Vulcan Historical Review 12 (Complete Issue)

Vulcan Historical Review Staff

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/vulcan

Part of the History Commons

Recommended Citation
Available at: https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/vulcan/vol12/iss2008/1

This content has been accepted for inclusion by an authorized administrator of the UAB Digital Commons, and is provided as a free open access item. All inquiries regarding this item or the UAB Digital Commons should be directed to the UAB Libraries Office of Scholarly Communication.
The Vulcan Historical Review

VOLUME 12 || 2008

Published annually by the Chi Omicron chapter of Phi Alpha Theta at the University of Alabama at Birmingham

Editorial Board

Editor
Adam Pinson

Editorial Staff
Megan Noojin
Megan Howland
Zac Peterson
Bryan Blackmon
Jennifer R. Phillips
Kristina Brandon

Layout Editor
Emily A. Nelms

Sponsors
UAB Graduate School
UAB School of Social & Behavioral Sciences
UAB Department of History

Phi Alpha Theta

President
Bryan Blackmon

Faculty Advisor
Dr. Stephen Miller
The Vulcan Historical Review is published annually by the Chi Omicron Chapter (UAB) of Phi Alpha Theta, the History Honor Society. All members of the Chi Omicron Chapter, including alumni, are encouraged to submit articles, reviews, editorials, interviews, or other works of historical interest to be considered for publication. Submissions by any currently enrolled UAB students are also welcome. Inquiries to: Phi Alpha Theta Advisor, UAB Department of History, HHB360, 1401 University Boulevard, Birmingham, Alabama 35294-1152.

© 2008 Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society, University of Alabama at Birmingham. All Rights Reserved. No material may be duplicated or quoted without the express written permission of the author. The University of Alabama at Birmingham, its departments, and its organizations disclaim responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.
Contents

Editor's Note 5
About the Contributors 6

Essays 9

The Emancipation of Bolshevik Women: No, The Soviet Woman is Not Yet Free! 11
Kristina Brandon

From Prerogative to Consent: Examination of Monopolies in Early Stuart England 21
Hope Brown

The Radical Reaction: 1603–1690 29
Christopher Null

Silver Bullet: Depleted Uranium as a Military Weapon 44
Ralph Patterson

Boom and Bust in Townley: Case Study of a Coal Mining Camp from 1920–1950 58
Tia Pavlovich

The Influence of the Sexual Revolution 74
Katie Sutton

Why the "One Great City" Movement Failed 85
John Paul Whitmore
**Book Reviews**

*As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* by Karal Ann Marling

John Faulkner

*Downtown: My Manhattan* by Pete Hamill

Rebecca Comer Gunter

*The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World* by Frank Lambert

*Tripoli: The United States' First War on Terror* by David Smethurst

Christopher Null


Zac Peterson

*Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* by Eric Avila

Jennifer R. Phillips

*Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies: Selections from the Wartime Diaries of Ordinary Japanese* by Samuel Hideo Yamashita

John E. Van Sant

**Film Reviews**

*“Three Seasons”* (1999)

Megan Howland

*“Talk to Me”* (2007)

Emily A. Nelms
From the Editors

To the reader:

The job of the historian is both simple and complex: to attempt to provide readers and listeners with a good story, while at the same time accurately describing and interpreting places and events that have shaped the human experience. While this solemn mission might seem simplistic, it involves the completion of tireless hours of research coupled with close and deliberate thought in order to arrive at the best possible argument. This commitment to explaining the events of the past is reflected superbly in the 2008 Vulcan Historical Review. The editors of this year's edition committed themselves to the inclusion of a diverse range of topics from the dark mills of Britain to the hustle-and-bustle of the Twentieth-Century American city, and all points in between. Likewise, the authors of these works represent almost every conceivable area of historical inquiry and contribute much to the understanding of their areas. The editors hope that you enjoy and learn as much reading this edition, as they did publishing it.

Sincerely,

The Editorial Board

2008 Vulcan Historical Review
About the Contributors

Kristina Brandon received a B.A. in Art with minors in History and Art History from Auburn University. She then went on to receive a B.A. in History from UAB. She is currently working on her M.A. in History at UAB. She plans to focus her concentration on Russian History.

Hope Brown received a B.A. in History from UAB. She is primarily interested in United States legal history and plans to pursue a J.D.

John Faulkner graduated from UAB with an M.A. in 1998. He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Southern Historical Association, and Alabama Association of Historians. He expects to complete an M.A. in History in 2009. His travels include trips to historic sites in Boston, Williamsburg, and Ireland. John is interested in social history and the effects of war on society.

Rebecca Comer Gunter received a B.A. in History and a B.A. in English from UAB in 2006. Gunter expects to receive her M.A. in History in May 2008 with plans to pursue a Ph.D. in History. She is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, and first place winner for best paper presented at the 2008 Phi Alpha Theta regional conference held at Samford University. She is a member of Sigma Tau Delta English honor society and the UAB chapter of the Golden Key International Honour Society.

Megan Howland is a senior in the History Department at UAB and will be graduating in August of 2008. She plans on taking a well-deserved year off to enjoy life before rejoining academia in pursuit of her PhD!

Emily Nelms received a B.A. in History from UAB in August 2007. She hopes to pursue a Ph.D. in American history, with a focus on urban studies, race relations, and socioeconomics of the communities affected by the race riots of the 1960s, after completing her M.A. in History. She is a member of the American Historical Association, Urban Historical Association, Southern Historical Association, Society of American Archivists, Phi Alpha Theta, and the Golden Key International Honour Society.

Christopher Null will receive his M.A. in History in August 2008. He is currently preparing a Master’s thesis under the direction of Dr. Brian Steele entitled “The Barbary Wars.” Chris will head west in fall 2008 to pursue his Ph.D. in History at UCLA. He would like to thank more people than he can list here for their support.
RALPH PATTERSON II received his B.A. in History from the American University in 1997. He is currently pursuing his Master's Degree in History at UAB, which he hopes to complete in May 2008. Afterward, he plans to pursue a J.D. and hopes to one day practice law or teach at the university level.

Tia Pavlovich is a native of Townley, Alabama. She received her B.A. in History in 2006, and her M.A. in History in December 2007, both from UAB. Her interests concern social history and the history of Britain. She would like to thank all those who have helped her throughout the years.

Zac Peterson graduated magna cum laude with a B.A. in History from UAB in December 2005. He is working on an M.A. in History, and will graduate in August 2008.

Jennifer R. Phillips double-majored in History and Political Science at the University of Montevallo. She is a member of Phi Alpha Theta History Honors Society and Pi Sigma Alpha Political Science Honors Society. Her interests are African History, Women's History, and Civil Rights. She hopes to complete her M.A. in Summer 2009, and pursue a Ph.D. in African History.

Katie Sutton is currently a junior at UAB. She is pursuing her B.A. in History, which she hopes to complete in December 2008. Afterward, she plans to pursue her M.A. in Public History and hopes to one day pursue a career in museum studies.

John E. Van Sant received his Ph.D. from the University of Oregon. He joined the faculty at UAB in the fall of 2000. In addition to his teaching experience in East Asian and World History, his research focuses on Japan since 1600 and Japan-United States history. He is currently working on a book-length monograph titled *Eastern Ethics, Western Science*, a conceptual history of how and why Japan adopted and adapted elements of Western knowledge and combined this knowledge to its traditional civilization. Dr. Van Sant has presented papers at numerous national and international conferences, and has been awarded research grants and fellowships from the Huntington Library, the Association for Asian Studies, and the Fulbright Commission.

John Paul Whitmore enrolled at UAB in fall 2005 with a double major in History and Business. After receiving his B.A., he remains undecided as to what his career path will be, but he desires to write books and continue his education.
ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

[Text content]

[Text content]

[Text content]
The Emancipation of Bolshevnik Women

No, The Soviet Woman is Not Yet Free!

Kyriatine Brandon

In the wake of the Bolshevnik Revolution of 1917, suddenly everything seemed possible for women: equal wages between men and women, birth control, abortion rights, access to divorce, independent child raising, and sexual freedom. However, these emancipatory freedoms, though good in theory, proved impossible in a society still on the brink of economic collapse, political instability, and civil war, but also because these women lived in a nation that related to them as part of its patriarchal traditions. Under Joseph Stalin, forced industrialization left no time for social experiments. Women were pressed to earn the working world while simultaneously maintaining their traditional gender role as mother and housekeeper. Because Stalin insisted to stay in its patriarchal tradition, because the country was in a critical revolutionary period, and because Joseph Stalin refused to change with women's issues, women after the Bolshevnik Revolution of 1917 were not able to successfully achieve full equality and equality freedom.

Before the Bolshevnik Revolution of 1917, Russian women were at a standstill where the men ruled and women were not experienced in the work world. The wife is by nature the best

Essays
The Emancipation of Bolshevik Women:  
No, The Soviet Woman is Not Yet Free!  

Kristina Brandon

In the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, suddenly everything seemed possible for women: equal wages between men and women, birth control, abortion rights, access to divorce, communal child rearing, and sexual freedom. However, these emancipatory freedoms, though good in theory, proved impossible in a nation steadfast on the brink economic collapse, political turmoil, and civil war, but also because these women lived in a nation that refused to let go of its patriarchal traditions. Under Joseph Stalin, forced industrialization left no time for social experiments. Women were pressured to enter the working world while simultaneously maintaining their traditional gender role as mother and housekeeper.  

Because Russia refused to let go of it patriarchal tradition, because the country was in political turmoil after the revolution, and because Joseph Stalin refused to deal with women's issues, women after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 were not able to successfully achieve full equality and emancipation.

Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Russian society was a world of patriarchal power, where the men ruled and women were subordinate. Czarist Law stated, "The wife is held to obey her husband, as the head of the family, to remain with him in love, respect, unlimited obedience, to him every favor, and show him every affection, as a housewife." These laws also permitted a man to beat his wife. The Russian Orthodox Church reinforced this idea of female subordination and obedience. Russian tradition encouraged all women to stay out of politics, especially those within the working class and the peasantry. Women could not change their residence or even travel abroad without permission of a male guardian. Only upper class women were granted...
very limited admittance to education. Divorce was nearly impossible. Russian women lived under a patriarchal value system that granted men substantial power over them.4

Russia had also been a backward country: economically primitive, militarily inferior, and focused on peasant agriculture, which caused the country to fall behind in industrialization (not until the 1890s). Rapid industrialization led to urban overcrowding and poor working conditions. Between 1914 and 1917 in Petrograd (also known as St. Petersburg, and later as Leningrad), women workers constituted one-third of the total workforce.5 These women would work all day, only to be forced to stand in bread lines to secure food to feed their families. Food and medicine were scarce. Prices skyrocketed, and a famine occurred in 1917. Tsar Nicholas II failed to solve this crisis, and only the Communists offered a solution, namely by overthrowing the bourgeois democracy, abolishing private ownership of land and factories, and concentrating power into the hands of the working and exploited masses.6

“It all began with bread.”7 For several weeks, in February 1917, bakeries in Petrograd began to run out of bread and bread lines appeared. The problem was not shortage of supplies. Arctic weather impeded delivery of ingredients. The halt in the bread supply sparked rumors blaming the shortages on the government. On February 23, International Women’s Day, an important date on the Socialist calendar, huge crowds of women began to march into the city, demanding equal rights. Women textile workers demanding bread joined them. The group marched through the streets screaming “bread” and “down with the Tsar.”8 Through the next few days more than 200,000 workers, men and women, joined the demonstration calling for the overthrow of the autocracy.9 The February Revolution ended with the abdication of Tsar Nicolas II.

At the time of the February Revolution, virtually all of the Bolshevik leaders were exiled. Vladimir Lenin returned to Petrograd in late April. More and more workers, men and women alike, began to join the Bolshevik party. By October 1917, the first great Communist revolution had begun. The Bolsheviks, a faction of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, overthrew the Provisional Government and on October 25 (November 7 on the modern calendar) proclaimed itself
Russia's new government. On October 25-26, 1917, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets met and established a new government, the Council of People's Commissars, creating the world's first Socialist state. The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, opposed traditional Russian statehood and the Russian Orthodox Church.  

Lenin advocated women's emancipation, seeking to liberate them from their role as domestic slaves by replacing the private family household with communal living. In a speech to the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women on November 18, 1918, Lenin proclaimed, "One of the first tasks of the Soviet Republic is to abolish all restrictions on women's rights." He went on to say how the status of women was comparable to that of a slave, claiming that only socialism could unbind women from their roles in the home and bring them into the working world. He blamed the Russian Orthodox Church. Lenin concluded that in the countryside the newly-enacted legislation for women's freedoms remained a "dead letter. The parish priest is harder to combat than the old legislation." He ended the speech by stating that success could only come if women took part.  

The Bolshevichki (female Bolsheviks) played a prominent role in the revolution, though mainly at a lower level. Yet, their participation in the February 1917 bread riots remained critical in initiating the movement that led to "Red October." The Bolshevichki dedicated themselves and their lives to educating and leading the working class toward a socialist future of equality. One of their important tasks was "agitation," the spreading of the Party's message. The Party began to publish newspapers, and women spoke at campaigns. Under pressure from Lenin, the Party published the first issue of the newspaper Rabotnitsa (Woman Worker) in 1914, in time for Women's Day. Though Lenin pressed the women to publish it, he refused to write an article for it. Had he done so, Soviet scholars could have justified their claim that the journal was published on his initiative and functioned under his rule. The magazine continued publication until 1930 when Stalin dissolved it. Though short-lived, Rabotnitsa allowed these Bolshevichki to begin formulating their ideas for women's emancipation.  

One very distinguished figure of the revolution was Alexandra Kollontai. She worked as a prominent member of the Bolshevik's
first government. She entered the new Soviet government in 1917 as commissar for social services, becoming one of the first women in history to hold cabinet rank in a European government. The position enabled her to oversee the passage of new laws, which recognized equal rights between men and women. Between 1917 and 1927, the Soviet Government codified numerous laws aimed at freeing women. These new laws accorded women freedoms equal to men—freedoms they had never been given before. Soviet women became enfranchised. Marriage registration required mutual consent. Either partner could take the name of the other. (In fact, Leon Trotsky took the name of his wife, Sedov, for citizenship purposes.) The concept of illegitimate children was dissolved. Free and legal abortion became every woman's right. By 1927, marriage registration was no longer mandated, and divorce was easily obtainable at the request of one partner, with or without the knowledge of the other.

Alexandra Kollontai intrepidly advocated programs concerning communist sexual relations and the communal family. She also defended a woman's need for independence and a separate income. She believed that the independent working woman paved the way to the free woman. She promoted state-sponsored childcare over parental responsibility for children, going so far as to say that a pregnant woman belonged to the state because she "produces" a new unit of work.

In a series of articles published in Rabotnitsa, Kollontai argued, "Patriarchal ideas of male superiority and female subordination affected the love affairs of even the most independent women." She wrote that men treated women as possessions and women knew no other way of love than subordination. Her "glass of water theory" stated that "sex should be as unproblematic as drinking a glass of water." Many of the Bolsheviks though, including Lenin himself, disagreed with Kollontai's views on the new sexually liberated woman. The new sexual revolution became distorted as males began to abuse its ideals by demoralizing love and exploiting women for sex. Lenin and others regarded sexual liberation and the elimination of the family as distractions from socialism. They called for a liberated woman, while simultaneously requiring a family woman. As Engels stated in 1884, "the equality of women ... will result far more effectively in the men becoming really monogamous than in the
women becoming polyandrous." 22

Another prominent female revolutionary, Inessa Armand, a French-born Communist who spent most of her life in Russia, is often overlooked in discussions of the Bolshevik Revolution. Remembered as Lenin's alleged mistress, Armand made many contributions to the late imperial and early Soviet women's movement. 23 She began her political career in 1903, when she joined the, Social Democratic Labour Party, illegal at the time. She became an "agitator" by spreading propaganda and other written materials, and was one of the first editors of the woman's magazine Rabotnitsa. Her most important task was as Director of the Zhenotdel. 24

In 1919, Armond, together with Kollontai, established the Department for Work Among Women, or Zhenotdel, the first government department in the world established solely for women. During the 1920s, it conducted and distributed propaganda among working class women. This propaganda encouraged women to release the idea that they were inferior to men and to stand up for their political rights. With the help of Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, the department published the magazine Kommunistika (Communist Woman). It swept news of the revolution to women all across Soviet Russia. 25 The Bureau also worked in the countryside for literacy and welfare rights among the peasants. They attempted to bring women into the revolutionary process and promote their equality in public and private spheres. 26 The Zhenotdel was used as a tool for educating and organizing women. It stressed that the only way for a woman to reach emancipation was through communal society.

By the end of the 1920s, the Zhenotdel, like other government departments formulated for women, had begun to lose momentum. 27 The Bolshevik party began to edit its socialist ideals "to make them fit with a modernized patriarchalism." It had changed its view from that of free love, communal living, and communal child rearing, to premarital chastity and a nuclear family bound together by love and respect. By the 1930s, the Party's conception was that a woman should be an equal participant in society, whilst finding fulfillment in taking care of her family. She should be a citizen, worker, housekeeper, wife, and a mother. The department met its fate, however, in 1930 when Stalin dissolved it.
He stated, "All women's issues had been solved."  

Even with the advances made by revolutionary women, and the efforts made of the Soviet regime, emancipation proved unsuccessful, as Russia was still submerged in its patriarchal traditions and ideals. No woman seemed able to overcome the fundamental disadvantage of being female. An interesting example is found in John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*, in which he asks, "Are the women soldiers in the palace?" In the story, the captain answers, "Yes, they are in the back rooms, where they won't be hurt if any trouble comes." Male Bolsheviks held virtually all of the high-ranking and mid-range party offices. They formed alliances with men through men. The Bolshevichki steadily lost ground to male Bolsheviks in the party hierarchy. Many Bolshevichki also testified to male harassment they endured in the workplace.

Women comprised a significant portion of the workforce in Soviet Russia. In 1917, women constituted fifty-five percent of the labor force in Petrograd, but almost all worked in unskilled positions. According to Lenin, "In this work women must, and of course, will play the leading role." Unfortunately for women, leadership continued to remain in the hands of men.

In a letter to a Moscow women workers' celebration, Trotsky stated, "the problem of women's emancipation, both material and spiritual, is closely tied to that of the transformation of the family life." But the notion was not realized, and in the 1930s, a complete reversal in Soviet attitude towards women and family occurred. Many of the rights women gained during and after the revolution were eliminated. Female children learned special subjects in schools to prepare them for roles as mothers and housewives. In 1938, Trotsky explained the matter:

The position of woman is the most graphic and telling indicator for evaluating a social regime and state policy. The October Revolution inscribed on its banner the emancipation of womankind and created the most progressive legislation in history on marriage and the family. This does not mean, of course, that a "happy life" was immediately in store for the Soviet Woman....Meanwhile, guided by its conservative instinct, the bureaucracy has taken alarm at the "disintegration" of the family.
It began singing panegyrics to the family supper and the family laundry, that is, the household slavery of women. To cap it all, the bureaucracy has restored criminal punishment for abortions, officially returning women to the status of pack animals. In complete contradiction to the ABCs of Communism, the ruling caste has thus restored the most reactionary and benighted nucleus of the class system, i.e., the petty bourgeois family.36

A second reason for the failure of women’s rights was economic turmoil. The Russian Civil War broke out in the middle of 1918. The Bolsheviks saw it as a class-based war: proletariat versus bourgeoisie. During the civil war, all emphasis was placed on military matters. Many believed that they were “riding a revolutionary tide that was sweeping away old Russia.”37 The war left the economy of Soviet Russia in shambles, bringing industry nearly to a standstill. The halt of industry added to consecutive droughts in 1920-22, which in turn, led to famine. In the countryside, peasants reportedly resorted to cannibalism.38 Women concentrated not on their own movement, but on the continuing struggle to survive. Endemic misery and material poverty hampered the socialist experiments.39 The Party called for women to work during the civil war. When the war ended, the men returned and took back their jobs, placing women back in the home. Lenin, along with the help of Nikolai Bukharin, attempted to help out the ruinous economy by introducing the New Economic Policy (NEP).

The NEP, introduced in 1922 at the end of the Civil War, served as yet another reason for unsuccessful emancipation. The policy allowed a mixed economy with capitalism. Private property was reinstated in the countryside, in order to encourage the circulation of goods.40 The newly-hired labor force consisted of privileged specialists, government leaders, and foreigners, and constituted a serious setback for women. Approximately seventy percent of the job cutbacks during this period affected women. The NEP led to a slowdown in the movement towards women’s emancipation, postponing the socialization of housework and communal living.41 Trotsky explained the matter by stating that society proved too poor and little cultured to take on the new experiments in socialized society. Prostitution, previously illegal, became common again.
As unemployment rose, so did the number of women on the streets. Under the NEP, more and more women’s organizations were criticized and shut down.\textsuperscript{42}

The situation once looked hopeful for women, then seemed to go backward. Any new freedoms enacted for women under Lenin’s government were repressed when Joseph Stalin came to power. Stalin abolished the Zhenotdel, declaring it useless, because he assumed women’s emancipation had already been achieved.\textsuperscript{43} In 1936 abortion was illegalized once again—a visible Soviet effort to control women’s bodies.

The Stalinist regime placed a renewed emphasis on the family. The Soviet state became pro-family and pro-natalist, adopting the notion that women should find fulfillment in taking care of their families. The ideal Soviet wife contrasted with the Bolshevichki, “for not only did she confine herself to hearth and home, she was warmly maternal.”\textsuperscript{44} The emphasis on women’s reproductive obligations in conjunction with women’s recruitment into the workforce left women with the double burden in Soviet society—responsibility for child rearing and domestic chores alongside full-time work outside the home.\textsuperscript{45} This double burden placed on women affected their decisions about having children. That in turn frustrated the efforts of the Soviet regime to increase the birth rate. In the words of Trotsky, women were confined to the home in “suffocating cages... turning her into a slave, if not a beast of burden.”\textsuperscript{46}

After the death of Stalin in 1953, his successor Nikita Khrushchev enacted many women’s reforms that had been reversed by Stalin. Abortion was legalized again in 1955. Other laws enacted in 1965-68 made divorces easier to obtain by women. Maternity protection gave the expectant mother 56 days of maternity leave and 56 days after the birth. Khrushchev reinstated coeducation, abolished under Stalin. It seemed that women were back on the road again to equality.\textsuperscript{47}

The Bolshevik Revolution initially offered an opportunity to reshape patriarchal Russia, from a society filled with injustice and oppression into a society based on equality. The newly-established Bolshevik government self-consciously attempted to liberate women. However, an enormous gap loomed between the idea and reality. Russia was engulfed in economic collapse, political turmoil, and war. Also
Russians just could not let go of their patriarchal traditions. Peasant women continued to be subordinate to their husbands. Women in factory towns often lost their jobs to termination or layoffs before men. Male dominance continued to have a hold on all walks of life. Only a few women ever reached high political positions, but never the top. The "new" Soviet woman continued to be a servant to the regime. The sexist wolf of the tsarist past still survived, only now the wolf wore communist clothing. The idea of women having complete equality with men was only theory, and was never practiced in reality.

In The Revolution Betrayed, Trotsky sums up the matter by explaining how the October Revolution did fulfill its promise to women. The new Soviet government gave women many political and legal rights that men had. It all also worked to secure her access to all forms of cultural and economic work. However, even the boldest revolution "cannot convert a woman into a man—or rather, cannot divide equally between them the burden of pregnancy, nursing, and the rearing of children. No, the Soviet woman is not yet free." 48

3 Bridenthal, Becoming Visible, 452.
8 Figes, A People's Tragedy, 308.
10 Clements, Bolshevik Women, 1.
13 Clements, Bolshevik Women, 59.
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 270.
Rossi, “The Emancipation of Women in Russia”
Trotsky, Women and the Family, 9.
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 213.
Pavla Vesela, “The Hardening of Cement”
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 214
R.C. Elwood, Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist, ix-xi.
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 207.
Bridenthal, Becoming Visible, 462.
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 274-276.
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 190.
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 159-161.
Bridenthal, Becoming Visible, 434.
Lenin, The Emancipation of Women, 82.
Trotsky, Women and the Family, 29.
Trotsky, Women and the Family, 10.
Bridenthal, Becoming Visible, 462.
Rossi, “The Emancipation of Women in Russia”
Bridenthal, Becoming Visible, 462.
Rossi, “The Emancipation of Women in Russia”
Clements, “The Utopian of the Zhenotdel,” 496.
Clements, Bolshevik Women, 276.
Trotsky, Women and the Family, 29.
Bridenthal, Becoming Visible, 467.
Trotsky, Women and the Family, 61-73.
In 1571, Parliament boldly raised the issue of royal trade privileges for the first time. The response of Queen Elizabeth I was to instruct the House of Commons not to concern themselves with such matters. The issue rested for twenty seven years until, in 1598, Parliament sent a message to the Queen asking her to abolish “abuses practiced by Monopolies and Patents of Privilege.” This time, Elizabeth asked Parliament not to undermine her prerogative and promised them she would look into eliminating monopolies. When Parliament met again three years later, the monopolies remained in place.

Parliamentary checks on abuses of the royal prerogative of granting monopolies began at the end of the sixteenth century with Elizabeth I’s royal proclamation. It was so strongly supported, however, that within a century, precedent was established that Parliament alone could grant a monopoly, and that even it could not, as the monarch had traditionally done, arbitrarily sell or give away a patent. I intend to examine the early seventeenth century anti-monopoly movement as it relates to the evolution of Parliament as guardian and interpreter of English constitutionality. In examining the period from the “Golden Speech” of Elizabeth I in 1601 to the 1624 Parliamentary Statute of Monopolies during the reign of James I, I hope to illuminate the legal shift that took place in England from royal prerogative to Parliamentary consent.

A lively discussion of monopolies in the Parliament of 1601 led to the drafting of a bill that abolished them altogether. Individual members of Parliament vehemently opposed specific monopolies they thought
adversely affected their constituencies. The only problem was that no one was comfortable challenging the royal prerogative. Parliament’s authority would be undermined if Elizabeth decided to grant exemptions to the bill and consequently it was never passed. The debate was cut short by Elizabeth herself. In her famous “Golden Speech”, the Queen addressed the foremost concern of the legislators:

Mr. Speaker, you give me thankes, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you, thanke them of the Lower-House from Me, for had I not received knowledge from you, I might a fallen into lapse of an Error, only for want of true information. Since I was Queene yet did I neuer put my Pen to any Grant but upon pretext and semblance made Me, that it was for the good and availe of my Subjects generally, though a private profit to some of my ancient Servants who had deserved well: But that my Grants shall be made Grievances to my People, and Oppressions, to bee priviledged under colour of Our Patents, Our Princely Dignitie shall not suffer it. When I heard it, I could give no rest vnto my thoughts vntill I had reformed it, and those Varlets, lewd persons, abusers of my bountie, shall know that I will not svffer it.

It was the last speech ever made by Elizabeth to Parliament and in it she proclaimed she would do away with the most contentious monopolies. The rest would be subject to review in common-law courts. In a genius political move, the prerogative remained intact, she avoided total elimination of all monopolies and her right to issue them in the future had been preserved.

Patents might never have come before the House of Commons had the queen not extended her prerogative in a way that Members of Parliament (MPs) considered dangerous. Patents had been granted by English monarchs as early as 1331. They were not an unpopular custom and if Elizabeth had been content to issue patents in encouragement of new trade and manufacturing, the status quo may have been maintained. However, Elizabeth faced difficult financial straits in the later part of her rule and was unable to adequately compensate favored supporters.
Instead of paying them outright, she granted her trusted servants exclusive privilege to the export, import, manufacture, or sale of a specific product. Often the product or manufacture awarded as patronage was already an established trade that provided a livelihood for many English subjects. In attacking the dispensation of patents, the House of Commons was attempting to preserve the rightful property of “freeborn Englishman” against tyranny.

Queen Elizabeth’s proclamation on monopolies was first tested in *Darcy v. Allen* or *The Case of Monopolies* decided in the common law Court of Queen’s Bench in 1603. Edward Darcy had been granted a patent by the Queen for the manufacture and import of playing cards. When a competitor, Allen, manufactured and sold cards, Darcy brought a suit of infringement against him. The court held that the Queen's grant was invalid because it damaged skilled card manufacturers by restraining them from practicing their trade and promoted their idleness. Furthermore, they claimed that it raised prices and lowered quality of playing cards, and set a dangerous precedent in allowing the unskilled manufacture of a product. In short, the patent was held void because it violated the right of others to carry on the trade.

Sir Edward Coke’s detail of *The Case of Monopolies* has prevailed as the original anti-trust judgment. However, in examining an opinion, it is important to also examine the jurist. Sir Edward Coke was a staunch believer in the unwritten English constitution. He asserted that Parliament’s rights do not flow from the monarchy, but rather, they exist parallel to it. Furthermore, an MP’s rights were innate. Coke was fundamentally against Crown-sanctioned privilege; in the form of exclusive patent or otherwise if it violated liberty or property. His opinion described the playing card monopoly as “against the common law, and the benefit and liberty of the subject.” In other words, Coke saw in Darcy the attempt by a Monarch to widen royal control over an established trade which was a private interest and therefore a protected liberty of the Englishman. In *The Case of Monopolies*, the question of sovereignty found expression in common-law precedent.

In addition to the common-law question concerning monopolies, another issue was raised which had broader implications for English governmental authority. Patents also ushered in the possibility of a
Crown independent of the taxing powers of Parliament. With the ability to draw revenue from patentees, a Monarch might be able circumvent the need to ask Parliament for subsidies. Stripped of its power of the purse, Parliament's role in government would be uncertain. This question would have broad implications by middle of the seventeenth century.

It must be understood, however, that MPs bore no ill will for the crown in their examination of monopolies. They respected the ancestral power of the monarch and did not wish to remove the royal prerogative all together. Parliament simply wanted to achieve consensus by defining the limits of the prerogative in a way that would prevent future abuses of their liberties.

A prime example of the Common's deference to the Crown is Bate's Case (1606). John Bate, a London merchant, brought suit over the imposition of a tax on red currants from Turkey. The Court of the Exchequer decided that it was the prerogative of the Crown to levy payments on imports and exports by natives or foreigners as a matter foreign policy, citing that the king was acting in the public interest.

One year later, the House of Commons held a debate on the legality of impositions. Suprisingly, James I agreed to accept a bill against outlawing them. However, it only applied to future increases of customs levels without Parliamentary consent. Essentially, the Commons made a concession to the king but seized the opportunity to further define a limit on the prerogative.

Bate's Case offered a fitting backdrop for the reign of James I. Shortly after his accession, the James found himself in debt. His lavish spending and a declining economy necessitated innovation in order to secure revenue. The ingenious Lord Treasurer Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, managed to make royal ends meet. First, he sold the right to collect revenues on Crown lands to the highest bidder. Then, he issued a new Book of Rates without Parliamentary consent. Next, he proposed the Great Contract which would have provided the King with annual revenue in exchange for his rights to feudal dues from wardship, knightage, and purveyance. Despite Cecil's enormous effort, the Great Contract failed to pass in Parliament. Parliament was insistent on further definition of prerogative limits but understood the need for finesse in achieving those limits.
The House of Commons next sought to clarify its constitutional argument against royal monopolies. James' use of patents again resurfaced in a general petition by the Commons in the second Parliamentary session of 1606. In response, the new Monarch reasserted his right to issue delegation of regulatory authority, *non obstante* grants, and trade monopolies. James retained the most lucrative monopolies, but promised to punish any abuses committed in the patents' execution, to subject select monopolies to common-law courts, and to retract some of them.

However, by 1610 the issue of monopolies had not been addressed to the satisfaction of the House of Commons. James had neglected to keep his earlier promise to abolish them. New patents had been granted and royal dispensation power continued to be abused. James' response in 1610 was the same as it had been in 1606. This time, Cecil managed to convince James to issue the *Book of Bounty* which proclaimed that "royal exclusive trade privileges were contrary to both his own policies and the common law, declared his intent to issue no more of them, and warned potential suitors against approaching him in pursuit of the grants that he was freely giving." In other words, James conceded to the Commons, but remained adamant about his right to issue monopolies.

When Parliament met in 1621, James's *Book of Bounty* promises were proving increasingly empty. An anti-monopoly bill was read and passed in the Commons but failed in the House of Lords. The upper House was unwilling to oppose the prerogative with such a bill.

The anti-monopoly campaign was reopened in the next meeting of Parliament two years later. It passed three readings in the Commons and was agreed to by the Lords. James gave his assent and in 1624, the *Statute of Monopolies* became law.

In 1601, Parliament counted on Elizabeth's financial need to achieve their end. Likewise, James' need in 1610 resulted in the issue of the *Book of Bounty*. In 1624, the Crown's dependence on Parliamentary subsidy secured the new law in restraint of prerogative. The power of the purse had long been a negotiating tool for Parliament, but James I's fiscal weakness was just the break Parliament needed to restrict the royal dispensing power. In doing this, the Commons had succeeded in
securing common law precedent for the protection of English property.

While the Statute of Monopolies had put an end to the ability of the monarch to arbitrarily grant monopolies, it did not eliminate customary corporate monopolies. The common law continued to protect certain monopolies in order to exclude foreigners from specific trades. As was stated before, this category of monopoly was not unpopular as it sought to preserve trade privileges on a local level. Rather, the aim of the Statute was to stop the King from using his prerogative in a manner that was considered to be abusive to the people. The Statute states:

BE IT ENACTED, that all monopolies and all commissions, grants, licenses, charters, and letters patents heretofore made or granted...are altogether contrary to the laws of this realm, and so are and shall be utterly void and of none effect...

This portion of the law was pertinent to the Monarch. The ninth section describes circumstances which are excluded:

Provided also, that this act or anything therein shall not in any wise extend to be prejudicial unto the city of London, or to any city, borough, or town corporate within this realm, for or concerning any grants, charters, or letters patent to them, or any of them made or granted...shall be and continue of such force and effect as they were before the making of this act...

Clearly, the Statute of Monopolies pertained only to the Crown and did not affect the autonomy of localities operating in their own best interest.

The end of the sixteenth century saw Parliament requesting that its Queen dissolve unfair monopolies. Within two decades, the request was transformed into law. Parliament had cornered the financially inept King James I and demanded their natural rights be recognized. The politeness with which this was accomplished is striking. In addressing monopoly, Parliament was acting to preserve what it considered to be the rights of free-born Englishman. The royal dispensation of monopoly was representative of the greater issue of prerogative versus consent: In defining a limit to the prerogative, the early Stuart Parliament succeeded
in checking a power that was potentially boundless.

---

3 Ibid, 201.
4 Nachbar, 1333. By the end of the seventeenth century, the issuance of a letter-patent by Parliament was justifiable only if it could be proved to be for the greater economic good.
7 Nachbar, "Monopoly, Mercantilism, and the Politics of Regulation", 1331.
8 Edie, "Tactics and Strategies: Parliament's Attack upon the Royal Dispensing Power, 1597-1689", 204.
9 Ibid, 205.
10 William L. Letwin, "The English Common Law Concerning Monopolies", The University of Chicago Law Review, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring, 1954), 356. In order to avoid a direct challenge to the royal prerogative, the court held that the Queen had been deceived by the monopolist in granting the patent.
12 Letwin, 357.
13 While the "liberty of the subject" argument became very popular, it only held in cases tackling privileges already in question because they relied expressly upon royal prerogative. The precedent held that Crown-sponsored restriction of trade violated the common law; however, restriction of trade through other avenues did not. Ibid, 360.
14 Edie, 204.
15 Letwin, 355.
16 Bucholz and Key, 213. An imposition was an additional custom charged on exports without the consent of Parliament.
17 Nachbar, 1330.
19 Bucholz and Key, 213
20 Edie, 211.
21 Nachbar, 1333.
22 Edie, 204. When a trade privilege was granted non obstante, it gave the patentee permission to carry on a trade that was otherwise restricted by law.
23 Letwin, 355.
24 Ibid.
25 Edie, 205.
26 Letwin, 355.
27 Edie, 205.
28 Letwin, 357.
29 Nachbar, 1336.
The English Revolution, also known as the English Civil War, the Puritan Revolution, and the War of the Three Kingdoms, is one of the most significant events in the history of early-modern Europe. Some scholars credit it with establishing the precedent that English monarchs may not rule without the consent of Parliament, thereby creating a constitutional monarchy. Others suggest that the revolution freed the burgeoning middle class from feudal domination and thus cleared the way for the Industrial Revolution and the British Empire. The consequences of the revolution are undeniably significant and well-documented. However, the causes of this conflict are hotly disputed among historians, as indicated by the general lack of agreement as to what to call the conflict.

Surveying the recent historiography on the subject, Christopher Hill points out “the English Revolution is still an enigma.” Yet he identifies several major trends that influence the examination of this period. The first trend identifies the period as “The Puritan Revolution” and views the conflict as “a struggle for religious and constitutional liberty.” Another interpretation views the shifting socioeconomic status of the gentry as destabilizing the established order and igniting conflict. Hill proffers a Marxian interpretation which ultimately views the conflict as a “Bourgeois Revolution,” but he wisely notes that “we must widen our view so as to embrace the total activity of society. Any event so complex as a revolution must be seen as a whole. Large numbers of men and women were drawn into political activity by religious and political ideas as well as by economic necessities.”

Diverse as these interpretations may be, they each share a basic
assumption. Each views the seventeenth-century conflict between king and Parliament as constituting a “revolution” – a progressive, substantial change in the fundamental organization of English life. Furthermore, they posit that, whether implicitly or explicitly, an urge for change lie behind the causes of the “revolution.” Yet, evidence suggests this assumption is, in fact, false. This essay seeks to offer an alternate interpretation of the conflict. Namely, the “English Revolution” is best understood as the “English Radical Reaction,” for the conflict was not intended to change England, but instead to conserve their traditional social-political-economic order (hereafter referred to simply as the “traditional order”) against the encroachments of the Stuart monarchy.

In order to undertake such a venture, a brief examination of the traditional order will be necessary. Though there is some debate over the status of the Anglo-Saxon period within such considerations, there remains no question that the Magna Carta firmly established English traditional order. After the loss of his French holdings in 1204, King John forced his nobles to pay a series of unpopular taxes. With this revenue, John raised an army which he used to invade France in an attempt to regain the lost territories. In 1214, John’s army was crushed at the Battle of Bouvines. Defeated, John was now prey to the demands of the English nobility. The following year these nobles, bitter over the forced taxation, forced John to sign the Magna Carta, which defined the “customary” obligations and rights of the King, nobility, and freeborn English. As such, the charter, essentially a conservative document, codified existing practices. 5

Many of the rights detailed by the Magna Carta are significant to this discussion. Several clauses dealt with economic and political rights and obligations, limiting the power of the King by prohibiting certain forms of taxation. Clauses 36-40 established such guarantees against arbitrary power as the right of *habeas corpus* (#36), protections against self-incrimination (#38), and the right to “due process of law” (#39 and #40). The most significant clauses, however, are numbers 12 and 14, which together provided:

No “scutage” or “aid” may be levied in our kingdom without its general consent... To obtain the general consent of the realm
for the assessment of an “aid”... or a “scutage,” we will cause the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons to be summoned individually by letter. To those who hold lands directly of us we will cause a general summons to be issued, through the sheriffs and other officials, to come together on a fixed day... and at a fixed place... When a summons has been issued, the business appointed for the day shall go forward in accordance with the resolution of those present.6

In short, the Magna Carta was created in reaction to the unpopular taxes established by King John. The landed nobility, faced with this threat against their property, sought protections from excessive royal power. Hence, clauses 12 and 14 denied the King the power of taxation without the approval of the landed nobility. Property-holders thus gained political power by the very basis of holding property; this link between property and political power endured well into the modern era.

Finally, the Magna Carta established a system by which the terms of the charter could be enforced against all parties, even the monarch:

If we... offend in any respect against any man, or transgress any of the articles of the peace or of this security... the said twenty-five barons, they shall come to us... to declare it and claim immediate redress. If we... make no redress within forty days, reckoning from the day on which the offence was declared to us or to him... [the barons] may distress upon and assail us in every way possible, with the support of the whole community of the land, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, or anything else saving only our own person and those of the queen and our children, until they have secured such redress as they have determined upon. Having secured the redress, they may then resume their normal obedience to us.7

Here, the essence of the Magna Carta and the traditional order became most obvious. In principle, all individuals were placed under the law. No one, not even the King, could claim exemption.

The traditional order thus construed is founded upon these
principles. First, the sanctity of property must be protected from the abuses of royal authority. Second, political power and property are fundamentally linked. Third, certain legal rights protect all men. Finally, no one is above the law. These principles wax and wane over the subsequent centuries, yet they are not directly challenged until the ascension of the Stuarts in 1603. This challenge would be met by Parliament and the people of England, who would ultimately reassert their traditional rights against this challenge.

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, the crown passed to James VI of Scotland, known subsequently as James I. Upon assuming the throne, conflicts erupted between the crown and the Parliament over issues of authority and rights. James held a strong preconception of the monarchy, based in the theory of the “Divine Right of Kings.” Parliament countered by asserting the traditional order established with the Magna Carta. Tensions mounted throughout the kingdom.

James' speech before the Parliament illustrated his conception of monarchy. In it, he declared, “the state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods.” One can imagine the discomfort within Parliament regarding the implications of this equation between the monarchy and divinity. James, however, unwilling to simply infer this connection, continued:

Kings are justly called gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth... God hath the power to create or destroy, to make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all and to be judged nor accountable to none... And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects, they have the power of raising up and casting down, of life and of death, judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none but God only.

By illustrating the full implications of the divine right theory, James mounted a direct assault upon the foundations of the traditional order. Against the sanctity of property, James argued that it was the power of
the King to dispose of his subjects and therefore their property, as he saw fit. James argued against the linkage of political power and property, contending that his ruling authority came from God alone. Against the principle that legal rights protected all men, James countered that his power over his subjects was without limit. Finally, James dismissed the principle of the supremacy of law, with the assertion that he answered to none, save God alone.

As mentioned, this challenge to the traditional order was not contested. Parliament attempted, gently at first, to correct the King and reassert its traditional rights. When James challenged that Parliament exists purely at the pleasure and grace of the King, Parliament responded:

Now concerning the ancient right... of this house of the parliament, the misinformation openly delivered to your majesty hath been... we hold not our privileges of right, but of grace only, renewed every parliament... Against which assertions... the house of commons assembled in parliament, and in the name of the whole commons of the realm of England, with uniform consent for ourselves and our posterities, do expressly protest, as being derogatory in the highest degree to the true dignity, liberty, and authority of your majesty's high courts of parliament, and consequently to the right of all your majesty's said subjects, and the whole body of this your kingdom.¹¹

Thus, Parliament asserted its “ancient right” against the “misinformation” of the new king. This ancient right grounded itself in a familiar concept:

And contrariwise... we most truly avouch that our privileges and liberties are our rights and due inheritance no less than our very lands and goods; that they cannot be withheld from us, denied, or impaired, but with apparent wrong to the whole state of the realm; and that our making of request in the entrance of parliament to enjoy our privileges is an act only of manners and doth not weaken our right, no more than our suing to the king
Property was the foundation of Parliament's ancient right to assemble, as it was the foundation of all other rights. Furthermore, Parliament was exclusively constituted of property-holders, thus these rights were inherent within Parliament, and could not be denied.

This debate continued until the death of James in 1625, and the subsequent ascension of his son, Charles I. Setting himself squarely within his father's footsteps, Charles also argued for an absolutist monarchy based on divine right. He moved beyond the arguments of his father, however, and acted in accordance with those beliefs. Breaking two of the long-standing taboos of the fiercely Protestant England, Charles selected a Catholic bride, Henrietta Maria of France, and also granted freedom of worship to English Catholics. This raises the ire of Parliament, and when they sought to remove the man they felt was responsible for this outrage, the Duke of Buckingham, Charles dissolved Parliament. The dissolution, however, created its own set of problems, as Parliament had not yet granted Charles the customary dues of "tonnage and poundage," which were the basis of the royal budget. To supplement his income, Charles simply collected these taxes without the consent of Parliament and began a series of forced loans. By raising taxes without the approval of Parliament, Charles not just attacked the traditional order, he actively overturned it.

The case of the Five Knights illustrated another dimension of Charles's campaign against the traditional order. In this case, the judiciary was asked to consider the imprisonment of individuals who refused to pay Charles's forced loan. The justice presented the case as such:

[W]e are sworn to maintain all prerogatives of the king... And we are likewise sworn to administer justice equally to all people... That which is now to be judged by us is this: whether any one that is committed by the king's authority, and no cause declared of his commitment, according as here it is upon this return — whether we ought to deliver him by bail or to remand him back again.
Thus another fundamental issue addressed by the Magna Carta: whether an individual could be imprisoned without cause. Surprisingly, the court ruled that this exercise of royal prerogative was sound:

[The king] bids us proceed by law as we are sworn to do, and so is the king. And we make no doubt but the king, if you seek to him... will have mercy. But we leave that. If in justice we ought to deliver you, we would do it; but upon these grounds and these records, and the precedents and resolutions, we cannot deliver you, but you must be remanded. ¹⁵

By ruling that the king does indeed hold the power to detain individuals without due cause, the court affirmed Charles's campaign against the traditional order.

Parliament again attempted to assert its rights against this threatening new intrusion of royal power. The Petition of Right, drafted in 1628, was intended to educate Charles in the proper procedures of English government. Beginning with the issue of taxation and the forced loans, Parliament reminded Charles:

whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward the First... that no tallage or aid should be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm without the goodwill and assent of... the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and, by authority of parliament holden... it is declared and enacted that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will... your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent in parliament. ¹⁶

Furthermore, with regard to the precedent of imprisonment without cause, the petition reprimanded Charles, thus:

by the statute called the Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted that no freeman may be
taken or imprisoned... but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land... nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed.  

Again, quite obviously, Parliament, whose cause was essentially conservative, attempted to protect the traditional order against the novel intrusions of the Stuart monarchy. The Stuart program of absolutist monarchy based on divine right theory was the true revolutionary doctrine, as it entailed the overthrow of the existing order. These two doctrines clashed repeatedly, neither decisively overpowering the other. Stalemate produced frustration; frustration pushed these doctrines towards more radical formulations.

Within a year of receiving the Petition of Right, Charles intensified the situation by dissolving Parliament and initiating a period of personal rule, which lasted for more than a decade. Still denied the necessary income of tonnage and poundage dues, Charles attempted to circumvent Parliament's control of the purse by enacting the collection of "Ship Money." Affirmed by the judiciary in 1637, this practice allowed that:

your majesty may... command all the subjects of this your kingdom at their charge to provide and furnish such number of ships, with men, munition, and victuals... for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom... and that by law your majesty may compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness.  

In effect, this practice constituted a regular tax levied without the consent of Parliament; however, it did not fully solve Charles's financial problems. When war erupted between England and Scotland in 1639, Charles discovered that he lacked the funds to raise an effective army. Forced to recall Parliament in 1640, the King found himself facing a group unwilling to grant the assistance he demanded. Dissolving the so-called "Short Parliament" after only three weeks, Charles again attempted personal rule. However, the combined pressures of the continuing
financial problems, the occupation of northern England by the Scottish armies, and the increasing demands of the populace that Parliament be recalled forced Charles’s hand. The “Long Parliament” assembled in November 1640. The period of peaceful debate had reached an end.19

Much as did the nobles under King John, the “Long Parliament” exploited Charles’s position of weakness to gain concessions and reforms. One of the first acts passed, the Triennial Act, called for the regular meeting of Parliament for the purpose of “preventing of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments.”20 Subsequent acts established that “this present parliament now assembled shall not be dissolved unless it be by act of parliament to be passed for that purpose, nor shall be, at any time or times during the continuance thereof, prorogued or adjourned, unless it be by act of parliament to be likewise passed for that purpose.”21 Parliament then repealed the collection of the Ship Money, abolished the Star Chamber court, and severely curtailed the powers of the ecclesiastical authorities.22 With each of these acts, Parliament grew increasingly radical in its reaction against the Stuart absolutism. While tied to the basic principles of the traditional order (i.e. the sanctity of property, the equation of property and power, the universal protection of law, and the submission of all men to the law), Parliament grew more willing to dispose the actual traditions in order to preserve the principles behind those traditions.

The Militia Ordinance illustrates this point. Drafted in 1642 in response to the failed attempt to impeach and arrest five members of the “Long Parliament” earlier that year, the ordinance proclaimed:

it is ordained by the lords and commons now in parliament assembled... [they] shall have power to lead, conduct and employ the [militia] aforesaid arrayed and weaponed, for the suppression of all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions that may happen within the several and respective counties and places; and shall have power and authority to lead, conduct, and employ the persons aforesaid arrayed and weaponed... for the suppression of all rebellions.23

By this ordinance, Parliament stripped the King of his traditional
powers over the militia and bestowed them upon itself. Charles quickly responded:

Whereas we understand that, expressly contrary to the... laws of this our kingdom, under colour... of an ordinance of parliament, without our consent or any... warrant from us, the trained bands and militia of this kingdom have been lately, and are intended to be, put in arms and drawn into companies in a warlike manner... in case any of our trained bands shall rise or gather together contrary to this our command, we shall then call them in due time to a strict account and proceed legally against them as violators of the laws. ²⁴

The conflict between the King and Parliament took a new turn. Whereas before, Parliament merely asserted its traditional rights as a defense against the encroachments of the Stuarts, now Parliament itself encroached upon the traditional authority of the King in order to protect those same rights.

This new radical new formulation of Parliamentary powers is clearly expressed in the Declaration of the Lords and Commons.

[I]t is acknowledged that the king is the fountain of justice and protection; but the acts of justice and protection are not exercised in his own person, nor depend upon his pleasure, but by his courts and by his ministers, who must do their duty therein though the king in his own person should forbid them... The high court of parliament is not only a court of judicature... but it is likewise a council to provide for the necessities, prevent the imminent dangers, and preserve the public peace and safety of the kingdom, and to declare the king's pleasure in those things as are requisite thereunto... the king's supreme and royal pleasure is exercised and declared in this high court of law and council, after a more eminent and obligatory manner than it can be by personal act or resolution of his own. ²⁵

Parliament took a significant leap. It claimed for itself the "king's
pleasure," as opposed to the "king's person," such that it alone stood as the judge of the greater "good." Though the King's person could oppose Parliament, the acts of Parliament contained within them the "king's pleasure," and therefore the power to justly oppose the king. The implicit corollary to this proposition was, of course, that the king's opposition to Parliament was essentially unjust. With this powerful new tool, the Parliament gained the moral justification necessary to carry out a civil war against the monarchy and its transformation from a conservative body to a radical reactionary body is thus completed.

This radical formulation of Parliamentary reaction propelled the events from 1649-60. The trial and execution of Charles exhibited this concern with maintaining the traditional order:

Charles Stuart, the now king of England, not content with those many encroachments which his predecessors had made upon the people in their rights and freedoms, hath had a wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation and in their place to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government.26

Yet the methods employed were strikingly untraditional: "For all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by severing of his head from his body."27 True, the English were never exactly timid when it came to killing unpopular monarchs; yet such regicide typically occurred under the guise of a "hunting accident" or some other plausible misfortune. The trial, conviction, and public execution of a sitting king for the crime of treason would have been unthinkable, yet that was the fate that befell King Charles I.

Perhaps the best evidence for the assertion that the "revolution" actually constituted a radicalized reaction comes from an ongoing debate within the "revolutionaries" themselves, best exemplified by the Putney Debates. These debates demonstrated the essential conservative foundation of the Parliamentarians, led by Cromwell, against the true revolutionary ideology of the Levellers.
The debates at Putney centered around the Leveler-proposed constitution, "An Agreement of the People," which was far more democratic in its formulations than the constitution proposed by Cromwell and the leaders of the Parliamentary forces. Yet Cromwell and his partner in the debate, Commissary-General Ireton, seem quite reluctant to accept this new constitution. Cromwell argued, "this paper does contain in it a very great alteration of the very government of the kingdom... what the consequences of such an alteration as this would be, if there were nothing else to be considered, wise men and godly men ought to consider." Upon consideration, however, Cromwell and his ally objected to the "Agreement" based on two particular concerns: first, the distribution of the franchise and its effects upon property, and secondly, the right to break unjust agreements.

With regards to the issue of franchise, Ireton noted:

It is said, they are to be distributed according to the number of the inhabitants... And this doth make me think that the meaning is, that every man that is an inhabitant is to be equally considered, and to have an equal voice in the election of those representers.29

This principle, by which every inhabitant had an equal voice in the election of representatives, Ireton found to be quite troubling. "[I]f you make this rule," he charged, "I think you must fly for refuge to an absolute natural right, and you must deny all civil right."30 Ireton argued the only possible justification for the claim of equal representation was as a natural right. However, by doing so not only was the traditional order's association of political power with property undermined, property itself was threatened:

For thus: by that same right of nature... by which you say one man hath an equal right with another to the choosing of him that shall govern him – by that same right of nature, he hath the same equal right in any goods he sees... to take and use them for his sustenance.31
By acknowledging a natural right which existed within all men, Ireton feared that a slippery-slope would be created where all men might have a natural right to property. This universal right to property would dissolve the established legal rights of property-holders, destroying another principle of the traditional order. Thus, this revolutionary principle of equal representation based on natural right was rejected in favor of a traditional understanding of property-based rights and representation. Again, the conservative trend was obvious.

With regard to the second issue, the right to break unjust agreements, Cromwell and Ireton grew extremely suspicious of such a revolutionary principle. Speaking of the Leveller's representative, Mr. Wildman, Ireton stated, "he hints that, if he that makes an engagement (be it what it will be) have further light that this engagement was not good or honest, then he is free from it." He disagreed with this policy, arguing, "I account that the great foundation of justice, that we should keep covenant with one another... take that away, I do not know what ground there is of anything you can call any man's right." Again the threat of this principle to property was established:

What right hath any man to anything if you lay not down the principle, that we are to keep covenant? If you will resort to the Law of Nature by the Law of Nature you have no more right to this land, or anything else, than I have. I have as much right to take hold of anything... as you.

The sanctity of covenant established the rule of law, the right of property, and the general social order. Cromwell, Ireton, and the other Parliamentary leaders again must disavow this revolutionary democratic principle in favor of a traditional conception of law and contract.

The principles debated at Putney, the status of natural rights, the relationship between natural right and property, and the right to dissolve unjust relationships, had to wait for the writings of John Locke before they began to gain acceptance among those in power. For now, the traditional order, first codified under Magna Carta, prevailed.

Thus, in conclusion, it has been shown that the "English Revolution" is better classified as the "English Radical Reaction."
Parliament and its leaders were no Jacobins—they set out to recreate society, but instead conservative figures sought to protect the traditional order from the growing power of an aggressive king. In doing so, however, Parliamentarians were forced to adopt radical tactics to forward their agenda, subverting the actual traditional practices and roles of the King and Parliament in order to protect traditional order. Through these radical challenges to tradition, however, Parliament opened the door to the explicit questioning of the very principles they sought to preserve. Levellers, Diggers, and Lockeans all followed the lead of Parliament. These subsequent movements, and not the actions of Parliament, comprised the true English Revolution.

2 Ibid, 4.
3 Ibid, 6-22.
7 Ibid.
9 Ibid, 118.
11 Ibid.
12 Hill, Century of Revolution, 8.
13 Stephenson and Marcham, "The Case of the Five Knights (1627)" in Sources, Document 94-A.
14 Ibid.
15 Stephenson and Marcham, "Petition of Right (1628)" in Sources, Document 92-D.
16 Ibid.
17 Stephenson and Marcham, “The Question of Ship Money (1637)” in Sources, Document 94-B.
18 Hill, Century of Revolution, 8-10.
19 Stephenson and Marcham, “The Triennial Act (1641)” in Sources, Document 96-A.
20 Stephenson and Marcham, “Act to Continue the Existing Parliament (1641)” in Sources, Document 96-C.
21 Stephenson and Marcham, Sources, Documents 96-E, G, and L.
22 Stephenson and Marcham, “The Militia Ordinance (1642)” in Sources, Document 96-M.
23 Stephenson and Marcham, “Royal Proclamation (27 May 1642)” in Sources, Document 96-N.
24 Stephenson and Marcham, “Declaration of the Lords and Commons (27 May 1642)” in Sources, Document 96-O.
25 Stephenson and Marcham, “Act Erecting a High Court of Justice (6 January)” in Sources, Document 104-A.
26 Stephenson and Marcham, “The Sentence of the Court (27 January)” in Sources, Document 104-C.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
Depleted uranium (DU) is a radioactive by-product of the uranium enrichment process that is used in nuclear reactors to manufacture energy. As recently as the 1991 Gulf War (Operation Desert Storm), DU was found to have certain chemical properties that made it advantageous for use in armed conflicts. DU has subsequently been used in other armed conflicts such as intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the current United States initiative to liberate Iraq. DU has come under increased scrutiny as a possible source of cancer, along with other post-war illnesses, in the regions where it was used. It has also been charged with increasing background radiation in former combat zones. Many veterans advocacy groups, as well as the natives living in these regions, say that the use of DU has not only increased the level of illness for non-combatants, but that the U.S. purposely misled the international community about the safety of DU. This essay examines the consequences of DU as a tactical weapon in warfare.

DU is not a natural compound. DU is manufactured from uranium ore, which is found in nature, and enriched through a man-made process. Metallic uranium is a silver-white, lustrous, dense, weakly radioactive element. Uranium can be found on all continents and in every river and ocean, and in small amounts in rocks, soils, water, air, plants, animals, and in all human beings. Natural uranium consists of a mixture of three radioactive isotopes, which are identified by their mass numbers: uranium 238 (99.27% by mass), uranium 235 (0.72%), and uranium 234 (0.0054%). On average, approximately 90 µg (micrograms) of uranium exists in the human body from normal intakes of water, food,
and air. About 66% is found in the skeleton, 16% in the liver, 8% in the kidneys, and 10% in other tissues.¹

Uranium enrichment is a critical step in transforming natural uranium into nuclear fuel to produce energy. Enrichment is the process of increasing the concentration of uranium 235 while decreasing the concentration of uranium 238. Only the uranium 235 isotope is fissionable. The type containing a greater concentration of uranium 235 is referred to as enriched uranium, while the lesser concentrations are classified as DU. Uranium can be enriched commercially using either gaseous diffusion technology, or gas centrifuge technology. In both processes, the compound uranium hexafluoride (UF₆) is heated and converted from a solid to a gas. At the gaseous diffusion plant, UF₆ is forced through a series of compressors and converters that contain porous barriers. Uranium 235 filters through the barriers at a slightly higher rate than the uranium 238, because uranium 235 has a slightly lighter isotopic mass than uranium 238. The gaseous diffusion process for enriching uranium was initially developed on a mass scale at the Department of Energy plant in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Two additional plants were subsequently constructed in Kentucky and Ohio. Presently, the publicly-owned U.S. Enrichment Corporation (USEC) leases the only operating, government-owned gaseous diffusion plant in Paducah, Kentucky, and is the only domestic supplier of enriched uranium services.² Spent uranium fuel from nuclear reactors is sometimes reprocessed in plants for natural uranium enrichment. Some reactor-created radioisotopes can consequently contaminate the reprocessing equipment and DU. Under these conditions, another uranium isotope, uranium 236, may be present in DU together with very small amounts of the transuranic elements, plutonium, americium, neptunium, and the fission product technetium-99 (See Table 1, p. 36). Once DU leaves the nuclear reactor, it is either stored or collected and fashioned into tactical weapons.

DU can also be used as tank and body armor on the battlefield. DU armor is currently used on M1A1 and M1A2 tanks. DU is at the core of armor-piercing rounds fired by M1 and M60 tanks. The Bradley Fighting Vehicle, the A-10 and AV-8B aircraft, and other weapon systems also use DU munitions and armor, extensively. DU munitions
Depleted Uranium Weapons Spiked With Plutonium, etc.

The transuranic elements (heavier than uranium) and fission products below — created inside nuclear reactors — are now known to be mixed with the uranium-238 used in depleted uranium munitions. Three hundred and twenty tons of DU were shot into Iraq and Kuwait in the 1991 bombardment; three tons into Bosnia in 1995; and 10 tons into Kosovo in 1999. Hundreds and perhaps thousands of tons have recently been shot into and around Afghanistan and Iraq. Of the roughly 720,000 tons of DU available to U.S. weapons merchants, about half is reported to be contaminated with these and other extremely radioactive, cancer-causing isotopes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISOTOPE</th>
<th>RADIOACTIVE HALF-LIFE</th>
<th>RADIATION EMITTED</th>
<th>VULNERABLE ORGANS</th>
<th>SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americium-241</td>
<td>432.2 years</td>
<td>alpha &amp; gamma</td>
<td>bone &amp; lung</td>
<td>Created only in reactors, where uranium is bombarded with neutrons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americium-243</td>
<td>7,370 years</td>
<td>alpha &amp; gamma</td>
<td>bone &amp; lung</td>
<td>Created only in reactors; decays to more radioactive Pu-239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neptunium-237</td>
<td>2.14 million years</td>
<td>alpha &amp; gamma</td>
<td>bone surface</td>
<td>Created only in reactors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neptunium-239</td>
<td>2.35 days</td>
<td>beta &amp; gamma</td>
<td>liver, intestines, kidney, spleen, brain</td>
<td>Created only in reactors; decays to Pu-239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uranium-236</td>
<td>24 million years</td>
<td>alpha &amp; gamma</td>
<td>kidneys, lung, liver</td>
<td>Created only in reactors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutonium-239</td>
<td>24,110 years</td>
<td>alpha</td>
<td>lymph, liver, gonads &amp; bone</td>
<td>Created only in reactors; 200,000 times more radioactive than uranium-238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pu-239)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutonium-238</td>
<td>88 years</td>
<td>alpha</td>
<td>lymph, liver, gonads &amp; bone</td>
<td>Created only in reactors; 30 times as radioactive as Pu-239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pu-238)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Depleted Uranium Weapons Spiked With Plutonium. Source: Nukewatch.

destroyed approximately 1,400 Iraqi tanks and other equipment during the 1991 Gulf War. Due to U.S. weapons sales, Great Britain, France, and Russia acquired DU munitions and it rapidly spread through their respective arsenals. In a way, the wars in Iraq and Bosnia served as great advertisements for the future of tank warfare. DU’s dominance of the battlefield allowed it to command any price on the open market.

DU has a high level of kinetic energy for its volume, and sustains its own combustion when ignited, which enables it to literally melt and
"sharpen" as it penetrates armor, increasing its destructive capabilities. The standard 105mm tank shell has roughly the kinetic energy of seven Honda sedans crashing into a target at 65 miles per hour, simultaneously. In DU's case, that energy "sharpens" as it penetrates armor. The U.S. military has certainly made the most of this advantage. The Pentagon estimates that tanks fired 14,000 shells, and A-10 "Warthog" jets fired another 940,000 30mm rounds containing DU in support operations, during the 1991 Gulf War alone, which roughly totals 320 tons.

A new line of guns had to be developed in order for the U.S. to keep its competitive edge with the innovation and improvement of tank armor. To defeat tank armor, shells had to be made of materials that would not shatter upon impact and possess sufficient kinetic energy to push through the armor. Previous armor-piercing rounds had mixed results on the battlefield. Anti-tank guns and their armor-piercing rounds needed to be mobile enough to be able to track enemy tanks' movement effectively. To keep up with the tanks they were trying to destroy, anti-tank guns could only become so large. As of the mid 1980s, cannons were made out of forged steel because stronger and more exotic metals, such as titanium and tungsten, were not readily available. Research turned to making harder and faster projectiles.

A major innovation in armor-piercing technology was the introduction of a small aerodynamic penetrator surrounded by a large bore collar. These "Sabot" (French for "shoe") rounds placed far less stress on the cannons than did the "squeeze guns," yet transferred the same amount of energy to the penetrator. Once the projectile leaves the gun, the sabot "petals" fall away and the penetrator continues to the target. By the end of World War II, sabot penetrators were made of forged tungsten. Tungsten was the densest, hardest metal available. Despite improvements in metallurgy and advances in tank performance, anti-tank guns became so large that they were either too heavy to keep up (if they were towed) or carried too few rounds of ammunition to be efficient in combat. The Soviet-built IS-3 heavy tank, equipped with a 122mm cannon, only carried 10 rounds of anti-tank ammunition.

In the 1970s, the Soviet Union began making anti-tank rounds out of a material that had been unavailable prior to World War II: DU. DU's metallic properties made it ideal for use in armor-penetrating
missiles and bombs. At 19.3 grams per cubic centimeter, DU is 70% denser than lead and 15% denser than tungsten. Osmium and iridium are both harder and denser than tungsten, but are more difficult to work with and are not available in large quantities. DU penetrators are manufactured at a fraction of the cost it would take to manufacture a similar tungsten penetrator. In addition, at high temperatures DU becomes "pyrophoric," meaning that super-heated fragments will sustain combustion, further increasing the destructive potential of the material. Probably the most essential aspect of DU's proliferation in war is its availability in large quantities. The U.S. alone has stored DU since the Carter administration.

The first combat use of DU by the U.S. occurred during the 1991 Gulf War. American M1A1 Abrams tanks used the 120mm M829A2 Armor Piercing, Fin Stabilized, Discarding Sabot-Tracer (APFSDS-T), which was known as the "Silver Bullet." American A-10 Thunderbolt II aircraft used DU-cored PGU-14/B API (Armor Piercing Incendiary) in their 30mm cannons. The U.S. combat vehicles enjoyed an important technological advantage over Iraq's older, mostly Russian-designed armored vehicles. Superior U.S. cannon systems were stabilized, so they could fire accurately while on the move. U.S. forces could select, load, and fire munitions far more rapidly than their Iraqi counterparts. Most importantly, the use of DU rounds allowed U.S. tanks to engage the enemy from extended ranges and with unprecedented lethal effect. Saddam Hussein's most formidable weapons were the Iraqi Republican Guard T-72 tanks. The Iraqis used 125mm cannons with a maximum effective range of 1,800 meters. The U.S. M1A1 tanks routinely scored kills at twice that distance. In addition, Iraqi tanks, anti-tank guided missiles, and infantry anti-tank weapons failed to penetrate the DU armor of any of the 594 Heavy Armor M1A1s that saw action in the Gulf War, even when firing from within their supposed "lethal" range and scoring direct hits. The result was one of the most unbalanced victories in modern military history. Iraq lost in excess of 4,000 armored vehicles to U.S. air and ground fire, while a vehicle-by-vehicle review of U.S. battle damage reports indicated fewer than ten combat vehicles were destroyed or disabled by hostile fire. A small number of U.S. tanks were damaged or destroyed by mines; more tanks were disabled by
mines than by rounds from Iraqi tanks due to the increased use of DU armor. Richard Koffinke's report using declassified military accounts of engagements with the enemy described what happened and how powerful these weapons were when American soldiers were involved in a friendly fire incident:

During the course of a maneuver, the vehicle commander attempted to pull the Bradley out of the fight to fix the gun and reload the top-mounted TOW missile launcher. While trying to fix his gun the A-24 was hit by a 120mm DU sabot round fired from an Abrams tank. The single DU sabot round struck the Bradley fighting vehicle and almost immediately the vehicle was engulfed in flames. The DU sabot round entered the left side of the turret section and exited the right side, mortally wounding the gunner. In another encounter two 120mm DU sabots struck a tank in the right hull under the turret, exited the left hull behind the driver's seat, and wounded all eight soldiers aboard. Some soldiers suffered severe burns and/or fragment wounds as a result of the friendly fire.

These DU rounds had sliced through reinforced armor and still inflicted major damage. Enemy combatants with inferior armor would not have stood a chance when faced against such superior weaponry. As recently as 2003, Pentagon officials showed pictures from the 1991 Gulf War of an Iraqi tank completely destroyed by a 105mm round made of DU. The round had pierced the tank's thick armor, leaving only a burned out shell. Even more impressive, U.S. soldiers told of a DU round penetrating a sand dune, demolishing an Iraqi tank behind it. DU-tipped munitions ignite after being fired and the shells are so heavy and hot that they easily rip through steel. The uranium-tipped warhead explodes inside the target. The penetrator is a flying rod of solid uranium, eighteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. In some cases, DU explosions burned Iraqi soldiers so badly that U.S. soldiers dubbed them "crispy critters." Often the incineration was so quick and complete that the individual was fixed in the exact position they were in prior to the missile striking the vehicle.
"That's how much of an edge it gives us, and we don't want to give that up," Col. James Naughton of the Army Materiel Command said at a Pentagon briefing to explain the uses and health effects of DU on the battlefield. Dr. Michael Kilpatrick, Deputy Director of Deployment Health Support Directorate, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Force Health Protection and Readiness, claimed there was no substantial evidence to suggest that DU was the source of any particular illness from the Gulf War or that it carried any environmental hazard. He cited studies by the Department of Defense, the World Health Organization, the U.N. Environmental Programme, and the Agency for Toxic Substances to substantiate his claim. During the 2003 invasion and current occupation of Iraq, U.S. and British troops have reportedly used more than five times as many DU bombs and shells than the total number used during the 1991 war.

The U.S. was once again the first to attain and harness a new and superior weapon of war. Some military analysts have debated that the military application of DU might be as important as the development of the atomic bomb. Problems would soon arise as to the future use of DU on the battlefield. Soldiers began to report strange and sudden illnesses. Unusual cancers and strange birth defects increased in some of the areas where DU had been used. DU shell holes along the "Highway of Death" were 1,000 times more radioactive than background radiation. Tests for radioactivity were conducted by Dr. Khajak Vartaanian, a nuclear medicine expert from the Iraq Department of Radiation Protection in Basra, and Col. Amal Kassim of the Iraqi Navy.

Equally troubling is the serious hazard created when a DU round hits its target. As much as 70% of the projectile can burn up on impact, creating a firestorm of ceramic DU oxide particles, which can be spread by the wind. It can be inhaled and absorbed into the human body and absorbed by plants and animals, soon becoming part of the food chain. When asked of the probability that DU might cause these strange illnesses, the World Health Organization stated that it was unlikely. It cited a number of studies on uranium miners, which demonstrated an increased risk of lung cancer, but this has been attributed to exposure from radon decay products. However, because pure DU is only weakly radioactive, very large amounts of dust (on the order of grams) would
have to be inhaled for an additional risk of lung cancer to be detectable in an exposed group. Risks for other radiation-induced cancers, including leukemia, are considered to be much lower than lung cancer.11

In regard to cancers, epidemiologists classify recent occurrences as a series of "clusters." Cancer clusters have been identified for more than a century, and a large number involve leukemia. "Except for occupational settings, health researchers almost invariably do not get the cause," says Michael Thun, the American Cancer Society's Chief of Epidemiological Research. One accepted theory of cancer development is the "two-hit" hypothesis. Cancer generally results from an accumulation of damage — five or six "hits" — to the genes. Some experts think leukemia may need only two. If that is so, that may also explain why the disease appears relatively quickly. The idea that perhaps an infectious agent, such as a virus, is the second "hit" would be possible.12 The toxic environment that was created by the Iraqi army setting fire to oil wells as they retreated during the Gulf War cannot be disregarded as a possible link as to the cause of illness. In Europe, the publicity created by DU was rekindled with word of a U.S. official's admission that DU contained plutonium and other reactor-borne fission products, which made DU warheads far more radioactive and carcinogenic than uranium 238. The discovery of uranium 236 contamination in spent munitions used in the war in Kosovo revealed that DU was not obtained before the nuclear reaction process. The Pentagon, NATO, and the British Ministry of Defense have always downplayed the danger of DU saying it was "less radioactive than uranium ore."

This statement is indeed true, but at least half of the DU (250,000 metric tons) is now known to have been left over from the reprocessing of irradiated reactor fuel (done to extract weapons-grade plutonium). This leaves the resulting DU salted with fission products and impure.13 "If it has been through a reactor, it does change our idea on DU," says Dr. Michael Repacholi of the World Health Organization, which demanded to know how much plutonium is in DU ammunition. The U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) still has not declassified or announced the actual composition of the DU it uses in the manufacturing of wartime munitions. However, as early as January 2000, the DOE admitted that its DU munitions were spiked with
plutonium, neptunium, and americium from inside nuclear reactors. This admission was extremely disturbing because americium decays into plutonium 239, which is more radioactive than the original americium. DU “contains a trace amount of plutonium,” said the DOE’s Assistant Secretary David Michaels. “Recycled uranium, which came straight from one of our production sites, would routinely contain transuranics at a very low level,” Michaels wrote. He concluded by saying, “We have initiated a project to characterize the level of transuranics in the various DU inventories.”

Plutonium 239 is 200,000 times more radioactive than uranium 238. Plutonium, according to Dr. Arjun Makhijani, President of IEER, “is probably the most carcinogenic substance known.” On January 19, 2001, after a one-week “investigation,” NATO officials said, “traces of highly radioactive elements such as plutonium and americium were not relevant to soldiers’ health because of their minute quantities.” Later, the Associated Press reported on February 3, 2001, “U.S. officials have said the shells contained mere traces of plutonium, not enough to cause harm.”

Uranium decays and external exposure to alpha particles is not as dangerous as exposure to other radioactive elements. Ingestion of high concentrations of uranium, however, can cause severe health effects, such as cancer of the bone or liver. Inhaling large concentrations of uranium can cause lung cancer, and ingestion of uranium can cause kidney damage. Alpha particles generally carry more energy than gamma or beta particles and deposit that energy quickly while passing through tissue. Alpha particles can be stopped by a thin layer of light material, such as a sheet of paper, and cannot penetrate the outer, dead layer of skin. When alpha-emitting atoms are inhaled or swallowed, they are especially damaging because they transfer relatively large amounts of ionizing energy to living cells.

According to Dr. Dan Bishop:

1 mg of DU (a barely visible dust particle) fires not 1 but 850 alpha bullets every minute, or over 8 million bullets in a single week. Not only that, if the DU particle resides in your body for over a week, sufficient thorium and protactinium have built up to also fire their beta bullets. This would bring the bombardment
count to 24 million hits per week. However, this increases the risk of biological damage by only 10%. This is because it is currently believed that the larger, more highly charged alpha particles are 20 times more effective at damage than beta particles. If the DU is contaminated by other radioactive isotopes, such as plutonium or americium, the odds of radioactive particles causing critical biological damage becomes significantly greater.19

Soldiers were never adequately trained to deal with exposure to this radiological environment. Soldiers in the Gulf War were not warned of DU’s toxicity. Hundreds and perhaps thousands of GIs were exposed to seriously toxic substances without their knowledge or protection. The Pentagon, at least once, rephrased the description of DU ammunition to hide its radioactivity.

In another study, the Defense Department’s Armed Forces Radiobiology Research Institute (AFRRI) scientists discovered that DU leads to the occurrence of oncogenes. Oncogenes are the tumorous growths believed to be the precursors to cancerous growth in cells. DU is believed to kill suppressor genes. Scientists also found that embedded DU, unlike most metals, dissolves and spreads through the body. It has been found in deposits in the spleen and the brain. In some experiments, a pregnant female rat will pass DU along to a developing fetus.20 There is not a fail-safe way to use contaminated DU in warfare. According to the Army Environmental Policy Institute (AEPI), “as much as 70% of a DU penetrator can be aerosolized when it strikes a tank. Aerosols containing DU oxides may contaminate the area downwind and DU fragments may also contaminate the soil around the struck vehicles.” AEPI went on to further state, “if DU enters the body, it has the potential to generate significant medical consequences.” Once inside the human body, uranium particles tend to stay, causing illnesses such as lung cancer and kidney disease that often take decades to manifest. Leonard A. Dietz, former Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory scientist, estimated that a trapped, single uranium oxide particle can expose the surrounding lung tissue to approximately 1,360 rems per year. This is 8,000 times the annual radiation dosage permitted by federal regulations. Particles not trapped in the respiratory system may be ingested and find their way
into the kidneys and reproductive organs.²¹

Iraqi physicians and veterans have produced considerable evidence that the country is experiencing a significant rise in health problems such as cancer. These occurrences seem to correlate with the frequency and strength of DU detonation. Iraq formally complained to the United Nations (UN) about the damage caused by DU, but research to substantiate the claim was met with resistance.

Proof that contaminated DU might have dangerous radiological effects came in 1980, when workers at a Jonesboro, Tennessee plant, which manufactures DU penetrators, had the highest radiation exposures of any in the nation. One DU manufacturer, National Lead Industries of New York, was forced to shut down in 1980, because their emissions exceeded 150 micro-curies (385 grams) in a given month. Citizens Research and Environmental Watch (CREW), a Concord, Massachusetts, grassroots organization concerned about local DU munitions manufacturer, Nuclear Metals Inc., had soil samples from six Concord locations analyzed for radiation. The tests found uranium levels up to eighteen times background levels as far as nine-tenths of a mile away from the plant.²²

Skepticism about the safety and epidemiological toll of DU has spurned further investigations into its destructive consequences. The specter of Agent Orange, a poisonous defoliant, and how the Government misled veterans and the public during the Vietnam War, is still fresh in the memories of many people. It took more than a quarter century for the U.S. Government to admit that Agent Orange was a causal link in a host of illnesses experienced by returning veterans. It took even longer for the government to compensate World War II veterans for radiation illnesses from the explosion of the atomic bomb. Iraq’s case for assistance from the U.S., or the rest of the international community, is further hampered by the lack of resources from years of sanctions that were in place during Saddam Hussein’s regime.

The UN Security Council imposed economic sanctions against Iraq on August 6, 1990, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The Security Council still did not lift the sanctions even when the coalition declared victory after Operation Desert Storm. The sanctions served as leverage to press for Iraqi disarmament and other goals that were meant to
deter Iraqi aggression. The UN “Oil-for-Food Programme,”23 started in 1997 and offered some relief to Iraqis. The UN controlled all revenues from Iraq’s oil sales, and contracts within the program were subject to oversight. The U.S. and Great Britain imposed political blockages on legitimate humanitarian contracts, claiming “dual-use” as military items. Washington called for and obtained the lifting of sanctions after Operation Desert Storm. This gave the U.S. occupying authority full control over Iraq’s oil sales and refining industry. All members of the Security Council agreed that sanctions could end. However, many Council members were concerned that a resolution would indirectly justify the war and further legitimize the U.S. occupation. Many Council members thought Resolution 1483 diminished the UN’s role in Iraq.24 Inspections to insure Iraq was free of weapons of mass destruction was not a provision of the resolution. One reason these UN inspections were disallowed might have been U.S. fears that spikes in background radiations were the result of DU usage. The U.S. would be the obvious primary user of the munitions in the Iraq war and bare the brunt of the punishment for any wrongdoing.

In order to assign guilt, a direct causal link would need to be established. The lack of access to conduct independent study, as well as the possible exposure to other biological warfare agents, native diseases, vaccines administered by the Army, and oil fire fumes can not be discounted as significant contributing factors to deteriorating health for those exposed. The Institute of Medicine stated that the information on DU is “of insufficient quality, consistency, or statistical power to permit a conclusion regarding the presence or absence of an association between an exposure to a specific agent and a health outcome in humans.”25 The “two-hit” theory seems to be the most likely hypothesis for the illnesses and for the people that did not (or have not yet) developed the signs of the illness. Genetic background, resistance to disease, length of time and location in the theatre of war could also play pivotal roles in the onset or lack of onset of illness.

The AEPI continues to endorse the Army’s past use and future plans to use DU. Intentionally or not, this underscores the need for a worldwide moratorium on DU, cleanup of existing sites, and better DU safety practices. Most especially, better medical attention and research
for those who have been exposed need to be the primary goal of learning and responding to the impact of DU. Unexplained illnesses are becoming more prevalent in veterans that share a common thread—namely participation in Operation Desert Storm and the conflict in Bosnia. It is not inconceivable that a new weapon implemented for the first time in history during the same two conflicts may have some causal association. The lure to further use this perfect, "new age" weapon may prove to be too strong to refrain from using it based on the human toll. Worse yet, the idea of admitting guilt and being found culpable for irradiating a large area would be a serious disincentive to admitting that DU may play a prominent role in the decline of human health.

DU is used in limited civilian capacities, but the large military and financial benefits come from the implementation and sale of DU as a weapon. The emphasis of research into the impact of DU should focus on the human impact of contaminated DU. Further research should also go into studying the environment that currently exists in Iraq, Bosnia, and any other place that DU munitions have been used. Analysis of current and past radiation levels should be made to further illuminate and guide the path of future research. Flawed experimental research and denial of facts and inquiry has impeded the progress of research to this point. Restrictions on independent research in regards to the impact of DU should not be condoned. Future use and sale of contaminated DU should be discontinued. If the implementation of DU weaponry must continue, then standards should be established to narrow the purity of DU for use in wartime munitions to 99.9% DU. The need for diplomacy should be emphasized and exhausted prior to the implementation of any DU weapon. DU appears to be another step along the line of increasing lethality and making war more attractive by the presenting the false image that war can be made quicker, easier and with less loss of military personnel. Contrary to this assumption, DU seems to have succeeded in accomplishing just the opposite.

1 World Health Organization Report, 2003
3 U.S. Department of Defense, 2003
4 U.S. Department of Defense, 2003
5 U.S. Department of Energy, Fuel Facts
6 Atkinson, Rick. Crusade: The Untold Story of the Persian Gulf War.
9 Department of Defense, 2003
10 “Iraqi cancers, birth defects blamed on U.S. depleted uranium.” Seattle Post-Intelligencer
11 Department of Defense, 2003
12 Seattle Post-Intelligencer (Seattle), 12 November 2002.
13 USA Today, June 25, 2001
15 Makhijani, Arjun. Plutonium: Deadly Gold of the Nuclear Age
16 Department of Energy, Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management
17 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Department of Health and Human Services
18 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Department of Health and Human Services
19 Bishop, Dan. “Radiation Exposure and it’s Effect on the Human Organism.”
21 Solnit, Rebecca. Radioactive Battlefields of the 1990s.
22 Solnit, Rebecca. Radioactive Battlefields of the 1990s.
24 Paragraph 13 expressly give the Authority (US Civilian command) the express authority to disburse the contributions of the Development Fund. Paragraph 16 abolishes the “Oil for Food Programme” but calls for no inspectors. Paragraph 18 calls for no observations by UN of petroleum product exports from Iraq.
25 Institute of Medicine, Gulf War and Health, Volume 1.
Imagine working in a coal mine for fifteen to sixteen hours for a meager $2 per day. Coal miners and their families in the Townley, Alabama, area remember the days when working in the mines kept them from starving. Men, considered boys today, had to quit school and go into the mines on the same “man-trip” as their fathers and brothers. Coal miners and their families were poor and their dreams consisted of a cold drink from the company store for a child and a twelve-hour day for an adult. Unfortunately, dreams went largely unfulfilled, and life went on as people living in mining camps struggled to “get by.” Coal mines provided a large portion of the jobs available in the Townley area during its era of economic prosperity. Many jobs outside of the mining industry revolved around the companies that owned the mines. When mines opened in a town, population, businesses, and industry steadily increased. Coal mining was the lifeblood of Townley. This essay suggests that the coal mining industry, which developed and thrived from 1920-50 in Townley, was directly responsible for unique socioeconomic effects.

The story of Townley largely involves the story of the mines located in and around the area. The town was incorporated in 1895, and it became a mining camp in the early 1900s. The Frisco railroad came through Townley in 1886, providing it with economic opportunities that surrounding communities did not receive. Townley, reincorporated in 1912, dissolved for a final time in 1923, due to being “pressured by the coal companies to avoid further payment of taxes.” During the 1930s the approximate rural population in Walker County, Alabama, numbered 44,681, which included Townley. Today, Townley remains hidden from
the untrained eye due to its population of only 3,496. Only a few people remain who remember Townley's "red carpet years," a time when the economy boomed and the coal industry supplied new opportunities for residents.

The entrance of coal mining into this area fundamentally altered three main aspects of life for the residents: family, education and economy. Townley, a farming community, contained a small population that worked together growing food and picking cotton to make a meager amount of money. When coal companies arrived, families no longer worked together. School was only available to those with enough male support in the family. Hence, coal mines determined the level of education gained by many and the economy became insecure and oppressive.

Coal companies entered the Townley area following the arrival of the Frisco railroad. Corona Coal Company and Black Diamond Coal Company arrived first. Approximately six coal mines operated in the Townley area by the 1920s. These mines included Corona Coal and Iron Mine #1, Corona Coal and Iron Mine #2, Galloway Coal Company Mine of Holly Grove, Townley Coal Company Mine, Supreme Mining Company Mine and Cedrom Mine. Within a three mile radius of Townley three coal mines could be found during this big coal boom: Townley, Supreme and Holly Grove. Residents grew accustomed to the sights and sounds that accompanied coal mining during the 1920s and 1930s. Unfortunately, the so-called "Hoover Days," indicating the era of the Depression, hit the community hard in the mid-1930s. Between the years 1935-43, six mines closed in the area. The industry that supplied most of the community with employment for many years had to close. When the coal mines closed, devastation overwhelmed the population. Plummeting employment options resulted in monetary hardship. People began to work merely for food. This drastic drop in employment fractured the community. Families involuntarily left in search of employment. Most of the population relocated to northern cities, mainly for work in the industrial sector. The small number of residents that stayed continued to farm.

The unusual nature of this profession and its effects upon the lives of the miners needs exploration in order to understand the toll of the occupation. Mining coal in Townley consisted of long hours and
backbreaking labor, combined with low pay. The danger of rock-falls, explosions and unsafe machinery comprised the conditions that these miners experienced six days a week. Charles Patton, a miner for 46 years, saw many accidents and deaths occur inches from where he mined coal. Also, miners often supplemented their paltry wages by working small dirt farms to make ends meet.

During this era, electricity had yet to enter the mines. Miners loaded coal onto rail cars and subsequently pulled it above ground using mules. During the period of the 1930s and 1940s, miners went into the depths with a shovel, a pick and a carbide lamp. Furthermore, Alabama mines differed from the others because, "coal seams in Alabama were relatively thin and dirty, with the result that mining involved more labor per ton than in other coalfields."

In addition to the hours, the pay, and the constant fear of injury or death, long-term effects of coal mining proved to be as fatal as a rock-falls or explosions. Black lung, a lung defect caused by dust inhalation, affected almost everyone working in the mines. Breathing in the coal dust for long periods caused buildup in the lungs. During these trying times, no one understood the disease and the miners simply went to the company doctor for a remedy. Miners Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie, who mined in Townley, found themselves stricken with its effects. There is no cure for black lung. Nevertheless, miners who ended their career only stricken by black lung were considered barely scathed. Those who toiled in the mines during the 1940s remember the many miners who parted with life and limb in order to make a dollar.

Education in the coal mining camps had a multi-faceted role. During the 1880s, Townley built its first school. Since that time, Townley has seen eight separate schools built in the area. The contributions of coal operators helped construct many of the later schools that Townley residents attended. For example, T.S. Hendon, a local coal operator "contributed liberally" to several of the structures that arose in the Townley area. Other coal companies, such as DeBardeleben Coal Company, saw fit to contribute to the "worthy cause" of education for the residents and future employees.

Examination of the reasons behind the coal operators' construction of schools in the mining camps is imperative to examine the
mentality held by the coal companies. Education was not highly regarded in the mining camps of the 1930s and '40s. Many of the coal miners and their children went without much more than a grade school education due to their economic situation. Why, then, would coal companies construct schools in an area that residents could not afford to attend? Ruth Teaford Baker, a Townley resident during this time, stated that the coal companies “built boarding houses for the non-family men, and they built schools and churches. Every effort was made to make the workers settled, thus making production higher.” Townley’s school went only to the ninth grade. Children then had to travel to the high school located in nearby Jasper. Buses were not available to the children that attended, so many had to walk miles to get to school. However, those allowed the opportunity to attend school regarded themselves as lucky. Similar to other times in history, receiving an education ranked below eating a meal on the priority list of poor coal mining families. Poverty afflicted most families in the Townley area so that “the ‘family wage’ became the rule. A single head of family could not earn enough to support everyone; therefore, boys entered the mine as soon as they were able.” Some girls, such as Mary Guthrie, attended school through the ninth grade due to the male support in her family. Her father and brothers were not afforded the same advantages. Her father never attended school and was illiterate. Charles Patton, Mary’s brother, attended school only through the sixth grade. At the age of fifteen, he “had to work” to help the family “make a living,” at the expense of his education. A large part of the population, both men and women, lacked the means to get an education. Ruth Baker remembers that many of her twelve brothers and sisters were denied more than a grade school education. “Many rural parents saw no reason for schooling beyond a few years, and mine owners cared even less. The work, particularly in the early years of mining, required no reading or writing skills. A strong back and a weak mind sometimes constituted the ideal combination sought by the owners.” The phrase “a strong back and a weak mind” spoke volumes when considering the environment and opportunities available to the residents of Townley.

Limited education afforded to the children of Townley fed heavily into the mining workforce by closing off avenues that a high school education would have opened. As stated by Wayne Flynt,
"[L]ack of education often determined the occupation of the poor." Coal companies provided a school, but left residents without resources to attend, such as money and transportation. Therefore, the residents unwillingly entered into an occupation that required "no reading or writing skills:" coal mining. Miners, such as Eugene Guthrie, only gained a seventh grade education. He stated that he "wouldn't have never quit" had it not been for the financial need of his family.

According to child labor laws, children worked in the mining industry with harsh restrictions on their hours. These labor laws attempted to undercut the usage of children as cheap labor for the coal companies. Nevertheless, desperation drove many young boys into the mines so that families could survive. Eugene Guthrie knew that he "wasn't suppose to be in the mines at that time but [he] went to work with him, [his father], so that we could eat." His experience as a child laborer was common among the residents. Most of the residents watched as their sons and husbands took the only opportunity available to them to help "make a living." They did not complain about child labor because survival largely depended upon the work of their children in the mines. Coal companies knew the importance of the industry in the community, and therefore, used schools to retain miners in the area, and subsequently used the miners' sons as an unending supply of workers with little education. As a result, the booming coal mining industry in Townley not only affected the level of education, but also the familial relationships.

The camp environment greatly affected the relationships formed in the family. According to Colin Davis and Edwin Brown, "most Alabama coal miners lived in company camps." Miners working in these camps usually followed the promise of a job in the coal mines and ended up in Townley. However, the job soon began to alter their ways of life. Mining "camps were central to corporate paternalism that aimed at delivering a stable and pliable workforce." This "stable and pliable workforce" consisted of husbands and sons with little or no choice other than mining coal. The men and boys became "bivocational, managing small dirt farms when the coal market was slack, and digging coal for cash income." The family labor known to these dirt farmers, prior to entering the mines, built strong relationships and cultivated
familial closeness. The encroachment of the mining companies upon these relationships took males out of the household, fathers away from children and husbands away from wives. Wayne Flynt states, "...mining was often an occupation passed on from one generation to the next." In Townley, as in other mining camps, the generational tendency toward mining rose from necessity rather than choice. Both Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie remember working beside their fathers in the mines. Patton stated he "didn't really like it that much," however, his father could not support the entire family. Finding a coal miner living in this area who chose to enter the mining industry was difficult. As fathers taught their sons to farm, they also taught them to mine. Patton has two sons that mine coal today. Some have said that mining "gets in your blood" and you cannot escape the trade. Nonetheless, miners in Townley during the 1930s and '40s had no choice of escape.

Fathers working in the mines differed greatly from those that worked in other industries. Every part of the occupation affected their relationship with their children. Mary Guthrie remembered her father as a "hard worker and a good man" whom she felt close to in those days. She walked with her father to the mines in the morning and talked to him. After his shift was over, the family worked their fields together in order to grow their food. Many children lost the luxury of bonding with their fathers and many fathers became absentee breadwinners. This absenteeism and separation of the family resulted in many changes to the family structure. The family's time, once spent together, was now spent providing the necessary things to survive on low wages and farming. Eugene Guthrie states that he "seen daddy once a week in Hoover's days." He recalled that his father left their home at three o'clock in the morning and returned at nine o'clock at night. His father was so tired that recreational time was out of the question.

The mines operated on three shifts. Mary Guthrie's two oldest brothers worked in one mine together. She recalled that she hardly saw them after they entered mining. One of the brothers perished while mining in the same "room" as his brother. Ruth Baker remembered that her father and brother had to continue entering the same mine in order to survive. The psychological effects of having to work in an environment that claimed the life of a son or brother must have been devastating.
to these men. In addition, watching a son or husband continue in a profession that was renowned for its danger must have also been difficult for women.

Impoverished miners made difficult decisions concerning the small amount of money they received. Both Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie remember the days when they had to decide between purchasing powder for shooting rock underground or food to eat during the shift. Most of the time purchasing powder held priority so that their families could survive. Mary Guthrie, as a little girl, watched her father enter the mines, then later watched as a young woman, as both her brother and future husband entered the same industry. Family responsibilities changed.

The "family wage" mentioned earlier became unavoidable, as it forced families to group their abilities together in order to live. Eugene Guthrie recalled how lucky his family had been to have land to cultivate. Some families did not own land that allowed them to grow a profitable crop or food to eat. These families had the difficult task of making ends meet on a miner's pay. Economic survival on such low wages made the receipt of store-bought clothing, sodas, and toys an uncommon occurrence for those in Townley. Guthrie states that a family "bought what you had to have, you couldn't buy a lot of stuff back then." Most of the population, who were badly impoverished, largely went without the necessities of life.

Nevertheless, this type of economic hardship, rendering group effort necessary, did inspire some form of closeness for the family. Eugene and Mary Guthrie both recall that the family of that time seemed closer than families today. Mary Guthrie stated, "people helped others" at that time. Poor residents made up an overwhelming amount of the population in Townley, making it conducive for an environment in which people helped one another should they fall on "hard times."

Although Townley would not fall within the common definition of a mining camp, it can still be considered as such, because the majority of the population worked in the mines or in an occupation supported by the mining industry. Usually, "[a]s a company started a mine, it simultaneously started the town or the camp." The growth of Townley occurred this very way, even though settlement came about prior to the
arrival of coal companies. The railroad, coming through Townley in 1886, provided coal companies with the incentive to enter the area within a few years. According to Ruth Baker, "[e]ach company who built the mines built housing for the white and black workers." The houses differed between family dwellings for married miners and boarding houses for single miners. Considerable differences can be found between life in this poverty-stricken area where coal mines dominated the horizon and coal operators ruled the economic stability and areas where occupants did not depend upon this industry. Coal operators, during the coal boom in Townley, "...attempted to attract and retain labor by building inexpensive dwellings near the work site." Building houses to attract labor became a common action by the coal companies due to the transient nature of most coal miners during this period. Coal companies commonly owned most of the land and structures in a town, thus increasing their profits. Housing, dry goods stores, churches, schools, and medical attention furnished by the coal company gave it the ability to collect rent, grocery fees, church tithes, school fees and doctors' fees from a large portion of the population. Another benefit of owning the housing included the fact that "[d]iscontented miners were less likely to cause trouble when faced with the threat of eviction." Coal companies largely controlled the entire population's actions and economic status.

Townley in the 1920s and '30s, a rising community, still resembled a small town. Most structures remained in close proximity to one another for easy access, since most of the population had to walk or travel by wagon. Company houses inhabited by the miners and their families were typically built close to the "mine site to maximize the ease, speed, and economy of the operation and to minimize the amount of land to be developed." These houses normally consisted of three rooms: a kitchen, a bedroom, and a family room. Eugene Guthrie's family of seven occupied a three-room house in the Townley mining camp. He remembers having to sleep on a pallet in the floor along with most of the family. Furthermore, these houses lacked the common niceties taken for granted today, such as running water, indoor plumbing and electricity. Typical miners and their families lived in a dwelling that would be considered uninhabitable today. The company supplied men
who worked directly for the company without any union affiliation with better housing." Even still, none of the coal miners' houses would have been considered decent.

Prior to the coal boom in Townley in the 1920s, the community was a rural area inhabited mostly by farmers, growing cotton and potatoes and raising hogs and chickens. When coal operators began to develop the area, industry seemed to pop up everywhere. Ruth Baker remembers Townley at its highest point with many businesses and a broad array of social activities. According to a local history of the area, by 1923 "[i]t has been estimated that there were more than thirty business establishments operating, including a post office, a bank, grocery stores, dry good stores, drug stores, furniture store, a hotel, Odd Fellows Hall, Masonic Hall, large commissary, several doctors, a jail, a cotton gin, a theater, a town band, three churches, and an excellent school." The small rural area of the early 1920s had now developed into a busy place with a wide range of activities for the population. However, the coal companies retained control of activities because they were the main source of income for residents. Many coal miners do not clearly remember the theater, bank or grocery stores. Coal companies built and offered activities to the population to supply a feeling of home and family within the community. However, operators knew that the wages paid to the miners did not allow them to participate in activities such as the picture show and purchase luxuries such as clothing in the dry goods stores.

The coal companies created an environment conducive to a high-production, profit-making industry. Ready-made housing and social activities attracted the kind of labor that coal companies sought: families. If operators could hire a family man, they had a greater chance of retaining his son. Every investment made by the coal companies amounted to just that—an investment. Wages stayed low enough that by the time the mines closed, the operators maintained a profit despite the numerous amenities provided to the miners and their families. Margaret Mulrooney explained the economic plan behind the coal industries in communities, "Operators deliberately limited the amount of their initial investment in order to minimize their losses when the mine closed." These companies did not concern themselves with the health and welfare of the miners and their families. Coal operators made provisions
for miners in order to gain the most out of their investment. Mulrooney came to this same conclusion in her article entitled “The Legacy of Coal” as she stated, “the purpose of miners' housing was to increase productivity and profits by attracting labor, reducing job turnover, and establishing control over the labor supply.”

The coal companies that moved into Townley played a decisive role in the economic security of the town. Although most of Townley's residents continued to farm on the side, coal mining provided a large portion of their income. As Eugene Guthrie stated, you “couldn’t live on just a miner’s pay.” People who lived on a miner’s pay simply “survived on what [they] got.” Those with land could supplement their income with cotton to sell and vegetables to eat. However, “even double jobs provided only a marginal income.” Guthrie recalled how their “good” shirts came from flour sack material and the shirts worn into the mines consisted of feed sack material. They had two pairs of overalls, one good pair and one pair for work, and one pair of shoes. Store-bought goods did not come into the household very often on the combined income of his family. “We didn’t have what we necessarily needed but we survived on what we got,” describes the wanton life of the residents of Townley during the 1940s.

Since mining became the only industry in the area that provided enough money for the residents with little or no education, it became the only option for a large portion of the population. Coal companies took advantage of being the largest employer in the area and drastically underpaid their laborers. Miniscule wages resulted in people having to stretch the dollar to make it last. Wayne Flynt stated, “[U]ntil the UMW [United Mine Workers] organized the industry in the 1930s, miners were not paid portal-to-portal. Pay commenced when they arrived at the coal face and began loading coal into their car. And they were usually paid by the ton of coal.” Guthrie also remembered that miners had to purchase the powder used to shoot rock underground making their pay for the day little more than one dollar on some days.

The economics of the coal industry in an isolated area such as Townley largely involved the company store and “clacke,” a term used for credit given by the company store and taken out of the miner's next paycheck. The company stores “were charged with maintaining a
monopoly by three techniques: forcing miners to buy at the store, issuing script [clacker], or imposing debt peonage.\textsuperscript{56} Both Eugene Guthrie and Charles Patton stated that the prices of independent dealers could be higher than the prices at the company store on some items. However, Eugene Guthrie claimed, "as it is today, you had to shop around to get the best deal."\textsuperscript{57} Although a miner could become indebted to the company by the use of clacker, most companies would only let him use the amount expected in his next paycheck.

This credit system became beneficial to the companies because a large portion of the miners shopped in the store that fully credited their clacker. Isolation caused some mining companies to take advantage of the situation and raise their prices. Townley had other stores prior to the arrival of the coal companies therefore, making it difficult for the operators to overprice their merchandise. The economic ventures by the coal companies did not extend only to the commissaries. Operators also brought in doctors to see miners and their families. Both Patton and Guthrie remembered Townley having one doctor, Dr. Shores, who "treated everybody for everything."\textsuperscript{58} Mary Guthrie recalled that the doctor charged patients one dollar to treat any illness.\textsuperscript{59}

Whenever discussing coal mining camps, the economy requires examination due to the fact that the coal market played such a large role in the survival of the mining camp and its occupants. Economic shifts in the coal market, economic survival by the miners, and economic stability in the community describe the decisive factors that determined whether a mining camp would endure. As mentioned earlier, Townley already existed before the coal mining industry entered the area. Most of the residents relied upon an agricultural economy, consisting primarily of cotton. When the coal companies developed mines in the area, mining became a large part of the economy very quickly. Due to the influx of population attracted by employment opportunities in mining and other industries that followed mining, such as general merchandise stores, Townley grew quickly and changed drastically from the small community of farmers that it had once been.

Although the mining companies arrived shortly after the Frisco railroad in 1886, the 1920s brought the largest increase in companies located in the Townley area. During this period, approximately six
mines operating in this area. This "boom" in the economy of Townley lasted until the middle of the 1930s, then steadily began to decline. The Depression hit the coal industry hard. Furthermore, "natural gas, combined with the financial crisis, caused the devastation of the coal industry in Walker County..." Railroads also furthered the downturn. Demand for coal drastically dropped when railroads switched to diesel power. A lull spread throughout Townley until the beginning of World War II, when coal once again was demanded by Europe. This upward climb in the industry resulted in Walker County miners working "with no time off, ten hours a day, six days a week during the war effort." However, this second boom did not last very long. By 1950, production had dropped to a minimum again. The coal industry in Townley never fully recovered from this "bust." By 1954 there were 19,083 children of out-of-work coal miners...there were 6,361 miners unemployed! During the 1950s, Townley drifted into the backdrop and became a ghost town.

Beginning with the Depression and continuing with the economic drop of the coal industry in the 1950s, Townley drastically shifted from a growing city with a large population to a small rural community that survived once again on agriculture. When the coal companies began closing, jobs began to disappear and the population started to seek out other options for employment. Some Townley citizens traveled north after the "bust" in search of jobs in the automotive industry, steel mills, etc. The residents who stayed through the decline of the coal industry barely survived. Eugene Guthrie stayed in the Townley area after the mines began to shut down and recalls that, "...people went hungry when the mines shut down." He also concluded, "Townley was a boomin' place until the mines shut down. When the mines shut down it [Townley] just went to the bottom." Both Eugene Guthrie and Charles Patton remembered the 1950s as a time when people begged to merely work for food.

Townley differed in one essential way from other coal mining camps of the era. Most of its families were not transient and had inhabited the area prior to the coal "boom." These roots made it very difficult for unemployed miners to leave their home in search of a job elsewhere. Ruth Baker remembers the day when her sister left Townley
for Chicago because her husband could not get a job in the area. The coal mining industry severely altered the family structure when it entered the Townley area in the 1920s. By the late 1940s, the family became dependent on its survival, and by the 1950s, the "bust" tore these families apart. Coal companies became the glue that held the family together. Most of the people who left never returned to Townley, leaving a small population barely surviving.

Townley could have easily been altered by any economic "boom" such as factories instead of coal mines. This alteration distinguishes itself from others in the differing effects that it has on all facets of life in the community. Inhabitants became dependent on the wages earned in the coal mines. When the coal mines began moving out of the area, people realized their dependence, but could find nothing to fill the void. Most of the miners grew up in the mines and knew no other trade, having only a limited education. This lack of education left many avenues closed to unemployed residents and their families. Also, coal mines forever changed the environment in which people lived in this area. As stated by Raymond Murphy:

The investigation of mining regions reveals the interplay of the mining process with other elements of the local setting, including the people who work in the mines, the houses they live in, the transportation pattern, the other industries that are present, and the other items that go to make up the unique character of the region.

Even after the coal mines left the area, the idea of coal and mining still remained in the inhabitants. The people that lived during this time remember how coal mining changed their lives and their hometown. Coal mining has been proven to have "...shaped not only the physical landscape but also the cultural identity of the region." This shaping involved the changing of familial relationships, involving the absence of males in the household, the sons that followed the fathers and brothers into the mines generation after generation and the decline of agricultural family economy as the main source of income. Coal companies also "shaped...cultural identity" by
both providing and depriving residents of an education. Coal operators contributed funding for schools and simultaneously made it impossible for some to attend.

Furthermore, economically, coal companies became the only opportunity present in mining camps, with Townley as no exception. When coal companies boomed in the 1920s and early '30s, jobs were available in excess. Population grew at staggering rates and Townley profited greatly from the attractiveness of the coal mines. However, by depending so heavily upon one industry, Townley failed to survive after the coal companies vacated the area, leaving a large portion of the area unemployed. Population dropped and the town no longer had the number of people that it took to support the businesses and other industries that had developed alongside the coal mines.

The population decrease resulted in the basic deterioration of the town and its economy. By the mid-1950s, most of the population had left for "greener pastures" and the businesses had either closed down or relocated to a more profitable area. The environment also changed after the coal companies left. Houses, once filled to the brim by miners and their families, are now abandoned. Eventually, these and other places, such as stores, churches and town halls, were demolished.

In conclusion, the coal mining companies that inhabited Townley during the period from 1920-50 played a crucial role in the low education received by Townley residents, the drastic familial changes that occurred and the economic rise and fall of the area. An industry that provided much for the families of Townley, stripped them of much more.

---

1 This device was used to transport the miners from the surface to their work stations underground.
3 Ruth Teaford Baker, interview by author, 15 March 2007, Townley, AL, tape recording.
4 Karrh, History of Townley and Townley Junior High School, 5.

7 Ibid, 13.

8 Ruth Teaford Baker, interview by author, 15 March 2007, Townley, AL, tape recording.

9 Karrh, History of Townley and Townley Junior High School, 11.

10 Eugene Guthrie, interview by author, 21 February 2007, Jasper, AL, tape recording.


12 Charles Patton, interview by author, 15 March 2007, Kansas, AL, tape recording.


14 Davis and Brown, It Is Union and Liberty, 72.

15 Mines and Mining in Alabama Vertical Files, Special Collections, Carl Elliott Regional Library, Jasper.

16 Mines and Mining in Alabama, Carl Elliott Regional Library, Jasper.

17 Ruth Teaford Baker, tape recording.

18 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

19 Wayne Flynt, Poor but Proud: Alabama’s Poor Whites (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989), 126.

20 Charles Patton, tape recording.

21 Ruth Baker, tape recording.

22 Flynt, Poor But Proud, 125.

23 Ibid, 124.

24 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

25 Ibid.

26 Charles Patton, tape recording.

27 Davis and Brown, It Is Union and Liberty, 64.

28 Ibid, 64.

29 Flynt, Poor But Proud, 115.

30 Ibid, 126.

31 Charles Patton, tape recording.

32 Mary Guthrie, interview by author, 21 February 2007, Jasper, AL, tape recording.

33 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

34 Ruth Baker, tape recording.

35 Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

36 Mary Guthrie, tape recording.

37 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

38 Ibid.


40 Ruth Baker, tape recording.


42 Ibid.
BOOM OR BUST IN TOWNLEY

43 Ibid, 131.
45 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
47 Girten, “The History of Coal Mining in Walker County,” 22.
48 Karrh, 9-10.
49 Mulrooney, 131.
50 Ibid, 130.
51 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
52 Flynt, 124.
53 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
54 Flynt, 127.
55 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
57 Charles Patton, tape recording.
58 Ibid.
59 Mary Guthrie, tape recording.
60 Karrh, 13.
61 Ruth Baker, Up and Down, 4.
63 Ibid, 27.
64 Ibid, 28.
65 Charles Patton, tape recording.
66 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
67 Ruth Baker, tape recording.
68 Mulrooney, 130.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
n the 1960s, America experienced a time of social, political, and cultural unrest. Radical changes took place for women's rights and the understanding and acceptance of female sexuality. The sexual revolution, led by a generation of young teens and adults that desired more freedom in sexual roles and experiences than their parents, significantly changed women's roles. For instance, in the 1950s, remaining a virgin until marriage was one of the great all-American virtues that young women were encouraged to possess and maintain. In addition, cohabitating before marriage was strictly prohibited by society's rules and standards. Furthermore, women were becoming restless in their positions as housewives and searching for a change.¹ As clinical psychologist, Dr. Roslyn K. Malmaud, observed in her research, "If her husband earned enough, she had the luxury of becoming a homemaker, deriving satisfaction from her family, home, community affairs, and leisure pursuits. At least that is what conventional wisdom led women to believe. Many became disillusioned."² This statement insists that women were not as satisfied with the lives they were leading as they had been expected or even programmed to be.

As women played active roles in the Civil Rights Movement, many women began to question their own rights and sought more than the second-class citizenship they felt they had. This new women's liberation movement differed from the women's liberation movement of the early twentieth century, as they fought against gender stereotyping, for the freedom to express themselves sexually as women, and equality between themselves and men in the workplace. As psychoanalyst, George Frankl, describes it in his book, The Failures of the Sexual Revolution,
"[A] second feminist wave seeks to go beyond the old demands for constitutional equality, which characterized the suffragette movement, towards woman's liberation from a great many sexual and social taboos." The sexual revolution and the women's liberation movements of the 1960s seem to be inherently connected. As Frankl assesses, "Women have clearly borne the brunt of the repressive superego of patriarchy, and the freedom of women, their personal and sexual equality, must obviously play an essential role in any freedom movement." Dr. Roslyn K. Malmaud reinforces Frankl's stance. In her book Work and Marriage: The Two-Profession Couple, she states, "The first role to be bestowed is one's sex role, which is so intrinsic that it influences all other roles."

As changes in society occurred, the media tended to best represent those changes, particularly media directed at and for women. George Frankl agreed, "Women's journals, therefore, reflect the new aspirations and self-image of women of various ages and classes and their response to the sexual revolution." Women's magazines that often portrayed the American woman as a young and beautiful housewife, perfectly poised, with no need of higher education or a career outside of child rearing, began to be an outlet for change. As George Frankl wrote, "The sexual mores of a society are mirrored in its journals, and as sexuality has been openly adopted as a way of life this fact is brought home to the citizens via its news media." While some magazines witnessed more change than others, change was present in almost all of these magazines. McCall's magazine saw change, but it developed slowly and subtly over a period of time. Therefore, McCall's magazine served to change how women and their sexuality were viewed the 1960s. This essay provides evidence of such changes and focuses on McCall's magazines from 1955-75 in five-year increments, primarily from articles and advertisements.

McCall's magazine was initially created in the late nineteenth century as a women's fashion magazine full of dressmaking patterns. By the 1950s, under the direction of Editor Otis Wiese, it became one of many women's magazines to focus on the entire family. In 1958, new editor-in-chief, Herbert Mayes, redesigned the magazine's layout and identity. Soon the magazine was termed "The First Magazine for Women", solidifying its position as one of the "Seven Sisters" of women's service magazines. This status placed McCall's alongside periodical achievements.
such as Redbook and Ladies Home Journal. Following this achievement, in 1966, McCall's hired President Lyndon B. Johnson's twenty-three year old daughter, Lynda Bird Johnson, as a contributor to the magazine, in an effort to appeal to a younger audience. Understanding the history of this magazine, as well as the key players in its production at this time, is crucial in understanding some of the changes that occurred. In addition, even though the editors wanted to move in a more progressive direction, the fact remained that men primarily dominated the upper tiers of management and decision making. McCall's was simply a magazine designed for women, not by them, a fact most evident in its earlier years.

In its initial years, McCall's magazine represented the typical American ideal of the average housewife. She was a magnificent cook, the family chauffer, the maid, and did everything with ease and a smile. She was beautiful, poised, and executed each and every daily task with grace. In many ads, she could be found cooking or performing some chore in a dress, a pair of heels, a strand of pearls, red lipstick, and not a hair out of place. In the January 1955 issue of McCall's, an ad for Dusharme hair creme read, "For those who care enough to look their best." This ad presented the common idea at this time that for a woman, looking her best was her first and foremost responsibility. Another article entitled, "What Shall I Wear?:" discussed the selection of the perfect outfit for every occasion, as if dressing the part was a woman's biggest concern. As Maggie Gallagher, author for the Universal Press Syndicate, wrote in Enemies of Eros, "You'll catch a glimpse of the frightening demon in mainstream women's magazines whenever an article reflects a little on the problems women face." Gallagher referred to the "devouring housewife" as a "demon", implying that becoming such a woman would be frightening to her.

This belief in a woman's supposed obsession with superficial things continually appears in McCall's throughout 1955. In the June issue, there is an article with the young Queen Elizabeth of England entitled, "The Queen's Beauty Secrets". The entire article focused on the Queen's make-up and hair tricks and never once discussed her political or social views. Another somewhat astonishing piece belittling the female mind's capacity for anything beyond the role of the perfect housewife is
entitled, "Tis the Day After Christmas." This "comic" portrayed a father and mother assembling a child's new train set and said, "Father mulls over the curious hitches / Afflicting the train and its multiple switches / While, Mother assembling the bits on the floor, / Worries about her intelligence score." This article not only reinforced the housewife ideal, but also showed women as inferior to men.

Later, in the August 1955 issue, the article, "Why Women Act That Way," appeared. The article set out to answer questions such as, "Why are women so clumsy at pitching a ball and running?" The reply suggested that women were built with a broken, vertical bone structure, which provided a "carrying-angle" with which to hold a baby. The article read, "Men run straight and gracefully and women awkwardly, throwing their legs around in a circle," and continued, "Women have a harder time with ordinary balance and are more prone to tumbles." The conclusion drawn assumed that women were not only intellectually inferior to men, but that they were also physically and biologically inferior as well.

McCall's issues of the 1960s, although some stereotyping remains, exhibit some beginnings of change. Women were photographed in tennis shoes and occasionally in pants. Quick-fix dinner ideas placed less emphasis on home-cooked meals. Still, in the January 1960 issue, a questionnaire, "Before You Leap," asked young women twenty-five questions to consider before marriage. These questions included, "Can you cook seven full meals that he likes?;" "Do you willingly limit seeing friends of yours that he dislikes?;" "Can you toss of your own bad mood to comfort him for his?;" and finally, "Has he pointed out things about you he doesn't like and have you changed because of what he said?" These questions painted a portrait of the woman's role.

In spite of articles that still portrayed women as no more than housewives, the changes that began to appear in 1960 were strides in the right direction. For instance, in the February issue of McCall's, an excerpt from Sir Anthony Eden's memoirs discussed the Suez Crisis of 1956. This was one of the first articles in McCall's that discussed something deeper and more intellectual than skin care, housekeeping, or child rearing; its focus was political. In addition, in the March issue, there was an ongoing segment entitled, "The First Year," where newlyweds were encouraged to send in their questions to be answered by the editors at
One wife wrote in that she wanted to pursue a college degree because she felt the gap between her husband’s knowledge and her own was widening. She said that her husband did not feel like she should pursue higher education, because he liked her the way she was. The editors responded by saying, “We think you are dead right in pursuing a degree!” This attitude reflects a change in the perception of women pursuing higher education.

In addition to strides made in the content of the articles geared toward women, advertisements were also changing in the early 1960s. In several issues of McCall’s from the year 1960, women were shown in more revealing swimwear, lacy lingerie ads, or nearly bare bodies to advertise some sort of beauty product. This advancement was far from the perfectly poised images of women in the 1950s. Advertisements such as these explored female sexuality, something that had not been attempted by mainstream media in the past. These explorations were evidence of the developing sexual revolution. As the generation of young adults growing up in the sixties began to realize the importance of sexual freedoms, magazine advertisements reflected that change in attitude. As George Frankl said, “Women’s journals, therefore, reflect the new aspirations and self-image of women of various ages and classes and their response to the sexual revolution.”

Frankl insisted that marketing during the 1960s focused on getting young women “to buy all the props needed for [their] rebellion.” He believed that this “new identity” was facilitated by the industries that found their way into magazine advertisements. He argued, “The chemical industry is there to enhance and regulate your body smell with a variety of deodorants, it can improve your skin, your hair, your teeth, your eyes, your lips, give you a suntan, soften you, smooth you, cleanse you, and hygienise you.” He continued, “If, after all these things, that teenage joie de vivre, that scintillating sense of wellbeing and happiness sometimes eludes us, then the establishment will provide us with the necessary mood enhancers.” Although Frankl’s observation seems humorous or satirical, it held true based on many of the advertisements found in McCall’s 1960 issues that seemed to exhibit more sex appeal.

By 1965, images of women in McCall’s magazine had evolved from only ten years prior. Women were photographed with much
shorter hemlines, in many more pant outfits, and generally less poised, such as women lounging at home in a pair of blue jeans and a loosely fitting work shirt. Other pictures revealed a sexier side to women, such as one advertisement for a new fashion—the mini-dress—where the young model posed standing with her legs apart, smoking a cigarette. As George Frankl addressed the new direction of women's fashion during the sexual revolution, "The fashions are more daring, more colorful and there is less emphasis upon restraint in the service of elegance." Another article included in the March 1965 issue, "The High IQ and the Small Bosom. Do they really go together?", included a doctor's analysis that a correlation does exist. In the April issue, an article criticizing the establishment of marriage, "A Long Hard Look At Marriage", said that many American housewives surveyed agreed that they were not satisfied with their roles and felt like they are missing out on something. Articles such as these conveyed that women were ready for a change. In the era of the sexual revolution, tensions rose regarding gender roles, and many women found themselves on the verge of the new women's liberation movement.

In another article in a 1965 issue of *McCall's*, one ambitious, young writer, Marya Mannes, attacked the popular modern-day female hero as depicted in the media. She claimed that all too often, the hero was a prostitute or some other sort of "sex-career girl", and worst of all, she admitted that audiences loved them. Mannes wrote, "She is: the girl who seldom withholds her flesh or favors and who receives in turn if not cash, then the lust and attention of the faceless mass." She believed that this kind of appeal is something that few housewives and "nice girls" could aspire to, yet they felt compelled to try. She discussed advertisements "impregnated with sex" using words and phrases like "invitation," "promise," "magic intoxication," "anything can happen," and "wet" to describe lipstick. She further attacked Helen Gurley Brown's work and Hugh Hefner's *Playboy*. She argued that by these things, "You get a nation of girls who want to look like playmates, a nation of women acutely worried about their sexual competence, and a nation of men who wish the girl next door were Carroll Baker." Mannes continued to focus on the current rage for nudity in entertainment, and the idea that a woman's breast size was more important than the size of her heart
or the wealth of her mind. Although this article was a great stride for *McCall's*, since this magazine rarely contained articles on the topics of sexuality, there were still advertisements throughout the same issue encouraging young women to dye their hair blonde, become a bronze beauty, and enhance their breasts. In conclusion, this opinion of an industry “impregnated with sex” was only the opinion of an individual, not a reflection of an entire magazine changing its course.

It was in the 1970 issues of *McCall's* that more significant changes were found. The most obvious differences were present in the subject matter of many of the articles. Articles such as “Betty Furness: The Cost of Living” and “One Man’s America” by Eugene McCarthy discussed serious topics and shared opinions on economic, political, and social issues in America. In “Betty Furness: The Cost of Living,” former White House Assistant for Consumer Affairs, Betty Furness, shared with readers the challenges of her new job as a lobbyist for more than eight million housewives. She felt there was a need for these women to have representation in Washington, because they made up the majority of consumers in America, since they generally had the responsibility to purchase groceries and other similar items for the entire family. In the case of the article, “One Man’s America,” Eugene McCarthy, United States Senator and former presidential candidate, discussed his views on the Vietnam War and its questionable legality, government policies, civil rights riots, poverty, and student protests. These types of articles exhibited the most change in *McCall's*. After all, it was only fifteen years earlier that nearly every article concerned maintaining a happy husband or the daunting task of selecting the most perfect outfit for each occasion.

In addition to the articles' change in subject matter, advertisements continued to advance the portrayal of women as sexual beings with sexual needs and desires. One advertisement for Sardo bath oils read, “When you live with a man...,” which implied that two individuals do not have to be married to live together. This was a very different view from that seen in earlier years where a married couple's bedroom would often be pictured with two identical twin beds rather than one double bed. Another advertisement showed a man and a woman kissing as the man laid the woman down on a table. The caption read, “Things don't
happen the way they used to. But they still happen."31 This perfume advertisement directly referred to a more conservative time period. As one author summed up this period of change, "The sexual revolution here manifests itself essentially in the projection of the woman as a person who intends to participate in the world without in the least giving up her femininity and glamour."32 Although sexual and social taboos were changing at this time, beauty products' advertisements remained effective at selling "glamour." They just had to alter their content to fit the culture.

Furthermore, some articles in the 1970s issues directly addressed women's sexual roles and the need for freedom from the restraints of society's former portrayal of women. Although discussions of sex were not a new phenomenon to the magazine industry as a whole, it was a break from tradition for McCall's magazine.33 For instance, William Masters, M.D., and Virginia Johnson, co-authors of the controversial Human Sexual Response and Human Sexual Inadequacy, wrote the article, "Sex and the Married Woman," where they intended to give Americans a preview of the next phase of the sexual revolution. They focused on destroying "Victorian ideals" about sex roles and ending double standards in all aspects of sexual behavior including premarital, extramarital, and marriage itself.34 Another article found in the July issue was written by Dr. David Reuben. Its purpose was to answer women's questions on sexual conflict, and Dr. Reuben wrote:

Our society has a complete set of sexual taboos that narrowly restrict females' sexual activity. In fact, the only socially approved sexual outlet for women is within the framework of marriage. A woman who seeks sexual fulfillment any other way risks disapproval, rejection, and in some cases, ostracism.35

These articles finally recognized the female's struggle in the sexual revolution that had been going on in society for the past several years leading up to 1970. In summation, it was not until 1970 that McCall's seemed to experience change due to the sexual revolution. No longer were pieces of the magazine reflecting the change, but nearly every aspect of the magazine seemed to be influenced by it.
Finally, by 1975, the effects of the sexual revolution on McCall's magazine were clearly evident and played an active role in the pieces that were highlighted. For example, one of the primary articles in the January issue was entitled, “The Pill: What We Really Know After Fifteen Years of Use.” This article praised birth control pills, calling them “a powerful catalyst in reshaping women's dreams about themselves and in altering the world they live in.” This idea was prevalent among women's liberation leaders and experts of the sexual revolution alike. In addition, articles appeared such as “When Husbands and Wives Disagree About Sex,” or explicit articles on sex therapy. There was also an article in the June issue called, “The New Doubts About Abortion,” which debated the issues of legalized abortion and some doctors' and women's fears. These articles represent the greatest changes in the magazine's content since the mid-fifties.

Not only were articles on sex a popular topic at this time, but McCall's also discussed women in the workforce and the female's capability to compete alongside men for jobs or in athletics. For instance, “Women on the Job: From Housewife to Wage Earner,” by Janice LaRouche described the struggle many women faced in explaining and compensating for the many years they spent at home to employers. Other articles included, “More Women Entering Professions,” “Women on the Job: Dead-End Jobs,” and “Dressing For Success in the Workplace.” Another interesting article provided stark contrast to an earlier McCall's 1955 issue. “The Not So Weaker Sex” discussed female athletes and their ability to compete alongside male athletes, often enjoying greater success. It stated that after reviewing several experiments conducted in a lab, few differences were found between men's and women's abilities. This article contravened an earlier article discussed entitled, “Why Women Act That Way.” All of these changes reflected the shift that was taking place in American society at this time due to the sexual revolution.

In conclusion, although changes in how McCall's magazine portrayed women were subtle and developed slowly throughout the sexual revolution, they did occur. By the mid-seventies, women's roles were much less defined for them by images of the “happy housewife” in the media. This was a direct result of the new sexual freedoms women were experiencing due to the sexual revolution. These freedoms were
expressed in *McCall's* through the subject matter of the articles and the content of the advertisements. Finally, while remaining a popular standard in the women's magazine industry, *McCall's* did reflect the changes of society's attitudes toward women and sexuality.

1 Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines, eds. "*Takin' it to the streets*": A Sixties Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 387-388.
4 Ibid., 141.
9 *McCall's*, January 1955, 68.
12 "*The Queen's Beauty Secrets,** McCall's*, June 1955, 43.
13 "*Tis the Day After Christmas,* McCall's, January 1955, 79-80.
14 "*Why Women Act That Way,* McCall's, August 1955, 43.
15 "*Before You Leap,* McCall's, January 1960, 26.
16 Former British Prime Minister.
18 "*The First Year,* McCall's, March 1960, 32.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., 83.
23 "*The High IQ and the Small Bosom,* McCall's, March 1965, 87.
24 "*A Long Hard Look At Marriage,* McCall's, April 1965, 93.
25 Marya Mannes, "*The Heroine With the Heart Of What?*, McCall's, June 1965, 18.
26 Carroll Baker was a famous actress in the 1960s, who was quickly recognized as a
sex symbol in the movies.

27 Marya Mannes, "The Heroine With the Heart of What?", McCall's, June 1965, 18.
30 McCall's, January 1970, 97.
31 McCall's, March 1970, 10.
33 Good Housekeeping reflected on the impact of Freud’s writing on female sexuality in the early 1930’s.
36 “The Pill: What We Really Know After Fifteen Years of Use,” McCall’s, January 1975, 76-77.
38 “The New Doubts About Abortion,” McCall’s, June 1975, 121.
39 Janice LaRouche, “Women on the Job: From Housewife to Wage Earner,” McCall’s, September 1975, 68.
40 McCall’s, September 1975, 33.
41 McCall’s, August 1955, 43.
Today in the City of Birmingham and the surrounding areas residents face many of the same issues they had in the past: losing residents to surrounding suburbs. There is a lack of cooperation between the suburbs and the City of Birmingham. Birmingham lacks leadership in its city government, as well as cooperation with nearby suburban governments. Through the years, many have suggested to consolidate localities, combining Birmingham with the surrounding metropolitan area. These, and other forms of consolidation have been attempted by Birmingham in the past, but failed to get off the ground. One of the more prominent and recent attempts was the “One Great City” movement. Before any similar plan should be considered again, the failure of “One Great City” movement must be examined.

To understand why “One Great City” failed, the history of Birmingham and its previous consolidation movements must be analyzed and put into context. Birmingham was founded in 1871, named in honor of the industrial town of Birmingham, England, due to the plentiful supply of coal and iron ore in Jones Valley. Because of this abundance of raw material, industry in Birmingham grew very rapidly in its early years. By 1893, a ring of suburbs filled Jones Valley and the City of Birmingham sought to annex these towns to increase tax revenues. However, the land to be annexed included steel plants. The steel industry intentionally located some of its plants outside the city limits to avoid taxation, which annexation would force them to pay. While the steel industry opposed the idea, the measure still passed. But the steel industry refused to give up, and through heavy lobbying they
pressured the county into revoking the annexation, becoming one of the first of many failed annexation attempts.\textsuperscript{2}

The next round of annexation attempts, the Greater Birmingham Movement, occurred in 1899 and in 1903, and failed due to continual lobbying from the steel industry. A third attempt arose in 1907, which was voted on and passed, only to be later rejected by the courts because of several errors in the text of the bill. The bill was finally passed in 1909 after making the corrections, but not without modification by steel lobbyists to exclude their plants. When the bill went into effect on January 1, 1910, Birmingham's population increased by nearly 100,000, literally overnight.\textsuperscript{3}

Through the years, Birmingham saw other consolidation attempts come and go, especially during the Depression and after World War II. The Depression hurt the heart of Birmingham's economy: steel production. Birmingham also failed to attract new business and experienced the beginning of white flight. All of these events caused economic issues to spring to the forefront of political debate.\textsuperscript{4} The consolidation of Birmingham and its surrounding suburbs as the solution surfaced again during the 1930s. Plans for consolidation varied between the annexation of surrounding neighborhoods to creating a city-county government for Jefferson County.

Proponents of consolidation felt that the current form of government, consisting of many separate city governments in one metropolitan area, "was adopted in years gone by when there were no automobiles or good highways, when every settlement was a political unit unto itself, isolated...."\textsuperscript{4} Since every city in the metropolitan area was its own political unit, great redundancies occurred in each government.\textsuperscript{5}

By merging positions such as tax collector, tax assessor, and judges with surrounding suburbs, it was estimated that anywhere between 30 and 50 percent of the budget could be saved.\textsuperscript{6,7} Reducing metropolitan government to its cheapest and most efficient size might allow everyone to pay off bonded debt without new taxes.\textsuperscript{7} Along with the financial benefit, supporters ultimately hoped that consolidation would make local government "large enough in scope to keep pace with the cultural, social, and business development of [the] metropolitan area..."\textsuperscript{8}

Even with such optimistic outcomes and predictions for
WHY THE "ONE GREAT CITY" MOVEMENT FAILED

consolidation, the movement had its detractors and difficulties. One opponent was W.A. Pritchard, an Alderman for Tarrant City. He asked Governor Bibb Graves if Tarrant would be forced to consolidate, citing it was "out of debt and doesn’t want to be party to a consolidation." Graves replied that Tarrant could and would be forced to consolidate against its will, an action Pritchard claimed was "unfair." The annexation of unwilling communities remained a key topic in all subsequent consolidation movements.

Local self-government also remained an issue connected with consolidation. If a merger was approved and the excess government positions removed, then self-government would be lost. That is, "people in the outlying communities are closer to their municipal government" than to a large consolidated government. The status quo allowed people more power, but a centralized government would eliminate any local say. There would be strangers legislating over locals.

Ultimately, none of these movements succeeded. The movements in the Depression years were never able to gather enough support to move beyond discussion. There were two movements in the immediate post war years of '48 and '49. The '48 initiative was defeated because of suburban concerns as to Birmingham's true motives.

If the opposition by suburbia was not enough to halt consolidation, the steel industry once again used its heavy hand in Birmingham politics to avoid taxes. The opinions of people in the Birmingham metro area spread state wide, and when consolidation was put to a statewide vote, it failed.

The role of the steel industry in the '48 initiative, and later in the '49 initiative, was not confined to lobbying. The need for diversification and new business in Birmingham can be partially attributed to Tennessee Coal and Iron (TCI) and U.S. Steel (USS). George Blanks, an examiner for the Birmingham Office of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, told Mayor Cooper Green that General Motors had wanted to build a plant near Birmingham, and that Ford had wanted to build within city limits, but TCI and USS refused to sell steel to either of them. There was a precedent in these actions in the instance of the Rheem Manufacturing Company, which was forced to close because they were not provided with enough steel. In addition, a spokesman for the two
steel companies said in a 1947 interview that "[w]e are here to make steel... we are not here to build a city" and that "[i]f Birmingham wants [new plants that use steel], it's Birmingham's business to go out and get them." TCI and USS had enormous power in Birmingham.

The '49 consolidation initiative failed at its overall goals because the citizens were mostly against it. However, it did partially succeed, becoming the first successful annexation in 39 years. The original goal was for the annexation of Birmingham's surrounding suburbs and unincorporated land. When voted upon, the proposal to merge the suburbs was rejected, but the annexation of unincorporated land was approved. It also attracted steel plants, a concrete plant, and 6,500 new citizens.

Another important merger movement occurred before "One Great City," providing as much precedent and backing as all previous movements combined. It began in 1964, when Mayor Albert Boutwell invited six cities that bordered Birmingham to meet and discuss annexation. Birmingham City Councilman Alan Drennen, Jr., said that each person and community "must choose it and when you will merge with Birmingham. Your decision will be of your own making." The issue of self-determination for communities became the main issue. After Mayor Boutwell's plea went out, Homewood, Mountain Brook, Fairfield, Tarrant, Midfield, and Irondale all responded by signing petitions calling for elections regarding annexation by November 3. None of these six cities voted for annexation.

Thad Long, a lawyer hired to work for the Birmingham-Mountain Brook Merger Commission and later for "One Great City," set precedents for any future Alabama mergers. Mountain Brook asked to become part of Birmingham but wanted to keep their school system, fire protection, and police protection. Any law Long drafted had to be carefully structured. For example, if Mountain Brook raised taxes to fund its school system, the entire City of Birmingham would be forced to pay the taxes. These unique requests were made by Mountain Brook because they felt "afraid that everybody would ignore them." They were concerned about losing their local self-government. In 1947, Mountain Brook's Mayor Charles Zukoski proposed that any consolidation should retain some form of local control.
The proponents of the Mountain Brook merger hoped Birmingham would regain some of the wealthy upper class that it had lost, as well as leaders, both of which could contribute to the stability of Birmingham and the metropolitan area.\textsuperscript{27} Opponents felt that Mountain Brook was perfect as it was. By merging with Birmingham they saw no benefit or assurance of improvement.\textsuperscript{28} They also saw a deteriorating Birmingham with increasing crime, poverty, and, for some, racial conflicts, and were afraid they would incur the same problems.\textsuperscript{29} Despite apprehension about the merger with Birmingham, everyone expected it to happen. Cities like Mountain Brook attempted to make the best out of the inevitable by trying to retain some parts of their old city.\textsuperscript{30}

This all changed when Homewood's vote for merger was overturned by the courts for failure to officially notify residents adequately ahead of the merger vote. Mountain Brook and the entire metropolitan area realized that annexation may not be inevitable after all.\textsuperscript{31} When Homewood voted again, this time with adequate notification, the opposition turned out and the merger initiative failed. This caused the other cities voting on annexation to also reject the proposal. Within this background of numerous failed consolidations, interference from the steel industry, and a lack of motivation of the people and leaders, the "One Great City" movement began.

"One Great City" first emerged when attorney David Vann, along with other members of the Young Men's Business Club (YMBC), took on the idea of a consolidated Birmingham government.\textsuperscript{32} They saw the multiplicity of governments in the metro area and how suburban residents "don't have any voice in the city of Birmingham, but pay taxes to the City of Birmingham."\textsuperscript{33} Vann believed that consolidation "[could] give [them] a voice... a council representative, a vote on who's the mayor."\textsuperscript{34} The YMBC traveled around the metro area giving speeches, promoting the idea of "One Great City." They flew to Washington, D.C., to consult with the Civil Rights Division to see if their plans met with their approval, and they did.\textsuperscript{35} The YMBC created a poll, and the results showed that 65% of Birmingham residents, between 50%-60% of people north of Birmingham, and more than 50% of people at the Bessemer cut-off supported consolidation.\textsuperscript{36}

While Vann and the YMBC helped create public awareness for
"One Great City," the movement did not begin making headway until two local businessmen, James White and William Smith, became involved. They approached the head of Long's firm to have a lawyer to draft the bills necessary for "One Great City." They also approached David Herring about lobbying the legislature in favor of consolidation, as he was the Jefferson County Chairman of the Democratic Party. White and Smith thought it important to get the Birmingham News on their side, so they went to Vice President Vincent Townsend and received his approval and support of "One Great City." While much publicity was given to Vann and the YMBC, Long and Herring made it clear that the "Young Business Men's Club was not even involved..." and "it never really appeared [that] they were one of the players."

The "One Great City" bill, which Long drafted, was constructed to avoid a vote by each city, as it would most likely fail in some areas and prevent a united metropolitan Birmingham. To provide each community some form of local control, former cities would be made into towns. These towns would keep their school systems, which were established prior to consolidation, and also have a form of city council, which could control local zoning and other local functions. The consolidated city government would be a mayor-council government comprised of 19 councilmen. Two councilmen would be voted on from each of the nine districts. It would be headed by a council president, elected by all districts. The hope was that with a consolidated government, along with local governments the "best of both worlds" could be achieved.

Once the "One Great City" bill and its accompanying amendments were completed, they had to be approved by the state legislature, followed by a statewide vote. A majority of statewide voters was required for passage of the merger. Some of the more important items specified that the consolidated city would collect any taxes, which "levied but not collected" by the cities. All city employees would have the right to become consolidated city employees with the same "grade" and seniority as before. Also, the consolidated city would take on all city debt except for school debt.

The "One Great City" bill faced major opposition from the Jefferson County Mayors Association, which was accused of opposing the plan because they would lose their jobs. This was not the case, according
to the head of the Jefferson County Mayors Association, Mountain Brook Mayor Allen Rushton. According to him, “the mayors of Jefferson County are not opposing the plan out of fear of losing their jobs, but out of fear of creating a big, unmanageable, unresponsive, expensive and bureaucratic government.”

The mayors of suburban cities were the most vocal critics of the merger during the entire campaign. They sent packets of information to every resident of their city urging them to let the legislature know that they did not support a merger. This lead to the eventual failure of the “One Great City” bill. The vote was 5 to 3.

The ultimate reasons why “One Great City” failed are large in number. David Herring, whose job was to promote “One Great City” to the legislature, believed that the movement failed because of politics. He thought that schools “were the big bug-aboo,” and “[p]eople were frightened even though we... got David to stand on his head to make sure that it was legally written where schools stayed the same....” Furthermore, U.S. Steel “didn’t want the government over them” but ultimately admitted “I don’t really know.”

Thad Long believed, “[t]he majority of voters were not buying the fact that you could ever really achieve this Utopian concept of an effective metro government and still have the kind of local autonomy which would make life a pleasant thing to live....” People were afraid of “one clumsy, large, amalgamated metro government which will be unresponsive.” He also mentioned that for many, there were petty reasons for opposing a merger. For example, in Mountain Brook, garbage was picked up behind the house. However, if they merged with Birmingham, they would have to place their garbage on the curb for pickup.

David Vann believed that “One Great City” failed because of the mayors and city councils of the cities that were proposed for annexation. He thought the political battles turned the public away. He blamed this on government corruption. However, he went on to say that elected officials cannot be depended upon for consolidation, but rather, “you really have to have a good citizens movement... people that will volunteer to spend time.” Furthermore, the citizenry must have a sense that they are making improvements in order to undergo such a drastic changes to their lives.
The closest reason for the failure of the "One Great City" movement was because, as David Vann said, people needed to believe they were benefiting from such a drastic change, and the people of metropolitan Birmingham did not. The wealthy and affluent were fleeing Birmingham, and eventually the city would face a "crisis of leadership." This bleak version of Birmingham's future "would leave almost a vacuum" in the center of the suburbs. Thus the message truly was the importance of sacrifice for the "good of the community." Long's statement is an apparent allusion to a quote made in 1940 by Welden Cooper, of the University of Alabama, who said, "[i]f Birmingham's experience parallels that of other large cities, it will soon find itself losing population to the communities around its fringe with a consequent decline in leadership and resources which eventually will have fateful repercussions in its political life." In conclusion, from the moment the "One Great City" movement began, it already faced an opponent more challenging than any opponents to consolidation within the legislature. The adversary was the history and legacy of Birmingham itself: the numerous failed attempts at consolidation, the death grip the steel industry held on the city for so long, and the large number of entrenched suburbs. "One Great City" had to face and overcome all of these challenges. However, the movement could not pass the final obstacle—the political apathy and sedentary nature of the majority of people in metropolitan Birmingham; this is why the movement failed. Not until the people are aroused will another "One Great City" movement or any other consolidation movement succeed.

1 Charles E. Connerly, "The Most Segregated City in America:" City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980 (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2005),
2 Marvin Y. Whiting, "One Great City," (Birmingham, AL: Birmingham Public Library, 1997),
3 Whiting, 2.
6 Ralph E. Hurst, "Merger of City, County Seen As Step to Economy," Birmingham
WHY THE "ONE GREAT CITY" MOVEMENT FAILED

News, 12 February 1932.
9 Habert Baughn, "City County Consolidation Held Unfair," Birmingham Post-Herald, 6 December 1934.
10 Ibid.
12 "Merger of City and County Topic," Birmingham News, 31 August 1934.
13 Whiting, One Great City, 5.
14 Ibid.
15 Connerly, Most Segregated City, 171.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid
19 Whiting, One Great City, 5.
20 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
21 Lou Isaacson, "Boutwell to talk merger to mayors," 1 May 1964.
23 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
27 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Whiting, One Great City, 7.
32 Whiting, One Great City, 24.
33 David Vann, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 8 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
38 David Herring, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 29 November 1995, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
39 Ibid.
40 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
41 Whiting, One Great City, 36-37.
42 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
43 Whiting, One Great City, 38.
44 Whiting, One Great City, 40-41.
46 Whiting, One Great City, 56.
47 David Herring, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 29 November 1995, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
48 Ibid.
49 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 David Vann, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 8 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid.
55 Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
56 Ibid.
57 Whiting, One Great City, 5.

Koral Ann Marling examines the importance of style, image, and social consciousness in As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s. Marling explores the fascination Americans had with mid-century style as well as bold, vivid colors. She discusses such 1950s phenomena as women's clothing, paint by numbers, Disneyland, automobiles, Elvis, Betty Crocker's Picture Cookbook, and Richard Nixon meeting with Russian leader Nikita Khrushchev. Marling describes the 1950s as a decade where visual culture reigned supreme.

Marling suggests that TV advertisements changed the way Americans viewed products as well as why they purchased. Consequently, TV directly promoted sales, even for products that were in demand but not necessary. In the 1950s, TV replaced the door-to-door salesman. Advertisers held a captive audience with perfect products in the right color and size for everyone, conveying the importance of luxury and taste to busy mothers and housewives. But they sold much more than products. Marling argues that advertisers used TV and magazines advertisements to offer solutions to problems. In addition, they presented a glossy, perfect, picture image of how people and things should look. In a very real sense, TV models served as personal style consultants for every need, and viewers never had to leave their home to find the latest trends.

Marling suggests consumers desired visually appealing items that represented success to shed the drudgery of the 1950s. TV became an important part of the American culture. Consequently, advertisements offered bright images that appealed to consumer needs and conveyed that the 1950s were a time for change. Marling argues that culture and appearance began to shift in the 1950s as a response to the changing times. The advertisement industry played a large role in this transformation, as seen in the visual culture discussed by Marling.
"Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
"Writing Our Great City, 36-37.
"Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
"Writing Our Great City, 40-41.
"Writing Our Great City, 56.
"David Morris, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 29 November 1995, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
"Ibid.
"Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
"Ibid.
"Ibid.
"Ibid.
"David Veatch, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 8 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
"Ibid.
"Ibid.
"Ibid.
"Thad Long, interviewed by Jim Baggett, 10 January 1996, Birmingham, AL, tape recording.
"Ibid.
"Writing Our Great City, 56.
BOOK REVIEWS


Karal Ann Marling examines the importance of style, image, and social consciousness in As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s. Marling explores the fascination Americans had in change in style as well as bold, vivid colors. She discusses such 1950s phenomena as women's clothing, paint by numbers, Disneyland, automobiles, Elvis, Betty Crocker's Picture Cookbook, and Richard Nixon's meeting with Russian leader Nikita Khruschev. Marling describes the 1950s as a decade where visual culture reigned supreme.

Marling suggests that TV advertisements changed the way American viewed products as well as why they purchased. Consequently, TV directly promoted sales, even for products that were in demand, but not necessary. In the 1950s, TV replaced the door-to-door salesman. Advertisers held a captive audience with perfect products in the right color and size for everyone, conveying the importance of luxury and ease to busy mothers and housewives. But they sold much more than products. Marling argues that advertisers used TV and magazine advertisements to offer solutions to problems. In addition, they presented a glossy, perfect, picture image of how people and things should look. In a very real sense, TV models served as personal style consultants for every need, and viewers never had to leave their home to find the latest products.

Marling suggests consumers desired visually appealing items that represented success to shed the drab, war-ridden 1940s. TV became an important part of the postwar culture. Consequently, advertisers offered brightly colored packaging that appealed to consumers needs and conveyed success. Marling argues that the 1950s was a colorful and visually stimulating decade—one in which appearances really mattered.

Readers may question why Marling chose the visual culture of the 1950s for her work, since every decade had a visual culture of its own. Beneath the glitz and glamour, which were standard accoutrements on many cars, clothes, and appliances during the 1950s, Marling examines why some products appealed to consumers. For example, ready-made cake mixes and TV dinners allowed wives and mothers who worked outside the home to prepare meals quickly. Those items also provided
the illusion that women could have the best of both worlds—home and career. Sedan automobiles were "family cars" where mom, dad, and the children spent family time together. Bright, fashionable clothing conveyed success. Even if purchased on credit, the latest appliances, garments, and kitchen gadgets suggested that families knew what to purchase to keep up with, or in many cases pass, the Joneses.

Marling focuses too much time and energy on how famous people contributed to visual culture and style. Overall, *As Seen on TV* presented a narrow view of style from the top-down. Marling could have examined from the bottom-up how a suburban housewife, an African-American or a lower-class person perceived and reacted to an advertiser's bold, fresh new look. Were there other women who influenced fashion in the 1950s? Elvis Presley's trademark black hair and pink Cadillacs were popular icons, as were Pat Boone's white buck shoes. But what were the trademarks of Chuck Berry and Bill Haley and the Comets? Did Rosemary Clooney, The Andrews Sisters, and Marilyn Monroe contribute to the visual culture of the 1950s?

Marling provides numerous pictures of actual advertised products in the 1950s. Readers may find themselves lost in a cleverly designed maze where everyone wore the latest colors, drove the newest model car, and lived in a perfectly furnished home. However, Marling was short-sighted to suggest that TV told Americans who they were in the 1950s. Consumers made choices. In turn, advertisers made popular products available. Readers should keep in mind that TV viewers saw black and white, since television was not colorized until the 1960s. What Marling suggests, and cleverly so, is how advertisers made everything look bright, bold and fresh—desirable enough to purchase. Image was everything, and advertisers knew it.

Marling argues the 1950s was a time when Americans celebrated economic prosperity. However, the Korean War and economic recessions were part of the brightly colored decade she describes. TV influenced the visual culture, at least for those fortunate enough to afford one. Critical analysis of the 1950s might reveal a decade no quite so bold and beautifully-clad as the one Marling described.

John Faulkner

Pete Hamill's invigorating work, Downtown: My Manhattan, revels in the historic city he calls the "capital of nostalgia." What could have easily turned into a nineteenth-century style urban walking tour round-and-about New York, took a divergent path. As Distinguished Writer-in-Residence at New York University and former Editor-in-Chief of the New York Post and the New York Daily News, as well as a contributor to The New Yorker, Hamill’s nostalgic eleven chapters could have celebrated favorite haunts of the rich and famous. Instead, he perceives the long durée of the nineteenth century as the yardstick measuring the expanding New Yorker and the widening diversity of immigrant communities. September 11, 2001, served as the impetus for Hamill's work as he celebrates the underlying mechanism of New York's toughness. Moreover, he believes, nostalgia nurtured the passionate immigrant energy that produced the modern city. Hamill revels in the lives of past generations of immigrants who lived, worked, and died in the city they created. An immigrant’s nostalgia for the Old World, he writes, motivated them to succeed in America, and equally, connected them to family history back home.

Yet, an involuntary anger pervades Hamill's city-love. He argues that by not teaching the history of the city and the ways in which it built people's lives, public education and the passive culture of television failed both third- and fourth-generation European offspring. But here, Hamill fails to give poverty and racism their due, neglecting a discussion of working, single mother's struggles to keep her children off the streets during after-school hours. Matthew Gandy writes of the inequalities in the current city that spawned the "new" class of poor and homeless in Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City (2002). Gandy discusses the "social cleansing" of central areas of cities that exhibited little tolerance toward social abnormalities. Gandy further cites controlled leisure, influenced by "public-private" partnerships in which social welfare revenues of cities have been channeled into corporate subsidies.

Hamill's personal Manhattan-consciousness resembles the miasmic steam that rises from the sidewalks of New York. Only a native can decipher the historic levels of the mystical urban blend that daily
declare the extraordinary diversity of the city and the people that inhabit it. Hamill advocates the importance of the sense of place in history. He claims the elements that saturate the notion of home and place are connected in unpredictable subjective courses of action. Hamill’s sense of place mixes of “memory, myth, lore and history” to merge the past and present. For this reason, he cheers on new immigrants who discover their city, by walking the streets among the landmarks and the ruins. Hamill suggests starting at the tenements on the old streets, and examining the Tenement Museum on the Lower East Side, which provides an educational source of cultural and city history. The bulk of history resides in Downtown Manhattan. For new immigrants, Downtown is the center of action and participation, as well, Hamill claims. Immigrants worked in multicultural food services, reconstructing old buildings, driving taxicabs, and simple entry-level jobs.

Hamill considers the Second World War as a great break in the “personal consciousness of time” for New York’s immigrants. This break differed from that experienced by those in other states like California and Florida. Old New Yorker’s divided time into three periods, with each accompanied by its own nostalgia: before, during, and after WWII. The details of post-war life experienced in other cities were different for New Yorkers in 1957. When the New York Giants and the Brooklyn Dodgers left town, Hamill observes, the conversations of New Yorkers gained a new preface that started with “Before the Dodgers left…”

However, Manhattan’s history has viable continuity for Hamill. He sees no break in its link to the present. He places the reader on the historical trail Native American trail that centuries later became the bright lights of Broadway. Its constant refusal to conform to the New York urban grid connects its past to the city’s present. Broadway remains the only major avenue diagonally slicing across the grid, in urban non-conformity, out of the center toward the west. Hamill claims city planners knew better than to tamper with this historical ground. His Broadway is not characterized by the individual districts it passes through, but by great mixture and movement.

As a life-long New Yorker, working and living within the self-imposed “geographical limits” he calls Downtown, Hamill’s New York history flows from his own perspective. It is the history of the “first
Downtown." Hamill's Manhattan is the that of his Irish immigrant parents, who arrived in New York from Belfast after the Great War. It is the history of his uncles arriving at Ellis Island from Ireland after fleeing the hostile atmosphere of the North. He celebrates the constant change and continuity of arriving new immigrants from Russia, Pakistan, India, China, Mexico, and Korea, settling into the old neighborhoods of the Irish, Jews, Italians, and Germans who came before them.

The grid of Hamill's neighborhood includes the Bowery, Lower East Side, Five Points, Birdland, Carnegie Deli, the former site of the World Trade Center, Battery Park, Ellis Island, U.S. Customs House, Tony Pastor's, and Harlem, along with other popular stops. His contemporary writing style transforms the ghosts of the city's past into a tangible form. Progressing in chronological order, Hamill visits the post-slavery location that became Harlem in the late 1920s. He shifts to the Five Points, where whites and blacks lived together during the nineteenth century—a social mix that eventually resulted in the Draft Riots. He reinvigorates John Diamond, the youthful Irish dancer at the Chatham and Bowery theaters, who teamed with Master Juba in 1844. Both influenced 1920s jazz and the development of tap dancing. Audiences for the Chatham were working-class Germans of the Fourth Ward waterfront, and the Five Points Irish from west of the Bowery. Hamill links a nineteenth-century historical thread to the veneration of the firemen of September 11, 2001. The myth of Engine Company 40's giant fireman Big Mose pervaded the stages of the Bowery, walked the streets of hero hungry youth, and, some claim, he was the template for comic book heroes. In 1866 dancing girls appeared on the stage, and the Bowery received criticism for the anti-Victorian attitudes that laced the show.

With a brief spate of textual balance, showing the other side of Downtown history, Hamill covers the waterfront, literally and historically. Moving from the two brothers from Switzerland who opened a wine and cheese shop that became the haunt of Fourteenth Street elites by 1861, he hastens to include Tammany Hall and the Democratic Convention in 1868. The author's nostalgia intensifies in recounting capitalism's "new money" and class push to edge out the established upper class. Only a native grows sentimental about the city blocks and buildings, or identifies
the ghosts that inhabit his personal chronology. Hamill calls this kind of personal history an "irrational love."

Nostalgia for the Old Country, Hamill asserts, started in earnest with the Gilded Age. With the rise of the middle class, the blending of the Knickerbocker bloodlines and the resulting compromise of manners, former Fourteenth Street inhabitants began to nurse a nostalgic ache for Old New York. Yet, Hamill's admittedly personal brand of history is not improper, because it comes from the voice of the immigrant experience. His Irish parents define immigrant "nostalgia" and longing for sense of place. Hamill expresses the euphoric nostalgia surrounding the city's colorful past, made more vivid by larger-than-life New Yorkers, whose accomplishments stand as landmarks on the historic landscape. Hamill cites historians Sean Wilentz, Charles Rosenberg, Gerard T. Koeppel, Sarah Bradford Landau, Carl Condit, Hasia R. Diner, and others, whose works on New York informed his own manuscript. The influence of such authors on his work lends impressive weight to Hamill's individual approach to Manhattan's history.

For Hamill, the hope of the future lies in the multicultural alloy of Irish, Jewish, Italians, and Africans that compose the demographic infrastructure of twenty-first-century Manhattan. He successfully locates nostalgia in the historical vernacular, attributing its definition to America's immigrant class struggles. Comparison with earlier immigrant letters and journals might have had an enriching effect on the work. Yet, in the end, Hamill aims to share "his Manhattan," believing that anyone from anywhere has a place in its history.

Rebecca Comer Gunter


In the wake of September 11, and the subsequent American-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, a number of works, both scholarly and popular, have been produced to attempt to explain the current world situation. One particularly booming field covers the histories of the United States' first military involvement with the Arabic-speaking
Muslim world—the Barbary Wars. However, all works of history are not of equal quality. Despite the few gems to be found scattered among the bookstore shelves, many of these works engage in the most simplistic of analyses and reach for the most tortuous of conclusions. Caveat emptor.

In his book, *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World*, Frank Lambert, a Professor of History at Purdue, offers one of the few well-researched and well-written post-9/11 accounts of the Barbary Wars. Lambert opens his work by discussing the current historiography. He notes that many of the available post-9/11 works attempt to draw parallels between the U.S. war on the Barbary pirates and the U.S. war on terror. Furthermore, much of the available literature paints the conflict as either a religious war between Islam and Christianity or as a clash of cultures. Lambert believes all of these approaches are misguided and overlook the fundamental issue at play in this conflict: trade.

Lambert begins with a discussion of the Atlantic world as it existed before 1800. This world, as he describes it, was based on a mercantilist economy in which trade was a zero-sum game. The British and French navies stood as major powers, while the Dutch, Portuguese, Italians, and other European nations were minor players. At the periphery were both the United States and the Barbary Powers.

After winning its independence, the United States sought to secure its position in the Atlantic world through trade, and not through its military. Indeed, in the years following the Revolution, the U.S. lacked any effective naval forces. The Americans believed in freedom of the seas and free trade, and sought agreements that would allow them access. The British and French, however, were unwilling to allow such a system to come into being.

Facing limited access to the European continent, the Americans turned to the Mediterranean. Though they enjoyed lucrative trade at these ports, they soon found themselves under attack from Barbary Corsairs. The Americans first attempted to secure peace through tribute, but when that failed, they turned to war. After a long and costly conflict, the Americans finally obtained victory and free trade throughout the Mediterranean.

Overall, Lamberts discussion is intriguing, though his emphasis
on economic causes for the war ignores certain cultural and religious elements that should be factored into the discussion. While Americans were forced to deal with the Barbary States, why did the U.S. choose its actions, given the range of options it had available? That said, however, this book is a "must-read" for anyone seeking to understand this conflict.

David Smethurst, a contributor to renowned periodicals such as Parenting and Runner’s World, recounts the events of the Barbary Wars in his book, Tripoli: The United States’ First War on Terror. As the title indicates, Smethurst wrote this book with the goal of illustrating the profound similarities between the Tripolitan War of 1801-05, which began when North African privateers initiated economic warfare against U.S. shipping, and the current “War on Terror,” which began when Islamic extremists carried out an indiscriminate suicide attack against civilians. While he does not explicitly draw these parallels, Smethurst’s exceptional narrative leaves the reader with little doubt that these two conflicts are fundamentally analogous.

Smethurst’s main thesis can be easily summarized in a phrase that is often used within the text: “force must be met with force.” Throughout the book, he praises William Eaton and other men of action as leaders with the moral certitude to recognize the need for military force and the courage to follow their convictions. Smethurst upbraids Adams and others who sought diplomatic solutions for the short-sightedness and ineffectual leadership.

The book focuses on Eaton’s plan to overthrow the ruler of Tripoli, Yusuf Karamanli, and replace him with his brother, Hamet, who would be more favorable to the U.S. and its interests. The author heaps praises upon Eaton for his ingenuity. However, as the final chapter, entitled “Betrayed,” indicates, a plan faltered as a result of the ambivalence of Thomas Jefferson, who supported Eaton’s coup before he opposed it. Consequently, Eaton and his men were forced to retreat just when their objective was within reach. As the book closes, the reader witnesses Eaton as an old man, embittered by his “stab in the back” by the American government.

This book suffers from a lack of drama and action. Smethurst could have elaborated his explanations of how ships maneuvered during battle, how corsairs boarded an enemy ship, or how gunners loaded and
fired an eighteenth-century cannon.  

**Christopher Null**


*Black Struggle, Red Scare* examines how conservative, segregationist politicians from the South attempted to connect the activities of the Civil Rights Movement to the Communist Party or groups with Communist Front affiliations. These white politicians remained cognizant of the fact that if they could connect integration to communism, they could publicly discredit it. They linked preserving "southern traditions" or the "southern way of life" with national security. As McCarthyism, or virulent anti-communism, lost popularity on the national scene, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, red-baiting civil rights activists in the South came into its own.

Woods advances a thesis that examines McCarthyite tactics of the state and local-run "Little HUACs." The state-run committees and their investigative machinery (so-called "little FBIs") serve as the focus of the book. He examines how State Sovereignty Commissions in the Deep South probed individuals with suspected and known connections to communists within their ranks and linked them to civil rights organizations. Organizations such as the Southern Conference on Human Welfare (SCHW), the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), and the communist connections of various members associated with these organizations were repeatedly used by these "little HUACs" to discredit any civil rights movement activity. Stanley Levinson, although an avid worker for civil rights in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), had communist affiliations. The potential damage these segregationist politicians, could cause forced Martin Luther King, Jr., and the SCLC to cut all ties from Levison.

Woods also looks at the composition of the congressional investigative committees, such as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee (SISS). Members of these committees were often highly-placed
southern congressmen and senators such as Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, Chair of SISS; or Representative Edwin Willis of Louisiana, Chair of HUAC. These congressmen took the ready-made, red-baiting precepts remaining from the McCarthy era and applied them to the new developments emerging in the struggle for civil rights.

Woods explores FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover’s role in supporting the inquiry into communism in the Civil Rights Movement. J. Edgar Hoover, a native of Washington, D.C., saw segregation as the American way of life and communism in any form as a threat to American society. Hoover used his office and power to investigate communist connections in the various civil rights organizations and shared the information he gathered with congressional committees or state-run initiatives, especially if it damaged the credibility of a social movement he abhorred.

Overall, Wood’s thesis successfully demonstrates that conservative, segregationist politicians often succeeded in red-baiting participants of the Civil Rights Movement, which weakened the movement from multiple sides. However, there are some minor factual inaccuracies. In discussing the May 1963 demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, he says that “King’s followers decided to put their sons and daughters on the line” (170). This statement holds inaccuracies in two respects. First, local representatives of the “traditional Negro Leadership” in Birmingham like John and Adeene Drew, Dr. Lucius Pitts, A.G. Gaston, and Rev. John Cross directly opposed to the use of children below college age. Second, children often did not wait for their parent’s permission to participate in the movement; many defied their parents, emptying local high schools in those turbulent days.

Woods also leaves out one event from Birmingham that might have had an impact if explored in the light of the conservative, anti-communist, anti-civil rights crusade. This episode could have strengthened the overall argument of Chapter Six: “The Southern Red Scare and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.” The 1963 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, along with the recent March on Washington and the children’s demonstrations in Birmingham, provided a powerful catalyst for transforming the national opinion of the Civil Rights Movement. Woods could have explored the maliciously false ideas among some segregationists that communists bombed the church
in a plot to create racial tensions in an otherwise satisfied black populace, or as a plot by integrationists to further the goals of civil rights. However, mainstream segregationists who comprised the White Citizens Councils and the "little HUACs," investigated the local civil rights activities for communist influence and allowed the Klan to exist while doing little to stop them.

Despite the minor inaccuracies and the important event left out from Chapter Six, Black Struggle, Red Scare explains important aspects of the history of the civil rights era and of Post-War America generally. These events need to be examined to extinguish the misconception that the Civil Rights Movement had any meaningful connection to the Communist Party. This is an excellent book that would make an important contribution to any class concerning the Civil Rights Movement, anti-communism, or historical problems in Post-War America.

Zac Peterson


Baseball, film noir, interstates, Disneyland, and science fiction all influenced what Eric Avila calls, "chocolate cities and vanilla suburbs" in post-World War II Los Angeles. California progressives, among other citizens of the state, regarded Los Angeles suburbs as a "whiter solution" to typical cities (23). Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles explores each of these contributing factors to white flight. Avila explains how the portrayal of non-white people in popular culture played a role in white flight and urban sprawl in Los Angeles.

As unlikely as it may seem, film, especially film noir, played a role in how people viewed Los Angeles in real life. Avila studies the image of the city and its inhabitants in film. His chapter entitled "The Spectacle of Urban Blight" examines several films made during the post-war period. Avila believes film noir made clear distinctions between "blackness" and "whiteness." For instance, he states, "Black servants, custodians, garage attendants, shoe-shine boys, Pullman porters, and jazz musicians often share the same urban space as morally corrupt white
men and women who occupy the noir city” (80). Film noir suggested white people who associated themselves with the urban setting shared “black” characteristics. These characteristics of blackness relayed to the actual portrayal of communities such as Bunker Hill, which gained the reputation of a blighted neighborhood. White people feared the subversive elements depicted in urban areas and fled to the Los Angeles suburbs.

Walt Disney created a source of entertainment for suburb dwellers—Disneyland. Avila gives an excellent, albeit short, biography of Walt Disney to help the reader understand how and why Disneyland came about. Walt Disney did not care for intellectuals, Coney Island, empowerment of women, or Communism. Disney wanted Americans to return to the small town ideology of his own youth. He held family values in high regard and created a theme park that upper and middle class families could enjoy together.

Other families during the era bonded over baseball. Urban renewal, backward politics, and under-the-table dealings pushed the relocation of the Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles. Originally intended for lower income housing, Chavez Ravine’s redevelopment instead came in the form of a baseball stadium and a seven-thousand-car parking lot. Avila credits the Los Angeles Dodgers with the destruction of Chicano communities, while paradoxically uniting the city.

Both Dodger Stadium and Disneyland depended on the interstate highway systems to augment their profits. According to Avila, entrepreneurs in both industries “oriented their respective institutions toward the new freeway system... both marketed a ‘wholesome’ brand of entertainment that catered to an ideal of the white middle-class-nuclear family” (175). As they did in Miami, the interstates destroyed non-white communities throughout Los Angeles. City officials, who thought that freeways and personal automobiles heralded the future of transportation, shut down mass transit that many different ethnic groups relied upon for their livelihood.

Avila, perhaps over simplistically, categorizes people into two groups: white and non-white. Although in his section of film noir, he focuses on the portrayal of African-Americans, the rest of the book concentrates on the plight of Chicanos, even though Los Angeles is home
to many other non-white ethnicities. He did not mention which, if any, ethnic communities the interstates, attractions, and suburbs destroyed as they targeted blighted areas.

In the epilogue, Avila reevaluates many of the book's themes and enlightens the reader to the successes and failures of Post-War Los Angeles. The author provides a well-researched monograph that related many aspects of popular culture to racial tensions.

Jennifer R. Phillips


In this autumn of emergencies, when the life or death of the state is at issue, the weak have become food for the strong, and even the tobacconist is closed, and people are upset. The problem is how to survive in this bleak society. Standing on top of the rock of desperation, those of us who are old pray to Buddha and the gods, . . . but at the moment our strength is exhausted, and joining our hands in prayer is the height of idiocy.

Tamura Tsunejiro, Kyoto, November 11, 1944

Many scholars know of Dr. Sam Yamashita through his research and writings on Tokugawa Era intellectual discourse. For the past few years, however, Yamashita has been reading, translating, and presenting papers at conferences on the Pacific War diaries of Japanese citizens. Containing extensive selections from eight "ordinary" Japanese, Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies is the published fruition of this time-consuming and valuable work.

In the introduction, "The Pacific War and Ordinary Japanese," Yamashita provides a 40-page overview of historiography utilizing the writings of Japanese during the Pacific War that includes a concise overview of Japan during wartime; a preview of the chosen eight diaries; and themes connecting many of the diaries and diarists. Of the eight diarists, five are adults and three are children. Their ages range from 9 to 75. Four are male, four are female. Two are in the military. The introduction is so well researched and deftly written that any scholar or
student interested in Japan and the Pacific War will gain valuable insights from both the text and the extensive endnotes of this first chapter.

Yamashita includes an extensive discussion of ten themes among the eight diarists, from the first theme of support for the war, to social conflict when many Japanese lost faith in their leaders (especially after Prime Minister Tojo Hideki resigned after the loss of Saipan in the summer of 1944), and finally the reaction to the Emperor's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration on 15 August 1945. Some of Yamashita's themes overlap, or are redundant, such as adult attitudes towards the war beginning to change by 1943; changing attitudes towards political leadership; losing confidence in the military during the last year of the war; and deterioration in home-front morale all seem to this reader as subsets of a singular theme of gradual discontent as the war grinds on and daily life becomes increasingly difficult and exhausting. Nevertheless, Yamashita's careful elucidation and discussion of these somewhat unwieldy themes concentrates attention to the connections between the diverse diarists.

The first diary is by Itabashi Yasuo, a Navy combat pilot who joined a "divine wind" (kamikaze) squadron. Despite oft-expressed bravado such as "Japan will definitely win," Itabashi is aware "the war situation has changed dramatically" and sometimes expresses a realistic fatalism: "I believe that 1945 is the autumn of emergencies when the Yamato race, one million strong, will chose death and make a last stand." Itabashi finally flew on his special attack mission on 9 August 1945, and was killed in action near Okinawa. In this collection of diaries of ordinary Japanese, he represents the young, proud, military officer who never questions his ultimate sacrifice in a lost cause.

Representing an irascible old man is Tamura Tsunejiro, who owns what appears to be a little-used billiards parlor in Kyoto. He often criticizes the rich, the lack of affordable food, and the government's conduct of the war. In a diary entry for August 2, 1944, Tamura noted an enthusiastic send-off with shouts of banzai for young conscripts headed to the war while "a soldier in his forties [was] leaving with no one to send him off. He was saying goodbye to his parents, wife, and children, who watched forlornly as the train disappeared in the east." Despite his often cantankerous commentary, Tamura's genuine concern for his family and
his neighbors shines through his diary.

In addition to Tamura, two women in Tokyo, Takahashi Aiko and Yoshizawa Hisako often mention American air raids and the problems these military bombardments of largely civilian areas caused for the urban population. Takahashi, who lived in California from 1917 until 1932, witnesses the Doolittle raid of April 18, 1942, the March 10, 1945 incendiary raid that killed nearly 100,000 people, and many other destructive air raids that constantly disrupted life in Tokyo. Critical of the Japanese government for continuing the war, Takahashi notes the reversal of fortune between urban and rural Japanese. “In the past,” Takahashi writes, “the daily lives of farmers were not blessed in any sense, but now they suddenly hold the key to our lives—food—and sit in the kingly position of lords of production. By selling on the black market, they are enjoying extraordinary prosperity.”

Two of the three child diarists, Manabe Ichiro and Nakane Mihoko, were sent away from their urban households to rural areas to protect them from American bombing raids and to provide at least a semblance of education no longer possible in many urban areas by late 1944. Twelve year-old Manabe wrote of food and standing in lines for food, yet he rarely complained of hunger. He notes that he shrunk 4 centimeters in height over a period of a few months. According to Yamashita, it is not clear whether he survived a bombing raid in Tokyo after he returned for a graduation ceremony in February 1945. The youngest of all the diarists is 9-10-year-old Nakane Mihoko, who spent from April 1945 to March 1946 in Toyama Prefecture before returning home to Tokyo. It is clear that Nakane and Manabe were required to keep diaries and their entries were intermittently read by teachers to correct kanji characters and presumably correct any defeatist thoughts young children might have. Although these child diarists lack the maturity and contextual knowledge of the war situation, their writings are an important subject leading to anthropological and psychological insights of how war and society is perceived by a country’s youngest members.

As mentioned above, ten separate themes connecting the diaries seem unwieldy. The first of these themes, support for the war by all eight diarists, is questionable. Tamura Tsunejiro, Takahashi Aiko, and Yoshizawa Hisako—the three adult civilian diarists—are constantly
critical of the Japanese government’s war effort and of the war’s effect on society. Had the Kempetai (military police) or Tokkotai (thought police) read their diaries they would have been thrown in jail for “dangerous thoughts.” Interestingly, Yamashita contradicted his written theme in Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies during an interview with Scott Simon of NPR when he stated, “Not all Japanese supported the war.” Yamashita also asks, echoing Carol Gluck, “Were ordinary Japanese responsible for the war?” This question is never answered, but questions of collective responsibility are presented as discussions of war and society, not as a search for absolute guilt or innocence.

Some scholars and teachers might wonder if Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies is significantly different from Haruko and Theodore Cook’s Japan At War: An Oral History, and the Frank Gibney and Beth Cary translated reminiscences in Senso: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War, each containing dozens of Japanese remembering their lives during the Pacific War. The answer is yes. Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies contains eight diaries from eight people totaling approximately 250 pages, and thus we have extensive readings and thoughts from each individual diarist. Moreover, the diarists in Yamashita’s collection are writing and expressing themselves in real-time, contemporaneous with the Pacific War. The writers and interviewees in the previous collections are expressing themselves decades after the war, most in the 1980s; their experiences and thoughts have the benefit—and sometimes deficit—of historical hindsight. They know of the hard times for many Japanese during the Occupation, and the gradual re-emergence of Japan as a major economic power. The diarists in Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies know nothing of Japan’s postwar era. For them, the war and social conditions during the war is the immediate present, not the past. In addition to the eight diaries, Yamashita’s extensive introduction, annotations, bibliography, and glossary combine to make Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies a valuable addition to the literature on Japanese society during the Pacific War.

JOHN E. VAN SANT
University of Alabama at Birmingham
"Three Seasons" tells the story of Vietnam, its complex culture, and the lives of the people who inhabit it. The film, directed by Tony Hat and produced by Tony Hat and Timothy Salt, is set in a Southeast-Asian city and explores the lives of three different people, who represent the diverse nature of Vietnamese society.

One of the main characters is a young man named Phong, who is searching for his missing daughter in the midst of the post-war world. His daughter, who is a young woman, is also searching for him.

Another character is a young woman named Trinh, who is trying to improve her economic status. Trinh is selling鲜花, or flowers, on the streets of the city.

Observe the film, which shows a developing country with new buildings and skyscrapers, and a changing society. The film explores the lives of people who are trying to make ends meet. The characters in the film are from different backgrounds, and their stories are intertwined, creating a rich tapestry of life in Vietnam.

The film also explores the themes of love, loss, and hope. The characters are faced with challenges that test their strength and resilience. The film is a reflection of the complexities of life in Vietnam, and it is a testament to the human spirit.

Overall, "Three Seasons" is a powerful and moving film that provides a glimpse into the lives of the people of Vietnam. It is a story of survival, hope, and the strength of the human spirit.
contents of the Japanese government's war effort and of the war's effects on society. Had the Kampei (military police) or Tokkōtei (thought police) read their diaries, they would have been thrown in jail for dangerous thoughts. Interestingly, Yamashita contradicted his written theme in a letter from an Autumn of Emergencies during an interview with Scott Simon of NPR, when he stated, "Not all Japanese supported the war." Yamashita also asks, echoing Carol achter, "Were ordinary Japanese responsible for the war?" This question is never answered, but questions of collective responsibility are presented as discussion points and not as a search for absolute guilt or innocence.

Some scholars and researchers might wonder if Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies is significantly different from Haruki and Theodore Cook's Japan at War: An Oral History, and the People's History and Hart Cary translated reminiscences in Senzen: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War, each containing dozens of Japanese remembering their lives during the Pacific War. The answer is yes. Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies contains eight diaries from eight people, totaling approximately 250 pages, and that we have selective readings and thoughts from each individual's diary. Moreover, the diaries in Yamashita's collection are written and expressing themselves in real-time correspondence with the Pacific War. The writers and interviewers of the previous collections are expressing themselves decades after the event, but in the 1980s their emotions and thoughts have the benefit—and sometimes deficit—of historical hindsight. They know of the future for many Japanese during the Occupation, and the gradual emergence of Japan as a major economic power. The diaries in Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies know nothing of the postwar era.

For those interested in social conditions in Japan during the immediate years after the war, the reminiscences presented in this book can provide valuable additions to the story of the Pacific War.
“Three Seasons.” Produced by Tony Bui, Jason Kliot, and Joana Vicente; directed by Tony Bui; screenplay by Tony Bui and Timothy Linh Bui, 1999; color; 113 minutes. Distributed by October Films.

“Three Seasons” tells the story of Vietnam in transition. Directed by Tony Bui, a Vietnamese-American, the film follows three very different people, who represent three diverse aspects of Vietnamese society, and one American GI, who returns to Vietnam to make peace with his past. Knowing that he fathered a daughter during the Vietnam War, James Hager sits outside his hotel, day and night, staring at what used to be the GI bar, hoping that he might be able to find his daughter and make amends. In an emotionally raw scene, Hager recognizes his daughter from across a table and he meets with her to say he is sorry. Along the way, Hager interacts with several Vietnamese people, who are all trying to improve their economic status—Woody, an irresistibly cute street urchin, selling knick-knacks out of a box; Hai, a cyclo-driver, who dreams of better things; and a young woman who sells him flowers on the street.

Obviously set well after the war in Vietnam, the film shows a developing country with new building sites, skyscrapers, and a fluxing Western influence. Hai, the cyclo-driver, becomes enamored with Lan, a prostitute he escorts home safely one night. Sporting a short haircut and very sexy Western clothing, Lan works in modern hotels, servicing wealthy business men who, she believes, can offer her a way out of the slums. The hotels look similar to upscale American hotels, and the men she picks up do not differ much from archetypal corporate Americans. Hai relentlessly pursues Lan, waiting outside swanky hotels to make sure she always has a safe ride home. In typical Hollywood fashion, the lowly cyclo-driver triumphs in a bike race, winning enough money to be able to spend the night with Lan. The hotel room scene shows the ultimate contrast between rich and poor, as Hai appears completely out of place. This meeting displays the difference between modern and traditional values, with Hai asking Lan to remove her make-up and put on a more modest, traditional piece of clothing. Respecting her as a woman, Hai does not sleep with her, and Lan falls in love, realizing that a poor man can offer her more than just money—he can see her true identity.

In another aspect of the plot, a young woman lives a more
traditional Vietnamese life working on a lotus-growing farm, with a beautiful lake filled with lotus blossoms and a temple in the middle. An aged teacher, dying of what is later revealed as leprosy, calls the young woman in after hearing her sing a song he remembered from the floating markets he frequented as a young man. She reads some poetry the teacher wrote, and offers to be the vessel through which his words could flow once again, by writing down the poems he dictates to her. As she records his history, she connects with the teacher, a link she does not share with any of the women on the farm. While un成功lessly trying to sell her lotus flowers on the streets of the city, the young woman questions what place her traditional wares have amongst modern conveniences. Both the teacher and young woman embark on personal journeys—the teacher helps the woman realize she can learn from the past and stay rooted in traditions without fearing modern change, and in turn, the enlightened young woman comforts the teacher in his final days.

The final storyline concerns a little boy nicknamed Woody, who appears to be only six-years-old. He wanders the city streets day and night, in sunshine and rain, selling watches, cigarettes, and other small items to anyone he encounters. Woody follows Hager into a seedy bar, where he receives a beer from Hager, and then passes out. When he wakes up, Woody finds that his box of merchandise is gone and assumes that the American took it. He now must find his box or risk a severe beating when he returns to his boss. After searching every avenue he knows, Woody goes to his boss, who tells him not to return until he finds his box. Later, Woody spots the American and follows him to his hotel where Hager assures him he did not take the box. Woody then sees a man passed out on the curb with the box in his arms. Woody swoops in, takes his box back, and resumes his job.

Tony Bui places on film a portrait of a modernizing Asian country struggling to find the harmony between tradition and technology. While every character manages to maintain their traditional values, Tony Bui offers audiences a Hollywood happy ending that does not account for actual reality. He exposes some social injustices of their society, but offers no way to end them. Bui has an opportunity to make a social statement with Woody's plot line, but chooses to make it sentimental and happy rather than socially aware. He sleeps on the streets and suffers abuse
from his boss, but the film never examines the continual cycle of poverty in Third World countries.

This film is directed toward American audiences. Hager's storyline parallels to that of Asian-American relations and the attempts to atone for damage done. Many American veterans of the Vietnam War often return to make amends and find closure. However, other Americans in Asia exploit people through prostitution and child labor. Bui's tone remains relentlessly optimistic as America continues to mend the wounds created almost forty years ago. Bui creates an incredibly beautiful film, though it often resembles a glossy *Travel Channel* program. Bui's Vietnamese-American heritage shapes the film, which moves between traditional values and the promise of a new westernized Vietnam. He compromises his film for the sake of Hollywood—it becomes too commercial and unrealistically upbeat. Ironically, the film teaches the importance of holding on to traditional values and breaking with Western influences, while the director sells out by making the film by Hollywood's standards.

Megan Howland

*Talk to Me.* Produced by Joe Fries and Mark Gordon; directed by Kasi Lemmons; screenplay by Michael Genet and Rick Famuyiwa; 2007; 118 minutes. Distributed by Sidney Kimmel Entertainment.

In the late 1960s, the District of Columbia was "Petey Greene's Washington." WOL's unrestrained radio personality Ralph Waldo "Petey" Greene awoke the masses of the district — "P-Town" — with unkempt mannerisms and straight talk that ushered in a new era of radio broadcasting. However, hard times and trials marked Greene's journey to success.

In the opening scene, Greene shuffles through select LPs with a cigarette in his hand. Pulling the microphone to his mouth, he announces a colorful wakeup call to Lorton Correctional Facility inmates to the tune of James Brown's "This Is a Man's World." Each morning, the warden permitted Greene two twenty-minute segments on the public address system, where he forged his shock-jock style. Not only did the spots on the PA system allow Greene to fulfill his calling, it provided prisoners a sense of release from the harsh reality of the cold, cement barricades that
surrounded them.

One day, Dewey Hughes, a program director for Washington, D.C.'s WOL-AM radio station, visits his brother, Milo, in the Lorton facility. As Hughes begins to leave, Greene dashes to meet him and inquire about a job upon his release. Hughes politely asks Greene to look him up. Greene, a self-proclaimed "miscreant," connives his way out of prison, and immediately seeks out Hughes to obtain a job as a DJ. Greene struts into WOL wearing a bright colored suit, with his flamboyant girlfriend, Vernell Watson, at his side. After he is shunned as an ex-con and denied a job, Greene leaves in a fury because Hughes refuses to give him a chance. Instead of surrender, Greene pickets the station, harasses Hughes, and causes chaos in front of the station until Hughes at last gives him one morning on the air.

Since his on-air experience was confined to prison PAs, Petey Greene has much to learn in the world of broadcasting. From his first day on-air, though, he seeks out to do one thing, and one thing only: speak the truth, or at least his version of it. He begins talking about his childhood, saying that he had "an eighth grade education and a Ph.D. from the streets." He emphasizes that he is a recovering alcoholic, and has "been sober for five [pause] hours." His own life echoes the lives his parents, both of whom still serve prison terms. His inflammatory language and derogatory remarks anger the white establishment that owned the radio station. As a result, they pull him off the air after only a few minutes. However, Dewey Hughes noticed that residents of the district connected with Greene, and heard the truth in what he said, and wanted to hear more. Hughes finagles the staff and puts Greene back on the air after seeing his potential. He hopes that Greene can say the things that he was afraid to say.

Petey Greene’s on-air persona established a new format of radio broadcasting in Washington, D.C. His rabble-rousing style kept the phones ringing off the hook. On air, a determined Greene spoke his mind, whether people like it or not, and he welcomed the public to call in and articulate their feelings as well. Callers conversed about everything from seeing Greene down the street to small town politics to unnecessary police brutality. Both Petey Greene and WOL's growing status as representatives of the people delighted Hughes.
When news broke of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination in April 1968, Greene goes on-air to deliver the news. Moments later, the station's crew rushes outside to see the city in flames, as mobs take out their anger on store fronts and housing. Greene hurries back into the station and returns to the airwaves to assuage his listeners' angers. He asks people to stay in their homes and to practice what Dr. King preached. He pleads with those in the streets to calm down and go back home. The lines stay open all night for callers to talk about King's assassination and their pain, and to share their common plight.

As Greene's popularity increases, Hughes asks to be his manager, urging Greene to take on stand-up comedy acts because of his personal anecdotes, and his ability to connect with people. Eventually, Hughes arranges a weekly local access television show, in which Greene hosts local leaders, politicians, and other guests. Greene follows the continual direction of Hughes, but unhappiness is evident as extreme alcoholism takes over Greene's life. As the local television show's fame expands, opportunities blossom for Greene. Much to Hughes excitement, he maneuvers an appearance for Greene on "The Johnny Carson Show," where Hughes always dreamed of performing. Greene, booked as the show's guest comedian, arrives on stage and speaks solemnly, saying that the white people gathered were not "ready for P-Town." Angered and humiliated, Hughes punches Greene as he walks off stage. This altercation causes the two to go their separate ways. Greene continues local stand-up shows and binge drinking. Hughes returns to WOL as a DJ, and gains local prominence through the 1970s. After some time, Hughes purchases WOL.

Years later, Greene's girlfriend Watson appears at Hughes's office to mediate between the two men, since Hughes rejected Greene's attempts at reconciliation. She also delivers news that the years of liquor and hard labor have been hard on Greene. Hughes meets Greene at a local pool hall, where they work out their issues, and rekindle their friendship.

Petey Greene died at the age of 53 from liver cancer. More than 10,000 people attended the wake in January 1984, making it the most attended funeral of a non-public official in Washington, D.C. In the film, Hughes delivers a eulogy considering Greene a man that knew the
beating heart of Washington, D.C., and also his best friend. He ended the eulogy with Greene's radio sign-off: "That's all we got, there ain't no mo'. Time is tight. It's the end of the show. So grab your hand and make a fist. Listen to me and remember this. I tell it to the hot, I tell it to the cold, I tell it to the young, I tell it to the old. I don't want no laughin', don't want no cryin', and most of all, no signifyin'. This is Petey Greene's Washington."

While the screenplay of "Talk to Me" is amazing, and its actors carry out incredible roles with diligence and flair, the actual story lacked much accuracy. Petey Greene, a victim of liver cancer, never fell into an alcoholic black hole at the end of his life, but actually joined a church, and worked with many social and civic groups. Furthermore, after Greene and Hughes departed ways after "The Johnny Carson Show," they never reconciled. In fact, Hughes did not attend the funeral, making the film's glorious and heart-rendering eulogy a complete fabrication.

This tremendous biopic has been years in the making. This movie showed the pivotal effect that Petey Greene, a Washington, D.C. icon, had on the broadcasting industry. Greene virtually created shock-jock programming, a staple of present-day American radio broadcasting. Greene lived and spoke without fear. He refused to become a puppet of any administration or establishment. He gained enormous trust from the D.C. community, which is exceptionally difficult to do in a city of politicians.

"Talk to Me" portrays an incredible relationship between the privileged and the disadvantaged, working together to be what the other could not. This strange relationship left typical audiences unfulfilled because Petey Greene never succeeded at the greatest level possible. Instead, he acknowledged his strengths, and chose them instead. Therein lay the greatest morals of the film: know yourself, speak for yourself, and live your life. Historically, such great principles were exemplified in the life of Petey Greene. However, characters, storylines, and his honest legacy were compromised in the production of the Hollywood bottom line.

Emily A. Nelms
About the Cover:
Sculptor Guiseppe Moretti displays a miniature model of his upcoming creation of Vulcan for the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair. Photo courtesy of the Birmingham Public Library Department of Archives and Manuscripts.