmatic and cautious. In potentially difficult guerrilla settings, his administration favored covert operations, preferably undertaken by surrogates such as the Afghan mujahideen or the Nicaraguan Contras, over outright military intervention. Wars were kept short and easily winnable, as in the small Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983 when U.S. troops liberated the island from Marxist rule.

Nor did Reagan shun the People’s Republic of China (PRC) or restore U.S. relations with the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan). In 1982 the Reagan administration reached an understanding with China on Taiwan, after which the Chinese gave some support to the Afghan rebels. Sino-American trade increased, and Reagan made a 1984 state visit to Beijing. By 1984, domestic politics suggested that the president moderate his anti-Soviet line. He faced a reelection campaign against a liberal opponent, Walter Mondale, just as his nuclear buildup and the stalemating of inconclusive arms control talks had generated substantial public support in both the United States and Europe for a nuclear freeze.

Reagan’s mellowing coincided with the culmination of long-standing Soviet economic problems. Empire imposed added burdens on the Soviets as military spending rose, diverting funds from domestic programs. In Poland, the Solidarity movement proved remarkably persistent, undercutting Soviet control, while the decade-long Afghan intervention embroiled Soviet troops in a costly and unwinnable guerrilla war.

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). He immediately sought to address Russia’s problems and

reform the communist economic and social system. Gorbachev quickly won great popularity. Reagan was more willing than many of his advisors to trust Gorbachev. Domestic economic factors may also have impelled Reagan toward rapprochement. Deep tax cuts meant that heavy government budget deficits financed the defense buildup in the 1980s, and in November 1987, an unexpected Wall Street stock market crash suggested weakness in the U.S. economy. Reagan had several summit meetings with Gorbachev, and in 1987, the superpowers signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, eliminating all medium-range missiles in Europe and imposing strong verification procedures. This marked the beginning of a series of arms reduction agreements, continued under Reagan's successor George H. W. Bush, and of measures whereby the Soviet Union withdrew from its East European empire and, by 1991, allowed it to collapse.

Reagan, the oldest U.S. president in history, left office in 1989. After a decade-long battle with Alzheimer's, he died of pneumonia at his home in Los Angeles, California, on June 5, 2004. Reagan's impressive state funeral in Washington, DC, paid tribute to him as the U.S. president whose policies effectively helped to end the Cold War on U.S. terms.

Priscilla Roberts

SEE ALSO Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, The; Central Intelligence Agency; Grenada Invasion; Iran-Contra Affair; Iranian Hostage Crisis; Strategic Defense Initiative; Weinberger, Caspar

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Red Scare. See McCarthy, Joseph; Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel

Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel

Julius Rosenberg was born on May 12, 1918 in New York City. He was educated at Jewish schools and in his late teens became involved in radical politics. He studied electrical engineering at the College of the City of New York, and there he became a central figure in a close-knit group of engineering students who were members of the Young Communist League, some of whom he later recruited into Soviet espionage. Ethel Greenglass Rosenberg was born September 28, 1915, also in New York City. She had hopes of becoming an actress and singer, but eventually took a job as a secretary in a shipping company. She became involved in labor organizations and also joined the Youth Communist League. Julius and Ethel met at a union meeting, and the two married in 1939.

During World War II, Rosenberg worked as a civilian inspector for the Army Signal Corps but was dismissed in early 1945 when his past Communist Party membership surfaced. In 1943 he had the first of some 50 meetings with Alexander Feklisov, a Soviet intelligence officer, and began providing classified military information to him, including secrets related to the manufacture of the atomic bomb. Beginning in 1946, Rosenberg started a small and ultimately unsuccessful engineering workshop with his brother-in-law, David Greenglass, who had previously worked as a machinist on the Manhattan Project.

On June 17, 1950 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrested Rosenberg after a series of confessions by Klaus Fuchs, Harry Gold, and David Greenglass, who turned witness for the prosecution. On August 11, Ethel Rosenberg was also arrested. The Rosenbergs' controversial trial began on March 6, 1951, deeply dividing a nation already polarized by McCarthyism and the Korean War. To some, the Rosenbergs personified the threat of atomic espionage; to others, they were unjust victims of McCarthyism and anti-Semitism. The Rosenbergs were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage in wartime on March 29, 1951 and were sentenced to death six days later. Although it now appears that Julius—but not Ethel—was in some respects guilty of espionage, the verdict appeared shaky in 1951.

The Rosenbergs remained on death row for 26 months while their lawyers filed appeals and as international outrage with



Julius Rosenberg, who had worked on the Manhattan Project, and his wife Ethel were charged, convicted, and executed as a result of Julius's alleged role in passing atomic secrets to the Soviets. The Rosenbergs, who had two young sons, became a cause celebre for opponents of strident anti-communism. (Library of Congress)

the verdict intensified. Both denied being communists and maintained their innocence. After President Dwight Eisenhower refused clemency, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were put to death by electrocution on June 19, 1953, the only two civilians executed for espionage during the Cold War.

Phillip Deery

SEE ALSO Chambers, Whittaker; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Hiss, Alger; House Un-American Activities Committee; McCarthy, Joseph

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See It Now

The documentary series *See It Now*, which ran on CBS Television from 1951 to 1958, was a significant step in the maturation of television journalism. *See It Now* grew out of recordings, then a radio show, developed by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly. The recordings, called *I Can Hear It Now*, mixed historical speeches with commentary by Murrow. The recordings' success led to a radio series, called *Hear It Now*, with a similar format.

Encouraged by Friendly, Murrow overcame his initial reluctance to take the concept to television. In the process, the team dramatically changed how documentary television was done. For example, in order to retain maximum control over content and visual quality, Murrow and Friendly put together a team of cameramen and sound technicians devoted solely to *See It Now*, rather than contracting with newsreel crews. When the series premiered on November 18, 1951, Murrow and Friendly brought the viewers into the studio, letting them see the behind-the-scenes aspect of the show's production, thereby making the viewer a partner in the show.

See It Now was initially scheduled for Sunday afternoons, but CBS soon realized that the show was quickly generating a wide following, prompting a move to Sunday evenings, then Tuesday evenings, allowing the network to charge prime-time ad rates for its new moneymaker. The show drew its large audiences based largely on its ability to examine important issues of the day in a way that was serious, yet accessible, to the average viewer. For example, an episode entitled "Christmas in Korea: 1952" powerfully portrayed the courage and loneliness of U.S. troops. The series also took on controversial

subjects, such as the effects of the *Brown* school desegregation decision on two small Southern towns.

However, no subject was as dangerous for Murrow, Friendly, and CBS as the anti-communist hysteria then gripping the country. The show first examined the subject through the story of an Air Force lieutenant, Milo Radulovich, who was forced out of the service because his father and sister had been accused of reading supposedly subversive newspapers. As a result of the show, the Air Force reinstated Radulovich. However, the biggest and inevitable target was Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy himself, whose very name came to define the period. On March 9, 1954, Murrow and Friendly used McCarthy's own statements to reveal his use of slander and innuendo. McCarthy eventually accepted Murrow's invitation to appear on the show. However, as McCarthy attempted to refute the earlier broadcast, his bombast only tarnished his image further.

Despite the fact that these episodes of *See It Now*, combined with the televised Army hearings that followed within a few weeks, helped to bring down McCarthy once and for all, CBS chairman William Paley had had enough. He contended that Murrow and Friendly had made the show a vehicle for their own personal opinions and grudges, and ordered the two to take on less controversial subjects, such as celebrity profiles. By 1955, Paley moved *See It Now* from a weekly broadcast to a series of periodic special broadcasts. The last episode aired on July 7, 1958.

See It Now invented the magazine format of television news and set a standard for intellectual courage that has yet to be exceeded. As such, it remains one of the most influential products of television journalism.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Film (Cold War); McCarthy, Joseph

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Sidle Commission

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Media-Military Relations Panel, better known as the Sidle Commission after its chairman, retired Army General Winant K. Sidle, was convened to bring some order to relations between the press and the military in the post-Vietnam era.

In the years that followed the end of the Vietnam War, it became an article of faith among many commentators that the press was, at best, irresponsibly negative or, at worst, willfully biased against the military. Coverage such as press produced, this line of thought continued, was to blame for sapping the U.S. public's will to support a

continued effort to maintain an independent, non-communist South Vietnam. An unfettered press, operating under the loosest of ground rules and free to travel pretty much where it pleased, had undermined what they saw as steady progress in a war that could have, and should have, been won.

That view was shared and fed by any number of men who had been junior officers in Vietnam, but who had since risen to positions of senior leadership. By the early 1980s, these men were in a position to set policy and were determined not to repeat the mistakes that they believed had been made regarding the press in Vietnam. In the event of the next significant U.S. military operation, they resolved to keep the news media on a very short leash, held far away from combat operations, and fed only that information that the military deemed appropriate.

The approach was first implemented in October 1983, during Operation URGENT FURY, the U.S. invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada. The political situation on the island had been unstable for some months, with a new regime aligning itself with Cuba. In early October 1983, a rival faction of the ruling New Jewel Movement overthrew and executed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Citing the need to protect U.S. medical students studying on the island, but more concerned with potential Cuban influence on Grenada, President Ronald Reagan ordered U.S. military forces to take control of the island.

The invasion began at 5:00 a.m. on October 25. Despite poor coordination among the military forces—for example, radios used by different service branches could not talk to one another—the island was secured within a few hours. That same lack of planning extended to handling the press. Beyond the desire to keep reporters as far from the action as possible, the military made no provision for the press. Information was sent from the military command in Grenada to the Atlantic Fleet headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia, which then transmitted it to Washington for fragmentary release to the press. No reporters were allowed on to the island for two and one-half days following the invasion. Even then, only 15 reporters, who had agreed to military escort and censorship, were allowed in. Not for another three days were press restrictions lifted.

As the biggest U.S. military operation since Vietnam, and one located on the doorstep of the U.S. mainland, the action naturally drew the attention of the press and the public. Being barred from the island meant that reporters could not provide the coverage of U.S. soldiers in action that had long been a staple of U.S. journalism. Also, lack of access meant that reporters could not independently assess the danger to the U.S. students, the Cuban threat, or the performance of U.S. military forces.

The press's frustration led U.S. Army General John Vessey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, to appoint a panel to review what had happened in Grenada and to make recommendations for press-military coordination in future U.S. military operations. The commission was chaired by retired Army Major General Winant K. Sidle. Sidle had been trained as a journalist, and had a long career as a military and civilian public affairs officer. He served as the head of the U.S. Military Assistance Command-Office of Information (MAC-OI) in Vietnam from 1967 to 1969, as chief of information for the U.S. Army from 1969 to 1973, and as deputy assistant secretary of defense for public affairs from 1974 to 1975.

The Sidle Commission, as it came to be known, was comprised of seven military officers drawn from across the services and seven journalists. The Commission held hearings for five days in February 1984, and presented its final report to General Vessey in August of that year. The report affirmed the right of the press to cover U.S. military operations within legitimate concerns for military security. The report's nine recommendations focused on the need for greater interaction between the press and the military on a continuing basis, so that when military action occurred, a familiarity with each party's needs was in place. The report also urged that processes regarding accreditation, ground rules governing news coverage and logistical support for the press become a routine part of the operational planning by the military. Finally, in order to allow the presence of the news media from the opening moments of a military operation, a pool of pre-designated news media personnel would be created and constantly updated, and that this pool be as large as practically possible.

The Sidle Commission's report represented an acknowledgment by the military that it could not adopt a policy that totally denied access by the press to military action. However, the pool arrangement would provide a tool for news media control that the military would employ during its next major action, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM in 1990–1991.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO *Battle Lines: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund*; Grenada Invasion; Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM

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Somalia

An East African nation covering 246,199 square miles, Somalia is slightly smaller than the U.S. state of Texas and is bordered by the Gulf of Aden to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, Djibouti to the northwest, Ethiopia to the west, and Kenya to the southwest. Part of the strategically important Horn of Africa, Somalia served as a counterbalance to first the Soviet Union and then the United States for the other's presence in neighboring Ethiopia. This strategic importance, combined with internal famine, political instability, and lawlessness, would make Somalia a continuing test of post-Cold War foreign and defense policy.

When Somalia achieved independence in 1960, the Soviet Union established relations with the new state, which became stronger when Major General Mohammed Siyad Barre seized power in 1969 and established a socialist state. Barre wanted to reunite ethnic Somalis in neighboring Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti with the rest of the Somali nation



Two soldiers of the U.S. Army 10th Mountain Division are shown searching for weapons in Somalia in January 1993. In a classic example of “mission creep,” what began as a humanitarian mission evolved into an effort to remove a Somali warlord. The effort showed the limits of American power, dramatically illustrated by the capture of American soldiers during the October 1993 Battle of Mogadishu that would be depicted in the novel and film *Black Hawk Down*. (Department of Defense)

but was constrained by the 1964 Cairo Resolution that pledged African states to maintain existing borders. With diplomatic backing unlikely, Barre resorted to military conquest to implement his plans, whereby chances of victory would be improved by external support. Hence, he tightened relations with the Soviet Union.

In November 1977, Barre broke ties with the communist bloc and turned instead to the United States, hoping that the Americans would appreciate Somalia’s value as a Cold War counterbalance. However, newly elected President Jimmy Carter was attempting to focus foreign policy on such principles as human rights rather than the Cold War. Citing Barre’s deplorable human rights record and violation of international law by invading Ethiopia, Carter refused to help.

By 1980, however, the changing international environment, particularly the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the 1979 Iranian Revolution, compelled Carter to steer U.S. foreign policy toward a more traditional Cold War orientation. In August 1980, an agreement was reached that granted the United States access to military facilities in Somalia in return for military aid, thus countering the Soviet presence in Ethiopia and facilitating U.S. military operations in the Indian Ocean.

During the 1980s, the economy declined steadily, and periodic droughts aggravated food shortages caused by poor agricultural policies and government price controls.

The country entered a state of virtual civil war as clan rivalries exploded following an uprising that began in northern Somalia in May 1988.

The civil war disrupted agriculture and food distribution in southern Somalia. The resulting famine in 1992 prompted the United Nations to authorize a limited peace-keeping operation. In reaction to the continued violence and the humanitarian disaster, the United States organized a military coalition with the purpose of creating a secure environment in southern Somalia for the conduct of humanitarian operations. This coalition entered Somalia in December 1992 and had some success in restoring order and alleviating the famine. In May 1993, most of the U.S. troops withdrew, replaced by another UN mission. However, Somali warlords saw the mission as a threat and in June 1993 attacked UN troops. Fighting escalated until 18 U.S. troops and more than 1,000 Somalis were killed in during October 1993. In the First Battle of Mogadishu, on October 3–4, 1993, two U.S. helicopters were shot down and U.S. troops were trapped in a vicious urban firefight. The soldiers were rescued, and the incident provided the material for the book and film, *Black Hawk Down*.

Despite these and other efforts by the international community, Somalia still exists in a state of lawlessness, as symbolized by the growing problem presented to shipping off the Horn of Africa by Somali pirates.

Donna R. Jackson

SEE ALSO Film (Cold War)

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Soviet Active Measures

Soviet active measures refer to the influence operations organized by the Soviet government. These include black, gray, and white propaganda, as well as disinformation. White (overt) propaganda was created by the Information Department of the Communist Party and included those publicly identified Soviet channels as Radio Moscow, Novosti, pamphlets, and magazines as well as official Soviet government statements. Gray (lightly concealed) propaganda was organized by the International Department of the Communist Party and used such channels as the foreign Communist Parties and the

network of international Soviet fronts. Black (covert) propaganda was prepared by the KGB and included agents of influence, covert media placements, and, until 1959, assassinations. Forgeries and disinformation were used by the Soviets in all modes.

Prior to 1988, one type of Soviet active measure message, crude, anti-U.S. disinformation, received the lion's share of attention. During the "post-Cold War" years of 1988 to 1991, the use of this type of Soviet active measure decreased markedly, although it still continued to some extent. Active measures included the establishment and support of international front organizations (e.g., the World Peace Council); foreign communist, socialist and opposition parties; wars of national liberation in the Third World; and underground, revolutionary, insurgency, criminal, and terrorist groups. The intelligence agencies of Eastern Bloc and other communist states also contributed in the past to the program, providing operatives and intelligence for assassinations and other types of covert operations.

In 1990 and 1991, the Soviets spread alarmist active measures themes energetically, as they attempted to turn to their advantage Western fears about the dangers of a break-up of the USSR. According to a recent defector who circulated active measures for the KGB during this period, the Soviet authorities deliberately sought to influence Western policy by encouraging the belief that if Gorbachev were to lose power or the USSR were to break up, this would lead to the creation of "aggressive republics with uncontrolled access to nuclear weapons."

Following the collapse of the August 1991 coup and the subsequent disintegration of the USSR, various groups and states contending for power in the Commonwealth of Independent States continued to use active measures and disinformation techniques in their efforts to achieve their political aims but the formidable Soviet active measures and disinformation apparatus disintegrated, the integrity of its system has been shattered, and many formerly hidden pieces now lie revealed for examination.

Martin J. Manning

SEE ALSO Active Measures Working Group; Central Intelligence Agency

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Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, The

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent ten-year war destroyed the U.S.-Soviet détente of the 1970s, inaugurated a new and dangerous stage in the Cold War, and badly weakened the Soviet military and economic establishments. The Soviet-Afghan War represented the culmination of events dating to April 1978, when Afghan communists, supported by left-wing army leaders, overthrew the unpopular, authoritarian government of Mohammad Daoud and proclaimed the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Although the extent of Soviet involvement in the coup remains unclear, Moscow certainly welcomed it and quickly established close relations with the new regime headed by Nur Mohammad Taraki, who was committed to bringing socialism to Afghanistan.

With the ambitious, extremely militant foreign minister Hafizullah Amin as its driving force, the Taraki regime quickly alienated much of Afghanistan's population by conducting a terror campaign against its opponents and introducing a series of social and economic reforms at odds with the religious and cultural norms of the country's highly conservative, Muslim, tribal society. Afghanistan's Muslim leaders soon declared a jihad against "godless communism," and by August 1978, the Taraki regime faced an open revolt, a situation made especially dangerous by the defection of a portion of the army to the rebel cause.

As Afghanistan descended into civil war, Moscow grew increasingly concerned. Committed to preventing the overthrow of a friendly, neighboring communist government and fearful of the effects that a potential Islamic fundamentalist regime might have on the Muslim population of Soviet Central Asia, specifically those in the republics bordering Afghanistan, the Soviets moved toward military intervention. During the last months of 1979, the Leonid Brezhnev government dispatched approximately 4,500 combat advisors to assist the Afghan communist regime while simultaneously allowing Soviet aircraft to conduct bombing raids against rebel positions. Although Soviet Deputy Defense Minister Ivan G. Pavlovskii, who had played an important role in the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, counseled against full-scale intervention in Afghanistan, his superior, Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov, convinced Brezhnev to undertake an invasion, arguing that only such action could preserve the Afghan communist regime. He also promised that the Soviet presence there would be short.

Brezhnev ultimately decided in favor of war, the pivotal factor arguably being the September 1979 seizure of power by Hafizullah Amin, who had ordered Taraki arrested and murdered. Apparently shocked by Amin's act of supreme betrayal and inclined to believe that only a massive intervention could save the situation, Brezhnev gave approval for the invasion. Beginning in late November 1979 and continuing during the first weeks of December, the Soviet military concentrated the Fortieth Army, composed primarily of Central Asian troops, along the Afghan border. On December 24, Soviet forces crossed the frontier, while Moscow claimed that the Afghan government had requested help against an unnamed outside threat.

Relying on mechanized tactics and close air support, Soviet units quickly seized the Afghan capital of Kabul. In the process, a special assault force stormed the presidential palace and killed Amin, replacing him with the more moderate Barak Kemal, who attempted, unsuccessfully, to win popular support by portraying himself as a devoted Muslim and Afghan nationalist. Soviet forces, numbering at least 50,000 men by the end of January 1980, went on to occupy the other major Afghan cities and secured major highways. In response, rebel mujahideen forces resorted to guerrilla warfare, their primary goal being to avoid defeat in the hopes of outlasting Soviet intervention.

Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan had immediate and adverse international consequences, effectively wrecking détente that was already in dire straits by December 1979 thanks to recent increases in missile deployments in Europe. Having devoted much effort to improving relations with Moscow, U.S. President Jimmy Carter believed that he had been betrayed. He reacted swiftly and strongly to the Afghan invasion.

On December 28, 1979, Carter publicly denounced the Soviet action as a "blatant violation of accepted international rules of behavior." Three days later, he accused Moscow of lying about its motives for intervening and declared that the invasion had dramatically altered his view of the Soviet Union's foreign policy goals. On January 3, 1980, the president asked the U.S. Senate to delay consideration of SALT II. Finally, on January 23, in his State of the Union Address, Carter warned that the Soviet action in Afghanistan posed a potentially serious threat to world peace because control of Afghanistan would put Moscow in a position to dominate the strategic Persian Gulf and thus interdict at will the flow of Middle East oil.

The president followed these pronouncements by enunciating what soon became known as the Carter Doctrine, declaring that any effort to dominate the Persian Gulf would be interpreted as an attack on U.S. interests that would be rebuffed by force if necessary. Carter also announced his intention to limit the sale of technology and agricultural products to the USSR, and he imposed restrictions on Soviet fishing privileges in U.S. waters. In addition, he notified the International Olympic Committee that in light of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, neither he nor the U.S. public would support sending a U.S. team to the 1980 Moscow Summer Games. The president called upon U.S. allies to follow suit.

Carter also asked Congress to support increased defense spending and registration for the draft, pushed for the creation of a Rapid Deployment Force that could intervene in the Persian Gulf or other areas threatened by Soviet expansionism, offered increased military aid to Pakistan, moved to enhance ties with the People's Republic of China (PRC), approved covert CIA assistance to the mujahideen, and signed a presidential directive on July 25, 1980 providing for increased targeting of Soviet nuclear forces.

Carter's sharp response was undercut to a certain extent by several developments. First, key U.S. allies rejected both economic sanctions and an Olympic boycott. Second, Argentina and several other states actually increased their grain sales to Moscow. Third, a somewhat jaded U.S. public tended to doubt the president's assertions about Soviet motives and believed that he had needlessly reenergized the Cold War.

Ronald Reagan, who defeated Carter in the November 1980 presidential election, took an even harder stand with the Soviets. Describing the Soviet Union as an "evil

empire” that had used détente for its own nefarious purposes, the Reagan administration poured vast sums of money into a massive military buildup that even saw the president push the development of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—labeled “Star Wars” by its critics—a missile defense system dependent on satellites to destroy enemy missiles with lasers or particle beams before armed warheads separated and headed for their targets. The Soviet response was to build additional missiles and warheads.

Meanwhile, confronted with guerrilla warfare in Afghanistan, the USSR remained committed to waging a limited war and found itself drawn, inexorably, into an ever-deeper bloody quagmire against a determined opponent whose confidence and morale grew with each passing month. To make matters worse for Moscow, domestic criticism of the war by prominent dissidents such as Andrei Sakharov appeared early on, while foreign assistance in the form of food, transport vehicles, and weaponry (especially the Stinger anti-aircraft missile launchers) from the United States began reaching the mujahideen as the fighting dragged on.

Neither the commitment of more troops, the use of chemical weapons, nor the replacement of the unpopular Kemal could bring Moscow any closer to victory. Accordingly, by 1986 the Soviet leadership, now headed by the reformist General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, began contemplating ways of extricating itself from what many observers characterized as the “Soviet Union’s Vietnam.”

In April 1988, Gorbachev agreed to a UN mediation proposal providing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops over a 10-month period. One month later the departure of Soviet military forces, which had grown to an estimated 115,000 troops, commenced—a process that was finally completed in February 1989.

Although the Soviets left Afghanistan with a procommunist regime, a team of military advisors, and substantial quantities of equipment, the nine years’ war had exacted a high toll, costing the Soviets an estimated 50,000 casualties. It seriously damaged the Red Army’s military reputation, further undermining the legitimacy of the Soviet system, and nearly bankrupted the Kremlin. For the Afghans, the war proved equally costly. An estimated 1 million civilians were dead, and another 5 million were refugees. Much of the country was devastated. The vacuum of power created following the Soviet withdrawal led to internecine warfare among tribes and warlords, opening the door to the rise of the fundamentalist Islamic Taliban, who in turn provided safe haven for al-Qaeda.

Bruce J. DeHart

SEE ALSO Reagan, Ronald; Strategic Defense Initiative

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Star Wars. See Strategic Defense Initiative

Strategic Defense Initiative

This space-based, antiballistic missile (ABM) system was endorsed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan in 1983 as a way to neutralize the Soviet nuclear threat. Nicknamed “Star Wars” by its critics and the media, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) foresaw the use of satellites, mirrors, and lasers to detect and destroy incoming nuclear missiles. Reagan believed that the SDI might force the Soviets to engage in nuclear arms reduction talks and serve as a partial solution to the threat posed by the nuclear arms race.

To counter the Soviet threat in the 1950s, the United States began work on an ABM system. Various incarnations emerged during the 1960s and early 1970s, until the United States and the Soviet Union signed the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. This treaty limited the deployment of ABM systems to only two operational areas and stipulated that such a system could not protect the entire nation. Nevertheless, work continued in both nations to develop an effective means of nullifying an enemy nuclear attack.

Reagan had many motivations for pursuing the SDI. In principle, he disagreed with the concept of mutual assured destruction (MAD). MAD held that because of the catastrophic nature of thermonuclear war, any nation that initiated a nuclear exchange was guaranteed to suffer complete destruction in a counterstrike. Reagan believed that MAD was immoral and unacceptable. He was further motivated by the upcoming 1984 election and his desire not to be seen as a warmonger.

In a televised address on March 23, 1983, Reagan expressed his desire to pursue the SDI. The scientific task was difficult, he admitted, but the rewards would be worth it: a United States whose citizens did not have to live in fear of nuclear destruction. The SDI would be costly, perhaps in the trillions of dollars.

Unlike previous ABM systems, the SDI would provide missile defense from space. In fact, to intercept missiles in flight, space-based weapons were the best option, because land-based weapons could not overcome the problems presented by the curvature of Earth. Because Soviet long-range missiles took only 30 minutes to reach their targets, there was just enough time to detect, track, and intercept the warheads before they reentered the atmosphere. As Reagan described it and as scientists conceived it, the SDI would employ satellites and space-based radars to detect and track incoming missiles and land- or satellite-based lasers reflected off orbital mirrors to destroy a warhead in flight. Scientists planned lasers that would employ X-ray, infrared, ultraviolet, or

microwave radiation. They also conceived of particle-beam weapons in which streams of charged atomic matter would be directed at incoming warheads.

Some observers, particularly new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, saw the SDI as a great threat. When Reagan and Gorbachev first met in Geneva in 1985, the SDI proved the sticking point on any arms control agreements. Gorbachev fiercely objected to the SDI, arguing that such a system only made sense if the United States planned to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Gorbachev also understood that the Soviet Union lagged behind the United States in computer technology, an area crucial to such an advanced weapons system. For the Soviet Union to allow the SDI to move forward would be to admit defeat. Gorbachev therefore insisted that Reagan give up the SDI before agreements on limiting offensive weapons could be reached. Reagan refused, but he also told Gorbachev that the SDI was necessary and that when it was finally completed, he would share the technology with the Soviets. Gorbachev did not believe Reagan, and Reagan could see no logical argument against the SDI. Because of the SDI, the two men departed Geneva without a deal on arms control.

The Reagan administration ultimately failed to develop and deploy the SDI. The technology proved too daunting, and the costs were too high. Still, the mere threat of the SDI put tremendous pressure on the Soviets. Some scholars attribute the Soviet Union's 1991 collapse to Reagan's vigorous pursuit of the SDI. Others, however, regard the SDI as a costly boondoggle that only escalated Cold War tensions and contributed to swollen defense allocations and mammoth budget deficits.

Brian Madison Jones

SEE ALSO Reagan, Ronald; Weinberger, Caspar

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Truman Doctrine

This U.S. foreign policy doctrine enunciated by President Harry S. Truman formally committed the United States to fight communist expansionism abroad. On March 12, 1947, President Truman addressed a joint session of Congress and stated: "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." He was of course

referring to communist “pressures” and thereby committed the United States to uphold the containment policy, which pledged that all necessary measures would be taken to check the spread of communism and Soviet influence.

The catalyst for the Truman Doctrine had been Britain’s February 1947 announcement that it could no longer afford to provide military or financial support to Greece and Turkey. This meant that these nations might fall to communism.

The eastern basin of the Mediterranean, including the Middle East, had been under British influence since the 19th century. The area took on great importance in light of the developing Cold War. Soviet presence in the region would jeopardize the ability of the Western powers to launch strategic air strikes on the Soviet Union from bases in the area. The defense of the region had been a British preserve, but British power was declining while Soviet activity in the region seemed on the increase.

For planners in Washington, there seemed to be a power vacuum in the region. Britain was providing military aid to Turkey to resist Soviet pressure to change rules regarding transit through the Dardanelles. U.S. attitudes toward the situation in Turkey were linked to the situation in Greece. Like Turkey, Greece was considered a barrier between the Soviet Union and the Mediterranean. The struggle in Greece was not one inspired by the Soviet Union but rather resulted from conflict between rightists seeking to restore the monarchy who were also failing to tackle the grave economic situation and left-wing parties seeking to install a communist regime.

Washington, however, chose to view the Greek Civil War through the lens of the Cold War. A loss in Greece to the communists would not only result in a victory for the Soviets but, it was argued, would also open the entire region to communist subversion. Thus, the United States could not tolerate the establishment of a communist regime in Athens whether or not it was inspired by Moscow. Despite the shortcomings of the anticommunist Greek government, the Truman administration now moved to provide assistance to it.

The decisive turning point came with London’s announcement in February 1947 that Britain would be unable to continue its support to Greece and Turkey. It was obvious to U.S. State Department officials that the United States had to fill the breach. While preparing the draft legislation for the 1947 Greco-Turkish aid package, however, Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson found it difficult to justify the assistance request for Turkey, as it was not under a direct threat from either the Kremlin or an indigenous communist insurgency. Acheson also knew that Congress was in no mood to approve a large foreign aid request without proper justification, as it was engaged in efforts to curtail spending and pay down the national debt accrued during World War II. Also, Moscow was issuing conciliatory messages, further reducing the incentive in Congress to take strong measures against the Soviet Union.

Truman and his advisors, determined to provide military and economic assistance to both Greece and Turkey, had to find a way to sell this foreign aid package to Congress. Just prior to Truman’s speech, Acheson described to the congressional leadership in stark terms the implications of Soviet domination over the eastern Mediterranean and the worldwide geopolitical consequences of such a scenario. In response, Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, a formerly steadfast isolationist, informed Truman that if he were to present

his request to Congress in the manner that had been used by Acheson, he and the majority of Congress would support the aid deal. As a result, Truman's request for a \$400 million aid package earmarked for Turkey and Greece was presented in the Cold War terms of a struggle "between alternate ways of life," marking the emergence of the Truman Doctrine, which came to represent a concerted long-term effort to resist communist aggression around the world. Vandenberg kept his promise. The Greco-Turkish aid package was speedily approved.

David Tal

SEE ALSO Acheson, Dean Gooderham; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Nitze, Paul

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U-2 Incident

This episode was precipitated by the Soviet Union's May 1, 1960 downing of an U.S. U-2 reconnaissance plane that was clandestinely taking high-altitude photographs of Soviet defense installations. The plane's wreckage, together with the confession of the captured pilot, offered irrefutable proof of previously unacknowledged U.S. surveillance of the Soviet Union. The incident caused Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev to cancel a much-anticipated summit with U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower. The Eisenhower Administration's effort to conceal the downing from the U.S. public also marked one of the signal incidents of information management during the Cold War.

In 1954, Eisenhower secretly ordered the fabrication of a small number of special reconnaissance aircraft, built by Lockheed and dubbed the U-2, to secretly overfly the Soviet Union. The U-2 was an engineering marvel, essentially a glider outfitted with a jet engine and capable of flying at 70,000 feet and more than 4,000 miles without refueling. On July 4, 1956, civilians under contract with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) began piloting U-2 aircraft on 24 missions over the Soviet Union, taking photographs and gathering other electronic data.

Although initial studies suggested that the Soviet Union's defenses would be incapable of reliably tracking or attacking the U-2s at their normal flying altitude, the planes were nevertheless monitored closely and were frequently targeted by Soviet interceptors and surface-to-air missiles (SAMs).



Francis Gary Powers, left, and his attorney, Larry Houston, look over a U-2 plane model as they sit at the witness table of the Senate Armed Services Committee in Washington, D.C., March 6, 1962. Powers went before the senators to tell the story of how his plane was shot down over Soviet territory on May 1, 1960, an episode known as the “U-2 incident.” Powers served two years of a 10-year sentence in a Soviet prison after pleading guilty to espionage charges. (AP/Wide World Photos)

In February and March 1960, Eisenhower approved two missions for the coming weeks. Although he was worried about harming East-West rapport on the eve of a summit among U.S., Soviet, British, and French leaders scheduled to begin on May 16 in Paris, Eisenhower was convinced of the need to gather details about recent Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) developments before the meeting. Midway through the second of these flights, the U-2 jet piloted by Francis Gary Powers was shot down by Soviet air defenses, and he parachuted into Soviet hands. The Soviets also collected—largely intact—the camera and other remnants of the plane.

Correctly assuming that the United States did not know that the Soviets had captured Powers and secured incriminating aircraft components, Khrushchev set out to embarrass the Eisenhower administration. After the United States announced that the downed plane was a weather research aircraft, the Soviet leader publicly revealed the damning

evidence to the contrary and announced his intent to try Powers for espionage. The eventual confirmation of the United States' activities and their attempts to cover them up created an international sensation and torpedoed the forthcoming Paris summit.

Eisenhower tried to explain the overflights as necessary means to understand Soviet military capacity. He hoped that the summit would continue as planned and thus allow his presidential term to conclude on a high note. Some of Eisenhower's advisors thought that the CIA had been ill prepared for the possibility of a downed plane and failed to advise the president of the likelihood of an interception. This contributed to the clumsy way in which the administration tried to cover up the incident, which helped to create tension between the news media and the White House.

After an August 1960 show trial, Powers was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. In February 1962, however, he was traded for Colonel Rudolf Abel, a Soviet spy being held in U.S. custody. Subsequent investigations determined that Powers had acted properly during his mission and time in captivity. By the late summer of 1960, U.S. photographic intelligence of the Soviet Union began to rely on secret orbiting satellites that passed over Soviet territory. Because they traveled through space, international law did not consider them violations of sovereign airspace.

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SEE ALSO Central Intelligence Agency; Eisenhower, Dwight D.

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Watergate

Watergate can be traced to the leaking of the top-secret Pentagon Papers that occurred beginning in June 1971. The papers revealed highly classified and embarrassing policy decisions regarding the Vietnam War going back to the 1940s. Nixon was livid at the leaks, even though the Papers dealt almost entirely with the policies of Democratic administrations. The first illegal break-in encouraged by the Nixon administration occurred in September 1971, when quasi-government operatives ransacked the office of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, a defense analyst who had leaked the papers. Nixon's aides formed a group of secret operatives whose job was to stop leaks and retaliate against those who did leak information. The committee was fittingly called the "Plumbers."

On June 17, 1972, Washington, DC, police arrested five men for burglarizing the offices of the Democratic National Committee, located in the Watergate complex (hence the name of the scandal). One of the burglars, James W. McCord Jr., was on the payroll of the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP). This seemed to imply White House involvement, although the connection would not be made in full for many months. The five burglars pled guilty but said nothing. Indeed, CREEP had paid them hush money not to reveal anything that would implicate the president. But McCord, encouraged by the promise of leniency, recanted his testimony and implicated CREEP.

Beginning with the trial of the Watergate burglars in January 1973, Congress clamored for bipartisan hearings on the Watergate scandal, which began in May 1973 and lasted until August. The nation was riveted by the televised hearings, which revealed one bombshell after another. Perhaps as much as 85 percent of the U.S. public viewed some or all of the hearings. The first bombshell was the realization that the White House had been directly involved in the scandal, indicated by the testimony of John Dean, Nixon's lawyer. The second was the revelation that Nixon had employed a secret taping system in the Oval Office that recorded virtually all conversations. The system recorded a discussion on June 23, 1972 between the president and his chief of staff in which Nixon agreed that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) should be employed to block the FBI investigation into the Watergate affair. This was clear evidence that the White House was involved in the botched break-in.

Archibald Cox, Watergate special prosecutor, and the U.S. Senate moved to subpoena the tapes. Nixon refused to surrender them, citing executive privilege and "national security concerns." Many Americans now believed that Nixon was either directly involved in the scandal or was trying to cover something up. In October 1973, when Nixon ordered Cox to withdraw his subpoena, the special prosecutor refused. The White House promptly fired him. That in turn led Nixon's attorney general and his deputy to resign in protest. A new prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, again subpoenaed the tapes. Nixon, now under immense pressure, responded by releasing selectively edited transcripts of the tapes, which pleased no one. In July 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Nixon administration must turn over all of the tapes requested by Congress. Meanwhile, in the House of Representatives, articles of impeachment were being prepared against the president. Nixon now had no choice but to surrender the tapes, which he knew would condemn him. That month, the House of Representatives passed the first of three impeachment articles against Nixon, citing him for obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress. After being told by a delegation from his own party that he would not survive an impeachment trial in Congress, Nixon decided to resign the office of the presidency on August 9, 1974. He was succeeded by his vice president, Gerald R. Ford.

The episode had troubling and long-term implications for U.S. politics and government. Americans' trust in their politicians—and their political system—suffered a major blow. Watergate displayed in shocking clarity the results of the so-called imperial presidency and a national security state in which personal freedoms were subordinated to political whim and alleged public safety. The work of investigative reporters such as Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of *The Washington Post* on the story, their

subsequent book *All the President's Men*, and the film of the same name all served to make journalists heroic figures, at least briefly.

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SEE ALSO Central Intelligence Agency; Federal Bureau of Investigation; Film (Cold War); Nixon, Richard

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Weinberger, Caspar

Born in San Francisco, California, on August 18, 1917, Caspar Willard Weinberger attended Harvard University, where he earned an AB degree in 1938 and a law degree in 1941. He served in the army during World War II, reaching the rank of captain. Following his discharge, he clerked for a federal judge and entered politics, winning election to the California State Assembly in 1952 and later serving as chairman of the California Republican Party.

After working in California Governor Ronald Reagan's cabinet in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Weinberger moved on to Washington, where he was director of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in 1970, deputy director during 1970–1972, and director during 1972–1973 of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) during 1973–1975.

Weinberger served as an advisor to Reagan during the 1980 presidential campaign, and Reagan subsequently appointed him as secretary of defense in 1981. When Reagan nominated Weinberger, many conservative Republicans feared that given his reputation as a budget cutter, Weinberger would not support Reagan's calls for increased military spending. As director of the OMB, Weinberger had earned the nickname "Cap the Knife," and Jesse Helms, a right-wing Republican senator from North Carolina, voted against his confirmation based on those fears. However, Weinberger soon developed a reputation as one of the strongest proponents of Reagan's defense buildup.

Reagan and Weinberger identified several major goals, including nuclear arms reduction. But during Reagan's first term as president, his administration embarked upon a

major buildup of nuclear weapons. Weinberger also pushed to deploy more nuclear warheads in Europe and supported Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) for the establishment of a laser-guided defense system in outer space to destroy incoming ballistic missiles aimed at the United States. These and other measures were controversial and costly, but Reagan and Weinberger defended them as necessary to meet the Soviet threat.

Weinberger resigned his post in November 1987, citing his wife's poor health. In November 1992 a grand jury investigating the Iran-Contra Affair indicted Weinberger on four counts of lying to a congressional committee and the independent counsel's office and one count of obstruction of justice. During the mid-1980s, the Reagan administration sold weapons to Iran in exchange for the freeing of U.S. hostages being held in the Middle East. Some of the proceeds from the sale were illegally diverted to the Contra rebels who were fighting the communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Once the story became public, Congress created a committee to investigate the affair, and an independent counsel was appointed to probe any criminal wrongdoing. Its office claimed that Weinberger had lied about his knowledge of the sale of arms to Iran. Weinberger declared his innocence and his intention of fighting the charges, but the case never went to trial. On December 24, 1992, President George H. W. Bush issued a full and complete pardon to Weinberger and several other Reagan administration figures. Weinberger died in Bangor, Maine, on March 26, 2006.

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SEE ALSO Grenada Invasion; Iran-Contra Affair; Reagan, Ronald; Strategic Defense Initiative

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Yugoslavian Civil War

The Yugoslavian Civil War was a conflict resulting from years of increasing ethnic antagonism in the former nation of Yugoslavia. The outbreak of hostilities was precipitated by the death of communist leader Josip Broz Tito in 1981 and the subsequent collapse of the Cold War and communism.

Under Tito's regime, small-scale ethnic clashes and religious rivalries were quickly restrained. Following Tito's death, a nationalistic movement supplanted the League of Communists in Yugoslavia, and Slobodan Milosevic gained power. On May 8, 1989,

Milosevic was elected president of Serbia. As it became clear that Milosevic was intent on Serbian authority over the entire region, Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence from Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991. Consequently, the Bosnian Serbs, led by Milosevic, launched a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Muslim and Croat population.

On June 27, 1991, Bosnian Serbs, supported by the Yugoslav Army, failed to quell the insurgent Slovenian forces with tanks. Fighting began between Croats and local Serbs in Croatia. Slovenia's war for independence lasted only a month with fewer than 70 deaths reported. Croatian secessionist forces pitted against Serb rebels (supported by the Yugoslav Army) continued fighting for another six months with roughly 10,000 reported deaths. On December 19, 1991, rebel Serbs declared independence in the Krajina region, which constituted almost a third of Croatia. On December 21, local Serb leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina declared a new republic independent from Bosnia.

On January 3, 1992, the United Nations (UN) successfully brokered a cease-fire agreement between the Croatian government and rebel Serbs. After many subsequent breaches, the UN Protection Force installed 14,000 peacekeeping troops in Croatia. That installation was eventually expanded to include help in the delivery of humanitarian aid for those affected by the ongoing hostilities. On March 3, the Bosnian Muslim and Croat population voted for independence in a referendum denounced by Bosnian Serbs.

On April 6, 1992, Bosnian Serbs took possession of Bosnia's capital city of Sarajevo. War broke out between Bosnian government forces and the rebel Serbs, and war ensued. In May, UN sanctions were implemented against Serbia for support of rebel Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. As heavy fighting continued throughout January 1993, the Serbian rebel hold on Sarajevo was maintained. The UN and European Union peace negotiations failed while war broke out in Bosnia once more—this time between Muslims and Croats, who fought over the remaining 30 percent of Bosnia not already claimed by the Bosnian Serbs. On April 13, 1993, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) began air patrols over Bosnia to enforce a UN ban on flights in the region.

On February 6, 1994, Serbian rebels launched a shell into Sarajevo's central marketplace that killed 68 people. Coverage of the attack galvanized U.S. public opinion against the Serbs and moved the Clinton Administration to push stronger action. In retaliation, NATO jets shot down four Serbian aircraft as hostilities continued to escalate in the region. This marked the first time that NATO had used force since its inception in 1949. On March 18, 1994, Bosnian Muslims and Croats signed a U.S.-brokered peace agreement. On April 10, NATO launched its first air strikes against the Serbs in Grazed.

Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian government signed a truce facilitated by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter on January 1, 1995. However, when the agreement expired four months later, the Muslim-led government refused to renew the terms, and fighting escalated once more. Serbs continued to assail Sarajevo, while on May 26, 1995, NATO air strikes created a crisis situation in which 350 UN peacekeepers were taken hostage by Bosnian Serbs. The Serbian government (in a bid to improve relations with the West) helped to arrange the hostages' release.

Hosted by the United States, peace talks began on November 1, 1995, near the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio, at the Begrim Conference Center.

While Serbian president Milosevic claimed support for the peace talks, Serbian general Ratko Mladic proclaimed that he would fight the terms of the forthcoming peace accord. As the talks continued, the first NATO peacekeeping troops arrived in Sarajevo.

On December 14, the Dayton Agreement (1995) was signed in Paris, France. The terms of the agreement granted 51 percent of Bosnia to the Bosnian-Croat federation and 49 percent to the Serbs. While this agreement officially ended the war, as Serbs withdrew occupation forces in the region granted to the Bosnian-Croat federation, they destroyed what little was left intact in the aftermath of the conflict, and sporadic fighting continued.

Following a U.S. bombing of Kosovo in 1998 and the winding down of the war, Milosevic remained in power despite being declared a war criminal. Finally brought to justice in the year 2000, Milosevic's trial began at The Hague on September 26, 2002.

Clarence R. Wyatt

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12

Middle East Wars

INTRODUCTION

While the United States retains security interests and commitments around the world, the period since the end of the Cold War has seen the Middle East assume a dominant role, including the largest military commitments since the end of the Vietnam War. The conflicts in which the United States has become entangled in the Middle East make clear the significant changes that have occurred in conceptions of U.S. security, as well as in the media's role in shaping and reflecting those conceptions.

As is usually the case, the circumstances that brought about U.S. involvement have deep roots. In the wake of World War I, the victorious British and French sought to redraw the map of the Middle East, creating new states out of the remnants of the collapsed Ottoman Empire. The eventual independence of these new states set the stage for internal conflict, as differing ethnic and religious groups fought for control, and conflict between the new countries, as they sought to establish their own security and, in some cases, vie for dominance of the region.

Following World War II and the Holocaust, the Allies fulfilled an earlier British commitment to create a Jewish state out of the old Palestine Mandate. When Israel declared its existence to the world in May 1948, it set off a series of conflicts that continues to this day and that forms one of the central dynamics of the region. The Arab states immediately combined in an effort to strangle the new state of Israel, and the United States quickly became Israel's chief supporter, in terms of diplomacy and material aid. Again in 1967 and 1973, coalitions of Arab states waged major wars against Israel, further increasing the U.S. commitment to its most dependable ally in the region. These conflicts became enmeshed in the Cold War, as the United States and most of Western Europe supported Israel, while the Soviet Union sought to exploit Arab nationalism for its own purposes. Indeed, during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the United States and the Soviet Union came close to direct confrontation, as each mobilized forces in the area and went to the highest levels of military readiness short of actual war.

The displacement of Palestinians with the creation of Israel, and the conditions under which they have been forced to live since, have further exacerbated tensions in the region. They have certainly provided a cause that Arab and other states have used to oppose Israel. However, they have also helped to breed a seething resentment against Israel and its supporters among generations of young Muslims that has led to the development of extreme forms of Islam, an ideology that has become the guiding force for those who seek to eliminate Western influence in the Middle East.

These extremist interpretations of Islam first became problematic for the United States in 1979 in Iran. At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union and the United States temporarily occupied zones in Iran. Even after they withdrew military forces, each sought to use Iran for its own purposes. The Soviets hoped to exert influence in the Middle East through Iran, while the United States wanted to secure access to Iranian oil. The great oil wealth of Iran enriched Western oil companies and a small Iranian elite allied with the ruling Pahlavi monarchy, while most Iranians were left in abject poverty. In 1953, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency engineered a coup to remove the democratically elected Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, who had nationalized the oil industry in Iran, and reinstate the Pahlavi family. Over the next two decades, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi became a staunch U.S. ally and a nearly insatiable purchaser of U.S. arms. At the same time, his regime became increasingly repressive. In February 1979, fundamentalist Islamic forces led by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini overthrew the Shah and established the Islamic Republic of Iran. In October of that year, U.S. President Jimmy Carter granted the Shah, who was dying of cancer, entry into the United States. In response, Iranian students seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, holding 52 U.S. hostages until January 21, 1981. The enmity between the United States and Iran continues. Iran seeks to extend its influence by supporting terrorist activities throughout the region and by seeking to develop nuclear weapons capabilities. Efforts by the United States and other nations to contain these activities have become one of the central issues in the Middle East.

Islamic fundamentalism also developed as a result of another Soviet attempt to extend its influence in the region. In late 1979, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan to support a Marxist government there. For the next 10 years, Afghan resistance fighters, known as the mujahideen, waged a guerrilla war against Soviet forces. The mujahideen, who eventually received significant supplies of weapons from the CIA, were actually a coalition of several groups whose only common trait was opposition to the Soviet presence. When Soviet troops pulled out of the country, these groups turned against each other, and two manifestations of Islamic fundamentalism emerged. The first, the Taliban, sought to impose a particularly harsh interpretation of Islamic law on Afghanistan, and by 1998, had succeeded in taking control of some 90 percent of the country. The second group, al-Qaeda, was also established as the Soviet war ended, by militants who sought to continue the jihad, or holy war, that had expelled the Soviets from Afghanistan against other Western targets, in the Middle East and beyond.

The two groups developed a symbiotic relationship, as the Taliban regime provided al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden, sanctuary for its training camps, and al-Qaeda supported the Taliban in consolidating its control of Afghanistan. By late 1992, al-Qaeda

began its attacks. In December 1992, al-Qaeda detonated bombs at two hotels in Aden, Yemen, targeting U.S. troops on their way to Somalia. In February 1993, a truck bomb in the garage of one of the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City did significant damage, killed six people, and injured over 1,000 others. In August 1998, al-Qaeda operatives bombed the U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya, killing more than 300 people. In October 2000, al-Qaeda suicide bombers attacked the USS *Cole*, a destroyer off the coast of Yemen, killing 17 U.S. sailors.

On September 11, 2001, 19 hijackers trained by al-Qaeda seized four U.S. airliners. Two were flown into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing the buildings to collapse within minutes. A third plane slammed into the Pentagon, causing significant damage and loss of life. The fourth plane, most probably headed for either the White House or U.S. Capitol, crashed outside Shanksville, Pennsylvania as passengers struggled with the hijackers for control of the plane. The attacks killed 2,976 people, not including the 19 hijackers who also perished. Live coverage of the second aircraft crashing into the South Tower of the World Trade Center, and the collapse of the two towers, provided some of the most terrifying and dramatic images in television journalism history.

The United States had retaliated in a limited way to some previous al-Qaeda attacks, but September 11 provoked a much more extensive response. On October 7, 2001, NATO forces invaded Afghanistan in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, seeking to oust the Taliban from control of Afghanistan and to eliminate terrorist training camps there. By early December 2001, NATO troops had driven the Taliban from their strongholds, dispersing them into remote areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The clear threat presented by al-Qaeda and their Taliban hosts created strong support for the war in Afghanistan. However, the Taliban soon regrouped and continue to mount an effective insurgency, which has drained public support for the war in the United States. In December 2009, U.S. President Barack Obama responded both to the continuing threat and to the growing impatience when he announced the dispatch of 30,000 more troops to Afghanistan, while also setting a July 2011 target date for the beginning of the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Islamic fundamentalism was not the only perceived threat to the United States, however. In Iraq, brutal dictator Saddam Hussein pursued his ambition to become the dominant power in the Middle East. He first initiated war with Iran; beginning in 1980, the conflict became an eight-year-long meatgrinder reminiscent of World War I. In August 1990, just two years following the cease-fire with Iran, Saddam attacked and occupied neighboring Kuwait and threatened Saudi Arabia. U.S. President George H. W. Bush quickly put together a coalition to expel Iraq from Kuwait and protect vital oil supplies, in Operation DESERT SHIELD. On January 17, 1991, following the expiration of a UN ultimatum to withdraw from Iraq, coalition forces, led by the United States, launched a massive airstrike against Iraqi forces and key installations in the city of Baghdad, as Operation DESERT STORM began. On February 23, the ground aspect of DESERT STORM began. Iraqi forces abandoned Kuwait City with little resistance, then retreated rapidly toward Baghdad. By the February 26, coalition troops were within 150 miles of the city. On February 28, President Bush declared a cease-fire.

The Gulf War, one of the names ascribed to the 1990–1991 conflict, saw several important developments regarding the role of the news media in U.S. conflict. First, technological innovation brought the battlefield much closer to the U.S. people. While Vietnam is often referred to as “the first television war,” television’s coverage of that conflict was fairly limited, given the cumbersome nature of the equipment and the cost of transmitting film and video back to the States. By the time of the Gulf War, however, satellite transmission and more advanced camera and sound equipment gave television the ability to broadcast in real-time. No television news organization took greater advantage of this capability than Cable News Network (CNN), which established itself as a major news organization as it provided the only live coverage of the opening of the attack, including dramatic images of the bombing around Baghdad.

At the same time, however, the Gulf War saw the culmination of U.S. information policies that had their origins in the aftermath of the war in Vietnam. In an effort to affix blame for the U.S. failure in Vietnam, many figures in the military, government, and society at large found a convenient scapegoat in the news media. In this conception, the press—either through incompetence or outright bias and willful deception—misrepresented the war and sapped the will of the U.S. public to pursue it to a successful end. This belief shaped the thinking of military leaders, who sought to deny the press access to the battlefield, and was most clearly seen in the October 1983 U.S. invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada to rescue American medical students and prevent Cuban control of the island. Reporters were kept off the island for several days, and even when they were allowed onto Grenada, their reports were severely restricted. The resulting controversy inspired a reexamination of post-Vietnam press policies, most prominently in the 1984 Sidle Commission, named for its chairman, former Army Chief of Information General Winant Sidle. The report affirmed the right of the press to cover U.S. military operations within legitimate concerns for military security. The report made several recommendations, including calling for the creation of a pool of pre-designated news media personnel in order to allow the presence of the news media from the opening moments of a military operation.

The Sidle Commission’s report represented an acknowledgment by the military that it could not adopt a policy that totally denied access by the press to military action. However, the pool arrangement would provide a tool for news media control that the military would employ during Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM. The new wrinkles came in the guidelines regarding the use of press pools. Pool members were required to submit their work to military review prior to filing. In addition, news media personnel who were not selected to participate in the pools were forbidden from forward operational areas. Journalists chafed under these restrictions, and some reporters, such as CBS’s Bob Simon, sought to escape them. Simon, a veteran military and foreign correspondent, struck out on his own to try to reach American units, but he and his crew were captured by Iraqi forces and held for 40 days. Had the ground war gone on longer, more such rebellions would most likely have occurred.

The U.S. government and military turned to a new approach when the United States next went to war with Iraq. From its earliest days, the administration of President

George W. Bush developed plans to remove Saddam Hussein, and those plans accelerated following the September 11 attacks. The Bush Administration sought to link Saddam to the attacks and to build the case that he was developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD). When the preparations for war began in earnest, the Pentagon had come to recognize that attempts to deny the press information and access made it much more difficult to shape the story. Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Victoria Clarke, an experienced public relations executive, instead established a more open and cooperative policy. She said that news, good or bad, would get out, and that the military should get the story out on its own terms before it was shaped by other sources. The presumption on the part of commanders and briefing officers should be to release information, not withhold it. In recognition of the 24/7 news cycle that cable television and the Internet had created, decisions on borderline situations should be reached in minutes, not hours or days.

This effort to shape the story by embracing the press was most clearly represented in the practice of embedding reporters with combat units. Plans were made to attach some 600 journalists to various units, with about 80 percent of the slots reserved for reporters from U.S. news organizations and 20 for non-U.S. outlets, including Arab-language sources. Ten percent of the U.S. slots would be reserved for local media outlets serving areas in the United States from which troops were being deployed. Embedded reporters were put through training sessions by the military in preparation of their assignment. Journalists would not have to participate in the embed program to have access to combat action, but they would have no support from or protection by the military.

On March 20, the Iraq War began with Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the invasion of Iraq. United States and British forces, with small contingents from Australia and Poland, quickly defeated the Iraqi Army, taking Baghdad on April 9 and forcing Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi leaders into hiding. This phase of fighting was declared complete on May 1. On May 2, President Bush landed on the deck of the aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln* and declared victory in Iraq, with a huge banner reading “Mission Accomplished” behind him.

The embed policy worked well for both the press and the military during the main combat phase. Reporters had front-line, real-time access to the action, and were provided excellent logistical support. From the government’s viewpoint, journalists attached to units naturally developed sympathy for the young men and women who were in harm’s way—and who were protecting them. The reports they filed during this period were almost uniformly favorable to the war effort, and were often quite compelling on a gut, emotional level.

This new approach also has its problems, however. The rapidity with which such reports so focused and limited in their perspective were transmitted could create a “whipsaw” effect, creating optimism or pessimism that could have broad effects far beyond the particular event’s actual importance. Another issue of concern was how reporters themselves became part of the story. In some cases, it was fairly minor, like the prevalent use of the personal pronoun “we”—“we crossed the bridge” or “we took sniper fire,” rather than “elements of the Third Infantry Division crossed the bridge” or “Marines took sniper fire.” As natural as this identification with the troops may be, it

raises difficult questions. If the press and the military are “we,” who is “they?” And how can “we” report objectively on ourselves?

However, when the main combat phase of IRAQI FREEDOM ended, another limitation of the embed approach became clear. The story of nation building, and of the insurgency that developed, was much more complicated than the relatively straightforward story of the drive on Baghdad. Also, the Coalition Provisional Authority, which took over administration of occupied Iraq, did not manage press policy as well as had the Pentagon.

Technology also brought major changes in news reporting during the Iraq War and in Afghanistan. The ability to broadcast in real time makes for some compelling reporting, but the episodic nature of this kind of coverage works against achieving broader perspectives. The explosion of media outlets, including cable television and the Internet, has increased competitive pressures tremendously, making the impulse to “go live” even more pronounced, which makes the opportunity for professional judgment and broader viewpoint even more limited. Technology has also allowed access to information and opinion from a much broader array of sources—see, for example, the rise of the Al Jazeera television network. At the same time, this development also means that people can seek out only those sources that present information and opinion with which they agree, which makes the discussion of public policy more a shouting match and less an honest exchange of ideas.

All of these developments combine to make it easier for the government and military to manipulate information in the short run, but significantly more difficult to maintain a broad-based consensus for military action of any significant length.

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PROPAGANDA

In the modern era, both aggressive and subtle forms of propaganda have been used to sway public opinions regarding political ideas and events. In the case of the war between the United States and Iraq in 2003, propaganda played a distinct role in the

pre-war preparations of both nations, as well as throughout the duration and aftermath of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Heightened by nationwide fears in the post-9/11 world, American propaganda presented Iraq as a country promoting terrorism, while Iraqi propaganda depicted the United States as a world aggressor and international lawbreaker.

After the Gulf War of 1991, relations between the United States and Iraq were extremely strained. The U.S.-led coalition destroyed Iraq's economic and logistical infrastructure, and the United Nations sanctioned Iraq due to its non-compliance with UN resolution 687, providing dictator Saddam Hussein plentiful ammunition to portray the United States as Iraq's mortal enemy within various forms of propaganda. A campaign of posters, media broadcasts, and speeches depicted the United States and its leadership as the world's most aggressive state. Often linking U.S. support for Israel with war crimes, Iraqi propaganda declared that the United States would eventually be overthrown by a strong Iraqi military, if the United States was ever bold enough to invade.

Center stage in Iraqi anti-U.S. propaganda was a virulent hatred for the Bush family. For example, images of George H. W. Bush, the U.S. president who led the world against Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War, were embedded on the ground at entrances to public buildings, so that those entering would wipe their feet on his face. Moreover, when the attacks of 9/11 occurred, Saddam Hussein declared his assertion that the hijackers were only paying the United States back for its own aggressive crimes against humble nations throughout the world. He also warned that this was only the beginning of crisis for the United States, due to its aggressive and intolerant foreign policy. The common theme throughout all examples of Iraqi propaganda at this time was the image of Saddam Hussein as a superhuman leader who would bravely lead Iraq through war to ultimate military and moral victory.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the post-1991 war era continued to see the image of Saddam Hussein used as the only face of Iraq. While the people of Iraq were rarely mentioned in government propaganda, the cult of personality surrounding Hussein in his own nation was reiterated in the United States. Saddam Hussein's image became synonymous with evil, as well as poor leadership. However, it was after the attacks against the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 that American propaganda began to escalate against Hussein. The new assault on Iraq would be framed around an assertion that Saddam Hussein was a terrorist who colluded with al-Qaeda in its attacks on 9/11.

With the surge of patriotism that swept across America in the wake of 9/11, the administration of President George W. Bush worked with his advisors to personally link Iraq and Saddam Hussein to the attacks in the minds of the American public. By creating memes such as "axis of evil" and "weapons of mass destruction," the Bush administration drew upon one of the classic tactics of propaganda: repeating a phrase ad infinitum until it becomes accepted as a truth. Bush claimed that Iraq was part of an "axis of evil" that sought to actively overthrow the United States, and that it was producing weapons of mass destruction to do so. Moreover, Bush claimed that Saddam Hussein had personally harbored al-Qaeda terrorists, linking him directly to the attacks of 9/11.

Although such claims were later debunked, the Bush administration was highly successful at garnering support for a “preemptive” invasion of Iraq on the basis of these assertions. However, not everyone in the United States supported the war, nor was the war popular abroad. Thus, another propaganda campaign was launched in the United States, aimed at attacking the patriotism of those who opposed the war. Media outlets, such as Fox News, and talk radio programs, such as Michael Savage, reiterated over and over the notion that Americans who opposed the war in Iraq were sympathizers with terrorism. Moreover, nations that actively opposed the U.S. invasion, such as France and Germany, were vilified. For example, many restaurants, including that at the United States Capitol, stopped calling fried potato wedges “French fries,” instead calling them “freedom fries.”

Despite Iraqi attempts to stall an U.S.-led invasion through a media blitz around the world, the United States and Great Britain did invade Iraq in March 2003. During the 2003 war in Iraq, as well as the subsequent occupation of the country by the United States and its allies, a variety of propaganda platforms were used to attempt to win over sympathy from the local population. Psychological operations (psyops) units of the U.S. Marine Corps, for example, distributed leaflets and posters denigrating the Ba’ath regime and praising the U.S. occupation, as well as Iraqi leaders that the United States found favorable. Radio and television broadcasts were also utilized to promote the values that U.S. leaders wanted Iraqis to embrace, including ideas of democracy, secularism, and pro-U.S. governance.

The 2003 war in Iraq and its aftermath was fraught with propaganda on both fronts. Iraq’s dictatorship continued to present a face of fortitude and defiance up to the end of its hold on power. Meanwhile, the United States continued its propaganda campaign well into the occupation, claiming that it was instituting “freedom and democracy” in Iraq despite the deaths of more than 25,000 civilians in spiraling violence as of the summer of 2005.

As armed conflict in Iraq has declined and the United States has handed authority back to Iraqi institutions, direct propaganda efforts by the United States have diminished. However, the war in Afghanistan continues to demand efforts to sell the goals and activities of the U.S.-led NATO coalition forces while trying to counter propaganda of the Taliban. For several reasons, the United States has had a more difficult time in developing and executing effective propaganda work than has the Taliban. First, the NATO forces operate with a free press operating along side. With communications technology allowing almost instant—if not real-time—transmission of photographs and video, every mistake by NATO forces quickly becomes headline news. In a counter-insurgency, in which the goal is to protect the civilian population, every misdirected drone strike is reported immediately and diminishes NATO credibility. By the same token, the Taliban, who condemned the Internet and television as instrument of the infidel, have become quite adept at using them to spread the word of these mistakes, and to exaggerate or outright fabricate such stories. The Taliban and al-Qaeda have also made effective use of video, including graphic footage of beheadings, to recruit jihadists. The Taliban also uses less high-tech means to reach the Afghan population. For example,

letters left at homes, offices, and schools under the cover of night threaten their recipients with torture, murder, or harm to their families if they cooperate with NATO forces.

Nancy Stockdale

SEE ALSO Al Jazeera; Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; Radio Baghdad.

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Founded in 1996, Al Jazeera has become well known for its willingness to report on topics that are controversial in both the Middle East and in the Western media. Based in Qatar but staffed by an international body of reporters, it claims to be the only uncensored news agency in the Middle East. However, its commitment to presenting material that countered U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and that at times is sharply critical of Middle Eastern leaders or governments made it a focus of displeasure from several governments.

The term “al-Jazeera” (“the island” in Arabic) is a colloquial reference to the Arabian Peninsula. Its origins are rooted in a response to the censorship and control of the Arab media and the recognition of the new market available through satellite television.

Al-Jazeera was started by former British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) employees with start-up funding from the emir of Qatar. Broadcasting via satellite since November 1996, Al Jazeera quickly became the most-watched media outlet in the Arab world. Al Jazeera has earned a reputation as a network committed to presenting multiple sides of any debate. For example, Al Jazeera became the first major news outlet in the Arabic-speaking Middle East to regularly present interviews with official Israeli spokesmen as well as with banned Islamist organizations and feminist groups. Al Jazeera has also criticized dictatorial or authoritarian actions by the governments of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.

Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, Al Jazeera broadcast footage of al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden praising the carnage. For many in the West, the network was now immediately seen as a mouthpiece for al-Qaeda. Al Jazeera rejected this charge, stating that it had merely presented news footage obtained in the interest of showing all sides in a major story. Nevertheless, the broadcast initiated a new barrage of attacks, particularly by the U.S. government. These were exacerbated by Al Jazeera’s coverage of Iraqi resistance activities to the U.S. military presence.

In the run-up to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, Al Jazeera was accused of being connected to Iraqi spies by a former Iraqi opposition organization known as the Iraqi National Congress. As a consequence, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) declared Al Jazeera to be an organ of anti-U.S. propaganda. Ironically, the Saddam Hussein regime had also tossed out of Iraq Al Jazeera’s main reporter at the time, claiming that he was a spy for the United States.

As the invasion of Iraq progressed in 2003 and the occupation of Iraq took hold, Al Jazeera continued to provide controversial and in-depth reporting, and its feeds were rebroadcast on every continent. It was often the only reporting to focus on the experiences of local people coping with the war. Al Jazeera continued to broadcast controversial missives from insurgents, including footage of Westerners held hostage, until the Iraqi interim government, with U.S. encouragement, banned the network from the country in September 2004.

The 2003 launch of Arabic- and English-language Web sites for Al Jazeera was plagued with controversy. Hackers repeatedly interrupted service on the English-language site, and several Internet service providers cancelled contracts with Al Jazeera

when the network refused to remove controversial content. In November 2006, Al Jazeera International, an English-language network, began its first broadcasts. Al Jazeera International's broadcasts are regularly picked up by the BBC and the United States' Cable News Network (CNN), among others; its viewership is estimated to be 100 million households.

Nancy Stockdale

SEE ALSO Cable News Network; Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars); Correspondents (Middle East Wars); Film (Middle East Wars); Pearl, Daniel

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Al-Qaeda. See bin Laden, Osama

Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

The antiwar movement during the 1991 Persian Gulf War of 1991 was short-lived in large measure because overwhelming U.S. military power brought about a quick end to the hostilities. The Iraq War (2003–), however, has seen substantial antiwar demonstrations and protests, including widespread use of the Internet.

Months before Operation DESERT STORM commenced in January 1991, an antiwar movement had already manifested itself. On October 20, 1990, protesters marched in New York City and 15 other U.S. cities calling upon the George H. W. Bush administration to avoid war with Iraq. A rally in Washington, DC in early February 1991 drew a crowd estimated from 70,000 to as high as 250,000 people. But the massive air campaign culminated in a rapid ground campaign and in four weeks the war had ended, halting the protests as well.

Opposition to the Iraq War was much more extensive. Antiwar groups began protests even before military action began in March 2003, insisting that the George W. Bush administration's plans for war were generated by oil interests and would breed more terrorism. They also argued that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was not in consort with al-Qaeda and did not possess weapons of mass destruction.

On February 15, 2003, between 100,000 and 250,000 people marched in New York City. On March 15, tens of thousands of protesters participated in antiwar rallies across



Cindy Sheehan, whose son Casey was killed in Iraq in 2004, became one of the strongest and best known voices protesting American involvement in Iraq. She is shown here carrying a cross on the road leading to President George W. Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the country. Once the war commenced on March 20, 2003, the antiwar protests grew in number and included people from all walks of life, cutting across race, gender, and economic lines.

Cindy Sheehan became the best-known opponent of the war. Sheehan's son was killed in Iraq in 2004. In August 2005, she conducted a 26-day vigil outside President Bush's ranch at Crawford, Texas. Her most dramatic act of civil disobedience occurred during the 2006 State of the Union Address, when she was forcibly removed from the House chamber sporting a T-shirt that read: "2,245 Dead. How Many More?" In March 2006, Sheehan was arrested for allegedly blocking a door leading to the U.S. mission in the United Nations in New York City. She was also one of the founders of the Gold Star Families for Peace, an organization dedicated to helping families that had lost relatives in the Iraq War and bringing an end to U.S. involvement in Iraq.

The anti-Iraq War movement has made significant use of on-line organization. Antiwar groups such as MoveOn.org have mobilized opposition at the grassroots level through use of the Internet. Use of on-line activism has emerged as a force for organizing, raising money, and influencing politicians through blogs (web logs) and e-mail messages. The Internet has also been responsible for increasing membership in antiwar organizations like Iraq Veterans Against the War.

Charles F. Howlett

SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; Rove, Karl; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Arab Television. See Al Jazeera

Arnett, Peter

Over the course of his career, Peter Arnett has covered most of the world's major conflicts since the early 1960s and has established himself as one of the preeminent war correspondents of his time.

Arnett was born in Riverton, New Zealand on November 13, 1934. Arnett worked for newspapers in his native country before moving to Australia in 1956, where he worked briefly for the *Sydney Sun*. In 1958, Arnett moved to Bangkok, and worked for two years as a reporter for the English-language *Bangkok World*. In 1959, he began working as a stringer for the Associated Press in Bangkok, work that he would continue when he went to Vientiane, Laos, in 1960 to open a branch of the *Bangkok World* there.

Following the August 1960 coup in Laos, Arnett joined the AP full time, assigned first to Jakarta, Indonesia. In April 1962, he went to the AP office in Saigon, joining the resident press corps that was assembling there. Arnett displayed his journalistic and physical courage as he covered the growing political strife in South Vietnam. In the summer of 1963, as protests against the Diem regime increased, Diem's brother and closest advisor Ngo Dinh Nhu unleashed the secret police against the press, South Vietnamese and foreign. On one occasion, Arnett was knocked to the ground by four secret policemen, who proceeded to kick him violently. He could have been injured even more seriously than he was had not David Halberstam come to his aid.

Unlike many reporters who did relatively brief tours in Vietnam, Arnett stayed from 1962 to the end of the war in April 1975. In fact, Arnett was one of the last Western reporters to leave Saigon, having conducted interviews with victorious North Vietnamese troops in the days following the fall of the city. That commitment to the story helped him develop an understanding of Vietnam, in all its complexity, unmatched by any other



CNN correspondent Peter Arnett reports on a civilian air raid shelter that was allegedly destroyed by allied bombs on February 13, 1991, in Baghdad, Iraq. CNN was the only television news organization to remain in Iraq during the first nights of the Gulf War. Arnett filed reports from within Iraq throughout the war. (Getty Images)

Western reporter. He could write with equal clarity about combat, the pacification effort, and South Vietnamese politics. Among his large volume of excellent writing, his first-hand account of the fight for Hill 875 during the Dak To campaign of October–November 1967 takes its place among the great literature of combat reporting.

Arnett continued to work for the AP following the war in Vietnam, but he grew restless under what he felt was an increasingly bureaucratic organization. While in Atlanta in the spring of 1981, Arnett ran into Richard Blystone, an old friend who had gone to work for the new Cable News Network. Blystone persuaded Arnett to interview; within a few days, Arnett was named national correspondent for CNN. Arnett covered a variety of national and international stories for the fledgling network, including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Arnett disguised himself as an Afghan tribesman in order to sneak into the country and interview mujahideen fighters.

Well known and respected by his press colleagues from his work in Vietnam, Arnett became a household name during the First Gulf War, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM. Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, the United States put together an international consensus to repulse the Iraqis, by force if necessary. As Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein remained defiant, war became more and more likely,

and the attention of the world press turned to Baghdad. Arnett, then the Jerusalem bureau chief for CNN, was sent to Baghdad on January 11, 1991, just days before the United Nations' January 15 deadline for Iraqi troops to withdraw from Kuwait. When the deadline passed, most news organizations pulled out, but CNN resolved to stay. When the bombing began in the early hours of January 17, CNN, with reporters Bernard Shaw, John Holliman, and Arnett, was the only news organization able to file reports. Soon, Shaw and Holliman left Baghdad, leaving Arnett as the sole reporter working in there for some five weeks.

Their dramatic coverage of those first hours of the war established CNN as a major news force, but it was not without controversy. Arnett's reports on the damage to civilians caused by coalition bombing prompted some U.S. officials to accuse Arnett of allowing himself to become a tool of Iraqi propaganda. Also, a story that the coalition had bombed a baby milk factory in the mistaken belief that it was a biological weapons site drew sharp denials from the Bush Administration. However, Arnett's report that the site had never produced weapons was eventually confirmed by U.S. inspection teams.

Controversy continued to follow Arnett. In 1998, he reported a story on what he called "Operation TAILWIND." The story claimed that the U.S. Army had used the deadly nerve agent Sarin against deserting U.S. soldiers in Laos in 1970. When the Pentagon produced a report that contradicted Arnett's story, CNN commissioned its own investigation. As a result, CNN retracted the story, fired its producers, and publicly reprimanded Arnett; he left CNN the next year. In 2003, he was working for *National Geographic* and NBC, covering the U.S. invasion of Iraq. On March 31, he granted an interview to Iraqi state television, in which he said that the first U.S. battle plan had failed and that reports of Iraqi resistance and civilian casualties were helping the antiwar forces in America. Almost immediately, *National Geographic* and NBC severed ties with him.

While Arnett's aggressive approach to journalism has occasionally resulted in ill-advised actions, his 40-plus year career has, overall, illustrated the best of U.S. war coverage.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Cable News Network; Correspondents (Middle East Wars); Film (Middle East Wars)

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Aziz, Tariq (Michael Yuhanna)

Aziz served as Iraqi foreign minister (1983–1991) and deputy prime minister (1979–2003). He was born on April 1, 1936 into a Chaldean Catholic family in Tell Kaif, Iraq. Originally named Michael Yuhanna, Aziz was the only Christian in a position of power during Saddam Hussein’s 34-year-long dictatorship. While in college, he changed his name to Tariq Aziz, which means “glorious past,” in order to avoid hostility regarding his religious heritage.

In 1957, Aziz joined the Ba’ath Party and worked with Saddam Hussein against the pro-Western Iraqi monarchy. After receiving his bachelor’s degree in English literature in 1958 from the Baghdad College of Fine Arts, Aziz continued to produce Ba’ath Party propaganda, in addition to working as a journalist. From 1963 to 1966, Aziz was both editor-in-chief of the Ba’ath Party’s newspaper, *al-Thawra* [The Revolution], and director of the Arab Ba’ath Socialist Party’s press office in Damascus, Syria. When the British-imposed monarchy in Iraq ended in 1958, the Ba’ath Party continued to seek power in Iraq. After an unsuccessful coup in 1963, the party finally gained power in 1968.

From 1974 to 1977, Aziz served as a member of the Regional Command, the Ba’ath Party’s highest governing unit. In 1979, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein named him deputy prime minister. His primary role was to explain and justify Iraq’s policies to global audiences. Aziz became known around the world for his eloquent diplomatic discourses.

In 1980, Aziz was wounded in an assassination attempt initiated by an Iranian-backed fundamentalist group. Members of the group threw a grenade at him in downtown Baghdad, killing several Iraqis in the process. The attack was one of several that Saddam Hussein blamed on the Iranian government, which was part of his justification for his September 1980 invasion of Iran that produced the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). In 1984, that war enabled Aziz to secure the restoration of diplomatic relations with the United States after a 17-year-long interruption. The United States had chosen to support Iraq as a buffer to Iran’s Islamic fundamentalist extremism.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Aziz ardently supported the military action. He stated that the invasion was justified because of Kuwait’s cheating on oil production quotas, which was driving down the price of oil, and because of Kuwait’s alleged slant-drilling into Iraqi oil fields. During the subsequent Persian Gulf War (1991), Aziz enjoyed a substantial international profile, and was seen by the media as the chief Iraqi spokesperson. After the war, Aziz took on more responsibility as deputy prime minister, forcing him to relinquish the foreign ministry portfolio. Nevertheless, he retained a high profile in the government, including monitoring the Iraqi media. In this position, Aziz also conducted Iraq’s negotiations with UN weapons inspectors.

In February 2003, as tensions over Iraq’s alleged illegal weapons programs were about to boil over into war, Aziz spoke with Pope John Paul II about the Iraqi government’s desire to cooperate with the international community, notably on disarmament. In response, the pope insisted that Iraq respect and give concrete commitments to abide by UN Security Council resolutions. The Iraqis did not heed the advice. On March 19,

2003, at the beginning of the Anglo-U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, there were reports that Aziz had been killed. They were proven false when Aziz later held a press conference. He surrendered to coalition forces on April 24, 2003. In two separate trials in early 2009, he was acquitted of some charges, but convicted for crimes against humanity in connection with the executions of 42 accused war profiteers and sentenced to 15 years.

Charlene T. Overturf

SEE ALSO Arnett, Peter; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Cable News Network; Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars); Correspondents (Middle East Wars); Hussein, Saddam

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Battle Lines: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund

The report *Battle Lines: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund* was part of the reexamination of press-military relations during the 1980s.

Prompted by what it saw as an increasingly unhealthy antagonism between the news media and the U.S. military, the trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, a non-partisan public policy research foundation, commissioned the study in 1985. While applauding the military's concern with the issue, as reflected in the Sidle Commission report of the previous year, the fund's trustees felt that it did not go far enough in examining the underlying issues that had led to the rising tensions.

The task force was comprised of prominent individuals with experience in journalism, government, and the military. It solicited presentations from a similarly distinguished group, including Keyes Beech, retired correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News*; Jack Garrow, chief of public affairs, U.S. Navy; Michael Burch, assistant secretary of defense for public affairs in the Reagan Administration; Tom Ross, who held the same position in the Carter Administration; Stephen Rosenfeld, deputy editorial page editor for *The Washington Post*; and Marlene Sanders and Jane Wallace, correspondents for CBS News.

The report's main difference with the Sidle Commission was the belief that the Sidle panelists did not state strongly enough the need for civilian authority in the development of press policy. *Battle Lines* felt that the problems between the press and the military in Grenada stemmed largely from the fact that military commanders had been left to their own devices in handling the press and, thus, did not develop a coherent press policy other than keeping reporters off the island.

Beyond this point, *Battle Lines* made recommendations that mirrored those of the Sidle Commission. These included:

- Making the public affairs officers in the Defense Department more central to the Department's functions, both in peacetime and in time of conflict.
- Establishing clearly stated ground rules governing coverage, such as were in place during Vietnam.
- Creating training programs for mid-career journalists to familiarize them with military affairs.
- Creating similar programs for military officers.

The greatest contribution of *Battle Lines* was the background paper prepared by veteran journalist Peter Braestrup, who served as rapporteur for the task force. Braestrup gave a concise but insightful overview of press-military relations in World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and Grenada, as well as an analysis of the tradition of press freedom and the differing cultures of the press and military.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Sidle Commission

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bin Laden, Osama

Islamic extremist and, as head of the al-Qaeda terrorist organization, the world's most notorious terrorist leader. bin Laden has been linked most notoriously to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, but also to numerous other acts of terrorism throughout the world. Born on March 10, 1957, in Riyadh Saudi Arabia, Usamah bin Muhammad bin 'Awa bin Ladin is most usually known as Osama bin Laden. The name Osama means "young lion" in Arabic. According to Arabic convention, he should be referred to as Osama or Osama bin Ladin but in the West he is almost universally referred to as bin Laden.

Bin Laden's father, Muhammad bin Awdah bin Laden, was a highly successful and immensely wealthy construction manager from Yemen who prospered thanks to a close relationship with the Saudi royal family. His construction projects included major highways and the reconstruction of the Muslim holy cities of Medina and Mecca. Bin Laden Sr., who was also strongly opposed to Israel, reportedly had 21 wives and fathered 54 children. Osama was the 17th son but the only son of his father's 10th wife, Hamida al-Attas. Bin Laden Sr. died in a plane crash in 1967. He left an estate reported at \$11 billion. Bin Laden's personal inheritance has been variously estimated at \$40–50 million.

The family moved a number of times but settled in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. There bin Laden attended al-Thagr, the city's top school. He had some exposure to the West through vacations in Sweden and a summer program in English at Oxford University. At age 17, bin Laden married a 14-year-old cousin of his mother. In 1977, he entered King Abdulaziz University (now King Abdul Aziz University) in Jeddah, where he majored in economics and business management. Bin Laden was an indifferent student, but this was at least in part because of time spent in the family construction business. He left school altogether in 1979, evidently planning to work in the family's Saudi Binladen Group that then employed 37,000 people and was valued at some \$5 billion. This plan was apparently blocked by his older brothers.

As a boy, bin Laden had received religious training in Sunni Islam, but around 1973 he began developing a fundamentalist religious bent. This was sufficiently strong to alarm other family members. Bin Laden also developed ties with the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood that same year. While in the university, he was mentored in Islamic studies by Muhammad Qutb, brother of the martyred Sayyid Qutb, leader of the Muslim Brotherhood; and by Sheikh Abdullah Yussuf Azzam, a proponent of jihad (holy war). Both men had a profound influence on him.

Two events also exacted a profound influence. The first was the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by Islamists led by Juhaynan ibn-Muhammad-ibn Sayf al-Taibi and the subsequent martyrdom of the group. The second was the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. It is safe to say that the latter marked a major turning point in bin Laden's life.

In 1979, bin Laden traveled to Pakistan and there met with Afghan leaders Burhanuddin Rabbani and Abdul Rasool Sayyaf. He then returned to Saudi Arabia to organize resistance to the Soviets in Afghanistan. There was considerable sentiment in Saudi Arabia for assisting the Afghans against the Soviets, and reportedly some 10,000 Saudis volunteered. Bin Laden returned to Pakistan with construction equipment, such as bulldozers, to aid the Afghan mujahideen (freedom fighters, holy warriors) fighting the Soviet troops and allied Afghan government forces. This equipment was used to build roads, tunnels, shelters, and hospitals.

Bin Laden's organizational skills were more important than the equipment, however. He worked actively with Sheikh Abdullah Yussuf Azzam to recruit and train jihadists to fight in Afghanistan, much of the funding for which came from bin Laden's personal fortune. He also tapped his contacts in Saudi Arabia for additional funds. Azzam and bin Laden established the Mujahideen Services Bureau. Between 1985 and 1989, approximately 150,000 soldiers entered Afghanistan through training camps established in neighboring Pakistan by the Services Bureau.

In 1986, bin Laden, now having relocated to Peshawar, Pakistan, joined a mujahideen field unit and took part in actual combat. Notably, this included the 1987 Battle of the Lion's Den near Jaji. Such activity sharply increased bin Laden's prestige among the mujahideen.

The mysterious assassination of bin Laden's mentor Azzam on November 14, 1989 opened the way for bin Laden to assume a greater role in extremist Islamic politics.

While he agreed with Azzam about the need for jihad against the enemies of Islam, bin Laden carried this philosophy a step further in insisting that it should be extended to a holy war on behalf of Islam around the world.

In the fall of 1989, Azzam and bin Laden had founded the al-Qaeda (“the base” in Arabic) organization. On its announcement, those present were required to sign a loyalty oath (*bayat*). With Azzam’s death, bin Laden, at the age of 32, became the undisputed leader of al-Qaeda.

With the end of the Afghan War, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia. He was now acclaimed as a hero both by the Saudi people and by the government. Bin Laden soon approached Prince Turki al-Faisal, head of the kingdom’s intelligence services, offering to lead a guerrilla effort to overthrow the Marxist government of South Yemen, but Turki rejected the suggestion. Bin Laden then settled in Jeddah and worked in the family construction business until Iraqi President Saddam Hussein sent his army into Kuwait in August 1990.

The Iraqi military takeover of Kuwait directly threatened Saudi Arabia, and bin Laden again approached the Saudi government, offering to recruit as many as 12,000 men to defend the kingdom. The Saudi government again rebuffed him. Instead, it allowed U.S. and other Western troops to be stationed in Saudi Arabia with the plan to drive the Iraqis from Kuwait by force, if necessary. Incensed both at the rejection of his services and the injection of hundreds of thousands of infidels into his homeland, bin Laden bitterly denounced the Saudi government. Indeed, he demanded that all foreign troops leave at once. His vocal opposition to Saudi government policy brought him a brief period of house arrest.

Bin Laden’s opposition to Saudi government policies and the Gulf War led him to leave the kingdom. He moved with his family first to Pakistan and then to Sudan, where he had earlier purchased property around Khartoum. He also moved his financial assets there and became involved in a series of business ventures, including a road building company, all of which added considerably to his personal fortune. From Sudan, bin Laden also mounted verbal attacks on the Saudi royal family and the kingdom’s religious leadership, accusing them of being false Muslims. These attacks led the Saudi government to strip him of his citizenship in April 1994 and freeze his financial assets in the kingdom (his share of the family business was then estimated to be about \$7 million). Bin Laden also roundly denounced Israel.

In Sudan, bin Laden also organized the terrorist activities of al-Qaeda, which were in place by 1989. Its goals were to incite all Muslims to join in a defensive jihad against the West and to help overthrow tyrannical secular Muslim secular governments. Bin Laden established an al-Qaeda training camp at Soba, north of Khartoum, and in 1992 he sent advisors and equipment to Somalia to aid the fight against the Western mission to restore order in that country. He also began terrorist activities directed against Americans in Saudi Arabia. On November 13, 1995, a car bomb in Riyadh killed five Americans and one Saudi and wounded 60 others. Other similar actions followed.

Mounting pressure by the Saudi and U.S. governments forced the Sudanese government to ask bin Laden to leave that country. In May 1996, bin Laden relocated

to Afghanistan. He left Sudan with little money; the Sudanese government settled with him for only a small fraction of his estimated \$300 million in assets.

Afghanistan was a natural location for bin Laden. The Islamic fundamentalist Taliban had come to power, and bin Laden had established a close relationship with its head, Mullah Mohammad Omar. Although there was some unease among the Taliban leadership about the possible consequences of hosting the now-acknowledged terrorist, their scruples were overcome by bin Laden's promises of financial assistance from his Arab contacts. In return, the Taliban permitted bin Laden to establish a network of training camps and perpetrate worldwide terrorist activities. The alliance was firmly established when bin Laden directed al-Qaeda to join the fight against the Northern Alliance forces of General Ahmed Shah Massoud that were seeking to unseat the Taliban.

Now firmly established in Afghanistan, bin Laden began planning a series of attacks against the perceived worldwide enemies of Islam. His principal target was the United States, and on August 23, 1996, he issued a call for jihad against the Americans for their presence in Saudi Arabia. In February 1998, he broadened this to a global jihad against all enemies of Islam. Al-Qaeda was in fact largely a holding organization with several dozen terrorist groups affiliated with it. Bin Laden's role was to coordinate, approve, and assist their various activities. Thus, when Khalid Sheikh Mohammad presented a plan to hijack large commercial airliners and crash them into prominent buildings in the United States, bin Laden approved the plan but left its implementation up to Mohammad.

Bin Laden expected that these attacks in the United States, if they were successful, would trigger a vigorous U.S. response but that this, in turn, would produce an outpouring of support for his cause from within the Arab world. The first assumption proved correct. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, the United States demanded that the Taliban turn over bin Laden and take action against al-Qaeda. When the leaders of the Taliban refused, U.S. forces, assisted by those of other Western nations, aided the Northern Alliance and attacked Afghanistan, driving the Taliban from power. The second assumption, that a forceful U.S. response would bring a Muslim backlash, proved false.

Bin Laden had also not expected the Taliban to be easily overthrown. When that occurred, he withdrew into his stronghold in Tora Bora, a cave complex in the White Mountains of eastern Afghanistan, where he remained until December 2001. U.S. efforts to capture him and his followers were botched, and he escaped, presumably into northwestern Pakistan. There Islamic fundamentalism and support for the Taliban and al-Qaeda is strong. Indeed, Western efforts to capture him have made him something of a hero in the Muslim world, where a significant percentage of people profess admiration for him. There are indications that he was wounded in the arm in the U.S. bombing of Tora Bora in late 2001, and there has been other speculation about the state of his health. Despite a reward of \$50 million for his capture—dead or alive—Osama bin Laden continues to thwart efforts to bring him to justice.

Harry R. Hueston and Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; September 11, 2001 Attacks

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Bush, George Herbert Walker

George H. W. Bush served as a U.S. congressman, ambassador, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during 1975–1976, vice president during 1981–1989, and president of the United States during 1989–1993. Bush was born on June 12, 1924, in Milton, Massachusetts, to a wealthy and patrician family. His father, Prescott Bush, was a prominent U.S. senator from Connecticut. On his 18th birthday, the younger Bush enlisted in the U.S. Navy, becoming its youngest pilot and seeing service in the Pacific flying a torpedo bomber. He was shot down by Japanese aircraft and later rescued by a U.S. submarine. After the war, he married Barbara Pierce, graduated from Yale University with an economics degree, moved to west Texas, and embarked on a career in the oil business. Opening his own company in 1950, by 1954 he was the president of Zapata Offshore Company, quickly becoming wealthy in his own right.

Bush entered electoral politics as a Republican in 1964, losing a bid for the U.S. Senate. Undeterred, he won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1966. In 1970, he again ran and lost a race for the U.S. Senate. President Richard M. Nixon appointed Bush ambassador to the United Nations in 1971. In this post for two years, Bush fought unsuccessfully to preserve Nationalist China's (Taiwan) seat in that organization. During 1973–1974, Bush served as the chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) at the direct request of President Nixon. Bush steadfastly defended Nixon during the Watergate Scandal that ultimately forced Nixon to resign in August 1974.

Bush then served during 1974–1975 in President Gerald R. Ford's administration as chief of the U.S. liaison office to the People's Republic of China (PRC). Although the United States and the PRC had not yet established full diplomatic relations, Bush nonetheless acted as the *de facto* ambassador to the PRC. In 1975, he took over the CIA, which was then reeling from a series of shocking and embarrassing revelations about its role in assassination plots, coups, and other covert operations conducted in the name of the Cold War. Bush achieved some success as he tried to rehabilitate the CIA; he left

the agency in 1977 after Jimmy Carter defeated Ford in the 1976 presidential election. Bush then became chairman of the First International Bank of Houston.

In 1980, Bush sought the Republican presidential nomination, but lost to former California governor Ronald Reagan. Despite harsh rhetoric during the primaries, Reagan named Bush his running mate, and the pair went on to win an overwhelming victory in the 1980 elections. Bush did not wield much power in the administration, however. During Reagan's first term, military spending increased dramatically, and the administration provided considerable aid to foreign governments and insurgents to combat communism. Bush bolstered these measures by traveling around the globe soliciting support for Reagan's policies, particularly in Central America. Bush met with Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega, who had allied himself with the anticommunist Nicaraguan contras. The contras were fighting the Marxist Sandinista government and receiving U.S. military and financial aid. After Congress voted to cut off assistance to the contras in 1983, the Reagan administration began covertly aiding them by diverting proceeds from the illicit sale of weapons to Iran to the contra rebels. When the Iran-Contra story broke in 1986, Bush denied any knowledge of the illegal operation. Despite questions about his role in the Iran-Contra Affair when he ran for the presidency in 1988, Bush won a sound victory over Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis.

During Ronald Reagan's second term, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union had improved remarkably, and in Bush's first year as president he continued to negotiate with Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev. In November 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall ushered in the end of the Cold War. Bush's reactions to the changes in Eastern Europe were calculatingly restrained. He and his foreign policy advisers were wary of antagonizing the Soviet leadership and were fearful that the Soviet military might be employed to stanch the pro-democracy movements. But Soviet weakness and Gorbachev's promises not to intervene led to a peaceful revolution. By January 1992, the Soviet Union had been officially dissolved, and later that year President Bush and the new Russian leader, Boris Yeltsin, declared an official end to the Cold War.

Bush dealt with a series of foreign policy crises, including China's brutal crackdown against protesters in Tiananmen Square during May–June 1990. This event severely strained Sino-U.S. relations, although Bush's experience as liaison to China in the 1970s may have been a moderating factor in that impasse. In December 1989, Bush launched Operation JUST CAUSE, the invasion of Panama that resulted in the capture and extradition of Panamanian president Manuel Noriega. Noriega, formerly an ally of the United States, was taken to the United States and tried on a variety of drug-trafficking charges.

After Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, Bush successfully mounted an international coalition force that liberated Kuwait and dealt a crippling blow to Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's military. Almost immediately, the Bush administration made it clear that the Iraqi takeover of Kuwait would not be permitted to stand. To pressure Hussein to withdraw and to protect Saudi Arabia, the United States embarked on Operation DESERT SHIELD, which positioned nearly 500,000 U.S. troops in the region. Meanwhile, Bush was carefully building an international coalition, which included many Arab nations, that would ultimately expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The Bush

administration was also building support in the United Nations, which on November 29, 1990, passed a resolution authorizing military action against Iraq if it did not withdraw by January 15, 1991.

When the UN deadline passed with Iraqi forces still in Kuwait, the Persian Gulf War, code-named Operation DESERT STORM, began. The conflict, which now had a 34-nation coalition arrayed against Iraq, began on January 17, 1991, with massive bombing raids against Iraqi targets. The next day, Hussein ordered Scud surface-to-surface missiles fired into Israel in an obvious attempt to draw the Israelis into the war and break apart the unlikely coalition. Bush implored Israel not to react to the attacks, which caused only light damage. He also sent Patriot air defense missile batteries to Israel to intercept and shoot down incoming Scuds. Although these had less success than was claimed at the time, the Patriots were a factor in Bush's success in keeping Israel out of the war.

On February 24, 1991, the United States commenced the ground war to liberate Kuwait. On February 26, Iraqi troops were beating a hasty retreat from Kuwait. By February 27, with Iraqi forces badly beaten and with many surrendering, Bush declared a cease-fire, and the Persian Gulf War officially ended on February 28, 1991. The conflict liberated Kuwait, protected Saudi Arabian and Middle Eastern oil supplies, and had not turned into a larger conflagration. However, Hussein's repressive regime was left firmly in place. Presciently and certainly ironically, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney defended the decision not to oust Hussein and invade Iraq because such a move would have "bogged [the United States] down in the quagmire inside Iraq."

Following the war, Bush enjoyed exceptionally high approval ratings. However, a deep economic recession resulted in a near free-fall in his popularity. In November 1992, he lost a close election to Democrat Bill Clinton. One of Bush's last significant accomplishments as president was the brokering of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which Clinton signed in 1993. Since leaving office, Bush has assembled his presidential library in Texas, co-authored a book on foreign affairs, and involved himself in various humanitarian missions throughout the world. He remained largely silent on the difficulties his son, George W. Bush, faced as president between 2001 and 2009.

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SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; Hussein, Saddam; Powell, Colin Luther; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman Jr.

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Bush, George Walker

Governor of Texas (1995–2000) and president of the United States (2001–2009), George Walker Bush was born into a wealthy and political family on July 6, 1946 in New Haven, Connecticut, the son of former President George H. W. Bush. He graduated from Phillips Academy and then from Yale University, in 1968.

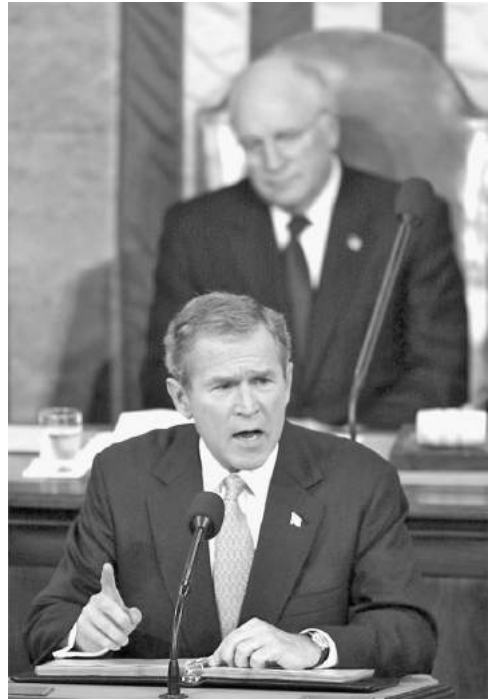
Bush earned an MBA from Harvard University in 1975, returned to Texas, and founded Arbusto Energy Company in 1977. In 1988, he served as a staffer during his father's successful 1988 presidential campaign. He also became the owner and managing partner of the Texas Rangers baseball team.

In 1994, Bush won the Texas governorship. As governor, he kept his promise to work with the Democratic-dominated legislature, while reducing state regulation of businesses and cutting taxes. In 1998, he won reelection by a large margin.

By 1999, Bush was clearly preparing to run for president. Campaigning as a “compassionate conservative,” he easily won the 2000 Republican nomination. Once again, he laid out a platform of specific policies designed to appeal to moderates. After one of the closest and most contentious presidential elections in U.S. history, involving court challenges regarding vote recounts in Florida, the U.S. Supreme Court finally halted the recounts, virtually declaring Bush the winner. His advisers included Colin Powell as secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice as national security advisor, and Donald Rumsfeld as secretary of defense. His vice president, Dick Cheney, had been secretary of defense for George H. W. Bush in the early 1990s.

The course of Bush's presidency was forever changed on September 11, 2001, when a group of 19 Islamic extremist hijackers seized four commercial airliners and attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, with more than 3,000 people killed.

On September 20, Bush appeared before Congress, on national television, and accused the terrorist network al-Qaeda of carrying out the attacks. Bush demanded



U.S. president George W. Bush delivering his first State of the Union address to a joint session of Congress at the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., on January 29, 2002. In his speech, Bush outlined his plan to fight the war on terrorism and characterized the nations of Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as forming an “axis of evil.” (AP/Wide World Photos)

that Afghanistan's Taliban government surrender the members of al-Qaeda in their country or face retribution. When the Taliban failed to comply, U.S. and British forces began a bombing campaign on October 7. Indigenous forces, with heavy U.S. support, defeated the Taliban by mid-November. Taliban resistance continued in the rugged parts of the country.

While attempting to capture al-Qaeda leaders, the Bush administration also sought to improve national security. A new Department of Homeland Security was created in 2002 to coordinate all agencies that could track and defeat terrorist attacks. The U.S. Patriot Act, passed on October 26, 2001, giving the federal government unprecedented powers to obtain intelligence about and detain those suspected of wishing to harm the United States.

During 2002, the Bush administration turned its attentions to Iraq. Intelligence reports indicated that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was continuing to pursue a program to develop weapons of mass destruction. By the end of 2002, the Bush administration had formulated a new policy of preemptive warfare, known as the Bush Doctrine, to destroy regimes that intended to do harm to the United States. By the beginning of 2003, a military buildup against Iraq was in place.

On March 17, 2003, Bush demanded that Saddam and his sons leave Iraq or face the consequences. When they failed to respond, military operations, under the name IRAQI FREEDOM, began two days later. Although U.S. forces faced fierce resistance in the first days of the war, Baghdad fell by April 9. At that point, organized resistance was minimal.

However, Iraq was soon plagued by social unrest, as different religious and ethnic groups came into conflict. Although efforts were soon underway to create a new Iraqi government, a vicious insurgency broke out. Far more U.S. troops were killed trying to keep order in Iraq after May 2003 than died in the conventional fighting. The reconstruction of the country and the restoration of vital services were slowed by the fighting.

Although Bush was reelected president in 2004, critics called for the removal of U.S. forces and for an investigation of the grounds on which he launched an invasion of Iraq. The failure to find any WMDs in Iraq undercut the stated reason for the attack.

By 2006, the main focus of the Bush administration remained the War on Terror and in Iraq. Public confidence in Bush's policies reached new lows. The Republicans lost control of Congress in the November 2006 elections largely because of Bush's dismal approval ratings and the war in Iraq. Bush's unpopularity contributed to significant Republican defeats in the 2008 elections as well, even though a change in military policy in Iraq that focused on counter-insurgency had begun to yield results.

Tim J. Watts

SEE ALSO bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; Rove, Karl; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11, 2001 Attacks; September 11 Commission and Report

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Cable News Network

Cable News Network (CNN) was the first U.S. cable television network dedicated to presenting domestic and international news 24 hours a day, and which is credited with having revolutionized the coverage of live events during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. CNN was founded in 1980, when cable television was not much beyond its infancy, by media impresario Ted Turner in Atlanta, Georgia. It was part of his Turner Broadcast System (TBS), which owned a number of stations and networks that broadcast throughout the United States (CNN is now owned by media giant Time-Warner). CNN was the first commercially viable network in the country dedicated solely to news and news-related shows; as such, it is credited for having begun the phenomenon of 24-hour news programming. In 1982, Turner launched a companion network to CNN, first called CNN-2, and then renamed Headline News, which broadcasts a short, 30-minute all-inclusive news show designed to give viewers a brief overview of national and international events.

With a current viewership exceeding 90 million U.S. households, plus households reached by its Canadian counterpart, CNN is known for its in-depth news reporting, various interview-style news shows, the use of experts to add more dimension to news stories, and for reporting in real time on location during breaking news events. CNN caters more to U.S. news events, and its coverage of international events is not as extensive as that of the British Broadcasting System (BBC), which is its most direct foreign competitor. CNN's international coverage has been criticized in some quarters, especially in the Middle East, where detractors claim that the network reports news events with a U.S. perspective that can sometimes compromise fairness and accuracy.

It was not until the 1991 Persian Gulf War that CNN became a household word for U.S. television viewers. When Operation DESERT STORM began in January 1991, CNN was the only news network capable of broadcasting out of Iraq, which it did with much fanfare and excitement in the opening hours of the air campaign in Baghdad. Holed up in Baghdad's al-Rashid Hotel, CNN correspondents John Holliman, Peter Arnett, and Bernard Shaw reported live, first from cell phones and then on camera, as U.S. bombs and rockets exploded around them. At one point, bombs fell so close to the hotel that viewers saw the reporters scrambling for cover under desks in the makeshift studio.

The coverage transfixed the U.S. public and catapulted CNN and its reporters into the limelight. CNN also managed to scoop its then more powerful competition, namely the

big three networks of ABC, CBS, and NBC. Other CNN reporters saw their stars rise during the Persian Gulf War, including Wolf Blitzer and Christiane Amanpour.

CNN's on-the-scene, real-time new coverage continued, including its coverage of the infamous October 3–4, 1993 Battle of Mogadishu, the September 11, 2001 terror attacks, and, of course, coverage of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003. By the mid-1990s, Pentagon officials and other war planners had begun to refer to the “CNN Effect,” which was the public's reaction to the actual unfolding of news events as they occurred in front on the camera. This, they realized, added an entirely new dimension to the management of public opinion in times of war or crisis, and also forced civilian leadership to react to events in a faster and more decisive manner. Some critics of the “CNN Effect” point out that coverage of events in real-time can give viewers a skewed perception of occurrences because they see only what is being shown on television at any given time. Other critics point out that the advent of 24-hour news networks has led to less careful news reporting in order to stay abreast of the competition, and has encouraged news outlets to create news stories from information that may not, indeed, be very newsworthy.

Despite its critics, CNN has had an extraordinary impact on broadcast news reporting and the shaping of public opinion. In 1995, CNN began its on-line news network (CNN.com), which has further revolutionized the reporting of news events. Since then, those people seeking news information do not have to be near a television set, and with the recent advent of hand-held computer devices, CNN can broadcast via cell phones, Blackberries, and the like.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Arnett, Peter; Aziz, Tariq (Michael Yuhanna); Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars); Film (Middle East Wars); Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM; Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman Jr.

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Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars)

The recent wars in the Middle East led the United States to impose a degree of censorship at home and abroad. While that censorship has not been the direct battlefield censorship seen in World Wars I and II, it has nonetheless been effective in inhibiting access by the

news media and the public to certain classes of information. Media reports about U.S. activities have been restricted, allegedly scandalous events have been (some suggest) subject to cover-ups, and laws hinder access to information about events in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the wider War on Terrorism. Moreover, during the occupation, Iraqi citizens were angered by U.S. censorship of the local media, as well as the imposition of laws regulating public political displays. While the U.S. government and military sought to justify their actions as legitimate and necessary decisions in wartime, critics of U.S. policy have hinted at the irony that a nation built on democratic principles might seek to dictate what can and cannot be seen or expressed by a citizenry and its media.

In the United States, censorship concerning U.S. actions in the Middle East has seen both subtle and overt examples. One of the most controversial of these decisions was the Pentagon's ban on filming or broadcast in the United States of the arrival from Iraq and Afghanistan of flag-draped coffins carrying dead soldiers. According to the George W. Bush Administration, the ban was instituted to protect grieving families from prying eyes. Many Americans nonetheless viewed this ban as a way to distract the general public from the human cost of the war. This perspective was reinforced when, at the start of the conflict in March 2003, President Bush's mother, former First Lady Barbara Bush, appeared on the popular television program "Good Morning, America," asking "Why should we hear about body bags and deaths and how many? It's not relevant. So why should I waste my beautiful mind on something like that?"

Many families of slain soldiers were outraged by the media blackout, feeling that their loved ones' deaths and deeds ought to be publicized, so that the general population is well informed about the costs of the Iraq War. Prevented from meeting planes carrying the remains of their children, spouses, and parents, many families protested outside of air bases and the White House against the ban. Moreover, after a contractor was fired in April 2004 for taking photographs of scores of coffins her company was flying out of



Air Force officers oversee the transport of coffins containing the remains of 20 U.S. servicemen killed during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Pursuant to a Pentagon order of 2003, it was forbidden to disseminate to the public images such as this scene at Dover Air Force Base. Requests filed in 2004 under the Freedom of Information Act resulted in the successful release of more than 300 such photographs of flag-draped coffins and the honor guards charged with their transport. (U.S. Air Force)

Kuwait, several military families defied the ban and allowed the media to film funerals, including images of flag-draped coffins. The Louisiana National Guard participated in breaking the ban as well when, in April 2004, it defied orders from the Pentagon and allowed the television network CBS to film funerals, at the behest of military families burying their dead. The Obama Administration rescinded the ban in February 2009.

The censorship of the images and details of the war's dead is, some suggest, only one of many incidences of information suppression by the U.S. military and government in recent years. For example, while statistics about soldiers wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan have been difficult to trace due to blackouts, some reporters have been able to access military records through the Freedom of Information Act, determining the number in the tens of thousands. Though many returning soldiers waited months for treatment in veterans' hospitals and have seen their benefits sharply reduced, the government has maintained relative silence on the issue and the mainstream media has followed suit.

The most difficult information to find as a result of U.S. censorship has been the impact of these current engagements on Iraqis, Afghanis, and others in Middle Eastern war zones. For instance, during the 2004–2005 battles in Fallujah, the U.S. military and its allies killed and wounded thousands of civilians in the course of their attempts to occupy the city, but both international and domestic media outlets were prevented from broadcasting images from the campaign. The Arab news network Al Jazeera was banned entirely from Fallujah and later from Iraq, while embedded journalists from United States and European news agencies have also committed self-censorship in an effort to maintain the status quo. Those who refused to comply with the restrictions saw their visas revoked, a state of affairs that upset free speech activists.

U.S. occupation forces also worked hard to censor information that the Bush administration believed to hurt U.S. efforts in the country. One of the most controversial moments in the occupation was the emergence of a series of photographs in spring 2004 that documented abuse of Iraqi prisoners at the hands of U.S. troops in Abu Ghraib prison. Although the U.S. military eventually prosecuted low-level personnel for these abuses, many argue that reports about other cases of prisoner abuse, civilian deaths, and other potentially unsavory aspects of the conflict have been suppressed in the Iraqi and international media by the Americans.

Censorship has created for many Iraqis a sense of irony, as troops bearing the U.S. flag defend the occupation as a project to bring democracy to a new, free Iraq—even as the U.S. Defense Department regulations imposed in early 2004 restrict criticism of the Americans and their allies and ban reportage of “sensitive” events that may cause social unrest in Iraq. Iraqi outrage intensified as U.S. forces shut down newspapers and television networks in Iraq critical of the occupation and made it illegal to post political and religious posters opposed to U.S. forces. Reports of civilian casualties were made illegal some cases as well, forcing many Iraqis to question the intentions of U.S. democracy, if free speech was to be thus regulated.

Nancy Stockdale

SEE ALSO Film (Middle East Wars)

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Cheney, Richard Bruce

Politician, businessman, secretary of defense (1989–1993), and vice president (2001–2008), Richard Bruce (Dick) Cheney was born on January 30, 1941 in Lincoln, Nebraska. He grew up in Casper, Wyoming and was educated at the University of Wyoming, earning a BA degree in 1965 and an MA in political science in 1966. He completed advanced graduate study there and was a Ph.D. candidate in 1968.

Cheney acquired his first governmental position in 1969 when he became the special assistant to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. He served as a White House staff assistant in 1970 and 1971 and as assistant director of the Cost of Living Council from 1971 to 1973. He briefly worked in the private sector as the vice president of an investment advisory firm. In 1974, he returned to government service as President Gerald R. Ford's deputy assistant. In 1975, Ford appointed Cheney as White House chief of staff.

In 1978, Cheney was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, serving six terms. Cheney was known for his conservative votes: he opposed gun control, environmental laws, and funding for Head Start.

Cheney became secretary of defense on March 21, 1989, in the George H. W. Bush administration. In this position, Cheney significantly reduced U.S. military budgets and canceled several major weapons programs as the end of the Cold War increased pressure for a military drawdown. Cheney also provided strong leadership in several international military engagements, including the December 1989 Panama invasion and the humanitarian mission to Somalia in early 1992. Also, Cheney secured the appointment of General Colin Powell as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1989.

Cheney's most difficult military challenge came during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. He secured Saudi permission to begin a military buildup there that would include a United Nations (UN) international coalition of troops. The buildup proceeded in the fall of 1990 as Operation DESERT SHIELD. When economic sanctions and other measures failed to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait, the Persian Gulf War commenced with Operation DESERT STORM on January 16, 1991. A five-week air offensive was followed by the movement of ground forces into Kuwait and Iraq on February 24, 1991. Within four days, the UN coalition had liberated Kuwait. Cheney continued as secretary of defense until January 20, 1993, when Democrat Bill Clinton took office.

Upon leaving the Pentagon, Cheney joined the American Enterprise Institute as a senior fellow. He also became president and chief executive officer of the Halliburton Company in October 1995 and chairman of its board in February 2000.

Only months later, Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush chose Cheney as his vice presidential running mate. After a hard-fought campaign, the Bush-Cheney ticket won the White House in December 2000, although only after a court fight and having lost the popular vote.

Arguably one of the more powerful vice presidents in U.S. history, Cheney endured much criticism for his hawkish views, such as his strong promotion of the 2003 Iraq War, and his connections to the oil and energy industry. He also raised eyebrows by refusing to make public the records of the national energy task force he established to form the administration's energy initiatives.

Many people who knew Cheney personally have asserted that he became a changed man after the September 11 terrorist attacks. As one of the principal promoters of the U.S. invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), which began in March 2003, Cheney received the burden of criticism when the war began to go badly in 2004. As the subsequent Iraqi insurgency increased in size, scope, and violence, Cheney's popularity plummeted. Following the 2006 mid-term elections, in which the Republicans to lose control of Congress, Cheney's role diminished. When his fellow neoconservative Donald Rumsfeld, the secretary of defense, resigned in the election's aftermath, Cheney was increasingly perceived as a liability to the Bush White House, which was under intense pressure to change course in Iraq or quit it altogether.

Also damaging to Cheney was the indictment and conviction of his chief of staff, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, for his involvement in the Valerie Plame-Wilson CIA leak case. Some alleged that it was Cheney who first leaked the classified information to Libby and perhaps others, who in turn leaked it to the press. Cheney continued to keep a remarkably low profile until the end of his second term in 2009.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Hussein, Saddam; Wilson, Valerie Plame; Powell, Colin Luther; Rice, Condoleeza; Rove, Karl; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11, 2001 Attacks

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Correspondents (Middle East Wars)

The 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War have led to dramatic developments in the history of war correspondence. These include the growing prominence of cable giants such as Cable New Network (CNN), news pools attached to military units, and journalists embedded with fighting forces. All these developments exposed news media to accusations of government and corporate control, however. An attempt to counter this alleged censorship has led to a proliferation of chiefly Internet-based alternative news sites. Moreover, the rising casualty rates among journalists in Afghanistan and particularly Iraq have highlighted the inherent risks of war correspondence.

The roots of increasing governmental control over journalistic reporting go back to the Vietnam War, the Falklands War, and the U.S. invasions of Grenada (1983) and Panama (1989). U.S. supporters of the Vietnam War claimed that alleged negative journalistic reports eroded U.S. support for the war. That view has been disproved by the army's own history of press reporting in the war. Nonetheless, it led the U.S. military to abandon its policy of relatively free access for journalists. British policy during the 1982 Falklands War served as a model. British officials assigned no more than 29 correspondents and photographers to pools that accompanied the Falklands invasion force.

Following the British cue, U.S. officials largely excluded the media from Operation URGENT FURY, the 1983 invasion of Grenada. A pool of 300 reporters was kept at bay on a military base in Barbados, deprived of press briefings or news releases. The 15 reporters finally allowed on the island found their movements severely curtailed. Similarly, Operation JUST CAUSE, the 1989 invasion of Panama to overthrow President Manuel Noriega, deployed a very select pool of journalists who were barely briefed and kept well away from military action.

Persian Gulf War

Six public affairs officers set up the main military briefing rooms and television studios in Dhahran and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. They organized "media response teams," a pool system whose members were sometimes permitted to accompany select military units, but reporters were largely denied access to actual combat.

Those who tried to work outside the pool had little success. Some rented hotel rooms in Saudi Arabia and attended daily military briefings, where military spokespersons such as coalition commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf fed the media carefully selected information. General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, performed a similar mission in Washington, DC. Critical of the limited information, some correspondents referred to Operation DESERT STORM as Operation DESERT MUZZLE. Pool members, however, largely failed to challenge the data they were given.

Television correspondents Peter Arnett of CNN, John Simpson of the BBC, and Brent Sadler of ITN evoked criticism for reporting the first stage of the war from Baghdad. Their vivid film of initial air attacks mesmerized television viewers, leading to the

soaring popularity of major news networks. Nevertheless, U.S. government officials objected to the correspondents' presence in an enemy capital.

Prompted by governmental and military spokespersons, major news media produced a sanitized version of combat. According to journalistic briefings, the U.S. military employed a great many "smart bombs," designed to hit military targets and minimize civilian casualties; it was later revealed that less than 7 percent of the bombs dropped were actually "smart." Similarly, General Schwarzkopf and President George H. W. Bush claimed that Patriot anti-missile batteries had wiped out nearly 100 percent of Scud missiles fired by the Iraqis. However, a 1993 Congressional report revealed that Patriots did not accomplish a single confirmed kill.

Barry Zorthian's statement to the National Press Club may well summarize war correspondence during the Gulf War: "The Gulf War is over and the press lost."

Afghanistan War

From the outset of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld warned the media to expect little Pentagon cooperation. Only after several months of combat did the Pentagon establish three Coalition Press Information Centers in the country. Still, Assistant Secretary of Defense Victoria Clarke encouraged journalists to remain in Bahrain for best access to war coverage, leading to questions about how much "real news" was reaching Western readers or viewers.

Faced with problems of access, an inhospitable terrain, language barriers, and the danger of ambush, journalists complained that they faced a hidden war in Afghanistan. Particularly in the south of the country, correspondents encountered difficulties in hiring local "fixers" willing to risk Taliban retribution, which exposed reporters to great danger. On March 4, 2007, for instance, Taliban forces abducted *La Repubblica* reporter Daniele Mastrogiacomo along with Afghan journalist Ajmal Nakshbandi and their driver, Sayed Agha, in Helmand Province. While Mastrogiacomo was later released in a prisoner exchange, both Afghans were beheaded.

Iraq War

At the beginning of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM on March 20, 2003, major news syndicates had announced huge budgets for war coverage, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Bryan Whitman projected an image of transparency. The action footage, however, would come from "embedded" correspondents placed with military units in the field. So-called "embeds" would receive basic training and accompany their assigned units through combat. Embeds would be allowed to report what they wished so long as they revealed no information that the enemy could use. This embedding resulted in a loss of objectivity among correspondents, who soon discovered that they identified with troops in their assigned units.

More than in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, journalists found that disinformation abounded. In the early days of the war, for instance, substances resembling weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) had allegedly been found. But after 17 months of investigation,

the U.S. team was able to find only 30 of 130 scientists involved with Iraq's pre-1991 chemical weapons programs, and none of these had knowledge of WMDs.

War correspondents did expose major war crimes, such as Seymour Hersh's reports on abuses at the Abu Ghraib Prison. Hersh obtained a 53-page report that cited the sadistic abuse of detainees perpetrated by soldiers and members of the U.S. intelligence community.

The rescue of Private Jessica Lynch demonstrated an unsuccessful attempt at news management. On April 2, 2003, Lynch was reported captured in an ambush that killed nine of her comrades near Nassiriya. For eight days, Lynch was held in a nearby hospital. The Pentagon claimed that she had been tortured, and night-vision cameras captured Army Rangers and Navy Seals storming the Nassiriya hospital where she was held and whisking her away by helicopter. However, the story had been greatly embellished. Apparently, Lynch had received relatively good treatment in the hospital, and on the day of her "rescue," Iraqi forces had already fled.

Iraq is now the world's most dangerous location for journalists. Conservative estimates by the Committee to Protect Journalists indicate that violence in Iraq claimed the lives of 32 journalists in 2006, the highest number that the organization has recorded to date. The conflicts in Kuwait, Afghanistan, and Iraq reveal that war correspondence is becoming an increasingly risky enterprise and that correspondents, whether "pooled" or "embedded," are increasingly questioning the information they are given.

Anna M. Wittmann

SEE ALSO Arnett, Peter; Cable News Network; Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars); Film (Middle East Wars); Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM; Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; Patriot Missile; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman Jr.

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Film (Middle East Wars)

While the 1991 Persian Gulf War superseded the Vietnam War as the United States' great televised war, the Global War on Terror launched following the September 11, 2001, attacks may well become known as the first of the multimedia wars. With a plethora of online data available, the public has available to it a wide range of sources for images and analyses of the conflicts.

Consequently, movies based on contemporary conflicts face a difficult task, that of competing with a flood of documentaries and Internet-based information. The documentary film has risen to unprecedented prominence, while many fictional movies have met with either failure or little more than modest success. Whether this failure is due to the success of documentaries, mounting criticism of ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, public rejection of the theatrical films' general antimilitary themes, or other factors is a difficult question to answer.

1991 Persian Gulf War

The Persian Gulf War itself gained the status of a blockbuster movie, directed by a governmental media giant with leading generals in a starring role and a dénouement celebrated by parades of triumphant returning forces. The Persian Gulf War unfolded on U.S. television screens with an unprecedented and highly dramatic immediacy. Before,



The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have produced a rich trove of feature films, including Sam Mendes' *Jarhead*, released in 2005. (Francois Duhamel/Universal Studios/Bureau L.A. Collection/Corbis)

during, and after the brief conflict, the documentary gained a new prominence in the genre of the war film. Propaganda preceded the war, as with *Saddam Hussein—Defying the World* (1990; updated 1992), and major television networks supplemented their 24-hour coverage with a spate of documentaries, all released in 1991, such as CNN's *Operation Desert Storm: The War Begins*; CBS's *Desert Triumph*; and CNN's *War in the Gulf: The Complete Story*. Other documentaries of the same year highlighted the star "actors" of the conflict, as in ITN's *General H. Norman Schwarzkopf: Command Performance* and ABC's *Schwarzkopf: How the War Was Won*. *Operation Welcome Home: Victory in the Gulf*, featured General Colin Powell and the New York victory homecoming. PBS's update of its 1983 *Frontline* program *Vietnam Memorial 1991* contrasted the homecoming of Vietnam veterans with those of the Persian Gulf War.

A similar patriotic fervor characterizes the IMAX documentary *Fires of Kuwait* (1992), which celebrates firefighters from ten countries battling the oilfield infernos that resulted from conflict. More critically, prominent German filmmaker Werner Herzog documented postwar devastation inside Kuwait in *Lessons of Darkness (Lektionen in Finsternis)*, 1992. With little actual war footage apart from a series of images of bombs falling on cities, filmed through the surrealistic filter of night-vision cameras, the sparsely narrated episodes present an inferno of lakes and deltas of black oil and towers of flame. Furthermore, as a counterbalance to CNN renditions of Operation DESERT STORM, *Lines in the Sand* attacks government media control, seeing the war as a "national therapy session" to drive out memories of Vietnam.

Media control is also the target of *Counterfeit Coverage* (1992), unveiling the collaboration between Kuwaiti citizens and the Hill and Knowlton public relations firm to promote U.S. intervention. The satirical *Gulf Bowl Cabaret: For All You Do, This Scud's for You* (1992) further reflects mounting criticism of the Persian Gulf War, a movement perpetuated some 10 years later on the eve of a new military campaign against Iraq by documentaries such as *The Hidden Wars of Desert Storm* (2001), which attacks the media war and questions the reasons for U.S. involvement. Ongoing controversy about Gulf War Syndrome among veterans and allegations of a significant rise in the rates of postwar Iraqi cancer and birth defects as a result of alleged chemical and germ warfare, alongside the effects of radioactive depleted uranium, continue to spur documentaries, such as the recent *Gulf War Syndrome: Killing Our Own* (2007).

The Persian Gulf War inspired a handful of feature films a few years after the end of the brief war. *Courage Under Fire* (1996) centers upon an investigation to determine whether Captain Karen Walden deserves a Medal of Honor after she dies fighting Iraqis following the crash of her rescue helicopter. Amid conflicting evidence, Lieutenant Colonel Serling, in charge of the investigation, is forced to confront his own insecurities about his own Gulf deployment. The bizarre *Uncle Sam: I Want You . . . Dead* (1996) features the corpse of an U.S. soldier killed in Kuwait that crawls out of his casket to torment his enemies, including crooked politicians and draft dodgers.

Three Kings (1999), another irreverent look at the Persian Gulf War, follows three U.S. soldiers who, led by a major from the U.S. Army Special Forces, set off into Iraqi territory in an attempt to steal Kuwaiti gold seized by the Iraqi Army. During their

journey, however, they encounter and rescue civilians who have risen up against Saddam Hussein's regime and are now abandoned by the coalition. *Tactical Assault* (1999) is a revenge thriller about a deranged U.S. Air Force pilot who, after being shot down to stop him from shooting an unarmed passenger jet, tries to get even with his former commander. *Mad Songs of Fernanda Hussein* (2001) transposes the Persian Gulf War to the New Mexico desert by tracing the stories of three characters: a Latina previously married to Saddam Hussein's namesake, a teenage antiwar protestor, and a traumatized Persian Gulf War veteran.

The Manchurian Candidate (2004) is a recycled version of the Korean War-based novel by Richard Condon (1959) and the subsequent film (1962). Here, however, international weapons manufacturers replace communist agents as the insidious forces who brainwash a Persian Gulf War platoon and plan to take over the White House. The similarly bizarre *Jacket* (2005) tells the story of a veteran who, falsely accused of murder, travels in time in an effort to escape impending death under the care of a sadistic doctor.

On a more realistic level, *Jarhead* (2005) deals with a war that never really happens for a group of marine recruits. This movie, perhaps the best to emerge about the Persian Gulf War to date, traces the shenanigans of a group of marines from boot camp to 175 days of waiting for action in Saudi Arabia before Operation DESERT STORM begins. After their deployment in Kuwait the war ends within five days but not without their exposure to harrowing images of charred enemy bodies and blazing oil derricks. Itching for real military action, two snipers are delegated to wipe out the sorry remnants of Iraqi Republican Guards, only to have the action countermanded by other forces determined to gain glory with an air strike.

Afghanistan War

Cinematically, the conflict in Afghanistan, launched 10 years after the Persian Gulf War, could, like the Korean War, be termed the "forgotten war," for it has inspired relatively few movies to date. As with the Persian Gulf War, documentaries predominate. Released soon after September 11, 2001, the National Geographic documentary *Afghanistan Revealed* (2001) includes interviews with Afghan resistance leader Ahmad Shah Massoud (killed two days before the 9/11 attacks), Taliban prisoners with the Northern Alliance, and refugees from the Taliban. In support of the U.S. counterattack against al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, *Operation Enduring Freedom: America Fights Back*, was released in 2002, supported by the U.S. Department of Defense and introduced by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

Soon, however, dissident voices sounded, as with Irish filmmaker Jamie Doran's *Masacre in Afghanistan—Did the Americans Look On?* (2002). The documentary, which drew protests and denials from the U.S. State Department, focuses on the alleged torture and slaughter of some 3,000 prisoners of war who had surrendered to U.S. and allied Afghan forces after the fall of Konduz. Some years later, the PBS *Frontline* documentary *Return of the Taliban* (2006) reported the resurgence of the Taliban on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

Focusing on international journalists covering the conflict, *Dateline Afghanistan: Reporting the Forgotten War* (2007) highlights the dangers and frustrations of war reporting. More controversially, Alex Gibney's *Taxi to the Dark Side* (2007) deals with a young Afghan taxi driver allegedly beaten to death at Bagram Air Base. In an attempt to counter mounting criticism of the U.S.-led engagement in Afghanistan, the 2008 episode of *War Stories*, a series narrated by Oliver North, focuses on "The Battle for Afghanistan." This episode follows a U.S. Marine Corps battalion deployed in Helmand Province. Concurrently, other documentaries from allied forces in the International Security Assistance Force-Afghanistan (ISAF) reflect growing disquiet about mounting casualties, as in *Waging Peace: Canada in Afghanistan* (2009).

One of the earliest movies dealing with Afghanistan is perhaps the most powerful. Michael Winterbottom's *In This World* (2002) begins in the Shamshatoo refugee camp in Peshawar on Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, where some 50,000 Afghan refugees lead a miserable existence. Two teenagers set out on the ancient Silk Road in an attempt to reach London. The film was first shown at the Berlinale Film Fest, and the premiere of the film preceded a massive antiwar demonstration at the Brandenburg Gate.

On a different tack, the U.S. movie *Lions for Lambs* (2007) suggests dissent about the war by tracing three stories involving a warmongering Republican senator, a skeptical journalist, and a California university professor. In a bizarre twist, the hero of *Ironman* (2008), a successful arms trader captured by Afghan insurgents, escapes only to return to America as a pacifist. He no longer wants weapons that he has designed to be deployed against U.S. forces. *Lone Survivor* (2009) is based on the memoir of U.S. Navy Seal Marcus Luttrell, the lone survivor from his unit during Operation REDWING on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Although dealing with covert arms supplies to the mujahideen after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, *Charlie Wilson's War* (2007) is still relevant in the current context, as its recent date of release suggests: by arming its anti-Soviet allies of the past, many of whom later joined the Taliban, the United States had been in essence aiding its present foes.

Iraq War

The ongoing conflict in Iraq has inspired the bulk of documentaries and movies to date. Accompanying the intense debate about the presence of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq, United Nations (UN) weapons inspector Scott Ritter released a documentary, *In Shifting Sands: The Truth about UNSCOM and the Disarming of Iraq* (2001), for distribution in 2003. *Uncovered: The Whole Truth about the Iraq War* (2003) deals with media treatment of the push to invade Iraq; an expanded version appeared in 2004. One of the most controversial documentaries came from Al Jazeera, the Arab news network. *Control Room* (2004) follows the Iraqi war from the U.S. military information station in Qatar to the streets of Baghdad during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, showing Iraqi civilian casualties, dead U.S. soldiers, and U.S. assaults that kill a number of journalists, including an Al Jazeera cameraman. Other documentaries, such as *Alpha Company: Iraq Diary* (2005), shot by Gordon Forbes as a journalist embedded with a

reconnaissance battalion, and *The War Tapes* (2006), shot by soldiers themselves, deal with the everyday lives of U.S. forces in Iraq. An Emmy Award-winning documentary, *Baghdad ER* (2006), moves the perspective to a military hospital, while *Gunner Palace* (2005) consists of firsthand accounts of servicemen faced with a dangerous and chaotic military situation. A Veterans' Day special, *Last Letters Home: Voices of American Troops from the Battlefields of Iraq* (2005), features the families of eight men and two women killed in Iraq. Also with a personal focus, *The Ground Truth: After the Killing Ends* (2006) addresses the effects of the war, including PTSD, on veterans, family members, and friends.

As the conflict lengthened, criticism of the war's handling became more intense. In *Iraq for Sale: The War Profiteers* (2006), four major U.S. government contractors came under attack for profiteering and doing shoddy work. In a series of 35 interviews with former government officials alongside journalists and former servicemen, *No End in Sight* (2007) focuses on the major mistakes of the Iraqi occupation, which include disbanding the Iraqi Army and dismissing experienced bureaucrats. With *Ghosts of Abu Ghraib* (2007) yet another Iraq War scandal reached the screen, this time examining the events of the 2004 Abu Ghraib torture and prisoner abuse scandal, a theme also taken up in Errol Morris's *Standard Operating Procedure* (2008). In a further condemnation of the foreign policies of the George W. Bush administration, *Finding Our Voices* (2008) weaves together the voices of eight people, including former government officials and soldiers who refused to return to Iraq.

One of the earliest Iraqi War-based movies, *Saving Jessica Lynch* (2003), evoked accusations of media manipulation when it was revealed that the "rescue" of Private Lynch, supposedly captured in an ambush, did not take place; rather, the Iraqi hospital in which she was under treatment willingly handed her over to military forces. *Over There* (2005), a television series about a U.S. Army unit on its first tour of duty, met with little success in spite of explosions, amputations, and grisly footage. *American Soldiers* (2005) deals with an U.S. patrol's struggle against fedayeen fighters; eventually they release mistreated prisoners, running afoul of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Also a combat movie, *A Line in the Sand* (2006) deals with two soldiers with different views of the war who survive an ambush and struggle to reach safety. Based on an incident of November 19, 2005, *The Battle for Haditha* (2007) investigates the alleged murder of 24 Iraqi civilians by Marine forces in retaliation for a roadside bombing. Using creative nonfictional filming techniques that combine a soldier's home movies, documentaries, newscasts, and Internet postings, *Redacted* (2007) is based on a real event wherein a squad persecutes an innocent Iraqi family and rapes a young girl.

Other recent releases focus on a chaotic battlefield, as in the seven-part television series *Generation Kill* (2008), where members of the U.S. Marine Corps 1st Reconnaissance Battalion face unclear conditions and military ineptitude. *The Hurt Locker* (2009), which won the 2010 Academy Award for best picture, deals with the sergeant of a bomb disposal team who recklessly exposes his subordinates to urban combat, while *Green Zone* (2010) is a fictional treatment of a U.S. Army inspection squad hunting for WMDs, misled by covert and faulty intelligence. *No True Glory: Battle for Fallujah* (2009) takes

up the familiar theme of the confusion and frustration of the Iraqi insurgency in its account of the fighting in Fallujah in 2004 between insurgents and U.S. forces.

Increasingly, however, Iraq War movies have turned to the home front. After harrowing experiences in Iraq, for instance, four soldiers in *Home of the Brave* (2006) must deal with their physical and psychological trauma upon their return home. Similarly, *Four Horsemen* (2007) focuses on four high school friends: one is killed in action, another is permanently maimed, and the remaining two return to Iraq after leave. The main character in *Stop Loss* (2008), however, refuses to return when, as a decorated hero, he experiences PTSD following his first tour of duty. With a different twist, *In the Valley of Elah* (2007) is about a father's search to discover what has happened to his soldier son Mike, who has gone absent without leave (AWOL) after his return from Iraq. A complex investigation leads to shocking discoveries: first that Mike had been guilty of prisoner abuse in Iraq and second that his fellow soldiers have stabbed him and dismembered his body. Similarly, the British television movie *The Mark of Cain* (2007) follows three young men who suffer the effects of what they have seen and done after their tour of duty. Dealing with family bereavement, *Grace Is Gone* (2007) concerns a father's difficulty in breaking the news of his wife's death in Iraq to his two daughters.

Global War on Terror

While films dealing with the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq are virtually inseparable from the Global War on Terror, other documentaries and movies address the conflict in a more general Middle Eastern context. Arabic films have portrayed this topic for several decades. A classic piece portraying a conventional view of Islamist terrorists was *Irhabi* (The Terrorist) of 1993, starring Adel Imam. John Pilger's documentary *Breaking the Silence: Truth and Lies in the War on Terror* (2003) criticizes U.S. and British involvement in the Middle East since 9/11, questioning the real motives for the Global War on Terror, as does Noam Chomsky's *Distorted Morality* (2003), which claims that America is the world's biggest endorser of state-sponsored terrorism. Most notably, Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), which holds the current box office record for a political documentary, attacks the Global War on Terror agenda of the Bush government, alleging connections with Saudi royalty and the bin Laden family. The film provoked rebuttals, such as *Fahrenheit 11* (2004). Produced by the BBC in 2004, the documentary series *The Power of Nightmares: The Rise of the Politics of Fear* parallels the U.S. Neo-Conservative movement with radical Islamism, arguing as well that the threat of Islamism is a myth perpetuated to unite the public through fear. Subsequent documentaries include *The Oil Factor: Behind the War on Terror* (2005), which examines the link between U.S. oil interests and current conflicts, and *The Road to Guantánamo* (2006), a docudrama on four Pakistani brothers who, in Pakistan for a wedding, venture into Afghanistan. Captured, they spend three years at Guantánamo Bay.

U.S. movies have addressed the theme of rampant Muslim terrorism for decades, and recent films carry on the tradition. The global oil industry is the focus of *Syriana* (2005), a political thriller in which a CIA operative is caught up in a plot involving a Persian

Gulf prince. Inspired by terrorist bombings in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and 2003, *The Kingdom* (2007) follows a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) inquiry into the bombing of a foreign-worker complex. In *Rendition* (2007), a terrorist bomb kills a U.S. envoy, and the investigation leads to an Egyptian American who, after arrest, is sent overseas for torture and interrogation. Touching upon all recent Middle Eastern conflicts, Oliver Stone's recent *W.* (2008) is not only a mildly entertaining biopic of President George W. Bush but also a withering representation of the decision making that preceded the declaration of a Global War on Terror and military deployments in Afghanistan and Iraq. Other of the film's episodes includes a flashback to President George H. W. Bush's decision to stop the Persian Gulf War early and pull out U.S. troops at the end of the conflict.

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SEE ALSO Cable News Network; Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars); Lynch, Jessica

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Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM

Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM was the first major U.S. military operation following the adoption of the press pool arrangements recommended by the Sidle Commission report in 1984. While the intent of the Sidle Commission was to facilitate early press access to military action, the pools, and the other ground rules and guidelines established by the Department of Defense still provided the military the ability to restrict press access, causing additional tensions between the two.

The ground rules themselves did not differ significantly from those used during the Vietnam War. They included restrictions on reporting:

- Unit size, troop strength, or equipment and supply capacity, except in the most general terms.
- Future plans or operations.
- Any information, including photography and video, that might provide the specific location of military forces.
- Rules of engagement.
- Information on intelligence-gathering methods.

- Troop movements and locations during an operation.
- The points of origin of combat and support aircraft.
- The effectiveness of enemy military assets and actions.
- Search and rescue operations while they are under way.
- Special operations techniques, or other tactical and operational details.
- Vulnerabilities of U.S. forces that could give a tactical advantage to the enemy.

The new wrinkles came in the guidelines regarding the use of press pools. Each pool would be comprised of 18 persons, representing television, radio, wire service, general interest news magazines, national newspapers, other print reporters, photographers, Saudi reporters, and international reporters (who must speak and write English and file their reports in English). Pool members were required to submit their work to military review prior to filing. In addition, news media personnel who were not selected to participate in the pools were forbidden from forward operational areas.

These policies enabled the first Bush Administration and the U.S. military to shape the coverage of DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM to their own purposes. For example, the portrayal of a high-tech U.S. military, with its emphasis on “smart” bombs and other innovations, gave the U.S. public a picture of a war that was inflicting very few civilian casualties. Also, the anti-missile missile, the Patriot, was anthropomorphized into something of a hero in its own right, the protector of Saudi Arabia and Israel against Iraqi SCUD missiles. Lack of access to the battlefield prevented reporters from learning, until long after the fact, that the vast majority of the ordnance dropped on Iraq was old-fashioned “dumb” bombs, and that civilian casualties were high. Only after the fact did the reporters learn that of the approximately 100 launches of the Patriot missile, it hit only one SCUD.

Journalists chafed under these restrictions, and some reporters, such as CBS’s Bob Simon, sought to escape them. Simon, a veteran military and foreign correspondent, struck out on his own to try to reach U.S. units. Simon and his crew were captured by Iraqi forces and held for 40 days. Had the ground war gone on longer, more such rebellions would most likely have occurred.

Thus, the pool arrangement, which both the press and the military had hoped would resolve the tensions that had developed since Vietnam, only added new complications.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Bush, George Herbert Walker; Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars); Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; Patriot Missile

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Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM

The ground rules and guidelines developed by the Department of Defense for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM represent another step in the continuing evolution of press-media relations. The major innovation for this conflict was the adoption of a policy of “embedding” journalists with particular units. While this approach was characterized as something new, it was in many ways a throw-back to the Vietnam War.

The problems of the pool arrangement suggested by the 1984 Sidle Commission became clear during Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM. Reporters had very little access to combat action, and most information was provided by briefing officers at various headquarters in Saudi Arabia and the United States. In the years that followed, news organizations criticized the restrictions and urged the Pentagon to develop new policies.

As preparations for a possible second war with Iraq gained momentum in the fall of 2002, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Victoria C. Clarke, and her deputy Bryan Whitman, abandoned the pool approach, with its inherent and obvious restrictions, for a more open policy. Clarke, an experienced public relations officer in politics and the private sector, understood the journalistic process and how, especially in time of war, it could be used to the advantage of the government and military. Clarke realized that denying journalists access to the story would only create frustration and suspicion among reporters, and would, especially in a longer war, drive them to fill the gaps of information from other, usually critical, sources. This understanding mirrored that reached in the latter days of the Kennedy Administration by officials such as Assistant Secretary of State James Greenfield, who argued that by providing the press with information and logistical support—by helping the press do its job—the government and military had a much better job of shaping the coverage to its benefit.

Clarke made her ideas and policies clear to military public affairs officers. She said that news, good or bad, would get out, and that the military should get the story out on its own terms before it was shaped by other sources. The presumption on the part of commanders and briefing officers should be to release information, not withhold it. In recognition of the 24/7 news cycle that cable television and the Internet had created, decisions on borderline situations should be reached in minutes, not hours or days. Clarke said that such an approach could help the U.S. government demonstrate the military’s commitment to avoid civilian casualties, to make the case against Saddam Hussein, to counter likely Iraqi lies and distortions, and to highlight the professionalism of U.S. forces.

This effort to shape the story by embracing the press was most clearly represented in the practice of embedding reporters with combat units. Plans were made to attach some 600 journalists to various units, with about 80 percent of the slots reserved for reporters from U.S. news organizations and 20 for non-U.S. outlets, including Arab-language sources. Ten percent of the U.S. slots would be reserved for local media outlets serving areas in the United States from which troops were being deployed. Embedded reporters were put through training sessions by the military in preparation of their assignment.

Journalists would not have to participate in the embed program to have access to combat action, but they would have no support from or protection by the military.

During the main combat phase of IRAQI FREEDOM, the embed policy worked well for the press and exceptionally well for the military. Reporters had front-line, real-time access to the action, and were provided excellent logistical support. From the government's viewpoint, journalists attached to units naturally developed sympathy for the young men and women who were in harm's way—and who were protecting them. The reports they filed during this period were almost uniformly favorable to the war effort, and were often quite compelling on a gut, emotional level.

However, the approach also had its dangers. The “worm's eye” focus of this kind of coverage worked against the broader, big-picture analysis that is not so dramatic, but more important in the long run. Also, the rapidity with which such reports so focused and limited in their perspective were transmitted could create a “whipsaw” effect, creating optimism or pessimism that could have broad effects far beyond the particular event's actual importance. Another issue of concern was how reporters themselves became part of the story. In some cases, it was fairly minor, like the prevalent use of the personal pronoun “we”—“we crossed the bridge” or “we took sniper fire,” rather than “elements of the Third Infantry Division crossed the bridge” or “Marines took sniper fire.” As natural as this identification with the troops may be, it raises difficult questions. If the press and the military are “we,” who is “they?” And how can “we” report objectively on ourselves?

The embed policy worked well during the main combat phase, with the relatively straightforward story of the drive on Baghdad. However, the main combat phase of IRAQI FREEDOM ended, another limitation of the embed approach became clear. The story of nation-building was much less clear, much less dramatic, and much less an *American* story than combat, and the attention of the U.S. press turned elsewhere. Also, the Coalition Provisional Authority did not manage press policy as well as had the Pentagon.

The evolving nature of journalism, with changes wrought by technology and demographics, and the changing nature of warfare will require continuing adjustments on the part of the military, the press, and the public that both serve.

Clarence R. Wyatt

SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; Film (Middle East Wars); Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM; Sidle Commission

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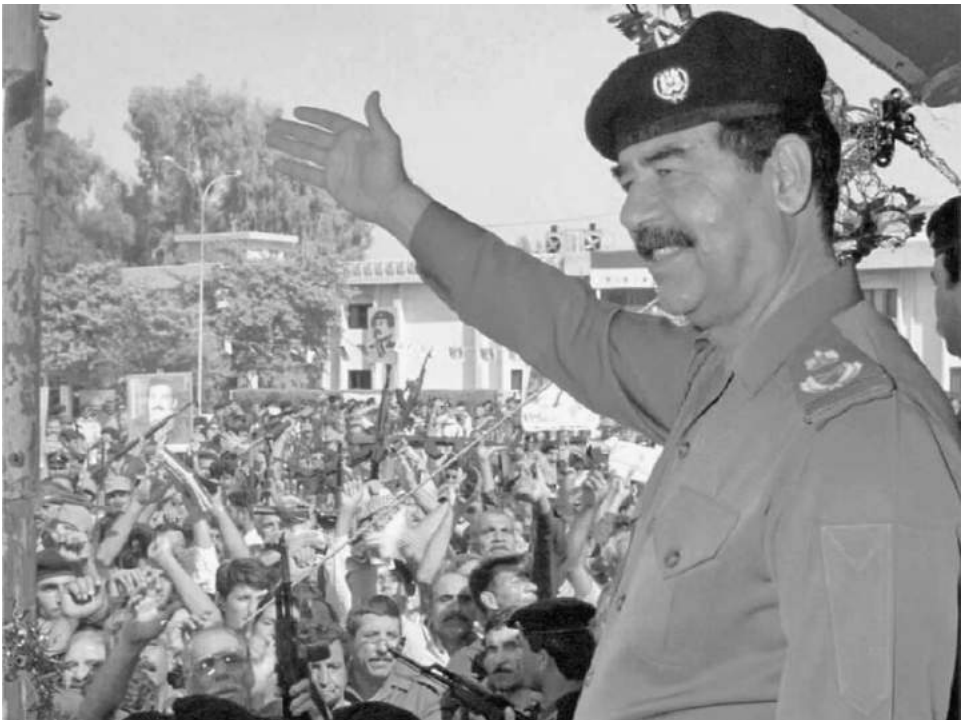
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Hussein, Saddam

President and dictator of Iraq (1979–2003), Saddam Hussein was born on April 28, 1937 in the village of Al-Awja, near Tikrit, to a family of sheep herders. He attended a secular school in Baghdad, and in 1957 joined the Ba'ath Party, a radical secular-socialist party that embraced pan-Arabism.

Saddam fled the country in 1959, but returned after the 1963 Ba'athist coup and began his rise in the party. Imprisoned in 1964 and escaping in 1966, Saddam continued to ascend through the party's ranks, becoming second in authority when the party took full and uncontested control of Iraq in 1968 under the leadership of General Ahmed Hassan



Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq as national president and Revolutionary Command Council chairperson from July 1979 until he was driven from power by a U.S.-led coalition during the Iraq War, in April 2003. (Reuters/Ina/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

al-Bakr, a relative of Saddam. Saddam became president when al-Bakr resigned in July 1979. A week after taking power, Saddam led a meeting of Ba'ath leaders during which the names of his potential challengers were read aloud. They were then escorted from the room and shot.

Because Iraq was rent by ethnic and religious divisions, Saddam ruled through a tight web of relatives and associates from Tikrit, backed by the Sunni Muslim minority. He promoted economic development and secular modernization through Iraqi oil production, which accounted for 10 percent of known world reserves. Saddam's efforts to take advantage of the superpowers' Cold War rivalry, including rapprochement with Iran, fell apart with the overthrow of the Shah in the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The Shah's successor, Ayatollah Khomeini, a radical, fundamentalist Muslim, bitterly opposed Saddam because of his Sunni background and secularism.

After a period of repeated border skirmishes, Iraq declared war on Iran in September 1980. Saddam feared Iran's fundamentalism and its support for the Iraqi Shi'a Muslim majority. Initial success gave way to Iraqi defeats in the face of human-wave attacks and, ultimately, a stalemate. In 1988, the United Nations finally brokered a cease-fire, but not before the war had devastated both nations. The war left Iraq heavily in debt, and Saddam requested relief from his major creditors, including the United States, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. He also sought to maintain high oil prices. His efforts were in vain; creditors refused to write off their debts, and Kuwait maintained a high oil output, forcing other oil-producing nations to follow suit.

Saddam responded by declaring Kuwait a "rogue province" of Iraq. He was also enraged by Kuwaiti slant drilling into Iraqi oil fields. Saddam's demands became more strident, and after securing what he believed to be U.S. acquiescence, he attacked Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Saddam miscalculated the U.S. reaction. President George H. W. Bush assembled an international military coalition, built up forces in Saudi Arabia (Operation DESERT SHIELD), and then commenced a relentless bombing campaign against Iraq in January 1991. The ground war of February 24–28, 1991 resulted in a crushing defeat of Iraqi forces. Although Saddam withdrew from Kuwait, coalition forces did not seek his overthrow and he remained in power, ruling a nation devastated by two recent wars.

Saddam retained control of Iraq for another decade, during which he brutally suppressed Kurdish and Shi'a revolts, acquiesced to the destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons, and pursued a dilatory response to UN efforts to monitor his weapons programs. Arguing that Saddam had been building and stockpiling weapons of mass destruction, President George W. Bush asked for and received authorization from Congress to wage war against Iraq. U.S. and allied forces invaded Iraq in March 2003. Coalition forces took Baghdad on April 9, 2003 and captured Saddam on December 14, 2003, to be brought to trial on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

On November 5, 2006, the Iraqi Special Tribunal found Hussein guilty in the deaths of 148 Shi'ite Muslims in 1982, whose murders he had ordered. That same day, he was sentenced to hang. Meanwhile, on August 21, 2006 a second trial had begun on charges that Hussein had committed genocide and other atrocities by ordering the systematic

extermination of northern Iraqi Kurds during 1987–1988, resulting in as many as 180,000 deaths. Before the second trial moved into high gear, however, Hussein filed an appeal, which was rejected by the Iraqi Court on December 26, 2006. Four days later, on December 30, 2006, Hussein was executed by hanging in Baghdad.

Daniel E. Spector

SEE ALSO Aziz, Tariq (Michael Yuhanna); Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Cable News Network; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman Jr.; September 11, 2001 Attacks; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Lynch, Jessica

Private First Class Jessica Lynch, a U.S. Army soldier taken prisoner early in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, became a national celebrity and controversial symbol of the Iraq War due to the disputed nature of her rescue/release. Born in Palestine, West Virginia, on April 26, 1983, Lynch joined the Army largely because she was interested in traveling. On the eve of the war, she was deployed to Iraq as part of the 507th Maintenance Company. On March 23, 2003, after a segment of her supply convoy became separated from other vehicles, she was injured in a Humvee accident during an ambush in the city of Nasiriyah and taken captive by the Iraqis.

After the engagement ended, Private First Class Lynch lost consciousness. She later awoke in an Iraqi military hospital. There, and subsequently at Saddam Hussein General Hospital, Iraqi doctors and nurses treated Lynch for the severe injuries she had sustained. She remained hospitalized until April 1, 2003, when an U.S. Special Forces team raided the hospital and freed her, carrying her out on a stretcher and delivering her to military authorities for medical treatment. Footage of the rescue operation was released to the media, and Lynch quickly became a symbol of U.S. fortitude and resolve in the early days of IRAQI FREEDOM.

Although much of the media portrayed Lynch as a hero, the details of her ordeal remain unclear. Some reports, for example, suggested that during the ambush she had fired her weapon in an effort to fend off the attackers; others maintained that the firing mechanism of her assault rifle was inoperable because it was jammed with sand. The nature of her captivity also became a source of speculation. While there is a great deal

of evidence that the Iraqi medical staff treated her professionally and in accordance with the provisions dictated for prisoners of war, questions persist about the possibility that she had been interrogated and abused. Additionally, many critics are skeptical of whether or not the operation to reclaim her was as dangerous as it appeared to be, and there are conflicting reports about whether or not the soldiers encountered any resistance as they entered the hospital. Some have suggested that the George W. Bush administration and the media embellished the story to increase public support for the war and turn her rescue into compelling headlines.

Beyond the disagreement about the details of her captivity, Lynch's story reignited much larger debates about gender, race, and the military. For opponents of the exclusion of women from front-line duty, Lynch's courage indicated the fitness of women for combat situations. Conversely, supporters of the ban saw her apparent helplessness as proof of their claims. Other observers wondered why Lynch was the only captive who became famous, particularly because there were two other female casualties of the Nasiriyah ambush, Private First Class Lori Piestewa and Specialist Shoshana Johnson. Piestewa died of injuries sustained during the skirmish, while Johnson was held captive for 22 days. Despite being the first Native American woman to die in combat and the first female African-American prisoner of war, respectively, neither woman received as much media attention as did Lynch, and some have speculated that this disparity was a result of race—that mainstream America was more interested in the suffering of an attractive white woman than that of her non-white peers.

Whatever the reasons, Lynch became an instant celebrity. Multiple television networks developed her story into full-length programs. In an effort to capitalize on her iconic status, some media outlets may have exaggerated certain aspects of the story, and Lynch later contested the accuracy of an NBC-TV dramatization in particular. Seeking to make her own voice heard, Lynch told her story to Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Rick Bragg, who developed it into the popular book *I Am a Soldier, Too: The Jessica Lynch Story* (2003). Throughout the text, which covers everything from Lynch's idyllic childhood to her post-war return to her home in Palestine, West Virginia, Lynch resists being labeled a hero, and instead tries to provide an accurate account of her life and her time in Iraq. Now a decorated veteran, Lynch has returned to civilian life, and is pursuing a college education. She became a mother for the first time in January 2007.

Rebecca A. Adelman

SEE ALSO Correspondents (Middle East Wars); Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM

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Patriot Act

The Patriot Act was passed by the U.S. Congress and signed into law by President George H. W. Bush on October 26, 2001, and was renewed in March 2006. Prompted by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, the Patriot Act greatly expanded U.S. government intelligence and law enforcement powers, supposedly boosting the government's ability to combat terrorism. Critics of the Patriot Act assert that it threatens and violates civil liberties. Supporters of the bill insist that it is vital to protecting America from terrorism.

The Patriot Act of 2001 amended federal criminal, banking, money-laundering, and immigration laws. For example, it authorizes "roving" wiretap authorization of a suspect rather than of a particular communication device. Two sections of the law amend immigration laws dealing with "excludable aliens" from entering the United States and allow the government to deport or detain aliens for associating with terrorists. The act also created the new category of the crime of domestic terrorism and punishes people who either harbor, provide material support for, or conspire with terrorists and terrorist organizations.

Most of the criticism of the Patriot Act has been directed at Section Two of the law. For example, by authorizing so-called "sneak and peak" warrants without having to immediately notify the suspect that their home or property has been searched, the act is said to violate the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. According to the Department of Justice, however, such warrants have been used for decades against organized crime and drug dealers, and the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that in some circumstances, the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution does not require immediate notification that a search warrant has been conducted.

Section 215 allows the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to order any person or entity to turn over "any tangible things" for an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities. Besides allegedly violating the Fourth Amendment, this Section is also said to violate freedom of speech, according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). However, defenders of the Patriot Act note that Section 215 can only be used with the approval of one of three high-ranking FBI officials to obtain foreign intelligence information "not concerning a United States person" or "to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities."

Critics of the Patriot Act also object to Section 218 because it expands the authority of a secret federal court, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC), to approve

searches and wiretaps if foreign intelligence is a “significant purpose” of the investigation. This is counter to the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) standard of “primary purpose.” The new standard of “significant purpose” is intended to overcome a “wall” that prohibited information sharing and cooperation between intelligence and criminal investigations. Because of this “wall,” in August 2001 the FBI refused to allow criminal investigators to assist an intelligence investigation to locate two terrorists who a month later piloted the plane into the Pentagon on September 11. The ACLU argues that Section 218 violates the Fourth Amendment because it extends the FBI’s authority to spy on Americans without having to prove a crime has been or will be committed.

On December 16, 2005, *The New York Times* revealed that following the September 11 attacks, President Bush authorized the National Security Agency (NSA) to eavesdrop on international phone calls without a warrant, sparking a heated legal controversy. Bush has maintained that his role as commander-in-chief gives him the authority to protect the United States from terrorist threats, and that on September 18, 2001 Congress recognized this when it authorized the president to use all necessary means to apprehend terrorists.

Furthermore, leaders from both parties, along with the leaders of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees, were briefed about the phone-tapping program a dozen or more times since it began in 2001. Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Michael Hayden stated on December 19, 2005 that this program “has been successful in detecting and preventing attacks inside the U.S.” Nevertheless, the battle continues to rage over the extent and appropriateness of the Patriot Act, with many critics arguing that the law violates basic constitutional rights and has the potential to turn the nation into a police state. Supporters, on the other hand, claim that the Patriot Act has made America safer and is a small price to pay to ensure that there is not another September 11.

Stefan Brooks

SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Rove, Karl; September 11, 2001 Attacks

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Patriot Missile

The U.S. Patriot missile system, a defensive anti-missile weapon, was untested in combat until the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when it was used to shoot down Iraqi short-range ballistic missiles, locally built versions of the Soviet Scud missile, launched at Israel and Saudi Arabia after the start of the war in January 1991. The Patriot was developed at the Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Alabama, in the late 1970s as an antiaircraft weapon and was modified in the 1980s as an anti-theater ballistic missile weapon.

The Patriot is a long-range, high-altitude, all-weather missile defense system designed to defeat aircraft, theater ballistic missiles, and cruise missiles. The Patriot missile is a single-stage, solid-fuel, 7.4-foot-long, 2,200-pound projectile operating at Mach 3 speed with an effective range of 43 miles. The missile is armed with a proximity-fused 200-pound high-explosive warhead designed to disable or destroy an inbound target by detonating and dispersing fragmentation immediately ahead of the threat.

The Patriot uses its engagement control radar to detect an inbound target. The engagement control computer plots an intercept trajectory and programs the data into the missile's guidance system, elevates and trains the launcher, and then fires the missile. The missile's onboard radar then guides the missile to the optimal intercept point.

The Patriot missile was first launched in combat on January 18, 1991, when it mistakenly fired at a computer glitch misinterpreted as a Scud fired at Saudi Arabia. Over the course of the conflict, claims regarding the Patriot's success rate became one of the U.S. government and military's most aggressive public relations efforts. The Patriot engaged more than 40 theater ballistic missiles during the Persian Gulf War, but its intercept rate was well below the 97 percent claimed by U.S. officials at the time. The U.S. Army eventually claimed a 70 percent effective intercept rate for the Saudi Arabian theater of operations, and a 40 percent effective intercept rate in Israel. The IDF, however, estimated the effective intercept rate at 10 percent or less. A Congressional investigation in 1993 revealed that the Patriot did not record a single confirmed kill.

Because the Patriot missile systems in both theaters of operation were manned by U.S. Army crews, there was much speculation concerning the higher reported effective intercept rate in Saudi Arabia. One reason may have been that the Saudi government simply lied because all Saudi press reports on Scud strikes were censored. The Israeli targets were heavily populated areas where any debris or detonation could be reported by the uncensored Israeli press. The Saudi targets, on the other hand, were primarily desert military installations far from Saudi population centers.

Regardless of the reasoning used to explain the theater effective intercept rate differential, the success rate for the Patriot was not what had been anticipated, especially in Israel. One reason may simply have been that Iraqi modifications to the Soviet-built Scud made to increase the range and speed of the Al Hussein variant structurally weakened the missile. Many of the Scuds broke up as they reentered Earth's atmosphere, and those multiple pieces stretched the target so that the Patriot engagement control radar and onboard missile radar could not differentiate between general debris and the warhead.

A software error that was subsequently corrected caused a one-third of a second drift in the system's internal clock that translated into a one-third of a mile error in the targeting trajectory. The more time the system remained in use before a shutdown reset the clock, the greater the error. On February 25, 1991, that error caused a Patriot to miss the inbound Scud that hit the billets of the U.S. Army's 14th Quartermaster Detachment in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 28 U.S. soldiers.

The Patriot continues to be used by the United States, the Netherlands, Germany, Japan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Taiwan, and Greece. The IDF continues joint development with the United States of the Arrow 2 antimissile system that was also deployed by Israel in the 2006 Israel-Lebanon War.

Richard Edwards

SEE ALSO Cable News Network; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Correspondents (Middle East Wars); Schwarzkopf, H. Norman Jr.

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Pearl, Daniel

Daniel Pearl, reporter for *The Wall Street Journal*, was captured and brutally executed on February 1, 2002 by Pakistani militants. His beheading was filmed and broadcast on cable and Internet outlets, raising complicated and painful questions for news organizations regarding the use of such material.

Pearl was born on October 10, 1963 in Princeton, New Jersey, but was raised and educated in Los Angeles. He attended Stanford University, and began working for *The Wall Street Journal*'s Atlanta bureau in 1990. He moved to the Washington, DC bureau in 1993, then to London in 1996.

Pearl was working as the South Asia bureau chief for *The Wall Street Journal* based in Mumbai, India when, on January 23, 2002, as part of his investigation of shoe-bomber Richard Reid, he traveled to an interview in Karachi, Pakistan. The interview was a trap, and Pearl was kidnapped by a militant group calling itself "The National Movement for

the Restoration of Pakistani Sovereignty.” Claiming that Pearl was actually a CIA agent, the group issued a series of demands, including the release of Pakistani prisoners and resumption of U.S. sales of fighter aircraft to Pakistan. Pearl was executed on February 2 and, on February 21, video of his beheading was released. His dismembered body was found in a shallow grave on May 16.

Four suspects were arrested in connection with Pearl’s murder and one, Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh, was convicted and sentenced to death. However, al-Qaeda leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed claimed to have been the person who actually beheaded Pearl.

Pearl’s widow Mariane wrote a memoir entitled *A Mighty Heart*, which was made into a motion picture starring Angelina Jolie.

Clarence R. Wyatt

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Powell, Colin Luther

U.S. Army officer, national security advisor (1987–1989), chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1989–1993), and secretary of state (2001–2005), Colin Luther Powell was born in New York City on April 5, 1937, the child of Jamaican immigrants. While pursuing a geology degree at the City College of New York, Powell joined the Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (ROTC) and earned his commission as a second lieutenant in 1958. After paratrooper and Ranger training, Powell served as a military advisor to Vietnam. Even though he was wounded and received a Purple Heart during his first tour, Powell chose to volunteer for a second tour before earning a Master’s Degree in Business Administration at George Washington University in 1971. He earned a White House fellowship in 1972 before returning to the military to command at the battalion and division levels.

Powell returned to duty in Washington, DC in the Carter Administration. Under President Ronald Reagan, Powell quickly moved up the ranks. He first served as senior military assistant to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, then became Reagan’s national security advisor in 1987. In 1989, Colin Powell became the youngest person and first African American to serve as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In 1991, Powell, now a four-star general, was responsible for pushing Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein’s invasion force out of Kuwait. Powell’s strategy was a simple one: when the U.S. military is to be used, overwhelming force should be deployed to win a conflict quickly and decisively. This approach led to a rapid victory over Iraqi forces in Operation DESERT STORM. Some critics argued that it left the job unfinished as Hussein was left in power. However, neither President George H. W. Bush nor Powell was eager to go beyond the coalition’s mandate.

Overwhelming force was one of the three tenets of the Powell Doctrine, which guided U.S. military strategy in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War. The doctrine also held that the United States should use its military only when the country's vital interests were at stake and when there was a clearly defined goal and exit strategy.

Powell served as secretary of state under President George W. Bush, beginning in 2001. Powell, who did not subscribe to the rigid ideology of neo-conservatism, would not play as influential a role as Vice President Richard Cheney or Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. As he tried to rally the international community around the War on Terror after the September 11 attacks, Powell had to walk a tightrope between the Bush administration neo-conservatives and the exigencies of the post-9/11 environment.

Powell was given the responsibility for building the case for a second invasion of Iraq to topple the Hussein regime and ensure that the nation did not harbor or use weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), even though he opposed the forcible overthrow of Hussein. Powell did convince Bush to take the case for war before the United Nations; however, he had to serve as the point man for these actions.

Powell addressed a plenary session of the United Nations on February 5, 2003, building a case for international military action. Powell emphatically stated that the Iraqis had biological weapons and many of the key components of a nuclear weapon. Powell's speech was immediately controversial, as many critics challenged Powell's statements concerning Iraqi WMDs. Powell was himself skeptical about some of the intelligence presented to him.

The coalition that invaded Iraq in 2003 was not nearly as large or unified as the 1991 coalition, another disappointment for Powell. Once Hussein had been toppled, Powell had the unenviable task of building international support for the rebuilding of Iraq, which was made far more difficult when a nearly two-year search found none of the WMDs that Powell and others had claimed were in Iraq.

As the war in Iraq deteriorated into an insurgency, Powell became even more marginalized within the administration. He announced his intention to resign only days after Bush's November 2004 reelection, and left office in January 2005. Powell joined the



Secretary of State Colin Powell lent his considerable credibility to the George W. Bush administration's efforts to justify the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Powell is shown here speaking to the UN Security Council on February 15, 2003. The speech, reminiscent of Adlai Stevenson's speech to the Security Council during the Cuban Missile Crisis, tried to make the case for Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction. (AP/Wide World Photos)

venture capital firm of Kleiner, Perkins, Caulfield & Byers, embarked on an extended speaking tour, and has stayed active in moderate Republican political circles. He became more vocal in his criticism of Bush policies and the direction of the Republican Party, to the point that he endorsed Democratic nominee Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential election.

B. Keith Murphy and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

SEE ALSO Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman Jr.; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Radio Baghdad

Radio Baghdad is a U.S.-funded radio station that began operations in March 2002, aiming to penetrate Arab nations, particularly Iraq, to disseminate pro-U.S. news and information. Radio Baghdad is one station in an umbrella broadcast organization known as Radio Sawa.

Radio Baghdad was inspired by the Voice of America's (VOA) Cold War-era Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which sought to reach behind the Iron Curtain and into Eastern Europe. The VOA, along with the British Broadcasting Company's (BBC) World Service and the Federal Republic of Germany's Deutsche Welle, served to send Western news and propaganda into the communist nations of Eastern Europe. They proved effective enough that the Soviet Union referred to these stations as "The Voices" and attempted to block them. Hoping to build on this success in Europe, the United States in 1955 created Radio Swan, later called Radio Marti, to broadcast into Cuba.

Far from falling out of favor after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States continued to use radio as a tool to complement foreign policy objectives and enhance its propaganda campaigns. Radio Rajo, or "hope," was set up to spread the U.S. message in Somalia, as well as to alert citizens to the location of relief stations after the U.S. humanitarian mission there in 1993. Prior to U.S. troops moving into Haiti in 1994, Radio Democracy was created to help instruct Haitians how to interact with U.S. troops. The VOA also continued to broadcast into Eastern Europe in an attempt to solidify Western values and capitalist principles in those nations.

With the beginning of the Global War on Terror after the September 11, 2001 attacks, radio appeared to be a perfect tool in the U.S. attempt to wage and win a highly

ideological war. In 2002, the George W. Bush administration established the Office of Global Communications in the White House to oversee this global propaganda effort. Specifically, the number and type of Arabic broadcasts has increased and greater funding is available for cultural exchange programs.

Because Arabic culture is centered on oral and linguistic histories, radio could be an important tool in U.S. propaganda efforts. In the Arab world, radio has been a social instrument around which people often gather to listen in concert to news and music. Indeed, prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Iraq possessed the largest broadcasting network in the Arab world and one of the strongest in the entire world.

Radio Sawa produced its first broadcast on March 23, 2002. It records its broadcasts in Washington, DC, and Dubai in the United Arab Emirates. Radio Sawa has also extended itself onto the Internet with a Web site in Arabic, appropriately named www.radiosawa.com. These broadcasts continue to send out U.S. news and music, as well as Arabic and Spanish-language music. The exact impact of this effort is unknown.

Robert H. Clemm

SEE ALSO Al Jazeera; Propaganda (Middle East Wars); Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty

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Rice, Condoleeza

Academic, national security advisor (2001–2005), and secretary of state (2005–2009), Condoleeza Rice was born on November 14, 1954 in Birmingham, Alabama and grew up in the segregated South in a prominent African American family. The family moved to Denver in 1967 when her father accepted a position as vice chancellor at the University of Denver. Her intellectual abilities were evident at an early age, and she graduated from the University of Denver at age 19 and went on to earn a master's degree from Notre Dame University in 1975. After working in the State Department during the Carter administration, Rice returned to the University of Denver and received a Ph.D. in international studies in 1981. Her area of specialty was the Soviet Union and Cold War security issues.

Rice joined the faculty at Stanford University and became a tenured professor of political science and a fellow at the Hoover Institute. During her years in academe, Rice held a variety of government positions and posts on advisory boards. During this period, Rice became known for her intelligence and work ethic. She impressed President George

H. W. Bush, who subsequently recommended her to George W. Bush when the Texas governor began to prepare for his presidential campaign.

In 1993, Rice became the provost of Stanford University; she also became a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and continued to serve as a government advisor during the Bill Clinton administration. In 1996 she was appointed as an advisor to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Rice was also invited to join a number of corporate boards during the 1990s. She left her post at Stanford in 1999 to advise George W. Bush during his presidential campaign.

In 2001, Rice became the nation's first female and second African American national security advisor. Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, Rice emerged as a central figure in crafting the U.S. military and diplomatic response and in advocating war with Iraq. She also worked with then-Secretary of State Colin Powell to ensure that the U.S. response to the attacks included nonmilitary actions like increased international law enforcement cooperation and the development of a comprehensive homeland security policy.

Rice helped develop the 2002 U.S. national security strategy, commonly referred to as the "Bush Doctrine," that emphasized the use of preemptive military force to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). She was also instrumental in the administration's hard-line policy toward Iraq, including the effort to isolate Iraq and assemble an international coalition. She was identified as one of the main proponents of the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. In March 2004, Rice was asked to testify before the commission investigating the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in contravention of a long-standing informal policy that members of the White House staff did not testify before congressional committees.

During the 2004 presidential campaign, Rice became the first national security advisor to openly campaign on behalf of a candidate. She faced domestic criticism by Democrats for her hard-line national security policies and for her advocacy against affirmative action policies. Following the election, Rice was appointed secretary of state, taking office in January 2005. She handpicked her successor as national security advisor, Stephen Hadley, her former deputy. Once in office, Rice worked to repair relations with major allies such as France and Germany, who were opposed to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. She also endeavored to increase international support for the continuing U.S. efforts in Iraq. The sound working relationship between Rice and Hadley ensured that the State Department and the security establishment enjoyed a high degree of cooperation.

Rice's closeness with Bush provided her with greater access to the president, and therefore more influence, than her predecessor, Colin L. Powell. One result was that in the second Bush administration, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had less influence in broad security policy, while Rice increased, or restored, the role of the State Department in formulating such policy. Following Rumsfeld's late 2006 departure, Rice played an ever greater role in national security and foreign policy issues.

Tom Lansford

SEE ALSO Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; Powell, Colin Luther; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11, 2001 Attacks; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Rove, Karl

Rove served as the chief political consultant to President George W. Bush; his guidance led Bush to a hair-thin victory in the 2000 presidential race and his influence continued in the White House into Bush's second term.

Rove was born on December 25, 1950 in Denver, Colorado. While Rove was still in high school, his parents moved to Salt Lake City, Utah. Rove attended the University



Republican Party strategist Karl Rove, shown here at a March 2007 appearance in Michigan, was the mastermind of President George W. Bush's efforts to manage the politics of the administration's war in Iraq. Rove would eventually be implicated in the disclosure of CIA operative Valerie Plame's identity, in retribution for her husband Joseph Wilson's criticism of President Bush's claims that Iraq had tried to purchase enriched uranium. (AP/Wide World Photos)

of Utah from 1969 to 1971 but dropped out of school to accept a position as the executive director of the College Republican National Committee. After a contentious 1973 campaign, Rove was elected to serve as national chairman of the College Republicans.

Rove moved to Texas in 1977, advising William Clements in his successful 1978 gubernatorial campaign. Clements became the first Republican governor of Texas in more than a 100 years, and Rove served as his deputy executive assistant from 1980 to 1981. Rove also established a direct mail consulting firm, Karl Rove & Associates, which was involved in hundreds of Republican campaigns on both the state and national levels between 1981 and 1999.

Although Rove was removed from the 1992 presidential reelection campaign of George H. W. Bush for allegedly leaking criticism of the campaign to journalists, the consultant nevertheless advised George W. Bush in his successful 1994 and 1998 Texas gubernatorial bids. Despite having failed to earn a college degree, from 1981 to 1999 Rove taught graduate students at the University of Texas, Austin in the LBJ School of Public Affairs and Department of Journalism.

In 1999, Rove sold his direct mail business and assumed the position of chief strategist for George W. Bush's 2000 presidential campaign. As a senior adviser to the president, Rove played a key role in formulating the administration's response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) and the March 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Rove was also credited with targeting Christian evangelicals as a crucial constituency for the Bush's 2004 reelection. Although Bush's political opponents questioned Rove's campaign ethics, the political consultant accepted a position in 2005 as the president's deputy chief of staff, heading the Office of Political Affairs, the Office of Public Liaison, and the Office of Strategic Initiatives.

Rove maintained the president's confidence despite becoming a divisive and controversial figure for his combative political style and his involvement in several Bush-era scandals. For example, a grand jury investigation into his role in the 2003 unauthorized White House disclosure that Iraq War critic Ambassador Joseph C. Wilson's wife Valerie Plame was a CIA agent. In October 2005, Lewis "Scooter" Libby, chief of staff to Vice President Dick Cheney, was indicted in the case, while Rove remained a person of interest in the investigation. After participating in closed discussions with Special Counsel Patrick Fitzgerald, who was investigating the case, Rove was informed in June 2006 that he would not be indicted. Rove's role in the firing of U.S. Attorneys for partisan political reasons has also come under investigation. Rove remained in Bush's inner circle, perhaps more a sign of the president's loyalty to his staff than anything Rove did on his part.

With Bush's poll numbers plummeting in late 2005 and into 2006, Rove was relieved of some of his policy tasks to concentrate on Republican strategy for the 2006 Congressional elections. The combative Rove remained a political lightning rod. In 2005, he asserted that after September 11, Republicans prepared for war while liberals were more interested in offering understanding to those who had attacked America.

Rove resigned from his White House post in August 2007, beginning a new career as a public speaker and political commentator, most prominently for Fox News.

Ron Briley

SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Correspondents (Middle East Wars); Patriot Act; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

Rumsfeld served as a congressman, government official, ambassador, and U.S. Secretary of Defense. Born in Chicago on July 9, 1932, Donald Rumsfeld graduated from Princeton University in 1954. He was commissioned in the Navy through the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps (NROTC) and served during 1954–1957 as a pilot and flight instructor.

Rumsfeld began his long Washington career as an administrative assistant to Representative David S. Dennison Jr. of Ohio from 1957 to 1959, then joined the staff of Representative Robert Griffin of Michigan. In 1962 Rumsfeld was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican from Illinois and served until 1969, when he resigned to accept appointment as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and assistant to President Richard M. Nixon from 1969 to 1970. He was then counselor to the president and director of the Economic Stabilization Program from 1971 to 1973. During 1973–1974 he was U.S. ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

When Nixon resigned and was succeeded by Gerald Ford, Rumsfeld returned to Washington in August 1974 to serve as chair of the new president's transition team. He was then Ford's chief of staff and, from 1975 to 1977, served as secretary of defense. At age 43, he was the youngest person to hold that position. During Rumsfeld's 14 months in office, he oversaw the transformation of the military to an all-volunteer force. He also campaigned to develop weapons systems such as the B-1 bomber, the Trident missile system, and the MX missile. Ford honored Rumsfeld for his government service in 1977 with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award.

Rumsfeld left government service after the 1976 election, becoming chief executive officer, then chairman, of G. D. Searle, the pharmaceutical company, from 1977 to 1985. From 1990 until 1993, Rumsfeld served as chairman and chief executive officer

of General Instrument Corporation. During 1997–2001, Rumsfeld was chairman of Gilead Sciences, Inc.

In January 2001, newly elected President George W. Bush appointed Rumsfeld to be secretary of defense for a second time. Rumsfeld was then the oldest individual to hold the post. Bush charged him with transforming the military from its Cold War emphasis on major conventional warfare into a lighter, more efficient force capable of rapid deployment around the world. Rumsfeld also initiated the restructuring of the U.S. military presence throughout the world and the closure and consolidation of bases.

Rumsfeld's reform efforts were overshadowed by the post-September 11, 2001 "War on Terrorism." As secretary of defense, Rumsfeld managed the military operation that overthrew the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), although the failure to capture Osama bin Laden tarnished the otherwise successful military campaign.

Rumsfeld was one of the foremost proponents of military action against Iraq. Rumsfeld then directed the 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). In the campaign, Rumsfeld employed a strategy that relied on firepower and smaller numbers of "boots on the ground."

While the overthrow of Saddam Hussein was highly successful, the subsequent occupation of Iraq was not. Rumsfeld received much criticism for running roughshod over opponents and for his outspoken, combative management style, as when he pointedly referred to the French and British governments, which had opposed the war, as "Old Europe." There was good reason to criticize his military decisions, specifically his overly optimistic assessment of the aftermath of Saddam's overthrow. Disbanding the Iraqi Army to rebuild it from scratch came to be seen in retrospect as a major blunder. Rumsfeld had also ignored previous recommendations that 400,000 U.S. troops would be required for any occupation of Iraq. The actual number of troops involved was only about a third that number. As a consequence, Iraqi arms depots, oil production facilities, and even the national museum were looted in the immediate aftermath of the invasion.

Occupation troops were unable to halt a growing insurgency. As U.S. casualties escalated and Iraq descended into sectarian violence, calls for Rumsfeld's ouster came from Republicans as well as Democrats, and even a number of prominent retired generals. Rumsfeld resigned on November 8, 2006. Just a week before, President Bush had expressed confidence in Rumsfeld and said that he would remain until the end of his term. However, on November 7, mid-term elections saw the Republican Party lose its majorities in the both the House and Senate. The election was widely seen as a referendum on the Iraq War and, by extension, Rumsfeld's leadership.

Tom Lansford and Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO September 11 Commission and Report; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; Powell, Colin Luther; Rice, Condoleeza; September 11, 2001 Attacks; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Schwarzkopf, H. Norman Jr.

U.S. Army officer, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) from 1988 to 1991, and commander of coalition forces during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr. (sometimes referred to as “Stormin’ Norman”) became one of the media stars of the Persian Gulf War of 1990–1991.

Schwarzkopf was born on August 22, 1934 in Trenton, New Jersey. His father, Herbert Norman Schwarzkopf disliked his first name and gave his son only its first letter. The elder Schwarzkopf had graduated from West Point and, following his military career, headed the New Jersey State Police. In the late 1940s, Schwarzkopf accompanied his father to Iran, where the elder Schwarzkopf helped establish and train that country’s national police. This experience gave the young Schwarzkopf a lasting interest in Islamic culture and history.

Schwarzkopf followed his father in attending West Point, graduating in 1956. Schwarzkopf received advanced infantry and airborne training at Fort Benning, Georgia. Schwarzkopf later served with the 101st Airborne Division in Kentucky and the 6th Infantry Division in Germany. In 1965, he began a three-year teaching appointment at the U.S. Military Academy.

The war in Vietnam intruded on his teaching career, however, and Captain Schwarzkopf served a tour as an advisor to the Republic of Vietnam Airborne Division before returning to complete his teaching assignment. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1968, Schwarzkopf attended the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and in 1969, he returned to Vietnam as a battalion commander, where he earned a Silver Star and was twice wounded. There he acquired his reputation as tough, no-nonsense commander, who was willing to risk his own life for his men. In 1970, now Colonel Schwarzkopf returned to the United States in a body cast. On his recovery, he studied at the Army War College.

Schwarzkopf was advanced to brigadier general in 1978 and major general in 1982. A year later, he served as an advisor to the navy in Operation URGENT FURY, the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Winning the confidence of the naval commanders, he was appointed deputy commander of the joint task force. He also learned valuable lessons

from the experience, especially in the need for more effective coordination and control in joint operations.

Advanced to four-star general in 1988, Schwarzkopf was assigned as head of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), headquartered at Tampa, Florida. CENTCOM was tasked primarily with potential U.S. operations in the Middle East and Southwest Asia. Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, Schwarzkopf moved his headquarters to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and played a key role in building the multinational coalition that carried out the UN mandate to restore the independence of Kuwait. Schwarzkopf doubted the ability of air power alone to cause Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to withdraw his forces from Kuwait and he insisted on a large buildup of ground forces to do the job. Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM proved highly successful, with coalition forces winning the ground war within only 100 hours.

Schwarzkopf reportedly opposed the Bush administration decision to end the war without the destruction of the Iraqi Republican Guard. Yet Schwarzkopf himself made the decision in the cease-fire agreement that allowed the Iraqi military, much to their surprise, to continue to fly helicopters. This decision greatly aided the Iraqi government in crushing Kurd and Shi'ite insurrections against the Hussein regime.

Schwarzkopf returned to the United States a national hero, aided considerably by his ability to deal effectively with the press. He retired from the army in August 1991 and published his best-selling memoirs, *It Doesn't Take a Hero*, in 1992. Schwarzkopf was sharply critical of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's management of the Iraq War. Among Schwarzkopf's many decorations are three Silver Stars and the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Deborah Kidwell, Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr., and Spencer C. Tucker

SEE ALSO Bush, George Herbert Walker; Cable News Network; Censorship, U.S. (Middle East Wars); Correspondents (Middle East Wars); Ground Rules and Guidelines, Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM; Film (Middle East Wars); Hussein, Saddam; Patriot Missile

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September 11 Commission and Report

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, better known as the 9/11 Commission, was created by Congressional legislation and signed into law by President George W. Bush on November 27, 2002 to investigate the terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, as well as to review lapses in intelligence and law enforcement procedures.

The commission’s bipartisan membership and independence from the authority of any individual branch of the U.S. government was to ensure that political bias did not enter into its deliberations. Its charter enabled it to produce a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the September 11 terrorist attacks. It was also mandated to investigate and report on America’s preparedness for and immediate response to the attacks and to make recommendations to guard against future attacks.

The commission examined documents dating back to three presidential administrations, including intelligence reporting and National Security Staff minutes. It also interviewed hundreds of witnesses from mid-level to senior-level federal, state, and municipal officials, and it conducted interviews with some of victims of the attacks. Although some commission critics have pointed to the vested interest of some of its members, few dispute that the commission’s investigation and report were as thorough and balanced as could be achieved.

The 9/11 Commission’s establishment and charter initially proved controversial, and the early debates over its formation were politically charged and passionate. Some government officials feared that the Commission’s activities would compromise sensitive sources at a time of war. Others saw it as a distraction from the war effort. Some Republicans viewed the call for an investigation as a Democratic effort to exploit the country’s passions politically. Some Democrats believed that Republican calls for the Commission to examine the evidence dating back a decade as an attempt to shift blame to President Bill Clinton.

9/11 Commission Membership

Chairman: Thomas H. Kean	Slade Gorton
Vice Chairman: Lee H. Hamilton	Bob Kerrey
Richard Ben-Veniste	John F. Lehman
Fred F. Fielding	Timothy J. Roemer
Jamie S. Gorelick	James R. Thompson

In the end, the country’s need to understand what went wrong and what was needed to face future terrorist threats won out. The Commission’s membership was divided equally between Democratic and Republican Party officials. Its membership included two former

senators, an ex-congressman, a former White House counsel, a former secretary of the navy, two former governors, and three former Justice Department officials. Former New Jersey governor Thomas H. Kean accepted the position of chairman, and former Indiana Congressman Lee H. Hamilton served as vice chairman. Over 100 staffers, drawn from Federal agencies and Congress, were assigned to support the Commission in its work.

The commission's first challenge was to gain access to intelligence documents and the George W. Bush administration's National Security Council (NSC) records. As other administrations have done in the past when dealing with congressionally mandated commissions, the Bush administration claimed executive privilege. The resulting legal battle led to several months of negotiations before an agreement was reached governing the handling of sensitive materials. Once the majority of the government documents had been examined, the Commission began to hold public hearings to gather witness testimony. The majority of the hearings were public and held in locations that facilitated access to the potential witnesses and officials required. The first set of public hearings was conducted in March and April 2003 in New York City. The remaining ones were held in Washington, DC

The 9/11 Commission's classified report was presented to Congress and the Executive Branch in June 2004. The public report was released one month later. The findings contained some key judgments about America's preparations for the 9/11 attack. The most significant conclusion was that it was a "lack of imagination, not lack of intelligence information," that prevented the intelligence agencies from predicting 9/11. Moreover, the U.S. government had sufficient indications of a terrorist attack using commercial airliners. Had it taken some key precautions, these might have inhibited, if not prevented, the attacks. For example, several of the hijackers had overstayed their visas or were on terrorist watch lists, and a few of them had even been involved in suspicious activities involving aircraft (such as taking flying lessons without concern about landings or take-offs). Reports of these activities, however, never reached the appropriate officials because of the lack of information sharing and cooperation among the nation's intelligence, security, and law enforcement agencies.

The 9/11 Commission strongly recommended that the federal government restructure its domestic security efforts to ensure unity of purpose. It also recommended the unification of the country's intelligence community under a central authority who reports directly to the president. Finally, it recommended Congress's inclusion in that effort. Perhaps even more importantly, the commission identified several shortcomings in U.S. capacity and equipment for responding to the catastrophic effects of a major terrorist attack and identified several areas for improvement. These included compatible communications and data processing systems among state, regional, federal civilian and military agencies. Those recommendations led to the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and the office of the Director of National Intelligence.

Carl O. Schuster

SEE ALSO bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; September 11, 2001 Attacks

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September 11, 2001 Attacks

On September 11, 2001, the United States suffered a series of coordinated suicide attacks by members of the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden. On that day, 19 al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked 4 commercial U.S. jet airplanes and crashed the jets into prearranged targets. Two of the airplanes crashed into the World Trade Center in New York City. Another plane crashed into the Pentagon in Washington DC. A fourth plane crashed into a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania after some passengers, learning of the attacks in New York and Washington from family members, attempted to storm the cockpit and regain control of the plane from the hijackers. The White House and the Capitol were among the most likely targets for this plane. Excluding the hijackers, a total of 2,974 died in the attacks, including 246 passengers from the four planes.

The motives for the attacks of September 11, 2001 date from al-Qaeda's declaration of jihad or holy war against the United States back in February 1998. Osama bin Laden regards the United States as an evil country and as such, an enemy of God and Islam. According to him, U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, including America's military presence in Saudi Arabia—the site of Islam's two holiest shrines—is an act of desecration against Islam, as is America's support for the Saudi regime which he regards as corrupt and un-Islamic. America's support for Israel and other dictatorial Arab states such as Egypt along with Saudi Arabia allegedly constitute proof of America's alleged anti-Islamic policies.

Under President George W. Bush, the U.S. government responded to these attacks by declaring a War on Terrorism and the next month invaded the country of Afghanistan, toppling the Taliban government that had given sanctuary to Osama bin Laden and



Smoke clouds debris at Ground Zero, site of the World Trade Center towers destroyed in the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001. (U.S. Air Force)

al-Qaeda. The U.S. government also enacted the USA Patriot Act in 2001, a law designed to protect the United States against terrorism, but which critics allege violates civil liberties by making easier for the federal government to conduct searches of communications, records, and homes in the United States. The Bush Administration also used the attacks to justify the invasion of Iraq. The relationship of 9/11 to that war, whether the attacks of September 11, 2001 could have been avoided altogether or at least mitigated, and what, if any, credit the Bush Administration deserves for the fact there have been no additional attacks by al-Qaeda on the United States since September 11, 2001 remain controversial political disputes.

The four U.S. airliners hijacked—American Airlines flights 11 (Boston to Los Angeles) and 77 (Dulles airport in Washington DC to Los Angeles) and United Airlines flights 175 (Boston to Los Angeles) and 93 (Newark to San Francisco) were chosen because the long distance of each flight meant that the full load of fuel would guarantee massive explosions once the planes crashed.

None of the airport security checkpoint supervisors recalled the nineteen hijackers or reported anything suspicious regarding their screening. The 9/11 Commission, however, concluded the quality of the screening was “marginal at best,” particularly given the fact that two of the hijackers who set off the metal detectors were then hand-wanded before being allowed to proceed.

American Airlines flights 11 and United Airlines 175 crashed into the north and south towers, respectively, of the World Trade Center at 8:48 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. EDT. At 9:59 a.m. and 10:26 a.m., the south and north towers, respectively, collapsed due to structural failure, killing a total of 2,603 in both buildings (including 341 New York firefighters and two paramedics, 23 New York City police officers and 37 Port Authority police officers). The burning jet fuel melted the interior core steel support columns of the World Trade Center, which caused the floors to sag and then collapse.

Regarding the other two hijacked airplanes, American Airlines flight 77 crashed at 9:37 a.m. EDT into the Pentagon, killing 125 people, while United Airlines flight 93 crashed into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania at 10:03 EDT killing all 40 passengers and crew. The cockpit voice recorder showed that the hijackers were aware of the assault against the cockpit and pitched the plane so that it crashed into an empty field.

Stefan Brooks

SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; bin Laden, Osama; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Film (Middle East Wars); Patriot Act; Powell, Colin Luther; Rice, Condoleeza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Television, Middle Eastern

Television stations in the Middle East have played a significant role through the broadcasting and transmitting of information, not just to the nations in that region but to the rest of the world. Their development represents a further evolution of news coverage of political and military affairs, both working against and fostering centralized manipulation of information.

As in the West, television stations in the Middle East are regulated by governments, but there the control is more extensive control under state-centrism or state socialism. Still, a wide variety of programs can be found on television, especially with the advent of cable and satellite TV. These have brought about an explosion of new stations and viewpoints.

Television has played an important role in the major wars in the Middle East: the ongoing war between the Palestinians and the Israelis; Israeli wars in Lebanon (1978, 1982, 1993, 1996, 2006); the Lebanese civil war (1975–1990); relentless civil war in Sudan; and the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988. Additionally, the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the 2001 war against the Taliban in Afghanistan, and the 2003 Iraq War have all unfolded before television cameras.

In recent decades, technological developments and the expansion in global communications, together with the establishment of cable/satellite television, have made television in the Middle East a transnational phenomenon. This expansion has been best associated with the outbreak of the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Since then, a wide range of local and regional channels has been available by subscription in the Middle East. A major example is the Qatar-based satellite television channel Al Jazeera, which was launched in 1996 with a \$150 million grant from the emir of Qatar. In the late 1990s, Al Jazeera became very popular in the Arab world, yet was oddly ignored in the West. Al Jazeera set out to counter the formula of state-supported television and its one-sided news reportage. It built a reputation for exciting debates and strong disagreements in interviews and panels. After September 11, 2001, Al Jazeera earned the ire of the U.S. government, when the Al Jazeera formula of endeavoring to present all sides of an issue came under fire as supporting terrorism, for example, when Al Jazeera reported atrocities in Iraq and broadcast video statements of Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders.

In contrast to Al Jazeera, the Saudi TV channel al-Arabiya was established on March 3, 2003. Based in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), its primary focus is lighter entertainment, music and dance videos. Its news coverage is influenced by the Western-allied UAE government. Alongside Al Jazeera and al-Arabiya, several other Arab television channels have facilitated a significant change in the media in relation

to the Middle East. The most notable are: the LBCI (Lebanon), Future TV (Lebanon), Manar TV (Lebanon), Nile TV International (Egypt), Syria Satellite Channel (Syria), and Abu Dhabi TV (UAE).

A wide range of Arab television stations now broadcasts from the Middle East to other parts of the region and to the entire world. The importance of television is also seen in the coverage of the Middle East during wartime. Many Middle East channels compete to be among the first to broadcast from war zones and to send new and exclusive information to their audiences. Moreover, continuously running news tickers became another way to broadcast the news around the clock, which allows an audience to follow news stories at any time. Beyond that, breaking news provides important supplements to a story when a war or a crisis is underway.

One of the problems of Middle Eastern television is that satellite television channels do not necessarily reach various sectarian communities equally. Viewers may choose to watch other channels or not to subscribe at all. During the summer 2006 Israeli-Hezbollah War in Lebanon, there was another war underway between Arab satellite channels, which were essentially taking sides in their coverage of the conflict. Some Arab satellite stations have also clearly reflected their own politics, and some have shown biases both for and against the West. Al-Arabiya has repeatedly sought to create undercurrents of bias during times of war. In this way, the Arabic television stations reflect the tendencies that Americans view on FOX television or, at the opposite extreme, on MSNBC.

Rami Siklawi

SEE ALSO Al Jazeera; bin Laden, Osama

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Weapons of Mass Destruction

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) refer to biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons capable of inflicting mass casualties. During the Cold War, fears about nuclear weapons and their use were commonplace. With the end of the Cold War, nuclear proliferation has become a significant problem, and the likelihood of a rogue state or terrorist group attaining WMD, including nuclear weapons, has increased substantially. This development has played a significant role in the political and military affairs of the Middle East and the United States.

During the Iraq-Iran War (1980–1988), Iraq employed chemical weapons against Iranian troops, something Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein publicly admitted to in December 2006 during his trial for war crimes. It remains in dispute whether Iran employed them as well. In 1988, as part of an operation to suppress a revolt by Iraqi Kurds, the Hussein government unleashed a chemical attack on the northern Iraqi town of Halabja, killing at least 5,000 people.

Because of the instability in the Middle East, the presence of WMDs has only heightened the arms race between Arab states and Israel and also among Arab states themselves. Egypt, Syria, Algeria, and Iran are all believed to have significant stockpiles of biological and chemical weapons. In 2003, seeking to normalize relations with the United States and Europe and end its international isolation as a sponsor of terrorism, Libya announced that it was abandoning its WMD programs. Observers have suggested that President George W. Bush's decision to invade Iraq in 2003, ostensibly to rid it of WMD, prompted this change of behavior.

Egypt was the first country in the Middle East to develop chemical weapons, prompted, at least in part, by Israel's construction of a nuclear reactor in 1958. The size of Egypt's chemical weapons arsenal is thought to be perhaps as extensive as Iraq's prior to the 1991 Gulf War, although the end of hostilities between Egypt and Israel since the 1978 Camp David Accords may have obviated the need for maintaining the same quantities of such weapons. Syria is also believed to possess extensive chemical weapons stockpiles and delivery systems, and has also sought a similarly robust biological weapons program.

With respect to nuclear weapons, Israel is believed to possess as many as 100 nuclear warheads, although the Israeli government has never publicly confirmed possessing such weapons. On December 12, 2006, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert admitted in an interview that Israel possessed nuclear weapons, only to be contradicted by a government spokesman the next day denying that Olmert had made such an admission. In the meantime, Israel has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and has not allowed UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors admittance to its suspected nuclear sites.

Israel has repeatedly shown its willingness to use force to maintain its suspected Middle East nuclear monopoly and deny any Arab state the ability to acquire nuclear weapons. In 1981, the Israeli air force destroyed an Iraqi nuclear reactor site under construction at Osirak, Iraq. In September 2007, Israeli warplanes carried out an attack against a suspected nuclear facility in Syria. Iran is currently enriching uranium for what it claims are peaceful purposes, but the United States and much of Western Europe have accused Iran of aspiring to build nuclear weapons. That state's refusal to cooperate with the IAEA has led the United Nations in December 2006 and March 2007 to impose sanctions. Since then, the West has pressed for more sanctions, but its efforts have met resistance from Russia and the People's Republic of China.

Pakistan successfully conducted underground nuclear tests in May 1998, and is believed to possess a number of atomic bombs. Abdul Qadeer Khan, widely regarded as the chief scientist in the development of Pakistan's atomic bomb, confessed in January 2004 to having been involved in a clandestine network of nuclear proliferation

from Pakistan to Libya, Iran, and North Korea (which in October 2006 successfully conducted an underground nuclear test). Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf then announced that he had pardoned Khan, who is regarded by many Pakistanis as a national hero, despite the fact that the technology transfer is thought to have made possible North Korea's acquisition of the atomic bomb.

Since the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, the danger posed by WMDs has increased significantly, owing to the desire of al-Qaeda and its affiliates to acquire and employ such weapons against the United States and other countries. The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, and the 2004 Madrid and 2005 London bombings, left no doubt about al-Qaeda's willingness to use WMDs in future terrorist attacks. For example, in March and April 2006 in Iraq, al-Qaeda is believed to have been responsible for a series of terrorist chemical attacks using chlorine gas that killed dozens and sickened hundreds.

While WMD have been a major factor in the politics of the Middle East, they have also played a significant role in the domestic politics of the United States. The major justification offered by President George W. Bush for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq was to destroy what he contended to be large stockpiles of WMD and the facilities to produce more. The existence of these weapons and facilities were disputed by some experts during the run-up to the invasion, most prominently by former U.S. Ambassador Joe Wilson, who asserted that much of the information upon which but the Bush Administration was basing its case—especially the transfer of so-called “yellowcake” uranium to Iraq—was of very dubious quality. “Scooter” Libby, the chief of staff for Vice President Dick Cheney, would eventually be convicted retaliating against Wilson by disclosing that Wilson's wife, Valerie Plame, was a CIA operative. The Administration overcame these doubts with a skillful political and public relations campaign, highlighted by Secretary of State Colin Powell's presentation to the U.N. Security Council on February 5, 2003. However, the failure to discover such weapons or facilities led to a quickly growing disillusionment among the U.S. public with the war and rapidly declining support for President Bush and the Republican Party in general. Secretary Powell, feeling that he had been used by President Bush, resigned, and later admitted that the claims were false. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld would be forced from office because of his role in the WMD claims.

Stefan Brooks

SEE ALSO September 11 Commission and Report; Bush, George Walker; bin Laden, Osama; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; Wilson, Valerie Plame; Powell, Colin Luther; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Wilson, Valerie Plame

Plame, a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) covert officer, had her identity leaked to the press in 2003, precipitating an investigation reaching the highest levels of the George W. Bush Administration.

Valerie Elise Plame was born on April 19, 1963 in Anchorage, Alaska, the daughter of a career U.S. Air Force officer. She graduated from the Pennsylvania State University in 1985 and began her career with the CIA that same year. Because of the clandestine nature of Plame's work, few details of her 24-year career with the agency are known. It is known that she worked in various posts, usually with a dual role: a public position and a covert one in, which she concentrated on weapons proliferation and counter-proliferation activities. The CIA sponsored her graduate studies, which resulted in a master's degree from the London School of Economics in 1991 and another master's degree from the College of Europe (Belgium) that same year.

Plame met Ambassador Joseph C. Wilson IV at a party in Washington, DC in 1997. The following year, the couple was married. At the time of their courtship, Wilson was working as special assistant to President Bill Clinton and senior director of African Affairs for the National Security Council (NSC). Wilson retired from government service in 1998 and began his own international management and consulting company.

In February 2002, the George W. Bush Administration and the CIA sent Wilson on a mission to Niger, where he was to ascertain the accuracy of reports that Iraq had attempted to purchase enriched (yellowcake) uranium. Upon his return, Wilson stated in a report that there was no credible evidence that any Iraqi official tried to engage Niger in a scheme that would have resulted in the transfer of enriched uranium to Iraq. Nevertheless, the Bush administration continued to press this claim, citing it as a major factor in going to war with Iraq. It was specifically mentioned in President Bush's 2003 State of the Union address. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell reiterated it in a speech to the United Nations in February 2003.

An outraged Wilson wrote an op-ed piece for *The New York Times* on July 6, 2003, which revealed his trip to Niger the year before. He asserted that the White House had knowingly exaggerated the Iraqi threat so as to legitimize its pretext for the Iraq War. Predictably, Wilson's letter exercised the Bush administration and, if Wilson's and Plame's allegations are true, triggered a deliberate attempt to discredit and sabotage them both, a plan that involved the staffs of both Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney.

On July 14, 2003, the conservative newspaper columnist Robert Novak wrote an article to counter Wilson's letter. In *The Washington Post*, he revealed that Wilson's wife

was a CIA operative whose job was to work on issue of weapons proliferation and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). That revelation, which presumably came from someone high in the Bush administration, caused an instant sensation, as it is illegal for a government official to knowingly reveal the identity of a covert CIA agent. Besides sparking acrimony between supporters of the war and antiwar activists, the revelation about Plame's identity triggered an investigation by the Department of Justice. The Wilsons immediately alleged that the leak was a purposeful attempt to retaliate against Ambassador Wilson for his op-ed piece.

A federal grand jury eventually indicted Cheney's chief of staff, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, on several charges, including lying under oath and obstruction of justice. He was found guilty in March 2007, but Bush quickly commuted his sentence. The investigation left a dark cloud over the White House during a time in which the Iraq War was going very badly. Interestingly, no one was actually indicted or convicted for having perpetrated the leak in the first place, although it has to be assumed that someone within the Bush administration, with top-secret clearance, did so. Some Bush supporters claim that Plame's clandestine activities were already known in Washington, and that Wilson's op-ed piece was politically motivated and designed to discredit the president.

Wilson and Plame later brought a civil suit against those who were thought to be directly involved in the leak, including Cheney, but the case was denied on jurisdictional grounds. That case is now on appeal. Plame left the CIA in December 2005. She caused a stir in 2006 when it was reported that she was about to receive \$2.5 million for her memoir. That figure, however, has never been verified by her or her publisher. Her detractors asserted that she was using the affair for personal gain. Others, however, argued that she had a right to tell her side of the story and that it might shed more light on the case. Plame encountered some difficulty with the CIA, which insisted that certain passages in her manuscript be rewritten before the book could be published. In October 2007, Plame's book finally was released, entitled *Fair Game: How a Top CIA Agent Was Betrayed by Her Own Government*. Despite the tantalizing title, the book did not shed any significant, new light on the affair.

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SEE ALSO Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam

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