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Emergent Historian

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Kwantlen Polytechnic University – Department of History

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FROM THE EDITOR

I would like to congratulate the authors of this year's *Emergent Historian*, the Kwantlen Journal of History. The Kwantlen History Department is happy to publish Volume 1, our first History Journal, which will complement the growing and diverse History Department.

The *Emergent Historian* is a compilation of the best student papers for the Fall 2013 and Spring 2014 semesters. All eight papers contained herein have been selected by professors within the Department and approved for publication by the students whose papers were nominated for the journal.

Thanks to the participation of professors and the hard work of students, we sincerely hope that the *Emergent Historian* will serve students and be helpful in writing their own papers. Further, the *Emergent Historian* displays the breadth of our Department, the capacity of our students and raises awareness of the spirited community within the Kwantlen History Department. Finally, a special thanks to Dr. Tracey J. Kinney for organizing within the Department, communicating through a multitude of emails, and providing valuable input for the Journal.

Fabio McLeod

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2013 / 2014 Editor-in-Chief

FROM THE DEPARTMENT

Welcome readers to the first issue of *The Emergent Historian*, a student-led project celebrating some of the very best papers produced in the History Department at Kwantlen Polytechnic University in 2013 and 2014. We hope that the journal will become an annual publication and will serve to inspire the students in our program to produce papers of the very highest calibre.

The Department thanks all of the students who agreed to contribute their work to this undergraduate journal and most especially acknowledges the efforts of Fabio McLeod in spearheading the creation of the journal, as well as taking on the editorial responsibilities for 2013/2014.

What you get by being British

An examination of the cultural rules behind the *Dad's Army* television series

Peter Sorensen
History 4499: Modern Britain through Film
Professor: Thor Frohn-Nielsen
November 1st, 2013

Note to classmates: Though the topic of the week is *Dad's Army* the film, I have elected to use *Dad's Army* the television series as it provides more workable grist for this mill. The differences between the film and television series are slight, and many of jokes being rehashes from the series, and with the film following the same general plot formula (John Le Mesurieur described the film as "three half-hour episodes joined together[1]").

"...there was some unease when a German pilot who had been shot down was brought to Biggin Hill. 'The police captured the chap and stuck him in our guard room' [RAF fighter pilot Pete Brothers] said.... The German, who spoke English, was led away for a drink in the mess. 'He said could he have paper and a pencil. We said, 'why?' He said, 'I want to write all your names down because tomorrow the Luftwaffe will blacken the skies, you will have lost and I want to make sure you are all well-treated.' He couldn't understand why we fell off our stools laughing.'"

- Fighter Boys: The Battle of Britain, 1940[2].

PIKE: Uncle Arthur, I don't think it's fair that my name should be on the list, I was only joking.
WILSON: You should be more careful, Frank. You know that the Germans haven't got a sense of humour.

- *Dad's Army,* Episode 1, Series 6[3].

[1] Graham McCann, *Dad's Army* (London: Fourth Estate, 2002), 171.
[2] Patrick Bishop, *Fighter Boys: The Battle of Britain, 1940* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 240-241.
[3] Jimmy Perry and David Croft, *Dad's Army: The Complete Scripts,* ed. Richard Webber (London: Orion Books, 2002), 615.

In the television series *Dad's Army* the shenanigans of the Walmington-on-sea Home Guard platoon are followed as they prepare to defend Britain against the expected German invasion early in the Second World War. The leader of the platoon is Captain Mainwaring (played by Arthur Lowe), a pompous bumbler who is always hatching ridiculous plans. Sergeant Wilson (played by John Le Mesurier) acts as the straight-man to Mainwaring, and the platoon consists of a motley crew of other eccentric characters. The show ran from 1968 to 1977, and was wildly popular with the British public[4]. There can be no doubt that British culture is deeply ingrained in every script, but attempts to clearly identify it is actually more difficult than it would first appear. However, there exists a quick and easy method to expose the 'cultural rules' that the *Dad's Army* scripts always conformed to, and which by doing so exposes some characteristics that the British public would have felt were quintessential to the British national character.

The reason there can be no doubt that British culture is ingrained in every script stems from the show's popularity. It is implausible that a show with no resonance with its audience could be quite so popular, and resonance can only occur when the audiences can see their everyday customs and values in the characters on screen. BBC audience reports on *Dad's Army* is replete with responses such as "almost horribly true to real life," and "I can believe it happened which makes it all the more funny," with one audience member who went as far to state "Such a true picture of village and small-town preparations against Hitler; I could almost see the people of my own small village at the time in the characters.[5]"

The problem is in separating out the incidental from the rules. Naturally the writers of the series needed versatile characters and plot devices with which to craft their brand of comedy, so

[4] For the first series the average viewers was estimated at about 8.2m per episode, which continued to climb until reaching an average peak of 16.3m in 1972. McCann, 100.
[5] Richard Webber, *The Complete A-Z of Dad's Army* (London: Orion Media, 2000), 18-19.

it must be assumed that at least some of the characters and plot devices are only there for their utility. Take, for example, the existence of Private Walker in the *Dad's Army* platoon. His character (played by James Beck) is that of the slick spiv whose sly cunning and underground connections are often employed in bizarre schemes that either spectacularly succeed or hilariously fail. On the one hand, it could be argued that his existence is only as a plot device, as his useful versatility allowed for any tightly rationed item to be made available for use in a script, and his mysterious connections could be conveniently leveraged for whatever predicament the platoon has become mired in. However, it could also be argued that his existence is due to the ingrained British national culture in *Dad's Army*, because, as one *Dad's Army* audience member said; "as an old Home guard sergeant myself, I can vouch that we had a James Beck in every platoon.[6]" Or Private Walker could be the product of neither of these reasons, as co-creator Jimmy Perry has stated that he initially wrote Walker with the intention of playing the part himself, only to have it hi-jacked by BBC producers who felt it inappropriate for a writer to be writing his own part[7].

Private Walker seen here on an intelligence gathering mission.

To get to the bottom of Walker's cultural roots would require an exhaustive research into British cinema, television, theatre, and novel, and there is no guarantee that any roots actually exist. However, there is an alternative method that can be used which, though imprecise, is quick and effective to expose broad 'cultural rules'. The method is to stand *Dad's Army* next to a cross-cultural foil, one that is substantially similar enough to be

[6] Ibid.
[7] McCann, 52.

within the realm of comparison, and yet culturally different enough to see an obvious contrast in cultural values. For *Dad's Army,* there exists a most excellent foil in the American television series *Hogan's Heroes.*

Like *Dad's Army, Hogan's Heroes* is a situation comedy set during the Second World War that features the shenanigans of a motley crewed military unit that consists of identifiable characters. The central figure is the unit's commanding officer, Colonel Hogan (played by Bob Crane), with both shows using the common enemy of World War 2 era Germans. They both have similar rules of plot, where a problem is discovered and a solution found all within the same episode and hijinks being uncovered in the process[8]. Finally, they were both popular at around the same time (*Hogan's Heroes* ran 1965 to 1971), and this period was a time of social unrest in both America and Britain.

The basic plot of *Hogan's Heroes* follows Colonel Hogan as he runs a successful sabotage ring out of the prisoner of war camp in Germany, with the running joke being that the prisoners are more in charge of the camp than their bumbling overlords. Colonel Hogan's character is of the quintessential American all-star who uses his gifts of intelligence, wit, charm, and good looks to deftly outmaneuver his opponents and win the heart of German officers' wives. In essence, Colonel Hogan is everything Captain Mainwaring isn't. It is a rule in every *Hogan's Heroes* script that the American plan must always succeed, and the German plan must always fail[9] (and Hogan must always get the girl[10]). This is, of course, in direct contrast to the plans hatched by the *Dad's Army* platoon, which result in total disaster as often as they succeed.

[8] Robert R. Shandley, *Hogan's Heroes* (Detriot: Wayne State University Press, 2011) 33.
[9] Shandley, 28.
[10] Shandley, 23.

Colonel Hogan always gets the girl.

This isn't to say that Mainwaring's platoon never succeeds. Quite on the contrary, like *Hogan's Heroes,* the Walmington-on-sea platoon also always succeeds as a rule. The difference between the two lies in the cultural definition of success. For the Americans who view *Hogan's Heroes,* their cultural measurement of success is in the immediate outcome, whose plan succeeds, and who gets the girl. In a game played by the Americans there can only be one winner, and the Americans always play to win. This American culture of winning was personified by the ever popular figure of General George Patton, who was immortalized in the film *Patton* which swept the 1971 Oscars (the same year *Hogan's Heroes* ended), winning, among others, Best Actor, Best Director, Best Original Screen Play, and Best Picture. The opening sequence features General Patton (played by George C. Scott), standing in front of a gigantic American flag, giving the famous speech the real General Patton gave to his 3rd Army before the invasion of France in 1944. The speech in the film is very close to what was actually said, an excerpt of which follows here:

> "Americans play to win - all the time. I wouldn't give a hoot for a man who lost and laughed. That's why Americans have never lost and will never lose a war, for the very thought of losing is hateful to an American.[11]"

"The thought of losing is hateful to an American"

In complete contrast to the sentiments of General Patton, the British are the ones who value the person who loses and then laughs, and who continues no matter what the odds. General Patton's speech is neatly foiled by Captain Mainwaring's speech to his platoon at the end of the pilot episode. His platoon

[11] Stanley P Hirshson, *General Patton* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002.) 474-475.

assembles and stands at attention. Their inventory of weapons includes an assortment of spears, pikes, a shotgun (just one), a golf club, a broom with a knife tied to the end, various other blunt household instruments, petrol bombs, sugar (for pouring in German gas tanks), and pepper (for throwing in the faces of German soldiers). Mainwaring speaks:

> "...We're making progress. A short time ago we were a disorganized rabble, now we can deal with tanks. We can kill with our pikes and make 'em all sneeze with our pepper. And after all, even the Hun makes a pretty poor fighter with his head buried in a handkerchief – but remember this, we have one other valuable weapon on our side. We have an unbreakable fighting spirit, a bulldog tenacity that makes us hang on as long as there's breath left in our bodies. You don't get that with Gestapos and Jackboots, you get *that* by being British! So, come on, Adolf – we're ready for you.[12]"

The cardinal rule of *Dad's Army* is that no matter how bad the circumstances, no matter what the odds, the men of the Walmington-on-sea platoon never lose their will to resist. For British culture, the mere fact that the men always emerged from their discouraging trials with an unyielding morale allowed for the British audience to see their favorite characters emerge victorious in every episode, even though they occasionally appear to physically lose. Though there is the occasional jab in recognizing their own hopeless odds against the actual German army, no matter what is discussed the men always form up for parade the next day.

Using *Hogan's Heroes* as a foil exposes one more foundational aspect of British culture. In *Hogan's Heroes* the troop is exposed to the enemy on a daily basis (the German characters have very prominent roles), and in *Dad's Army* too the enemy makes an appearance. In both comedies the German characters are written as being the antithesis of the protagonists, and the shows produce very different German characters. In *Hogan's Heroes,* the German antagonists of Colonel Klink (commander of the camp) and Sergeant Shultz (sergeant of the guard) are portrayed doltish bumblers, who are so incompetent at running a P.O.W. camp that they are

[12] Perry and Croft, 72.

unable to detect that it is the headquarters for a large sabotage operation. However, when their incompetence becomes to noticeable that their superiors threaten them with transfer to the Russian front, they appeal to Colonel Hogan for help, whose masterminds plans to save their skins. After all, Hogan can't allow his Germans to be transferred lest they be replaced with someone of actual competence. Klink and Shultz are routinely on the receiving end of cruel pranks pulled by the Americans, who terrorize them without mercy. It is worthy to note that the characters of Klink and Shultz appeared so pathetic and tormented that American audiences sympathized with them more than Hogan, the result being that their characters were the most popular on the show[13].

Weapon delivery from HQ – Pepper – enemy - for throwing in face of. Range – five feet.

By contrast, the Germans who appear in *Dad's Army* are portrayed as calm, efficient, disciplined, emotionless, and humorless. Their first appearance is in the form of two airmen who had been shot down and parachuted into Britain. Their first line (spoken in German with English subtitles) is "Look at the time. Typical British inefficiency. It is now ten minutes since we have been shot down and nobody has captured us.[14]" The airmen are eventually captured by Mainwaring's soldiers at pike-point, but later they are allowed to use the bathroom where they make good an escape. Mainwaring, incredulous, asks "Why didn't you tell them to wait?" to which the reply is "Well, we are not beasts are we, sir?[15]" In another episode a U-boat crew is captured and held by the Walmington-on-sea platoon. When Mainwaring address his prisoners, they all snap to attention, prompting Wilson to remark "They're awfully well disciplined, sir," to

[13] Shandley, 44.
[14] Perry and Croft, 99.
[15] Perry and Croft, 102.

which Mainwaring replies "Nothing of the sort, it's a slavish, blind obedience, not like the cheerful, light-hearted discipline that you get with our Jolly Jack Tars [slang for Royal Navy sailors].[16]"

For both cultures, what is perceived to be the worst traits are made the most prominent traits in the German antagonists. What accounts for the divergent portrayals of the enemy is in the differing cultural concepts of antithesis. The Americans see their antithesis in witless stupidity and incompetence, and the British see their antithesis in brusque humorlessness. More than being just a desirable trait, humour is a necessary asset in British culture, especially during a crisis[17]. A rather curious example of this can be found in an actual 1942 Home Guard military training manual, inside which there is the occasional light-hearted joke[18]. It would probably be a safe bet that you could examine every military training manual ever produced in Germany going back to Frederick II and not find the slightest pinch of humour[19]. So when a section of Mainwaring's platoon accidently gets lost at sea and Private Walker lightens the mood with a small joke, Mainwaring is speaking for British culture when he replies: "Walker, I know that I have rebuked you many times in the past for making stupid remarks – but this time I'm glad to

[16] Perry and Croft, 614.

[17] Jeffrey Richards, *Films and British national identity: From Dickens to* Dad's Army, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 16

[18] Brig-Gen. A.F.U. Green, *The British Home Guard Pocket-Book,* 2nd ed, (Britain: British Army, October, 1942). The most overt joke is as follows (p. 31):

> "Every man can be alert and inquisitive. Some are born to be unobservant, but they can be trained. A good illustration of the unobservant kind is given by the young man who was taking his girl for a drive and the car stopped. So he climbed out and crawled underneath, and as he did not seem to be doing any good she crawled in to help him. Presently a policemen tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Oi! Somebody's stolen your car."

[19] This may be an exaggeration; however the even safer bet would be that the *Dad's Army* audience would certainly take pride in agreeing with that statement. The issue is culture is less concerned with the truth than it is with what British culture would want the truth to be.

see that the gravity of the situation hasn't killed your lively Cockney sense of humour. It's people like you who are the backbone of our country[20]."

The fact is that the moment the German characters stepped on screen with their arrogant, humorless attitudes they had already lost in a cultural sense, making any physical successes moot. The audience in *Dad's Army* would prefer to be on the jovial losing team than the soulless winning team, because winning with a bad attitude isn't the same as winning. In a similar fashion, whenever Klink or Shultz were a part of some devilish scheme the American audience could take comfort knowing that it would never survive contact with Colonel Hogan, who was sure to run circles around them with such ease as to make him seem omnipotent.

This study of *Dad's Army* is far from complete. There are probably dozens of other character traits, plot devices, and catchphrases that are specific to British culture hidden in every corner of every episode, but the purpose of this study was only to uncover the broad foundational culture rules that dictate every script. This was a task that was simplified by the use of a cultural foil, as comparing *Dad's Army* with the contemporary American television show *Hogan's Heroes* showed how each series conformed to different cultural rules, and by spotting the differences it exposed some of the cardinal rules for British culture. Much like how the American audience would be disturbed to see Colonel Hogan defeated by a German plan, the British audience would be equally disturbed to ever see their Walmington-on-sea platoon lose their indomitable spirit and jovial attitude when faced with adversity. And that's what you get by being British.

[20] Perry and Croft, 320.

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Take a Bow for the New Revolution:

Subverted Identity and Mass Consumption within British Mod Subculture

Nick Chretien
History 2307: Twentieth Century Britain
March 31st, 2014
Professor: Thor Frohn-Nielsen

Clacton was a seaside resort that catered to middle and working class families on holiday. The sunny summer atmosphere was lively but safe; there was a sandy beach, tourist shopping, amusement rides, and a long pier extending out into the surf. Then in the spring of 1964 chaos happened; three large brawls occurring between the months of March and May shattered the tranquility of Clacton. Dozens of arrests were made, and the newspapers salaciously reported it all: Teenage terror run amok! Rival gangs fighting it out! Youth living for kicks! Mods and Rockers on the loose![1] For many Britons, the news reports of the Clacton melees was their first introduction to the term "Mod", and the subsequent moral panic whipped up during the media frenzy painted a one dimensional picture of Mod culture as an anarchic threat to British civil society, but Mod was more than the violence at the beach. Mod was a youth movement, and a manifestation of the "Swinging 60s"; a decade often romantically recorded as an era of social and cultural revolution where old conservative, stiff-upper-lip Britain was transformed into a vibrant, progressive and diverse nation, but the revolutionary character of the Swinging 60s is contested. An individual's level of engagement and participation within the social shifts that did occur in Britain during the 1960s would have been situational, and dependent upon one's position within the British social fabric. Age, gender, socio-economic class, and race altered the ways individual Britons experienced how the decade played out. One person's threat to the social order was another person's escape from middle class complacency. As a youth subculture, Mod was a fashion, a music, and a lifestyle, and the influence of the Mod movement upon British pop culture during the 1960s was distinct, but how much of the revolutionary sentiment deeply coded within the mythos of the Swinging 60s was actually present within the Mod movement? Participation in Mod subculture allowed youth to challenge and negotiate class, gender and race

1 Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties*, (London: Litte, Brown Group, 2006), 194-195.

based identities within British society, but because the Mod subculture was defined by mass consumption, its ability to effect social and political change was limited.

Carnaby Street's recent historical reputation is the stuff of legend; a flourish of fashion and art that defined an era and made a city swing, but for decades, and even a couple centuries, one of London's most famous streets was entirely unremarkable. A mid 19th century handbook lifts a description of the street from an earlier text describing Carnaby as "ordinary", and containing both a market, and a building housing victims of the plague.[2] The name "Carnaby" was inherited from a 17th century housing block called "Karnaby House", that is now long gone, and only remembered for its name.[3] The street's reputation and fortunes began to shift in the late 1950s as small groups of sharply dressed young people in tailored suits and skirts, Chelsea boots, and closely cropped hair, began to haunt Carnaby's hidden jazz clubs.[4] These young people had cultivated their tastes from both sides of the Atlantic; from Paris, they had voraciously consumed the existentialists with a special predilection for Camus, and from the United States they had taken in the Beats, and *avant garde* jazz acts like Miles Davis, Chet Baker and Thelonius Monk. Had a stranger inquired about the identity of these young people, he or she would have been told "they are modernists".[5]

The first generation of Modernists, or Mods as they became known, anchored their identity upon the contemporary, and the progressive. The modernity that defined the Mods was characterized by their taste in fashion and art, but it was also a product of the shifting social and political landscape of post-war Britain. The Mods were the children of the British "baby boom" that immediately followed World War Two, an event that witnessed a 19% burst in the birth rate

2 Peter Cunningham, *Handbook of London, Past and Present*, (London: J. Murray, 1850), 166.
3 Shawn Levy, *Ready Steady Go: The Smashing Rise and Giddy Fall of Swinging London*, (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 102.
4 Shawn Levy, *Ready Steady Go,* 105.
5 Shawn Levy, *Ready Steady Go,* 105-106.

between 1945 and 1948.[6] Post-war economic stability combined with the phenomenon of rising wages across many of Britain's social classes eventually lead to relative affluence, mass consumption, and a peculiar adjunct development of a distinct youth culture.[7] British youth during the 1950s and 1960s had become participants in the booming economy, and with money in their pockets, new experiences and identities were gradually beginning to materialize through consumption patterns defined by leisure and leisure goods.[8] Records and films flooded across the Atlantic reproducing romantic American myths; Marlon Brando as the Wild One, James Dean rebelling without a cause, the slow hip drawl of the African-American blues man. None of these cultural texts accurately represented the complex reality of Cold War America, but to British teenagers with money to spend, it was a compelling myth.

The Mods belonged to this generation of British youth, but their identity was not American cultural hegemony. Britain had its own empire, and during the 1960s, many of the nation's Caribbean subjects had settled in London and other cities throughout the country.[9] Their impact, whether or not it was immediately felt or explored by all Britons, was influential on the early Mods. The basement night clubs and record shops, the restaurants and the dance halls, all gradually became part of the Mod lifestyle and identity. Mod youth culture perceived Caribbean London as a cultural break from old Britain; it was something new, something vibrant and something distinct.[10] The gradual growth of a conservative culture shock regarding the growing Caribbean population merely fed into the fascination the Mods had with London's burgeoning

6 Anne Campbell, Steven Munce, and John Galea, "American Gangs and British Subcultures - A Comparison," *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 26, no. 1 (1982): 77-78.
7 Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 150-151.
8 David Muggleton, "From Classlessness to Clubculture: A Genealogy of Post-war British Youth Cultural Analysis," *Young*, 13, no. 2 (2005): 206.
9 Ian R. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The Making of Multi-racial Britain*. (London: Routledge, 2002), 87-88
10 Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: Meaning of Style*, (Florence: Routledge, 1979), 52.

émigré culture. The new British identity being formed and fused within London's Caribbean enclaves was anything but white, middle class, and traditional.[11]

Mod subculture was a paradox of both subversive intent, and conformist participation. Mods looked smart; their appearance was stylish, considered, but not threatening, and they easily shifted from the nocturnal wasteland of all night carousing to the day to day grind of lower middle class respectability, and in the process they usually eclipsed their white collar superiors both visually and aesthetically.[12] The Mod subculture was predicated upon these types of conflicting binaries and extremes; impeccable appearance and nihilistic behaviour, public professionalism and private debauchery. During the day, a Mod was a paid drudge, performing his or her duties as a clerk or bank teller functionally, and acting according to the norms of British society. However, within the private sphere of night life, traversing from club to club, the Mod completely rejected British middle class codes of behaviour.[13] Amphetamines were *de rigeur* for an evening out, with the consumption of an occasional cocktail to soften the edgier moments. The party and the performance lasted all night. No matter what the work day demanded, the private world of speed and club hopping provided a stage where the young social actor could perform an identity that was independent of British middle class social norms and expectations.[14] The symbolic connection between drug fuelled Mod debauchery, and working class alcoholic dissipation is not misplaced. Many Mod youth were the generational products of

11 Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: Meaning of Style*, 54.
12 Stuart Hall, and Tony Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 75.
13 Stuart Hall, and Tony Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals,* 77.
14 Andy Bennett, "Subcultures or Neo-Tribes? Rethinking the Relationship between Youth, Style and Musical Taste," *Sociology*, 33, no. 3 (1999): 601-602.

post-war social mobility and despite their entry level positions within lower middle class professions, most Mods were not far removed from working class cultural behaviour patterns.[15]

Mod did not remain an obscure youth subculture for long. Its existence, segmented away within London's tight modernist jazz scene, and the hip underground clubs that dotted Carnaby Street, gradually began to surface within the mainstream consciousness following the events at the Clacton seaside resort in 1964.[16] The character and content of the movement also began to shift, as the Mod subculture became more accessible. The philosophy of existentialism faded away, and the modernist jazz from which the subculture had taken its name became non-existent. The sounds of American influenced rhythm and blues became the new musical substitute. Effeminate vanity had always been a part of Mod with the ideological impetus being framed around modernity, and remaining current and progressive, but the new vanity gradually became narcissism for narcissism's sake, and the market responded as high priced storefronts expanded up and down Carnaby Street looking to make a buck off of the new trend.[17]

One year after the brawls at Clacton, a new rock band debuted. The Who were rebellious art school boys, and they had the Mod look perfected right down to the Carnaby Street and Soho chic that was making a killing at British cash registers.[18] The music of The Who reflected the early nihilistic aesthetic philosophy of the Mod subculture. Declarations such as “hope I die before I get old”, and “why don't you all just fade away” resonated with British youth, and Who singles sold at a frenzied pace.[19] Complimenting the growing mainstream madness for all things Mod was *Ready Steady Go!,* a youth driven, rock and pop television program that became the

15 Anne Campbell, Steven Munce, and John Galea, "American Gangs and British Subcultures”, 79-80.
16 Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat*, 196.
17 Shawn Levy, *Ready Steady Go,* 108-109.
18 Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat*, 200.
19 Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat*, 200

epicenter for the new Mod lifestyle.[20] *Ready Steady Go!* had been on the air since 1963, but mainstream Mod culture put the show on the television map. Hosted by Cathy McGowan and Keith Fordyce, *Ready Steady Go!* played the bands that mattered, and presented the latest trends every British teenager needed to stay relevant.[21] The vast mainstream popularity of the Mod subculture that became represented in cultural phenomenon like The Who, *Ready Steady Go!*, and the mass production of Mod fashion hinted at a cynical rejection of traditional British middle class values, but the ferocity of that rejection was tempered by its inextricable position within the process of mass consumption.[22]

Mod subculture saturated mainstream consciousness, and then gradually faded from popularity around 1965.[23] One of the attractions of Mod was its ability to challenge British middle class norms and values without losing respectability. Mod offered the possibility of a re-imagined social landscape through all night amphetamine excess, and its immaculate but particular fashion that was slightly outside British norms of dressing also provided youthful participants a site of transformation, autonomy and belonging.[24] The existence of the Mod subculture presented British youth who participated with the possibility of an alternate lens from which the political and social structure of Britain could be examined outside of dominant mainstream narratives, but the easy transition of youth subcultures into the realm of mass consumption and the market often reveals a weakness inherent in their structure and their ability to alter the status quo.[25]

20 Shawn Levy, *Ready Steady Go,* 111-112.
21 Ibid.
22 Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils,* 160.
23 Shawn Levy, *Ready Steady Go,* 116.
24 Jeffrey Paris, and Michael Ault, "Subcultures and Political Resistance," *Peace Review*, 16, no. 4 (2004): 403.
25 Ibid.

Mod was also a fleeting escape, a temporary and imaginary subversion away from the norms and values dominant within British social structure. Mod's resistance was mostly predicated upon consumption. Participants became "Mod" through the purchase and consumption of consumer goods.[26] A subculture that is defined by its ability to participate within the capitalist social order ultimately eradicates the possibility of structural and political change as it is always at risk of being absorbed and de-politicized through the process of commodification.[27] The early development of the Mod youth subculture in Britain during the early 1960s existed due to the redistribution of capitalist wealth amongst the lower socio-economic classes. Without the democratization of British economic affluence, the ability for youth in Britain to perform cosmetically subversive identities defined by patterns of consumption would have been greatly reduced.

Mod was one of several youth subcultures that developed out of the rising affluence of post-war Britain, and was a reflection of a socially and economically changing landscape. As a youth movement, and a manifestation of the 1960s, Mod provided young people with a consumer driven identity that threatened conservative middle class social and political values, and the influence of the Mod movement upon British pop culture during the 1960s was distinct, and relatively progressive. Women played a significant role, and were active participants whose scripts extended beyond male window dressing. The inclusion of Caribbean emigre culture also bespoke of a British demographic identity in flux, but despite its cosmetic challenges to the status quo, the subculture's revolutionary character was muted. Mod's inextricable position within the process of mass consumption reduced its ability to effect change because to participate, individuals focused solely upon visual aesthetics and nihilistic behaviour as an entry

26 David Muggleton, "From Classlessness to Clubculture", 209.
27 Stuart Hall, and Tony Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals,* 77.

point. Activism, if it even existed, never extended beyond the consumer products Mods purchased, which resulted in the subculture itself becoming easily absorbed, commodified, and reproduced for the mass market. For the Mods, the revolution was cosmetic consumer identity, not political upheaval, which ultimately fated the subculture as a passing fad. Participants left the subculture and became Hippies or Soul Boys, or faded back into the British middle class social order, relegating Mod to the status of a historical footnote. The mass production and saturation of Mod into the mainstream may have doomed Mod as a movement, but it also preserved the subculture as distinct imagery from a mythic decade of change, conflict and consensus.

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Napoleon III: Democratic Despot

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The Reign of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte as Emperor of the French began with a coup d'état and the neutering of the democratic institutions of the Second French Republic. Over the span of nearly two decades, however, he would eventually come to ease the state's totalitarian grip, pursuing progressive changes aimed at improving the everyday lives and prosperity of his people, whilst simultaneously striving to enhance the power and status of his country abroad. Although contemporary detractors saw the apparent fickleness of Napoléon III's policies either as opportunistic scheming for personal aims, or as the fumbling of a vainglorious man without clarity of purpose, it is also possible that Napoléon's decision-making was guided by nobler aspirations. His policies were, it could be argued, the means by which a man of conscience aimed to circumvent the political barriers preventing him from doing what he believed was right for his people. A conservative or a liberal, whenever one or the other served his purposes; he made war and expanded France's imperial holdings abroad, while expanding workers' rights and women's education at home. He was a deeply flawed man with grandiose plans, a political gambler who allowed his personal problems to creep into his political life, even as he played with the delicate balance of power in Europe. In a world that is seldom black or white, Napoléon III was particularly grey, neither the hero he would have liked to be, nor the blundering, ignoble villain portrayed by his enemies.

It is not surprising that the future Napoléon III would be a man enamoured of power and imperial grandeur, owing to his upbringing in the shadow of the exploits of his uncle, Napoléon I. Long before he was able to test his belief in the power granted to him by his name, Louis-Napoléon was indoctrinated into the cult of Bonapartism as a child in exile, living with his mother in what has been described as a shrine to Napoléon I.[1] Set against the glorious backdrop

[1] James F. McMillan, *Napoleon III* (New York: Longman Inc., 1991), 8.

of membership in the Bonaparte dynasty, however, were rumours surrounding Louis-Napoléon's parentage. Louis-Napoléon's father was Louis Bonaparte, former King of Holland and brother to Napoléon I, but his parents' relationship was strained, and there were whispers that Louis-Napoléon was, in fact, the child of one of his mother's lovers and, therefore, without legitimate claim to his uncle's legacy.[2] That his parents were together at the time of his conception was not enough to completely silence the rumours, and for Louis-Napoléon this may have compounded his desire to become the very Bonaparte he and his supporters believed and desired him to be. As a young man, however, Louis-Napoléon was low on the list of potential Bonaparte pretenders, with a brother, uncles, and a father first in line for that honour. Therefore, Louis-Napoléon first placed his energies into Italian, rather than French politics, along with his older brother, Napoléon-Louis. The two became affiliated with the Carbonari, a revolutionary resistance movement struggling against Austrian power in Italy. Louis-Napoléon had his first experience of command in leading small groups of resistance fighters, although pressure from Austria soon became too much for the brothers, who were forced to flee Italy with their mother in the spring of 1831. Napoléon-Louis fell ill along the way, and died in Louis-Napoléon's arms.[3] These early days in the dangerous world of the revolutionary underground may very well have helped to stoke Louis-Napoléon's passion for "The [French] Revolution", the legacy of which, it was believed by Louis-Napoléon and his supporters, was his family's duty to guide and protect.[4] The covert nature of his time in the Carbonari also would have given Louis-Napoléon a taste for intrigue which would remain with him the rest of his life. With the death of his older brother on 11 March, 1831, the death of Napoléon II in July 1832, and the inability or reluctance of his other male relatives to take up the cause, Louis-Napoléon felt that it truly was left up to him to

[2] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 7. See also François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 416.
[3] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 9-10.
[4] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 13.

secure the re-emergence of the Empire.[5] He began writing feverishly, publishing pamphlets aimed at increasing his public image and espousing his political ideals. *Rêveries politiques* called for a republican-Bonapartist style regime based upon rule by the people as interpreted and guided by an Emperor. He also wrote on military matters, attempting to align his reputation with that of a young Napoléon I as a young man of innate military talent and wisdom.[6]

His youth had filled Louis-Napoléon's head with the desire and the drive to achieve great things, but ham-fisted attempts to seize power via coups in 1836 and 1840 ended first in exile, then in prison, and it was at this time that Louis-Napoléon learned to seek power through craft, rather than force of arms. He referred to his time in the Fortress of Ham in Picardy as the "University of Ham," for here Louis-Napoléon had time to read widely, to reflect on policy, to correspond with allies, and to formulate plans for his legitimate ascension to power in France. He was to reinvent his philosophy of statecraft, endeavouring to lead France into a new era, rather than simply reliving the old. He described his new outlook thusly:

> "March at the head of your century, and its ideas will follow and support you. March behind them, and they will drag you along March against them, and they will overthrow you."[7]

Louis-Napoléon would be the man to lead not only his country, but the very spirit of his age, into a glorious future. Or, at least, that is how he envisioned it looking out from his prison cell. From prison he also wrote *The Extinction of Poverty* in 1844. In it, Louis-Napoléon proposed a scheme to provide work and support for the economically disenfranchised by means that were both utopian in spirit and militaristic in structure. While not exactly bringing something completely new- or even all that realistic- to the conversation, Louis-Napoléon had, with the publication of

[5] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 10-11.
[6] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 11.
[7] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 15.

The Extinction of Poverty, made clear his intention to be the defender of the common worker.[8] When Louis-Napoléon escaped from Ham in 1846 by dressing up as one of the construction workers renovating the prison, he walked away secure in the knowledge that his time locked away had not been fruitless. The works he had published from behind the fortress walls had secured him greater public recognition and esteem than he had held prior to his confinement, and his political acumen and philosophy had been refined through study, honing the jagged edges of his personal cause into the sharp edge required for his next task – gaining the leadership of France.

In 1847, from exile in London following his escape, Louis-Napoléon wrote to a childhood friend explaining his determination to become the man at the helm of France:

> In all my adventures I have been guided by a single principle. I believe that, from time to time, providential men are born, in whose hands the destinies of a country are inevitably to be entrusted. I further believe that I am such a man. If I am wrong, I may die in a useless endeavour. But if I am right, Providence will see to it that I fulfill my mission.[9]

It was not only Louis-Napoléon who believed in the power and providence attached to his name, however, as the elections of 1848 made clear. Louis-Napoléon entered the running during the uncertainty which followed the fall of the July Monarchy, and surprised those who had judged him by previous failures to be a lost cause by winning a landslide victory to the office of President of the Second Republic. Louis-Napoléon came out on top with over five million votes, while his closest opponent won less than two million.[10] The workers in the cities and the he common folk in the countryside, raised on the tall-tales brought home by Napoléon I's veterans

[8] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 16-17.
[9] Charles Seignobos, "The Magic of a Name," in *Napoleon III: Buffoon, Modern Dictator, or Sphinx?*, ed. Samuel M. Osgood (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1965), 15.
[10] Seignobos, "The Magic of a Name," 16.

and praying for a leader sympathetic to their plight, placed their hopes for the future in a name they knew, rather than in the bourgeois elite in Paris.[11] The outcome had been made possible by the National Assembly, who had decided that the President would be elected to office by the people, and not by the Assembly itself. Their intention was to ensure an air of legitimacy to the office, but the result was to allow Louis-Napoléon to ride to power on a wave of public opinion.[12] The result of the Assembly's fateful decision had been foretold by one Jules Grévy, a moderate republican, who pointed back to the rise of Napoléon I:

> "Have you forgotten that it was the elections of year X which gave Bonaparte the power to raise the throne again and sit upon it?... Are you sure that there will never be some ambitious man who will be tempted to perpetuate his line on it? And if that ambitious man is one who has been able to make himself popular; if he is a victorious general surrounded with that prestige of military glory which the French can never resist; if he is the scion of one of those families who have ruled France, and if he has never expressly renounced what he calls his rights, will you reply that this ambitious man will not manage to overthrow the Republic?"[13]

Grévy's words were proven utterly prophetic by the results of the 1848 presidential election, and by all that would transpire afterwards, in all but one regard: Louis-Napoléon was by no means a successful general dripping with glory. He didn't need to be, his uncle had left a legacy of glory to spare.

Louis-Napoléon's presidency suffered initially from an apparent lack of clear direction. The President was uncomfortable whilst settling into his role, and attempted to play many roles simultaneously. He made others uncomfortable too, unable as they were to get a solid read on his intentions or abilities. Victor Hugo called referred to Louis-Napoléon's "all-purpose

[11] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 410.
[12] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 411.
[13] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 414.

personage."[14] But what opponents and critics saw either as duplicity and fraudulence of character, or perhaps dim-wittedness, may instead have been born of a genuine attempt on the part of Louis-Napoléon to feel around for the sort of leader people *needed* him to be, at least in his estimation. Charles de Rémusat wrote that Louis-Napoléon could "put something of himself into human matters."[15] Louis-Napoléon's ability to identify with divergent points of view did not preclude him from dabbling in realpolitik, however, should the need arise, and his policies were at times liable to flip-flop in the face of changing circumstances. In 1850, a French force was sent to Italy with for the purpose of shoring up Italian republicanism against Austrian dominance and expansion in the region. However, due to growing Catholic influence in the French political scene, the troops were diverted from their initial mission and sent to Rome to re-establish the Pope. Louis-Napoléon secured Catholic support at home, at the cost of turning his back on the cause of his youth.[16] Louis-Napoléon had more at stake than the sentiments of republicans at home or abroad, however, and if his intention was to secure a position from which he could more directly influence France for the better, then his courting of the powerful Catholic vote can be understood less as a betrayal of one group, as a hopeful attempt at reconciliation with another. Louis-Napoléon was courting public opinion, wherever the strongest force of that opinion was centred, hoping to be the man for the whole of the French people, but able to settle temporarily for being the man for that portion of the people which could best throw its weight around. His support for the Pope, and for the reestablishment of the Church in the education system in France, stimulated Catholic support, whilst his simultaneous opposition to conservative republicans' intentions to limit the voting rights of the working class garnered him support from elements on the left as well. The peasants in the country still adored him for his name. He could

[14] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 416.
[15] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 418.
[16] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 428.

push forward into the next phase of his acquisition of power confident in his popular support, having ingratiated himself to nearly all sectors of the voting public.[17]

From the summer of 1850 on, Louis-Napoléon made clear his intention to win another term as President, despite the constitutional provision prohibiting him from being elected to a second term. With his presidency due to end in May of 1852, and hopes of a constitutional amendment dashed by a vote in the Assembly on 19 July, 1851, Louis-Napoléon set upon a plan of action long foreseen by all those paying attention. During the night of 1 December, 1851 and into the following day, chosen as it was the anniversary of the Battle of Austerlitz and the coronation of Napoléon I, Paris was occupied by the army. Hundreds of Assembly members and other known opponents of Louis-Napoléon were arrested, and proclamations were posted explaining that the Assembly was to be replaced by universal suffrage.[18] Even now, as troops loyal to him dismantled the democratically elected National Assembly, Louis-Napoléon's propaganda was busy draping the action as an exercise in *restoring* democracy and protecting the rights of the people from a corrupt regime, which, in his own way, the Emperor-to-be likely believed. Obsessed as he was with reliving the noble deeds of his illustrious uncle, the coup of 1851 must have seemed like the glorious repetition of a certain *other* coup which had also been claimed for the same purposes. Just as all seemed to be going smoothly, however, public tension in the streets was met with over-anxious soldiers, and, over the next two days, there was a level of bloodshed well beyond that which Louis-Napoléon had foreseen. It would stain the birth of Louis-Napoléon's reign, even in the very moment of his triumph.[19] Still, Louis-Napoléon was not one to allow a misstep to cause a missed opportunity, and as violent opposition in response to

[17] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 431-32.
[18] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 434-35.
[19] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 435.

his coup erupted in the towns and villages across France, he was able to flip the perception of his actions around: The coup had been *necessary* to defend France from this social chaos, regardless, it would seem, of accurate chronology. The people appear to have largely believed this version of events, and in December the French public voted to confirm Louis-Napoléon's new authority as Prince-President by ninety-two percent of the votes cast.[20] The authority given to Louis-Napoléon by the people was, in his estimation no less than to be the sole living embodiment of the national will, empowered to carry out the people's wishes *for* them. Officials serving under him, even those elected to office, were not vested with this same sacred authority.[21] This type of belief could only have lead Louis-Napoléon in one possible direction, and on 15 October, 1852, he made public his case for assuming his long-awaited position: He would bring about the reconciliation of a divided nation, bringing all together in a common purpose; he would oversee a return to religion and morality; he would make it possible for all the people to share in the bounty of France, through expansion of agriculture and the economy; he would industrialize the nation via the building and expansion of roads, railways, canals and ports; in short, he would conquer all of the domestic ills facing the French people, just as his uncle had once conquered France's European neighbours. His proclamation that "The Empire is Peace" was just what the people wanted, and perhaps needed, to hear. On 21 November, by a margin even greater than that of the previous year's plebiscite, Louis-Napoléon was confirmed as Emperor of the French, and at last took up the mantle of his uncle as Napoléon III.[22] With the overwhelming support of the common folk behind him, Louis-Napoléon's belief in Providence must here have been wholly vindicated in his eyes.

[20] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 437-41.
[21] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 442.
[22] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 448-49.

If Louis-Napoléon was to make good on the promises to the people, he would first need to secure a loyal government body that could work under him to achieve his aims. If the people had whole-heartedly endorsed Louis-Napoléon the man in the November plebiscite, they were less enthusiastic in support of other elected officials. In the parliamentary elections of 1852, only fifty-three percent of eligible voters cast a ballot. Louis-Napoléon's supporters won eighty-three percent of these votes, but it was hardly an overwhelming show of support for the new government.[23] Among the ranks of those elected were forces which would come to pressure Louis-Napoléon later on.[24] Another election in 1857 had results nearly identical to that of 1852, except that in place of a fragmented opposition, nearly all seats not supporting Louis-Napoléon were now held by republicans whose strongholds were in the large cities such as Paris, leading supporters of the regime to worry. Louis-Napoléon was less alarmed, comfortable in the fact that at least now the opposition to his cause could be more precisely defined and either rooted out or remedied.[25] This change in the makeup of the opposition can be understood as a reaction to the authoritarian measures undertaken by the regime in the wake of 1852.

Drawing upon legislation which had already been placed on the books by previous regimes since the First Empire, Louis-Napoléon decided to stifle opposition in order to clear a path for the smooth implementation of his pet public projects. Political newspapers were banned in February 1852, unless under government auspices. Journalists were told to keep their nose out of government business.[26] The Emperor had total personal control over all naval and military decisions, the ability to make war or peace, decide on matters of trade, taxation and commerce,

[23] Theodore Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III* (New York: The Norton Library, 1958), 40-41.
[24] Theodore Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III,* 45.
[25] Theodore Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III,* 74-77.
[26] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1979), 15.

the implementation of new laws, and control of the Government's purse-strings.[27] The Constitution also ensured the Emperor the right to consult the people, via plebiscite, for approval of major decisions.[28] He was to use this in accordance with his principle of popular sovereignty, personified in himself, which he had laid out in his earliest political writings.

To his credit, Louis-Napoléon proved to have been utterly genuine when he promised the people a policy of economic expansion and prosperity. The strength of the government provided confidence in the marketplace, and the financial backing of industry allowed it to flourish with public work projects such as massive railway expansion.[29] Between 1851 and 1869, the railway network in France had expanded by some 13,217 kilometres.[30] Both new financial institutions as well as old ones also grew tremendously in this period by servicing the growing industry.[31] The improvement of infrastructure enabled a further boom in large-scale industry, leading to increased production and decreased cost of all manner of goods.[32] The change was not wholesale, and many areas of France, including the capital, were still dependant on small-scale production and cottage industry, but Louis-Napoléon's policies had greatly helped the nation to play catch-up to its neighbours.[33] Economic modernization went hand-in-hand with advances in education. Schools were built and teachers were given modest raises in pay, and girl's education in particular was greatly enhanced. The literacy rate of both sexes increased greatly throughout the reign of Louis-Napoléon, in accordance with his belief that the people should be raised up by their benefactor. Just as the industrial boom had not permeated all facets of society, however, so too did increased literacy and access to education fail to end poverty, as had been Louis-

[27] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 16-17.
[28] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 21.
[29] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 65.
[30] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 85.
[31] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 75.
[32] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 88.
[33] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 97.

Napoléon's stated goal. But his push for education for the common folk put Louis-Napoléon ahead of many of his contemporaries.[34]

The Emperor's foreign policy, on the other hand, lacked the conspicuous single-mindedness of purpose which characterized his socio-economic policies. Perhaps this was owing to the fact that he had, from the earliest days of his foray into politics, been enamoured of liberal and republican sentiments on a personal level, which came into conflict with the essential authoritarianism of his chosen mode of government. The revolutionary Italian partisan of his youth did not sit comfortably beside the iron-fisted Emperor in middle age. Involvement in the Crimean war of 1854-56 purchased Louis-Napoléon a measure of the military credibility he had sought in the footsteps of his great uncle. It had also strengthened Catholic sentiment, adding to his political gains from his presidential support for the Papacy.[35] But the old partisan reared his head once again after an assassination attempt in 1858 by an Italian radical served to remind Louis-Napoléon of the forgotten cause of his youth. He decided that France would intervene in the cause of Italian unification, in opposition to Austria and, in a fateful reversal of previous policy, the Papal States.[36] After securing so much imperial glory and good Catholic sentiment, Louis-Napoléon would now risk it all in a sentimental pursuit of his personal passions. This was perhaps a central theme of Louis-Napoléon's rule and personality as a whole: in the face of success and from positions of power, the nephew of Napoléon I would risk all to pursue glory with an adventurism and cavalier attitude ill-suited to the gravity of his position and against the previous trends of his rule. Intervention in Italy in 1859 allowed Louis-Napoléon to fulfil a measure of the goals of his younger days, whilst simultaneously adding territory to the Empire in

[34] Alain Plessis, *The Rise and Fall of the Second Empire,* 98-101.
[35] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880,* 459.
[36] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880,* 461.

the form of Nice and Savoy, along with the enthusiastic support of their citizens. But these gains were offset by France's early withdrawal from the conflict, spurred by a sudden lack of nerve on the part of Louis-Napoléon following particularly bloody battles, which alienated the Italians to whom he had just offered his support, all amidst continued erosion of the Catholic support which had been so carefully nurtured by previous policy. His flip-flopping cost him a great deal of his hard-won credibility.[37]

One factor which must also be considered in the decision-making processes of Louis-Napoléon was his health. Weight gain, bouts of gout, undiagnosed leg pain, all served to weaken and him and affect his ability to focus on matters of state from 1860 on. In 1865 he was diagnosed with a bladder stone, the pain of which would intensify over the coming years and eventually be a factor in his death.[38]

In the wake of a renewed Catholic element to domestic opposition, the shifts in domestic policy within France which characterized the Empire from 1860 onward and have come to be referred to as the "Liberal Empire" have often been seen as concessions made in the face of political weakness at home. But, although concessions may have been made earlier than Louis-Napoléon would otherwise have intended, they were well in line with the idealism which had informed his earlier political manifestos and, therefore, cannot be written off as merely caving in to pressure. In November of 1860, the legislature was given the right to publicise debates and propose amendments to bills, including the right to discuss the budget piecemeal, rather than as a whole.[39] Workers were given the right to strike in 1864.[40] The result of the liberalization of the

[37] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 462-63.
[38] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 69.
[39] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 65.
[40] McMillan, *Napoleon III*, 68.

regime, when matched by its foreign policy problems, such as the disastrous intervention in Mexico in 1861, would come to undermine the authority with which Louis-Napoléon had held power in the early days of the Empire.[41] Louis-Napoléon would continue to limp along, attempting to patch relations with this segment of public opinion or that, but never again quite reaching the power and authority which had characterized the birth of his reign.[42]

The disastrous war with Prussia which eventually brought the Emperor and his Empire to ruin was brought about, at least from the French side, in equal parts by Louis-Napoléon's desire to win back power through glory, as well as more tangible economic concerns. In the first instance, a swell of public opinion in the face of Prussian antagonism forced the Emperor's hand, beholden as he had always been will of the people. In this case that will was personified in Louis-Napoléon's wife, Eugénie, and the right-wing supporters of Bonapartism which she represented.[43] The other half of Louis-Napoléon's decision to enter into the conflict was likely the result of less idealistic and more pragmatic concerns. The industrialization of the nation, which was so very important to the Emperor, was reliant on fuel and raw materials, the lack of which constituted a "bottleneck" through which French industrial expansion could not pass.[44] A great deal of the coal and other materials required could be found in abundance along the banks of the Rhine, and offered a target perhaps too tempting for Louis-Napoléon to resist. He had played for expansion eastward when Prussia had been involved in a conflict with Austria, but had misplayed his hand and been rebuffed in his attempts for territorial gain through diplomacy.

[41] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 481-84.
[42] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 485.
[43] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 491.
[44] Paul Bernstein, "The Economic Aspect of Napoleon III's Rhine Policy," *French Historical Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 3 (Spring, 1960), 336-37.

Bismarck's outmanoeuvring had infuriated and embarrassed Louis-Napoléon.[45] Now he would attempt to secure the region through force, hoping to wrest both personal prestige and economic boons in one endeavour. The War with Prussia in 1870 would be short, and in its aftermath the hopes of the Emperor utterly dashed. Whereas his opponent in Bismarck was studious in preparation for the upcoming conflict, Louis-Napoléon again returned to the adventurism of his youth, and the French forces were soundly beaten. When Louis-Napoléon was captured at the Battle of Sedan on 1 September, he had, via a relapse to the cavalier attitude which had always simmered within him, thrown all that he had worked for, all that he had accomplished in his life's great quest, into the gutter. A new Republic was proclaimed on 4 September in Paris.[46] The Second French Empire, like the first, had been built upon the personality of a single man, and, in spite of sincere attempts to enshrine its ideals into a lasting framework, it could not survive the Emperor's downfall.

The reign of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, Third Emperor of the French, was characterized by excesses. From authoritarianism to liberalism, from military majesty and economic expansion to timid, inconsistent diplomacy, the extremes of the Empire's character mirrored those of the Emperor himself. The contradictions of his personality seem to ooze from every page written about the man, both by his contemporaries and modern historians alike. He was a genuine lover of his people, who nonetheless put *himself* first on many occasions. He desired to for the state to function as an extension of his will, even as he allowed himself to be distracted by love affairs and other personal caprices. Louis-Napoléon was at once contemptibly vain and endearingly sincere, forever drawn between personal ambition and a yearning to lead his people to lasting glory, and as a result he was ultimately unable to fully achieve either end. In the moral back and

[45] Paul Bernstein, "The Economic Aspect of Napoleon III's Rhine Policy," 343-44.
[46] François Furet, *Revolutionary France: 1770-1880*, 491.

forth of Louis-Napoléon's life and deeds, it is easy to appreciate why, to this day, there seems to be no definitive, final word on the man's true character or place in history.

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“WATER, WATER EVERY WHERE”:

THE IMPACT OF THE SEVERE WINTER WEATHER OF 1861-62

ON THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

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History 3345: History of the American West
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In the winter of 1861-62, severe rains and snow inundated California, wreaking havoc on cities, settlements, farms, and mining camps with equal ferocity. Although southern California and the entire West faced the same intense weather, northern and central California encountered devastation at every turn. Buildings and settlements near overflowing rivers washed away. The vast Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys flooded as levees failed and rivers overran their banks, leaving towns, fields, pastures, and livestock vulnerable to quickly rising water. So much water rushed into the two valleys that a huge inland lake formed, "250 to 300 miles long and 20 to 60 miles wide, the water ice cold and muddy."[1] Journalist Albert Evans anticipated "dark days for the dwellers in the valley of the Sacramento, and it seemed for a time that the whole country must be abandoned forever by man."[2] Settlers endured great personal losses, homelessness, and hardship as transportation routes and communications crumbled around them. The state government, concerned with its own needs, publicly ignored the disaster and subsequent relief and rebuilding efforts. The heavy storms undermined California's agricultural, milling, and mining industries, which succumbed to damage and destruction. Though the severe winter weather of 1861-62 affected both settlers and state infrastructure, California's economy felt a greater impact, weakening substantially as industrial and agricultural production came to a virtual standstill.

Regular floods occurred in California in the winter, as snow fell on the mountains and rain dropped on the valleys; warming temperatures quickly melted the snow and excess water cascaded down the mountain slopes. Historically, the earlier nineteenth century saw several

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[1]. Francis P. Farquhar, ed., *Up and down California in 1860-1864; the journal of William H. Brewer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 244, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.142 (accessed October 19, 2013).

[2]. Albert S. Evans, *'A la California. Sketch of life in the Golden state* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & co., 1873), 184, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.027 (accessed October 19, 2013).

large floods, but none as severe as that of the winter 1861-62. Spanish missionaries recorded significant floods in the Sacramento Valley in 1805 and the winter of 1825-26.[3] Two large floods hit Sacramento in the winters of 1849-50 and 1852-53, both times subjecting the city to months of flooded streets.[4] During the same period, Marysville, 42 miles north of Sacramento, also flooded when the Yuba and Feather Rivers overflowed.[5] With a rapidly increasing population in California, from 92,597 in 1850 to 379,000 in 1860,[6] the chances of personal and property damage grew considerably larger.

Unprecedented flooding arrived in the winter of 1861-62. Between December 9, 1861 and January 10, 1862, three intense storms occurred, "extending from the Canadian to the Mexican borders, each preceded by heavy snowstorms, which reached to the floor of the valleys and each followed by very heavy rainfalls, which brought down the snows before they had packed."[7] The snow pack on the mountains was enormous. Over fifty feet of snow fell in one area of the Sierra Nevada between November 1861 and March 1862.[8] Six feet of snow fell from November 11, 1861 to mid-January 1862 in Sonora, a mining town Tuolumne County;[9] by the

[3]. W.T. Ellis, *Memories; my seventy-two years in the romantic county of Yuba, California* (Eugene, OR: J.H. Nash, 1939) 139-140, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.136 (accessed October 19, 2013)

[4]. Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer* (New York: Appleton & co., 1880), 392, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.055 (accessed October 19, 2013).

[5]. Ellis, 140.

[6]. California Department of Finance, *Historical Census Populations of Counties and Incorporated Cities in California, 1850–2010*, March 2013, http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/state_census_data_center/historical_census_1850-2010/view.php (accessed November 22, 2013).

[7]. Ellis, 140-141.

[8]. Ellis, 141.

[9]. Farquhar, 241.

end of January, eight and a half feet lay on the ground.[10] Rainfall showed similarly high volumes. In San Francisco, one observer noted that 38 inches fell up to February 1, 1862, nearly six times more than in 1863.[11] With the unusually large amount of snow and rain, and warm southern winds battling for control, flooding seemed an inevitable reality in northern and central California.

Torrential rivers breaching banks and levees caused the huge overflow into the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys. The Sacramento, American, and Feather Rivers run through the Sacramento Valley into the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, while the San Joaquin, Kern, Stanislaus, Mokelumne, and Merced Rivers flow into San Francisco Bay (see Appendix A). Newspapers reported the submerged land at an average width of twenty miles, extending eighty miles north of Marysville to Tehama, and at least fifty miles south of Stockton.[12] The area comprised five or six thousand square miles or approximately three million acres under recent agricultural development; citizens already valued this area as "the garden of the state."[13] Steamboat passengers traveling from Marysville to Sacramento in January 1862 observed sixty-five miles of extreme devastation.[14] At one point, the southward-flowing current of the Sacramento River from Tehama to Red Bluff ran at seventeen miles per hour, over twice the normal speed, and continued downstream 275 miles towards Sacramento.[15] The turbulent,

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[10]. Farquhar, 243.

[11]. Farquhar, 368.

[12]. "General Remarks on the Flood," *Daily Alta California,* January 14, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[13]. Farquhar, 242.

[14]. "General Remarks on the Flood," *Daily Alta*, Jan 14, 1862.

[15]. "Tehama," *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

lengthy Trinity River in northwest California destroyed "everything of value … on its banks – towns, farms, bridges, flumes, dams and ditches."[16] Many considered the devastation the worst in the entire state. Small mining towns near rivers felt the destruction across northern and central California. In Stanislaus County, nearly every house in Bostwick's Bar was swept away, as was the "thriving little settlement" of Pine Log Crossing.[17] In the latter, the rushing current obliterated eight to ten residences, along with a saloon, store, blacksmith shop, and mining equipment. Newspapers reported the destruction of many more communities, such as Abbey's Ferry, where "not a vestige of house or tenement has been left."[18] Visalia, a large town in Tulare County, lost twenty-two homes, while the surrounding rural county sustained even more damage.[19] In Sacramento County, reports indicated that one of every eight houses on the plains faced destruction, while the other seven incurred damage.[20] The city of Stockton found itself flooded, with nearly twenty inches of water inside the Well's Fargo Express office; businessmen along El Dorado Street waded through one foot of water.[21]

The city of Sacramento met with two floods that winter. On December 9, 1861, the levee at R Street on the American River broke apart as the river rose, sending water into the streets and flooding businesses. On January 10, 1862, the Sacramento River rose nine feet in 24 hours,

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16. "Tehama," *Daily Alta*, January 14, 1862.

17. "The Tuolumne," *Daily Alta California*, January 30, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

18. "Southern Calaveras," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

19. "Tulare," *Daily Alta California,* February 10, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

20. "Damage in the Country About Sacramento," *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

21. Ellis, 144.

twenty inches above the December high water mark, to a height of twenty-four feet.[22] The repaired R Street levee weakened over a few days, and the deluge burst into the city. Buildings and walls collapsed, basements flooded, and furniture floated in yards while residents used boats to travel around the deeply flooded streets.[23] Floodwaters lingered in the city three months later.

The devastation caused by the severe weather also affected coastal areas. Far north, in Crescent City, driftwood, as well as logs measuring 150 feet and four feet in diameter, littered the coast in massive piles after rivers dumped them "in quantities that stagger[ed] belief."[24] Timber and driftwood also covered Monterey Bay and Santa Cruz beaches.[25] A deluge of river and rainwater flowed into the San Francisco Bay, pushing 18 to 24 inches of freshwater over the tidal saltwater. Rushing water countered the bay's tides, submerging wharves; ships remained docked or unable to enter San Francisco Bay for three days.[26]

The rainstorms and floods affected the majority of settlers in the northern and central California. Though exact mortality numbers cannot be established, multiple newspaper reports suggest that hundreds of people died. Madison Welty, and countless others, drowned "trying to save some cattle."[27] Some drowned in boating accidents or fording rivers, while others died of hypothermia, or in landslides and avalanches. Those who refused to leave their homes or were

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[22]. "Sacramento," January 15, 1862 *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[23]. Farquhar, 249.

[24]. Farquhar, 495.

[25]. "Santa Cruz County," *Daily Alta California,* February 10, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[26]. J.G. Player-Frowd, *Six months in California* (London: Longmans Green, 1872), 12-13, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.098 (accessed November 22, 2013).

[27]. "Lives Lost," *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

oblivious to the dangers of rapidly flowing rivers drowned alongside their belongings. Statistics showed that by January 23, 1862, seventy settlers had lost their lives, but reporters contested this highly incomplete data.[28] In Marysville, sixty-two people died in weather related incidents.[29] Survivors climbed trees and held on, or made it to Indian mounds or higher ground and waited for rescue. Flooding mostly affected the poor who inhabited single story homes in low-lying areas in the valleys.[30] Those who settled further from rivers often did not own small boats; consequently, they had no means of escape, while those living along its banks could always hail steamboats to assist in their rescue.[31]

As bad as the situation was for Anglo-American settlers, the Chinese felt the effects tenfold. The seventy previously mentioned deaths ignored ethnic minorities. The *Daily Alta* disputed:

> This record must embrace white men alone, for Chinese have been lost by the hundreds. On the Yuba alone, there were fifty; in Placer County, one hundred and fifty; according to the *Courier*, intelligent Chinamen say the number of their countrymen destroyed in the State by the December floods alone was about 500.[32]

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[28]. "Lives Lost By the Flood," *Daily Alta California*, January 23, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 22, 2013).

[29]. "State Summary," *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, January 24,1862, Morning edition, 125, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 23, 2013).

[30]. Farquhar, 249.

[31]. "Help for the Country," *Daily Alta California*, January 14,1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[32]. "Lives Lost By the Flood," *Daily Alta*, January 23, 1862.

Chinese communities settled near rivers, isolated from the Anglo-American settlements. News from Alamo reported, "Our Chinaman…took to the garret, where, by holding down his little house, he rode it out till the ebb of the water, when a Mexican came with a riata and hauled him out, and now he sits camped on the hill side above his house under a stretched blanket."[33] The reporter's attempt to amuse his readers shows that the Chinese received little assistance from the Anglo-American community.

Well-organized assistance, however, was offered to Anglo-American settlers in need, but through private organizations. The Howard Benevolent Society responded quickly, procuring and sending boats to rescue "sufferers," and housing and feeding them in the Agricultural Society Pavilion at Sixth and M streets in Sacramento. Steamers, working with charities, rescued flood victims. Albert Evans recalled:

> In the winter of 1861-62, steamers went twenty miles inland from the banks of the Sacramento, and from tree-tops, hay-stacks, and the roofs of houses and barns, or fixed rafts constructed of house and fence materials, rescued hundreds of families who otherwise must have perished in the raging floods.[34]

The Society offered sufferers free boat passage to and from the flooded area and ran provisions up to those determined to stay. Many, however, chose to leave. Rio Vista, near the mouth of the Sacramento River, raised its distress flag to attract passing rescue steamers; virtually the entire town of 500 was evacuated.[35] By January 18, 1862, boats had rescued 1,800 people.[36]

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[33]. "Loss of Property," *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1862.

[34]. Evans, 184.

[35]. "Incidents of the Flood," *Daily Alta California*, January 14,1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

Residents of Sacramento, San Francisco, and surrounding areas donated food, money, clothing, and other necessities to the Howard Benevolent Society. By January 19th, the Society cared for and fed over 1,500 sufferers around various locations in Sacramento, with city residents using their houses and offices as places of refuge.[37] Other cities also offered aid. Public halls in San Francisco housed displaced valley settlers alongside locals, whose homes flooded in the city's low-lying areas.[38] San Francisco became so crowded with strangers that wooden sidewalks became difficult to maneuver.[39] After the Feather River overflowed its banks, Marysville citizens helped their less fortunate neighbours.[40] The state government failed to acknowledge the devastation in the local newspapers during the time and did not discuss any plans to assist flood victims in the legislative assembly minutes in the months after the disaster. The federal government, undoubtedly preoccupied with the Civil War, offered no response to California's flooding in local newspapers either. Private citizens and charitable groups appeared to be the only ones organizing rescue and providing housing, financial aid, and food to those in devastated areas.

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[36]. "Condition of Sacramento," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[37]. "Condition …," *Daily Alta*, January 19, 1862.

[38]. Anna Lee Marston, ed., *Records of a California family; journals and letters of Lewis C. Gunn and Elizabeth Le Breton Gunn* (San Diego: 1929), 260, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.020 (accessed November 23, 2013).

[39]. "San Francisco News," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 20, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 23, 2013).

[40]. "Yuba," *Daily Alta California*, January 14,1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

Survivors and citizens in some areas found food in short supply. Food prices had increased since the start of the Civil War, but the floods pushed prices even higher.[41] As the flood level rose in Sacramento, flour increased to $10 a barrel. Thereafter, the price climbed a dollar a day, peaking at $16, and dropping again as shipments from Oregon arrived and floodwaters subsided.[42] Around northern California, prices increased as food became scarce. In Shasta County, papers noted, "all staple goods and provisions have materially risen in price."[43] At Angel's Creek in the southern Calaveras, flour skyrocketed to $20 per barrel and potatoes rose to eight cents a pound; coffee and sugar ran out in Copperopolis. Vallecito, without beef for a week, arranged a fifty-head cattle drive, but thirty of the animals were lost in the flooded plains.[44] Even the Chinese in Mokulemne County suffered as the rice supply gave out.[45]

The higher cost and scarcity of provisions resulted directly from a weakened state infrastructure. Across northern California, excess precipitation and floodwaters damaged levees and roads, wiped out bridges, and interrupted communication. Sand, silt, timber, debris, and water erosion made roads impassable. Twenty miles of the Pacheco Pass toll road in the San Joaquin Valley required extensive repair at $1,800.[46] A fifty-four mile track between Alviso on San Francisco Bay and San Juan Bautista became problematic for horse and wagon teams. Poor road conditions forced the rescue of four six-horse teams stuck on the road from Hollister:

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[41]. Marston, 260.

[42]. Ellis, 32-33.

[43]. "Shasta County," *Daily Alta*, January 30, 1862.

[44]. "Scarcity of Provisions," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[45]. "Poverty Bar and Lancha Plana," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[46]. Farquhar, 209.

> They hired Abner Moore, who had four yoke of oxen, and he managed to pull them out of the mire. The condition of the rain-soaked ground was best evidenced by the fact that in pulling those teams that mired down, the wheels actually failed to turn and left small gulleys in the road which were filled with water for the remainder of the winter.[47]

Northern and central routes were no better. Roads around Oroville were impassable, and the California Stage Company stopped running to all areas except Marysville. In the mountains of El Dorado County, treacherous gullies and deep mud created challenging conditions that could only be navigated on foot or with packhorses until the roads could be fixed.[48]

Roads could not be traversed, partly because fast-flowing rivers demolished many bridge crossings. The heavy December 1861 storm washed away most of the bridges in Shasta County; hence, subsequent damage was minimal.[49] Turbulent currents destroyed all but one Southern Calaveras County bridge between Mokelumne Hill and Angel's Creek, thirty miles to the south.[50] Athearn's suspension bridge, 315 feet long, with a main span of 140 feet, was completed in 1860 and valued at $8,000.[51] However, the bridge, "one of the finest specimens of

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[47]. Isaac Mylar, *Early Days at the Mission San Juan Bautista: A narrative of incidents connected with the days when California was young*, comp. James G. Piratsky (Watsonville: Evening Pajaronian, 1929), 140.

[48]. "Roads in El Dorado County," *Daily Alta California*, January 30, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[49]. "Shasta County," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[50]. "Southern Calaveras" *Daily Alta*, January 19, 1862.

[51]. "The Great Flood of 1862," *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, January 31, 1862, 130, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 22, 2013).

workmanship …in the State,"[52] broke away from its foundation, lodging nearly a mile below its original location.[53] In Santa Cruz County, all bridges leading into Santa Cruz were destroyed; "drifts of floodwood"[54] carried away the bridge at Aptos Creek. Reports indicated numerous damaged and washed out bridges throughout the state, from the mountains to the valleys, as a consequence of the rapid, voluminous water that humbled everything in its path.

Communication infrastructure also faced problems and delays. Sporadic telegraph service remained a problem as poles toppled or became submerged. January storms resulted in spotty telegraph service in San Francisco; underwater poles may have disrupted service.[55] Other poles dislodged as drifting houses and debris crashed into them. After the January 10th flood, Sacramento had no telegraph for several weeks.[56] Heavy rainstorms continued in the mountains into the spring of 1862, and San Francisco lost telegraph services for nearly two weeks.[57] Regular mail service had also been disturbed. As mail carriers negotiated alternate routes, Overland Mail faced lengthy delays; letters and papers also appear to have been lost or damaged during the severe weather. Some considered the lack of delivery a "total failure,"[58] as there was no other plan to get the mail to its destination. By the end of January 1862, the highly

[52]. "Athearn's Bridge," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 12, 1860, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 23, 2013).

[53]. "From the Mokelumne," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[54]. "Santa Cruz County," *Daily Alta*, February 10, 1862.

[55]. Farquhar, 244.

[56]. "The Continued Flood of 1862," *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, January 24, 1862, p. 125, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 22, 2013).

[57]. Farquhar, 250.

[58]. Farquhar, 243.

impassable snow on the mountain ranges on the eastern slopes, and the snow, rain, and landslides on the western side ensured a month long delay in the delivery of mail from Missouri.[59]

Political infrastructure, disrupted by the weather, could not operate effectively either. The California legislature reported that mail service to three quarters of the state could only be achieved by "expressmen who walk and carry the mail on their back,"[60] which made it impossible for politicians to communicate with their constituents. During the January flooding, state government officials, headed by the newly appointed Governor, Leland Stanford, showed no public concern for the disaster, except to abandon Sacramento for the comfort of San Francisco for the remainder of the session, taking furnishings and equipment with them.[61] Construction on the new capitol building in Sacramento began in 1860; however, the floods destroyed construction materials and delayed work.[62] On March 9, 1962, William Brewer reported, "The new Capitol is far out in the water --the Governor's house stands as in a lake …"[63] The decision to temporarily move government offices added costs and distracted government officials from the disaster at hand.

Although settlers faced the hardship of rebuilding their lives in a state where the infrastructure had failed, the economy faced the greatest effects of the disastrous winter of 1861-

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[59]. "The Overland Mail," *Daily Alta California*, January 27, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[60]. "Seasons and Sessions," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 21, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 23, 2013).

[61]. Ellis, 144.

[62]. California State Capitol Museum, "Construction: From Concept to Reality," http://capitolmuseum.ca.gov/virtualtour.aspx?Content1=1482&content2=1474&content3=350 (accessed November 23, 2013).

[63]. Farquhar, 249.

62 with the devastation of agriculture, milling, and mining industries. With agricultural land underwater, farmers could not seed their fields before March or April, and only after the water subsided and repairs had been made.[64] Some crop fields could not be salvaged, where streams altered course or heavy layers of sand covered the topsoil and made the land "unfit for any purpose."[65] Barns that stored thousands of sacks of grain and hundreds of tons of hay yielded to the water's touch, damaging the equipment, feed, and grain inside. Hundreds of miles of fencing disappeared from ranches in the valleys, creating chaos for farmers' fields and livestock pens.

The inclement weather decimated livestock populations, particularly cattle herds, in all grazing regions of northern California. Cattle faced frigid temperatures, incessant rain, and flooded pastures. Many froze to death, drowned, or died of starvation. Hogs, horses, goats, and sheep met with similar fates. Thousands of dead animals littered the landscape. Estimates suggested that one-quarter of Sacramento Valley livestock drowned.[66] Cattle numbered around 100,000 in Merced and Cosumnes Counties; reports expected only ten percent to survive the winter.[67] Near Stockton, one rancher lost livestock valued at $4,500, while others found cattle

> confined in compact groups upon small islands which here and there at distant intervals of space show themselves a few inches above the broad waters. They

[64]. "Later Intelligence," *Daily Alta California*, January 15, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[65]. "Watsonville," *Daily Alta California,* February 10, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[66]. "Solano," *Daily Alta California*, January 14,1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[67]. "What the Press Say," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

> could not be corralled or fed, or decently looked after, and in consequence are now in a starving condition. Thousand upon thousand must necessarily perish within a very few days, unless the waters speedily subside and uncover the inundated pastures.[68]

Newspapers reported cattle deaths in every region: 3,000 lost in Mokelumne County at one ranch, 340 of 400 dead at another ranch in Yolo, and 500 head lost at obliterated Lovings Bridge in Mariposa County. Three ranchers in Tehama County lost over 6,000 cattle that winter.[69] Observers noted hundreds of dead and dying livestock, mired in mud, all over San Joaquin Valley, from Visalia to Hornitos.[70] Cattle owners tried to recoup what they could from their losses, hiring men to salvage the hides.[71] The Steamer, *Victor*, brought over 25,000 hides, most from drowned cattle, from Tehama County to San Francisco.[72]

Significant loss to California's economy also occurred as sawmills and other businesses beside riverbanks faced destruction. W.T. Ellis describes one dire situation:

> Mr. Thomas, who with his brother lost two saw mills, in the foothills above Visalia, stated that the water in many of the ravines rose to a perpendicular height of seventy feet, and that hundreds of immense pines, being uprooted, were all

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[68]. "A Severe Gale," *Daily Alta California*, January 19, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed October 20, 2013).

[69]. "City Intelligence," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 18, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 23, 2013).

[70]. *Mariposa Gazette*, February 4, 1862, 2, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 23, 2013).

[71]. Frank A. Leach, *Recollections of a newspaperman; a record of life and events in California* (San Francisco, S. Levinson, 1917), 8, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.128 (accessed October 19, 2013).

[72]. "Hides from Tehama," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 18, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 22, 2013).

> ground up fine by the time they reached the plains. A huge boiler from one of their mills was carried many miles and most of the massive iron works have never been seen since.[73]

At the mouth of Spring Creek in Shasta County, the framed timbers, wheels, saw logs, and boarding house of the Swinford & Knox sawmill floated downstream; in Oroville, Butte County, one sawmill's boom broke away.[74] Rushing rivers greatly affected sawmills in the small county of Santa Cruz. Along the San Lorenzo River, the paper mill lost its dam, flume, outbuildings, and equipment at a loss of $10,000 to $15,000.[75] The same torrent damaged two additional sawmills. Soquel Creek rose twelve feet higher than normal, washing out all the dams that powered the sawmills, yet left the mills intact.[76] Along the Corralitos River, rushing water nearly destroyed four mills; damage to one was estimated at $5,000.[77]

Other businesses along rivers experienced high losses. In Folsom, as the American River rose sixty feet, Stockton & Coover's extensive, state of the art flour mill, valued at $75,000 in 1861, swept away entirely.[78] Mr. Stockton spent time salvaging machinery out of the river, some of which he found near a washed out bridge. The owners of a tannery along the San Lorenzo River faced a $20,000 loss and a brewery along Salsipuedes Creek faced damage of $1,800.[79]

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[73]. Ellis, 141.

[74]. "Shasta County" and "Butte County," *Daily Alta*, January 30, 1862.

[75]. "Santa Cruz County," *Daily Alta,* February 10, 1862.

[76]. "Santa Cruz County," *Daily Alta,* February 10, 1862.

[77]. "Santa Cruz County," *Daily Alta,* February 10, 1862.

[78]. "Extensive Flouring Mills," *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, June 28, 1861, Morning edition, 140 http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 22, 2013).

[79]. "Watsonville," *Daily Alta,* February 10, 1862.

The mining industry faced substantial losses as well. Impassable roads prevented "nearly a million pounds of quicksilver" from being transported from San Jose to the docks at Alviso.[80] The New Idria Silver Mines, in Santa Clara County, could only be reached through San Juan Canyon; one four-mile stretch through Flint's fields could take teams three days to pass through in extreme weather.[81] Landslides near Columbia, in Tuolumne County, destroyed much of the new mining ditch; reports estimated it would take a year to rebuild.[82] Transportation was not the only problem. As with other industries, mining operations along rivers sustained heavy damage or destruction. In Stanislaus County, the Tuolumne River reclaimed two flumes used by miners, one calculated as a $10,000 loss. In Tulare County, where mining investment was heavy, at least seven mining operations became inoperable. One four-stamper mill sustained a $12,000 loss, while the Erskine Brothers Mill suffered a $30,000 loss. Another twelve-stamper mill, valued at $60,000, lost its dam and flume, but the mill remained standing. One arastras grinding mill lost its water wheel and gears, while another was buried "fathoms deep" in sand and draft.[83] Quartz mills in the Southern Calaveras also washed away. Don Gabriel estimated the loss at his mill at $2,000; other properties at Murphy's and Vallecito noted damage to their property. Captain Hanford's foresight to secure the framework of his quartz mill on Angel's Creek with heavy cables to surrounding rocks and trees saved him a $15,000 loss.[84] However, newspapers reported considerably more mines collapsing into turbulent rivers than those saved.

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[80]. Farquhar, 248.

[81]. Mylar, 139-140.

[82]. "The Tuolumne," *Daily Alta*, January 30, 1862.

[83]. "Tulare," *Daily Alta,* February 10, 1862.

[84]. "Southern Calaveras," *Daily Alta*, January 19, 1862.

The winter disaster of 1861-62 undoubtedly set California's burgeoning economy on its head. Destroyed and damaged mills and mining operations instantly lost employees, productivity, and marketable output. Rebuilding would come at a great cost to the owners, if they could afford to do so. Settlers in remote areas may have despaired at the sheer devastation and left to pursue opportunities within the safety of the cities or elsewhere. The 1870 census shows a population decrease of 31% for nine northern California counties most severely affected by the 1861-62 storms.[85] Though mining operations in those areas waned by 1870, the high exodus of settlers could also reflect post-disaster migration out of those communities. Some newly unemployed settlers found work repairing and reconstructing roads, bridges, and other infrastructure, but this employment may have taken months to secure, as mainly private owners wrestled with funding and insurance for rebuilding. San Joaquin and Sacramento Valley agriculture also ground to a halt for months before floodwaters receded. Planting delays and unworkable land created costly production slowdowns, keeping produce, grain, and hay prices high. Ranchers forced to salvage cattle hides faced low market prices; increased costs to buy or import new livestock undoubtedly delayed a return to production levels seen before the floods. Feed costs, too, must have escalated during the spring of 1862. Grazing pastures disappeared with the floodwaters and silt, as did the hay and grain left in barns over winter; hence, farmers looked to other sources to feed their surviving herds and livestock.

The state government also contributed to the slowdown in the economy during 1862. With impassable roads and erratic mail and telegraph services, members could not meet or communicate with their constituents to determine the scope of damage in their ridings.

[85]. California Department of Finance, *Historical Census Populations.* Nine counties showed population decline between 1860 and 1870: Butte, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mariposa, Tehama, Tulare, Tuolumne, Trinity, and Yuba.

Additionally, estimated costs of at least $100,000[86] to move the "effeminate members of the comfort-seeking Legislature of 1862"[87] to San Francisco seemed like an unnecessary waste to many California citizens. Concerns for the lack of levee protection in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys had preceded the floods, as large steamers displaced water, new settlers reclaimed swamp lands, and tailings and debris from hydraulic mining began lifting river bottoms and clotting channels, but with no resolution.[88] The government's failure to sanction a contingency plan thwarted recovery efforts. The state government also mulled the significant loss of taxable property. The Treasurer believed that, as a result of the winter storms and flooding, one-third of taxable property, or $50 million, would disappear, reducing state revenue by ten to fifteen million dollars.[89]

The coastal economy also faced issues. For days, if not weeks, ships entering San Francisco harbour and along the coast encountered hazards in the outflow of the rivers. Delayed sailings occurred as intended cargo from mines, mills, and agricultural areas failed to materialize due to the inclement weather and poor roads. Steamers that ran along the bay and up rivers seemed to be the only ones benefiting from the disaster, as they became invaluable to transporting citizens and goods around northern California; however, they too, faced the challenge of being caught up in the current and capsizing.

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86. "The Legislature," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 4, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 25, 2013).

87. "'Correct, No Doubt,'" *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 30, 1862, Morning edition, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc (accessed November 25, 2013).

88. Ellis, 145.

89. Farquhar, 246.

California citizens and settlers found themselves with less money to spend as costs increased on basic staples. Reporters, fearful that the state would be unable to maintain self-sufficiency, queried whether importing provisions would "make [them] dependent on other countries for the necessaries of life."[90] Hence, public concern for California's weakened economy seems evident. Wealthy citizens, too, used their available funds to support needy flood victims and finance repairs to California's infrastructure months later. However, some of these affluent individuals were also the ones invested in the many businesses affected by the storms. Mr. Stockton, whose flour mill completely washed away, showed concern not for the damage, but for the possibility that more remote mills would take his once-thriving business away.[91]

The brutal winter of 1861-62 forced settlers to endure trying times in California. Though some settlers died as a result of the inclement weather and flood, others, who had lost homes, jobs, and property, persevered with the help of private charities or supportive townspeople. Ethnic minorities endured much greater hardships without charitable Anglo-American support. Impassable roads and obliterated bridges prevented mail delivery and delayed transport of goods throughout the northern and central California. Telegraph services became sporadic and unreliable. The government's decision to relocate from Sacramento to San Francisco added an unnecessary, costly expense and distracted the government from effectively responding to the disastrous scene around them. Though the winter ordeal affected settlers and state infrastructure, the incredible, debilitating loss of agricultural land, livestock, mills, mines, and businesses across northern and central California, though statistically challenging to calculate, undeniably and substantially weakened the Californian economy in 1862.

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[90]. "… Press…" *Daily Alta*, January 19, 1862.

[91]. "Damage…", *Daily Alta*, January 14, 1862.

APPENDIX A: Rivers of Northern and Central California

Note: The American River, unlabeled below, flows through Sacramento, El Dorado, and Placer Counties.

Source: http://geology.com/state-map/california.sht

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Critical Book Review of *Guevara, Ernesto. The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey. Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2003.*

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History 3397: Terrorism in the Modern World
March 4th, 2014
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The Motorcycle Diaries is primarily written, as its name suggests, in the form of short diary entries by Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, with the exception of three letters: two of which were addressed to his mother and one to his father. As a semi-sociological and ethnographic exploration of South America, his study is strengthened by the inclusions of a variety of characters who originate from various socioeconomic classes, and though the majority of the book is largely descriptive of these individuals, the author will periodically switch to a more reflective style when musing on larger issues regarding the endemic marginalization of the aboriginals and the working classes of the region. The influence of Marxist theory and Pan-Latin Americanism on Guevara is evident from the outset of the book, though as it progresses, his conviction in both ideologies is markedly strengthened. He frequently refers to the whole of Latin America, as simply 'America,' and he pays specifically close attention to the unequal social conditions which are replicated virtually everywhere he visits. His medical background is also evident throughout the novel, as he frequently expresses his concern over the lack of sanitation and affordable health care throughout Latin America, explaining that forcing the disadvantaged to pay outrageous fees to ensure their health equates to "legalized theft."[1]

Guevara's familiarity with Marxist terminology indicates at least some level of prior exposure to leftist publications; however it is vague on whether or not he encountered them throughout the course of his university career. Communism must have resonated with Guevara, as he frequently expresses his sympathies for the 'proletariat' struggles he encounters over the course of his travels, as in the case of the Chilean couple he meets before exploring the foreign-controlled Chuquicamata copper mine. Though his belief in communist rhetoric was nowhere

[1] Ernesto Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2003), 87.

near as extreme as it would become in 1954 after witnessing the overthrow of Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz, the scenes he encountered as a 24 year old may have contributed to his eventual radicalization. A significant example of this growing class- consciousness is evident in his interaction with an elderly and impoverished asthmatic woman, after which he expresses his desire for social change, stating that "it is there in the final moments that one comprehends the profound tragedy circumscribing the life of the proletariat the world over."[2] Guevara then goes on to lament the extreme social stratification "based on an absurd idea of caste" and ends his anecdote by admonishing the elite, arguing that "it's time those who govern spent less time publicizing their virtue [and] more money funding socially useful works."[3] Guevara also criticizes the paranoia of the Western world in regards to the 'red scare,' explaining that desiring communism "was no more than a natural longing for something better;" though his political ideology at this time is clearly rooted in a state-directed socialism and not a Marxist society.[4]

Another theme of this book is Guevara's aversion to both imperialism and colonialism, and his consequent respect for South American aboriginals and their history prior to European contact. Initially Guevara's observations on the settled 'White' population are more or less neutral, and he even speaks of the kindness a German expatriate couple showed him and his companion by allowing them to stay overnight on their sprawling estate. His opinions take a markedly more hostile tone when he encounters the arrogant managers of the Chilean copper

[2] Ernesto Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2003), 70- 71.

[3] Ibid. 70.

[4] Ernesto Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2003), 70- 78.

mine, whom he disdainfully refers to as the "Blond bosses."[5] Following this interaction, Guevara begins to delve deeper into the issue of South America's plentiful resources under the control of the "Yankees," and through this internal dialogue, the reader is able to pinpoint the development of his anti-American sentiments.[6] These '*gringos*' become the bourgeois antagonists in the narrative, as Guevara frequently berates the greed they display by denying to pay their workers a living wage, or provide them with safe working environments and their families with compensation packages should an accident occur. The contemporary plunder of the continent's resources by White foreigners is even compared to the equally voracious plunder carried out by the Spanish conquistadors in earlier centuries.

The 'Indians' of South America are treated with the utmost respect by the author, who frequently speaks of them in relation to the glory of their ancestors in the Pre-Columbian era; though he purposefully juxtaposes this past with their contemporary socioeconomic marginalization. Guevara maintains that racism along with classism is one of the many legacies of colonialism, and its effects are abetted by the continued foreign involvement of the former imperial powers in the region. His intimate knowledge of indigenous history in Latin America reveals his fascination with their collectivist lifestyle, as well as their traditionally oppressed position in society. His discussion with the communist Aymara school teacher in Peru also sheds light on the structural racism present in Latin American societies, as he explains that even the most educated aboriginals can only hope to achieve an entry-level position in the bureaucracy, and real social mobility can only be achieved through benefitting from mixed-race status. The teacher also elucidates the pervasive double-standard which forces an aboriginal to reject their

[5] Ernesto Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2003), 78.
[6] Ibid. 79.

culture in order to emulate the dominant group; however they will never be truly accepted by the Europeans, regardless of their attempts to assimilate. In essence, Guevara presents this group as a quintessential underclass and through his observations he is enlightened as to how they are pushed into the lowest strata of the labour pool because of this perceived subhuman status. Unsurprisingly, substance abuse is described as rampant amongst this population, and cocaine and alcohol addiction are particularly apparent. Interestingly, Guevara seems to avoid discussing the privileges his own race and social class afford to him, and only refers to himself as White once in passing. Despite his progressive attitudes towards the indigenous population, I was fairly taken aback when reading about his attitudes regarding Latin Americans of African descent. Ironically, Guevara was guilty of judging the equally oppressed Black population in the same way that the settlers did the indigenous population. He highlights their racialized physical features, and sensationalizes their nudity, perceived lack of hygiene and sanitary practices while visiting a Black slum in Caracas, explaining that they are "magnificent examples of the African race who have maintained their racial purity thanks to their lack of an affinity with bathing."[7]

Ernesto Guevara's brazen contempt for the establishment, which is evident throughout the book, reinforces his image as a young and rebellious social revolutionary, and is characteristic of his popular legacy today. A youthful disinterest in politics may explain why he frequently references the cult of personality surrounding Juan Peron and his wife, and describes how the leader was revered especially by Chilean and Peruvian aboriginals; though he never shares his own personal opinion on the president, leaving the reader unsure as to whether or not he supported the regime. Guevara does comment on the status of Chile's four contenders for the presidency, endorsing communist-friendly Salvador Allende, while accusing the other three of

[7] Ibid, 148.

being militaristic, elitist, and pro-American. Guevara also speaks at length on the benefits of Latin Americanism; a doctrine in which popular support is won by promoting an Anti-American sentiment in policy, as well as the nationalization of state resources. The author touts his own Latin Americanist beliefs by exclaiming that within Pan-Americanism all Latin Americans "constitute a single mestizo race which from Mexico to the Magellan straits bears notable ethnographic similarities,"[8] and ends his speech by calling for the creation of a united Latin America. Guevara also reveals his anti-war sentiments when he casually explains the importance of copper as "an essential component of various types of weapons of destruction,"[9] a possible allusion to the bipolar division of the Cold War era.

The greatest strength of this book is Ernesto Guevara's youthful authenticity, which gives it an undeniably relatable quality. As a twenty-four year old who is eager to see the world, and experience his surroundings, Guevara is able to appeal to the traveller in all of us. His adventurous demeanour and roguish behaviour made him an appealing protagonist who is developing his own perspectives influenced by the issues he encounters. There is a subtle self-absorbedness in his writing, as no other character is even closely as developed as his; even his ever-present travelling companion remains a stranger to the reader by the end of the novel. While this would be a weakness for any other writer, Guevara's larger-than-life personality more than compensates for the need to supplement the memoirs with anyone else's experiences. The evolution of his political awareness is also an interesting insight into his life, and allows us to create a better understanding of the basis for his later radicalization. I also found the inclusion of

[8] Ernesto Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2003), 149.

[9] Ernesto Guevara, The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2003), 83.

the incredibly wide variety of places and people to be both helpful and redundant; it was nice that Guevara provided his readers with a nuanced exploration of Latin American society through different regional, racial, and socioeconomic perspectives, though Guevara's Pan-American bias essentially paints all of the locales in a very homogenous fashion. Finally, Guevara's youthfulness shone through his use of lewd and outrageous humour in his stories and observations, commenting on women's chests, and even joking that some aboriginals engaged in bestiality with dolphins.[10] While this can be seen as vaguely immature, I thought it was a great touch as it reminded the reader how young Guevara was while writing this book.

The only issue I can take up with this book is its shortness. While this may seem disingenuous claim, I honestly believe that it could have been extended to at least three hundred pages. The way that he approaches life is just so interesting that it would have added value and more depth to our understanding of his Latin American travels. The sections on Peru and Chile were both extremely long, though both Colombia and Venezuela were quickly summed up in a matter of pages. I definitely believe that Guevara had lots more to discuss in regards to Caracas, and its racial segregation. He could have examined the history of the Atlantic slave trade which brought the Africans to South America as an extension of his anti-imperialist rhetoric. Even if he didn't choose to go down that route, it would have still been incredibly interesting to find out why he was so prejudiced against Blacks, though he was conversely extremely respectful of the native peoples.

In conclusion, *The Motorcycle Diaries* is an effective source to understand the formation of Ernesto "Che" Guevara's unique world view as both a Latin American nationalist and an adherent to left-wing political philosophies. Not only does he provide his readers with ample

[10] Ibid, 132.

information on his own development, he also seeks to tell the stories of the marginalized peoples of South America, who have no voice of their own. This empathy and caring nature also makes Guevara an endearing figure to read about, and helps the reader remain engaged while tracking the progress he makes in both his physical and intellectual journeys. Part ethnography, part societal study, and part memoir, the true value of *The Motorcycle Diaries* is the insight it provides its readers not only on the environment which spawned the legendary 'Che,' but also the revolutionary movements with which he was directly and indirectly affiliated.

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‘Riot’

Lack of evidence for Hindu temple

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The `Ayodha debate` was a dispute between Hindus and Muslims over the possession of land on which a sixteenth-century mosque by the name of the Babri Masjid resided.[1] There was a notion put forward by Hindu organizations that the Babri Masjid was built on the *Ram Janmbhoomi,* the "birthplace" and ancient "capital" of Lord Rama. [2] In fact, orthodox Hindus believed that the masjid was ordered to be built after the desecration of a Hindu temple.[3] As a result, there was popular demand by Hindus to tear down the mosque and replace it with a new temple.[4] As illustrated in Shashi Tharoor`s "Riot," there were many conflicting and confusing viewpoints on the issue of the Babri Masjid. The Hindus, Muslims and intellectuals all had different understandings regarding the history of the Babri Masjid and its relation to the birthplace of the Hindu deity Rama. Despite the various understandings it has become quite evident after historical research and archaeology surveying that the dispute is flawed due to the lack of concrete evidence.[5] Professional historians have argued that there was no destruction of a temple on which the Babri Masjid resided. There is no historical evidence or facts to prove such perceptions thus this matter has become one of faith as opposed to fact.[6] In addition, this issue is an illustration of the political abuse of history and emerges from the widespread communalization of Indian politics and unfortunately this on-going debate has led to mass

[1] Dilip K. Chakrabarti, "Archaeology under the Judiciary: Ayodhya 2003," *Antiquity Publications* 77, no.297 (2003): 580; see also Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* 8th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 456.

[2] Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* 8th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 456.

[3] Wolpert, p.456.

[4] Ibid., p.456.

[5] Zeenath Kausar, "Communal Riots in India: Hindu-Muslim Conflict and Resolution," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26, no.3 (2006): 356.

[6] Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India,* 3rd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 275-276.

rioting and communal violence at the cost of human life.[7] In this paper I will argue that the notion of the Babri Masjid being situated at the birthplace of Rama is untenable and the dispute over Ayodhya was partly put into circulation by British officials in order to further British interests in the Indian sub-continent.

The British had managed to successfully rule the Indian sub-continent for approximately two hundred years (1765-1947).[8] This triumph was in most part the result of the shrewd policies that the British had initiated overtime. The most significant of these policies would be the use of the 'divide and rule' tactic. In 1822 Charles Wood, the Secretary State wrote a letter addressed to Lord Elgin, the Governor-General of India at the time in which he stated "that they would keep and continue their rule in India if they divided the Indian people successfully and did not allow them to cooperate with each other."[9] The use of this tactic was critical in order to allow the British to consolidate a hold on the Indian sub-continent which would further allow them to fulfill their interests.[10] As a result, the British began pinning one group against the other in the name of religion which ultimately led to chasms between the Hindus and Muslims.[11] Specifically, the British used the `story of conquest` to their advantage and portrayed themselves as being the saviours of the Indian people for granting them enlightenment from the Mughal

[7] Sarvepalli Gopal, Romila Thapar, Bipan Chandra, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, SuviraJaiswal, Harbans Mukhia, K. N. Panikkar, R. Champakalakshmi, Satish Saberwal, B. D.Chattopadhyaya, R. N. Verma, K. Meenakshi, Muzaffar Alam, Dilbagh Singh, MridulaMukherjee, Madhavan Palat, Aditya Mukherjee, S. F. Ratnagar, Neeladri Bhattacharya, K. K.Trivedi, Yogesh Sharma, Kunal Chakravarti, Bhagwan Josh, Rajan Gurukkal and Himanshu Ray, "The Political Abuse of History: Babri Masjid-Rama Janmabhumi Debate," *Social Scientist* 18, no.1/2 (1990): 76; See also Barbara D. Metcalf, "Introduction: A Historical Overview of Islam in South Asia," in Islam in South Asia: In Practice, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009) 31; See also John Abraham, "Archaeology and politics: A Case Study of the Ayodhya issue," *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 1, no.2 (2005): 254.

[8] Arshad Islam, "Babri Mosque: A Historic Bone of Contention," *The Muslim World* 97, no. 2 (2007): 259.

[9] Ibid., p.267.

[10] Ibid., p 259.

[11] Ibid., p 259.

oppressors.[12] The Mughals were a Muslim ruling class and thus Mughal became synonymous with Muslim.[13] As a result, Muslims became the foreign oppressors and the Hindu the oppressed.[14] This is evident in Riot when Ram Charan Gupta stated that Babar "was not an Indian, a foreigner from Central Asia."[15] Therefore, this led to an idealization of pre-Islamic India and it became important to recover Indian self-respect.[16] In order to gain sympathy of the Hindu masses the British provoked the historical hatred of Muslims.[17] One of the many ways in which they did this was by endorsing and circulating the Hindu claim to the site of the Babri Masjid.[18] In fact, this controversy was not known until the nineteenth century after the British strengthened the Hindu claim and put in an enormous effort to emphasize the Hindu sacredness of Ayodhya.[19] The British used John Leyden`s translation of Babar`s memoirs as historical evidence.[20] Leyden had mentioned that Babar had passed through Ayodhya in 1528 during his campaign against the Pathans.[21] Therefore, the British distorted this evidence to pro-pagate that the "anti-Hindu" Babar had destroyed the birthplace of Rama and then built a masjid on it-

[12] Barbara D. Metcalf, "Preface: Islam in South Asia in Practice," in Islam in South Asia: In Practice, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009) xix.

[13] Islam, p.259.

[14] Ibid., p 259.

[15] Tharoor, p.52.

[16] Metcalf, "Preface: Islam..,p.xx.

[17] Islam, p.259.

[18] Ibid., p 259-260.

[19] Islam, p.266; See also Kausar, p.357.

[20] A.G. Noorani, "The Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi Question," *Economic and Political Weekly* 24, no.44/45 (1989): 2463.

[21] Noorani, p.2463.

though Leyden's translation made no mention of this.[22] In addition, the British used local stories and legendary folklore as a reliable source of historical basis without differentiating between myth and historical fact, thus fabricating history.[23] This allowed the British to gain support, and strengthen their grip on South Asia by emphasizing their superiority to that of the Mughal Empire.[24] Therefore, the notion of the Babri Masjid being situated at the birthplace of Rama was partly put into circulation by British officials in order to further British interests in the Indian sub-continent.

The dispute over the issue of the Babri Masjid led to a lot of discourse within historical and archaeological circles. As a result, professional historians and archaeologists put forward various forms of evidence to shed some insight on the issue. After researching and going through the evidence provided it has become obvious that there is no concrete proof which states that a Hindu temple was demolished by Babur after which he built the Babri Masjid.

The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) worked on a project in which they scoped the perceived birthplace of Rama in Ayodhya.[25] According to popular Hindu belief, Babar had desecrated a Hindu temple which they perceived to have been built in the fourth century AD, during the Gupta period.[26] However, the ASI found evidence to the contrary. They stated that this area had not been habituated during the Gupta period and it was not until the seventh century

[22] Ibid., p 2463.

[23] Kausar, p.357; See also Noorani, p.2464; see also Arshad Islam, p.266.

[24]Islam, p.259 and 267.

[25] Ibid., p. 261.

[26] Noorani, p.2463.

that they could trace the first human settlement.[27] As well, during the excavations no figures of Rama were found, in fact they argued that the co-ordinates for the birthplace of Rama appeared to be south-east of the Mosque.[28] As a result, there is no proof or evidence that a Hindu temple existed in Ayodhya which also debunks the theory that Babur demolished a temple. However, such ventures did bring about new information regarding the importance of Ayodhya for other religions. Archeologists and historians have been able to trace that Buddha had visited Ayodhya multiple times to give sermons.[29] In addition, it is a place of significance for the Jains because it was the birthplace of the first and fourth Jaina Tirthankaras.[30] As well, archaeologists also found Jaina figures in grey terracotta which are the earliest of its kinds.[31] Although this reveals that the threads of Buddhism and Jainism can be traced into Ayodhya there has been no evidence to support the claim that the same could be said about a Hindu temple at the site of the Babri Masjid.[32]

The story of Rama was originally told in the Rama-Katha but was later rewritten by Valmiki in the form of a long poem, the *Ramayana*.[33] It is a poetic narrative and therefore it is plausible to assume that it is a work of fiction and full of allusions to places, characters and events.[34] Therefore, these stories do not have historical basis and in fact often contradict

[27] Ibid., p. 2463.

[28] Ibid., p. 2463-2464.

[29] Islam, p.261-262; See also Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p. 78.

[30] Islam, p.262-263; see also Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p. 78.

[31] Islam, p.263.

[32] Kausar, p.358.

[33] Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p.76.

[34] Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p.76; See also Islam, p.260.

historical evidence.[35] As well, the Ramayana has been refashioned over time again and again therefore it is difficult to authenticate its information historically.[36] Furthermore, it is unclear as to whether the Ayodhya mentioned in the Ramayana is in fact present-day Ayodhya.[37] According to Valmiki, Rama was born in the Treta Yuga which was thousands of years before the Kali Yuga which supposedly began in 3102 BC.[38] Therefore, chronologically it is hard to pinpoint the exact location of Ramas birthplace. As well, there is no trace of the worship of Rama in present-day Ayodhya until the 11th century and it was only after the 18th century that it became a center of worship for the deity Rama.[39] As a result, historical evidence and the local stories of Rama do not holdup. In addition, the details of Ayodhya as illustrated in the Ramayana do not comply with the archeological findings from the present-day Ayodhya.[40] The Ramayana depicts Ayodhya as being a prosperous metropolitan center whereas the artifacts studied by the archaeologist suggest that the people of Ayodhya lived a rather simple style of life.[41] Therefore, there is a contrast between the two. There are also no Persian or Hindu sources which make reference to the demolition of any Hindu temple.[42] Lastly, a great devotee of Rama named Goswami Tulsidas composed an epic, an elucidation of the Ramayana in 1575/1576 but

[35] Islam, p.260.

[36] Ibid., p.261.

[37] Ibid., p.260.

[38] Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p. 76.

[39] Islam, p. 264.

[40] Ibid., 261.

[41] Ibid., 261.

[42] Ibid., 271.

did not mention the existence of such a temple or the demolition of one by the Muslims.[43] Considering his commitment to Rama he would have not ignored such an outrage. On the contrary, he stated that Prayaga was the place of *tiratha,* Hindu pilgrimage as opposed to Ayodhya.[44] Therefore, there is no evidence that the Ayodhya of Valmiki`s Ramayana is the site of present-day Ayodhya.

The town of Ayodhya was founded by Nawab Safdar Jang (1739-54) and his son Shuja-ud-Daula (1754-75) of Awadh.[45] It has been proven that Muslims had been living in the town long before the advent of Babur in India.[46] After the Mughal conquest of India Babur had asked Mir Baqi Tashqandi to rule the province of Awadh and it was he who laid the foundation of the Babri Masjid in 1528 CE which he named after Babur.[47] In the Persian inscriptions on the walls of the mosque it clearly indicates that Mir Baqi built the mosque and not Babur.[48] As well, had the mosque been built after the destruction of a Hindu temple the inscriptions on the mosque would have likely recorded the fact[49] In addition, it becomes evident through the "*Babar Nama*", Babars memoirs that he was quite tolerant of other religions and his reign was not marked by discriminatory treatment of his non-Muslim subjects.[50] In fact, he made references to various visits that he made to Hindu temples`and stated that he was impressed by the architectural

[43] Ibid., 271.

[44] Ibid., 271; see also Kausar, p.356.

[45] Islam, p. 260.

[46] Ibid., 268.

[47] Islam, p.268.

[48] Islam, p.270; See also Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p.: 79.

[49] Islam, p.270; See also Kausar, p.356.

[50] Islam, p.271; See also Noorani, p.2463; See Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p.79; see also Kausar, p.l356.

beauty.[51] As a result, it would be incorrect to make assumptions that he was intolerant and desecrated a Hindu temple simply because he was a Muslim. Therefore, after analyzing Babar`s reign as emperor it has become evident that there is no proof which indicates that he demolished a Hindu temple and built a mosque on it.

In conclusion, after analyzing archaeological and historical research it has become evident that there is no concrete proof which indicates that the Babri Masjid was built on the birthplace of Rama. Therefore, the belief that the Ram Janmbhoomi temple was located at the site of the Babri Masjid appears to be on based on myth and faith as opposed to fact. As Lakshman mentioned in Riot, "…theres no proof there was a temple there. Not that a mere detail like that matters to the Hindu leaders who are busy organizing rallies…"[52] As well, individuals like Ram Charan Gupta as illustrated in Riot simply ignored the fact that there was no proof because it was an idea put forward by the secularists and that it was obvious that such a temple existed because "…knowledge had been passed down from one generation to generation."[53] Due to the sensitivity of the issue different communities will have different sacred meanings about the city and therefore cannot be claimed by any one community.[54] Furthermore, as illustrated in this paper the Ayodhya debate was partly put into circulation by British officials in order to further British interests in the Indian sub-continent. Therefore, this issue illustrates the widespread communalization of Indian politics and the political abuse of history.

[51] Islam, p.271; see also A.G. Noorani, p.2463; see also Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p.79.

[52] Tharoor, p.22.

[53] Tharoor, p.120.

[54] Sarvepalli Gopal, et al.. p.81.

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War Horse

Module II – Film and History

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Professor: Tracey J. Kinney

History is often presented in modern film, as filmmakers recognize that history provides a "rich source for a mixture of entertainment and education."[1] Historians must necessarily concern themselves with whether films are an adequate pedagogical tool. This concern is particularly unavoidable when filmmakers should accurately depict the historical content while simultaneously balancing the sought after entertainment. Further, since movies influence the way individuals remember the past, films that seek to popularize history are problematic as they act as mass educators, "redefining the nature and perception of history for a large audience."[2] Released in 2011, the war drama film "War Horse" directed by Steven Spielberg, provides an opportunity to analyze the challenges that motion pictures pose when historical accuracy is sacrificed for the demands of drama and entertainment.

War Horse is thoroughly melodramatic and, as a result, it is easy to be swept up in the story that Spielberg presented. The sentimentality of the film lends it more to a work of cinema, than to a pedagogical tool. The movie is an episodic story where a horse travels through different areas, the battle and conflict are shown from all sides, and even those civilians who are not actively engaged but whose lives are caught up in the conflict are intricately tied into the plot. With the horse as the central axis of the film, the spectators are left with the feeling of having witnessed the entirety of the war. How does one take a story "straight from the horses mouth" and make an objective, historically accurate movie? A critical response would likely be that the

[1] Frank Bösch, "*Moving History: Film and the Nazi Past in Germany since the Late 1970s*", in Sylvia Paletschek, ed., Popular Historiographies in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Cultural Meanings, Social Practices (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011/2013), 104.

[2] Eric Breitbart, "*Painted Mirror: Historical Re-creation from the Panorama to the Docudrama*", 112.

story is manipulative in that it is overly sentimental, the characters and the plot are fictional, and the cinematography is created for visual purposes rather than an opportunity for historical teaching. As well, the events which occurred in the war, since they were given from the perspective of a horse, cannot be viewed as objective, and therefore were chosen for the purpose of drawing an emotional response from the viewers. However, this is precisely the reason why I choose to analyze this film. It would be too easy to rip apart the film and argue, for example, that battles are not shown in the greater context as the spectators are unsure whether they are watching a scene from the Somme or Ypres. Further, how can the film act as an effective tool to educate the public when viewers are taken on a journey through a series of intertwined, fictitious, and sentimental experiences between a horse and a series of individuals?

Sturken argues that camera images "can be seen as technologies of memory, mechanisms through which we can construct the past and situate it in the present."[3] The camera can "shape histories and personal stories" through providing "material evidence."[4] The peaceful rural setting of Devon, England, which appears to be an agricultural paradise with beautiful fields and sunsets, is presented in stark contrast to the images of war. One recognizes that the cinematography is manipulative, but viewers want to be manipulated. If the film attempted to be objective and educate, with a central narrative that revolves around a horse, it would detract from the messages that the film conveys about the First World War. Having been written from the

[3] Marita Sturken, "*Reenactment, Fantasy, and the Paranoia of History: Oliver Stone's Docudramas*", History and Theory, 36, 4 (December 1997): 66.

[4] Marita Sturken, "*Reenactment, Fantasy, and the Paranoia of History: Oliver Stone's Docudramas*", History and Theory, 36, 4 (December 1997): 66.

perspective of a horse, the film is unlike other historical movies. The innocence of the horse along with the calamity of the situation represents the innocence of humanity. Value is not placed in the conflict per se but in all forms of life. Michael Morpurgo, who wrote the book *War Horse* upon which Spielberg based his movie, asked how many horses [from the British side] were brought to the battlefield and found that of one million only 65,000 returned.[5] The British had roughly as many deaths of soldiers as deaths of horses and he extrapolated that if approximately ten million soldiers died in the First World War then the casualty rate was roughly one horse for one man. He continues stating that horses died in the same way as men did, "they died in the wire, drowned in the mud, they were machine gunned, blown to bits… they died of exhaustion, of disease, they shared the same horrors as the men shared."[6] Ironically, the value in educating from this perspective is that the filmmaker can truly be an "objective" re-creator of past events. The filmmaker can create a film that is absolutely neutral, with no discussion of the various sides in the war, no justification or reason for the outbreak of war, no sequence or teaching of events and their consequences. As a source of history, a film that attempts to deliver a message from a historical period rather than educate on the specifics of the conflict, despite the sentimental and melodramatic means, is capable of delivering a message with broad universal values. Even if shown to a child who has no knowledge of the First World War, the message that life is valuable, that it is temporary, and that war disrupts and destroys lives, will resonate. Given that the film follows the experiences of a horse, symbolizing the individual man, any objectivity

[5] Michael Morpurgo, YouTube, "*Michael Morpurgo on writing War Horse, World War 1 and War Today*", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5CplF6KYTBY

[6] Michael Morpurgo, YouTube, "*Michael Morpurgo on writing War Horse, World War 1 and War Today*", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5CplF6KYTBY

through educating and explaining the causes of the conflict, all obfuscate the message of the movie. From this perspective, I would argue that there is no point trying to explain something [war] that, to a horse and by extension the individual man, is not sensible. This film is different in that it does not seek to educate about the First World War specifically but rather about war in general. The purpose of the film was to show the tragedies of war and by seeing war through the eyes of the horse it allows for the audience to sympathize. Further, leaving historical inaccuracies aside, it can be argued that films can be set in a historical period without having to educate individuals about that time period. This is particularly true when the aim of the movie is to produce a message which could have been presented in a number of other conflicts.

Bosch argues that historians should treat "even fictional historical films… in a more scientific way."[7] Due to the fact that movies act as "mass educators" and shape the way people view the past, filmmakers have an obligation to avoid historical inaccuracies. Further, filmmakers should avoid exaggerating the roles of certain individuals for dramatic effect since the idea that films undergo a "collective acceptance" of "historical portraits negotiated by the public"[8] is problematic when the public may enjoy a movie and also be uninformed about the historical particulars. As mentioned in the "Painted Mirror", the ability to "mix the real and the

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[7] Frank Bösch, "*Moving History: Film and the Nazi Past in Germany since the Late 1970s*", in Sylvia Paletschek, ed., Popular Historiographies in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Cultural Meanings, Social Practices (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011/2013), 103.

[8] Frank Bösch, "*Moving History: Film and the Nazi Past in Germany since the Late 1970s*", in Sylvia Paletschek, ed., Popular Historiographies in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Cultural Meanings, Social Practices (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011/2013), 104.

recreated was not lost on early producers" and while cameras could record history, "how people perceived it depended on how the films were edited and the context in which they were seen."[9] In a question and answer session with Spielberg, he explained that the land was a character, "it was sort of the biggest character you see that you don't realize is a character until perhaps the experience is over for you" and you realize that "yes the sky was important, the land was important."[10] The transition of the land from before the war in Devon to during the war in France and afterwards to the final sunset scene in Devon, is a character which can be used to manipulate feelings just as filmmakers use fictitious characters in movies.

Wolper argues that docudramas should "give a sense and a feeling of how things were, not necessarily offer a factual record,"[11] as a docudrama is not a book. Similarly, the famous documentary filmmaker, Ken Burns, stated that there are differences between what you can do through films and in books.[12] Wolper would likely suggest that War Horse is a movie that "you don't go back and refer to for information… if it stays with you it is the truth, how you got there… is not overly relevant."[13] His argument is similar to post structuralism applied to cinema; however, since watching "dramatic simulations of a wide range of experiences is now an

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[9] Eric Breitbart, "*Painted Mirror: Historical Re-creation from the Panorama to the Docudrama*", 108.

[10] Stephen Spielberg, YouTube, "*Spielberg Q&A Full*", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKld9pcOowc

[11] Eric Breitbart, "*Painted Mirror: Historical Re-creation from the Panorama to the Docudrama*", 110.

[12] Thomas Cripps, "*Historical Truth: An Interview with Ken Burns*", Oxford University Press: The American Historical Review, Vol. 100, No. 3 (Jun., 1995), 742.

[13] Eric Breitbart, "*Painted Mirror: Historical Re-creation from the Panorama to the Docudrama*", 110.

essential part of our modern cultural pattern",[14] there remains a responsibility for filmmakers as mass educators to show respect for "the complexities of historical events" and to recognize the power of cinema to "create its own reality."[15] As Ken Burns sensibly revealed, "what is at stake is nothing less than the historical memory of our people."[16] The "recasting of history" has the ability to "shape the public's sense of who we have been and who we are becoming."[17] However, I choose War Horse as a film to draw attention to the fact that just because a movie is set in a historical time period doesn't mean it must also be able to double up as a pedagogical tool for teaching about the historical event. In addition, Spielberg, by using the narrative of a horse which symbolized the individual, was able to address broad universal values, avoid discussion of the causes of war, avoid justifications and explanations for the sequence of events, and provide a message which narrowed in on connections between that which exists, the living, alongside recurring death. In conclusion, although filmmakers have a responsibility to not misrepresent history through cinematography or blatant historical inaccuracies, when films use drama and entertainment for the purpose of sharing a message, it may trump the want among historians for filmmakers to produce movies for pedagogical purposes alone.

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[14] Eric Breitbart, "*Painted Mirror: Historical Re-creation from the Panorama to the Docudrama*", 111.

[15] Eric Breitbart, "*Painted Mirror: Historical Re-creation from the Panorama to the Docudrama*", 112.

[16] David Harlan, "*Ken Burns and the Coming Crisis of Academic History*", California State University, San Luis Obispo: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, Rethinking History 7:2 (2003), 171.

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Postmodernism and History

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History 4400: Application of History
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Postmodernism comes in many guises and varieties and cannot be easily defined by a single definition. The literature on postmodernism distinguishes between the moderate and the radical. Radical postmodernism traces its roots to another post, post-structuralism. Post-structuralism, a modern philosophical school of thought, emerged in the 1960s as a reaction against structuralism and significantly influenced literary and cultural theory in the 1970s and 1980s. It represents the idea that language is arbitrarily constructed, and represents nothing but itself, so that whenever we read something, the meaning we put into it is necessarily our own and nobody else's. Post-structuralism is intricately connected with postmodernism and there are areas of overlap between the two as both involve the rejection of modernist concepts such as the belief in the possibility of explaining reality through scientific analysis,[1] but post-structuralism is seen as a more radical and explicitly critical view.[2]

Structuralism was a popular theory in the mid-twentieth century and one of its main contributors, Swiss linguist Ferdinand Saussure, had suggested that meaning is to be found within the structure of a whole language rather than the analysis of individual words. Structuralism emphasizes scientific rigor, objectivity, and universal validity. Hence, post-structuralism is a critique to structuralism's claim to comprehensive and objective exploration of every cultural phenomenon. Linguistics was one of the first fields to use the philosophies of structuralism, and its application eventually spread to other fields such as history. Post-structuralism, and hence, postmodernism challenge the notion that historians can use texts to give an objective and true representation of the past. Instead postmodernism argues that knowledge of the past is always a construct, that every historical text is subject to multiple

[1] George G. Iggers and Q. Edward Wang, A Global History of Modern Historiography (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Longman, 2008), 407.

[2] Michael Draper, *Modern Historiography* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 141.

interpretations, and that "history is basically a form of imaginative literature not subject to standards of validation."[3]

French philosopher Michel Foucault came to be seen as an important representative of the post-structuralist movement. He rejected the idea of meta-narratives, and added that it was impossible to be completely objective.[4] Foucault's theories addressed the relationship between power and knowledge and focused on how they were used as a form of societal control through social institutions. In 1969, he published *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, in which he examined the evolving definition of madness in European culture and the conditions which made the field of psychiatry possible. He viewed power as major source of social discipline and conformity. Foucault studied how administrative systems and social services created in eighteenth- century Europe, such as prisons and mental institutions, were used to control people by those who claimed to have knowledge. Most importantly, Foucault's work led to new historical topics such as the histories of marginalized people in society and various institutions of madness and medicine.[5]

Central to post-structuralist thought is Jacques Derrida's deconstructionism. He developed deconstruction in the 1960s as a reading technique to uncover the multiple interpretations of texts. Derrida suggested that all texts have ambiguity, and therefore, we cannot have a final and complete interpretation. According to him our readings "are conditioned by past interpretations as well as our present conditions."[6] Historians and cultural critics such as Hayden White and Roland Barthes attacked history's claim to an objective representation of reality by

[3] Iggers and Wang, 407.

[4] Green & Troup, 302.

[5] Ibid., 305.

[6] Green & Troup, 299.

drawing upon the use of linguistic and rhetorical structures. In the 1973, Hayden White brought postmodernism to the forefront of history with the publication of *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in 19th century Europe*, which became hugely influential. He argued that historical writing mirrors literary writing by sharing the strong reliance on narrative for meaning, therefore ruling out the possibility for objective or truly scientific history.[7] Developments in linguistics have had significant repercussions on the study of history. Conceptions of history are constructs of language, and hence, they are subject to contradictions, ambivalences and reinterpretation.

One of the important factors in the postmodern debate is its relationship to modernism. Specifically, it implies to the extent to which the legacy of Enlightenment values is still a valuable source for social and cultural analysis. In 1979, Jean-Francois Lyotard published his book, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, which was an open attack on modernity. According to Lyotard knowledge in the postmodern era could no longer be accepted in the "great narratives" that had shaped western knowledge to date, like the notion of progress embedded in the Enlightenment, or the notion of social liberation through history embedded in Marxism, or the release from unconscious trauma harboured by Freudian theory.[8] He rejected the "totalising" and "universality" these ideas placed actions, events, and things. Instead he argued that knowledge could only be partial, fragmented, and incomplete.[9] Lyotard attacked meta-narratives, and instead argued for the individual to her his or her narrative.

One of the positive influences of postmodernism has led to the widening of areas of study in history. The influence can especially be seen in the fields of post-colonialism and feminism. There has been an attempt to move away from the previously European and Western dominated

[7] Hayden White, "Interpretation in History," *New Literary History*, 4 (1973): 282.

[8] Tim Woods, *Beginning Postmodernism* (Manchester, U.K.; New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 20.

[9] Ibid., 21.

narratives, and to instead study previously neglected or ignored groups. In addition, another result has been the development to interweave "narratives of groups previously considered as mutually exclusive or hostile," in order to understand a shared past.[10] Postmodernism has also opened up the gender debate and influenced historians to move away from the male-dominated histories and give serious considerations to women's history, through the eyes of women. Furthermore, it rejects the idea that we can describe the world in rational, empirical, and objective terms.

Although postmodernism experienced a period of popularity between the 1960s and 1980s, it has since undergone an intense critique from a range of social critics. In its most radical form, it has largely been discarded by the academic community and according to historians Matthewman and Hoey, it has "a minefield of conflicting literature ."[11] Other historians such as Willie Thompson also share that opinion. In 2005, Thompson submitted an article titled "Postmodernism and History" to the *English Historical Review* in which he contended that during most influential postmodernist period, there was an apparent contempt for empiricism and the denial of intellectual legitimacy to much of what conventional historians wrote. When referring to postmodernists, he additionally pointed out that the "jargon-ridden and impossibly dense prose has proven to be an almost impossible barrier to their acceptance within the mainstream of historical studies."[12] The application of postmodernism in historical studies took a further hit upon the publication of an article in the journal, *Social Text*, by respected scientist Alan Sokol. It was published by the journal's editors who believed it was meant to praise

[10]Beverly Southgate, "Postmodernism," in *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography*, ed. Aviezer Tucker (Manchester, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009) 542.

[11]Matthewman, Steve and Douglas Hoey, "What Happened to Postmodernism?" Sociology Journal 40, no.3 (2006): 529.

[12] Thompson, Willie. "Postmodernism and History." The English Historical Review 120, no. 485 (2005): 270

postmodernism but actually ended up being, by the authors own admittance, an intended ruse, full of half-truths and falsehoods which had no meaning whatsoever. Once the New York Times picked up on the deception, postmodernism as a theory, suffered a loss of legitimacy.[13]

Many critics of postmodernism have been charged with "pomophobia"—fear of postmodernism. They find postmodernism to be threatening, chaotic and disruptive. John Clarke called it "a kind of skepticism that leads to cynicism and even despair, rather than wisdom or spiritual growth." Critics do not like the uncertainties, ambiguities, and doubts that postmodernism reveals and provokes. Postmodernists argue that these critics are threatened because postmodernity brings into question their profound beliefs.

Despite the polarized perspectives on the value of applying postmodernist theory to the study of history, a more moderate stance has emerged. Both critics and proponents agree that one can never know the whole truth or absolute truth about anything in the past, but that should not mean that any search for truth should be completely dismissed. Facts are easy to establish, it is interpretation and biases that can be problematic.

The positive and negative influences of postmodernism in the social sciences, particularly history, continue to be up for debate. Overall however, it is difficult to completely dismiss the significance postmodernism has had on the "thinking of history."[14] It is linked to left-wing politics and progressive political positions that have opened history to previously marginalized voices. Author Pauline Rosenau, acknowledges that contributions may have been made in so far as postmodern theory focuses on what is "non-obvious, left out, and generally forgotten in a text

[13] Matthewman, Steve and Douglas Hoey, "What Happened to Postmodernism?" Sociology Journal 40, no.3 (2006): 530.

[14] Beth Lord and James Tomlinson, "Debate: Postmodernism & History," *Journal of Scottish Studies* 26.1, no. 2 (2006): 122.

and further examines what is unsaid, overlooked understated and not overtly recognized."[15] The theories of prominent postmodernists such Derrida and Foucault encouraged historians to examine history from different perspectives and look for something beyond the western-biased meta-narratives.

[15] Pauline Maria Rosenau , *Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads and Intrusions* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 66

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