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FROM THE EDITOR

The Editorial Board is pleased to present the second issue of the fifteenth volume of the *Penn History Review*, the Ivy League's oldest undergraduate history journal. The *Review* continues to publish outstanding undergraduate papers based on original primary research. The Board is proud to feature scholarship that maintains our tradition of insightful and diverse historiography. These papers span not only centuries and geographic regions, but also across disciplines in the study of history. The authors published in this issue approach their historical inquiries with a particular respect to the larger theme of exploration. In addition to providing four exemplary student essays, this issue of the *Review* also offers a special section entitled 'The Study of History.'

In evaluating the role of maps in crusading, Julia Harte explores the *mappaemundi*, literally 'world maps,' made in Western Europe in the years that preceded the Crusades. These maps had little relation to the physical geography of the region they represented, revealing more about the intellectual and spiritual beliefs of the cartographer. As Crusaders returned from their ventures, however, views of the world changed and myths about the size of the Christian world were dispelled. Harte argues that the Venetian merchant Marino Sanuto and renowned cartographer Pietro Vesconte used this new information to generate new support for another crusade through the claim that better maps could cause the armies of Christendom to triumph over the Muslim Infidels.

In his essay on the Window Tax, a British tax assessed over the period 1696-1851, Andrew Glantz demonstrates how eighteenth and nineteenth century window taxes reveal an important tension between citizen and state. The author provides a thorough assessment of relevant records and other archival support that separates his account from relevant literature. In his attention to architecture and tax administration, Glantz provides a thorough analysis of the Window Tax and the changes it wrought on society, both in terms of eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain and the contemporary world.

Cameron Hu synthesizes accounts of British expeditions to Mecca and Medina in order to theorize an anomalous phenomenon in geographical history: the impersonation of Arab Muslims by English and Christian ex-

plorers. Beginning with the reign of Caliph Umar (r. 644–652), non-Muslims have been forbidden entry to the Hijaz, the northwestern region of the Arabian Peninsula, and site of the Islamic holy cities. However, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several travelers masqueraded as "eastern" natives and Muslims from birth in order to negotiate their prohibition. Hu contends that such impersonation was a dual performance – an act projected as much toward Europe and Christianity as it was toward the Muslims after whom the explorer modeled himself – and that as a discursive medium, impersonation made claims about mastery, sovereignty, epistemology, and the delimitation of Muslim and Christian.

From 1964-68 the Johnson administration engaged in a “Water for Peace” deal. Julie Steinberg explores this attempt to insert American influence into the Middle East by brokering water allocation agreements between Israel, Egypt and Jordan. By constructing nuclear desalination plants that would make brackish water usable, the administration believed it could resettle Palestinian refugees onto new irrigable land and mitigate tensions over the division of the water supply. In addition, Johnson thought linking American aid of the project to Israeli acceptance of nuclear safeguards would help prevent a regional arms race. Ultimately, the administrations' expectations exceeded certain geopolitical realities, namely, the refusal of Arab and Israeli governments to cooperate.

The special section of this issue of the *Review* is a trio of features on ‘The Study of History.’ First, Andrew Schiera offers a historiographical analysis of the study of history in American schools. Using a variety of American history textbooks published from the 1940s to the present, Schiera explores a survey of textbooks and asserts that the textbook author is enormously influential and authoritative in the study of American history. He further argues that the textbook giants often imposed a civic duty on their readers by reaffirming timeless American values and confidence in our ability to overcome future challenges. The next feature consists of graduate student interviews; a number of graduate students across various specialties were asked a series of questions pertaining to their undergraduate and graduate careers. Finally, ‘The Study of History’ culminates with abstracts of the 2008 honors theses. Each author has participated in the three-semester honors program, this year under the direction of Dr. Kristen Stromberg Childers and Dr. Michael Zuckerman, and has completed a thesis investigating original historical questions.

The collection and publication of these papers was the collaborative effort of many individuals. The *Review* would like to thank the many members of the history faculty who encouraged their students to submit essays for

publication. The Editorial Board would like to especially thank Dr. Ann Moyer, the undergraduate chair of the history department, for her continued support, and Dr. Susan Miller, the undergraduate departmental advisor, for her guidance. Finally, we thank the University of Pennsylvania and the History Department in particular for its financial support of the *Review*, its efforts to foster undergraduate research, and the commitment of its faculty to cultivating future historians.

Rachel J. Omansky
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

HOW ONE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY VENETIAN REMEMBERED THE CRUSADES: THE MAPS AND MEMORIES OF MARINO SANUTO

Julia Harte

***Author's Note:** No standard English translation of Marino Sanuto's *Liber secretorum* will exist until 2009, when Peter Lock will publish *Histories of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: Henri De Valenciennes and Sanudo the Elder (Crusade Texts in Translation)*. Since I cannot read Latin, I was forced to rely on secondary sources about the *Liber Secretorum* for all my understanding of it (although I was able to look at facsimiles of the maps it contained). I tried to draw from a highly diverse collection of secondary sources about it, but my final product remains stunted by the fact that I have not read the original. I hope the observations I have made in this paper nevertheless prove valuable and interesting.*

Geographic information acquired over the course of the crusades indisputably altered how most Europeans envisioned the world, yet how that information was acquired and popularized is less certain. No official cartographers accompanied the crusading armies, whose official purpose was to cleanse the Holy Land by reclaiming it for Christendom, not to study neighboring lands or the cultures that tainted it. Curious individuals whom the larger activity of the crusades had fortuitously positioned in exotic places—ambassadors, missionaries, or inhabitants of the crusader states—therefore made most geographic discoveries of the time. Their findings revised many European conceptions of the world in two profound ways. First, a better understanding of the scale of Asian and African civilizations made it vividly clear how diminutive the European Christian community was. Second, the (often fictive) discovery of faraway Christian kingdoms sparked hopes of potential allies for the crusaders. Crusade revivalists in the fourteenth cen-

ture, such as the Venetian merchant Marino Sanuto and his cartographer, Pietro Vesconte, employed these popular sentiments to stir up support for another crusade after the fall of Acre in 1291. But their maps and plans displayed an overarching pragmatism, a preference for accurate information and reliable military strategy over traditional knowledge and utter piety, that signaled a new attitude toward cartography as well as past and future crusades.

Aside from the purely practical maps used by merchants, pilgrims, and soldiers, the majority of world maps, or *mappaemundi*, produced in medieval Europe, were partly imaginary and symbolic rather than totally descriptive. They hung alongside other works of art in the homes of the wealthy, reminders of—and means of reinforcing—cosmogonic legends from Scripture and antiquity.¹ Alternative sources of world geography were virtually nonexistent in Europe. European merchants were rarely allowed to travel beyond port cities into Arab territory, where they might have found more accurate geographies of Eurasia. And though an increasing number of Christians made their way from Europe to the Holy Land in the tenth and eleventh centuries, few recorded their experiences.² According to Catherine Delano-Smith, an editor of the cartographic history journal *Imago Mundi*, “for those unable to travel, the journey to Jerusalem had to be made ‘in the heart, not with the feet’, aided—for those with access to a *mappamundi*—by contemplation of the site of Jerusalem on the map.”³ In a very literal sense, *mappaemundi* were most useful to those who could not go abroad.

Most cartographers (learned men, usually historians or members of the clergy) took for granted the spherical shape of the earth. They believed one hemisphere to constitute the known world of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the other, the ‘Antipodes,’ to be habitable but likely uninhabited, separated from their own part of the globe by a zone of scorching heat.⁴ Starting in the seventh century, European mapmakers overwhelmingly depicted that “inhabited” hemisphere with a “T-O” scheme: Europe, Asia, and Africa divided by a T composed of the Don River, the Nile, and the Mediterranean Ocean, and encircled by an O of unnamed ocean. In all T-O or zonal maps, the land masses are distorted to fit the particular scheme used and are without useable scale, again evincing their authors’ preoccupation with meaning rather than accuracy.⁵

Medieval cartographers’ unabashed predilection for spiritual import over geographic precision gives modern viewers of *mappaemundi* a sense of which locations and issues most resonated with Christians in the Middle Ages. The English Hereford map of c. 1300, for instance, portrayed many fantastic creatures and habitats in the far-off reaches of the earth but re-

mained centered on Jerusalem as the “navel” of the world, reinforcing that city’s centrality and the importance of the crusades.⁶ Not until the twelfth century did cartographers begin to consistently place Jerusalem at the center of their maps, leading some cartographic historians to speculate that the practice was a direct consequence of the crusades.⁷ Centering Jerusalem on a *mappamundi* reconciled two competing impulses that burgeoned within most medieval Europeans: pious devotion to their faith versus *curiositas*. The latter is defined by medieval travel historian Christian Zacher as “any morally excessive and suspect interest in observing the world, seeking novel experiences, or acquiring knowledge for its own sake.”⁸ By depicting exotic marvels on the periphery of the map, the Hereford cartographer acknowledged *curiositas* but kept faith central.

Of course, the ultimate medieval testament to faith—crusading—afforded its participants ample opportunities to indulge their *curiositas*. And the outcomes were, in many cases, just what the Church must have feared: a growing disillusionment with traditional sources of knowledge. What crusading individuals observed in their travels often contradicted classical Greco-Roman and Christian doctrine regarding the world. The thirteenth century Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck, for example, inquired at the Mongol Court in Karakorum “about the monsters or human freaks who are described by Isidore and Solinus, but was told that such things had never been sighted, which makes me very much doubt whether the story is true.”⁹ Isidore of Seville, a medieval scholar, in fact drew much of his own *Ety-mologiae* from Solinus’s fables, which were in turn derived largely from the Roman historian Pliny the Elder—the classical author of *Natural History*, which greatly influenced medieval Europeans.

Actual experience abroad also made some Christians question the supposed preeminence of their “one true faith.” When William encountered adherents to a remote sect of Christianity, the Nestorians, he found them untrustworthy: “only a tenth of what they said about him was true... they create big rumors out of nothing.”¹⁰ William himself must have been alarmed by this disappointing encounter with his supposed co-religionists, for the desire to find faraway Christian allies was growing steadily in Western Europe over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first crusade had alerted Europeans to the presence of various strains of Christianity in Muslim territories across the Mediterranean. In the early 1200s, moreover, reports of Christian sects as far away as Central and East Asia reached Europe. As more and more Europeans glimpsed the might of Mongol armies, the prospect of finding allies within those awesome ranks excited many hopeful crusaders.¹¹

Indeed, William of Rubruck's mission to Karakorum was originally sponsored by Louis IX, who instructed William to appraise the Khan's eagerness to ally with Christian armies. But Pope Innocent IV and Louis IX had soon corresponded with Kublai Khan enough to realize that the Khan intended to conquer the entire world for his dynasty alone. This fact was partly conveyed, no doubt, by the condition upon which Kublai Khan promised to ally with the armies of Christendom—he requested a yearly tribute from Louis, as well as Louis's own minor kingdom: France.¹²

Despite such disappointments, rumors of distant, fantastically wealthy Christian allies continued to circulate within the crusading armies and amongst ordinary Europeans. The most renowned of these was the legend of Prester John, a Christian potentate in the Far East. Made famous in Europe in c. 1165, when a fictional letter supposedly written by him circulated the continent, he was said to rule over the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, Amazons, pygmies, giants, and satyrs in a vast domain that included the Fountain of Youth—often vividly depicted on successive *mappaemundi*.¹³ As repeated expeditions into Asia failed to find his kingdom, European cartographers simply transferred him into Africa, where he was shown to reside as late as 1516, on a world map by the German cartographer Waldseemüller.¹⁴ The letter of Prester John is transparently based on the Acts of St. Thomas, the fables of Solinus, and the Alexander romance¹⁵: Christian gospel and classical literature. Its author might easily have never even left Europe.

The world travels of medieval individuals like William of Rubruck, on the other hand, were often enabled by political forces stirred up by the crusades. The narratives they produced reflected the religiously charged atmosphere back in Europe. In 1175, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa sent Burchard, Provost of Strasbourg, on an embassy to Saladin; Burchard produced a report that remarked not only on the “wild horses which hide beneath the waters” of the Nile, but also on Nubia, a “Christian land with its own king, but its people are uncivilized and the land is uncultivated.”¹⁶ Like William, Burchard was a devout Christian who encountered Christians from a different part of the world and immediately perceived them as uncouth and inferior—a common legacy of the regional and cultural hostilities engendered by the crusades.

Writing around 1212, for instance, Jacques de Vitry—Bishop of Acre and a participant in the Fifth Crusade—averred that hordes of monsters inhabited Asia: cannibals that would casually snatch sailors off their ships, the tribes of Gog and Magog that only Alexander the Great had ever imprisoned, and one-legged humanoids who shaded themselves with their giant feet on hot days. Many of these myths were not unique to Jacques and were

popular enough to appear on the Hereford world map. But it is on this map where their cumulative effect is most visible, and where it becomes evident that Jacques was a virulent crusade propagandist. In comparison to the frightening creatures that dominate the rest of the world depicted by the map, Europe seems a minor stronghold of civilization and Christianity—two attributes that Europeans increasingly conflated during the crusades. Medieval literature scholar Vincent di Marco writes that “it is undeniable that the war for the Holy Land caused an... explosion of hostile feelings against the ‘other’—the non-Christian, the heathen, the infidel.”¹⁷ Encounters between the diverse premodern cultures occupying Europe, Asia, and Africa might have been hostile no matter what their circumstances. The crusades, however, undeniably created more opportunities for them to happen at all.

By the end of the thirteenth century, enough travel narratives, rumors, and updated *mappaemundi* were circulating so that western Europeans could see a pattern in the reports. Christendom appeared tiny next to the vast Mongol realm in the east and the mysterious African kingdoms in the south, and far more unique. The T-O maps of prior centuries had cut the continents out of their circular hemisphere like rudimentary pie slices, with Asia taking up half of the circle and Europe and Africa each a neat quarter. Geographic knowledge gathered over the course of the crusades, however, changed this picture considerably—as evinced by the Hereford map, where one can see Europe beginning to recede and Africa to swell, the coastlines becoming far more elaborate than before, and a vitiated Indian Ocean creeping onto the map from the southeast.¹⁸ Hopes of powerful, distant Christian allies began to fade, although a few, like the remarkably durable myth-kingdom of Prester John, were still included in standard *mappaemundi*. Europeans had experienced enough of the actual world beyond Europe to create and demand new, more detailed depictions of it: images that represented the fearsome diversity of non-Christian cultures as well as more realistic limits to their own territory.

The concurrent advent of Portolan, or navigational, charts conflicted with this trend. The first Portolans appeared around 1300 and initially were just exact drawings of the information found in the *periplus*, or pilot books, of ancient civilizations—notebooks that listed the distances between port cities and other landmarks along coasts. Later Portolan cartographers could trace coastlines extremely precisely with the aid of compasses. Their charts are characterized by lines that emanate from multiple loci on the map and intersect each other, forming a sort of grid of compass bearings. On most Portolan charts, land masses were only decorated with perfunctory flourishes to distinguish them from the ocean.¹⁹ In other words, the entire medium was

highly pragmatic. Portolan charts were drawn with no purpose other than to assist maritime navigation—hardly the type of map that had been traditionally used to inspire piety, let alone holy war.

Yet the Venetian merchant Marino Sanuto would make unprecedented use of Portolan charts in his attempts to engineer another crusade after Mamluk forces took Acre from the crusaders in 1291. More exactly, he would employ one of the most renowned Italian cartographers of his time, Pietro Vesconte, to draw maps that fused the coastal precision of the portolan chart with the landed features and descriptions of the *mappaemundi*.²⁰ Sanuto himself wrote the main piece of crusade propaganda between 1306 and 1321, the *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, or *Book of secrets for faithful crusaders on the recovery and retention of the Holy Land*. He was one of a string of western European patricians who attempted, between 1270 and 1340, to revive the crusades and recover the Holy Land. The “crusades” that succeeded these ventures never actually made the Holy Land their destination.²¹ Sanuto and his like-minded contemporaries, in other words, made the last popular, sustained attempt to launch a crusade that Urban II would have recognized.

Sanuto’s proposal, though, considered sophisticated military strategy and financial backing far more integral to the success of the crusade than any of his predecessors’ plans. He had a meticulous, long-term plan for breaking down the Muslim cities around the former Latin states. It began with a several-year embargo against Egypt, followed by the deployment of a small mercenary army against the sultanate to secure Egypt, all of which would pave the way for an official crusading force to enter the Holy Land.²² Sanuto outlined the military maneuvers to be taken by the mercenary army very precisely, and he budgeted their daily costs. These considerations indicate the sort of careless planning to which Sanuto likely attributed previous crusade failures.²³

Sanuto never wavered from his original goal of reclaiming the Holy Land for Christendom, fractured as that community might be. His proposed crusade route deliberately avoided the Byzantine Empire, a target of other crusade revivalists who hoped to forcibly restore Latin Christianity in Byzantium, because he recognized that it was an uncertain enterprise that would slow down the main mission: the reoccupying of Jerusalem.²⁴ He went so far as to ban any *crucesignati* from participating in his crusade until after Egypt had been occupied, because, as he noted, “paid troops listen to and obey their captain better than crusaders.”²⁵ Sanuto may have been one more crusade revivalist in an era of such men, but he was the only one to desire the recuperation of the Holy Land so intensely that he only retained the official

crusader armies for symbolic purposes, to be “deployed” after the real fight had been won.²⁶

The Byzantine historian Angeliki Laiou avers that “Marino Sanuto, the diplomat, the spokesman of Venice, was, finally, and above all, Marino Sanuto the crusading propagandist.”²⁷ British historian Christopher Tyerman further points out that Sanuto “denied that he was employed by anybody except himself. He did not have to be. He could afford not to be.”²⁸ The one hint as to Sanuto’s personal motive for pursuing his crusade so single-mindedly is found in his will, where he concluded his orders for what should be done with his crusade works with the phrase “et haec pro anima mea faciant,” an approximate English translation of which might be: “and this is working on behalf of my soul.”²⁹ Sanuto must have felt that it was working well; he devoted the last twenty-five years of his life to realizing his crusade.

Aside from the spiritual fulfillment he achieved through attempting to revive the crusades, Sanuto had very ordinary reasons for wanting to engineer another massive, stunning display of European might. Just as Europeans had been alarmed by the intimidating, vast kingdoms that past crusaders had stumbled upon in the East and South, Sanuto was seized with anxiety at the prospect of a Turkish incursion into Europe, alone or, worse yet, aided by the Tartars of the Golden Horde. Observes Laiou, “his fear of the Turks was partly based on the geographical extent of their power.”³⁰ Sanuto’s trepidation was hardly surprising considering one of the main sources from whom he learned about the non-Christian world: Jacques de Vitry, the imaginative early-thirteenth century crusade propagandist with a penchant for exaggerating the hideous threats facing European Christendom.

Above all, Sanuto repeatedly emphasized the centrality of Vesconte’s maps in his pragmatic proposal for another crusade. Writing to King Philip IX of France in 1332, he cautioned that:

Whosoever exercises the leadership of the crusade must wholeheartedly follow the directions as proposed in the *Book of Secrets*. The crusade leader should study and pay close attention to the map of the world, and pay very careful attention to the maps showing Egypt, the Mediterranean and the Holy Land.³¹

Tyerman notes that “Sanuto’s maps, even if not drawn by him, were important... he urged their preservation by the Dominicans of SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in his will.”³² And then there is the poignant map of Acre that

Sanuto included with almost every crusade proposal that he submitted to European authorities: the city as it had looked before 1291, divided into crusader military orders and dotted with Christian churches and fortresses.³³ This map obviously could be of no practical use to the crusade he envisioned; it is an anomalous token of Sanuto's deep emotional commitment to the successful reoccupation of the Holy Land by Christian forces.

Cartographic historians prize Sanuto and Vesconte's maps because they appear to be the first effort to merge creative symbolic world maps of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, drawn to encourage devotion, with practical portolan charts, drawn to guide merchants and mariners. However, the synthesis of the two styles emblemizes Sanuto's entire vision of a revivalist crusade. He proposed a pragmatic and above all *successful* expedition to reclaim the Holy Land on behalf of Christianity. Yet he simultaneously seems to have envisioned it as a form of spiritual catharsis: one profound enough to merit the allocation of most of his life and fortune.

Necessary to any understanding of Sanuto's obsessive quest to revive the crusades is a sense of the "memories" he had of them: memories likely acquired from crusades-affiliated or -enabled travel narratives and *mappaemundi*, and memories manifest in the plans he wrote and in the maps he and Vesconte drew. His determination to avoid the material pitfalls of previous crusades, his anxiety about the threat of long-fabled encroaching foreign armies, and his nostalgia for a Christian-ruled Acre that he had only briefly known—such memories deeply shaped his revivalist efforts. Sanuto's beloved crusade never came to be. But the Vesconte maps, images of his memories of past crusades and his hopes for future ones, at least attest to the all-encompassing import it once held for a medieval Venetian patrician.

ENDNOTES

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²⁰ Evelyn Edson, "Reviving the crusade: Sanudo's schemes and Vesconte's maps," *Eastward Bound*, 138.

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²⁴ Angeliki Laiou, "Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks," *Speculum*, 382.

²⁵ Marino Sanuto, "Liber Secretorum fidelium crucis," *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, 2 vols (Hanover: Typis Wechelians apud heredes Johannis Aubrii, 1611); repr. with introduction by Joshua Prawer (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1972): 74-5 (translated by Antony Leopold).

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²⁸ Christopher J. Tyerman, "Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 71.

²⁹ Marino Sanuto, "Liber Secretorum fidelium crucis," 150-4 (translated by Tyerman).

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³³ Edson, "Reviving the crusade," 134, 148.

A TAX ON LIGHT AND AIR: IMPACT OF THE WINDOW DUTY ON TAX ADMINISTRATION AND ARCHITECTURE, 1696-1851

Andrew E. Glantz

INTRODUCTION

It is not at all uncommon for readers of eighteenth and nineteenth century British history to stumble across references to the Window Tax buried within accounts of more notable measures and events of the period. Descriptions of the tax are often trivial, inserted to provide color and context, to demonstrate the peculiarity—at least from a modern viewpoint—of the earlier English tax system and its cultural repercussions. Historians writing about this period frequently include a sentence or two relating the grievances of British homeowners who boarded or bricked up windows to evade the tax. Few bother to enumerate, however, the larger, indirect consequences of the Duty on Lights and Windows, or even explain why it was imposed in the first place.¹ There are only a handful of scholarly articles on the subject and hardly anything original written on the Window tax within the last fifty years. W.R. Ward's lone article, "The Administration of the Window and Assessed Taxes, 1696-1798,"² published in *The English Historical Review* in 1952 and a chapter from Stephen Dowell's *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, printed as early as 1884, remain the two most important secondary sources on the tax for modern scholars.

Although the Duty on Lights and Windows provided significant revenue in the 150 years it was administered (1696-1851), difficulties with assessment and collection plagued the tax, resulting in declining revenues and exposing easily exploited loopholes in the tax system. These inefficiencies underlie some of the most important tax reforms in British history as well as numerous effects on contemporary and current architecture. Parliament's struggle to combat tax evasion and collection inefficiencies ultimately gave rise to a professional bureaucratic structure, capable of managing other, more modern and complex taxes assessments, and—in addition to triggering changes in administrative organization—the Window Tax also heavily influenced British residential architecture, a causal relationship practically unexplored by historians. Homeowners, builders and landlords took advantage of loopholes in the Window Tax legislation and built dwellings specifically designed to lessen the impact of the heavy tax burden on residents. These architectural changes intensified disparities in the living conditions of gentry and working classes and raised serious concerns about adequate light and ventilation, which inspired later architectural projects and provided fodder

for eighteenth and nineteenth century debates on taxation.

ORIGIN OF THE WINDOW TAX

The Window Tax originated in England in 1696 out of a desperate need for funds. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, currency debasement had become an increasingly pressing problem for Parliament as the widespread circulation of clipped coins seriously jeopardized the credibility of the Crown's specie. With the aim of restoring faith in the treasury, a re-coinage was deemed necessary, and upon its completion, "non-fraudulent owners of the clipt coins" were free to exchange their debased monetary holdings for newly minted coins of proper metallic content.³ However, in order to cover the difference in value between the new and old coins in addition to the cost of minting an entirely new currency, a hefty sum of money was required. The solution came in the form of a tax on windows.⁴ As early as 1695, when the notion of a window tax began to surface, polemicists spoke out against its conception and advocated alternatives to the potentially invasive duty. One such critic, Charles Weston, proposed that in place of the duty on windows, one could simply place a duty on the "Portage of Letters," a postage tax that had the potential to raise substantial revenue and minimize administration costs by eliminating the need for assessors and surveyors. The details of his plan were vague however, and his suggestion was hardly taken seriously by the tax's inventors.⁵ Although originally intended as a temporary measure, the Window Tax was ultimately established as a permanent tax and became an important source of revenue for other Parliamentary initiatives.⁶ Thus, in spite of abuse and repeated calls for its dissolution, the window tax outlasted the currency crisis in 1696 and continued to supply the British government for one hundred and fifty years.⁷

In its most rudimentary form, the assessed Duty on Lights and Windows was a progressive tax on wealth, administered on a sliding scale tied to window quantity. It was assumed that the more windows in a dwelling, the greater the homeowner's wealth, or income. The Hearth-Money Tax, abolished only eight years prior to the imposition of the Window Duty, had been for twenty-six years the primary means of taxing wealth, assessed instead by tallying hearths and chimneys.⁸ Though effective in raising revenue, this earlier form of taxation was greatly despised and characterized as "not only a great oppression to the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure by persons unknown to him."⁹ It had long been Parliament's endeavor to tap the wealth of the Crown's subjects through taxation while at the same time respect a sense of personal privacy guaranteed by society's unwritten constitution, the English Liberties. Direct income taxation had also been proposed from time to time, but as this method of taxing wealth required the disclosure of private information on earnings, it was mired in controversy. The Window Tax, which could be assessed without entering a private home or inquiring about household income, was inherently less invasive than the earlier Hearth-Money and bore no resemblance to an income tax.¹⁰ When framed simply as a tax on wealth however, "the people

comparing it with the old hearth-money, noted the resemblance, and were of opinion that ‘after all, they had got little by the swap,’ for “as in most cases of complaints against taxes, the tax itself,” and not the manner in which it was collected “formed the real grievance.”¹¹ Nonetheless, in retrospect, the Window Tax represents a crucial step in the evolution of taxes on wealth and sits squarely between the unpopular Hearth-Money and the direct income tax, which was finally passed in the late eighteenth century.

EVOLUTION OF THE WINDOW TAX CODE, 1696-1851

From the establishment of the Window Duty to its ultimate dissolution in the mid-nineteenth century, the tax code became increasingly more complicated and precise, engineered to better tap the wealth of those with the greatest ability to pay. In the original Window Tax legislation from 1696 a basic annual charge of 2s. upon all dwelling houses was established.¹² On top of this, houses having ten to twenty windows were billed 4s., or 6s. in total, and houses with more than twenty windows, 8s., or 10s. in total per year. In 1709, when Scotland and England were united under one kingdom, the tax code was altered so that all houses in Great Britain with twenty to twenty-nine windows would pay a total of 10s. and homes “with thirty or more, 20s. per annum, in addition, as regards to England, to the existing 10s.”¹³ The tax was completely recast and raised in 1747 by Parliament. In the new tax, the fixed duty of 2s. for every inhabited house in England was detached from the window duties and imposed in addition to the regular window assessments.¹⁴ For every window in every house with ten to fourteen windows, 6d. was charged. 9d. was charged on every window in every dwelling having fifteen to nineteen windows, and 1s. was charged for every window in every house having upwards of twenty windows.¹⁵

In 1758 and 1761, additions were made to the tax to help fund the Seven Years War, including “an additional Duty of 1s. on every House in England & 1s. on every house in Scotland,” bringing the total annual House duty from 2s. to 3s.¹⁶ The tax was subsequently modified in 1766 to offset the repeal of the Stamp Act and the Cider Tax.¹⁷ In that year, it was extended to houses with seven windows or more, and rendered even more intricate.¹⁸

One day after the approval of these 1766 changes, in a letter written to Parliament member Sir James Lowther, John Robinson observed that “yesterday the House were upon the report in regard to the Window Tax and divided; for the Tax 179, against it 114.”¹⁹ Clearly there was a sizeable group in Parliament opposed to either the specific terms of the act, the increase in duties, or the Window Tax itself.

In 1784, as part of William Pitt’s Commutation Act in which tea duties were reduced, the house duties were bumped up once again, this time from 3s. to 6s., and the rates on windows changed dramatically ranging from 6d. for houses with seven windows to 20l. on homes with twenty windows. Although the debates about his measure in parliament were quite mild, “outside of Parliament . . . the Bill was not allowed to pass unnoticed. Almost immediately the opposition papers launched a sustained campaign against Pitt and the window tax.” On the 25th of June, the *Morning Chronicle* pub-

lished a sarcastic column about the “young minister and his taxes” and throughout the summer months, numerous signed and unsigned articles continued to be directed at Pitt and the Commutation Acts. One editorialist “likened the window tax to the French *gabelle*;²⁰ others reported on anti-window tax activities in various parts of England and Scotland; and one even tried to incite the landholders against the window tax.”²¹ Years later in 1792, duties for houses with less than seven windows were repealed, and further modifications were made to the tax structure during the war with France in 1797, in 1802 after the repeal of the income tax, and again in 1803, when the window duties were once more combined with the Tax on Inhabited Houses. The tax code reached its highest degree of complexity in 1808 under Spencer Perceval:

For houses with not more than six windows, if under the value of 5*l.* a year, 6*s.* 6*d.*; and if of that value or more, 8*s.*; the charges for Scotland being 4*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* The foregoing being, in effect, the old fixed house tax as subsequently increased. For houses with—not more than seven windows, the charge was 1*l.*; not more than eight, 1*l.* 13*s.*; not more than nine, 2*l.* 2*s.*; not more than ten, 2*l.* 16*s.*; and so on by an irregular ascending scale of charge, proceeding upwards, window by window, to houses with not more than forty windows, for which, and up to houses with forty-four windows, the charge was 28*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* From this point the scale in its upward course proceeded, by steps of five windows each, till it reached 100 windows; for which, and up to 109 windows, the charge was 58*l.* 17*s.* From 110 windows, the scale proceeded by steps of ten windows each, until it reached houses with 180 windows or more; and, for such houses, the charge was 93*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 3*s.* additional for every window over 180.²²

Throughout the early 1900s, exemptions in the tax were extended and expanded; in 1825, all houses with less than seven windows were excluded entirely from the tax. In farmhouses, one free glazed window in the dairy and cheese room and “interior windows deriving light from a window in the exterior wall of the house, which were specially charged by the Acts, were also exempted.”²³ The last legislative changes made before the Window Tax was finally repealed and incorporated under the general Duty on Inhabited Houses in 1851 occurred in 1834, when special exemptions were given on lower-income farmhouses and in 1840 when the charges were increased by ten percent. Clearly more progressive and sophisticated throughout its lifespan, the Window Tax code was representative and directly a result of broader changes in tax administration.

THE FIRST WAVE OF BUREAUCRATIC TRANSFORMATIONS

Like the earlier Hearth Tax, which inspired many Englishmen to demolish their chimneys to avoid charges, the Window Tax was fraught with incessant evasion attempts and administrative obstacles. Frequent modifications, ambiguity in the tax code and creativity on the part of homeowners were the main impediments to an effective assessment and collection.²⁴ Sympathetic local assessors and magistrates—who frequently prioritized protecting friends and neighbors over raising revenue for the Crown—were of little help in compensating for these problems. As external pressures created increasing demands for revenue, Parliament was forced to revise the existing tax administration. The innovations which came about led to the creation of a full-time professional organization up to the task of successfully managing increasingly complex taxes, such as the direct income tax imposed at the end of the eighteenth century.

Parliament, aiming to avoid pitfalls of the earlier Hearth Tax, managed to implement a few important administrative revisions as early as 1696. The first major innovations were in regards to collection. In the first year of its imposition, the tax was managed by the commissioners of the Land Tax—another assessed tax, which had already been established—then subsequently transferred to agents specifically assigned to the Window Duty. This allowed the tax to be collected efficiently from the very start as it eliminated the need to wait for an entirely new set of commissioners to be trained and deployed before collection could begin.²⁵ Parliament took another progressive action by relying on “parochial collectors . . . selected from ‘the most substantial’ inhabitants” of each locality and abolishing the long-time practice of commissioning tax farmers to aggressively pursue assessed taxes for profit.²⁶ As “the greater part of the machinery was [brought] under direct governmental control,”²⁷ collection was generally effective and represented both a major achievement for the management of assessed taxes as well as a first step in a series of administrative measures which led to the growth of a full-time, professional tax administration.

Further refinement of the tax administration structure took place in the area of assessment. Under direction of the central tax office, the treasury was to appoint professional surveyors to make the first assessments rather than allow junior regional agents to appoint whomever they wished to make assessments. The idea behind the newly appointed surveyors was to remove bias and personal conflict from assessment and to restore a sense of duty to the post.²⁸ Surveyors were also expected to represent the government’s interests in appeals against assessments brought by homeowners in local courts.²⁹ These changes were certainly an improvement over earlier tax assessment methods and, with surveyors now appointed directly by the treasury, pushed the administration one step closer to a centralized professional system.³⁰ In the end, these effects were limited, for once the original assessments had been made, the professional surveyors were permitted to appoint subordinate Justices of the Peace to make further assessments. Although “some surveyors undoubtedly did good work in keeping up the assessments . . . elsewhere J.P.s discharged the assessments of friends of local

gentlemen without oath,” and by the 1720s, revenues had declined substantially from original levels.³¹ Provincial court officials, appointed independently of the treasury, also hindered the process, interpreting the tax code liberally to find in favor of appeals against surveyors’ assessments and delaying paperwork to prevent collection.³²

Thus, despite early advances in the management of assessed taxes and their implications for future organization, conflicts between local and central powers undermined the efficiency and authority of the Window Tax and provided ample opportunities for evasion. These evasion attempts were detrimental to tax yields but ultimately spurred on another series of innovations in tax administration. By 1726, the yield of the window duties had fallen considerably, with average revenue “over £100,000 less than in the period 1703 to 1709. The administration of the Window Tax was decaying [quickly]. . . . and in 1739 the tax office was at last constrained to admit that some of its officers ‘were more of a burden instead of a support’ to the administration.”³³ Evasion of the Window Tax took place in a number of forms, including the temporary and permanent closure of windows, bribery and abuse of ambiguities in the Window Duty legislation.

In the early tax code, “no provision had been made to prevent the closing up of windows. Consequently, as during the existence of the hearth-money, taxpayers had demolished their chimneys in order to obtain a reduction of charge, they now evaded the Window Tax by stopping up windows, opening them again as soon as the assessor had made his assessment.”³⁴ The boarding up or simple camouflaging of portholes was quite common among homeowners, and in the first fifty years or so of the tax’s collection, posed a formidable obstacle to equitable assessment, especially when certain J.P.s were willing to overlook even the most obvious of schemes. In addition to simply boarding up windows until the tax collectors had gone, in many cases, residents and landlords actually filled in window openings with bricks and mortar, with the hopes of permanently avoiding assessment taxes; in new homes, windows were reserved for only the most important places.³⁵

More frequently the case in the early eighteenth century, homeowners and local surveyors sympathetic to taxpaying residents skirted the Window Tax by taking advantage of loopholes and ambiguities in the tax code. The duty was originally imposed on every window in inhabited houses. Exempted were all industrial or retail buildings and cottages “paying to the poor and church-rates,” i.e. homes of low-income residents, and “service and business premises attached to dwellings.”³⁶ The Window Tax also “did not have to be paid on windows to rooms which were not lived in, such as dairies and pantries.”³⁷ Numerous homeowners attempted to pass off regular living quarters as one of these service quarters to avoid tax on the associated windows. Therefore, “it seems probable that windows of garrets, and of warehouses built on to dwelling houses escaped taxation the most readily.”³⁸

Corrupt and locally biased assessors who permitted this form of evasion were little help to the central tax office in combating fraud. Politically inclined surveyors were even known to have ‘bought’ votes from local res-

idents by promising neglect in Window Duty assessment, and by 1720s, central administration had grown anxious about declining revenue.³⁹ “In the course of repeated inquiries,” conducted between 1718 and 1729, the treasury “found a sorry story of windows stopped up, of J.P.s obstructing the work of assessment, of surveyors lazy and incompetent. In 1718, the tax office ascribed the declining yield of the duties ‘mainly to the stopping up of windows to avoid the tax and to the indisposition of the Justices to act, who . . . excuse when they think fit.’”⁴⁰

By the 1730s, pamphlets appeared condemning the Window Tax. Critics spoke fervently about a lack of ventilation and sufficient light afforded residents and demanded the repeal of the Window Tax due to its adverse effects. One political piece, published in 1733 and re-printed in a collection of other similar pieces that criticized the government at the time Robert Walpole was in power as Prime Minister, draws attention to some of these injustices. In ballad form, the anonymous author harps on the evils of taxing light, an essentially free commodity, the overcrowding of tenements, the strictness of magistrates in denying appeals against assessments, and heartless landlords, who, lacking consideration for their residents, board up windows and build without due provision of light and ventilation to save a few shillings. He writes, “We pay for our Light / Both by Day and by Night, / Malt, Salt, Shoes, News, and our Soap; / Oh! spare us, good B[O]B / And drop this new Job, / Or at last we can’t pay for a Rope.”⁴¹

According to Dowell’s calculations, between 1716 and 1725, the yield from the Window Duties had decreased from 141,935*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* to a meager 128,137*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*; by the mid 1740s, continued decline in tax revenue due to rampant evasion and corruption in the tax system necessitated new reforms and innovations. The War of Austrian Succession created unprecedented demands for more money and incentivized Parliament to seek potential areas for improvement in the Window Tax administration. By 1742, it was clear to authorities that “revenues [were] not conducted with that care as they should & ought to [have been] to the great detriment of the public. . . . In 1743 the dreadful truth about [the assessors] came out in detail. From the journals and surveys of the four general surveyors thirty-seven of the local surveyors were convicted of negligence and incapacity.”⁴² Accounts of lackadaisical and irresponsible surveyors read as follows:

Bartholomew Lynch of Middlesex spent almost all his time in another employment. ‘He neither attends at appeals, the signing of the rates, or settling the collectors’ accounts’, which put collection two years behind. He employed a deputy who, having no proper commission, was easily obstructed in the course of business. . . . Thomas Life of Cambridge kept no books and appeared never to have made a survey; he was a surgeon by profession. . . . Robert Obbinson of Lincoln was a rich farmer with no time for surveyor’s duties. . . . In Wales the surveyors regarded their posts as sinecures, and for the most part kept no books.

They were discouraged by the fact that the J.P.s disallowed

any increases they made. . . . Much the same state of affairs existed in Devon. . . . In Bristol the surveyor had made no rounds for many years, and a person who attempted to raise the rates had been attacked by the Mob.⁴³

With assessment figures in decline and investigations pointing to lazy and corrupt surveyors as the main obstruction to successful administration, "it was not long . . . before the government was driven to place limitations upon the discretion of the local commissioners in matters of assessment."⁴⁴

In 1747, the situation had come to a head. Despite all attempts to add precision to assessment and punish irresponsible assessors, revenue levels could not be resuscitated. On March ninth of that year, the Commissioners for Taxes presented a report to the Lords Commissioners "relating to the Difficulties and Obstructions which have attended the Collection of the Duties on Houses, Windows, and Lights."⁴⁵ The commissioners provided counts of "Surveyors not being permitted in some places to do their Duty," and detailed "the Methods which have been universally practiced in stopping up Windows or Lights, to evade the Payment of the Duties."⁴⁶ It was noted that in numerous cases,

Rooms in the Dwelling-house, where a few Sacks of Corn, or a little Lumber, has been laid, have been discharged, under the Name of Warehouses or Granaries. . . . [and that] In some Parts, Inhabitants of Freehold Houses, who rent small parcels of Land (the Taxes of such Land being paid by the Landlord) have been excused from paying these Duties, upon a Parish-Officer's alleging them to be poor. . . . Some of the Surveyors have not been allowed to see the Assessors Books; and others not permitted to pass through the Houses, to number the Windows or Lights, as the act empowers and enjoins them to do, but were threatened at the Peril of their lives if they attempted it. The general Practice of stopping up Windows and Lights hath likewise been the greatest Prejudice to this Revenue, as the same hath been done only with loose Bricks or Boards, which may be removed at Pleasure, or with Mud, Cow-dung, Moarter, and Reeds, on the Outside, which are soon washed off with a Shower of Rain, or with Paper or Plateboard on the Inside.⁴⁷

FURTHER ADMINISTRATIVE INNOVATION

The worsening and ever more apparent difficulties with the Window Tax necessitated a second rash of innovations. It was now the goal of Parliament and the tax office to turn a mockery of a tax into a productive revenue generator for the Crown. The primary actor on behalf of the Window Duty was "Henry Pelham, always a workmanlike chancellor, [who] took the only remaining step, repealed the existing acts, and recast the whole system."⁴⁸ As part of the 1747 act, "The practice of blocking up windows in

order to evade assessment and subsequently reopening them, was prohibited under a penalty of 20s. for every window so-reopened without due notice given to the tax surveyor.”⁴⁹ Revised “by the treasury in consultation with the tax office,” the new act, now with sharper teeth, “attempted to increase the revenue and outwit those who had built houses designed to evade the old acts.”⁵⁰ Pelham also realized that the inefficiencies of having two assessed taxes—the Window Tax and the Land Tax—administered by separate bodies under the tax office, could be resolved by combining the organizations wherever possible. Just as it was structured in 1696, in localities where it was feasible, “the assessments were in future to be made not by the J.P.s who had been tried and found wanting, but by the land tax commissioners once more. Besides commissioners and receivers, assessors and collectors were now often the same for Land and Window Tax.”⁵¹ This measure effectively reduced the number of officers needed to assess and collect from each house, substantially lowering the cost of administration and further centralizing the organization.

The most important innovation in the Window Tax administration up to this point, “was not to be won without a struggle.”⁵² In Scotland, “the earlier window duties had had a chequered history,” but when the copies of the act of 1747 arrived, the entire local administration went on strike, and a few small sums collected in Edinburgh never reached the receiver. The commissioners claimed that the poundage was too miserable to offer collectors; the collectors were unwilling to offend their neighbors; the tax-payers, led by the clergy, refused to pay.”⁵³ To combat this severe threat to revenue and stability, the Scottish authorities were urged to enforce the duty. It was ultimately decided upon by the various communities that if localities refused to appoint assessors, the window counts taken from the original surveys prior to 1747 would become the official assessments, and if the parishes “chose to appoint no collector, the collector of the land tax was made *ipso facto* the collector of the window tax. The one defect remaining was that appeals lay to the commissioners, and that payment could be held up pending settlement. [Nonetheless,] Scotland was set on the high road to the first fully professional system of collection of a direct tax seen in Great Britain.”⁵⁴ Savings in the cost of management were realized almost immediately after these changes with yields in the first year of the tax increasing by about £75,000, once again reaching respectable levels.⁵⁵

Unfortunately for Parliament, despite the early success of the 1747 reforms, after less than a year, “stopping up of windows began again, and many of the local commissioners would not allow the surveyors to interpret the act as they were directed from the tax office. . . The provisions for [exemptions] were interpreted as broadly as possible, and surveyors were often obstructed in the course of duty.”⁵⁶ Now William Pitt and Henry Reade led the charge to perfect the tax’s management, and created a department in the tax office specifically to monitor the administration of the Window Tax. With this seemingly small bureaucratic innovation in place, throughout the early 1750s, Pitt and Reade discovered how minute fine-tuning of the tax system, supported by the central office and commissioners, could potentially lead to large differences in revenue.⁵⁷ By the mid-1750s, Parliament and the

tax office had been able to finally work out most of the kinks in the management of the tax and were pulling in yields of over £200,000.⁵⁸

Further increases in assessments kept revenues afloat and sufficient for parliamentary expenditures, but did little to alter the administration structure. Not until the American Revolution was the crowning achievements of direct tax administration realized, though as before, these innovations came out of earlier difficulties. By 1776, the state of Window Tax assessment and collection had reverted to the miserable levels of efficiency last seen in 1747. Surveyors were lacking and reports of neglect in assessments were frequent. In the 1780s, with a mission to solve the matter once and for all, inspectors were hired by the tax office on direction of Parliament, to monitor the surveyors and report to tax authorities on performance. Meanwhile, debates about the merits of a tax, which was once again failing to draw sufficient revenue despite numerous revisions, became increasingly heated towards Parliament. The increased duties of William Pitt's Commutation Act in 1784 only intensified the opposition.

One particularly caustic piece, briefly mentioned in the earlier discussion on legislative changes, was written in the format of sermon. The address, *A Sermon on the Window Tax*, is directed at Charles Morgan Esq., a Member of Parliament for the county of Brecon and at first appears to support the Window Tax. However, this tract is no letter of praise. The author satirizes the Window Tax by defending its existence and consequences, employing biblical allusions and purposefully unconvincing rhetoric. In his attack on the duties the author directly compares the current situation to "one of the ten plagues of *Egypt*—such a darkness as the light of a candle could not penetrate! for, when *Moses* stretched forth his hand toward heaven, there was a *thick* darkness, more than the damp darkness of a vault, unopened for half a century!"⁵⁹ Tongue-in-cheek, he asserts that the literal "darkness" resulting from stopped up windows much less damaging than references to darkness in the Bible and we should therefore be thankful. The writer goes on to argue that it is "*political* Darkness" that we should condemn rather than "our first ten Window Laws," ironically aligning the Window Laws with the Ten Commandments.⁶⁰ He furthers his case with increasingly foolish lines of reasoning. He attempts to convince his reader that the duties will be a boon to the people of England, for not only will they remove "a parcel of poor, beggardly rascals of Glass Manufactures" from society, but with the blocking up of windows, Englishmen will achieve improved eyesight as they become used to the lack of light.⁶¹ The sermon attempts to highlight the problems with assessment and collection by proposing that superior to the Window Tax would be a duty on heads, tongues or even dogs, the rational that it would be unlikely people would go so far as to cut off their heads, tongues or kill their dogs to avoid the taxes.⁶² Equally absurd, but brilliant from a satirical point of view, the polemicist suggests that the tax should be amended to prohibit windows all together, seeing that "half the crimes of *House-Breaking* have been caused by Windows [and] the open air is also the more healthy."⁶³

In 1790, after the inspectors had returned with disappointing results, the final step in creating a professional bureaucratic tax administration was

taken. Wanting surveyors were retired and given pensions; in their place, new, professional surveyors were hired by the treasury, each given three months of training and compensation above and beyond the older pay scales. Upward mobility became possible in the new administrative structure and surveyors were for the first time given real accountability in that they were to be responsible for making up the difference in revenues when subordinate assessors and collectors did not assemble enough in taxes to cover the original assessments. Finally, William Pitt and his colleagues had completed the construction of a full-time professional tax agency and an entire new class of collectors. The reforms were so successful in elevating revenue and maintaining consistent yield over time that even after assessed taxes were no longer producing sufficient revenue to run parliamentary initiatives, this administrative system created by William Pitt and subordinates had been molded into a successful model for the collection of other direct taxes and was ultimately used to collect the new income tax. Without the problems of the Window Tax putting pressure on parliament to resolve administrative deficiencies and develop an innovative professional bureaucracy to manage the tax, it may have taken much longer for England to develop a successful organization to manage collection of direct taxes and would most definitely have hindered the success of the income tax in nineteenth century Britain.

ARCHITECTURAL INFLUENCES OF THE WINDOW TAX

In contrast to well-noted effects on British tax administration, the Window Duty's influence on architecture has been relatively unexplored by historians and architectural-historians alike. Consequences of the tax went beyond residential building styles in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain to impact contemporary design; thus, an intrigue into architectural developments which transpired in response to the Window Tax may hold more interest for the modern reader. Transformations in housing design occurred neither simultaneously nor in reaction to a single concern, the earliest of which addressed the heavy tax burden itself and unfortunately for residents, generally resulted in inferior dwelling conditions. Other adjustments took advantage of prevailing exemptions in the tax code. Meanwhile, English elites who could easily afford the heavy tax assessments built increasingly opulent homes, and by elevating their own living standards contributed to a growing disparity in housing conditions between the wealthy and working-class. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, a select number of concerned architects attempted to reverse this trend by building low-income housing projects designed to both improve comfort for residents and minimize assessments.

Some of the first consequences of the Window Tax for British architecture emerged out of the inability or unwillingness, on the part of low-income homeowners and the landlords of large tenement buildings, to pay the assessments.⁶⁴ In many cases the intolerability of the tax was due to the commissioners' extremely broad definition of what types of openings could be subject to the tax and the tendency of certain assessors to charge homeowners for anything that even slightly resembled a window. As explained

in Stephen Dowell's book on taxation, a "Window," according to dictionaries in print at the time, "was derived from wind-door, and signified any 'aperture in a building by which light and air are intromitted.' This derivation and the special rules in the taxing Act seemed to justify the assessor in including in his assessment almost every hole in the wall; and the taxpayer would incur additional liability even by taking out a brick. . . . In all cases they allowed a very wide and comprehensive significance to the term window. They decided, for instance, that a hole made for additional ventilation was a window within the meaning of the Act."⁶⁵ In an extreme case, "a Mr. Williams, who, under advice from a distinguished sanitary reformer, placed in the wall of his house four perforated zinc plates, with the object of ventilating his pantry, being surcharged by the assessor and, appealing to the judges, was held to have, in effect, opened four additional windows."⁶⁶ The case of Mr. Williams may represent the extraordinary, but was by no means an isolated instance of liberal interpretation and enforcement of the tax code, which both increased the heavy cost to taxpayers and ultimately affected building design.

Due to increasingly burdensome assessments and for fear of being assessed for every aperture through which air could pass, regardless of size or function, homeowners were quick to stop up windows and vents.⁶⁷ Just as frequently, builders of new middle-to-lower class dwellings severely reduced the standard number of openings to lessen the window duty's impact on dwellers. Assessments from 1766 demonstrate the extent to which the stopping up of lights was "a universal practice. . . . In 1766 when the tax was extended to houses with seven windows and upwards, the number of houses in England and Wales having exactly seven windows was reduced by nearly two-thirds."⁶⁸ In fact, if one examines data on the number of windows in homes from just one year earlier in 1765, it becomes obvious that people were extremely sensitive to the laws in place at the time. Built into the 1761 tax code, which was still in effect in 1765 were major rate increases for houses with eight windows or higher, ten windows or higher, twelve windows or higher, fifteen windows or higher, and twenty windows or higher. Not surprisingly, an unusually large number of homes had seven windows exactly, nine windows exactly, eleven windows exactly, fourteen windows exactly, and nineteen windows exactly, clearly modified or designed by homeowners to fall just under the rate increases. Even when the tax was extended to houses with six windows in 1798, "in spite of the increase in building and population, the number of chargeable houses was less in 1800 than it had been in 1781, 1759 or 1750. . . . Thus the law had done little to improve housing conditions and something to worsen them."⁶⁹

The Window Tax had similar consequences for larger tenements and apartment buildings, and "the existence in some of the British cities of large tenement houses with almost no windows or ventilation is ascribable to the former tax on windows."⁷⁰ Because the tenements were charged as single residences under the tax code, Landlords were especially vulnerable to the heavy taxes. Although "houses not rated to church and poor on account of poverty were exempted, . . . this would not apply to London tenement houses, it being a constant preoccupation of London parish officers to prevent the landlords of such houses"—who tended to board up or limit the number of

windows in each apartment to the great frustration of their renters—“from evading the payment of taxes.”⁷¹

As the exclusion of windows became commonplace in new dwellings, patterns quickly emerged in the designs of homes and tenements. In many modest, as well as some larger middle-class dwellings, second story windows—especially bedroom windows—were done away with entirely, “and in Edinburgh a whole row of houses had been built without a single window in the bedroom story of any house.”⁷² These openings were deemed least necessary presumably because residents spent less time in upper-story rooms, used primarily at night for sleeping when little light was available anyway.⁷³ It was also realized that superfluous windows by hearths in the back of houses could be removed to save tax dollars with few consequences. Their elimination even allowed for some energy saving advantages, for by selectively omitting windows in this location, many builders were able “to cut down on heat-loss and the expense of glazing, [covering the opening with glass], where the extra light could be dispensed with.”⁷⁴

More creative builders and homeowners looked to lessen the impact of the Window Tax by simply taking advantage of exemptions in the tax code, rather than limiting the light and air afforded to them. These changes had substantial architectural implications, though mostly for working and upper-middle class homeowners. As windows in pantries, dairies, and other trade-oriented rooms were considered excused from assessments, residents often hung or painted signs—some of which remain today—above certain casements, delineating exactly what type of room the window served so surveyors would not mistakenly include them in their assessments.⁷⁵ As explained by Lucy Caffyn in her book *Workers' Housing in West Yorkshire, 1750-1920*, “To prevent these windows being included by the assessors they were labeled of such, [and] the larder windows of two of the cottages in Main Street, Burley-in Wharfedale, for example, have retained their sign ‘Dairy.’”⁷⁶

Many homeowners attempted to shirk the tax on other non commercial dwelling rooms as well, deliberately mislabeling or simply rearranging the premises to suggest a service, or business function, both of which were exempted by the tax code.⁷⁷ All it took was “a bit of furniture moving and a bribe offered to the assessor [to] reduce an individual’s charge substantially.”⁷⁸

By the early 1740s, in addition to the discovery and removal of corrupt surveyors, many of these fraudulent schemes had come to light. Parliament reacted by putting pressure on surveyors to be stricter in their assessments. Officers were to include all windows in the primary dwelling house in assessments, for “if indeed trade or manufactures are carried on in any part of the Dwelling House, that [should] not exempt such part of the Dwelling House from Tax [as] such rooms might & probably would be applied also to Domestic uses.”⁷⁹ These changes, which hurt both the fraudulent as well as legitimate commercial interests, were met with opposition from homeowners and polemicists alike. Matthew Decker, a writer of the eighteenth century, emphasized the inequality created by these new actions. He indicated that “Mechanics’ workhouses, inns, lodging houses, etc. might

have as many windows as a nobleman's seat, and the possessors [pay] equal sums upon unequal fortunes. 'The idle may shut out the light the industrious can't live without, the former favor and the latter tax themselves, for what? for working.'"⁸⁰ With homeowners unable to gain exemption for work premises located within or attached to their primary dwelling, it became "usual to erect out-houses, wholly separate and disjoined from the Dwelling House, for Work-Shops and Warehouses; so that being kept distant, and wholly employed for Trade, they might not be subject to this Tax."⁸¹ Although building work premises apart from one's dwelling certainly didn't guarantee their function was solely related to business, this architectural innovation was generally effective in removing some of the ambiguity involved with assessment.⁸² As many people performed work from their home, outhouses became such a common occurrence among homeowners that in 1747, when Parliament recast the tax, it was specifically "declared that every Kitchen, Scullery, Buttery, Pantry, Larder, Wash-house, Laundry, Bake house, Brew-house, and Lodging-Room, whether contiguous to, or disjoined from the Dwelling House, shall be charged with the Dwelling House," marking an end to the effectiveness of this architectural solution to the tax burden.⁸³

OTHER ARCHITECTURAL CONSEQUENCES: RESPONSE OF THE ELITE

The poor and working-class were not the only ones to modify their homes in response to the Window Tax. Around the same time that the average homeowner was eliminating second story windows and building out-houses, the English gentry, much less inhibited by the Window Tax, were doing just the opposite, though less as a response to the tax than as a general assertion of status. These upper-crust elites employed a gratuitous use of windows when designing homes to distinguish themselves from rich Englishmen of non-gentry status and upper middle class homeowners who couldn't afford such ostentation.⁸⁴ The windows chosen to grace their façades were also "far more elaborate than in lesser men's houses. Although mullioned and transomed windows had occurred in houses of yeoman status in the late sixteenth century, as at Dean Farm or Hargrove Farm, by the seventeenth century," with the Window Tax in place, "they were confined to the houses of gentry."⁸⁵ This commonplace practice among the wealthy of including as many windows as possible in the walls of one's home represented a shift in the architecture of affluence. In some majestic homes "windows were taken round projections such as porches or oriels, thus creating a glass-wall effect. This is a well-known characteristic of large houses everywhere in England, and Lancashire examples include Astley Hall near Chorley, and Gawthorpe. But the same thing also happened in a more limited way in a few medium and smaller gentry houses as at The Lodge and Worthstone Hall."⁸⁶

A further impetus for the increase in windows in homes of the wealthy originated in another architectural trend that had begun as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century, before the imposition of the Window Tax. There was a decisive architectural shift in affluent dwelling design "towards a compact ground-floor plan, with the accompanying increase in

height . . . used to advantage to impress the world through the external appearance of houses. . . . Almost all gentry houses were of two-and-a-half or three storeys, which meant three tiers of windows on the outside even where the upper ones only lit an attic.”⁸⁷ Despite the extra cost of building higher and adding additional windows, especially unnecessary ones that lit attic spaces, the English upper-crust were willing to take the monetary hit in order to assert their privileged status. In Shuttleworth Hall, a typical elite home, “everywhere the use of gables and the elaborate forms of fenestration indicate that the gentry considered it important to emphasise the fact that their houses had more stories than those of other men.”⁸⁸

With the Window Tax in full effect, this trend was only exaggerated further. In a majority of gentry homes in Lancashire, England, “three or four-storey houses with many gables, elaborate fenestration and moulded surrounds to windows and doorways made for imposing and decorative facades to the 17th-century gentry houses . . . almost certainly they were deliberately designed to remind visitors or passers-by of the success and position of their builders.”⁸⁹ As noted previously, attic windows were quite common in these homes and often used to create the appearance of a third or fourth story when only two and a half or three and a half existed.⁹⁰ Distinguished homes like “Acornlee Hall, Emmot Hall, Hargrove Farm and Bank Hall all have third storey windows in the gables of the cross wings.”⁹¹ Clearly an ostentatious measure, most of these lit “only the roof space and [were] placed so close to the windows below and so high within the scope of the roof that even if they were open they can never have lit more than the meanest of attics.”⁹² Some of the lesser gentry were ultimately forced to resign to the Window Tax and these superfluous attic windows were usually the first to be stopped up.

LIGHT AND VENTILATION: ARCHITECTURAL SOLUTIONS TO SUBSTANDARD LIVING CONDITIONS

By the early nineteenth century, after decades of stopped-up windows, concerns regarding the various health detriments caused by inadequate ventilation and light became increasingly serious. It had become evident that the gap in living conditions between the windowless poor and light laden wealthy was expanding rapidly. Architects as well as polemicists now condemned the plight of the working-class, many of which could not afford to reside in better accommodations. In response to these outcries, a handful of adept individuals and institutions attempted to reverse the negative effects of the Window Tax on architecture and social inequity.⁹³ *The Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes* was one such organization committed to ameliorating housing options for the lower classes. One of the main causes of such deteriorating conditions for the poor was the conflict of interests, which existed between landlords and their lower-income and working class tenants. As landlords were heavily burdened with the Window Tax, they had every incentive to block up as many windows as practical to save themselves from paying the tax.⁹⁴ For this reason, many tenements were built with few windows and inadequate ventilation. Unfortunately, most working-class Brits, with limited

economic mobility and thus few choices about housing, opted to live close to their work and in whatever arrangement was affordable and available. Not only did these lower-income residents have to subsist in substandard conditions, but in many cases, landlords passed on the cost of the tax equally to their residents, further burdening them.⁹⁵

In search of creative ideas to both improve housing for the poor and at the same time reduce the burdens of taxation on landlords and residents, in 1841—amid worsening conditions and increasing agitation against the tax—the *Metropolitan Association* brought on the well-respected architect Henry Roberts to aid in engineering a variety of public housing projects.⁹⁶ Roberts strongly expressed his opinion that “The most humble abodes, whether in a town or in the country, in order to be healthy, must be dry and well ventilated; . . . To secure ventilation, there must be a free circulation of air; a sufficient number and size of openings, and adequate height of the rooms, which I should fix at not less than 7ft. 6in. to 8ft.; in town buildings I have allowed 9ft. from floor to floor.”⁹⁷ In his book titled, *The Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, Their Arrangement and Construction*, Roberts provides examples of some of the miserable housing for poor-dwellers in existence at the time. He notes:

In Glasgow, a dwelling-house of four stories, arranged to accommodate thirty-one families, has been built, with a benevolent view, by Mr. James Lumsden. The tenements are ranged on either side of a central passage, which communicates with the common staircase, and is lighted at the ends. Each tenement consists of one apartment, with a single window, two bed-closets, and a scullery, separated from the main compartment by partitions seven feet high. A water-closet, with a dust-shaft, is placed immediately within the entrance door, having no perceptible means for ventilation. Very questionable as this arrangement must be regarded in a sanitary point of view, it is chiefly referred to as a forcible illustration of the impediment offered by the window-tax to the proper construction of large piles of labourers’ dwellings on the ordinary plan of arrangement. In these tenements three windows should have been provided where there is one only.⁹⁸

Dismayed with the lack of proper light and ventilation and associated health consequences, Roberts argued strongly against the virtues of a Window Tax, stating that “The policy of continuing a tax which so greatly conduces to augment the evils of an over-crowded dwelling, and at the same time presents a serious barrier to their improvement, by diminishing the fair return from such investments, can scarcely be matter for question.”⁹⁹ Although proponents of the tax questioned the validity of health concerns, it was generally agreed upon in the health community that light and ventilation are vital for the wellbeing of residents; the Window Tax’s “disastrous consequence of inducing people to block up windows and reduce the admission of light and air to a minimum” had to be mitigated.¹⁰⁰ Even more recent dis-

course on the unintended adverse side effects legislation can pose on health point to the Window Tax as an example with terrible consequences.¹⁰¹

Roberts, acutely aware of the problem, was forced to be creative and implemented a number of important architectural innovations that promised to “provide the labouring man with an increase of the comforts and conveniences of life, with full compensation to the capitalist” who would have developed the plan.¹⁰² Two of Robert’s design changes in particular were most revolutionary and had powerful implications for affected residents. His first innovation was the use of a central staircase arrangement in larger tenements. By placing the stair centrally within the building lit by gas lamp,¹⁰³ as opposed to along an exterior wall lit by windows,¹⁰⁴ Roberts was able to save at least one window on every floor. The saving in taxes in this scheme was made available for either additional apartment windows or to offset the total tax burden on the residents. Also, since maintaining a gas lamp was less expensive than the aggregate tax savings, this lowered the cost of lighting the stairs.¹⁰⁵ Roberts describes the effects of his innovations on a recently completed building in his text:

At no great distance, a single pile of workmen’s houses,—for sixty-four families,—called ‘Morpeth Buildings,’ has been erected on the same general plan [as Roberts’ staircase arrangement], consisting of double houses, four stories high, with central staircase, giving access, on each landing, to two sets of apartments. These houses are not fire-proof, but enjoy the advantage of unobstructed light and air; they are near to the occupations of the tenants; are always full; and prove a great boon to the inmates, who willingly pay a rent of 2s. 6d. per week, with 3d. additional for gas-light.¹⁰⁶

In discussing the success of his innovation, Roberts mentions other similar tenements he and other architects of the *Metropolitan Association* designed, noting that the “dwellings have been constantly occupied since their completion, and the most gratifying evidence has been given of the change produced in the health and comfort of the tenants, by their improved and salubrious abodes.”¹⁰⁷ An even cleverer scheme of Roberts was his use of galleries in large tenements. The gallery, essentially an extended landing on each floor of a tenement building, provided access to individual apartments from the outdoors and under the law was actually considered a side street. These features qualified every flat within a larger tenement as an individual home according to interpretation of the Window Tax code at the time.

Since each apartment was likely to have less than the minimum number of openings charged by the tax, this arrangement eliminated the tax burden entirely on both the landlord and residents, and proved extremely effective in improving conditions. Family dwellings on Streatham Street are one such example of the gallery model invented by Roberts and implemented by a Mr. Moffet, another architect who worked for the *Metropolitan Association*:

Roberts' earlier buildings were "organized on the principle of the enclosed staircase access system, which rendered [them] liable to the window tax and the house tax which later replaced it. Roberts subsequently avoided these taxes at Streatham Street with his open galleries, which were considered to be streets and the flats separate houses within the legal meaning of the act."¹⁰⁸

Robert's designs had a significant impact on the comfort of low-income dwellers in the nineteenth century and some of his buildings erected by the *Metropolitan Association*, as well as tenements influenced by Roberts' designs, remain standing today.

The legacy of the Window Tax on architecture has been quite profound. There are many homes with bricked up casements or few windows in the first place that remain integral icons in British towns and cities. Out-houses with workshops and storerooms still stand, and gentry homes with excessive windows still dot the English countryside. Even concerns with ventilation and adequate light outlasted the duration of the Window Tax and inspired trends in late nineteenth century British architecture; ventilation became seen as so vital to residents' wellbeing that laws were ultimately enacted to mandate a minimum number of windows in specific places and open space around each dwelling.¹⁰⁹

Once the Window Tax was finally repealed in 1851, and absorbed into the more general house tax, both the wealthy and the poor began to increase the number and size of windows in their homes. This represented the start of a long lasting legacy to bring the outdoors inside. By the late 1800s, "Interiors [had] changed too. The fashion for nooks, quaintness and cosy corners was over, replaced by an outdoor mood. Sunshine and the open air became something of a cult and it was considered essential to health for every room to have at least a little sunshine and the more it had, the better. Big windows of uniform size and shape now lit the rooms more brightly and evenly than before and, wherever it was practicable, French windows allowed people to step straight from the rooms into the garden, or on to a balcony, verandah, loggia, or sun porch."¹¹⁰ Peter Guillery, in his book on the *Small house in eighteenth-century London* wrote of the time, "it is to be expected that rising standards of comfort and amenity, whether in relation to heating or lighting, or to the spread of material possessions through all but the poorest groups, will have affected approaches to domestic interiors at all levels, vernacular and polite. Fewer rooms were left without fireplaces and windows tended to become bigger" throughout Britain.¹¹¹

A LASTING IMPACT: THE MODERN EXPERIENCE AND CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE

The architectural evolutions inspired by the Window Tax not only altered the visage of urban and rural England but impacted later structural and aesthetic designs as well. Many architects looking to emulate British

buildings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries applied faux bricked up windows to the exterior walls of their designs to set the structure in an earlier time. Numerous cases of this modern imitation can be found in current architecture. One such example can be seen in a recently developed mixed-use shopping center in Columbus, Ohio, *Easton Town Center*. One of the buildings in the development was built with a pre-bricked up window to resemble an 18th century British town home.¹¹²

Despite the familiar reference, the historical accuracy is questionable as the only stopped-up window is located on the first floor, whereas in most cases—as previously noted—windows were removed in upper stories. Other examples of stopped-up windows can be found in modern buildings, though not all have been included with the idea of creating an historical aura around the building. Architects have been known to include faux bricked-up windows in designs to maintain a sense of symmetry or decorate a bare wall. In addition, in cases in which windows cannot be placed in a certain location for structural or functional reasons, “stopped up” windows have been used to maintain aesthetics. A contemporary example of this practice is perhaps best found in a new townhouse development in Alexandria, VA.¹¹³ Because some residences are adjacent to a regional rail line and above ground metro tracks, in order to insulate residents against undesirable noise, many walls facing the tracks are being built without a single window.¹¹⁴ However to preserve aesthetics, fake windows that appear to have been filled with bricks have been constructed on the rear walls of the homes facing the train and metro tracks.

When the Window Tax was finally repealed and incorporated into the general Duty on Inhabited Houses in 1851, although the tax itself was no longer assessed, collected, or responsible for revenues to fund parliamentary initiatives, the effects of the Duty on Houses, Lights and Windows didn't simply disappear along with the legislation. For centuries after the abolition of the window duties, the tax administration—which by the middle of the nineteenth century had matured into a sophisticated, centrally administered, full-time, professional organization—managed the direct income tax, a much more complicated and sensitive levy on wealth. Although many other taxes and excises came and went and influenced the British tax administration in the process, the Window Tax was the first to bring about changes of such scale and scope to the management of direct taxes and architectural design. Moreover, the tax's legacy remains strong today as many of the dark, crowded, poorly ventilated tenements condemned by Roberts in the mid-nineteenth century still exist today, as do examples of old bricked up windows and modern replications.

Ironically, most of these windowless tenements and town homes have been transformed into upper class condominiums and luxury apartments with the signs of oppression long since removed. Nevertheless, deep within the walls and attic crawl spaces remains a story of incredible ingenuity on the part of Englishmen in asserting their English Liberties against Parliament and the Crown by exploiting loopholes in legislation to free themselves from the burdens of taxation.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), 77; M.J. Braddick, *The Nerves of State: Taxation and Financing of the English State, 1558-1714* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996), 103; J.V. Beckett, "Land Tax or Excise: The Levying of Taxation in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England." *The English Historical Review* 100, no. 395 (April 1985), 302.
- ² W.R. Ward, "The Administration of the Window and Assessed Taxes, 1696-1798," *The English Historical Review* 67, no. 265 (October 1952): 524.
- ³ Stephen Dowell, *Direct Taxes and Stamp Duties*, vol. 3 of *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England: From The Earliest times to the Present Day* (London: Longman's Green, and Co., 1884), 193.
- ⁴ Officially termed the Duty on Houses, Lights and Windows, assessors were instructed to count any openings in the exterior walls of a dwelling as a porthole through which light could pass. Glazed windows, or Windows with clear glass, were expensive; therefore, any openings, so long as they could allow the passage of light into an interior space, were included in assessments.; Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes*, 201-2.
- ⁵ Charles Weston, *To the Honourable House of Commons, a method humbly proposed, for raising as great a sum (by a more equal way) than the intended duty on windows* ([London], 1695), 1.
- ⁶ Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes*, 194.
- ⁷ Ward, "The Administration," 524.
- ⁸ Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes*, 193-4.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.
- ¹⁰ NRA T 1/434/123-1/434/124.
- ¹¹ Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes*, 194.
- ¹² Abbreviations for English currency: *l.* = pound; *s.* = shilling; *d.* = penny
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 195.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ NRA T 1/434/123-1/434/124.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ In Dowell's account, he writes "the fixed charge on all houses in England, . . . had been raised in 1766 from 2*s.* to 3*s.*" Dowell is mistaken however, as the Duty was actually raised from 2*s.* to 3*s.* in 1758. Documentation of this change can be found in NRA T 1/434/123-1/434/124; Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *An Estimate of the number of inhabitants in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Piccadilly, 1800), 22.
- ¹⁸ *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*. Vol. XVI (AD.1765-1771). (London: T.C. Hansard, 1813), 219-221.
- ¹⁹ Charles Jenkinson, 1st earl of Liverpool. *The Jenkinson Papers, 1760-1766*. ed. Ninetta S. Jucker. (London: Macmillan, 1949), 409.
- ²⁰ The *gabelle* was a despised French tax on salt.
- ²¹ Hoh-Cheung; Lorna H. Mui. "William Pitt and the Enforcement of the Commutation Act, 1784-1788," *The English Historical Review* 76, no.

300, (July 1961): 450-1.

²² Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes*, 198-9.

²³ *Ibid.*, 200.

²⁴ Ward, *The Administration*, 525.

²⁵ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 194.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 194.

²⁷ Ward, *The Administration*, 523.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 525.

²⁹ Great Britain, Office for Taxes. *Cases of appellants relating to the duties on houses, windows, or lights, with the opinion of the judges thereon* ([London], 1786), 3-6. <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:3065/servlet/ECCO>

³⁰ Ward, *The Administration* 525.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 525-6.

³² Ward, *The Administration*, 527; Great Britain, *Cases*, 14, 22, 37.

³³ Ward, *The Administration*, 527-8.

³⁴ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 195.

³⁵ Lucy Caffyn, [Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England] *Workers' Housing in West Yorkshire, 1750-1920* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1986), 52.; "London Curiosities" *Knowledge of London*, 2007, www.knowledgeoflondon.com/curiosities.html.

³⁶ Ward, *The Administration*, 524-5; Jeremy Gibson, Mervyn Medlycott and Dennis Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*, ed. 2. (Ramsbottom: Federation of Family History Societies, 1998), 14.

³⁷ Caffyn, *Workers' Housing*, 52-3.

³⁸ Ward, *The Administration*, 526.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 526.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ No. XXIV BRITANNIA EXCISA: "Britain Excis'd: A Ballad to be Sung in Time, and to some Tune," 1773 [From a folio pamphlet (dated 1733) in the Harvard Library]. In *Political Ballads Illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. 8, *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, edited by Milton Percival. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.

⁴² Ward, *The Administration*, 527-8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 528.

⁴⁴ Ward, *The Administration*, 524; NRA T 1/434/122.

⁴⁵ *Journals of the House of Commons. From October the 17th, 1745, In the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of King George the Second, to November the 22nd, 1750, In the Twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of King George the second*, vol. 25 (London: House of Commons, 1803), 560.

⁴⁶ *Journals of the House of Commons 1745-1750*, 560.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 561.

⁴⁸ Ward, *The Administration*, 529.

⁴⁹ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 196.

⁵⁰ Ward, *The Administration*, 529.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 529.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 529-30.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 530.

- ⁵⁵ NRA T 1/434/122; see table 1.
- ⁵⁶ Ward, *The Administration*, 531.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 532.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; see table 1.
- ⁵⁹ *A sermon on the window tax. Not intended to be preached in Saint Stephen's Chapel, on Candle — Mass day, 1785* (London: Brecknock, 1785?), 7.
- ⁶⁰ *A Sermon on the Window Tax*, 15.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 24-6
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 27.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, 28.
- ⁶⁴ Peter Guillery, *Small house in eighteenth-century London: a social and architectural history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 72; J.N. Tarn, *Working-Class Housing in 19th-century Britain* (London: Lund Humphries Publishers Limited, 1971), 10.
- ⁶⁵ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 201-2.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 202.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 203.
- ⁶⁸ Dorothy M. George, *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), 77.
- ⁶⁹ George, *London Life*, 77.
- ⁷⁰ Edwin R. A. Seligman, "The Effects of Taxation." *Political Science Quarterly* 38, no. 1. (March 1923): 19.
- ⁷¹ George, *London Life*, 77; See fig. 1.
- ⁷² Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 203.
- ⁷³ Caffyn, *Worker's Housing*, 52; Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 203.
- ⁷⁴ Caffyn, *Worker's Housing*, 52.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-3.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 52-3.
- ⁷⁷ Gibson, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*, 14.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.
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- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
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- ⁸⁴ Pearson, *Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1985), 44.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 46-9.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47; See fig. 3.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 78.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Tarn, *Working Class Housing*, 10; Henry Roberts, F.S.A., *The Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, Their Arrangement and Construction; Illustrated by a Reference to the Model Houses of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes, with other Buildings Recently Erected: and An appendix, containing H.R.H. Prince Albert's Exhibition Model Houses, Hyde Park, 1851; The Model Cottages &c. Built by the Windsor Royal Society; With Plans and Elevations of Dwellings Adapted to Towns, as well as to Agricultural and Manufacturing districts*, 3rd ed (London: Savil and Edwards, Printers, 1853), 4-17.

⁹⁴ Roberts, *Dwellings of the Labouring Classes*, 16-17.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁹⁶ Tarn, *Working Class Housing*, 10.

⁹⁷ Roberts, *Dwellings of the Labouring Classes*, 4-5.

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⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁰ *A Sermon on the Window tax*, 8;

¹⁰¹ Kenneth F. Clute, "Law and Health: Some Current Challenges." *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 50, no. 1, part 1, (January 1972): 27.

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¹⁰³ See fig. 6.

¹⁰⁴ See fig. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Roberts, *Dwellings of the Labouring Classes*, 14.

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¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

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¹⁰⁹ Caffyn, *Workers' Housing*, 92.

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THE DUAL MAN: IMPERSONATION AND PERFORMANCE IN THE HIJAZ

Cameron Hu

“A Persian, is he? Most amazing! However can anybody be a Persian?”
Baron de Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*

INTRODUCTION

Tradition holds that Caliph Umar (r. 644 – 652) first expelled Christians and Jews from the Hijaz – the northwestern expanse of the Arabian Peninsula – as the area became increasingly understood as Islam’s holy land. His decree, which cited the Prophet Muhammad’s imperative that “No two religions must remain in the land of the Arabs,”¹ has remained in place, apparently uninterrupted, to the present (it is now perpetuated by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). Though official records are scant, it appears that the ban on non-Muslims was rigorously and violently enforced; accounts abound of the extraordinary punishments dealt to Christians found in violation of the sanctity of the Hijaz. *Christians in Mecca*, a summary of expeditions to Mecca published in 1909, suggested that “no infraction of this decree, once brought to light, has had other than tragic consequences.”² Its author intoned that “scarcely a pilgrimage takes place without some persons being put to death as intruded Christians.”³ Indeed, John Fryer Keane, British sailor and entrant to Mecca in the late nineteenth century, heard of three Englishmen held “with iron collars round their necks chained among the hills,”⁴ and the Persian pilgrim Hossein Kazamzadeh noted that “Christians who do dare enter these forbidden places run the risk of being assassinated.”⁵

Yet despite the peril posed, a small number of Europeans appear to have visited Mecca and Medina between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries.⁶ The few extant accounts are those of sailors, captured at sea and sold into slavery, who accompanied their masters on the pilgrimage.⁷ Enslavement, however traumatic, made possible their entrance to the Hijaz. Such Europeans were exempted from Umar’s prohibition as servants to Muslims, or otherwise claim to have been forcibly converted to Islam. Yet in the nineteenth century, amidst the withering of the Ottoman Empire and heightened

European presence in North Africa and the Middle East, several travelers recast the Hijaz as an intentional destination, a site for exploration and scrutiny. Several travelers endeavored to investigate the Meccan Holy Land in person, assuming simultaneously the mantles of adventurer, amateur geographer, ethnographer, and explorer. In order to negotiate their prohibition from the Hijaz, they seized upon impersonation; forgoing conversion, they masqueraded as “eastern” natives and Muslims from birth.

The present essay suggests several points of approach for the interpretation of this peculiar phenomenon. First, it holds that impersonation must be approached as dual performance, an act projected as much toward Europe and Christianity as it was toward the Muslims after whom the explorer modeled himself. It then proceeds to describe what exactly this dual performance conveyed: to the extent that every performance is a discourse, it engaged questions of mastery, sovereignty, epistemology, and empire, and gestured at essential ideas about the Muslims, Christians, and their delimitation.

VICTORIANS, EXPLORERS, AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Four travel narratives compose the basis of this study: John Louis Burckhardt’s *Travels in Arabia*, Richard Burton’s *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, John Keane’s *Six Months in Meccah*, and Eldon Rutter’s *The Holy Cities of Arabia*. This selection deserves justification. Though the history of Europeans in Mecca spans some five hundred years, the spate of covert journeys in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the Hijaz was quite unprecedented, and might therefore be understood as something like a period-specific cultural phenomenon. The narratives selected span, in roughly twenty-five-year intervals, the entirety of that age of expeditions to the Hijaz, the first having been published in 1829, the last in 1928. They appear, at least anecdotally, the most popular of their kind, and therefore one might reasonably situate these narratives in dialogue with contemporaneous European cultural, intellectual, and religious practices, and, by extension, consider these narratives with regard of two temporally coincidental phenomena, the Victorian Era and the expansion of European influence in the Middle East.

John Lewis Burckhardt was widely believed to be the first Christian to enter Mecca (although several writers, scattered over four centuries, appear to have reached the Hijaz ahead of Burckhardt) and his expedition was thus regarded as the standard by which other journeys to Mecca and Medina were measured.⁸ A highly educated Swiss-British Orientalist, he was an

early affiliate of the African Association, the predecessor of Britain's Royal Geographical Society, and the minutes of its annual meeting report that Burckhardt had begun to practice "the manners of traveling mahomedans"⁹ as early as 1810. Posing as Sheikh Ibrahim ibn Abdullah – a learned Arab of ambiguous origin – Burckhardt arrived in the Jeddah, a port city of the Hijaz, in July of 1814. He traveled to Mecca and remained there through the month of the pilgrimage, visiting Medina shortly thereafter. There he contracted a fever and, after several months of incapacitating illness, Burckhardt returned to Cairo. Burckhardt's journey lasted fifteen months, and its effect on his health initiated the decline of his illustrious career in exploration.¹⁰

Sir Richard Burton, Burckhardt's immediate successor and admirer, visited Mecca and Medina in 1851 as Shaikh Hajj Abdullah, a wandering Persian darwaysh. Burton was in fact a former captain in East India Company's army who had served in India and there became a proficient speaker of Persian and Arabic, as well as several other languages. Burton's journey to the Hijaz was extraordinarily well publicized – his narrative went through several printings – and it launched a career in exploration; he later traveled to North and Central Africa and the American West, and was knighted for his exploits.

Less biographical information is available about the two remaining subjects of this study: John Fryer Keane (who arrived in Mecca in 1977) and Eldon Rutter (1925), likely because neither traveler's narrative contained the valuable scholarly matter present in Burckhardt's *Travels*, and because neither Keane nor Rutter ever amassed celebrity approaching that of Burton. Keane, who traveled as Mohammed Amin, was an English sailor who had spent the previous nine years aboard ships with primarily Muslim crews. Unlike Burckhardt and Burton, he had no formal education.¹¹ Rutter was a young Englishman who had lived amongst Arab-Muslim immigrants while a soldier posted in the Malay states.¹² He traveled to Cairo and the Hijaz as Ahmad, a Syrian pilgrim from Damascus.

The four travelers chosen were both the product and perpetuators of a unique fascination with Middle East. In contrast, the *Arabian Nights*, for example, enjoyed nearly unparalleled popularity in the nineteenth century,¹³ appearing in several translations and hundreds of printings, and reference to the tales was widespread in Victorian literature. Scholarly works on Arab figures and literature also multiplied in both quantity and quality in the nineteenth century.¹⁴ The figures assessed here were not exempt from this fixation on the Orient. For example, *The Geographical Journal* reports that Rutter – who was a child at the turn of the twentieth century – "began very early in life to take a particular interest in books on Arabia and Syria."¹⁵

Likewise, Richard Burton's wife Isabel, who also delighted in posing as an Arab, recalled in her autobiography: "I was very enthusiastic about gypsies, Bedawin Arabs, and especially about a wild and lawless life."¹⁶

Expeditions to Mecca perhaps represent the apogee of this widespread fixation. The Victorian image of the Middle East was inseparable from Islam, the region's dominant religion, and as Islam's historical center, Mecca could only have represented to Victorians the ultimate target of their fascination.

PERFORMANCE AND THE INVENTION OF RISK

In the first pages of his *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah*, Richard Burton submitted the motives for his excursion. Noting the "fatalities which of late years have befallen sundry soldier-travelers in the East,"¹⁷ Burton remarked that "What remained but for me to prove, by trial, that what might be perilous to others was safe to me? The 'Experimentum Cruciz' was a visit to Al-Hijaz, at once the most difficult and the most dangerous point by which a European can enter Arabia." Burton recognized the Hijaz as a famed and fame-making crucible, and he was not the first to do so. Burckhardt, often regarded as the most sincerely scholastic of the Meccan adventurers, nonetheless anticipated Burton's strategy. "My exploits," he wrote to an acquaintance, "are base and degrading because they oblige me almost exclusively to mix and live for many years with whatever is infamous, abject, and wretched in human nature... it is true, I hope to wrest a wreath from the hands of fame."¹⁸

Echoes of Burckhardt and Burton are apparent throughout John F. Keane's *Autobiography*, in which he remarked that "I had performed the fearfully risky pilgrimage to Mecca with but one purpose: and that was by performing a feat to bring my name forward as a capable traveler, it would stand me in good stead as a recommendation for the support and means I should require [for future explorations]."¹⁹ The pervasiveness of this approach of the Hijaz – as presenting both a "risky" trial and a means toward renown – tenders precise demands to any discussion of the expeditions.

Keane's concise approximation of the pilgrimage as a "feat" renders these concerns with particular clarity, revealing two ideas foundational to the explorers' project. First, "feat" implies an audience. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, by the mid-nineteenth century, the term could indicate "an exceptional or noteworthy act or achievement" and a "surprising trick," concepts that necessarily demand witnesses (someone, after all, must attend an event in order to deem it noteworthy). Acknowledgement of

observation is evident in Burton's will to "prove" himself, and Burckhardt's hesitant pursuit of "fame": both efforts anticipated, projected, and relied upon the presence of spectators.²⁰ It seems appropriate, therefore, to interpret the expeditions as well as accounts thereof as self-conscious *performances*, somehow existing publicly from the very moment of their conception. It follows that we must attend specifically to the gestures they directed at their intended audience, a nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century British reading public. It stands to reason that as a means to celebrity, these narratives were deliberately assembled to interact in some way or other; thus they are indicative of a broader cultural moment, rather than isolated recordings.

Second, Keane's "feat" referred specifically to the "fearfully risky pilgrimage," and as such his spectacular performance was focused upon the very risk that the Hijaz contained and posed to the explorer. Indeed, it is for this reason that Burton mythologized the Hijaz as "the most dangerous point" of entry to Arabia, and Burckhardt populated it with a cast of untouchables. The Meccan feat – with the Hijaz as its theatre – consisted largely in exposing oneself to risk.

In any case, the intended function of their journeys was confirmed by the authors' peers; contemporaneous materials suggest a consensus on the capacity of the Hijaz to create a reputation. For example, *The Geographical Journal* – the primary periodical of England's Royal Geographical Society – offered the following assessment of Eldon Rutter's *The Holy Cities of Arabia*:

Who is Eldon Rutter? It is surprising for those who have for decades been acquainted with the geographic and political history of the Middle East, that one whose name had never been so much as mentioned, should have stepped thus unannounced onto the stage of Arabian travel, with such a finished and absorbing tale to tell.²¹

The author's language need hardly be parsed. The conceptual affinity between traveler and performer glares in Rutter's location on a "stage," and his possession of a "finished and absorbing tale." Moreover, the emphasis on Rutter's identity – "Who is Eldon Rutter?" – attests quite literally to the link between name-making and expedition. The author's surprise at Rutter's anonymity likewise hints toward an extant pantheon of Arabian travelers.

Isabel Burton's "Preface to the Memorial Edition" of *Pilgrimage* –

a reflection published some forty years after her husband's travels – confirmed the basic position that risk occupied in the valuation of his travels: “There are Holy Shrines of the Moslem world in the far-away Desert, where no white man, European, or Christian, could enter (save as a Moslem), or even approach, without certain death.”²² In Isabel Burton's assessment, the import and novelty of Burton's work – in his completion of the Hajj – was located in Burton's capacity to engage and transcend verified risk.

Yet this passage also introduces the tight entanglement of impersonation with risk, and by extension, its central position within the performance of the pilgrimage at large. It was only “as a Moslem,” Isabel Burton continued, that one might safely approach the Hijaz.²³ How to retain, then, one's status as white, Christian, and European, and enter the Hijaz? Impersonation appears to have been the solution, and it therefore constituted much of the performance: it was by impersonation that risk was in fact invented, maintained, and eventually negated. That is, impersonation permitted one to first enter the Hijaz whilst internally, and to one's audience, white, European and Christian. And yet such disguise necessarily generated the variety of risk – of discovery and unmasking – to which the Hijaz exposed the explorer.

Indeed, Burckhardt's impersonation was basic to the appeal of his journey. Particularly telling is a profile from 1967 in *Saudi Aramco World*, a popular audience periodical, which summarized his travails as follows: “Burckhardt passed three months in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medinah posing as a beggar. Not once during his travels was he unmasked as an imposter, so perfect was his knowledge of the language, the religion and the customs of the people.”²⁴ Such summaries recast Burton's narrative entirely as an account of disguise. Yet the primacy of impersonation to exploration is explicit in Eldon Rutter's unpublished manuscript, “Damascus to Hail.” Asserting the necessity of impersonation, he contended that “All important traveling in Arabia by Europeans has been in the nature of an escape.”²⁵

The emphasis on impersonation is made more significant by the considerable ambiguity that exists over its practicality and necessity. Though banned from the Hijaz on pain of death, a Christian had two options if he wished to proceed nonetheless: he could pose as an Arab, yes, but he could also formally swear belief in Islam, and thus visit Mecca as a recent convert. Yet the latter option, despite negating much of the journey's risk, was virtually ignored. Why would explorers assume new and precarious identities, construct elaborate personal histories, and subject themselves to the possibility of discovery and execution? Indeed, Mary Lovell, one of Burton's numerous biographers, indicates that this is not a novel query:

Richard's adoption of Eastern disguise offended some who suggested that it was a totally unnecessary affectation since anyone who went to the Turkish authorities and professed to be a convert could join the *Hajj*. In such a case, it was pointed out, he would have been excused had he made any mistakes in the elaborate Muslim ritual, and he would have not been in any danger of his life.²⁶

However, Lovell defends Burton's methods, arguing that a convert's access would be somehow mediated: translated or simplified or embellished for the anomalous foreigner. "This kind of Hajj had already been done. Richard felt only by traveling as a born Muslim could he obtain truly accurate information."²⁷

Yet Lovell's defense is incongruous with the actual content of Burton's narrative. *Pilgrimage* presents a surprising dearth of facts, figures, scientific or social-scientific matter presented as such – in other words, the forms typically occupied by "accurate information." Rather, Burton himself avowed a disinterest in scholarship, arguing that "it is the personal that interests mankind," and admitting to the "egotistical semblance of this narrative"²⁸ (Augustus Ralli – author of *Christians in Mecca* – in turn acknowledged that "Burckhardt had left [Burton] little to describe.")²⁹ Rutter's account was similarly acknowledged by reviewers as "the story of his adventures"³⁰ and as a work of "literary style [and] human interest."³¹ Keane's *Six Months in Meccah* also reads as a thoroughly personal account. Given the sympathetic styling of these narratives, the pursuit of "accurate evidence" is not a compelling justification for impersonation.

In a more critical biography than Lovell's, Dane Kennedy instead recognizes that Burton's impersonation was largely a deliberate component of his performance. Burton, he writes, "understood that his adventure would be measured against the achievement of Burckhardt, who had entered Mecca in disguise. He could do no less."³² Kennedy thus implies that disguise became a criterion for the evaluation of Burton's feat, and impersonation was thus practiced in anticipation of such public measurement. It is not unthinkable that Burckhardt's example transformed impersonation from mere tactic into a requisite component of the Meccan feat for his successors.

In order that we might reinforce the fundamental position of impersonation in an explorer's performance, consider, finally, the romance with which Augustus Ralli introduced his subjects: "a few examples of fearless Europeans, who taking their lives in their hands, disguised in Mohammaden

dress and outwardly conforming to Mohammedan customs.”³³ Ralli’s assessment of the performance was predicated on the practice of disguise: to be fearless (in essence, to be validated as an explorer) was to subject oneself to possible peril – “taking their lives in their hands” – by means of impersonation.

Admitting, then, the primacy of impersonation in the feat, we must ask why this was the case? Why have readers from Ralli to the present fixated on impersonation and disguise? What was signified by a Christian at Mecca, by a Christian or European posing as a Muslim? What was the performance meant to suggest about readers and peers, about themselves, and about Muslims and Arabs?

IMPERSONATION, MASTERY, AND DEFENSE

The image of the imposter in Mecca was manifestly that of precarious self-positioning, and it was curiously amplified in the second-order reports that recount the expeditions. The condensed narratives, presumably reductions of a narrative to its “essence,” often obsessed over an explorer’s capacity to maintain his disguise or assumed person. A typical example presents itself in Walter Phelps Dodge’s 1907 biography *The Real Sir Richard Burton*. Illustrating Burton’s visit to the Ka’aba – this often appears to be the singular event upon which Meccan travel accounts were founded, the moment in which the Christian has penetrated to the very heart of Islam – Dodge mused on Burton’s hazardous situation, “The picture of one solitary Christian among these fanatical Moslems is an interesting one. A little fault, a mistake in some small ceremony, would have meant a peculiarly unpleasant death at the hands of bloodthirsty fanatics.”³⁴ For Dodge, at least, Burton’s story was marked by an ever-looming possibility of detection, among crowds rabidly attentive the minutiae of religious practice and vigilant against imposters. Dodge’s impression of the Hijaz, and of Mecca in particular, suggested an environment of unfailing suspicion, and John Keane offered a corroborating account; Mecca, he avowed, was peopled with “inquisitive watchers and self-constituted spies.”³⁵

A backdrop of vigilant Muslims appears to have been a condition for readers’ appreciation of disguise. Dodge exclaimed, for example, that “no suspicion as to Burton’s nationality was ever aroused,”³⁶ and another writer, reporting on Burckhardt’s progress in the *Calcutta Journal*, opened his article with mention of Burckhardt’s uncanny capacity “to pass among the most suspicious as a native of the country.”³⁷

This attention – not merely to disguise, but to disguise in the face of

suspicion – announces the political symbolism of impersonation and the Meccan pilgrimage at large. It is stated above that impersonation invented the risk on which an explorer’s performance was founded. However, the synthetic origins of “risk” are now evident. The perception of perpetual or environmental risk referred to a populace of Muslims perpetually suspicious and violent. But just as risk was invented, the suspicious environment was an obstacle imagined (or created) by the practice of proscribed entry – it was only Keane’s elected violation that rendered him available to the surveillance and implicit punishment of “watchers” and “spies.” Recalling, then, the questionable necessity of disguise, perhaps the imagination of a hostile Muslim populace was in fact a conscious component of an explorer’s feat.

If impersonation positioned the Muslim population of the Hijaz as an obstacle to be overcome, Burckhardt, Burton, Keane, and Rutter themselves became understood as participants in an imagined global contest, one that pitted Islam’s exclusionary practices against European right. Katherine Sim’s 1969 biography, *Desert Traveler: The Life of John Louis Burckhardt*, presents an apt model of that opposition. “It had been in the face of grave danger,” she wrote of Burckhardt’s earlier travels:

that [Burckhardt] had penetrated the jealously guarded lost city, and only by the means of an ingenious stratagem was he able to outwit its fierce Arab custodians. So it was that after six myth-shrouded centuries he restored to all cognizant peoples Petra.³⁸

Sim’s style approaches mythopoesis: in addition to its epic tone – “So it was” – it articulates an archaic opposition of “Arab custodians” and “cognizant peoples,” and establishes Burckhardt as a near-messianic figure, one who finally *returns* to Europeans something wrested from them, and to which they possessed a right. Burckhardt is made representative of Christianity and England, and his victory theirs by extension (although most Europeans will not see Petra themselves, that Burckhardt has laid eyes on the city can “restore” it to them). Burckhardt’s enlistment as a proxy permits us to reconsider the oppositions developed in Isabelle Burton’s claim about Mecca’s impenetrability. “There are Holy Shrines of the Moslem world in the far-away Desert, where no white man, European, or Christian, could enter.” Perhaps the appeal of a Christian or European in the Hijaz existed beyond the mere amusement proffered by risk – as Sim’s text implies – extending into a symbolic sphere of geographical expansion.

Successful passage through the Hijaz did not merely indicate

the ability to sufficiently mimic Muslim character and appearance (though this is not unimportant; Parama Roy, for example, has suggested that Burton's disguise "renders the native transparent.")³⁹ More significantly, successful impersonation was positioned in both narratives and secondary reports as a kind of victory, earned *against* a duped native population. Take, for example, Burton's arrival in Egypt; he recalled having "rejoiced to see that by dint of a beard and in a shaven head I succeeded...in misleading the inquisitive spirit of the populace."⁴⁰ Burton's pleasure in deception is obvious here, and indeed, retellings of that moment share his delight: "On landing at Alexandria, he was recognized and blessed as a True Believer by the Moslem population,"⁴¹ one reported, and in a slight variation, another remarked that "so successful was Burton that upon his arrival in Egypt he was blessed as a True Believer."⁴² "True Believer" was not Burton's term, nor was the vague "Moslem population." Rather, the two were amplifications that slyly expanded Burton's localized anecdote into a comically universal scenario of triumph.

Yet beyond the deception of Muslims, in which the explorer was portrayed as a convincing Muslim, the impersonator often attempted to prove himself a more knowledgeable and devout Muslim than most, besting them at their own practices in ubiquitous scenes of mastery. The Pasha Muhammad Ali, for example, was skeptical of Burton's sincerity and summoned him to Tayf. The Pasha's associates reminded him "it is not the beard alone which proves a man to be a true Moslem,"⁴³ and Burckhardt was thus compelled to appear before the Kadhy of Mekka, who interrogated him on his faith. The interview proceeded as follows: "He asked what Arabic books I had read, and what commentaries on the Koran and on the law; and he probably found me better acquainted with such works than he expected."⁴⁴ Burckhardt was evidently satisfied with his performance; he had passed. Yet the notion of "outdoing" the Muslim was seized upon and amplified by Burton's interlocutors. In Ralli's retelling, "Two of the ablest professors of the law then in Arabia, examined him upon the Koran, and declared that he was not only a Moslem but a very learned Moslem."⁴⁵ What was initiated as a subtle display of Burckhardt's competence became a rather dramatic moment in its retelling, wherein the explorer was admitted to high ranks of religious expertise by Islam's greater intellectuals, a transformation that likely also served fantasies of besting and mastery.

Eldon Rutter's writing often approached the same sentiment. Describing, for example, a fellow Hajji's attempt to recite a verse of the Qur'an, Rutter explained that the Muslim "had no idea of the meaning of the words which he uttered, but in spite of that he appeared to entertain so great a faith

in the soul-saving value of exercise.”⁴⁶ Having established the ignorance of that pilgrim, and perhaps gestured toward the irrational character of much of Muslim faith, Rutter translated the verse for his reader with great fanfare. The public was thereby meant to share in Rutter’s superior grasp of Islamic culture, elevating themselves above the typical Muslim.

Yet if the impersonation was at once a discourse of mastery and domination, it nevertheless enacted a simultaneous rhetorical strategy of evasion and defense. On the most literal level, Dane Kennedy suggests that impersonation’s alternative, conversion, “would be seen as an act of abasement to an inferior faith and culture if carried out while he maintained his identity as an Englishman.”⁴⁷ That is, conversion would suggest something like a sully of English self-regard by submitting an Englishman to the religious jurisdiction of Muslims. By contrast, impersonation permitted Burton to avoid the surrender of his (and his native country’s) apparent superiority.

This notion of impersonation as a defensive mechanism can be expanded and redirected in several directions. In her *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt offers a model of explorer/author – the “experiential unhero” – bearing remarkable resemblance to protagonists of the Hajj accounts. She notes, for example, that Mungo Park, a Scottish explorer of West Africa (and Pratt’s archetypal example of the experiential unhero), “did not write up a narrative of geographical discovery, observation, or collection, but one of personal experience and adventure. He wrote, and wrote himself, not as a man of science, but as a sentimental hero.”⁴⁸ Park is subject and participant in what Pratt titles “Reciprocal Vision,” a phenomena in which “Seeing itself operates along lines of reciprocity in his text... in exchange for seeing Africa and Africans, Park repeatedly portrays himself as subjected to the scrutiny of the Africans. In a parodic reversal Park’s portmanteau is surveyed simultaneously as a landscape and a zoological specimen.”⁴⁹ What distinguishes sentimental narratives of the Hajj from Mungo Park’s, then, is an evasion of that reciprocal or mutual inspection: impersonators delighted in a shielded observation, a tactic that perhaps that guarded Englishness against the nationalized indignity of having been scrutinized (and therefore evaluated, measured, and judged): one viewed without the indignity of being viewed. Indeed, Burton wrote in defense of impersonation, “My spirit could not bend to own myself a *Burma*,⁵⁰ a renegade – to be pointed at and shunned and catechized, and object of suspicion to the many of contempt to all.”⁵¹ Impersonation was therefore the product of an aversion to such reciprocal surveillance, which posed a threat to the ego, or more precisely, “spirit” (this idea of a reciprocal relationship also allows us to expand an analysis of Keane’s sensed presence of

“inquisitive watchers and self-constituted spies; who was Keane, if not himself an inquisitive watcher and self-constituted spy?”).

Having introduced the matter of “spirit,” we might tentatively speculate that – in addition to a political and physical strategy – impersonation also permitted the evasion of a parallel ontological crisis. Jacques Derrida’s late essay “The Foreigner Question: Coming from Abroad/from the Foreigner” elaborates a relationship between the status of “foreigner” and a sovereignty of one’s own being pertinent to the discussion of impersonation. “Isn’t the question of the foreigner,” he begins, “a foreigner’s question?”⁵² This passage suggests an immediate relationship between the status of foreignness and a corresponding phenomenon, literal and symbolic, of interrogation. Crossing borders, national or otherwise, the foreigner must divulge his identity, origins, etc. Derrida continues: “As though the foreigner were being-in-question.”⁵³ Here, the interrogation is abstracted as a reproach to the self-sovereignty of the foreigner: While interrogated, the foreigner yields power over himself to the representatives of the polity he enters. But interrogation is also a reciprocal relationship that parallel’s Pratt’s: “[The foreigner is] also the one who, putting the first question, puts me in question.”⁵⁴ The foreigner thus returns the destabilizing gesture to his host, puts into question his host’s being; he is the potential spy, importer of contraband materials, revolutionary or counterrevolutionary, etc. In sum, the experience of the foreigner and host is posited as a mutual or reciprocal undermining of the other’s sovereignty and authority. The utility of that principle to the interpretation of impersonation is obvious – impersonation permitted the explorer to circumvent such border processes and thus the disempowerment of the foreigner, while he continued to problematize sovereignty in Hijaz in a very real way (his surveillance abetted and anticipated imperial presence).

These are admittedly speculative discussions (it is difficult to verify empirically a phenomenology) but they are lent potential weight by the efforts by both travelers and commentators to defend Englishness and Christianity against political or religious humiliation.

ON BEING ENGLISH

What was the relationship of the impersonator to his place and culture of origin? In behaving as a Muslim, did he compromise political or religious loyalties? How was the reader to distinguish performance from authentic life? Three yet-unaddressed phenomena address the complicated affiliations of the Christian-as-Muslim: a) Keane’s efforts to reclaim an alleged Englishwoman whom he met in Mecca, b) an entire constellation of discussions

regarding the morality and sincerity of Burckhardt and Burton's Islam, and c) a ubiquitous narrative practice in which disguise was dramatically shed.

Keane claimed that upon arrival in Mecca he found an Englishwoman resident there – a discovery that Augustus Ralli would call “the most astonishing of Keane's adventures.”⁵⁵ Astonishing, of course, because it presented a similar anomaly to Keane's – the English citizen as Muslim – however, this instance appears to have inspired less laudation than pity. Keane lamented upon first contact, for example, that one might “spend a woe life as she was doing, in such wretchedness and misery, buried alive in Mecca.”⁵⁶ Keane's interest, however, was contingent on a notion of racial and national purity: “No,” I said, ‘She can't be an Englishwoman; and I consoled myself by settling that she must be a country-born half-caste, fair enough to be called English.’”⁵⁷ This is merely the first instance of a lengthy and obsessive interrogation of her precarious cultural position, a fixation that in fact constituted Keane's account. After meeting with her on several occasions (“How we let loose our English tongues!” he recalled⁵⁸), Keane eventually confirmed her racial commonality after “she raised her veil and showed me her face, which was as English as my own.”⁵⁹

It was on that basis that Keane claimed to have launched extensive state processes on her behalf. Upon return to Britain, Keane campaigned extensively for her rescue; he reported her story to a number of gentlemen, and following his encouragement the Foreign Office “sent instructions to their Consul at Jeddah to send a Mohammedan agent into Meccah and make inquiry for the supposed captive.”⁶⁰ Locating her eventually in India, a British magistrate complicated Keane's certainty in her circumstances and nationality: “she denies [as Keane posited in his narrative] that she is an English-woman who was ravished from her friends during the Mutiny, forced to turn Mohammaden and marry her ravisher...it is difficult if not impossible to believe that she is an Englishwoman.”⁶¹

In an essay entitled “The Curious Affair of Lady Venus,” M.D. Allen has suggested that Keane's Englishwoman was most likely a fabrication, an embellishment of the popularly circulated story of “Miss Wheeler,” whose circumstances were intertwined with those of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, as well as the case of Zohra Begum, a Eurasian widow resident simultaneously with Keane.⁶² If the account was in fact a fabrication, engineered like much of the Meccan performance for popular appeal, perhaps Keane's preoccupation with untainted or attenuated Englishness is indicative of a broader cultural moment. Indeed, this same obsessive delimitation characterizes much of the public debate – one that continues into the present – over the ambiguous religious states that Burton and Burckhardt occupied in the

course of impersonation.

Such discussions attempted to address definitively whether Burton and Burckhardt were in fact virtuous Christians, a status apparently compromised by their affiliation with Islam. There appears to have been a disquieting element of ambiguity to impersonation. Augustus Ralli's comment that Burckhardt was "terribly at ease"⁶³ in Mecca was not likely a careless one, and it refers to the same "strange and sinister territory of doubt or skepticism or half-hearted apostasy...between Christianity and Islam" about which another commentator wrote.⁶⁴ It is perhaps the abhorrence of this sinister territory that compelled one critic charge that impersonation enacted something like betrayal:

To feign a religion which the adventurer himself does not believe, to perform with scrupulous exactitude, as of the highest and holiest import, practices which he inwardly ridicules, and which he intends on his return to hold up to the ridicule of others, to turn for weeks and months together the most sacred and awful bearings of man towards his Creator into a deliberate and truthless mummery, not to mention other and yet darker touches – all of this seems hardly compatible with the character of a European gentleman, let alone that of a Christian.⁶⁵

Such claims were opposed by attempts to restore Burton to the side of things European and Christian: "long before he died he grew more orthodox," wrote one biographer. "That he greatly admired the Koran there is no doubt; that he preferred it to the bible there is no proof."⁶⁶ These discussions of Burton reveal again a fixation on a delimitation of the boundary between Christian and Muslim; the indeterminateness of impersonation was articulated as a problem, one to be resolved by pinning Burton firmly to one side or the other of the divide.

Burckhardt was subject to similar scrutiny, and lengthy passages have been devoted to teasing out his loyalties precisely: "His own deep-rooted ethics invariably made him marvel at mob gullibility, and it seems to have been hard for him to recognize the two-faced attitude of the average Muslim religioso. This is one reason that makes it possible to think that he could, and even did, accept for himself the *principles* of Muslim religion without being guilty of apostasy at any time."⁶⁷ This passage is symptomatic of critiques of Burckhardt, which admit the complexity of his approach to Islam but nonetheless seek an absolute marker of identity, and assert the possibility of "guilt" of apostasy.

Although impersonation was often problematic and controversial for readers – and indeed, such controversy was often the intent of the impersonator – it offered the explorer a narrative device by which readers could distinguish him from sincere pilgrims. The impersonator’s Christianity was reified by the peculiar relationship that held between himself, his narrative, and the reader. An impersonator was psychologically distant from the rites of the Hajj because he had additional concerns – surveillance in anticipation of reportage, for example, and anxieties about the discovery of his disguise. Keane, for example, noted that “Observing and inquiring...recalled me to my identity”⁶⁸ – it was spectatorship itself that set him apart from the surveyed. Likewise, Parama Roy has argued that “What we are never allowed to forget is Burton’s sense of his own separation from the collective cultural experience of pilgrimage.”⁶⁹ This separation was pervasive. In his description of the rites of the Hajj, for example, Keane reminded us of his ritual ablutions that “for appearance’s sake I drank not a little of it, disagreeable as it was.”⁷⁰ Keane’s aside indicated to the reader that he was still acting, that at his core he was separate from Islamic practice, and thus that his European conscience remained intact. In turn, secondary accounts are rife with nods toward the self-conscious Englishman living within a Muslim shell. One commentator wrote of Burckhardt that:

His astonishing proficiency in the language, his whole appearance, now rendered so perfectly Arab-like, by a tanned skin, coarse hands and feet, and a long beard, as well as his intimate knowledge of the precepts of their religion, and a practical acquaintance with its ceremonies, all contributed to shelter him from the slightest suspicion of being an infidel; although by the gradual initiation which he obtained from travel and observation, into all the mysteries of their prayers, prostrations, and ablutions, he had escaped the otherwise indispensable rite of circumcision, so that while still an “uncircumcised dog,” he passed as a true believer.⁷¹

What intrigued the author was that Burckhardt’s affiliations were even preserved *physically*, a fleshly bastion of Christianity remnant beneath Muslim robes – empirical proof of loyalty, a kind of talisman to repelled foreign influence.

However, the explorer’s essential Christianity was most thoroughly evident in definitive scenes of conclusion, in which the explorer shed his Muslim identity and was free to act as an Englishman. In the final pages of

The Holy City of Arabia, Rutter's relief is evident in his explanation that "for the first time in more than a year I now ate with a knife and fork."⁷² Keane likewise wrote of his departure from Mecca: "I had thrown off all semblance of a Mohammeden, and talked in the most undisguised English... On the morning of the day on which we arrived in Bombay, I shaved and put on my European rig... Nobody would have suspected that the young English sailor who ate as much cold pork for his supper that night as any other three men at the table, had been a zealous Mohammeden devotee a few weeks before."⁷³ This type of passage asserted unambiguously the sham of impersonation – the impersonator emerged unscathed and unaltered by his performance, his taste for pork and dinner-table etiquette indicating his continued preference for things European, quotidian or otherwise. Moreover, the placement of this scene at the end of a narrative is important. The end, of course, is traditionally the space of resolution in contrast to the conflict preceding it. Thus the antecedent situation – of living amongst Muslims – is by implication a grueling and conflictive affair.

BE(COM)ING MUSLIM

In assuming the "authentic" Muslim persona, an explorer disclosed what he believed to be the essential character of Arabs and Muslims. Burton, for example, describes in great detail months spent refining his disguise, and so we are allowed unusual access to his preconceptions. Explaining the intricacies of "oriental manners," he offers the following:

Look at that Indian Moslem drinking a glass of water. With us the operation is simple enough, but his performance includes no fewer than five novelties. In the first place he clutches his tumbler as though it were the throat of a foe; second he ejaculates, "In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful!" before wetting his lips; thirdly, he imbibes the contents, swallowing them not sipping them as he ought to do, and ending with a satisfied grunt; fourthly before setting down the cup he sighs forth, "Praise be to Allah!" – of which you will understand the full meaning in the desert; and fifthly, he replies, "May Allah make it pleasant to thee!" in answer to his friend's polite "pleasurably and health!" Also he is careful to avoid the irreligious action of drinking the pure element in the standing position.⁷⁴

Burton's theorization of the act (the five-step program could not have been religious or legal doctrine) emphasized a propensity for dense ritual and illogic. Drinking was construed as obscenely formal and multi-staged, subject to strict religious governance. This is not unrelated to the aforementioned presumption of a "deep spirituality" endemic to Muslims. Yet set against this complex ritualism is a portrait of crude physicality. Burton claimed witness to the violent clutch of the glass and "wetting of lips," to grunts, swallowing (the subject of a bizarre normative remark), and sighs – all of which point to a relentless primitivity. We are left, then, with a juxtaposition of the irrational and primitive against Burton's rationalism and civilization.

It was not necessarily with disdain, however, that this dichotomy was broached; often the primitive possessed a naïve romance, as with Burton's explication of the Arab's "untranslatable" *kayf* (which he nonetheless described as a kind of lay philosophy): "This is the Arab's *kayf*. The savoring of animal existence; the passive enjoyment of mere sense; the pleasant languor, the dreamy tranquility, the airy castle-building which in Asia stand in lieu of the vigorous, intensive, passionate life of Europe."⁷⁵ Although *kayf* certainly held some appeal for Burton, an avowed skeptic in regard to civilization, the repeated distinction between simple "animal existence" and the vigorous, intensive Europe carries obvious political and ethical import.

Keane extends Burton's note of a generally irrational character in Muslims. "Hajji's", he argued, "work themselves up to foaming inarticulate idiotcy...To think that the faith reached by such as the earnest Omer, the faith of the illustrious Moors and many a chivalrous Saldin, should have fallen off in the hands of these Eastern weaklings to a mere belief in prayer doing."⁷⁶ Again, Islam is marked by a blind ritualism: an attachment to a vapid rehearsal, void of content. One might note, however, that this is perhaps the only interpretation that a distanced spectator like Keane could offer. "Mere belief in prayer in doing" perhaps necessarily fails to achieve more formidable belief when it is not invested with sincerity. In any case, what eventually distinguishes Keane's critique from Burton's is that the Keane explicitly located the aberration in race: "I fear, as that stirring faith has failed to make anything of the Eastern, there is but a poor look-out for Christianity. If every tinted skin from light straw to ebony were Evangelical Low Church to-morrow, there would be as much opium and tobacco as consumed before."⁷⁷ Thus Islam was not treated as the incorrigible element, but in fact darker-skinned peoples identified as inherently or fundamentally aberrant.

Yet the universal dismissal of the "Eastern" did not preclude the construction of racial hierarchies amongst Eastern peoples. For Burckhardt, the

inhabitants of the Hijaz were “more polite toward each other as well as toward strangers,” and of a more lively disposition than either the Syrians or the Egyptians,” who are inclined toward “insensibility or stupidity” and impoliteness.⁷⁸ Keane’s hierarchy was broader in scope: he endeavored to order some eleven different groups. “Individually,” Keane reports, “I like the Turk, he is a manly brave little fellow.”⁷⁹ The Arabs, however, were “swindlers to a man, trained from infancy to the rooking of the pilgrim-pigeon, inherited for an unknown number of generations.”⁸⁰ In order of remaining preference, he found that “the Malays are quiet and honourable in their dealings, yet close-fisted,”⁸¹ “the Negro is “to be found here in his proper place, an easily-managed, useful worker.”⁸² “Tartans and Boharans,” are “as dirty as any others or dirtier,” and the “nondescript rabble from the China, the West Coast of Africa, or Russia...may be disposed of in two words – mangy mongrels.”⁸³

What is important to retain from these examples is not only their obvious bigotry, but rather, the attitude implied by their employment: that Muslims could be divided and organized as such, and that their character was predetermined by race.

It is useful to note that many of the aspects deemed laudable in Islamic culture were described in distinctly European terminology or iconography. Examples abound; Keane, upon seeing two unveiled Bedouin girls at whose “lithe slender figures and graceful movements” he could not help but look, thought to himself “what a perfect ‘Rebekah’ at the Well’ either of those girls would make in a picture.”⁸⁴ Likewise, Keane compared the Malay – of whom he approved as “the most rational of the pilgrims” – to “Scotsmen of the East.”⁸⁵ The more admirable of Pilgrims therefore mirrored aspects of his own culture; they exuded an incipient Europeanism.

CONCLUSION: IMPERSONATION IN AN AGE OF EMPIRE

Direct reference to the critical phenomenon of Orientalism is largely absent from this analysis. For the most part such discussion has been left implicit, as most of the tropes apparent here – mastery, penetration, the juxtaposition of western rationality and eastern irrationalism, sweeping generalizations, a homogenous East, the construction of binaries, etc.– are so easily incorporated into that critique that to deploy it would be redundant. Yet the accounts of Mecca are so rife with explicit imperialist gestures that to ignore them would deprive the phenomenon impersonation of its full import.

In a letter to Norton Shaw, secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, Burton assessed Egypt as a potential target of conquest: “I verily think

we might march into it almost without opposition.”⁸⁶ *Pilgrimage* moreover posits that Egypt was “the most tempting prize which the east holds out to the ambition of Europe,”⁸⁷ and that Egyptians “long for European rule.”⁸⁸ These were prescient statements indeed, given the entanglement of Britain and France in Egyptian affairs that would follow only a few decades after Burton’s expedition.

Writing two decades later, Keane was perhaps more worrisome, complaining that “In these days of universal intercommunication and rapid and certain spread of the most trifling new-matter, to and from the most out-of-the-way corners of the globe, what could better show how isolated and cut off from Christian supervision are the doings of the Hijaz.⁸⁹ Who can know what alarming projects or conspiracies may not at this moment be on foot in Meccah that centre and hotbed of Mohammedan intrigue?” Keane thus indicated that Christians possessed a right to infiltrate the Hijaz: the area *should* be known to them, *should* be controlled, monitored, and contained.

Given these and other claims, one is pressed to consider the ways in which impersonation could facilitate the expansion that Burton and Keane prescribe. The basic suggestions of impersonation – that Islam could be mastered and penetrated, that Muslims were by comparison primitive – were inherently permissive, advertising for and justifying intervention. We might easily confuse these expeditions with espionage: who else but spies would disguise themselves in order to uncover foreign secrets? The proximity of the explorers to formal military intelligence is perhaps too opaque to label them agents as such, but the apparent affinity in the style, content, and use of their information cannot but implicate the impersonator in a military project.

ENDNOTES

¹ F.E. Peters, *The Hajj*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 206.

² Augustus Ralli, *Christians in Mecca*, (New York: Kennikat, 1971), 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ John Keane. *Six Months in Meccah*, (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1881), 165.

⁵ Peters, 207.

⁶ Michael Wolfe. *One Thousand Roads to Mecca*, (New York: Gove, 1997), 104. It is impossible, of course to know the frequency with which Europeans appeared in Mecca. It is reasonable to assume that more visited than composed accounts, and that not all accounts were circulated publicly.

⁷ Wolfe, 104.

⁸ Nearly every subsequent European account to Mecca refers to Burckhardt’s work.

Richard Burton’s and John Keane’s narratives often refrain from comment on Mecca or

the Hajj, explaining that nothing can be added to Burckhardt's notes on the subject.

⁹ "Minutes of the African Association, General Meetings 1789-1831", Royal Geographical Society, London, England.

¹⁰ William Adams, "J.L. Burckhardt, Ethnographer" *Ethnohistory* 20, no. 3 (1973) 213-228.

¹¹ Robin Bidwell, *Travelers in Arabia*, (New York: Hamlyn, 1976), 127-128.

¹² P.Z.C., "An Englishman in Mecca," *The Geographical Journal* 73, no. 5 (1929), 1.

¹³ It is suggested that only the Bible eclipsed *Arabian Nights* in popularity in the nineteenth century in

Kathryn Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Araby* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 36.

¹⁴ Thomas Assad, *Three Victorian Travelers*, (London: Routledge, 1964), 1 – 9.

¹⁵ P.Z.C., 460.

¹⁶ Mary S. Lovell, *A Rage to Live: A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998), 95.

¹⁷ Richard Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, (New York: Dover, 1964), 2.

¹⁸ This passage is excerpted as printed in its entirety from Ralli, pp. 81-82; the author does not what information the ellipsis omits.

¹⁹ Robin Bidwell, *Travelers in Arabia*, (New York: Hamlyn, 1976), p. 129.

²⁰ In a letter to Noroton Shaw written upon completion of the pilgrimage, Burton's anticipation of an acclaim is already evident – "P.S.,", he closed, 'could you get my arrival reported in some London papers[?]'. "Richard Burton to Dr. Norton Shaw, November 16, 1853, Burton Correspondence, Royal Geographical Society, London.

²¹ P.Z.C., 460.

²² Burton, xvii.

²³ By positioning Burton as the first White European Christian to visit Mecca, Isabel Burton refers to the questionable sincerity of Burckhardt – who preceded Burton – in his conversion. This topic is broached elsewhere in this essay.

²⁴ Trevor L. Christie, "Sheikh Burckhardt: Explorer" *Saudi Aramco World*, (September-October 1967): 17.

²⁵ Eldon Rutter, "Damascus to Hail," Royal Geographical Society, London, England.

²⁶ Lovell, 125.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Burton, 4-5.

²⁹ Ralli, 162.

³⁰ H.A.R. Gibb, "Review: The Holy Cities of Arabia", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 5, no. 3 (1929): 626.

³¹ P.Z.C., 463.

³² Dane Kennedy, *The Highly-Civilized Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2005) 65.

³³ Ralli, 2.

³⁴ Walter Phelps Dodge, *The Real Sir Richard Burton*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), 75.

³⁵ Ralli, 206.

³⁶ Dodge, 63.

³⁷ "Travels of M. Burckhardt in Egypt and Nubia", in *New Voyages and Travels Vol. II* (London: Sir Richard Phillips, 1819), 7.

³⁸ Katherine Sim, *Traveler: The Life of Jean Louis Burckhardt*, (London: Gollancz, 1969), 15.

- ³⁹ Parama Roy, "Oriental Exhibits: Englishmen and natives in Burton's *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca*," *Boundary 2* 22, No.1 (1995): 185 -210.
- ⁴⁰ Burton, 8.
- ⁴¹ Georgiana Stisted, *The True Life of Capt. Sir Richard F. Burton*, (London: H.S. Nichols, 1896), 73.
- ⁴² Dodge, 107.
- ⁴³ Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, (London: Henry Colburn, 1829). 71.
- ⁴⁴ Burckhardt, 73.
- ⁴⁵ Ralli, 79.
- ⁴⁶ Rutter, 90-91.
- ⁴⁷ Kennedy, 65.
- ⁴⁸ Marie Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (New York: Routledge, 1992), 75.
- ⁴⁹ Pratt, 82.
- ⁵⁰ Burton defines *Burma* as "An opprobrious name given by the Turks to their Christian converts."
- ⁵¹ Burton, 23.
- ⁵² Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 200), 3.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ralli, 215.
- ⁵⁶ Keane, 40.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Keane, 55.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Keane, 206.
- ⁶¹ Keane, 209.
- ⁶² M.D. Allen, "The Curious Affair of the Lady Venus", in *Shaw and Other Matters*, Ed. Susan Rusinko (Susquehanna University Press: 1998), 110-120.
- ⁶³ Ralli, 72.
- ⁶⁴ Sim, 288.
- ⁶⁵ Burton, xxi.
- ⁶⁶ Dodge, 53.
- ⁶⁷ Katherine Sim, *Traveler: The Life of Jean Louis Burckhardt*, (London: Gollancz, 1969), 257.
- ⁶⁸ Keane, 33.
- ⁶⁹ Roy, 196.
- ⁷⁰ Keane, 18.
- ⁷¹ "Travels of M. Burckhardt in Egypt and Nubia," 20.
- ⁷² Rutter, 280.
- ⁷³ Keane, 182.
- ⁷⁴ Burton, 6.
- ⁷⁵ Burton, 9.
- ⁷⁶ Keane, 31.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Burckhardt, 200.
- ⁷⁹ Keane, 90.
- ⁸⁰ Keane, 91.

⁸¹ Ibid, 94.

⁸² Keane, 100.

⁸³ Keane, 104.

⁸⁴ Keane, 117.

⁸⁵ Keane, 94.

⁸⁶ Richard Burton to Norton Shaw, November 16, 1853, Burton Correspondence, Royal Geographical Society, London.

⁸⁷ Burton, 114.

⁸⁸ Burton, 111.

⁸⁹ John Keane, *My Journey to Medinah*, (London, Tinsley Brothers, 1881), 191.

MAKING THE DESERTS BLOOM: JOHNSON'S WATER FOR PEACE DEAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Julie Steinberg

American intervention in the Middle East has often focused on diffusing sensitive political or military issues, such as Iranian nuclear proliferation, Lebanese presidential succession, or Palestinian nation-building. Yet American interference has extended beyond traditional conflicts, particularly when it comes to environmental concerns. While some historians claim that American involvement in the Middle East can be traced back to George Washington's governance, the Johnson administration's interaction with the region is a topical case to examine in light of contemporary geopolitical realities.¹

Beginning in 1964 and continuing through 1968, the Johnson administration concerned itself with an issue that is still controversial today: the allocation of water, the scarcest resource in the region. The administration focused heavily on three countries in its deliberation of water allocation plans: Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. By proposing the construction of nuclear desalination plants in those countries, America's goal was to promote peace in the Middle East ["Water for Peace"].² The proposed desalination plants would make brackish water drinkable while also producing atomic energy. If the plan succeeded, hundreds of thousands of refugees from regional wars would have new land to settle upon (land that was previously uninhabitable because irrigation had been impossible), and countries along the disputed rivers (known as riparians) would have access to more water for their populations. Peace would be achieved as a byproduct of this arrangement, as interested parties would have less of an inclination to fight over water rights.

Yet beneath the administration's fanciful rhetoric that stressed imaginative steps to solve a conflict lay an American desire to assert influence in the region. From a technological perspective, the Johnson administration wanted to create a blanket solution to problems of water allocation to demonstrate its prowess in environmental technology. Militarily, it wanted to

thwart Israel's plans for a nuclear weapon program, which could trigger a Middle East arms race. As a condition of the proposed plan, the United States insisted that Israel abide by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards; this meant that the United States could effectively prevent Israel from diverting peaceful atomic energy for military purposes. Simultaneously, the United States wanted to prevent a Soviet-Arab alliance from developing against Israel and other American interests in the region.

Ultimately, however, Johnson failed in his Water for Peace initiative because of naïve miscalculations of Arab and Israeli cooperation on a new plan for peace, as well as an Israeli refusal to compromise its nuclear weapons program. The prescription presented required Arab and Israeli willingness to agree on a single water plan for the region. This was overly optimistic, especially considering that there were no incentives provided for the respective governments to acquiesce. Moreover, Israel's development of nuclear weapons could not be prevented by the United States, as the Israeli security establishment emphasized nuclear weapons as part of a strategic program to protect itself in the region.

In order to understand why the Water for Peace plan failed, it is necessary to consider the background of the water problems and their implications in the region. Israel's total land before its 1967 borders measured roughly 8,000 square miles, only one quarter of which was arable.³ At that time, eighty percent of its natural water resources were in use, and several plans for water allocation had already been introduced to the Jordanian, Egyptian and Israeli governments. The United States proposed, among others, the Lowdermilk Plan of 1944 and the Johnston Plan of 1955. The Johnston Plan came the closest to settling the water allocation issues between the riparians. It allotted the water of the Jordan River to Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria according to the amount of irrigable land each state had. It then permitted each country to do what it wished with its water and proposed storage of the excess in the Sea of Galilee in Israel.⁴ While the Arab and Israelis initially agreed to the international supervision of the plan, negotiations broke down after the Arab League decided to reject the terms in October 1955. The Arab governments saw the settlement of water issues as *de facto* recognition of Israel (a precursor to the later demise of Water for Peace). Furthermore, while Egypt, a non-riparian, had been included in the discussions, other non-riparians Iraq and Saudi Arabia were excluded, prompting them to urge Lebanon and Syria to dismiss the proposal. Ultimately, the Arab and Israeli governments decided to pursue their own unilateral plans for obtaining water.⁵

By 1964, these individual state endeavors had encouraged several

water-related skirmishes between the riparians, fueling the Arab-Israeli conflict and attracting attention from both the Soviet Union and the United States, whose Cold War rivalry was at its peak. In an effort to extend influence in the region, each nation heavily equipped Middle Eastern states with conventional weaponry. According to historian Douglas Little, a Soviet-Arab alliance to eradicate both Israeli and Western influence did not seem at all outlandish to the Johnson administration in 1964.⁶ This was one more reason that Johnson chose to take action in the region with the Water for Peace plan.

The American tradition of containment heavily influenced American foreign policy in the region, especially with regard to nuclear proliferation in the Middle East. Without American action otherwise, the spread of nuclear weapons seemed certain if Israel were to expand its nuclear arms program that it had begun at Dimona (a site in the Negev desert) in 1961. If Israel acquired nuclear weapons, Johnson believed, Egypt would embark upon a program of its own, and possibly align with the Soviet Union to acquire technology and funding necessary for such an undertaking. The Johnson administration thus believed that the political and environmental dispute was an opportunity to demonstrate American superiority in the region and prevent a hostile buildup of dangerous weapons. Clearly, the decision to intervene with the Water for Peace program was based upon an American desire to influence the region in the tense atmosphere of the Cold War.

In 1964, the Johnson administration was just beginning to explore the technological frontier as a way to solidify a blanket solution that would address both the plight of refugees as well as the distribution of water. In a speech delivered on February 6, 1964 at the Weizmann Institute of Science in New York, Johnson stressed the importance of science in the negotiations between the United States and Israel to discuss the desalination plants. Indeed, in a memorandum dated July 9, 1964, Johnson's Special Assistant for Science and Technology, Don Hornig, noted that Johnson wanted the Department of the Interior to draw up a "bold and imaginative plan" describing large-unit desalting units for inclusion in the fall budget. Johnson was upset by the small budget for the project and suggested diverting foreign aid money to the desalting program, as he believed the initiative was just as important as the space programs being developed.⁷

To demonstrate commitment to the desalination proposal, Secretary of State Dean Rusk created the interagency Committee on Foreign Desalting in December 1964. It was comprised of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Bureau of the Budget and the Office of Science and Technology. The purpose of the Committee's monthly meetings

was to establish interagency coordination and discuss the direction of the desalting initiative. Shortly after its inception, the United States monetary investment in desalination research doubled, and proposals by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg requested \$300-\$500 million dollars in order to build the plants. The administration's investment in this construction was predicated on the belief that such a venture would establish America's leadership and dominance in the technological sphere, an area in which the Soviet Union had demonstrated a comparable capacity with the launching of Sputnik in 1957. On September 14, 1965, Hornig briefed the President's Special Assistant, Jack Valenti and emphasized "the prestige implication of United States leadership in desalting," which would promote United States interests abroad of maintaining such high technological standards.⁸

Prestige was not the only reason desalination plants were actively discussed by the administration. Johnson appeared committed to the idea of solving Middle Eastern problems with creative innovation. On October 3-9, 1965, he held a symposium in which the Water for Peace plan became an actual concept other countries could put into effect by joining together with the United States to implement research and development in the scientific sector.⁹ In a speech presented on October 7, 1965, Johnson asked future generations to remember his administration as one which would liberate mankind from his most dangerous enemies – famine and drought. He continued:

And now our efforts to free him from the enemies of drought and famine will be extended to free him from ignorance by an international education program, free him from disease by cooperative health adventures together. And what a great satisfaction it would be to everyone in this room if at some future date we can point back to this year when the United States of America was willing to put forth leadership to free humanity from the ancient enemies of mankind--poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, disease, and thirst.¹⁰

Johnson reaffirmed his commitment in a speech given on June 19, 1966 in which he uttered a phrase that would become synonymous with the American desire to maximize scientific research in order to help humanity. "Mak[ing] the deserts bloom," he declared, would be a direct result of American action in the region to contribute to mankind.¹¹ It was evident that Johnson's actions were not simply the result of an overzealous president

eager for international recognition. Rather, his decisions were also based on the traditions of American conflict mediation on the world stage.

The dilemma became increasingly complex as the Johnson administration deliberated how to prevent Israel from acquiring nuclear weapons (which could, in theory, be constructed using the atomic energy produced by the desalination plants) while at the same time allowing Israel to realize the benefits of desalinating water. Ultimately, the administration decided that it would condition United States cooperation in the water plan for Israeli adherence to IAEA safeguards, a move which would calm Johnson's fears about a spiraling security dilemma.¹² Because Israel's nuclear weapons proliferation had begun ten years earlier, the Americans did not realistically expect the Israelis to dismantle their nuclear program. Rather, they hoped that installing IAEA safeguards would keep the process as transparent as possible.

Israel had begun its nuclear weapons program in 1953 with the help of French scientists, who promised to cooperate with Israeli scientists by providing research expertise. Following this agreement, the United States supplied Israel with a light-water reactor under Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" plan in 1953, under which countries were encouraged to use atomic energy for peaceful means. The Israelis began producing nuclear weapons materials at Dimona and allowed visits from American officials to the site once every year from 1961 until 1969.¹³

Yet the Israelis never admitted to having a nuclear weapons program, and this strategy of calculated ambiguity fueled both the hostility of the surrounding Arab states and the United States. Because Israel deliberately hid the status of its nuclear weapons program, the Arab states were kept in a constant state of worry, leading the United States to believe that Egypt would soon want nuclear weapons in order to hedge against the chance of an Israeli attack. The United States' concerns were exacerbated when the Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser said that if Israel had nuclear weapons, he would have no choice but to attack "the base of aggression."¹⁴

The United States believed that IAEA safeguards attached to the nuclear desalinating plants would ensure agency oversight of their potential nuclear production. IAEA safeguards were supposed to detect early diversion of any materials from peaceful use, and use that detection to help prevent the country from such unauthorized activity.¹⁵ What was even more worrisome to Johnson was Israel's lack of safeguards at Dimona, the principal site of the nuclear weapons research. Because Israel refused to submit to IAEA safeguards at Dimona, Johnson believed he could force the Israelis' hand by threatening to withdraw American support if Israel did not agree to

them. On May 21, 1966, Secretary Rusk recommended that Johnson tie American funding of the desalination plants to Israeli accordance with IAEA safeguards at Dimona.¹⁶

Similarly, Walt Rostow, Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, wrote Johnson that “the coordinator [of the desalinating projects] would look into using these projects to negotiate IAEA controls on all existing and future nuclear installations.” In that same memo, Johnson placed a telling check mark next to the sentence in which Rostow recommended that the President instruct the coordinator of the desalting project to look into conditions under which Israel might accept safeguards on all its nuclear reactors.¹⁷ These memos indicate the extent to which Johnson was willing to use American influence in the region as a bargaining chip. He tried to make it clear to the Israelis that safeguards had to be implemented if they wished to continue receiving American support for the desalination project. This action demonstrated the leverage Johnson was willing to exert in order to forestall an Israeli buildup of nuclear arms.

While Johnson’s diplomatic maneuvering may have seemed impressive, the plan ultimately failed. From the very beginning, ignorance (or denial) of the complex geopolitical issues that manifested in the water discussions in the Middle East pervaded United States policy in the region. The first issue to examine is the level of misinformation exhibited by the Johnson administration with respect to Arab politics. There is no mention of the ninety-three Israeli border incursions from Syria in 1966, many of which focused on blowing up wells and other water-retrieval sources.¹⁸ Nor is there mention of Israeli retaliatory measures against Syria in 1967, the subsequent U.N. censure of Israel, and the Palestinian raids on water pumps and installations that immediately followed the rebuke.¹⁹

The archival record provides a harsh look at this profound ignorance of political realities. In the entire set of Foreign Relations of the United States documents pertaining to the Water for Peace plan, the 1967 Six-Day War between Israel and its neighbors is mentioned only twice. While the United States may not have known exact details about violence relating to water in the months leading up to the 1967 war, Johnson did know enough to attempt low-profile diplomacy by sending an envoy to placate Nasser in Egypt and persuade him not to flame Arab nationalist sentiment. There is little doubt that the lack of documentation relating to these incidents contributed to the inability of the Johnson administration to make informed decisions about the Water for Peace plan. A rare comment about the 1967 war can be found in a memo dated June 7, 1967. A member of the National Security Council Staff, Charles E. Johnson, wrote to another NSC member,

McGeorge Bundy, that the Water for Peace “machinery” had to be reactivated in this critical time of need in the Middle East.²⁰ The idea that the Water for Peace plan could help mitigate the effects of the 1967 war, while the administration did not even consider ongoing Israeli-Syrian violence in the context of the plan, is an example of American misunderstanding of both the conflict and the region. If this continued cycle of violence was not considered important enough to merit memos that pertained to the ongoing Water for Peace negotiations, it appears that either the Johnson administration did not fully prioritize the connection between border clashes and water distribution, or it did not recognize any connection in the first place.

Another sign that Johnson was too optimistic in his expectations was the refusal of the Arabs and Israelis to agree on any of the many previously proposed water distribution measures in the region. Beginning in 1955, Israel undertook its own plans for a National Water Carrier, which would enable it to divert water from the Jordan basin. The Jordanians responded to this action by using the Yarmouk waters in the north to irrigate its side of the Jordan valley.²¹ In addition to the Israeli and Jordanian unilateral measures, Syria, which had alternative water resources, felt no compulsion to abide by the “Water for Peace” plan, and Egypt seemed to face no penalties for refusing to cooperate.²² As such, unilateral measures seemed to trump multilateral expenditures. There was no reason to join together when unilateral measures could result in more water for the state that undertook them.

It is also important to consider the notion of Arab nationalist pride. The division of waters, which seemed to the United States a perfunctory issue that could be easily resolved, was in fact a metonymy for the Arab hatred of the Jewish state. If the Arabs were to compromise with Israel over water allocation, as Israeli scholar and former Temple University professor Ofira Seliktar argues, this action would have been tantamount to an implicit recognition of the state itself. Both Nasser and several Syrian leaders “turned the highly symbolic issue of water into a rallying cry for a campaign to destroy the Jewish state.”²³ Arab countries could not be expected to compromise with a state that they had sworn to destroy, especially so soon after losing much territory (Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, and West Bank) to their enemy.

In addition, the expectation that Israel would give up on its nuclear arms program also proved unrealistic. A bilateral agreement signed with Norway in 1966 provided that Israel would implement IAEA safeguards, and it took no steps to implement those restrictions. Furthermore, even if Israel had agreed to the IAEA safeguards for its Dimona reactor, some experts believe that the safeguards would not have been an effective deterrence tool at all.

Safeguards entail annual inspections of nuclear facilities, after giving plenty of notice to the participating country. Since heavy water can be taken out of a reactor quickly, Israel could shuffle heavy water around in a way that would satisfy the inspectors without actually compromising its nuclear arms program.²⁴ In any event, it did not seem likely that the Israelis would allow international jurisdiction over their nuclear reactors.

The memos reveal a stupefying lack of realism with regard to Arab-Israeli actions in the geopolitical arena in the late 1960s. By 1966, Eisenhower and Admiral Lewis Strauss had co-opted the original Johnson plan and infused their own prescriptions for peace in the region. At this point, the Johnson administration had deluded itself into thinking that solving the water problem would be enough to dissolve the entire Arab-Israeli conflict. Admiral Strauss admitted to General Eisenhower that the two main problems in the Middle East, water and displaced populations, could not be solved by political or military measures. Instead, he argued, a “bold step” was needed in order to solve both problems.²⁵ He contended that the influx of water to previously-barren deserts would compel refugees to resettle there, where they would find work as laborers. Yet there is no evidence to support this claim that Palestinian refugees would willingly lay down arms supplied by Egypt and Syria, presumably paid for using part of the \$428 million dollars in aid received from Moscow by the end of 1967. Indeed, the Soviet Union had quietly provided Arab nationalist governments with millions of dollars in aid, hoping to exploit the water crisis to its advantage and gain credibility with the Arabs.²⁶ Strauss’ memo went on to explain that Arab and Israeli governments would have to cooperate so as to please their constituencies. This line of reasoning is entirely too simplistic as it places incredible hope in governments that had already shown a lack of willingness to cooperate. Indeed, both the Arab and Israeli attempts to please their people were embodied in unilaterally staking out water claims, a far cry from cooperating with each other. A July 23, 1967 article further demonstrates how the Johnsonian break with reality had deepened: “An attempt would be made to turn the focus of thoughts from the hatred and feuds of the past to the opportunities of the future,” the article read.²⁷ It is difficult to understand how *The New York Times* could print a piece recommending a readjustment of focus when the Six-Day War had occurred a month earlier and permanently changed the borders of the Middle East.

It wasn’t until March 1968 that the administration finally realized how impractical Water for Peace had become. Caught in the mire of Vietnam and the low approval ratings of public opinion, the Johnson administration effectively gave up on its water plan for the Middle East. On March

9, 1968, Rostow wrote to Johnson that the Water for Peace-cum-Eisenhower-Strauss proposal was naïve because fresh water alone wouldn't solve the problems that blocked peace in the Middle East.²⁸ What is surprising was the plan's ability to stay afloat, when Johnson's liberal institutionalist approach was clearly failing to work with regards to other foreign policy dilemmas, namely, Vietnam. The administration's insistence on prolonging Water for Peace hinged on its repackaging as a "research project" for various corporations and think tanks, Oak Ridge being one of the more notorious.²⁹ As such, it was easier for the project to circle around the bureaus and provide more paperwork to be completed, than it was for it to fade into obscurity.

Johnson embarked upon a grandiose plan to achieve peace in the Middle East with the construction of nuclear desalinating plants in the region. Though his original goals centered on achieving American technological dominance and ending the Arab-Israeli water dispute, his administration's expectations were too high and ill-matched with the political realities of the time. In the end, the Israelis refused to adhere to IAEA safeguards and the Arabs refused to compromise on the water allocation issue. Clearly, the hyperliberalism that characterized Johnson's Vietnam planning pervaded this issue as well. Indeed, the naiveté with which the administration acted indicates the extent to which both foreign policy disasters were realized. Johnson's errors of perception were grave enough to deflate an entire peacemaking program.

ENDNOTES

¹ Michael Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East: 1776 to the Present* (New York City: W.W. Norton, 2007).

² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, (hereafter referred to as *FRUS*) 1964-1968, 34:130. 3.

³ W. Granger Blair, "Jordan River and Desalting Unit Hold the Key to Israel's Future," *New York Times*, January 15, 1965, <http://select.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=F30616FC3F5812738DDDAC0994D9405B858AF1D3>.

⁴ http://www.transboundarywaters.orst.edu/projects/casestudies/jordan_river.html, accessed 3/2/08

⁵ Masahiro Murakami, *Managing Water for the Middle East: Alternative Strategies*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1995), 288.

⁶ Douglas Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* No. 25 (1993), 563-585.

⁷ *FRUS* 1964-1968, 34:133.

⁸ *FRUS* 1964-1968, 34:140.

⁹ *FRUS*, 1964-1968, 34:144.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *FRUS*, 1964-1968, 34:164.

¹² See Avery Goldstein, *Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 262. A security dilemma occurs in an anarchic realm in which countries, uncertain about others' buildup of their defenses, begin to accumulate their own arms. This can result in a regional or international arms race.

¹³ Mahmoud Karem, *A Nuclear-Weapon -Free Zone in the Middle East*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1988), 69.

¹⁴ Frank Barnaby, *The Invisible Bomb: Nuclear Arms Race in the Middle East*, (London: Redwood Burn Limited, 1989), 87.

¹⁵ Ibid., 146.

¹⁶ *FRUS*, 1964-1968, 34:147.

¹⁷ *FRUS*, 1964-1968, 34:148.

¹⁸ Syria played an important role in the water disputes because it was allied with Egypt at the time, whose own interests were at stake.

¹⁹ Miriam R. Lowy, "Conflict and Cooperation in Resource Development," In *Building Peace in the Middle East*, ed. Elise Boulding. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 265- 277.

²⁰ *FRUS*, 1964-1968, 34:162.

²¹ Miriam R. Lowy, "Conflict and Cooperation in Resource Development," In *Building Peace in the Middle East*, ed. Elise Boulding. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 265-277.

²² Ofira Seliktar, "The Turning Fire into Water," *The Middle East Review of International Affairs* 9, no. 2 (2005), <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2005/issue2/jv9no2a4.html>.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Frank Barnaby, *The Invisible Bomb: Nuclear Arms Race in the Middle East*, (London: Redwood Burn Limited, 1989), 73.

²⁵ *FRUS*, 1964-1968, 34:166.

²⁶ Ofira Seliktar, "The Turning Fire into Water," *The Middle East Review of International Affairs* 9, no. 2 (2005), <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2005/issue2/jv9no2a4.html>.

²⁷ *New York Times*, "Eisenhower's Mideast Plan," July 23, 1967, <http://select.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=F40A13F73B55107A93C1AB178CD85F438685F9>.

²⁸ *FRUS*, 1964-1968, 34:170.

²⁹ Ibid.

TEXTBOOK GIANTS FACE THE FUTURE: AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, THE STUDY OF HISTORY, AND THE UNCERTAIN YEARS AHEAD

Andrew J. Schiera

By definition, American history textbooks have no business contemplating the years to come. A crude definition of history would limit the range of inquiry backwards in time, to the past. After all, is it not true that most history textbooks are simply a “miscellaneous collection of names, dates, and facts” about the past?¹ Further, many historians hold the study of “present history” in contempt because the assemblage of present “facts” is simply too disorderly to fashion a coherent thesis. We can interpret the importance of past events because we know their effects. We have no such knowledge in the present and certainly have even less authority to “interpret” the future. Perhaps it is reassuring that high school history classes rarely get to these pages about the future anyway—after all, it is by definition impossible for a history class to finish by studying the future, and it is not a well-kept secret that most classes fail to make it up to the present, Vietnam, World War II, or even the Roaring Twenties.

Even so, there does seem to be a general pattern that textbook authors follow. As they chronologically approach the present, their treatment of history becomes a scorecard of the achievements and (mostly) challenges that the American people have faced. From there, about two out of every three textbook authors in my study speculate as to how Americans will overcome these problems in the future. However, history textbook authors do have a compelling reason to address the present and the future which is grounded in the essential purpose of education in American society. Americans have always affirmed the responsibility of schools to produce citizens capable of furthering the public good through democratic means. Every student will one day be an adult, ideally taking an active role in solving the present and future problems in our democratic society. In their treatments of the future, and consonant with their effort to fashion students into well-informed citizens capable of functioning in a democracy, textbook giants employ two common themes: a common cultural heritage grounded in the timeless values of the American creed, and the confidence rooted in our ability to overcome grave problems based on past successes.

To select the most widely-used textbooks from the 1940s to the present, I adapted the methods used by Robert Lerner, Althea Kagai, and Stanley Rothman.² The result is a list of eighteen of textbooks, composed by eleven textbook giants, that span from 1941 to 2007. In this essay, I use the term “textbook giants” not only to convey the enormous influence these particular authors had on students by virtue of their wide readership and numerous editions, but also to reflect just how influential and authoritative any textbook author is in the study of American history.

This authority has three components. To begin with, textbooks are the primary teaching tool in the contemporary history classroom. According to a 1983 study by Ravitch and Finn, 80% of students used textbooks two or more times per week, and 60% used textbooks every day.³ Fast-forwarding to the present, the advent of the internet has not supplanted the use of textbooks. Kyle Ward has asserted that problems of access, finance, and maintenance have rendered this new technology unreliable for day-to-day history classrooms. Even though the textbook was certainly not “the perfect solution” to the many difficulties teachers confront, Ward concluded that “the behemoth U.S. history textbook is arguably the most essential tool in the history classroom today—as it has been for nearly two centuries.”⁴ By the sheer weight of their numbers and frequency of their use, textbooks can disseminate the textbook author’s perspective about the past—and the future—quite widely.

Second, textbooks have a natural tone of authority. Past and present, most students have assumed them to be the final arbiter of American history. As Frances FitzGerald playfully noted when she reminisced about the textbooks she read in the 1950s:

[T]hose texts were the truth of things: they were American history.... [T]hey...had the demeanor and trappings of authority. They were weighty volumes. They spoke in measured cadences: imperturbable, humorless, and as distant as Chinese emperors.⁵

FitzGerald would go on to argue that the textbooks of the 1960s did not compare to those authoritative tomes of her school days. To some degree, however, all textbooks possess this aura of authority, which also lingers over the author’s serious contemplations of the uncertain future.

Finally, the tone of authority and the frequency of their use generally leads students to conclude that textbook content is itself authoritative. Mary Beth Norton captured the student attitude fostered by the authoritative nature of the texts: “*if it’s not in the textbook, it’s not important.*”⁶ This perspective stems from the fact that textbooks are productions of official culture. John Bodnar defined official culture as those productions of cultural leaders or elites that desire social unity, the perseverance of existing institutions, and the maintenance of the status quo.⁷ This definition stands in opposition to Joseph Moreau’s contention that textbooks have “symbolic value” insofar as they represent our shared, “popular understandings of the past” that have accumulated over time.⁸ It seems more likely that the authors of the text-

books are cultural elites that hold a position of prominence. Their works reach the vast majority of students, either shaping the students' views or imposing the author's own, depending on one's interpretation. The authors do not do employ this power recklessly, however. They have a particular agenda in mind, grounded in the official culture's purpose of the study of history in public schools.

HISTORY FOR AN EDUCATED CITIZENRY

Textbook studies often involve analyses of the debates of the agendas of various groups—the publishing industry, prevailing educational philosophies, interest group pressures, and state adoption boards—and how these agents changed textbook content. However, when Lerner, Kagai, and Rothman, themselves activists in the 1990s textbook war, acknowledged that the most controversial debates over education concern “moral education and education for citizenship,” they implicitly acknowledged that everyone agrees education has an essential civic component.⁹

The report of the 1987 Bradley Commission on History in Schools expounded on this attitude in detail. The Commission identified the “two foremost aims of American education” that would not be achieved without the study of history.¹⁰ The first aim is personal growth, “the preparation of all our people for private lives of personal integrity and fulfillment.”¹¹ Admittedly, this aim seems unrelated to the final passages about the future. The second aim, an “active and intelligent citizenship,” is more relevant. The Bradley Commission concisely emphasized that history

is vital for all citizens in a democracy, because it provides the only avenue we have to reach an understanding of ourselves and of our society, in relation to the human condition over time, and of how some things change and others continue.¹²

Here the commission succinctly identified how history serves citizenship: it reminds us of our identity as individuals in American society, and it shows how we have adapted to changes over time.

First, studying history in school allows students to discover their shared American heritage. Americans do not share a “common religion or a common ethnicity,” like other societies. Rather, the “democratic vision of liberty, equality, and justice” binds Americans together. The commission therefore concluded that in order to maintain this democratic vision and “bring it to daily practice,” it is “imperative” that all citizens understand what shaped our vision, what events helped or hindered the fulfillment of that vision, and how it evolved into what it is today.¹³ Whereas race and religion are passed down, the American heritage must be re-learned by each generation. The purpose of history in schools is to teach this vision.

Second, history, according to the Bradley Commission, is the “discipline that can best help [students] to understand and deal with change.”¹⁴ It fosters certain “habits of the mind” which not only encourage students to observe and explain change but also prepare students to “live with uncer-

tainties and exasperating, even perilous, unfinished business, realizing that not all problems have solutions.”¹⁵ In observing past changes—the human effects of “technological, economic, and cultural change”—history prepares us for the choices we must make today and tomorrow.¹⁶ History, in sum, illustrates how previous generations have dealt with change in the past, providing a model for future action.

These two broad purposes of history are present- and future-oriented. They are also publicly-oriented. This is the message the official culture wishes to convey: teaching history provides our students—our citizens-to-be—with the tools they need to maintain our democracy in an uncertain future. These textbook writers, who enjoy an authority often unquestioned by the student, transmit this message to the students through the text—especially in the last few pages concerning the present and future.

THE PROBLEM-LADEN PRESENT: “THE NATURAL DISASTER THEORY OF HISTORY”

Frances FitzGerald perceptively detected a switch of the locus of causation in history in 1930s textbooks. Before this time, textbooks focused on character and individual agency as the principal agents of change. Beginning in the 1930s, however, textbook publishers began to be bound by changing historical circumstances and an increasingly national textbook market. The changing nature of the textbook publishing industry compelled authors to construct a democratic history acceptable to everyone. As a result, authors and publishers refused to condemn any individuals as responsible for conflicts between one identifiable entity and another, instead citing vague “institutions and abstractions.” The result was a long list of “authorless crimes”—“‘problems’ created by no one”—that made history “just one damn thing after another.” FitzGerald termed this the “natural disaster theory of history.”¹⁷

As textbook authors wrote their concluding chapters describing the state of present-day America, they too composed tedious lists of “problems” and “challenges.” The ever-increasing pace of change confused all individuals, leaving a sense of helplessness in its wake. Americans seemingly could not identify the causes of the problems that plagued society, fostering a sense of anxiety about the future.

The simplest way to understand these chapters on the present is by observing the words that the authors chose to use. From the forties to the mid-sixties, the textbook authors’ word of choice was “problem.” Eugene Barker and Henry Steele Commager’s 1941 textbook *Our Nation* employs this word twenty-six times within the span of four pages. Even more revealing are the eight subheadings in this section, “Problems of the Present and Prospects for the Future,” namely:

The present situation is a grave one.
 Problems which must be solved.
 Economic problems must be solved.
 The problem of government finance is very complex.

Political problems must be faced.
 Social problems must be faced.
 Problems of foreign relations are urgent.
 What shall we say of the future?¹⁸

Consonant with FitzGerald's "natural disaster" theory, it is notable that the causes of these problems are shrouded behind the veil of passive voice. Even if one considers this example extreme—in 1941, America was still mired in the twelfth year of a Depression and on the verge of war—later textbooks still follow this pattern. Henry F. Graff and John A. Krout spoke of an America in 1959 that faced "difficult problems...in every part of the world" which make foreign policy "a matter of grave concern to all of us."¹⁹ Similarly, David Saville Muzzey captured the essence of problems to be solved with more macabre imagery: "sicknesses in the body of the nation, and, like illness in the human body, they must be realized to be remedied."²⁰

In the 1960s, textbook authors began to define the present day difficulties as "challenges" rather than "problems." In their appropriately-titled epilogue, "The Challenge of Liberty," Henry Bragdon and Samuel McCutchen paraphrased Arnold Toynbee's assertion that "the life best worth living...consists in responding intelligently and courageously to challenge."²¹ They then deflated this inspiring call by listing the formidable challenges the nation faced in 1964: nuclear weapons, threatened war, faulty distribution of goods, and racial conflict. Also, textbook authors often explicitly tied the notion of "challenges" to broader societal "changes." Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti spoke of "the speed with which every day life was being transformed" in 1964, "the rapid acceleration of change" in 1969, and "the increasingly swift rate of change" in 1982, which excitingly produced "opportunity and challenge!"²² The 1995 edition of *A History of the United States* introduced the last section by quoting President Clinton's inaugural. "He asked the American people to join him in meeting the challenges of a rapidly changing world," they wrote. But there was a degree of uncertainty lodged in this determination: Clinton "was to find that it was one thing to talk about change, another to put the old habits behind."²³

My sample size of textbooks is too small to suggest that the transition from labeling situations as "problems" to "challenges" has some definite explanation. One could certainly speculate how the social upheaval of the 1960s, as well as the efforts of publishers to produce more multicultural texts at that time, drove this change in phrasing.²⁴ In any case, a more extensive look at the textbooks of the sixties would be needed to make any meaningful claims. But emphatically, the change from indentifying "problems" to "challenges" might be a semantic one only. For example, both the earliest and most recent textbook of my study emphasized the word "problem" in the first paragraph of the last section.²⁵ Across the decades, the textbooks in this study not only spoke of "problems" and "challenges," but also "tensions," "threats," "questions," and "crises."

Textbook authors stressed that the various difficulties of the present produced anxiety and uncertainty about the future. In the 1969 edition of *Rise of the American Nation*, Todd and Curti described this fretfulness in a

way that could have applied to any decade of the twentieth century. “Faced with unrest throughout the world and increasingly difficult problems at home,” they intoned, “Americans began to share a growing sense of doubt and uncertainty. In the midst of prosperity, they were anxious and troubled.”²⁶ In a similarly concerned tone, Barker and Commager commented that their assessment did not describe “a cheerful picture” of the future, lamenting that the prospects for the future had never been “so confusing.”²⁷ Graff and Krout noted the effects of changes and trends up to 1959 remained “hidden behind the veil of the future,” and spoke of “a time for questions” in 1973.²⁸ Bragdon and McCutchen called the 1960s “an age of anxiety.”²⁹ Frank Freidel and Henry N. Drewry starkly titled the final chapter in their 1970 textbook “Reform, War—and an Uncertain Future.”³⁰ Todd and Curti observed in 1982 that the changes since World War II had “uprooted traditional values, beliefs, and behavior of Americans.”³¹ The many problems did not suggest a promising future.

Not only was the present doubtful, confusing, questioning, anxious, uncertain, but, as FitzGerald noted, the present was always portrayed as the most severe test to America’s existence in its history:

[T]he end pages of many current texts still exhort children to “face challenges” and “meet responsibilities.”... History can be of very little help to the student here since—according to all texts published since the turn of the century—this particular moment in history is the most dangerous, critical, or important period in the history of the United States.³²

Americans, according to these textbook giants, perpetually faced existential threats, and yet each generation’s crises were uniquely exceptional to the survival of the American experiment. In 1941, the present situation was a “grave one”³³; in 1964, America was “on trial as never before”³⁴; in 1973, Americans became “more self-conscious about its aims and purposes... than perhaps any other people has ever been”³⁵; in 1982, Americans faced the “urgent need to reexamine the nation’s goals”;³⁶ and in 2007, “grave problems continued to plague the republic.”³⁷ In an atmosphere where the problems could be fatal and their sources unidentifiable—where the student was charged with saving the American republic—what reassurance could these textbook authors give their young readers to guide them through the paralyzing uncertainties of the future?

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: THE AMERICAN CREED AND AMERICAN ADAPTABILITY

As the nervous student absorbed the gravity of the present problems, their authoritative textbook giants had some recommendations and insights for the American future. Textbook authors commonly appeal to two central elements of our American experience that should guide future action. Some rehash the timeless American creed—the virtues of liberty, democracy, and individualism—which will secure our democratic traditions in the future.

This relates to the notion of studying history to appreciate and perpetuate our common heritage. Others remind the reader of the way Americans have adapted to and thus overcome past challenges—and thus studying history so that they may overcome the unforeseeable changes of the years ahead. Either way, textbook giants place the overall emphasis on the unifying thread of studying history for future civic participation and the maintenance of the American republic.

THE TIMELESS AMERICAN CREED: “FAITHFULNESS” AND THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA

Samuel Huntington dedicated the first few sentences of his notable tract “American Ideals versus American Institutions” to defining “The American Creed.”³⁸ “Throughout the history of the United States,” he proclaimed, “a broad consensus has existed among the American people in support of liberal, democratic, individualistic, and egalitarian values.” These core values of the American Creed formed “the core of American national identity since the eighteenth century.”³⁹ It follows that citizens should continue to uphold these core values that form the basis of our common heritage. For that reason, when textbook giants spoke of the future, they frequently extolled the values associated with the American Creed and implored the student to remain “faithful” to the American Creed in the future.

Authors often referenced the “liberal, democratic, individualistic, and egalitarian values” of the Creed, but often do so in their own words—or the words of others. The 1985 textbook *America: Its People and Values* concluded with the prose of William Tyler Page, also entitled “The American Creed.” It affirmed a belief that the United States was “a government of the people, by the people, for the people,” with powers “derived from the consent of the governed,” and established on the ideals of “freedom, equality, justice, and humanity, for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and their fortunes.”⁴⁰ Others describe an equally general “Spirit of Liberty”⁴¹ or the “golden yardstick” of the values embodied in the Declaration of Independence.⁴² Sometimes authors described specific principles that are manifestations of the American Creed. In 1941, Barker and Commager stated that our “precious heritage” included freedom of religion, of thought, of speech, and even the “freedom of the people to make their own laws and to elect their own officers without dictation from any superior authority!”⁴³ Muzzey, like many authors, attributed the Founding Fathers with the agency in creating those freedoms that reflect the American creed. In delineating those freedoms, he essentially reiterated the Bill of Rights, down to the insipid tenth amendment: students ought to thank our Founding Fathers for “expressly reserved to the people of the states the exercise of powers not specifically delegated to the central government.”⁴⁴

Authors stressed the importance of future citizens adhering to the American Creed with the same reverence that a practitioner of a religious group adheres to their theological beliefs. The use of the word “faith” is recurrent. Further, authors gave different bases for the importance of preserving these beliefs. On a functional level, a few authors suggested that

remaining faithful to our values alleviated the fear of an uncertain future by providing a comfortable basis for approaching future problems. For example, the 1959 and 1966 editions of *The Adventure of the American People* consoled apprehensive students by encouraging them to “turn with pride to our own stirring history for reassurance.”⁴⁵ However, most textbook giants warned their adolescent readers that one’s level of faithfulness (or unfaithfulness) to the American Creed directly predicted America’s success (or failure) in the future. Some put this relationship quite generally. For Wood, Gabriel, and Biller, the “strength” of America rested simply upon “a belief in freedom and democracy.”⁴⁶ Other authors defined the matter specifically in terms of foreign policy, referring to America’s mission as the “foremost champion of the free world”⁴⁷ or its role as “defenders of democracy.”⁴⁸ In these instances, success required “[recapturing] much of the driving faith” in democracy⁴⁹ or, in the second case, “an active faith in the superiority of our political system.”⁵⁰ Most extreme was David Muzzey’s urgent, accusing, and perhaps even threatening warning in 1943:

If our republic ever fails to fulfill the high hopes of the men who founded it and who sustained it in the days of weakness and trial, the fault will be with a generation that has lost the inspiration of their ideals.⁵¹

He continued, even more alarmingly:

If the coming generation is more faithful to the ideals of economy, industry, and honesty, of order, freedom, and disinterested service, than the present generation has been, than we shall be going forward toward the fulfillment of the destinies of the Republic. If the coming generation is *even a little less faithful to these ideals, then we shall be headed down the road to degeneracy, defeat, decay.*⁵²

Whether phrased beseechingly or threateningly, and whether it was meant to assuage anxieties about the future or ensure the perseverance of the American state, these textbook giants pontificated about the importance of remaining faithful to the American Creed to millions of high school students. Most certainly, this effort transmitted official culture to the reader, grounded in the “abstract basis of timelessness and sacredness” central to our American values. Students are to study history to adopt common American values, as the Bradley Commission suggested. The stentorian conclusions about the need to maintain our nation’s liberal, democratic, individualistic, and egalitarian values epitomized the larger purpose of studying history to project our common heritage into the future.

AMERICAN ADAPTABILITY: LIVING IN THE “WORLD’S GREATEST TREASURE HOUSE OF THE UNEXPECTED”

If some authors appealed to a fixed, unalterable American Creed to

be applied to the uncertain future, other authors spoke to an opposite element of the American character—our ability to adapt to and overcome challenges. Boorstin and Kelley employed this tactic most explicitly in the epilogue to their 1981 and 1995 textbooks, revealingly titled “The Mysterious Future.” They began by musing about hindsight, and how rendered our past successes and problems to seem like prophecy. After emphasizing the many problems of the past and present, they spoke about how the American character derived from centuries of surmounting daunting challenges and grappling with an uncertain future:

Americans have been planters in this faraway land, builders of cities in the wilderness, Go-Getters. Americans—makers of something out of nothing—have delivered a new way of life to far corners of the world. If the future is a mystery story, then, that does not frighten Americans. For we Americans have always lived in the world’s greatest treasure house of the unexpected.⁵³

Further, this version of the American character, rooted in the American past, suggests that Americans can relax and approach future challenges with confidence.

As Boorstin and Kelley’s example suggests, there are three elements to using American adaptability to address the uncertain future. One involves a definition of the American character as being adaptable to sweeping changes over long and short periods of time. Boorstin and Kelley brightly characterized this by noting that “even more than other people,” Americans “love the adventure of the unexpected.”⁵⁴ The fourth edition of the *American Pageant* suggested that while the “crisis” of the present might be “formidable,” so was the Republic.⁵⁵ Likewise, the thirteenth edition of the same text perceived a “resilience and resourcefulness” in the American spirit.

A second element of this formula often involves a reiteration of specific challenging problems resilient Americans have overcome in the past. Todd and Curti, in 1964, identified the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 as the first in a succession of situations where Americans “repeatedly demonstrated an amazing ability to adjust themselves to changing ways and changing times.”⁵⁶ They then referenced urbanization, industrialization, and the rise to world prominence as three major examples of the American transformation.⁵⁷ Boorstin and Kelley compiled a long list of moments where Americans overcame seemingly insurmountable odds—the “thirteen little colonies somehow united for independence,” the most “miscellaneous people on earth” becoming the “most powerful,” or “blazing the ever expanding frontier, from the West to the universe.”⁵⁸ In what could be a summary of all of American history, the 1973 edition of *The American Pageant* declared, “In generations past Americans resolutely confronted and conquered menaces as dangerous as those of today.”⁵⁹

The final element is to tie our American spirit of adaptability, grounded in our past ability to adjust to changing circumstances, to assure the reader that we will surmount the challenges of the future. Textbook au-

thors affected this through their depictions of how Americans should approach the future. On a basic level, Boorstin and Kelley resolutely maintained that the mysterious future “did not frighten Americans.”⁶⁰ Similarly, Bailey pointed out that Americans “need not yield to a wave of defeatism,” because with leadership and strength, we could “create events, rather than bow to them.”⁶¹ Others went further than merely assuaging the feeling of uncertainty. For example, Todd and Curti observed in the 1964 edition of *The Rise of the American Nation* that there was “reason to believe” Americans would “meet the challenge successfully.”⁶² They reworded this in 1982 to read that Americans were “certain...they would meet and overcome new problems and challenges,” noting that the “power to shape the future” laid in the hands of the American citizens.⁶³ Even Barker and Commager’s grim 1941 textbook mentioned our ability to solve problems in the past and therefore the future. While this was the section that used the word “problem” twenty-six times, the last usage—in the last sentence—reverses this mood quite abruptly: “We shall solve our problems as our forefathers solved theirs.”⁶⁴ By highlighting the way Americans have solved problems in the past and projecting a confidence in citizens to adapt and overcome the problems of the future, these textbook authors reinforced the other main tenet of studying history for citizenship: that of recognizing, appreciating, and adjusting to change.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND THE TEXTBOOK FUTURE

Textbook authors appropriated these two themes—the American Creed reinforces a common heritage, and American adaptability enables us to overcome change—to encourage students to become good citizens, confident that they could overcome future problems. These themes are not mutually exclusive; in fact, they are the complementary. The emphasis on the American Creed stresses a set of common ideals that should guide future action, while the attention to our flexibility suggests the American persona is characteristically capable of adjusting to future challenges. Some texts, therefore, stressed both. For example, on the one hand, the 2007 edition of *The American Pageant* observed our “tradition of resilience and resourcefulness,” suggesting adaptability. On the other hand, they noted that much remained of our “liberal democratic heritage,” reminding readers of the American Creed. It seems, however, that there was a rough tendency to switch from an emphasis on our common heritage to our ability to grapple with change beginning in the late 1960s. As with the transition from elucidating “problems” to “challenges,” the radical societal and political transformations of the 1960s might have fashioned a people who, by necessity, were reminded of the need to adjust to changing times. Again, I propose this hypothesis tentatively, acknowledging my small sample size of textbooks.⁶⁵ Regardless, the themes of common heritage and adaptability to change are easily blended.

Moreover, these themes are not mutually exhaustive of textbooks’ discussions of the future. Admittedly, some textbooks did not comment at all on the future. At the end of their chronological narratives, they simply

described the present as a desultory collection of problems. For example, Muzzey's 1955 edition of *A History of Our Country* concluded its last chapter, "The Eisenhower Administration," by describing the logistics of "Air-Age Diplomacy."⁶⁶ Other texts did not reference timeless American values or our ability to adjust to change, but spoke generally of the importance of citizenship and education. For example, the last section of *America: Its People and Values* declared that "our greatest resource" in meeting the challenges of the future "[continues] to be our citizens."⁶⁷ Graff and Krout regarded "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men" as vital to national progress.⁶⁸ Todd and Curti matter-of-factly stated, America's future success depended on "an informed an enlightened citizenry" and "the material strength of our nation."⁶⁹ Combined, these passages indicate that the continued education of an informed citizenry is vital to future American success.

In some way or another, all of these texts directly or indirectly convey that the purpose of studying and learning American history is to mold students into publicly-minded citizens actively participating in the future. It comes through unmistakably. This message holds weight and authority commensurate to the deference given by the student to the textbook—and students have often a reverent regard for their texts.

CONCLUSION: PRESERVING THE "LAST, BEST HOPE ON EARTH"?

Speculating about the future in textbooks is not a post-World War II phenomenon. Back in 1825, when there was only enough American history to fill three hundred pages, Reverend Charles A. Goodrich speculated that the "blessings" of peace, tranquility, and prosperity would continue if the "spirit, practical wisdom, and *religious integrity*" prevailed among future generations.⁷⁰ He directly quoted Psalm 144:15 in his final sentence, writing "Yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord."⁷¹ This elicits many questions: how was the teaching of history different in 1825, and how is this reflected in the textbook? Was the religious and moral function of schools deemed categorically more important than teaching history for citizenship? Looking more in depth at the early American textbooks and how they changed throughout the nineteenth century would yield fascinating findings. Further, in the twentieth century, an assessment grounded in the debate over multiculturalism in textbooks, originating in the sixties and resurfacing in the late eighties and early nineties, would offer another opportunity to determine how changing social contexts have affected textbook content—and authors' speculations about the future. Certainly, the extension of this study to a greater span of time should correspond with a deepening of this analysis by considering more textbooks.

Joseph Moreau has reemphasized a limit constraining how much a historian can glean from a textbook. Like any artifact, scholars can never know determine how individuals will interpret it. We simply cannot know precisely how much deference students give to their textbooks and how they make meaning of the messages the texts convey.⁷² For that reason, most textbook studies have focused on how they are produced or, in my case, what

messages they attempt to convey. In this vein, one further area to explore is the way that textbook endings reaffirm—or perhaps impose—American exceptionalism. As Seymour Martin Lipset discerned, American exceptionalism does not mean that the United States is objectively the best nation in existence. It does mean that the United States is “qualitatively different,” and, moreover, prone to be described in superlatives.⁷³

As I have argued, the textbook giants of the mid- to late-twentieth century often imposed a civic duty on their readers by reaffirming timeless American values and confidence in our ability to overcome future challenges. They added force to this message by emphasizing that civic participation was especially necessary to preserve the exceptional nature of the American experiment—to borrow Abraham Lincoln’s oft-quoted phrase, the “last best hope on earth.” In these passages about the future, they stressed the unparalleled sacredness of the American Creed, our unmatched ability to overcome the most arduous of problems facing mankind, and the exceptional nature of America’s success generally. This message of official culture pervaded these textbooks. Muzzey even wrote “a letter” to his high school readers urging them to recognize that “only the study of history” would really underscore the truly “precious inheritance” they received from our founders, and endow them with the “background of knowledge necessary for the wise preservation and improvement” of America.⁷⁴ These textbook authors urged millions of students of all nations, races, genders, and creeds to participate in furthering the great American experiment. However, despite all this enthusiastic motivation, the Americans of today can never know precisely how long this “last best hope on earth” will endure. That knowledge is solely possessed by the uncertain future.

ENDNOTES

¹ Mary Beth Norton, “Rethinking American History Textbooks,” in *Learning History in America: Schools, Cultures, and Politics*, edited by Lloyd Kramer, Donald Reid, and William L. Blarney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 26.

² Robert Lerner, Althea K. Kagai, and Stanley Rothman, *Molding the Good Citizen: The Politics of High School History Texts* (London: Praeger, 1995), 159-161, 163-164. Their procedure involved surveying states and local districts asking which texts were most widely used in their states since the 1940’s. I then used their final list and sought to obtain as many of the identical textbooks as possible. Where I could not get exactly the same edition, I sought to obtain the same work in earlier or later printings. Likewise, to extend my study to the present, I sought to obtain the same textbooks in their later editions.

³ Cited in Lerner, Kagai, and Rothman, 66.

⁴ Kyle Ward, *History in the Making: An Absorbing Look at How American History Has Changed in the Telling over the Last 200 Years* (New York: The New Press, 2006), xix-xx.

⁵ Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1979), 7.

⁶ Norton, 29.

⁷ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in*

the Twentieth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13.

⁸ Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 20.

⁹ Lerner, Kagai, and Rothman, 1.

¹⁰ The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, “Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools,” in *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*, edited by Paul Gagnon and the Bradley Commission on History in Schools (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 22.

¹¹ The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 22.

¹² The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 21.

¹³ The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 17.

¹⁴ The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 21.

¹⁵ The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 25.

¹⁶ The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 22.

¹⁷ FitzGerald, 158, 161.

¹⁸ Eugene C. Barker and Henry Steele Commager, *Our Nation* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1941), 966-970.

¹⁹ Henry F. Graff and John A. Krout, *The Adventure of the American People: A History of the United States from 1876*, 1st ed., (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1959), 671-672.

²⁰ David Saville Muzzey, *A History of Our Country: A Textbook for High-School Students* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1943), 893. This 1943 edition ended with four sections entitled “A Backward Glance o’er Traveled Roads,” “The Strength of America,” “The Foes of Our Own Household,” and “American Ideals.” Interestingly, the 1955 edition omitted all of these sections and merely narrated events up to the present.

²¹ Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, *History of a Free People*, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 723.

²² Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, *Rise of the American Nation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964) 813; Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, *Rise of the American Nation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1969) 794; Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, *Rise of the American Nation* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982) 814.

²³ Boorstin and Kelley, 1995, 939.

²⁴ I would hypothesize that the social upheaval of the 1960’s—the civil rights movement, the counterculture, the sexual revolution, and Vietnam—naturally suggested societal change that could be positive, and therefore were not necessarily “problems” to be solved but rather “challenges” to be overcome. This might be related to the efforts of publishing groups to produce more multicultural texts. With more people to please, “problem” was bound to be too strong a word to apply to social movements themselves. Tying these two themes together, the fascination with the word “change,” which also appeared in the 1960’s, naturally associated with the word “challenge” better than “problem.” This, naturally, remains a hypothesis to be tested.

²⁵ Barker and Commager, 966, and David M. Kennedy, Lizabeth Cohen, and Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 13th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 1033. Barker and Commager observed, “Never before in our history have the problems of the present been so grave.” Kennedy, Cohen, and Bailey began their section by stating that “grave problems continued to plague the republic” at the outset of the twenty-first century.

²⁶ Todd and Curti, 1969, 808.

- ²⁷ Barker and Commager, 969, 966.
- ²⁸ Graff and Krout, 1959, 668; 1973, 505.
- ²⁹ Bragdon and McCutchen, 723.
- ³⁰ Frank Freidel and Henry N. Drewry, *America: A Modern History of the United States* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1970), 782.
- ³¹ Todd and Curti, 1982, 814.
- ³² FitzGerald, 160.
- ³³ Barker and Commager, 966.
- ³⁴ Bragdon and McCutchen, 723.
- ³⁵ Graff and Krout, 1973, 504.
- ³⁶ Todd and Curti, 1982, 813.
- ³⁷ Kennedy, Cohen, and Bailey, 1033.
- ³⁸ Samuel Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions," in *Political Science Quarterly* 97, no. 1 (Spring 1982), 1. Huntington attributes the phrase "American Creed" to Gunner Myrdal.
- ³⁹ Huntington, 1.
- ⁴⁰ Leonard C. Wood, Ralph H. Gabriel, and Edward L. Biller, *America: Its People and Values* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), 784-785.
- ⁴¹ Bragdon and McCutchen, 724.
- ⁴² Graff and Krout, 1973, 538.
- ⁴³ Barker and Commager, 970.
- ⁴⁴ Muzzey, 1943, 893-894.
- ⁴⁵ Graff and Krout, 1959, 672. Graff and Krout, 1966, 672.
- ⁴⁶ Wood, Gabriel, and Biller, 784.
- ⁴⁷ Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 4th ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1971), 1067.
- ⁴⁸ Graff and Krout, 1959, 672.
- ⁴⁹ Bailey, 1067.
- ⁵⁰ Graff and Krout, 1959, 672.
- ⁵¹ Muzzey, 1943, 893.
- ⁵² Muzzey, 1943, 894, emphasis added.
- ⁵³ Boorstin and Kelley, 1981, 742.
- ⁵⁴ Boorstin and Kelley, 1981, 742.
- ⁵⁵ Bailey, 1067.
- ⁵⁶ Todd and Curti, 1964, 815.
- ⁵⁷ Todd and Curti, 1964, 815.
- ⁵⁸ Boorstin and Kelley, 1981, 741-742.
- ⁵⁹ Bailey, 1067.
- ⁶⁰ Boorstin and Kelley, 742.
- ⁶¹ Bailey, 1067.
- ⁶² Todd and Curti, 1964, 815.
- ⁶³ Todd and Curti, 1982, 830.
- ⁶⁴ Barker and Commager, 970.
- ⁶⁵ I also do not have a sufficient number of texts to determine whether the dominant theme was altered in the 1980's and 1990's, when conservatives and cultural nationalists renewed America's interest in the content of our history books.
- ⁶⁶ David Saville Muzzey, *A History of Our Country*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1955), 636-637.

⁶⁷ Wood, Gabriel, and Biller, 784.

⁶⁸ Graff and Krout, 1959, 644.

⁶⁹ Todd and Curti, 1969, 814.

⁷⁰ Rev. Charles A. Goodrich, *A History of the United States of America, On a Plan Adapted to the Capacity of Youth, and Designed to Aid the Memory by Systematic Arrangement and Interesting Associations*, 5th ed. (Bellows Falls, Vt.: Blake, Cutler, and Company, 1825), 296. Emphasis original.

⁷¹ Goodrich, 296.

⁷² Moreau, 22.

⁷³ Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996) 26. For example, on the one hand, Lipset suggests we are the most religious, optimistic, and patriotic nation today, and yet we also sport the highest crime rate, are the most litigious society, and one of the least egalitarian in terms of income distribution, welfare benefits, and taxes.

⁷⁴ Muzzey, 1943, xi.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY: GRADUATE SCHOOL

As a part of our special section on 'The Study of History,' the *Review* conducted e-interviews with several graduate students in the history department. The students, whose studies encompass a wide range of historical concentrations, are at various stages of their graduate careers. All the students received the same questions proposed by the Editorial Board pertaining to their current research, undergraduate careers, and the transition between the two levels of study.

Andrew Berns: A fourth-year graduate student studying Early Modern Jewish History, European Intellectual History 1300-1600, and Medieval and Modern Jewish History.

Marie Brown: A second-year graduate student studying the Modern Middle East and North Africa, Feminism and Nationalism in Egypt and the Sudan, and Comparative Representations of Women and Gender.

Anton Matytsin: A first-year graduate student studying Early Modern Europe, European Intellectual History (1600-1950), and Imperial Russian History.

John Roper, Jr.: A third-year graduate student studying Modern Germany (1786-present), European History (1750-1990), and Cultural and Intellectual European History (1750-1950).

Penn History Review: *What is the subject of your current research and/or dissertation? Under which faculty members are you studying?*

Andrew Berns: My dissertation deals with the study of Jewish antiquities in sixteenth-century Italy. I'm particularly interested in the intersecting and overlapping ways in which Christian and Jewish scholars investigated the material culture of the classical Jewish past. Professors David Ruderman and Ann Moyer are supervising my work.

Marie Brown: Broadly, I study the modern Middle East and North Africa. My current research focuses on women's activism in the Sudan in the mid-twentieth century. I am working with Eve Troutt Powell and Kathleen Brown in the History Department and Heather Sharkey in the Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations Department.

Anton Matytsin: I do not have a dissertation topic in mind yet, however I have been working on two small projects. First, I wrote a paper about seventeenth-century views of life on other planets. I considered one "clandestine" treatise that remained unpublished for over 70 years in the context of better known works by René Descartes, Christiaan Huygens, and Pierre Borel. My second project, which I am doing for the required 700, is in the works. I am exploring the debates about epistemology and the relationship between mind and body surrounding late Cartesianism in the 1680s and 1690s. As it turns out, Descartes's late disciples (I am working specifically on Pierre-Sylvain Regis) significantly modified his dualism. My graduate committee is composed of Alan Charles Kors, Ann Moyer, and Peter Holquist. I have also studied with Antonio Feros, Jonathan Steinberg, and Kathy Peiss, who teaches the required 700 course.

John Roper, Jr.: I study the *Lebensreform* movement in Germany, from 1890 to 1933. Participants in the movement sought to strengthen the physical and spiritual character of individual Germans, and ultimately the young German nation, by promoting lifestyles that offered greater harmony with the natural environment. Through competing artistic philosophies and political ideologies, they promoted a variety of alternative lifestyle practices (including nature cures, vegetarianism, sun bathing, and nudism), defined new gender roles, and challenged traditional notions of sexuality. I am particularly interested in how reform movement concepts transformed from conception in rural, utopian, and communal settings to implementation in school curricula, youth programs, and political rallies in urban centers such as Berlin. [I study under] Thomas Childers (Advisor), Jonathan Steinberg, and Warren Breckman.

PHR: *Where did you study undergrad and what sort of research experiences did you have as an undergrad?*

AB: I went to Reed College. At Reed there was a heavy emphasis placed on research and writing. In our junior year we had to write a seminar paper of about 30 pages; mine was on the biblical criticism of Spinoza. Addition-

ally, every senior at Reed has to write a thesis. It is expected that students seriously engage primary sources, and make a good faith effort to master the relevant secondary literature in their chosen field. Both projects were excellent preparation for graduate school.

MB: I attended Bryn Mawr College [where] I majored in History. All history majors were required to write a senior thesis based on original research. This was a great learning experience and I really got a taste of what original research entails. I also studied abroad in Egypt for a semester which provided me with invaluable lived experience.

AM: I did my undergrad here at Penn in Intellectual history. When I was writing my thesis, I was lucky to receive several grants to go to Paris for three weeks and research the manuscripts and marginalia of a prominent fideist and philosophical skeptic Pierre-Daniel Huet. You would be surprised how many resources are available and how few people apply!

JR: [I attended] Brown. I took a broad selection of courses from a variety of departments, including several biology and psychology courses that emphasized mathematical modeling and behavioral studies. As my interest in history and cultural studies grew, I was able to draw on a variety of methodological approaches in research seminars. Studying in Germany during my junior year and learning to navigate library systems and archives that seemed vastly unfamiliar to me, especially in comparison to the open stacks of U.S. college libraries, broadened my research experience.

PHR: *When did you decide that you wanted to go to grad school?*

AB: I decided that I wanted to go to graduate school almost by accident. During the summer after I graduated from college I worked as a research assistant for a professor in the religion department. One day, while helping him craft course syllabi, prepare summaries of articles and book chapters, and track down obscure references to arcane texts, I looked up from my work and suddenly said to myself “I could go into this profession.”

MB: While still an undergraduate I planned on attending graduate school. However, it wasn’t until I had graduated and was out working in the “real world” that I realized how much I was committed to academia.

AM: I always enjoyed school for its own sake, but I started to seriously think

about graduate school during my junior year, when I started to work on my thesis.

JR: Two years after completing my undergraduate studies.

PHR: *Why did you choose Penn and how did you pick the professors you wanted to study under?*

AB: Choosing Penn was almost a no-brainer. I'm equally interested in early modern history and Jewish history, and the faculty resources in both are unparalleled in the United States. I knew that at Penn I would have the opportunity to meaningfully engage post-classical Jewish thought and also fifteenth- to seventeenth-century European intellectual and cultural history.

MB: While the reputation of a school is important, it is even more crucial that you are well matched with your professors. Graduate work is really a collaborative effort between yourself and your advisor. It is important to consider not only common research interests, but whether you and your advisor have compatible personalities. Also consider the location of the school; after all, it will be your home for quite some time. Penn has the right combination of resources and personalities that meet my needs.

AM: Penn seemed to match my interests most closely. I really wanted to do a field in intellectual history and Penn has some of the best faculty members in the field. I knew many of the professors from undergrad, but there were plenty of faculty I had not had the chance to work with. My undergrad advisor, who is also my graduate advisor, also had a lot to do with my decision. I knew he was an excellent person to work on independent projects.

JR: While the research interests and specialties of potential advisors formed an essential starting point in the application process, it was important to me that I also find a department with a collegial atmosphere where I could envisage myself as a student for at least five years. My advisor and the Penn Department of History faculty have always been generous in not only offering their expertise, but also imparting the enthusiasm and spirit of inquiry that has sustained them in their own careers. I also selected Penn because I was impressed with the dedication the library staff and their commitment to supporting research.

PHR: *Did you take time off between undergrad and grad?*

AB: I did take time off between college and graduate school. I spent several months traveling (mostly in Russia), doing somewhat menial labor (in rural Washington state), and working as a concierge in a large, multi-lingual, split-identity apartment building in Cambridge, Massachusetts. During quiet hours I was able to do a lot of reading while ignoring my official duties.

MB: Between college and graduate school I took two years off to work at a non-profit organization.

AM: No I did not. I decided to go straight through since I was fairly certain about wanting to keep working in History.

JR: For three years I worked in the Brown Office of International Programs as a study abroad advisor. It was an important opportunity for me to experience a “real world” office work environment.

PHR: *Did you acquire any specialized skills (language, methodological, statistical, etc.) before entering grad school?*

AB: I did study several languages as an undergraduate and during my year off, which provided me with a foundation for my graduate work.

MB: I did not acquire any specialized academic skills between undergrad and graduate school, but I would recommend that anyone studying the humanities pursue relevant language studies as far as possible. (Penn’s graduate History Department requires reading proficiency in two languages other than English).

AM: I had to learn Latin in one of my summers of undergrad.

JR: [Working at Brown] offered the benefits of working at a higher education institution: I could attend classes, continue language study, and pursue professional development opportunities—all while continuing to immerse myself in a campus environment and allowing me to observe more closely some of the realities of a career in an academic setting.

PHR: *What is your opinion of post-bac programs?*

AB: I don’t have much to say about post-bac programs, as I’ve had very lit-

the contact with students in these programs. Given how competitive graduate admissions have become, especially in departments with high technical competency bars (such as classics or physics, for example) I understand their usefulness.

MB: I'm not very familiar with post-bac programs. But, I think the most important thing students can do after graduation is gain experience of any kind in a non-academic setting. Admission committees look very highly on those who have outside experience.

AM: I do not know much about them.

PHR: *What advice would you give to current undergrads considering grad school?*

AB: The first piece of advice I'd give aspiring graduate students is to take time off—and it doesn't really matter what you spend it doing. My sense of grad students who come straight out of college is that they wish they had taken a break at some point. I'd also advise those thinking of studying non-American history to try to develop the requisite languages before beginning graduate school. Also, living in or spending serious time traveling through whatever country (or countries) you're thinking of studying will be invaluable preparation for future study—as well as a rewarding experience in and of itself. Finally, I'd remind prospective grad students that graduate school is as much about professional training as it is about living the life of the mind. While it's certainly important to care about ideas, love reading and writing, and thrive on debate, it's equally important to give serious thought to whether or not you'd like to become a professional historian.

MB: Graduate school is a major commitment; it is not for the faint of heart. I firmly believe that taking time off is the best way to learn about and define your professional goals and explore your research interests informally.

AM: I suppose one question would concern whether one should go to graduate school or not. You should make sure that you are really passionate about the discipline and topics you anticipate studying. There is a lot of work ahead, and the effort is only worth it if you enjoy what you are studying. The further you go, the more driven and organized you need to be in order to finish your projects. A graduate program in the humanities is nothing like

college: you need to do a lot of independent work. A good way to test out your abilities and your desire to go into a Ph.D. or a M.A. program is to write a thesis or a large independent study paper. So, when you are deciding whether to go to school or not, do not rush to make a decision. Take time off if you are unsure, because you will be making a fairly significant commitment. Talking to some graduate students, both at your potential schools and here at Penn, may reveal a lot of new things that you might not expect to encounter in graduate school. When choosing a graduate program, you should think of several faculty members you could potentially work with. Reading some of their work will probably help you decide if you would like to study with them, but contacting professors directly will also help.

JR: Take the time to consider evaluate both your research interests and motivations. The first couple of years after graduation can be a challenging transition, whether you find yourself continuing your studies or working full-time. Reflecting on your motivations will not only help you determine when and how to continue your education, but also sustain you if you decide to complete a graduate program. Be sure to engage with professors and graduate students in candid and frank conversations about their own experiences and considerations.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY: THE SENIOR HONORS THESES

The final component of our section on ‘The Study of History’ is the listing of the 2008 senior honors theses. The following abstracts offer a summary of the projects completed this year for the thesis program.

Forgetting the Violence, Remembering a Report: A story of the 1931 Kanpur Riots

Priya Agarwal

This thesis explores the paradox between the events of the Kanpur Riots and the Kanpur Riot Commission Report, written in its aftermath. While the former is regarded as another example of Hindu-Muslim strife in the twentieth century, the latter has become a lionized text in nationalist historiography. This thesis will argue that the significance of the Report is bound up in the Kanpur Riots. The riot participants were the subject and audience of the Report and the authors of the Kanpur Riot Commission Report used them to create a framework for understanding Indian history that continues to be invoked today.

Reading Under the Folds: John Dickinson, Gordon’s *Tacitus*, and the American Revolution

Alex Bregman

The thesis examines the effects that one of the most important radical Whig texts had on one of the leading figures of the American Revolutionary movement. John Dickinson is often overlooked in histories of the American Revolution despite being a strong force from the time of the Stamp Act Congress through the Second Continental Congress, penning many of the resolves that came out of these meetings along with the highly influential *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer*. This thesis examines Dickinson’s

personal copy of Thomas Gordon's translation of the works of the Roman historian, Tacitus, published with Gordon's *Discourses* on the translation. This radical Whig text was revered by almost all of the American Founders, Dickinson included. Dickinson provided future readers of his copy of the text a unique insight into exactly what he took note of as he read the five volume work. He made no notes in the margins of his copy of the text, but rather folded literally hundreds of pages to mark particular passages throughout the work. Thus, he allowed future readers to literally read along with him. It turns out that almost every fold had a purpose. This thesis analyzes exactly what Dickinson highlighted through his folds and looks at the influence that these highlights had on some of the most crucial moments of his Revolutionary career, including how they very well might have been one of the factors that led to his fateful decision to not sign the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

World's Fairs in Chicago and Barcelona: Spectacle, Memory, and Nationalism

Uri Friedman

Nineteenth-century international exhibitions served as platforms for national competition and self-expression. Though over 4,000 miles apart, both Chicago, Illinois and Barcelona, Spain were animated by "second city" politics and featured a thriving industrial economy in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Yet while Chicagoans swelled with pride about the city they had helped resurrect from the ashes of the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, they also displayed patriotism toward an American nation that had overcome the Civil War and was rapidly amassing power. A burgeoning Catalan nationalist movement, on the other hand, contributed to a widening disconnect between the capital of Catalonia and a sputtering Spanish nation. These pivotal differences—along with historical circumstance—have informed the historical interpretation of Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and Barcelona's 1888 Universal Exposition. The ways in which the collective memory of these two world's fairs have diverged shed light on why, today, remembering Chicago's World's Fair has largely become an intellectual exercise while conjuring up memories of Barcelona's Universal Exposition persists as a critical tool for Catalan nationalists wishing to advance their interests and broadcast their nationalism to Spain and/or the global community.

Consolidating the Mexican State: Constitutionalism in the years of Plutarco Elías Calles

Pedro Gerson

This work presents an analysis of the presidency of Plutarco Elías Calles. It views Calles as a man of the Mexican Revolution and as an heir to the values promoted by the Constitution that came as a result of this movement. His respect for the constitution, pushed him to act on his anticlerical beliefs and to unify the Revolutionary movement under one party. Focusing mostly on the reasons and results of his anticlerical policy, we hope to gain insight into Calles' constitutionalism. By understanding Calles' policies, we can understand both the nature of the peculiar separation of Church and State in a very religious country, and the reasons for the formation of a party that would rule Mexico for seventy-two years.

An American Ambassador in Berlin: Observing Hitler's Gambles in Foreign Policy, 1933-1937

Kevin P. Glowalla

William Edward Dodd served as United States ambassador to Germany between August 1933 and December 1937. Using archival sources, this thesis examines Dodd's reactions to and analyses of three events in Nazi German history, with reference to how these episodes altered the landscape of international security. These events are the withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and League of Nations in October 1933, the announcement of conscription in March 1935, and the remilitarization of the Rhineland in March 1936. By focusing on these three critical moments, this thesis traces the evolution of Dodd's perception of the threat Nazi Germany posed to world peace. Dodd's four-and-a-half years of service converted a man once conservatively optimistic about the Hitler regime's future to one deathly afraid of it, convinced that only action by foreign powers could stop Germany's march towards war.

Departing for the Ends of the Earth to do My Humble Part: The Life of William A. Rich, Volunteer Ambulance Driver for the American Field Service, 1942-1945: A Study of War Letters*Alice Hickey*

From the years 1942 to 1945, William A. Rich, a volunteer ambulance driver with the American Field Service, wrote a vast collection of letters home; he served in the Middle East, North Africa, Italy, France, Germany and India. Rich corresponded with his family and girlfriend bi-weekly about his experiences and opinions, resulting in a collection of more than 300 letters. From these letters, supplemented by additional archival sources, a fascinating narrative emerges. Rich's story explains the complexity of life as a non-combatant on the frontlines of a total war. From the fall of Tunis to the horrors of the relief of Belsen Concentration Camp, the letters provide an unmediated perspective on World War Two through the eyes of a twenty-year old.

Pirates of the Mediterranean: Rome, Robbers, and the World of the Late Republic*Nicholas N. Joy*

In 67 B.C., Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, Rome's most successful general, was appointed to a military command of a scale unprecedented in the history of the Roman Republic. His task was to clear the seas of pirates which, ancient sources tell us, infested the Mediterranean and represented a dire threat to the Romans. Relying on a variety of primary and comparative materials, this thesis examines piracy in the Roman world in an attempt to provide a better understanding of the outbreak of piracy that precipitated Pompey's command. Ancient piracy was not a uniform phenomenon. It can be divided into at least two main forms, opportunistic and dedicated piracy, and it did not affect all places and time periods equally. Conditions found during the Late Roman Republic in the Mediterranean in general and the southern coast of Asia Minor, the epicenter of pirate activity, in particular were ideally suited for piracy. These conditions produced pirate activity that took on a scale and form otherwise unattested in antiquity. Pompey's command was the last and most notable example of a Roman policy towards combating piracy that met with only mixed success at best.

Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas: An Examination*Megan B. Kiernan*

The debate over the *Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas* (Monument for the Murdered Jews of Europe) is part of an intense and prolonged German discourse on the memory of the Second World War. The debate over the monument exemplified the cultural and symbolic problems that arose when the city of Berlin was reinstated as the seat of government in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1992. The discussion searched not only for the most appropriate form of monument, but also whether or not a monument was an effective medium of commemoration. Germany's struggle with the *Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas* was tortured, self-reflective, and occasionally paralyzing. Focusing on both its artistic and political representative function, we must ask: For whom was the monument built? What understanding of history does it support? What does that understanding ultimately mean about the extent to which the crimes of the Third Reich have been incorporated into a sense of German national identity?

A Divided North—Philadelphia during the Civil War and Reconstruction*Michael Kind*

A central theme of this thesis is that Reconstruction and the conflicts over racial equality were not only (or even primarily) a Southern event but a national one and the way in which the North grappled with these issues has often been neglected, can be seen as contradictory or hypocritical in many respects, and had profound implications on the meaning of the war and how Americans would remember the war. In short, the Civil War and Reconstruction North was not a monolith.

Using Philadelphia as both a “typical” and especially notable example, I argue that the same debates regarding racial equality and racial justice that swept the South also had resonance in the North. In fact, most of this thesis might be seen as an effort to understand the ways in which events in the North mirrored those in the South during the same period. Considering that the North won and thus largely determined the meaning of the war through its successes and subsequent failures, or loss of nerve, during Reconstruction, makes internal political squabbles crucial to understand for a broader appreciation of the meaning of the war.

I contend that the North essentially “lost” Reconstruction first and was “redeemed” in the sense that racist white Democrats, though unable to challenge Republican dominance in Northern politics again for a while, were successful in mobilizing enough force to prevent the most reform minded and egalitarian impulses of the Republican Party from succeeding. The Republican Party’s inability to respond forcefully represented that failure of nerve which translated to quitting on egalitarian reform efforts in the South.

If anything, this thesis can modestly conclude that the Civil War and Reconstruction North was more complicated than is often believed, that pro-Union did not translate to racial egalitarian, and that the North, like the South, had just as much trouble defining freedom, equality, and citizenship.

Free Speech from Holt to Holmes: The English Birth and American Career of the “Classic View”

Joshua Matz

In 1907, the Supreme Court held in *Patterson v. Colorado* that freedom of speech in America consists of little more than the absence of censorship. State governments could justifiably restrain and criminally punish expression that they deemed harmful to the social welfare – and truth was not always a valid defense. Modern Americans, who enjoy the bountiful protections afforded by modern civil libertarianism, may find it hard to imagine that the broadly-phrased First Amendment was originally understood in radically different terms. For most of American history, however, a legal consensus obtained around the belief that ‘freedom of speech and press’ should be interpreted in basic accordance with received English common law. This thesis traces the development of a set of social, political, and legal beliefs about expression that persisted from the colonial era to World War I. Ultimately, it seeks to explain why this ‘classic view’ of speech and press persisted across dramatic transformations in virtually every aspect of American life. Recognizing the crucial role that rights to expression play in structuring so many other aspects of lived experience, this thesis conjures forth and examines some of the ideologies and legal contests that have shaped American history.

Philadelphia's perception and response to the rise of New York City in the early nineteenth century

Charles McCurdy

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, ambitious merchants and internal developers launched the booming eastern seaboard cities of the United States into a heated rivalry. In the midst of unprecedented competition, a swift yet ambiguous shift in the primacy of these urban titans emerged. A demographic and economic explosion propelled New York City into first place among American cities in the 1810s, forcing the citizens of Philadelphia to contemplate seriously both their understanding of themselves and their place in the developing new economy and political order. Before, Philadelphians reached a superior valuation of their city's worth with a nearly comprehensive framework that emphasized the stature of their city as a site for commerce, public affairs and cultural refinement. After belatedly discovering that the growth of New York posed a real threat, Philadelphians separated the spheres of their previously unified conception of their superiority, placing a greater value on those that accentuated Philadelphia's strengths and reenergizing a languished commitment to public works, proactively developing and improving transportation and education to increase commerce, cognizant of the reality that commerce had nurtured their city to its grandeur of 1800, and subsequently drove the gains of their rivals in the following decades.

"Their Nation Dishonored, the Queen Shamed, and Country Undone": Feuding, Factionalism, and Religion in the Chaseabout Raid

Rachel J. Omansky

The mid-sixteenth century witnessed religious and political upheaval across much of Western Europe, particularly in the British Isles. In 1565, a good portion of the Scottish nobility rebelled against their sovereign, Mary, Queen of Scots. The roles played and decisions made by the nobles during this revolt, known as the Chaseabout Raid, provide important insights concerning the converging issues of feuding, factionalism, and religion in Scotland. My reconstructed narrative of the Chaseabout Raid indicates that there were, in fact, no firm factions determined by ideology, but rather shifting allegiances in the midst of conflict, determined by complex and interrelated factors, personalities, and motivations. The primary motivation for the coalitions formed during the Chaseabout Raid was selfish personal ambition—

base desire for individual gain still superseded any proto-nationalistic ideas or purely ideological commitments. Using this incident, I will offer new conclusions regarding the origins of the Scottish kirk and national identity, the rise of the modern notions of loyalty and allegiance, and the construction of the modern Scottish state. With respect to the broader study of history, these conclusions discovered through an empiricist approach may demonstrate the validity of this method for reexamining other riots, rebellions, and revolts across history.

The United Nations Information Organization and the Selling of the United Nations: The Story of the Convergence of International Needs and American National Interest

Ali Peysner

The onset of World War II served as a painful reminder of a reality that surfaced in 1914: the inadequacy of the prevailing international order. The League of Nations was created in 1919 in order to address this issue, but ultimately failed to prevent World War II. Post-war planning efforts were reinitiated as soon as the Americans were brought into the conflict, beginning with the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942.

Ultimately spurred by a soft power effort on behalf of the British to garner American support in their fight against the Nazis, the establishment of the Inter-Allied Information Center (IAIC) in New York marked the beginning of what would later transform into an American-led program to sell to their public the concept of United Nations joint initiatives, and later, the United Nations Organization. These efforts were undertaken by the United Nations Information Organization (UNIO), which advocated that American leadership in these joint projects was well within American national interest, while also benefiting the international community as a whole. In the end, a combination of favorable circumstances, as well as better organization, exemplified by UNIO, led to the establishment of the United Nations Organization as we know it today.

Kensington is Burning: A Re-Examination of the Philadelphia Riots of May 1844

Timothy Reilly

During the pre-Famine period of Irish immigration to the United

States (1815-1844), tens of thousands of Irish Catholics settled in the burgeoning industrial city of Philadelphia. The presence of these Irishmen irked a number of “established” Philadelphians, who felt that these newcomers had challenged the city’s Protestant identity. A wave of nativist sentiment pervaded the city, particularly following the Bible controversy of 1842, and culminated in the Riots of May 1844. In their accounts of the riots, historians have often portrayed the Irish in a sympathetic light and have demonized the nativists. However, an extensive analysis of the subject reveals more moral ambiguity than historians have been willing to concede.

This project seeks to provide a balanced assessment of the conflict and of the actors involved in its initiation. Most importantly, it attacks the “myth of victimization” that has characterized Irish immigration histories. Additionally, the religious confrontations between Bishop Kenrick and the Protestant establishment are investigated. Furthermore, a chapter is dedicated to an exploration of the rise of the Native American Party and to the legitimacies and inaccuracies of its rhetoric. Finally, the thesis concludes with a chapter that focuses on the 1844 Riots, exposing the misconduct that was evident on both sides.

The Affair of the State: Intellectuals, the Press, and the Dreyfus Affair

David Rimoch

The Dreyfus Affair was a catalyst for the political differences that dominated 19th century Europe. For the Dreyfusards, the State had to stand as the enforcer of individual rights. Its legitimacy came from a humanitarian tradition dating back to the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The anti-Dreyfusard camp, on the other hand, found its legitimacy in the notion of general interests far and above the individual’s plight for particulars. In this vision the State embodied a higher will concerned with maintaining the integrity and respectability of its institutions. This thesis argues that the only way to fully understand this debate is to situate it within a conflict between modernity and premodernity.

“Nonsense upon Stilts”: The Carter Administration’s Human Rights Policy Toward Chile, 1977-1978

Elizabeth Slavitt

Jimmy Carter ran for President promising to restore the American

people's faith in a government which had recently betrayed them in Vietnam and Watergate. Invoking the idea of human rights, Carter promised to give Americans pride in their country's foreign policies. This thesis tells the story of the Carter Administration's human rights policy toward Chile, where military General Augusto Pinochet had ruled ruthlessly since the United States Government helped stage a coup to put him in place in 1973. Eager to right the wrongs of its predecessors, the Carter Administration was concerned about the dire human rights situation in Chile, but it ultimately failed to persuade Pinochet to make many changes.

This was largely due to the Administration's inability to articulate a clear policy for fulfilling its human rights goals. The American Government was also internally conflicted about the proper approach toward Chile; should the Carter Administration openly condemn Pinochet or engage the brutal ruler in "quiet diplomacy"? Furthermore, Pinochet - ever the conniving leader - responded inconsistently to the variety of tactics the United States used to try to urge or coerce him to change his ways. Though Carter Administration policies did not force Pinochet to respect human rights, American efforts did make it unacceptable for Pinochet to publicly denounce such rights. While this rhetorical shift was symbolically significant, it brought about no substantial changes, and the Chilean people continued to suffer under Pinochet's wrathful rule.

Caught on the Periphery: Portuguese Neutrality during World War II and Anglo-American Negotiations with Salazar

Melissa Teixeira

On 9 October 1939, shortly after the outbreak of World War II in Europe, António de Oliveira Salazar addressed the National Assembly to declare Portugal's neutrality. Salazar, the stern and fastidious Prime Minister of the *Estado Novo* regime in Portugal from 1932 to 1969, adhered to strict neutrality in order to keep this underdeveloped nation on the periphery of the grueling conflict. But the Açores Islands in the Atlantic and the critical stocks of wolfram made Portugal an immense strategic concern for the Allied Powers. The Anglo-American negotiations with Salazar for the use of facilities on the Açores Islands and a complete embargo on the sale of wolfram to Germany were empowered by the fourteenth-century Luso-Anglo Alliance, which obliged Salazar to concede to Britain's requests. But while the concessions to the Allies were guaranteed in principle, Salazar needlessly protracted the negotiations in an attempt to wield what little power he had over

the insignificant details of the final agreements. While Salazar's tactics were largely ineffective they revealed the extent his post-war anxieties. The outcome of the conflict would decide the status of Portugal's oversea empire and the survival of his regime; thus Salazar had no choice but to maneuver these negotiations in a way that both reinforced his control over the Portuguese Government and his ability to withstand foreign pressures.

Big Brother Boxes: The Fall of Utopia as Seen Through George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four and B.F. Skinner's Walden Two

Ariel Tichnor

While literary utopias are better worlds that exist only in the imagination, America has historically been a place where utopian fantasies have had potential to turn into reality. Yet post-World War Two, utopian literature lost its reputation as a positive force for social change as dystopias, societies with utopian traits carried out to destructive as opposed to reconstructive ends, redefined the meaning of utopia and replaced them in popularity. A case study of mainstream America's popular reception of the utopian *Walden Two* (1948) by B.F. Skinner and the dystopian *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) by George Orwell offers insight into why pessimistic portrayals of the future replaced optimistic blueprints. Since its publication, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has been a bestseller and a part of American culture, while *Walden Two*, a controversial novel at best, was slow to gain popularity and failed to spark a movement towards experimental, communal living as Skinner had hoped. Throughout the early 1950's, both books were popularly viewed as depictees of fascism and communism. Yet increasingly from the late 1950's until the early 1970's, the reactions to *Walden Two* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* no longer reflected the Cold War consensus. As *Nineteen Eighty-Four* became associated with American institutions, *Walden Two* became an increasingly popular alternative to the ever-present dystopian elements that had become embedded in mainstream American life. However, by the early 1980's the *Walden Two* dream in America had died, while *Nineteen Eighty-Four* remained, as it still does, a part of America's cultural lexicon. The comparison between the changing receptions of these novels suggests that for a utopian novel to become an attractive blueprint for alternative living in America, it needs to alter the characteristics it shares with dystopian discourse.

The Silent Partner: How the Ford Motor Company Became an Arsenal of Nazism*Daniel Warsh*

Corporate responsibility is a popular buzzword in the news today, but the concept itself is hardly novel. In response to a barrage of public criticism, the Ford Motor Company commissioned and published a study of its own activities immediately before and during WWII. The study explores the multifaceted and complicated relationship between the American parent company in Dearborn and the German subsidiary in Cologne. The report's findings, however, are largely inconclusive and in some cases, dangerously misleading. This thesis will seek to establish how, with the consent of Dearborn, the German Ford company became an arsenal for Hitler's march on Europe. This thesis will clarify these murky relationships, and picking up where the Ford internal investigation left off, place them within a framework of corporate accountability and complicity. Ford's development as a transnational entity provides a perfect subject of study to embark on such a project. Many of the major themes of post-WWI Europe – economic stagnation, nationalism, coping with the aftermath of a devastating conflict, and eventually, the rise of authoritarian states – are all present in Ford's German story, and their consequences not only resonate within the fields of American, European, and business history but also that of corporate responsibility. The lessons are still relevant.

