
RECOUNTING THE PAST

A Student Journal of Historical Studies at Illinois State University

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**PROSTITUTES IN MAYHEW'S
LONDON: VICTIMS OF
CIRCUMSTANCE OR WORKING
WOMEN?**

Susan Harsha

“Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied;
And vice sometime’s by action dignified.”¹

In order to conclude whether prostitutes in Victorian London were victims or workers, one needs to consider what made women prostitutes and why society’s view of their occupation is important. Simply put, a prostitute is one who solicits and accepts payment for sexual intercourse. Historically, prostitutes have been called various things, including whore, harlot, tart, courtesan, call girl, doxy, strumpet, bawd, wanton, *fille de joie*, streetwalker, lady of the evening, victim of circumstance, fallen woman, concubine, demimondaine, camp follower, tart, chippy, wench, trollop, nymphomaniac, floozy and working girl. Other euphemisms used in mid-nineteenth-century England include Amazon, Anonyma, Fallen Sister, Pretty Horsebreaker, or soiled dove.² Some of these terms are still in use today while others have fallen into disfavor; yet the word chosen to describe the prostitute is often a clue as to the author’s degree of moral indignation toward her.³ Because prostitutes have usually been considered the epitome of moral failure, a more important historical

question is frequently overlooked: why did women become prostitutes?

Henry Mayhew was the primary author of *London Labour and the London Poor*, a four-volume work expanding a series of articles he had written some years earlier for the London newspaper, *The Morning Chronicle*. Volume IV of *London Labour and the London Poor* devotes a significant number of pages to the history and habits of prostitutes. In this voluminous writing, Mayhew’s ideas about prostitutes and work were clearly in conflict; he seemed unable to decide whether these women were workers or non-workers.⁴ His effort to classify the working poor in this volume presents a clear picture of his conflicted view of women in general and prostitutes in particular. For example, buried under the major heading “Those Who Will Work,” Mayhew lists prostitutes under the sub-heading “Those who derive their subsistence from other sources” with wives, children, paupers, prisoners, and others.⁵ Yet under the major heading “Those Who Will Not Work,” prostitutes appear again, now classed with vagrants, professional beggars, cheats and thieves.⁶ Mayhew called these non-workers the “Dangerous Classes” and suggested that, in making them the subject of his work, he would enlighten Victorian Society about “matters which have hitherto been involved in mystery and uncertainty.”⁷ In effect, *London Labour and the London Poor* offered contemporary readers a prurient look at groups of people they were unwilling to acknowledge but were fascinated by, including prostitutes. Bracebridge Hemyng, Mayhew’s colleague who wrote much of the section on prostitution in London in Volume

¹ William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*.

² Michael Harrison, *Fanfare of Strumpets* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1971), 16, 17.

³ Ronald Pearsall, *The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality* (New York: MacMillan, 1969), 261.

⁴ Henry Mayhew, ed., *London Labour and the London Poor* [hereafter *LLLP*] (London: 1861; Repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1968), IV, viii, 12, 16. Pages 35 through 272 are devoted to prostitutes.

⁵ Mayhew, *LLLP*, IV, 16.

⁶ Mayhew, *LLLP*, IV, 26.

⁷ Mayhew, *LLLP*, IV, Advertisement.

IV of *London Labour and the London Poor*, took a broad view of prostitution, considering that “literally every woman who yields to her passions and loses her virtue is a prostitute.”⁸ In effect, any woman who has consensual sex outside the virtuous marital relationship is a prostitute by this definition. But at the same time, Mayhew and Hemyng’s work in *London Labour and the London Poor* suggests that prostitutes might have been victims of poverty, limited employment opportunities, and a moral code that did not forgive transgressors.⁹

To this author, the term “victim” implies a non-worker and a parasite, someone who has things happen to her without control or choice, and reaps society’s benefits without contribution. A “worker,” on the other hand, accepts responsibility for herself, chooses to act, and is empowered. Using some case histories reported by Mayhew and Hemyng, documentation by other contemporary authors, and analyses by later scholars, I will examine the reasons why women became prostitutes. Ultimately, I would propose that most of the prostitutes of Mayhew’s Victorian London were working women, capitalizing on their assets to the best of their ability in light of limited educational and economic opportunities for women in 19th-century English society.

The secondary literature on Victorian prostitution is voluminous, but three authors are most relevant to my purpose here. First, Judith Walkowitz offers a feminist perspective on prostitution. She legitimizes the idea of prostitution as work and as a rational choice for women with limited employment opportunities. Second, François Barret-Ducrocq’s work makes use of foundling hospital records, specifically the case histories of women who gave up children born out of wedlock. Barret-

Ducrocq suggests that, for working class girls, sexual relations were a prelude but not a barrier to marriage. Here, sexually active but unmarried young women were actually engaging in an accepted premarital working-class mating ritual. Finally Ronald Pearsall offers not only a “Sin-Map” of London, but also more detailed information about higher-class prostitutes. Information about a different class of prostitutes than that considered by Mayhew and Hemyng helps to provide a nuanced view of prostitutes’ possible motivations.¹⁰

Estimates of the number of prostitutes varied widely because of differences in sources of information and definitions of prostitutes. The lower estimates were consistently associated with police and court data, and by the late 1850’s police estimates of the number of prostitutes in London fluctuated between 5,500 and 9,500. Much higher estimates were also offered, some ranging as high as 50,000 in London alone, based on little more than conjecture and a fluid definition of prostitutes by those making such estimates.¹¹

Keeping Hemyng’s expansive definition of prostitutes in mind, we find a broad spectrum of so-called victims. The continuum ranges from prostitutes forced into the trade with no control over their fate to women who embraced the opportunity use of their assets provided. It is impossible to determine how many were true victims, but without a doubt some women were forced into prostitution. Hemyng cited individuals who

⁸ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 215.

⁹ Mayhew, *LLL*, IV, 212, 257.

¹⁰ Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 14, 15. François Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria: Sexuality, Class, and Gender in Nineteenth-Century London*, translated by John Howe (New York: Verso, 1991), 176. Pearsall, *The Worm in the Bud*, Frontispiece, 246.

¹¹ Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 76, 77.

procure a livelihood by trepanning females from eleven to fifteen years of age for the purposes of prostitution. . . .When an innocent child appears in the streets without a protector, she is insidiously watched by one of those merciless wretches and decoyed under some plausible pretext to an abode of infamy and degradation. No sooner is the unsuspecting helpless one within their grasp than, by a preconcerted measure, she becomes a victim to their inhuman designs.¹²

One of Hemyng's interview subjects volunteered her story of entrapment into the trade, stating that she had innocently engaged in conversation with a man she met on the street and then began to meet him for walks. One night he complained of illness, and they went to the nearby home of a friend of his. He called a cab for her but urged her to have something to drink before leaving. She refused wine but accepted coffee, which "made me feel very sleepy. . . . Of course I was drugged, and so heavily I did not regain my consciousness till the next morning. I was horrified to discover that I had been ruined."¹³ While the moral code of the day may have prohibited publicity about voluntary prostitution, sensational exposés of innocent girls forced into the trade presented no such barrier. This type of tabloid journalism allowed readers to feel both morally superior to those who would entrap and enslave young women and titillated while reading the lurid details. Determining the actual number of such victims is difficult because "there is little reliable evidence on the age distribution of

prostitutes or on the number recruited to the trade or detained in it by force or deceit."¹⁴

The situation of female domestic workers was especially uncertain, offering potential for both victimization and opportunity. Barret-Ducrocq points out that the professional duties of maids sometimes unofficially included the sexual servicing of their employers.¹⁵ He tells of Mary Ann, employed as a maid-of-all-work, who said that her master started taking "liberties" with her shortly after her employment. Despite complaints to her mistress, she ended up being "raped by her master in the kitchen."¹⁶ Yet Hemyng suggests that female servants were not a virtuous class and that some "often give themselves up to the sons, or to the policeman on the beat, or to soldiers in the Parks; or else to shopmen, whom they may meet in the street."¹⁷

Sometimes the idea of victimization is in the eye of the beholder. For example, Hemyng recounts the tale of a woman who had, in her words, been seduced by violence but continued to live with her seducer. She stated, "He promised to marry me. He then bought me a watch and chain, rings and bracelets, and presented me with several dresses." She continued to live with him "as though I had been his wife" despite continual delays in the marriage he promised. They

generally drove out every day over the finest streets, thoroughfares, and parks of the metropolis; and in the evenings he took me to the Argyle Rooms and to the Casino at Holborn. I generally went there very well dressed. We also went to the

¹² Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 211.

¹³ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 240.

¹⁴ Edward J. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain since 1700* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 57.

¹⁵ Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria*, 49.

¹⁶ Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria*, 48.

¹⁷ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 257.

fashionable theatres . . .and several subscription balls.¹⁸

This may indeed have been a victim, willing to overlook a rape in order to preserve her honor in the appearance of a legitimate marriage. Yet, blaming the man for her seduction in this case might have preserved the woman's sense of decency and self-respect, since an acknowledgement that one was a prostitute, or a reputation as such, violated existing moral codes and was sometimes considered a mark of insanity.¹⁹ A Victorian moral code that put "all the evil of a vice"²⁰ on the woman who was sexually active outside of marriage, combined with the notion that sexual enjoyment was reserved for the man, meant that women often preserved a reputation for virtue by denying their status as prostitutes.

In contrast to Victorian moralists who saw prostitution as women's ethical failure, most prostitutes themselves cited desire for marriage, financial incentives or aspirations of class mobility as reasons for their sexual activity. Hope of marriage motivated some women into having sexual relations with men, while the possibility of marriage to a customer may have motivated some prostitutes. In a society that idealized female domesticity and granted women few opportunities for an independent existence, it is not surprising that many women harbored dreams of meeting and marrying a so-called "Prince Charming." As Hemyng noted, "One and all look forward to marriage and a certain state in society as their ultimate lot. . . and they do all in their power to travel towards it."²¹ For working

class girls, sexual relations usually occurred only after a prolonged period of courtship.²² However, since Hemyng's definition of prostitutes was so broad, there was little difference between women who were sexually active during courtship and prostitutes anticipating marriage to former clients. Hemyng confirmed that women of loose morals did marry (sometimes surprisingly well), citing the example of Mrs. S, who recently married a German Count.²³ He also wrote: "Women who in youth have lost their virtue . . . frequently amalgamate imperceptibly with the purer portion of the population and become excellent members of the community."²⁴ Hemyng's comment suggests that once a woman's sexual activity has become confined to the marital bed it is now a virtuous act, since this conjugal duty was sanctioned by society.

One of Hemyng's interview subjects spoke frankly about the possibility of marriage: "We often do marry, and well too: why shouldn't we, we are pretty, we dress well, we can talk and insinuate ourselves into the hearts of men by appealing to their passions and their senses."²⁵ Another prostitute, the daughter of a tradesman, stated that she was as responsible as her seducer for her position. In wanting to escape the drudgery of her father's shop, she had moved to London and subsequently lived with four different men. When asked by Hemyng what would become of her, she responded, "I could marry tomorrow if I liked,"²⁶ thereby revealing little concern for her future. Arthur Munby, Victorian poet, photographer and diarist, wrote in his diary about the daughter of the family gamekeeper who had

¹⁸ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 260.

¹⁹ Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Sexuality and the Early Feminists* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 57.

²⁰ J. A. and Olive Banks, *Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1965), 19.

²¹ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 216.

²² Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria*, 177.

²³ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 251.

²⁴ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 212.

²⁵ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 219.

²⁶ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 216 - 217.

come to London to work as a maid. Munby happened to meet her on the street one day, and the woman related how she had been seduced by one of the men in the house and then entered the “gay” life. She was presently seeing a “very respectable man, a collar & harness maker near London” and told Munby that “he’ll marry me if I like.”²⁷ A former shop-girl turned prostitute, Laura Bell, took as dowry to her marriage to Captain Augustus Frederick Thistlethwayte, nephew of the Bishop of Norwich, 250,000 pounds that she had earned from a Nepalese prince.²⁸ These examples confirm that marriage was a realistic expectation of prostitutes.

At times women even drifted into prostitution or casual sex for their own pleasure or for gifts rather than money. In fact, Hemyng recognized a separate category—“Those women who, for the sake of distinguishing them from the professionals, I must call amateurs,”²⁹—as he explained that these women prostituted themselves for pleasure, gifts or extra money rather than to support themselves as full-time professionals. Contact with customers, especially in luxury trades such as tobacconists, leather goods shops or confectioners, tempted working class shop-girls into sexual activity to obtain the goods they were surrounded by.³⁰ Sometimes the explanation for prostitution or casual sex was very simple, like that offered by a woman Hemyng interviewed in a beer house near the Knightsbridge Barracks who told him, “I liked to be noticed by the soldiers.”³¹

Prostitution to supplement inadequate earnings was also common – an idea that several other historians have corroborated.

²⁷ Derek Hudson, *Munby, Man of Two Worlds; the Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby, 1828 – 1910* (Boston: Gambit, 1972), 214.

²⁸ Harrison, *Fanfare of Strumpets*, 20.

²⁹ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 234.

³⁰ Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria*, 51.

³¹ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 235.

In fact, Walkowitz suggests that women may have drifted into occasional prostitution because of their vulnerable economic position and found the shorter hours and better pay of prostitution a temporary solution to their immediate difficulties.³² Hemyng met a woman who illustrates Walkowitz’s assertions. One printing office employee admitted that she went into the streets not for living expenses, but for the extra things she desired. In her own words: “This is not a frequent practice of mine; I only do it when I want money to pay anything.”³³ Another woman told Hemyng that she obtained money through prostitution four or five times a week. Her husband was apparently “unable to find any respectable employment, and were she not to supply him with the necessary funds for their household expenditure they would sink into a state of destitution, and anything, she added, with simplicity, was better than that.”³⁴

Poorly paid and extremely hard “respectable” work also motivated women to consider better-paying prostitution. Typically, respectable work entailed long hours of hard physical work with barely a few minutes of relaxation. Under such circumstances, Barret-Ducrocq argues that “it seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that sexual adventures with men of a different social class were really attempts to escape from this life. Extra income might be sought through occasional or full-time prostitution.”³⁵ Prostitution may indeed have been the end result of constraints placed on women’s social and economic activity by inadequate wages and restrictions on their industrial employment. Such disadvantages clearly “forced some women onto the streets, where they took up the

³² Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 14.

³³ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 255.

³⁴ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 214.

³⁵ Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria*, 58.

‘best-paid industry’ – prostitution.’³⁶ Investigators of the Victorian period were surprised to learn that many women entered prostitution voluntarily because they could earn more money than in other employment alternatives available to them.³⁷ According to Pearsall, prostitution in the West End in the early and middle years of Victoria’s reign was a lucrative and secure business, with average earnings among the higher classes of streetwalkers between 20 and 30 pounds a week.³⁸

The contrast in earning power and lifestyle between respectable and not-so-respectable occupations may have motivated women like Swindling Sal. In an interview with Bracebridge Hemyng, she told him, “I was a servant gal away down in Birmingham. I got tired of workin’ and slavin’ to make a livin’ . . .”³⁹ Arthur Munby recounted that a photographer selling portraits of nude and semi-nude women told him: “A girl has no need to go on the streets when she can *earn five or six pounds* a week, . . . nearly 300 pounds a year to be earned by simply sitting in a chair without any clothes on . . .”⁴⁰ Similarly, Thomas Hardy also perceived the contrast in lifestyle between respectable work and prostitution. His poem, “The Ruined Maid,” is a conversation between two young women: a nameless one who stayed down on the farm, and ‘Melia who went to town and became a prostitute. The contrast between the two is readily apparent:

-‘Your hands were like paws then,
your face blue and bleak,
But now I’m bewitched by your
delicate cheek,
And your little gloves fit as on any
la-dy!’-
‘We never do work when we’re
ruined,’ said she (‘Melia’).⁴¹

Here, ‘Melia appears as the epitome of female success, with her white hands, unstained by dirt or toil, living on the reward of her “ruin.”⁴² In addition to offering more money for less work, prostitution presented women the possibility of saving money.⁴³ For example, Arthur Munby chatted with Sarah Tanner, whom he had previously known as a virtuous maid of all work and was now dressed in “gorgeous apparel.” When he asked about the change in her appearance she told him that she had tired of service, wanted to be independent, and so of her own accord had become a prostitute. But now she had left the streets and related: “I’ve taken a coffeehouse with my earnings.”⁴⁴ Moving from maid to prostitute to entrepreneur, this woman used prostitution as an opportunity to return to respectability, but as an independent businesswoman rather than submissive maid.

While the possibility of higher earnings for less work may have enticed some women into prostitution, the dazzling examples of high-class prostitutes also offered certain women aspirations of upward social mobility. In fact, etiquette books during this period reflected acceptance of

³⁶ Judith Walkowitz, “Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *History Workshop Journal*, 13 (Spring 1982), 81.

³⁷ Deborah Logan, “An ‘Outstretched Hand to the Fallen’: *The Magdalen’s Friend* and the Victorian Reclamation Movement,” *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 30 (Number 4, 1997), 385.

³⁸ Pearsall, *The Worm in the Bud*, 267.

³⁹ Hemyng, *LLL*, IV, 223.

⁴⁰ Hudson, *Munby, Man of Two Worlds*, 84.

⁴¹ Thomas Hardy, *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Hardy*, edited by Samuel Hynes, Volume I, (New York: Oxford University Press: 1982), 198.

⁴² Stanley Renner, “William Acton: The Truth about Prostitution, and Hardy’s not-so-ruined-Maid,” *Victorian Poetry*, 30 (Spring 1992), 20.

⁴³ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 23.

⁴⁴ Hudson, *Munby, Man of Two Worlds*, (40 – 41).

social mobility, and encouraged “socially ambitious behaviour.”⁴⁵ Given the well-known relationships between some aristocrats and prostitutes, no obvious barriers existed to any woman who desired to develop similar “friendships.” Ambitious individuals worked to develop the skills desired by the fashionable elite so associations with prominent individuals could be pursued.⁴⁶ The life of leisure led by the aristocracy elevated social graces, such as taste, style, and conversational skill to the status of virtues, whereas middle class precepts argued that hard honest work was required to develop character and achieve success.⁴⁷ Prostitutes, to the chagrin of middle-class moralists, imitated the conspicuous style of the aristocratic ladies and endeavored to emulate the paramours of upper-class gentlemen.⁴⁸

The women who managed to entice the upper crust certainly had lives that were envied, but also condemned. Using the names of ancient Greek courtesans, Hemyng thinly disguised several high-class prostitutes (who were nonetheless recognized by readers of *LLLP*) - Laïs, protected by a prince; Aspasia, whose friend was one of the most influential noblemen in the kingdom; and Phryne, the chère amie of a well-known officer in the guards - as he complained that their profligacy acted as an incentive to licentious behavior to women of the lower classes.⁴⁹ One of the most famous of the high-class prostitutes was Catherine (Skittles) Walters, who lived, despite allegations that prostitutes were doomed to an early decline from drink and disease, to

the ripe old age of eighty-one. Her friends included the Prince of Wales, Lord Kitchener, a hero of World War I, and Gladstone, a four-time Prime Minister.⁵⁰ She also considered among her “friends” Spencer Compton Cavendish, Marquess of Hartington, who ultimately provided her with a stipend of 2,000 pounds a year for life.⁵¹ Another high-class prostitute whose example provided inspiration to lower class girls was Laura Bell. Bell established her reputation as a high-priced prostitute in Dublin after a period as a streetwalker in Belfast. Once established in London, she married Augustus Thistlethwayte, the grandson of a bishop.⁵² Finally, although she ended her life in obscurity, Amy Johnson helped a protector, Charles Dowell, squander a fortune of 15,000 pounds. Johnson’s “ruin” constituted one success after another. She had a red four-horse carriage and two homes, one in fashionable Bayswater and another at Brighton.⁵³

Victorians not only feared sexually active women and so denounced prostitutes as moral failures, but they also considered the idea of work as central to their idea of respectability. During this period, work was for the most part a male activity; respectable women were married, virginal daughters or widowed dowagers. The respectability of single women, especially if poor, was suspect. What the Victorian man did for a living defined who he was and his place in society. If prostitution were considered a category of work, not only would men’s definition of self and status be upset, but also society would lose power over women by being unable to morally denounce her choice of profession or trade.

⁴⁵ Marjorie Morgan, *Manners Morals and Class in England, (1774 – 1858)* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 94.

⁴⁶ Morgan, *Manners Morals and Class in England*, 115.

⁴⁷ Morgan, *Manners Morals and Class in England*, 64.

⁴⁸ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 26.

⁴⁹ Hemyng, *LLLP*, IV, 215.

⁵⁰ Pearsall, *The Worm in the Bud*, 246.

⁵¹ Harrison, *Fanfare of Strumpets*, 59, 105.

⁵² Pearsall, *The Worm in the Bud*, 248, 249.

⁵³ Pearsall, *The Worm in the Bud*, 254.

⁵⁴ According to Deborah Logan, “The prostitute’s financial independence as a free agent in the (male) capitalist realm was far more disturbing to Victorian ideologists than even her illicit sexuality.”⁵⁵ Giving women power over their bodies *and* their ability to earn a living threatened Victorian ideas of morality and respectability at a very basic level.

In classifying workers (Mayhew stated): I apply the title Worker to all those who do *anything* for their living, who perform any act whatsoever that is considered worthy of being paid for by others . . . I consider all persons doing or giving something for the comforts they obtain, as self-supporting individuals.⁵⁶

But Mayhew’s colleague Hemyng, like many in Victorian London, considered women who engaged in consensual extramarital sex to be prostitutes, clearly showing his contempt for women who did not adhere to the strict moral code of the day. Despite the fact that in *London Labour and the London Poor* Mayhew classified prostitutes as both “workers” and “non-workers,” we must conclude that they should be considered “workers.”

True victims – women who had been kidnapped, drugged, raped, and kept under guard to prevent escape – did exist. But stories of virginal maidens victimized by violence certainly received more journalistic attention for the lurid details of their enslavement than did the more common stories of working-class women who

supplemented their earnings through occasional prostitution. These women are not part of this evaluation because they had no opportunity to choose their fate.

However, so-called “victims of circumstance,” facing low wages or poor employment opportunities often drifted gradually into prostitution. These women willingly exchanged sexual favors for something of more immediate personal value such as promise of marriage, gifts, money, or social advancement. Whether women drifted gradually into formal prostitution for cash, or engaged in consensual sex for a less tangible reward such as marriage or social advancement, the point is that these women chose to have sexual relations. In a society that labeled sexually active females as prostitutes, these women may have seen themselves as victims of circumstance — of an economic and industrial system that limited opportunities for women to have legitimate, respectable, work.

Many women readily acknowledged their choice to be sexually active in exchange for fun, marriage, supplemental earnings, or social advancement, and they embraced the decision. Faced with the same activity and goals, other women chose to see themselves as victims. By denying the legitimacy of their behavioral decision, which was, in fact, to take affirmative action to improve their situation, “victims of circumstance” remained powerless and under the thumb of a society that held them in contempt. However, whether this “victim” viewpoint was a self or societal perception, it did not equate to the reality of the situation. Excluding women who were physically forced into the trade, prostitutes in Mayhew’s London must be considered working women who acted to improve their physical lives. The choice of “prostitution” as a supplement to earnings or for other motivations was a choice of work, perhaps

⁵⁴ Philippa Levine, “Consistent Contradictions: Prostitution and Protective Labour Legislation in Nineteenth Century England,” *Social History*, 19 (January 1994), 26.

⁵⁵ Logan, “An ‘Outstretched Hand to the Fallen,’” 381.

⁵⁶ Mayhew, *LLL*, IV, 9.

not in a trade considered respectable in the Victorian period, but certainly in one of the oldest professions.

JOHN NEWTON AND THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

Tim Wiegand

“Amazing grace, how sweet the sound, that saved a wretch like me.” The opening line to the beloved hymn *Amazing Grace*, was penned by a man who at his lowest moment could truly call himself a wretch. The life of John Newton, who is known for authoring countless hymns of devotion and praise to God, offers a compelling view of the potential depths of human depravity as well as a glimpse of a transformed life devoted to a higher cause. Newton provides an example of a life both wretched and redeemed, sinful and saintly, condemned and converted.

In 1764, ten years after a dramatic conversion, Newton told his story through a series of letters to a close friend, Reverend Thomas Hawsis. In 1806, one year prior to Newton’s death, these letters were published in book form. In these letters Newton tells his story from life as a slave trader to his conversion at sea to his early years as a Christian. Newton eventually became an opponent of the trade in which he once made his living, but what was Newton’s actual role in the abolition of slave trading in England?

The abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade in the British Empire has often been considered a moral issue in which good triumphed over evil after years of bitter struggle. At the heart of the issue for abolitionists was the difference between right and wrong. The problem of slavery and, specifically, the slave trade was certainly a moral one, and, because of its nature, it was inevitable that prominent

Christians such as Newton would speak out either for or against. During the latter years of the eighteenth century the prevailing view among Christians was that the slave trade should be abolished.

The argument could be made that, within the Christian community, John Newton could have spoken with clear authority on the issue of the slave trade. He, more than any other Christian leader, knew the brutalities of slavery and the slave trade. He had seen first hand the brutality and the inhumanity with which slaves were treated. So it is somewhat surprising that Newton’s name does not appear as one of the leaders within the movement. To be sure, he was opposed to the slave trade and considered it a sinful practice. Nevertheless, he failed to emerge in the forefront of the political struggle to have it abolished despite his elevated status within the Christian community and his years of experience in the slave trade itself. Newton’s moral idealism was of little practical value to the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade in the British Parliament.

Newton Before his Christian Conversion

John Newton was born in London in 1725 to a merchant father who spent little time at home and a mother who dreamed of her son entering the ministry. Her influence dominated his early years; however, at age seven, Newton’s mother died and his father soon remarried. Despite his Christian upbringing, Newton found himself drawn to a life of iniquity when he escaped the direct supervision of his parents.¹

As he grew older, his father began taking him on voyages. Despite his father’s attempts to rein him in, life at sea provided an outlet for his riotous behavior. Yet

¹ John Newton to Rev. T. Hawsis, 1764, in William J. Peterson and Warner A. Hutchinson eds., *Out of the Depths* (New Canaan, Conn.: Keats Publishing, 1981), 11.

throughout his adolescence, Newton felt guilty about choosing the sea over the church and made several attempts at reform. There was a two-year period in which he read the *Bible* with fervor and made every attempt to lead a pious life, but all to no avail. In spite of his desire, he lacked the inward strength to live by the code of ethics found in the *Bible*.²

Leaving his father's ship, Newton began his own life on the sea. Through connections provided by his father, he was promoted to midshipman on a trading ship. On more than one occasion Newton went absent without leave from his ship in order to visit the woman he would later marry, Mary Catlett. In his letters, Newton explains that he was so overcome by love for Catlett that he disregarded any threat of punishment by the captain of his ship. In 1743, prior to a five-year journey, he was caught attempting to desert and was subsequently whipped, put in irons and demoted to the lowest rank of sailor. It was at this point that Newton abandoned any pretense of being religious and gave himself wholly to a blasphemous lifestyle. He even entertained thoughts of murdering the captain or committing suicide.³

It was on this voyage that Newton transferred from his ship to one engaged in slave trading. The enslavement and shipment of Africans to the New World had been an integral part of English commerce since the middle of the sixteenth century. Sir John Hawkins was the first to successfully complete a slave-trading voyage in 1563. The slave trade soon came to be considered

essential to the economic and agricultural growth of the nation.⁴

By the eighteenth century the English slave trade was centered around the Caribbean sugar colonies. It was the English demand for sugar that caused 60-70% of all Atlantic slaves to be shipped to these colonies.⁵ Settled in the 1640's, Barbados became the first and most profitable of all the sugar colonies. Its economy hinged on sugar plantations run by slave labor. White owners disliked living there due to the crude frontier lifestyle that affected the island. By 1712, the white population was half of what it had been in 1655, and the slave population had more than doubled.⁶

Newton hoped to gain wealth through the slave trade; instead he learned first hand the high human cost of such trade. Soon after joining the crew, Newton became very ill and was near death. While he was sick, the black mistress of the trader treated him poorly. He was not fed often enough and was physically abused. Although he recovered from his illness, he never was able to gain the trust of his employer and thus lost all his assumed rights. He continued to receive abuse from his master and at one point was even tied to the mast of a ship for several days to prevent him from escaping. As Newton relates in his letters, he still desired to live a riotous life; he only lacked the opportunity to do so in his present condition of bondage.⁷

He was in that condition on the African coast for upwards of two years before his father received word about his situation and sent a ship to retrieve his son. After boarding the ship Newton found himself

² Peterson and Hutchinson, *Out of the Depths*, 13.

³ D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition: Between the Conversions of Wesley and Wilberforce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 17-18.

⁴ Jeff D. Bass, "An Efficient Humanitarianism: The British Slave Trade Debates, 1791-1792," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 75 (1989), 153.

⁵ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (London: Cornell University Press, 1975), 51.

⁶ Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 52.

⁷ Peterson and Hutchinson, *Out of The Depths*, 39-40.

with a great amount of leisure time, which he spent studying mathematics and pursuing a life of extreme immorality. During his time on this slave trading ship, he was almost lost overboard while in a drunken stupor and was nearly killed on various hunting trips on shore. It was at this time that he began to read a copy of Thomas Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, which pointed out that his behavior could doom him to an eternity in hell, a thought that bothered him immensely. Despite his concern, he blocked these thoughts out of his mind and continued his downward spiral into apostasy.⁸

It was on this voyage, which led from the African coast to the Caribbean and back to England, that a violent storm hit. Awakened from sleep, Newton found the ship about to break apart and one man already washed overboard. Uttering his first prayer of repentance to God, he bailed water through the night and reflected upon his past life and the prospect of the Scriptures being true. The ship made it through the storm but the men on board, including Newton, were convinced they would either starve to death, die of thirst, or perish in the depths of the ocean as the battered ship fell apart. Newton spent the next several weeks in intense prayer, studying the *Bible*. By the time the ship found refuge in Ireland on April 8, 1748, he was fully convinced of the truth and power of the *Bible*, making his final profession of faith in God and the atonement of Jesus.⁹

Despite this conversion experience, which had a profound and obvious effect on him, Newton continued in the slave trading business. He was the first mate on board a slave ship headed to the West Indies, and by 1750 he became the captain of his own slave-trading vessel. That same year he married Mary Catlett, who had long given him up for dead but had remained single.

Newton completed three voyages as captain before an epileptic seizure forced him to stop in 1754. According to his letters, he had determined to leave the slave trading industry prior to his seizure, not because of moral misgivings about the industry but because he felt life at sea was detrimental to his spiritual life as well as to his marriage.¹⁰

In Newton's letters it is interesting that he rarely mentions slavery. He was the captain or first mate on four slave trading ships, yet he offers very little commentary on slavery or the slave trade. This can be attributed to the fact that at the time that he was writing he was not convinced of the evils of slavery. His was a gradual change of opinion through the influence of evangelical leaders such as John Wesley and George Whitefield, who were staunch opponents of the slave trade.

After his retirement from the slave trade Newton took a prominent role within the Church of England and the evangelical Christian community in general. In 1764 he was ordained as a deacon at Olney, becoming well known for his aforementioned hymn writing. By 1779 he had been appointed the rector of the St. Mary Woolnoth church in London. Throughout his years as a church leader, he gained a reputation as a gifted advisor and mediator between various factions within the church.¹¹

One aspect of Newton's personality stands out in all stages of his life: an intensity commitment. He was a committed sinner and, upon his conversion, he became a committed Christian. Therefore, when he eventually came to a realization about the immorality of slavery, it would stand to reason that he would be totally committed to having the trade in slaves abolished.

⁸ Peterson and Hutchinson, *Out of The Depths*, 55-56.

⁹ Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 19.

¹⁰ Peterson and Hutchinson, *Out of the Depths*, 95-96.

¹¹ Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, xvii.

Role of Newton in Abolition

By the middle of the eighteenth century many elite intellectuals and evangelical theologians began to reject economic and biblical justification for slavery. At the time of Newton's conversion in 1754 the idea of slavery being anti-Christian was just starting to develop, which helps to explain why he would continue in the trade. In light of the theological leanings of the day, Newton's continuance in the trade, while not excusable, is at least understandable. In 1772 Lord Chief Justice Mansfield dealt a legal blow to slavery when he ruled that a master could not forcibly remove a slave from England, paving the road for abolition within England and the rest of the British Isles.

Reginald Coupland, a twentieth-century historian, established the historical view of the abolition of the slave trade in England. He argued that the abolition of the slave trade was essentially a clash between slave traders and plantation owners seeking economic gain and evangelical Christians fighting for moral virtue. In reality both sides used economics as well as morality to bolster their argument.¹²

The pro-slavery group objected to abolition because they claimed that it violated their property rights and would cause the financial downfall of thousands of people. They claimed that countless working people would be unemployed and the economic prosperity of England would be threatened. At this time economic prosperity was often tied closely to morality, and the threat of innocent people losing their jobs was seen as an economic and moral issue.¹³

In 1787 the London Abolition Committee was formed by leaders within the abolition movement, most notably William Wilberforce, an active member of the House of Commons and a Christian.

Experiencing a conversion two years earlier, Wilberforce voiced concern as to how it should affect his political life. In the same year, he had a meeting with John Newton during which Newton encouraged him to use his political position for the advancement of such causes as abolition.¹⁴

After some debate the London Abolition Committee decided not to attack slavery itself, but to focus on the slave trade for three highly practical reasons. First, they did not want to appear as if they were interfering with the property rights of private citizens. Secondly, confronting the slave trade was well within the English Parliament's rights over the regulation of commerce and, finally, the idea of the total abolition of slavery had a very radical connotation, which the Committee wanted to avoid.¹⁵

The first major victory for abolitionists came in 1788 when Sir William Dolben introduced a bill to the House of Commons intended to improve conditions on slave ships. The bill received broad-based support from Christians, many of whom wrote tracts proclaiming the evils of the trade.¹⁶ Most notable among these writers was Newton. In 1788 he published his essay, *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*, in which he provided insight into conditions on slave ships. Even in this essay, which was printed for the furtherance of a political cause, Newton stressed that for him the issue was a moral one and that as a minister of the Gospel he could not view it in a strictly political light. He argued that the trade caused the unnecessary loss of life as well as the overall decline of moral sensitivity.¹⁷

Newton's use of moral principles in his essay was representative of the entire debate

¹⁴ Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 311.

¹⁵ Bass, *Efficient Humanitarianism*, 154.

¹⁶ Bass, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 154.

¹⁷ John Newton, *The Journal of a Slave Trader: With Newton's Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*, Bernard Martin and Mark Spurrell eds., (London: The Epworth Press, 1962), 100.

¹² Bass, *Efficient Humanitarianism*, 153.

¹³ Bass, *Efficient Humanitarianism*, 153.

in the House of Commons. Both Parliament and England in general received the abolitionist argument in a positive light, making the Dolben bill successful. Buoyed by victory, William Wilberforce immediately tried to ride the wave of support and introduced more resolutions against the slave trade in 1789. The House of Commons refused to debate the resolutions, but the stage had been set for further discussions.

Before the debates began again in 1791 in the House of Commons, Newton's wife of forty years died. Throughout Newton's letters and narrative he repeatedly praises God for his wife and constantly professes a deep love for her, so her death affected him profoundly. Because he and Mary had no children, Newton was left with no family ties. He was sixty-five years old and still very healthy when she died, but from that time on Newton led a private life. Thus, Newton's *Thoughts Upon the African Slave Trade* represents his only formal participation in the battle against the slave trade. He continued his service as rector of St. Mary Woolnoth in London, holding a reputation as an insightful spiritual advisor, but he appeared less and less concerned with the world around him. Even Wilberforce noticed that Newton seemed to be preoccupied with thoughts of God and heaven and may have been losing touch with the world.¹⁸

The abolition movement continued through the work of evangelicals like Wilberforce, but the movement no longer based its arguments on moral concerns over slavery. Wilberforce in particular discouraged the use of Scripture in the debates in the House of Commons.¹⁹ He knew that the Parliament would need more than moral justification to shut down an established institution such as the slave

trade. The economics of the trade eventually persuaded Parliament to support abolition. Wilberforce argued that the necessary brutality of the trade was costing more than could be made up with slave labor. He was not as concerned with presenting the slavers as immoral monsters as he was with exposing the futility in operating in such a manner. Although Wilberforce personally was opposed to the slave trade on moral grounds, it was ultimately economic issues coupled with moral objections that brought it to an end.²⁰

The debates over the slave trade ebbed and flowed with the tide of popular opinion over the next decade. Wilberforce was still the driving force behind the bills of abolition that were presented to Parliament. The trend was for the bill to pass the House of Commons but to fail when submitted to the House of Lords. It was said that many of the lords in the upper house owed their seats to the slave trade, making abolition a difficult prospect. But years of being hounded by moral and economic reasoning eventually took its toll.²¹

In 1807 Lord George Grenville, Prime Minister of Great Britain, introduced a bill that called for full abolition of the slave trade. This bill stated that the trade was "contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy." The fact that the moral argument lacked support is evident because when the bill was being debated there was a strong effort to strike "contrary to the principles of justice [and] humanity" from the text and simply use sound policy as the theme for abolition. The bill passed the House of Lords by a wide margin and then went to the House of Commons where it was also approved. On May 1, 1807 the Atlantic slave trade came to

¹⁸ Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 235.

¹⁹ Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 525.

²⁰ Bass, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 161.

²¹ Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 553.

a close in England, the same year that John Newton died.²²

During the years of debate over the slave trade issue Newton became a passive observer of the political and religious changes going on around him. The conversion of Wilberforce in 1785 had represented a shift in the Evangelical movement, of which Newton was not a part. Evangelicals were now more willing to participate in politics and achieve social justice through political means. As Wilberforce and countless others moved into the public sphere, Newton was somewhat out of step with the new breed of evangelicals.²³

Although their ultimate concerns were the same, Newton and Wilberforce saw the role of the Christian differently. Newton was more concerned with changing people and working toward the strengthening of the Church, while Wilberforce was focused on bringing Christian principles to society through political legislation. Wilberforce may have stated his view best when he said, "God has put before me two great objects: The abolition of the slave trade and the reformation of manners."²⁴ Although Newton certainly supported abolition, he was more focused on the spiritual aspect of Christianity and therefore did not exercise the same influence as the activists who came after him.

²² Thomas, *Story of the Slave Trade*, 555.

²³ Hindmarsh, *John Newton*, 326.

²⁴ "William Wilberforce," online at <http://www.acton.org/research/libtrad/index.php3?lib=wilberforce> (accessed 27 November 2001). Site is the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty.

IS TIME A-CHANGIN'?: MODERN TEMPORAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND RELATIVITY

Drew Koke

There once was a girl named Miss Bright,
Who could travel much faster than light.
She left one day,
In a relative way,
And returned on the previous night.
(Anon)

My high school physics teacher enjoyed perplexing his students. Mr. Fliege often asked questions that initially seemed innocuous but, after a bit of thought, were clearly difficult conundrums. One such question that my class puzzled over was regarding the definition of time: we had to define the term but without using the word “time” anywhere in the definition. After a great deal of trouble, my class settled upon the definition of time as a measure of movement.

Aristotle (384-322 BCE) would say that we were almost right. In Book IV of his *Physics*, Aristotle notes that “time is most usually supposed to be motion and a kind of change.”¹ He goes on to argue that time cannot only be movement for two reasons: first, movement is in regard to one thing, in one place, but time is everywhere; and second, “change is always faster or slower whereas time is not.”² Therefore Aristotle concludes that time is not *only* movement, but also a measure, a boundary, and a

¹ Aristotle, *Physica* in *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins, trans. R.P. Hardie and R.K. Gaye (Chicago: William Benton, 1952), 298.

² Aristotle, *Physica*, 298.

perception.³ It is no wonder that the question posed by my high school physics teacher was so difficult for us: it has plagued philosophers such as Aristotle for centuries.

A society’s consciousness is based upon its perceptions, whether true or false. Temporal consciousness, or a society’s sense of time, is no different. It is developed by everyone and articulated by the spokespeople of the age, and it is based upon the perception of time’s passing; it becomes the believed ontology (being) of time. If a society’s perceptions indicate that the seasons repeat each year, that the heavens revolve and return to their beginning, that the times before are the same as the times today, then that society may develop a circular temporal consciousness that studies the past to know the present and future. Such was the temporal consciousness of Antiquity, a time sense that was shared by many cultures across the globe (and is still in use today). Christianity replaced pagan circular time with a non-repeating linear conception, and the West has largely held this conception since. It has been slightly modified, as we shall see, but not significantly changed.

The modern era developed a prejudice towards empirical and verifiable perceptions; data that could be replicated and verified was heralded as being true. This bias preserved the linear temporal consciousness of modernity. If philosophers reasoned that the future was undetermined and progress inevitable, if capitalists insisted that time was not God’s, if politicians carefully released the theologian’s grip on eschatology (the end times), if the scientist

³ See Hans Reichenbach, *The Philosophy of Space and Time*, trans. Maria Reichenbach and John Freund (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), 116. See also Wesley C. Salmon, *Space, Time, and Motion: A Philosophical Introduction*, 2nd Ed, rev. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 31.

and astronomer proved the mathematics of time, then certainly this modern temporal consciousness was truly the very being of time. Time's ontology was certain, and the West understood it best.

Modern societies are becoming increasingly sensitive to and dependent upon the passage and effects of time, a temporal consciousness that is assumed yet difficult to define. Modernity has left a meticulous and rigorous ontology of time: that it passes at the same meter and rhythm regardless of location, action, or will; that it is linear, not cyclical; that it is based on astronomically observed and predictable occurrences. It is an unstoppable force within which humanity moves. However, according to the physics of relativity, this modern concept of time is not completely accurate. This paper will briefly examine the development of modern temporal consciousness and suggest possible changes in this awareness because of relativity. Simply put, Einstein's relativity has adjusted the ontology of time, but not temporal consciousness. Such a temporal paradigm shift leaves peculiar ramifications for society and historians.

Since Aristotle, the ontology of time has remained a curiosity to humanity. St. Augustine (354-430), in Book IX of the *Confessions* (400), presents a series of questions regarding the nature of time while considering the concept of an eternal God. "What is time - if no one asks, I know; if asked, I don't know."⁴ He concludes, after much deliberation and pleading for God to illuminate this mystery, that "it might be fitly said, 'there are three times: a present of things past, a present of things present, and a present of things future.'"⁵ For Augustine, time was an internal awareness of three

parts, while externally it was only one – the present.

Edmund Husserl's (1859-1938) introduction to phenomenology noted the presence of internal time. "If we consider the *fundamental form of synthesis*, namely *identification*, we encounter it first of all as an all-ruling, *passively* flowing synthesis, in the form of the *continuous consciousness of internal time*. Every subjective process has its internal temporality."⁶ Humanity is keenly aware of the passage of time, but what is the relationship between cosmic time and our internal clocks? Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) asserts, "Time is nothing but the form of inner sense, that is, of the intuition of ourselves and of our inner state ... and just because this inner intuition yields no shape, we endeavor to make up for this want by analogies."⁷ This subjective time-consciousness is grounded, however, in humanity's cause and effect observations. We are time-beings outfitted with our own internal clock, senses that perceive the passing of time, and reason that deduces causality.

Paul Ricoeur emphasizes the role of narrative in determining humanity's relationship with time. "The world unfolded by every narrative work is always a temporal world. Or ... time becomes human time to the extent that it is organized after the manner of a narrative."⁸ This is the hypothesis of Ricoeur's significant *Time and Narrative*, and its title is also its conclusion: cosmological time becomes the time of humanity when it is chronicled and narrated. The converse is also true: "narrative attains

⁴ Augustine, "The Confessions," in *The Basic Writings of Saint Augustine*, ed. Whitney J. Oates, trans. J. G. Pilkington (New York: Random House, 1948), 10:191.

⁵ Augustine, "The Confessions," 20:195.

⁶ Edmund Husserl, *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology*, trans. Dorion Cairns (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), 41.

⁷ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. N.K. Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 50.

⁸ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 3.

its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence.”⁹

Ricoeur’s stress on the relationship between time and history cannot be over-emphasized. While time and history are not the same thing, they are closely related.¹⁰ More specifically, a philosophy of time determines one’s philosophy of history. Peter Osborne has summed this up well by asking a series of questions regarding the relationship between time and history:

Is history a temporally distinct domain, qualitatively different from the temporality of nature, such that it might be totalized independently? Or is its temporality inextricably bound up with that of nature? If so, how? Are nature and history all there is to time? All these questions affect our understanding of the substance of historical inquiry, *and our stance towards them determines what kind of history we believe in.*¹¹

In short, Osborne argues that the historian must understand his/her own temporal consciousness before writing a history. This concept is distinct in Reinhart Koselleck’s work as well, which illustrates the change in temporal consciousness experienced by the modern age.¹² Koselleck argues, as we have already discussed, that Antiquity and the Middle Ages had a unique philosophy of time that was quite different from the Modern Age. They held a strong belief in eschatological time, while the Modern period banished such interpretations of the

future.¹³ Antiquity and the Middle Ages held a circular view of time that held little progress, while the Modern period saw time as linear and unchallenged in its progress.¹⁴ Because the philosophy of time changed between the Ages, so did the philosophy of history. Where the first two Ages saw a common historical plane, Modernity in its self-consciousness saw a great distinction. A “temporalization of history” occurred, marked by a new concept of what was in the future: progress, development, and evolution.¹⁵

The above-mentioned philosophical paradigm shift occurs on a macro-level, that of the ages of western society. Osborne has also noted such philosophical paradigm shifts occurring on a micro-level, that of individual political views which affect historical interpretation. Capitalism, for example, changed time by equating value with labor-time. Time was now worth money, and a laborer’s time was a specific monetary commodity. With improvements in transportation and communication “came the beginnings of a generalized social imposition of a single standard of time.”¹⁶ The result is the reality of what previously had been only a possibility: a world history that was more than unrelated and overlapping histories. Thus,

capitalism has ‘universalized’ history, in the sense that it has established systematic relations of social interdependence on a planetary scale (encompassing non-capitalist societies), thereby producing a single global space of temporal co-existence or coevalness, within which actions are quantifiable chronologically in terms of [a] single

⁹ Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 52.

¹⁰ See Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 5.

¹¹ Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and Avante-Garde* (London: Verso, 1995), 32. Italics mine.

¹² Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), 4-5.

¹³ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 11.

¹⁴ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 17.

¹⁵ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 5.

¹⁶ Osborne, *The Politics of Time*, 34.

standard of measurement: world standard-time.¹⁷

Again, we see how a change in one's philosophy of time can change one's philosophy of history.

Several catalysts explain the changes in temporal consciousness between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age. The first such catalyst was Martin Luther's (1483-1546) Reformation, which encouraged further devaluing of church authority and therefore church eschatological time. In addition, a succession of philosophers during the Enlightenment questioned the ontology of time itself. But above all one must consider the role of reason, as it became the authority of the Modern Age. The crown jewel in the physical sciences, the most profound of the disciplines of reason, was Isaac Newton's (1642-1727) *Principia Mathematica* published in 1687.¹⁸ In his monumental work, Newton outlined the mathematics that governed time and movement, and his "discovery of the calculus was especially designed to provide a measure of continuous motion (in time)."¹⁹ Newton provided an answer to why the celestial spheres moved as they did, a question pondered since the most ancient of days.²⁰ The concept of time entered into the realm of mathematics and the hard sciences and became a unique dimension of human existence. The concept

has since never departed from this mathematical domain, but has been adjusted by further theory.

The accumulation of modernity's science, philosophy, economics, and theology lent considerable authority to the modern definition of the ontology of time. Modern thinkers came to believe that their temporal consciousness was based on the very ontology of time itself. This, however, was not the case.

The greatest adjustment to the ontology of time, and the interest of this paper, came in 1905 when Albert Einstein (1879-1955) published essays in which he proposed the Special Theory of Relativity. The Special Theory of Relativity (STR) deals with extremely high velocities and the effects of these velocities on observation. In 1916 Einstein published the second part of his theory, the General Theory of Relativity (GTR), which dealt with a new paradigm for gravity and its effects on movement. The two theories, which together may be called the Theory of Relativity, changed the ontology of time by denying that the dimensions of space and time were absolute. Rather, Einstein argued that these dimensions contracted and expanded: time slowed or sped up, while space shortened or lengthened.²¹

The Theory of Relativity possesses subtle ramifications for the historian. Specifically, the Theory of Relativity allows for adjustments in simultaneity such that absolute dating, and therefore chronicling, of some events may be impossible. Simultaneity is properly a reference to two events happening at the same time, and if one of these events is the observation of a timepiece then one achieves a mechanism of

¹⁷ Osborne, *The Politics of Time*, 34.

¹⁸ Stephen Hawking, *A Brief History of Time*, 10th Anniversary Edition (New York: Bantam, 1998), 4. See also Nigel Calder, *Einstein's Universe* (New York: Wings Books, 1979), 147.

¹⁹ Paul Yourgrau, *Godel Meets Einstein: Time Travel in the Godel Universe* (Chicago: Open Court, 1999), 8.

²⁰ See Albert Einstein's "The Foundation of the General Theory of Relativity" in *The Principle of Relativity* (New York: Dover Publications, 1952), 164. See also Timothy Ferris' excellent history of the sciences of the universe, *Coming of Age in the Milky Way* (New York: William Morrow, 1988), 1-216.

²¹ See H. Minkowski, "Space and Time" in *The Principle of Relativity*, 75. See also H. Weyl, "Gravitation and Electricity" in *The Principle of Relativity*, 201.

dating an event.²² As Einstein said, “We have to take into account that all our judgment in which time plays a part are always judgments of *simultaneous events*. If, for instance, I say, ‘That train arrives here at 7 o’clock,’ I mean something like this: ‘the pointing of the small hand of my watch to 7 and the arrival of the train are simultaneous events.’”²³ This simultaneity is a process that allows history to be specific; for example, the fall of the Bastille and the year 1789 are simultaneous events, and thus history has its chronology, accuracy, and relevancy.

Einstein showed, however, that simultaneity is an illusion, albeit a very thorough one. The central theme of the STR is “that the speed of light is always the same for everyone, regardless of their motions or the motions of the sources of light.”²⁴ To state the effect on time concisely: as one accelerates to higher velocities time must take longer so that light is still measured at the same speed. It is possible, then, for an accelerated individual to measure the simultaneity of an event and their clock differently than an unaccelerated individual. The recording of time becomes a private matter, but no frame of reference has a privileged measurement.²⁵ The concept of a global “now” loses its force, replaced by a relativity of simultaneity.²⁶ “Every reference body ... has its own particular time; unless we are told the reference-body to which the statement of time refers, there

is no meaning in a statement of the time of an event.”²⁷

Fortunately, and by Einstein’s own admission, the speed of the reference bodies on this planet do not vary enough to produce noticeable discrepancies in the lives of humans or their histories.²⁸ When dealing with the contraction of time, called a Lorentz contraction, one must have a velocity of a notable fraction of the speed of light for clear instances of contraction. But now the veracity of a single time measurement has come under scrutiny, and it is found to fail in specific circumstances that are demonstrated in recent cosmological books and scientific journals.

Einstein’s GTR has a similar effect on time.²⁹ In 1916, Einstein published his completed project and changed the concept of gravity forever. No longer was gravity considered a force of attraction, as Newton had surmised; now it was the curving of spacetime by any mass. This curving is a catalyst for temporal contraction: if spacetime is curved by mass, then light will take a curved path around such masses; time will then be required to slow down around such masses because light would have further to go.³⁰ Or, to think of it another way, light leaving the sun must climb out of a gravity well created by the sun’s mass; this gravity well slows down light. As a result time must slow down so that light’s velocity remains constant. Ultimately, the GTR suggests two distinct effects of gravity upon time. The first is that time slows near ponderable masses (or the higher the altitude, the faster the clocks go).³¹ The

²² Yourgrau, *Godel Meets Einstein*, 113.

²³ Albert Einstein, “On the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies” in *The Principle of Relativity*, 39.

²⁴ Calder, *Einstein’s Universe*, 87. See also David Filkin, *Stephen Hawking’s Universe: The Cosmos Explained* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 198.

²⁵ Calder, *Einstein’s Universe*, 84 and 105.

²⁶ Yourgrau, *Godel Meets Einstein*, 17, 33. See also T. Chapman, *Time: A Philosophical Analysis* (Boston: D. Reidel Publishing, 1982), 13.

²⁷ Einstein, *Relativity*, 30.

²⁸ Einstein, *Relativity*, 42.

²⁹ Einstein, *Relativity*, 110.

³⁰ Albert Einstein, “The Foundation of the General Theory of Relativity” in *The Principle of Relativity*, 162.

³¹ Calder, *Einstein’s Universe*, 31. See also Einstein’s “The Foundation of the General Theory of Relativity,” 162.

second is that a rotating body twists spacetime, so that time goes faster in the direction of rotation and slower against the rotation.³²

Currently the most pragmatic use of the GTR is found in the Global Positioning System, a series of satellites that triangulate a receiver's precise location. The receiver is given a transmission from the various satellites and uses the speed of light to determine the distance each of the satellites is away from it. This must be done with unprecedented accuracy since the speed of light is roughly one foot per nanosecond. If the GTR is not accounted for then a mistake of several hundred nanoseconds could easily occur, the result of which could be disastrous for an airplane in a blind landing, for example.³³

For the purposes here, I will consider the GTR's effects on spacetime as a part of temporal consciousness. David Wood, in his *The Deconstruction of Time*, has noted that some philosophers believe that linear time is misrepresented in humanity's temporal awareness because of our dependence on Euclidean space.³⁴ Because of this dependence, humanity (at least the Modern human) views time as a straight line. This is a misconception, Wood says, and Einstein could not agree more.³⁵ A change in the conception of time as straight alters the geography that comes to our mind when we imagine what time looks like. Such a change in mental imagery has, again, subtle results. It does not alter cause and

effect, but does provide for familiar cycles in human temporal consciousness, as if time were a spiral and not a line. It allows for progress as well as regress, patterns in history, and a host of other cycles. It may also allow time travel, a peculiar aspect of cosmological theory. If the ontology of time has changed, why has the temporal consciousness remained the same? The answer returns us to the beginning of this essay: consciousness is based on perception, not ontology. Modernity's perceptions have not changed . . . yet.

By considering Einstein's Theory of Relativity, we see many peculiar attributes to time, the single most surprising of these being that time itself is relative. Relative to what? It turns out that time on our planet may be a combination of several quantities: the speed of our planet (18.52 miles/second), the speed of our solar system (170 miles/second), the speed of our galaxy (370 miles/second), the speed of the rotation of our planet (.23 miles/second at Normal, IL latitude),³⁶ the speed of an individual on our planet, the mass of our star, the mass of our planet, and the location in regards to height of the individual above our planet (871 feet above sea level in Normal, IL).³⁷ If any of these quantities change, time itself changes in small, irrelevant amounts. But if any of these quantities were to change enough, one may observe relevant adjustments in the meter of time. *Popular Science* magazine recently noted that Sergei Avdeyev is the current time travel champion of the human race: he gained 1/50 of a second over the rest of the planet because of his two-year stay aboard Mir.³⁸ This is the

³² Calder, *Einstein's Universe*, 31.

³³ Michael Fowler, "Remarks on General Relativity," online at http://www.phys.virginia.edu/CLASSES/252/general_relativity.html.

³⁴ David Wood, *The Deconstruction of Time* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International, 1989), 1.

³⁵ Einstein, *Relativity*, 104. See also Einstein's "The Foundation of the General Theory of Relativity," 116. See also Hawking, *A Brief History of Time*, 30.

³⁶ Stan Odenwald, "NASA Image Satellite," online at <http://image.gsfc.nasa.gov/poetry/ask/a10840.html>.

³⁷ Paulo Santos, "AirNav: Central Illinois Regional Airport," online at <http://www.airnav.com/airport/KBMI>.

³⁸ Scott Mowbray, "Let's Do the Time Warp Again," in *Popular Science* (March 15, 2002).

effect of relativity on temporal ontology: the rate or meter of time is dynamic, not static.

Another peculiar attribute to time as a result of the Theory of Relativity is its ability to stop. At the edge of a black hole, a gravitational mass that curves spacetime such that even light cannot escape its pull, time stands still. As Nigel Calder has remarked, “The idea that time stands still at the edge of a black hole has to be taken quite literally. A black hole could be used to stretch a person’s life and let him survive for thousands of years into the future.”³⁹ Similarly, at the speed of light, an unapproachable limit that exists nonetheless, time also stops. “Just as time stops completely on the very edge of a black hole, so time would stop if you could travel at precisely the speed of light. You would abolish distance entirely, so that your point of departure and your destination seem to be at the same place.”⁴⁰

What was once static and ubiquitous in Newton’s cosmology has become dynamic and occasionally missing in Einstein’s cosmology. This change in cosmology has remained unobserved, such are the slow speeds that humans endure. The change in temporal consciousness that occurred in 17th century was not immediately accepted or relevant; and one must wonder if this change introduced by Einstein will ever be relevant to the historian. A time may be coming, a horizon that may reveal travel at such speeds it becomes common to think of time in a relative way. Pity the historians of that period, for they will be required to understand the subtle differences between competing frames of reference and will be forced to research two timelines in order to write just a single book!

³⁹ Calder, *Einstein’s Universe*, 83.

⁴⁰ Calder, *Einstein’s Universe*, 96.

This intricacy of the relativity of time has been prefigured by complexities that historians deal with today. Despite the Gregorian calendar’s burgeoning use, several historians daily work with different calendars – some solar and some lunar. Various countries have national calendars that are significantly different from the Gregorian. In addition to these calendars, the globalization of information has adjusted the significance of timing. For example, with the World Wide Web, it is possible for an individual to view a web page on one day and someone else to view the same page at the same time but (because of time zones) be a day ahead or behind. Thus, information may be shared at the same moment yet be chronicled at different times. Does this situation anticipate the creation of a single global time disregarding time zones, or a new cosmic time disregarding Earth’s solar calendar? Another difficulty for the modern historian is the lack of full contemporaneity across the globe, since it is possible (and anthropologists have been doing this for years) to observe the histories of societies that are not modern, and thus to deal with a temporal consciousness wholly different from that of the historian. Does this predict a future of shared temporal consciousness across the planet, or will there always be differences of temporal awareness?

Perhaps a philosophy of history will be developed that addresses this change in temporal consciousness. Such a philosophy of history may include the works of Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947), who attempted to find congruence between relativity and the classical theory of time. Whitehead’s metaphysic is far too complicated to entertain at this point, but it may be worthy of pursuit. Time, at whatever pace it arrives, will tell.

**KISSINGER AND PINOCHET:
CONSTRUCTING A CAPITALIST
COUP**

Christopher Powers

On 11 September 1973 Salvador Allende Gossens fell dead from a gunshot. The fatal shot may have been suicide or assassination; this is highly disputed. The point is rather inconsequential in light of the events that followed his untimely demise. It is a matter of semantics, used primarily to further pro- and anti-schools of thought by Allende's supporters or detractors concerning his socialist cause. If it was suicide, then Allende was a coward. If it was assassination, then he was a martyr to the cause. A DCI (Director of Central Intelligence) briefing for the WSAG (Washington Action Group) meeting on 14 September 1973 recognizes the initial fallout which occurred from Allende's death: "Leftist extremists will not easily give up efforts to mobilize the 43% of Chileans who support Allende. They are already operating clandestine radios calling Allende's death a martyrdom that must be avenged."¹

Those against Allende saw his death as a step to suppress the communist threat which they feared was enveloping South America. It is this fear of communism which set the stage for the events that allowed General Augusto Pinochet Urgate to overthrow Allende in a violent coup and then to take power as dictator of Chile for a tumultuous sixteen years. Those in Chile who feared a socialist government found support in the

¹File, "The Situation in Chile," September 14, 1973. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/PNSC2/0000066D.pdf>.

U.S. government. One of the strongest supporters of the anti-Allende movement and later of the Pinochet junta was Henry A. Kissinger (President Nixon's national security adviser from 1969 to 1973, and U.S. Secretary of State from 1973 to 1977). Pinochet and Kissinger had the same primary objective: to create a Chile without Allende and his democratically elected socialism.

The Coup

At 9:30 A.M., 11 September 1973 Allende addressed Chile via radio perhaps with the full realization that this very well might be the last opportunity that he would have to do so:

Surely this will be my last opportunity to address you . . . My words are not spoken in bitterness. I shall pay with my life for the loyalty of the people . . . They have the might and they can enslave us, but they cannot halt the world's social progresses, not with crimes, nor with guns.²

Allende's speech was cut short by military music. Soon after, his voice was abruptly snuffed from the airwaves; at 11:52 A.M. two fighter jets soared over Chile's capital city, Santiago. The destination of the two jets was La Moneda Palace (the presidential palace), where they each fired a round of rockets into the presidential palace, setting it ablaze.³ By 2:00 P.M. Allende's prophesy of his demise became a reality.

Augusto Pinochet describes that afternoon, "I must admit that I failed to recognize Allende . . . from the way he

² Lois Hecht Oppenheim, *Politics In Chile* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999), 1.

³ Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991), 15.

committed suicide, which partially split his head in two.”⁴ Pinochet’s account of Allende’s death is interesting in a gruesome sense. His account, however, must be questioned for its veracity; Pinochet is one of the people who would gain from having Allende’s death declared a suicide. Pinochet gained exceptional power from the coup, and has used that exceptional power to oppress.

Proofs of Betrayal

The coup was led by General Pinochet; General Gustavo Leigh Guzmán, Commander of the Air Force; Admiral José Toribio Merino, Commander of the Navy; and General César Mendoza Durán, Commander of the Police. Prior to the violent overthrow of the Allende government, these four figures had signed an ultimatum demanding Allende’s resignation. Upon seeing Pinochet’s name on the document Allende cried out “Poor Pinochet, he’s been captured,”⁵ believing that Pinochet was completely loyal to him and the constitution of Chile, and that he must have signed the document under coercion. It was perhaps inconceivable to Allende that Pinochet could act in such a treacherous manner. A CIA report from September 18, 2001, states that General Pinochet was perceived prior to September 11, 1973 as, “not a coup plotter, but apparently willing to concede to a coup.”⁶

The enigma that engulfs General Augusto Pinochet is his proactive stance as a member of the conspiracy against Allende. Allende’s disbelief that Pinochet was a co-conspirator is well supported because of

Pinochet’s previous loyalty. For a man who ruled Chile with an iron fisted dictatorship for the sole purpose of rescuing Chile from the communist menace, Pinochet, just a few years prior, may have saved Fidel Castro from an assassination attempt. This happened when Pinochet was appointed the senior military man to accompany Castro on a tour of Chile. Had there been any doubt of Pinochet’s ability to loyally guard Castro, Allende would not have given Pinochet such a task.⁷

Another instance which shows the trust that Allende had in Pinochet was Pinochet’s promotion to the rank of Major General in January of 1971. Pinochet was placed in charge of the Santiago garrison. This was a position that only the most trusted of military officers would have been given due to its strategic location.⁸ According to Henry Kissinger, CIA Director Richard Colby characterized Pinochet on 12 September 1970 as a “heretofore not especially forceful officer with a reputation for being pro-American.”⁹ Since Pinochet was not considered a likely leader, or even a follower of a coup against Allende, the CIA never recruited him. This is not to say that the CIA, headed by Richard Helms (who consulted with Henry Kissinger), did not support, supply, and fund other groups who were opposed to Allende and the prospect of a Socialist Chile.

Contrary to the Nixon Administration’s publicly-stated hands-off policy, the Central Intelligence Agency, operating under direct instructions from the “Forty Committee” headed by Henry Kissinger, collaborated with anti-constitutionalist officers and right-wing paramilitary groups.¹⁰

⁴ Augusto Pinochet, *The Crucial Day*, translated by María Teresa Escobar (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Renacimiento, 1982), 155.

⁵ Hugh O’Shaughnessy, *Pinochet: The Politics of Torture* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 55.

⁶ *Hincley Report: CIA Activities in Chile* (September 18, 2000), 2.

⁷ O’Shaughnessy, *Pinochet*, 41-42.

⁸ O’Shaughnessy, *Pinochet*, 41.

⁹ Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), 60.

¹⁰ Isabel Letelier, and Michael Moffit, “Human Rights, Economic Aid and Private Banks: The Case

Patterns of United States Intervention

As the presidential election of 1970 drew closer, it became clear that Allende was the front-runner for becoming the next president of Chile. At this point, the CIA became more assertive in Chilean affairs than it had been in the past. Prior to the 1970 election, the CIA had sought to weaken the socialist party and to prevent Allende from obtaining the presidency. The 5412 Group was founded in 1955 by President Eisenhower to regulate covert operations. It consisted of senior officials in the State and Defense Departments, the Director of the CIA, and the National Security Adviser. Under President Kennedy it became known as the Special Group; President Johnson renamed it the 303 Committee, and Nixon called it the 40 Committee. In 1962 the CIA was authorized to carry out covert activities for the purpose of weakening the left, by means of splitting the Socialist Party, and strengthening the right-winged Chilean Radical Party and the Christian Democratic Party. The operations consisted primarily of attracting a larger following to the latter two parties, restructuring them to improve efficiency and organization, and to influence their policies towards the U.S.

In 1963, this group approved financial support to the Chilean anti-socialist Democratic Front for one time only. On April 2, 1964 a political action campaign authorized by the 303 Committee worked to stop Salvador Allende from winning the presidential election. Eduardo Frei of the Christian Democratic Party received most of the funds given to prevent Allende from winning. Frei subsequently won the election. On February 5, 1965 the 303 Committee implemented a new covert plan which supported selected candidates for the

of Chile," *Institute for Policy Studies Issue Paper* (1978), 3.

Chilean Congress. Despite these covert activities, the Chilean left was becoming more powerful. In 1968 and 1969 the 40 Committee gave directions to the CIA to influence the Chilean mass media with propaganda.¹¹

The interference of the United States in Chile is undeniable. The CIA has openly acknowledged its involvement, even to the point of admitting that many of the operatives may very well have crossed the lines of what is acceptable conduct.

Many of Pinochet's officers were involved in systematic and widespread human rights abuses following Allende's ouster. Some of these were contacts or agents of the CIA or US military. Today's much stricter reporting standards were not in force and, if they were, we suspect many agents would have been dropped.¹²

There were two different methods of involvement of the CIA in Chile during Allende's tenure, "Track I (the constitutional route) and Track II (the military coup route)."¹³ Track I involved obtaining certain desired results through political and financial means such as by trying, in the words of Richard Helms, to "make the economy scream." Track I sought a nonviolent and apparently natural means to the end goal. According to historian Mark Falcott an example of the implementation of Track I is apparent, as "on September 14 the 40 Committee authorized Ambassador Kory to enlist [Eduardo] Frei's aid in rounding up congressional support. To this end, a \$250,000 contingency fund was set aside to

¹¹ *Hincley Report*, 5.

¹² *Hincley Report*, 2.

¹³ CIA, "CIA Chilean Task Force Activities," 15 September-3 November 1970," March 9, 1974. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/PCIA3\00009153.pdf>.

bribe wavering Christian Democrats legislators “into voting against Allende.”¹⁴

Track II involved more direct action, such as supporting groups that would implement a coup. Track II was publicly and diplomatically a greater risk to enact since the end results were often illegal or highly unethical. An example of support enacted by the U.S. transpired in 1970 when the CIA supported a group led by General Camilo Valenzuela, who offered to kidnap the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Rene Schneider. General Schneider was highly loyal to the Chilean constitution and thus it was essential that he be removed from power for any coup to work. In 1971, Allende stated that, “General Schneider was assassinated because he opposed the political conspiracy hatched by the reactionaries.”¹⁵ Allende continued, “There’s a whole group of people who represented, and still represent the interests of high finance and the political interests of the reactionary Right.”¹⁶ Among this group were prominent generals Camilo Valenzuela and Roberto Viaux. Retired Army General Roberto Viaux had the same goal of kidnapping Schneider. The CIA had contacted Viaux about kidnapping Schneider, but Viaux was determined incapable of carrying out the kidnapping and was therefore not given support. Nevertheless, Viaux carried out the plot on 22 October 1970, before Valenzuela could do it.¹⁷ In the process of the kidnapping Schneider was killed (the killing may or may not have been an accident). In the Hinckley Report the CIA admits to having met with both of these groups but insists it

supported only General Camilo Valenzuela’s plan.

In the transcript from a meeting between Henry Kissinger and President Gerald Ford dated July 9, 1975 the two discussed an unnamed kidnapping in Chile and their involvement:

Kissinger: We are okay on this Chile thing. There is a document which shows that I turned off contact with the group which was tied to the kidnapping.

President: If Nixon testifies, what will he say?

Kissinger: He is not entirely rational. He called me at Caneel Bay. It was vintage Nixon.

Although it is not apparent which kidnapping Kissinger and Ford are discussing (it might be the Schneider kidnapping five years earlier or any number of others which had occurred since) it does not matter; it is nonetheless further proof of covert involvement in a kidnapping.

Although covert action was used, the CIA estimated that the probability of its success was not very great. Yet DCI Richard Helms noted the imperative to act. After a 15 September 1970 meeting involving Nixon, Kissinger and Attorney General John Mitchell, Helms remarked: “One in 10 chance perhaps, but save Chile! 48 hours for plan of action.” The timetable for implementation of covert activity was so short that there was little time to train, plan, and activate. “Unless we establish tight control and professional guidance, the covert action program approved by the 40 Committee will not work. It is going to be a long shot as it is,” Kissinger wrote in a memo directed to President Nixon on 17

¹⁴ Mark Falcoff, *Modern Chile 1970-1989: A Critical History* (New Brunswick N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 213.

¹⁵ Régis Debray, *The Chilean Revolution: Conversations with Allende*, translated by Peter Beglan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 98.

¹⁶ Debray, *The Chilean Revolution*, 103.

¹⁷ *Hinckley Report*, 7.

September 1970.¹⁸ This action composed Track II in U.S. covert operations against the Allende government.

When Henry Kissinger decided to use Track II methods in an effort to stop and later oust Allende from the Presidency, he decided to keep the U.S. diplomat to Chile, Edward Korry, uninformed of the fact. The relationship between Edward Korry and Kissinger was highly strained throughout Korry's term as ambassador to Chile (1967-1971). Korry was more of a realist than Kissinger; he sought solutions through means that he thought were obtainable and enduring. Korry believed in the use of Track I efforts over Track II, because of the added possibility of negative fallout associated with Track II. "Korry is a volatile man who feels quite strongly about these distinctions in strategy. This is why he keeps demanding reassurance from the CIA station chief that the agency is *not* prompting a coup."¹⁹ Korry's reluctance to use Track II was determined by Kissinger to be "inefficient because there are so many inhibitions on his capacity to operate."²⁰ Korry believed overthrowing Allende would be best accomplished by destabilizing the economy. Hugh O'Shaughnessy quotes Korry in a report to Kissinger dated 21 September 1970: "Once Allende comes to power we shall do all within our power to condemn Chile and the Chileans to utmost deprivation and poverty."²¹

In the matter of the CIA's support of General Viaux, Korry initially believed that

his policy of not using Track II methods had helped prevent American involvement in the death of Schneider. It was only when Allende made a deal with the Chilean military in order to gain information on the circumstances of General Schneider's kidnapping and murder that Korry became aware of the use of Track II. In exchange for leniency towards all those officers involved in the kidnapping, Allende wanted information on the CIA, Pentagon, and corporate American support for the actions. Both Allende and the military kept their parts of the bargain. Allende was subsequently briefed by the Chilean military on the U.S. actions before the ambassador to Chile was informed. This seriously compromised Korry's position.²² Korry and Kissinger came head to head when on 9 October 1970, Korry sent a cable to Kissinger and Undersecretary of State U. Alexis Johnson stating, "If anybody is thinking of playing around with the Chilean military, it will be worse than the Bay of Pigs."²³ Kissinger, believing Korry had learned of the employment of Track II, ordered him to Washington, D.C. Arriving on 13 October, Korry was about to experience a surrealistic meeting between Kissinger and a paranoid Nixon. This meeting posed the foundation for the Kissinger-Nixon policy regarding Chile.

When Korry arrived in D.C. he continued to press the point to Kissinger that supporting the military in a coup would be disastrous. Kissinger, positive that Korry was aware of the Track II actions taking place, asked Korry if he wanted to see the President. Korry said, "Yes." As soon as the two sat down in front of Nixon, Nixon burst into a tirade, "I am going to smash that son of a bitch [Allende]." Korry recalls Nixon making threats of how he would

¹⁸ Henry Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President", September 17, 1970. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/PNARA3\0000957F.pdf>.

¹⁹ Taylor Branch and Eugene M. Propper, *Labyrinth* (New York: Viking Press, 1982), 60.

²⁰ Henry Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President", September 17, 1970. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/PNARA3\0000957F.pdf>.

²¹ O'Shaughnessy, *Pinochet*, 30.

²² Joseph Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA* (Roseville, Cal.: Prima Publishing, 2001) 386-387.

²³ Joseph Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*, 381.

ravage the Chilean economy. At the end of his tirade Nixon looked to Korry and Kissinger as though he expected applause. Korry told Nixon that he thought he was “dead wrong,” and on that note the meeting ended. Kissinger, now convinced that Korry in actuality knew nothing of the Track II operations, allowed him to return to his post as ambassador to Chile. Kissinger continued his anti-Allende policy unabated.²⁴

Michael Vernon Townley: State Executioner

The most ruthless and effective assassin in Pinochet’s arsenal was bred in the wheat fields of Iowa. Michael Vernon Townley, an interesting but disturbing figure assisted the DINA (Chile’s secret police) in assassinations. His specialty was explosives. Townley ruthlessly orchestrated many of the assassinations. On 21 September 1976 Orlando and Isabella Letelier were giving Orlando’s assistant at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington D.C., Ronni Moffit, and her husband, Michael, a ride home. At 9:38 A.M. as they were rounding Sheridan Circle, the center of the embassy district, the car exploded due to a remote control bomb. Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit were both killed.²⁵ Townley admitted to perpetrating the Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit assassinations when he made a deal with the United States. He agreed to testify to his involvement in any and all crimes he had committed in exchange for a sentence of ten years in prison (of which he served five years) for the Letelier and Moffit assassinations. The U.S. government agreed not to prosecute Michael Townley and his wife for any other crimes committed prior to

the date of the agreement. Townley was also offered complete protection for himself and his wife.²⁶ By all means this was a very light sentence for the brutal murder of a foreign diplomat and for other attacks and assassinations around the world.

Another assassination of a military figure occurred just over a year after Pinochet’s coup on 29 September 1974 when a car bomb took the lives of General Carlos Prats and his wife as they were pulling into their garage. Carlos Prats was thrown from the car by the explosion with his right arm and leg severed. His wife, trapped in the car, burned to death. Townley was later implicated, given the similarities in explosives, yet he denied any involvement in Prats’ assassination. One author, Hugh O’Shaughnessy, attributes the General Prats assassination directly to Pinochet. He does not, however, offer any verifying facts to support this claim.²⁷ Pinochet considered Prats a “main obstacle to be faced, for he was totally devoted to Allende.”²⁸ A passage in an FBI document dated 21 January 1982 examines numerous personal letters written by Townley. In a number of these letters

Townley expressed concern that the “Italians” and the “Argentines” would submit Letters Rogatory seeking information from him concerning the Prats assassinations. Townley expressed . . . similar concern that unidentified elements of

²⁴ Joseph Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*, 381-382.

²⁵ Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, 104.

²⁶ FBI, “The United States and Michael Vernon Townley Have Agreed to the Following Disposition in the Murder Case of Former Chilean Ambassador to the United States Orlando Letelier,” May 5, 1980. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/Pfbi3\00008809.pdf>.

²⁷ O’Shaughnessy, *Pinochet*, 88.

²⁸ Augusto Pinochet, *The Crucial Day*, translated by María Teresa Escobar (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Renacimiento, 1982), 103.

one of the Argentine security services and Enrique Arrancibia would furnish information concerning the Prats assassination, which would contradict what Townley might say in responding to Letters Rogatory from the Argentine Government.²⁹

The concern expressed by Townley leads one to believe that he may very well have played a part in the Prats assassination. However, he refused to admit to it despite the immunity given to him by the United States government. Other evidence suggests that Townley almost single handedly orchestrated Chilean international assassinations.

Human Rights Abuses in Chile

Pinochet's rise to power was not only marked by assassinations of prominent figures. The years in which Pinochet ruled Chile (1973-1989) were also marked by numerous human rights abuses. Pinochet's opposition would often disappear, never to be heard of again. Directly following the coup, security forces rounded up more than seven thousand Chilean citizens, loaded them onto buses, and brought them to the National Stadium. Within the course of a day the National Stadium went from holding soccer matches to being a Roman arena of horrors. Many of the detainees in the stadium claimed they were brutally tortured in small rooms located in the basement of the stadium.³⁰ The junta described the situation in the stadium as "extremely disorganized and desultory."³¹

²⁹ FBI, "Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA)," January 21, 1982. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/PFBI2\0000061B.pdf>.

³⁰ Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, 31.

³¹ CIA, "Information on Activities of Junta," September 28, 1973. At

Pinochet instituted a secret police force, DINA, for the sole purpose of combating all opposition to the junta and for organizing the state arrests and tortures. "The CIA helped train Pinochet's ...dreaded DINA, and the CIA suggested that DINA hire some of [Theodore] Shackley's Cubans for its murderous operations."³² A telegram to the Santiago Embassy from the State Department includes a plea for help smuggled out from a prison. This plea lists the methods of torture employed, the names of some of the victims of the DINA, a list of torture centers in Chile, and a description of the DINA's use of brainwashing so that the victims would not remember their tormentors. A number of the tortures inflicted by the DINA are outlined. The title of the telegram states "alleged tortures," but the large number of confirmation of these tortures since 1976, when the telegram was sent, leaves little reason to doubt the veracity of these accounts. In 1999 Henry Kissinger wrote in his memoirs that there is "no doubt Pinochet and his associates exceeded acceptable moral norms once they were in power." He diplomatically concluded, "But an honest assessment of the forces at work is necessary if the events in question are ever to be properly understood."³³ Some of the more disturbing "alleged tortures" included mutilation of the genitals, prisoners being kept in cells one meter by one and a half meters in dimension, food deprivation, daily beatings, and electrical torture. One particularly gruesome account details the tortures inflicted upon "Patricio Bustos Streser, 25, Graduate of the School of Medicine of Concepcion. Bustos has been seriously mutilated in his genital organs, and will probably lose both testicles in an

<http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/pcia\9cb1.pdf>.

³² Joseph Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*, 394.

³³ Henry Kissinger, *Years of Renewal* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 752.

operation that the doctors of the DINA are thinking of performing to erase the marks of his torture.”³⁴

Pinochet had little concern for the international opinion on human rights abuses, which continued long after any communist threat seemed viable. In one of his memoirs, *The Crucial Day*, Pinochet in a most noble manner stated, “Only when the country has achieved the social peace required for the true progress and economic development it aspires to, and when the faces with the glint of hate are no longer seen in Chile, then will our mission have ended.”³⁵ Pinochet set such broad, abstract terms to define when the need for his power had come to an end that only he could define when that point had been met, if ever. In 1982 Pinochet ominously stated in *The Crucial Day*, “We seek to defeat Marxism in the conscience of the people, allowing each to be compared and judged according to his actions and results.”³⁶

Pinochet essentially wanted to instill the idea of the merit system in Chile: those who can and do will achieve. Defeating an idea is much more difficult than defeating actions. To defeat ideas takes generations of indoctrination and information or misinformation. He said, “large sectors of the population are not predisposed to reject this doctrine in the future. However, this will be achieved only if new generations are taught what communism is, otherwise it will all be forgotten.”³⁷ Pinochet seemed to believe that the Chilean people, upon experiencing three years of Allende’s rule, found the true fault of communism. Pinochet presumed that such faults were obvious and that only the foolish and

idealistic would not see them. To successfully defeat an idea meant that vigilance could never wane. An idea may always resurface, be reintroduced, or be reborn. Thus Pinochet built his case for a perpetual and iron-fisted dictatorship.

Pinochet may have fully believed in his conviction to erase communism from Chile. A summary of a meeting between Congressman Bill Richardson (D-NM) and Pinochet sent to the State Department noted that “Pinochet exuded the confidence of a man who not only believes strongly in the correctness of his actions, but the support he has for them in Chile.” The report continued semi-critically, “His zeal obstructs his capacity to discriminate between enemies and critics, between communists and those who want more freedom, not less.”³⁸ Had Pinochet continued his iron-fisted policy for such an extended period out of pure opportunism, so that he would remain in power? These are impossible questions to answer. It seems that the most logical answer would be to believe that Pinochet was an opportunist, that most of his anti-communist sentiment derived from a desire to sustain his rule over Chile. However, the truth may lie in each. Whatever Pinochet’s motives, he would not have been able to carry out his actions without U.S. economic and political support.

U.S. Perpetuation of the Junta

Despite the threats by foreign nations of economic retaliation due to the continuation of human rights abuses, Pinochet was able to continue his policy of harshly subduing any perceived threats. In a 1978 paper, Isabel Letelier and Michael Moffit (widow and widower of the Orlando Letelier and

³⁴ State Department, “Alleged Atrocities in Chile,” June 30, 1976. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/pinochet\93c6.pdf>.

³⁵ Pinochet, *The Crucial Day*, 155.

³⁶ Pinochet, *The Crucial Day*, 152.

³⁷ Pinochet, *The Crucial Day*, 14.

³⁸ Department of State, “CODEL Richardson Meeting With President Pinochet,” December 19, 1984. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/PNARA3\00009874.pdf>.

Ronni Moffit), wrote “International condemnation has led many governments to reduce or eliminate their assistance to Chile in an attempt to force alterations in the junta’s policies. But the repression has continued unabated.” Letelier and Moffit explain why Pinochet was able to continue his ruthless oppression: there had been “an enormous influx of private bank loans since 1976.”³⁹

This leads one to an interesting and somewhat frightening hypothesis about world affairs: that central to the overthrow of Allende, suppression of liberties and human rights violations were the roles of corporations and banks. Despite the opposition of foreign nations to Pinochet on the grounds that his tactics were morally and ethically unjust, corporations supported Pinochet, allowing him to continue to oppress and deprive. “In 1976 when the U.S. Congress banned future military assistance to Chile,” Letelier and Moffit continue, “private bank loans to Chile increased 500% over the previous year.”⁴⁰

The logical conclusion is that the dollar is the bottom line in politics. With the proper funding from banks and corporations any morally deprived regime can continue its abuses. This is essentially the basis of all action that has taken place in Chile, the conflict between capitalism and communism. The expropriation of American industries in Chile was the spark which set the fires of revolt and deceit ablaze, just as it had done in Guatemala in 1954 after President J’acobo Arbenz nationalized United Fruit Company’s banana plantations.

The dilemma that Kissinger faced in dealing with Chile was how involvement

with Pinochet and his junta would affect the image of the United States. Despite the fact that a direct relationship was in the best interest of the United States, it was apparent to Kissinger that a public relations fiasco would result from an immediately open relationship with Pinochet’s Chile. “In the post-Vietnam, Watergate atmosphere, the United States had to bend over backward to avoid charges of American complicity in an event everyone . . . considered in our national interest,” recalled Kissinger. “The delay in formal recognition . . . was in our mutual interest.”⁴¹ This interest, at least on the part of the U.S., to publicly dissociate itself from Chile stemmed from the violence identified with the Pinochet regime from its onset. Kissinger further writes, “The consensus of the WSAG undoubtedly was relief at Allende’s overthrow (though not at his death).” Kissinger carefully noted: “We were conscious of the danger that we might be blamed for both.”⁴²

The question of human rights abuses incurred by the Pinochet junta came to the forefront of international attention on 8 June 1976 when Henry Kissinger delivered a speech dealing with human rights violations before the Organization of American States (OAS) in Santiago, Chile. Earlier, in a plea for help smuggled to the U.S. in 1976, the tortured and abused Chileans emotionally begged Kissinger:

If the OAS does come to Chile, let it seek out our people in order to know the truth. Let it visit the prison camps, the areas where the poor live, the common kitchens of the unemployed, the unions, the neighborhood block clubs, the Vicariate of solidarity of the Catholic

³⁹ Isabel Letelier and Michael Moffit, “Human Rights, Economic Aid and Private Banks: The Case of Chile,” 1.

⁴⁰ Letelier and Moffit, “Human Rights, Economic Aid and Private Banks: The Case of Chile,” 1.

⁴¹ Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, 407.

⁴² Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, 406-407.

Church, the thousands of families of the missing ...⁴³

When Kissinger did visit Santiago he did not seek out those whom the mission of his trip was supposed to benefit. He did not seek out the tortured, the impoverished, or those who had lost family members due to Pinochet's harsh abuses of human rights.

Kissinger's speech has been perceived by leftists as being lenient towards Chile and by rightists as taking a tough stand against Chilean human rights abuses. The vagueness that Kissinger's speech instills is purposeful. A memo from the Santiago Embassy to the State Department dated 17 June 1976 describing Kissinger's trip to Chile states, "From the bilateral point of view, the Secretary's Santiago visit was most helpful. The human rights emphasis, although perfectly clear, was cast in terms which did not antagonize the Chileans."⁴⁴ However interpreted, the fact that Kissinger criticized Chile publicly reflects some public resistance to the human rights abuses instilled by Pinochet. For instance, when Kissinger stated before the OAS that, "In the United States concern is widespread in the executive branch, in the press, and in the Congress, which has taken the extraordinary step of enacting specific statutory limits on U.S. military and economic aid to Chile," this can be interpreted as both a hard-edged stance towards Chile's human rights abuses and an explanation by Kissinger for why he cannot support Chile wholeheartedly. Kissinger added, "The condition of human rights as assessed by the OAS Human Rights Commission has impaired our relationship with Chile and will continue to

⁴³ State Department, "Alleged Atrocities in Chile," June 30, 1976.

⁴⁴ Embassy Santiago, "Chilean Reaction to Secretary's Trip," June 17, 1976. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/pinochet\938b.PDF>.

do so. We hope this condition to be close, and all friends of Chile hope that conditions alleged in the report will soon be removed."⁴⁵

The OAS speech in the end was seen by the U.S. government and the junta to be a triumph. The Embassy and the State Department both felt that Kissinger pleased the Pinochet junta and the moderate Christian Democratic Party. "A Christian Democratic leader has told us that senior party leadership was quite happy with the Secretary's position. It is no mean feat to please both the Chilean government and its democratic opposition at the same time."⁴⁶

With the "conditions alleged in the report" removed, what sort of Chilean government would Kissinger be compelled to support? It might be assumed that it is not democracy that is truly the desired government in Chile, or for that matter any other part of the world. It was after all a democratically elected government that was dissolved due in part to collusion by the U.S. government.

Why was Kissinger so willing to support a repressive regime? An unnamed U.S. official reported that Kissinger once said to Nixon "that just because the Chilean people were foolish enough to have elected [Allende], there was no reason that the United States should allow them to live with the consequences of their actions."⁴⁷ Democracy, which Kissinger and Nixon supposedly supported, is just a fallacy, a

⁴⁵ United States Dept. of State, *Sixth General Assembly of the Organization of American States, Santiago, Chile 1976: Secretary [on] Human Rights, Cooperation for Development, and OAS Reform, Joint Report, U.S. and Panama, and Secretary Kissinger's Statement at the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America* (Washington: Dept. of State, 1976), 11.

⁴⁶ Embassy Santiago, "Chilean Reaction to Secretary's Trip," June 17, 1976. At <http://www.foia.state.gov/documents/pinochet\938b.PDF>.

⁴⁷ Oppenheim, *Politics In Chile*, 49.

contrived notion. If communism is deemed to be such a detestable social system to be avoided and democracy the ultimate good in political systems, then why was there open acceptance of a dictatorship? Pinochet, for good or bad, was an oppressive dictator. A dictatorship, even the most lenient and good-natured, must keep the citizens from achieving their own social and political wills, otherwise it will be overthrown by the will of the people. The presses must be stopped, opposing political groups must come to an end, and in short democracy must rot.

Fascist Democracy

Much of what the U.S. represents to its own people and to the world is based upon democratic political and social values. However, the anti-communist sentiment prevalent during the Cold War created an environment in which what had been considered normally unacceptable became expedient in the fight against communism. In *The Real War* Nixon wrote, “Critics focus exclusively on political repression in Chile, while ignoring the freedoms that are a product of a free economy. In Cuba there are neither political nor economic rights.” While Nixon did acknowledge that there were political repressions in Chile, he viewed these repressions as a “necessary evil” in the struggle to support a free economic system. The difference between Chile and Cuba, which has caused Chile to be deemed particularly menacing, is the difference between freedoms. The Allende government was created in the most essential of freedoms, the right of its citizenry to elect for themselves the government they desire. The Allende government, although elected through democratic means, did not agree with the economic realities of the United States and was thus deemed “unfit” and replaced by a government that, although lacking human

rights, was agreeable to the economic policy of the U.S.

The solution for the faults that are inherent in the political repressions of Chile is simple, to wait and let the problems fix themselves through the passage of time. “Rather than insisting on instant perfection from Chile, we should encourage the progress it is making,” Nixon wrote.⁴⁸ Kissinger and Pinochet both deemed the decision of 36% of the Chilean population in electing Allende a product of foolish idealism. When the choice of the people in a democratic society is undermined, then democracy does not exist.

Kissinger expressed some sorrow at the loss of the Chilean democracy: “The imposition of an authoritative regime in a country with the longstanding democratic tradition of Chile was a special pity—but the circumstances that brought it about were extraordinary.”⁴⁹ The only democratic choices allowed to take place are those allowed by individuals who hold the real monetary and military power. A case can be made in the United States that those who have wealth control the U.S. political system. The wealthy are able to advance their messages through the media. The more wealth one has, the more messages they can send out to enforce their will upon the population.

Unlike Cuba, Vietnam, or the Soviet Union, Chile was a special case in communism, which posed a much more visible threat than the first three countries. The Allende government was an elected government, unlike other communist countries. “Were the United States to tolerate a constitutional regime prepared to move to socialism in the American hemisphere, it would be interpreted as a license for radical change around the

⁴⁸ Richard Nixon, *Real War* (New York: Warner Boos Inc., 1980), 35.

⁴⁹ Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, 411.

world,” writes Richard J. Barnet. “The ‘domino effect’ of a successful Chilean experiment Kissinger understood, was far greater than the ‘domino effect’ of a Cuba or a Vietnam because the conditions could be more easily duplicated in other strategic areas of the of the world.”⁵⁰ The idea that a citizenry, without guns or bombs, could check a box on a ballot and cause social revolution is devastating. With simple free elections, communism could spread to every democratic country throughout the world. Democracy is, however, just a catchword. There is little democracy when other “democratic” nations subdue a democratically elected government. At this point democracy becomes an allowance. If a people surpass the allowed boundaries, at least in capitalist democracy, then their choice is rejected and nullified.

The creation of national policy when combined with the issue of human rights is balanced for the perceived best interest of the United States and other countries involved. “We must know how to implement our convictions and achieve an enhancement of human rights *together* with other national objectives,” explained Kissinger.⁵¹ Whether this view is followed in an appropriate manner, or is just a statement made by a man skilled in the arts of deception and persuasion is up to personal interpretation. What is clear is that there was a desire to dispose of non-American objectives that persisted in Chile.

In a 1999 speech presented before the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, David J. Scheffer, Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues, stated, “The United

States has long recognized the importance of accountability and justice, as well as the choices made by countries like Chile to achieve reconciliation in making the transition to democracy. The United States condemned the abuses of the Pinochet Government when it was in power.”⁵² There is a clear contradiction between this statement and the actions of the U.S. government during Pinochet’s years in office. The view presented by Scheffer is that the United States has not supported a government that would engage in human rights abuses. The audience, however, was the most probable reason for this Orwellian distortion of facts. It would be in poor taste to present a speech to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, some of whose members were Holocaust survivors, on the complicity of the U.S. government in human rights abuses.

The truth is that there has been surprisingly little suppression of facts in regards to U.S. actions in Chile. From the very beginning when reports of government involvement in the human rights abuses started to become publicly known, there has been governmental investigation into the actions of certain government officials in regards to Chile. This first started with the Church Commission, headed by Senator Frank Church, in 1976. Would there have ever been a serious investigation into this involvement had the Watergate scandal not caused the Nixon administration to be scrutinized? This is one of those hypothetical questions impossible to answer. What is possible to determine is that the government was being scrutinized because of Watergate, and for this reason U.S.

⁵⁰ Richard J. Barnet, “The Kissinger Doctrine and Chile,” 22-29. In *The Lessons of Chile: The Chilean Coup and the Future of Socialism*, translated by Susan George (Amsterdam: Spokesman Books and the Transitional Institute, 1975), 26.

⁵¹ Henry Kissinger. *For the Record: Selected Statements 1977-1980* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1981), 80.

⁵² David J. Scheffer, “Milosevic, Pinochet, and Us: Responding to Crimes Against Humanity,” December 17, 1999. At http://www.state.gov/www/policy_remarks/1999/991217_scheffer_orlando.html.

involvement did not go unnoticed like the action in Guatemala in 1954.

Justice may or may not come, although Chileans and Spaniards seek it. On 10 September 2001 the widow of General Schneider and her three sons filed a lawsuit in Washington D.C. against Kissinger, Helms, and several others for approving the abduction of General Schneider. The lawsuit seeks three million dollars for “summary execution, assault and civil rights violations.”⁵³ Pinochet is in the process of being tried for human rights abuses. But he is an old man who recently had a stroke and has cancer. He will most likely die an old, rich man who has lived a ruthless life, without being convicted of human rights abuses. Pinochet did try to protect himself from such prosecution before he left office in 1990, after he narrowly lost a nationwide plebiscite to vote “Yes” or “No” for his continuation as president. Pinochet declared himself senator and head of the military for life with diplomatic immunity and thus ability to avoid prosecution for any of his “alleged” crimes. But his case is currently under investigation by foreign courts. Pinochet is becoming a case study for international law.

On 14 October 1998 two Spanish judges, Baltasar Garzon and Manuel Garcia Castellon, asked the British government to detain Augusto Pinochet, who was in an English hospital recovering from back surgery, for questioning. The British government fulfilled the request three days later.⁵⁴ On 28 October 1998, the United Kingdom High Court declared his “detention unlawful on the grounds that he enjoyed immunity from prosecution as a

former head of state.”⁵⁵ Despite courtroom battles as fierce as the coup itself Pinochet was allowed to return Chile in 2000 because of health reasons. Upon returning home Pinochet faced prosecution for his crimes, but this came to a standstill on 10 July 2001 when Santiago’s Court of Appeal delayed Pinochet’s prosecution until his health improves. The nature of his health problems, dementia, memory loss, and symptoms of old age render it highly unlikely that he will recover to stand trial. The veracity of Pinochet’s health claims have been questioned by those who want to see him tried. “Once again the country is being lied to; once again, justice is not being done in our country,” a leader for those who lost relatives during the junta, Viviana Diaz, told Spanish radio.⁵⁶ Prosecution of Pinochet would likely bring little punishment, but it would bring some conclusion to a period in Chilean history filled with agony for many.

Kissinger is being used as a focal point by those seeking justice for those slaughtered during Pinochet’s regime. Suing Kissinger makes a statement that Kissinger was involved in these activities. In both cases the action taken against these two men is done on a theoretical and political basis more than a practical basis. Will justice ever be served? Will Kissinger and Pinochet ever pay for their parts in the suppression and torture of the Chilean people? The reality is that they will most likely not. The answer to those questions is probably in the hands of theologians.

⁵³ Jan McGirk, “Kissinger Sued Over CIA-Backed Kidnap,” *Independent*, September 12, 2000, 16.

⁵⁴ BBC Online Network, “Pinochet Arrested in London,” October 17, 1998. At http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_195000/195413.stm.

⁵⁵ Amnesty International. “Pinochet Decision: The Birth of a New Era for Human Rights,” December 9, 1998. At <http://web.amnesty.org/802568F7005C4453/0/3763DE4779F8D5A78025690000693456?Open&Highlight=2,Pinochet>.

⁵⁶ BBC Online Network, “Protests at Pinochet Decision,” 10 July, 2001. At http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/americas/newsid_1431000/1431476.stm.

The cruel lesson learned in Chile is that freedom may be a farce. The reality of democracy is that it is little more than sugarcoated fascism. Those with the wealth run the marionette play of democracy. The citizenry of a democratic state are appeased into complacency by the notion that they are allowed to decide their fate. Democracy is a farce, enacted by the few to calm the cattle. The Chilean people who tried to break loose of the strings found imprisonment and

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CATERPILLAR, PRE-1925 TO 1960

Jeremy Meiners

For centuries upon centuries man and beast labored by hand and hoof to provide sustenance for the growing human societies. Agriculture, the most essential industry for any society, churned with complications and hardships for farmers. Mud, a lack of agricultural labor, or hard, unplowed soil continually plagued farmers in converting land for agricultural purposes and the harvest of crops. The improved and more efficient methods of production from the Industrial Revolution were slow in making their way into the agriculture industry. Conditions, though, began to change.

During the nineteenth century, technological innovations began to lessen the effects of these barriers to agriculture. John Deere's development of a steel plow provided a better means of turning the hard sod of virgin land into grain producing farms. The steam driven, wheeled tractors of the late nineteenth century, despite their weight, bulkiness, and danger for operators, allowed farmers of flat, dry land to reduce the amount of labor needed for planting and

torture. But maybe this is for the best. A hidden law of nature may exist in the deep recess of a primordial cave which states that only the elite will dictate policy. It may be that it is the nature of the majority to be controlled, with the rare cases of dissent being punishable by the most severe of means.

harvesting. Nevertheless, because of their bulk and weight, these tractors were unable to operate on steep grades or wet, muddy soil. In light of these limitations, Benjamin Holt, an inventor of agricultural machines, devised a new way to cope with these problems near his home in Stockton, California. In 1904, Holt created the first tracked agricultural tractor, one that uses a continuous chain of tread attached to a pulley system instead of wheels.

After testing this first tractor, Holt decided to begin manufacturing his new innovation for the agriculture market. Roughly twenty years after this innovation, Holt Manufacturing Company, Holt's company that had produced the track-type tractor, merged with C. L. Best Tractor Company, a competing firm started by a former employee of Holt, forming Caterpillar Tractor Company. From 1925, the time of its merger, to 1960, Caterpillar grew into the leading producer of track-type tractors. Caterpillar tractors and equipment were and continue to be used in countless industries, including construction, mining, and logging. Caterpillar's name and its yellow and black colors have become emblazoned onto the public's conception of construction. Caterpillar, a corporation with roots in the countryside of Stockton, California, had become one of the largest corporations in the United States and, later, the world.

The transition from two small, family controlled firms to a large, multidivisional international corporation did not occur easily and overnight. Instead, Caterpillar's predecessors and eventually Caterpillar itself developed its organizational structure, marketing system, research, and manufacturing in order to remain competitive and maintain its market position. This struggle to remain innovative and earn a profit led Caterpillar to make the transition from its entrepreneurial and family roots of Holt and Best to the large corporation that existed in 1960. Caterpillar's actions throughout the period of study from the turn of the century to 1960 transformed this corporation into a modern business organization.

Caterpillar's development during the twentieth century was not unique. Other family controlled firms made the transition to modern business enterprises, as described and theorized by Alfred Chandler, Jr. in *The Visible Hand*.¹ These family firms began to grow in their size of manufacturing facilities, number of customers, and quantity of goods produced. Such firms had to develop intricate middle management structures, superior forms of production, marketing systems, and controls over inputs for production in order to remain competitive and earn profits from the increasing demand of the early twentieth century. However, these family firms were far less developed than the large, multidivisional firms of today's society. These firms had not yet become modern business enterprises.

The modern business enterprise, according to Chandler, is defined by possessing two distinct parts. First, the enterprise must consist of several operating departments, which possess their own

managers, accounts, and offices.² Importantly, each of these operating departments is capable of functioning as its own enterprise, demonstrating the independence of departments within the enterprise as a whole. Secondly, the enterprise must contain professional middle and top managers that coordinate and determine the goals of the enterprise.³ Middle managers coordinate and manage individual departments and functions within the enterprise. In contrast top managers determine future goals of the enterprise, coordinate the operations of the enterprise as a whole, and foster communication between departments.

The formation of multiple departments, the first part of the definition of the modern business enterprise, occurs through integration and product differentiation. To begin, a modern business enterprise must be to some degree vertically integrated. The two forms of vertical integration consist of backward and forward integration. Backward integration is the control or ownership by an enterprise of product inputs, that is, raw materials and unfinished items needed for manufacture.⁴ Controlling the production of these inputs allows the enterprise to reduce the transaction costs made in purchasing them and guarantees their supply.

Forward integration is the control or ownership by an enterprise of the means of selling and distributing the enterprise's finished products.⁵ Controlling the distribution of products allows the enterprise to reduce transaction costs resulting from

¹ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

² Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "The United States: Seedbed of Managerial Capitalism" in *Managerial Hierarchies: Comparative Perspectives on the Rise of the Modern Industrial Enterprise*, edited by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. and Herman Daems (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 10.

³ Chandler, "The United States: Seedbed," 11.

⁴ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 365.

⁵ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 287.

the use of wholesalers. Direct involvement of enterprises in the sale of their products allows the possibility of continuous production, which minimizes the average cost per unit of fixed capital. In other words, if an enterprise becomes forward integrated, this firm, by ensuring enough demand for its products, will be able to continuously operate its manufacturing facilities.

Besides integration, another means for modern business enterprises to possess multiple departments is through developing a product line, a group of related products that can be manufactured using similar inputs, machinery, and labor.⁶ The development of a product line is not a form of vertical integration but rather a method of creating an economy of scope, a method of reducing costs by an enterprise by consolidating resources used in organizing production. As with vertical integration, product lines and economies of scope are also present in modern business enterprises.

Modern business enterprises, along with possessing multiple departments, consist of professional top and middle managers, the second part of the definition of the modern business enterprise. These managers ensure the survival of their respective enterprises. To begin, the managers that make up the modern business enterprise are characterized as being professional. These individuals are, typically, qualified for their respective positions, educated, career oriented, and enthusiastic towards their position, as seen by participation in field organizations and contributions to field journals.⁷

Once the owners of the enterprise become separated from the management, typically by loss of majority stock, these managers fulfill their desire for lifelong careers by perpetuating the existence of their

enterprise.⁸ Top managers, selected by qualifications instead of personal relationships with owners, continually define the enterprise's goals, guaranteeing the future existence of the enterprise, and the process by which these goals will be reached.

Overall, the manager seeks to reduce costs and ensure market shares and profits. By minimizing the costs within departments and the transaction costs between departments, managers reduce the total cost of producing goods. In addition, managers determine, through accurate cost accounting, the effectiveness of individual managers and workers within the enterprise and, based on the efficiency of these individuals, distribute promotions and layoffs.⁹ As a result, the modern business enterprise, through its departmentalized structure and its professional management system, has become capable of selling products at competitively low prices. However, these attributes were not prevalent in the predecessors of Caterpillar. These attributes would develop over time through Caterpillar's continual efforts to maintain production, reduce costs, increase market share, and maximize profits.

Like other small, nineteenth-century farm machinery producers, C. L. Best Tractor Company and Holt Manufacturing Company existed as entrepreneurial, family enterprises. Holt Manufacturing Company began from the company of Benjamin Holt's two brothers, the Stockton Wheel Company.¹⁰ From its beginnings to 1920, Holt Manufacturing Company was controlled and operated by its president, Benjamin Holt.¹¹ Besides directing the

⁶ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 473.

⁷ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 464-466.

⁸ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 415-416. See also Chandler, "The United States: Seedbed," 12.

⁹ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 11-13.

¹⁰ Randall Leffingwell, *Caterpillar* (Osceola, Wis.: Motorbooks Publishers and Wholesalers, 1994), 27.

¹¹ Leffingwell, *Caterpillar*, 28. See also Walter A. Payne, *Benjamin Holt: The Story of the Caterpillar*

operations of his company, Benjamin Holt also participated in the development of new products, such as the first track-type tractor. With the transformation of the Stockton Wheel Company to Holt Manufacturing Company, family relations continued to play a key role. Benjamin Holt's nephew, Pliny Holt, was selected to establish a new plant in the Midwest.¹² Nevertheless, with the death of Benjamin Holt in 1920, family control of Holt Manufacturing Company began to be challenged.

By the time of Benjamin Holt's death, Holt Manufacturing Company had amassed considerable debt. When the entrepreneur died, the creditors, wishing to make sure that their investment would not fail, convinced the Holt family and M. M. Baker, a friend of Holt and director of Holt Manufacturing Company, into making Thomas Baxter, a former banker, the president. In order to ensure his own selection as president, Baxter threatened that if he was not selected, he would collect Holt's debts, which would destroy Holt Manufacturing Company. The Holt family, who would have preferred Baker as the new president, obliged. Despite this poor turn of events, the Holt family with M. M. Baker regained control of their company in 1925 by transferring their debts to a new financier, H. H. Fair.¹³

Best Manufacturing Company, an early competitor of Holt Manufacturing Company, and later C. L. Best Tractor Company, also existed as family controlled enterprises. Daniel Best, entrepreneur of the Best Manufacturing Company, controlled and operated his corporation. Like Holt, during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Daniel Best participated in innovation by developing new steam

driven tractors and combine-harvesters while continuing to manage the operations of his company.¹⁴ At this time, the sprouting combine-harvester market, a market for machines that could cut and separate grain in the field, proved to be a battleground for Holt and Best. In 1908, Daniel Best, upon reaching retirement age and after an expensive patent litigation over a combine-harvester design with Holt Manufacturing Company, sold his company to Benjamin Holt.¹⁵ Best Manufacturing Company ended with the retirement of its entrepreneur.

But two year later in 1910, Daniel Best's son started his own manufacturing company in Elmhurst, California. Like his father, C. L. Best directed the operations of his company, C. L. Best Tractor Company. Strategic decision making, such as continuing to produce track-type tractors for the domestic market instead of for the military during World War I, was decided and finalized by this entrepreneur. Like Holt Manufacturing Company, C. L. Best Tractor Company's top decision making was centered around the entrepreneur.¹⁶ Nevertheless, entrepreneurial control, which had ended in Holt Manufacturing Company in 1920, would come to an end for C. L. Best in 1925 with the formation of Caterpillar Tractor Company from the merger of the two competing firms.

As family controlled enterprises, Holt and Best most likely did not develop a professional top management. Since Holt and Best were controlled by their respective entrepreneurs, strategic decisions were made by these individuals. For instance, Benjamin Holt, wishing to start a new plant for the eastern market, sent Pliny Holt to locate and finance this new plant. Pliny

Tractor (Stockton, Cal.: University of the Pacific, 1982), 25.

¹² *Iron Men Album Magazine*, 7 (November-December, 1952), 7.

¹³ Leffingwell, *Caterpillar*, 90.

¹⁴ Caterpillar, Inc., *The Caterpillar Story* (Peoria, Ill.: Caterpillar, Inc., 1990), 4.

¹⁵ Leffingwell, *Caterpillar*, 42.

¹⁶ Caterpillar, *The Caterpillar Story*, 18-19.

Holt, who may have been qualified, was sent because of family ties.

Also, these companies did not become fully modernized enterprises because of a lack of perpetuation, which would have resulted from having a professional top management. Holt Manufacturing Company, Best Manufacturing Company, and C. L. Best Tractor Company had their ownership tied directly to top management. Since these companies' top managers and their families controlled the majority of stock, continuation of the company after the death or retirement of their respective entrepreneurs was uncertain. For example, Daniel Best's company, Best Manufacturing Company, ended with his retirement. The strategic decision to sell out to Holt was decided by Best himself, showing the lack of perpetuation that occurs in corporations controlled by top managers who are separated from total stock or company control.

In comparison to Chandler's theory of business development, the predecessors of Caterpillar existed as entrepreneurial firms. These companies, lacking professional top management and self perpetuation, had not developed into modern business enterprises by 1925.¹⁷ Instead, these companies developed in a similar fashion to other entrepreneurial firms, such as McCormick and Heinz.¹⁸ Like these firms, organizational development did occur in Holt Manufacturing Company and C. L. Best Tractor Company, but this

development was restricted to middle management.

Predominantly, the major developments in organization at Holt and Best were within distribution and manufacturing. As the result of increasing size, concern for reducing costs, and competition, these predecessors of Caterpillar began to develop special departments within their organization structure. For Holt Manufacturing Company, increased efficiency occurred as the result of the incorporation of scientific management policies during the late 1910s. Time studies, for instance, began to be carried out to reduce the time needed in production, increase efficiency of workers and capital, and identify and remove "bottlenecks" in the production process.¹⁹

Scientific management and time studies allow managers to better monitor the production of individual workers and the production system as a whole. The time needed to complete a task by individual workers could be compared to a recorded, average time needed to complete the task. If a worker failed to meet the average, actions could be taken to speed the worker or replace the worker with a more efficient one. For the whole production system, scientific management with its time studies could locate "bottlenecks." As a result, managers could shift or increase capital to reduce the effects these "bottlenecks."²⁰

Nevertheless, the gains from scientific management could only be achieved if a continuous production system already existed at Holt and Best. Continuous production -- maintained production of a specific or similar products over a period of

¹⁷ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 415-416.

¹⁸ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 381-382. See also Chandler, "The United States: Seedbed," 13; Harold C. Livesay, *American Made: Men Who Shaped the American Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 72-73; and Nancy F. Koehn, "Henry Heinz and Brand Creation in the Late Nineteenth Century: Making Markets For Processed Food" *Business History Review*, 74 (Autumn 1999), 356, 374-384, 391.

¹⁹ Caterpillar, *The Caterpillar Story*, 27.

²⁰ Thomas P. Hughes, *American Genesis* (New York: Viking Press, 1989), 191. Also see David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production: 1800-1932* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 232.

time -- requires individual, specialized tasks to be completed repeatedly by workers in the production system. For instance, engine production would be divided between workers who would cast parts, assemble parts, and test the completed engine, to name just a few of the steps needed in engine production.²¹ Only within this type of system, the monitoring of a worker's speed in the completion of a task by scientific management, would a result be achieved that could reduce the costs of manufacturing. Scientific management, then, appeared at Holt and C. L. Best only after increased demand had made it worthwhile for these companies to incorporate a system of continuous production and worker specialization.

Pictures of manufacturing at Holt Manufacturing Company during the late 1910s show continuous, organized forms of production occurring. Machine shop work is shown in lines of duplicated machines producing the same parts, while adding tracks to Caterpillar tractors was done in a systematic process, one tractor after another. These pictures reveal that production by 1920 had been broken down into systematic, repetitive tasks.²²

With the adoption of scientific management and a system of continuous production, Holt and C. L. Best could no longer meet the demands of specific customers for specialized tractors or personal service. Holt Manufacturing Company and C. L. Best Tractor Company, being concerned with the reputation of their companies and products, had to develop an approach to alleviate the increasing costs of servicing and selling to more and more customers. The large customer bases of Holt Manufacturing Company and C. L. Best Tractor Company warranted an

improved system of distribution and sales. Both companies must have realized at this time that the costs of increasing their own sales and service personnel would be too high. Also, the market for track-type tractors and combine-harvesters, which at this time was mostly agricultural, was dispersed across large geographic distances. The costs of meeting new customers and sending service personnel to every customer would have been too great.

As a result, Holt and Best began to develop a system of independent dealers that sold and serviced products, a form of forward integration.²³ These dealers, who were geographically close to their clients, would be more able to quickly service Holt and Best products. Also, these dealers, who most likely would belong to a community that contained potential customers, would be able to sell Holt and Best products more cheaply and effectively. Holt and Best would no longer be directly involved in the selling or servicing all of their products. With this in mind as well as the desire to continue satisfactory quality and support, Holt and Best began to train their dealers through conventions and training programs.²⁴ With the formation of Caterpillar in 1925, these conventions and programs continued as the dealership networks expanded. Overall, these dealerships, a developed form of forward integration, remained an intricate part of the Caterpillar marketing system throughout the period of study.

With the formation of Caterpillar via the work of H. H. Fair, a financial associate for both the Holt family and C. L. Best, the Holt and Best family enterprises ended. Over the next thirty years, the family influence began to diminish at Caterpillar, leading to a complete separation of ownership from management by 1953. The first board of

²¹ Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production*, 233-250.

²² Caterpillar, *The Caterpillar Story*, 24-27.

²³ Caterpillar, *The Caterpillar Story*, 28-30.

²⁴ Caterpillar, *The Caterpillar Story*, 30.

directors included only two members of the Holt and Best families, C. L. Best, chairman of the board, and Pliny Holt, vice president.²⁵ R. C. Force, the new president of Caterpillar, almost immediately began a policy of not hiring family members as top executives.²⁶ With this policy, Holt and Best family members became separated from management, excepting C. L. Best and Pliny Holt. Eventually, the last influence of the early entrepreneurs left Caterpillar by 1953, with C. L. Best no longer chairman of the Board. Instead H. H. Fair, the organizer of the Caterpillar merger, had become chairman.²⁷ The influence of the early entrepreneurs and their families was no longer present. By merging, Caterpillar's ownership would become permanently separated from its management.

In place of selecting managers from family lines, Caterpillar began another policy that would leave a lasting impression on the development of its management. Within the Caterpillar Tractor Company, as a result of a desire for skilled labor, training programs emerged. These programs trained workers through an apprentice system and, eventually, the classroom and technical college to forge, cast, and produce the parts necessary for assembly.²⁸ Caterpillar, then, developed its own skilled workers through its own training system. Similar to other corporations at the time, Caterpillar also developed a policy of promoting its own

white-collar workers to management positions instead of hiring from outside the company.²⁹ As Caterpillar developed, this policy fostered employee loyalty through the possibility of promotion, as well as helping perpetuate the existence of Caterpillar Tractor Company as a whole.

This can be seen through the movement from middle management towards top management of a few beginning workers at Holt, Best, and, later, Caterpillar. One such example was Louis Neumiller, who began to work for Holt Manufacturing Company as a stenographer and clerk in 1915. Through the late 1910s and 1920s, Neumiller helped Holt Manufacturing Company construct its dealership network. By 1925, Neumiller had become the head of the parts distribution department at Caterpillar. He eventually became president and CEO of Caterpillar by 1941. Neumiller, though, was not the only beginning worker to make his way up the management ladder.³⁰ A large number of Caterpillar managers had also followed similar paths, though not quite as far.

In promoting employees instead of hiring from outside the corporation, Caterpillar ensured that its managers were loyal and familiar with its operations. This loyalty, partially a result of the policy of inside promoting, helped create a management at Caterpillar that wished to perpetuate the existence of the corporation. Some of these managers such as Neumiller reached the level of top management, having worked for Caterpillar for many years. From these positions of strategic decision making, these long-time Cat employees guaranteed the future of their company with their decisions. These professional, loyal managers became a characteristic of

²⁵ William R. Haycraft, *Yellow Steel: The Story of Earthmoving Equipment Industry* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 59-60.

²⁶ Caterpillar Tractor Company, *Century of Change* (Peoria, Ill.: Caterpillar Tractor Company, 1984), 26.

²⁷ Caterpillar Tractor Company, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1953* (Peoria, Ill.: Caterpillar Tractor Company, 1954), 22.

²⁸ Caterpillar Tractor Company, *News and Views* 6/14/1946 (Peoria, Ill.: Caterpillar Tractor Company, 1946), 4. See also Caterpillar Tractor Company, *The Year of 1940* (Peoria, Ill.: Caterpillar Tractor Company, 1940), 9-10 and *Peoria Journal Star* 11/3/55.

²⁹ Caterpillar Tractor Company, *Welcome to Caterpillar* (Peoria, Ill.: Caterpillar Tractor Company), 21.

³⁰ *Peoria Journal Star* 6/5/83.

Caterpillar; professional loyalty had supplanted family loyalty of an earlier day.

In 1925, Caterpillar's board of directors consisted of ten members, five having top management positions. Of these five top managers, three of the managers were vice-presidents in charge of divisions and one manager was in charge of manufacturing, which at this time only involved track-type tractors.³¹ In 1926, the titles of these three presidents indicated that they were in charge of sales areas: eastern, western, and export sales. By 1926, though, two more vice-presidents were added to run manufacturing and purchasing.³²

At this time, Caterpillar Tractor Company only produced one line of products, track-type tractors. Holt's combine-harvester production had become a subsidiary of Caterpillar, and so the operation of this subsidiary was kept separate from Caterpillar.³³ Nevertheless, Caterpillar reorganized in 1928 with the acquisition of Russell Grader Company, a manufacturer of graders, machines used in the construction of roads. Caterpillar incorporated combine-harvester production, ending Caterpillar's harvester subsidiary, and grader production into Caterpillar's organization. Two vice-presidents were assigned control over these two divisions.³⁴ Caterpillar now had three manufacturing divisions -- track-type tractors, combine-harvesters, and graders -- that each produced a line of differentiated products. As well as having manufacturing divided between vice-presidents by 1929, purchasing and sales were each controlled by a vice-president. The top managers at Caterpillar, then, consisted of the vice-presidents in charge of manufacturing, sales, purchasing, and

research as well as the CEO, treasurer, and secretary.³⁵

By this time, Caterpillar's divisions had become separated by function. Further, the control of these divisions was divided between different top managers. Thus, by 1929, Caterpillar, in line with Chandler's theory of business development, had begun moving towards becoming a decentralized, multidivisional enterprise.³⁶ Having separated production of its product lines by divisions, Caterpillar now operated and produced its different lines through different chains of organization. These chains were separated from one another by function, and, at the top, each chain was controlled by a different vice-president. Management of these divisions, then, was not the sole responsibility of the president of Caterpillar but rather the responsibility of the vice-president in charge of each division.

Within each of the manufacturing divisions, departments existed to coordinate the production of each product line. Some of these departments carried out single functions of production, while the remaining departments, such as receiving and storing, general inspection, accounting, and factory material control, coordinated production within the division.³⁷ The departments and their functions suggest the independence of each division. Further, the sale of the combine-harvester division in 1936 to John Deere, a large producer of agricultural tractors, suggests that each of these divisions functioned as a separate company within Caterpillar Tractor Company.³⁸ Nevertheless, research, purchasing, and distribution remained separated from the

³¹ Haycraft, *Yellow Steel*, 59-60.

³² Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1926*.

³³ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1925*, 2.

³⁴ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1928*, 1.

³⁵ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1929*.

³⁶ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 460.

³⁷ Caterpillar, *News and Views* 1949, 4.

³⁸ Caterpillar, *The Caterpillar Story*, 42. Caterpillar would eventually move out of the agricultural market, albeit temporarily, in 1957 through the discontinuation of its agricultural track-type tractor, the D-2. Haycraft, *Yellow Steel*, 163.

manufacturing divisions, demonstrating some centralization. By the early 1930s, then, Caterpillar had begun to take on some of the characteristics of a decentralized, multidivisional enterprise.

Caterpillar continued its development into a decentralized, multidivisional enterprise through the work of a new specialized division, the research division. Since its founding in 1930, the research division began to increase the number of products within lines and began experimenting with new products. In 1931, as a result of the work of the research division, Caterpillar unveiled its new diesel engine.³⁹ Despite the economic circumstances of this period, the diesel engine became very successful and popular, causing Caterpillar to begin using the diesel engine in its other products.⁴⁰

From the early 1930s to 1960, Caterpillar developed more lines through its research division. These new lines fit into three different categories of products. First, Caterpillar developed new forms of tractors and motorized equipment. For example, Caterpillar added a rubber wheeled tractor product line in 1940.⁴¹ By producing a wider range of tractors and motorized equipment, Caterpillar could compete in new markets, such as the wheeled tractor market. Second, Caterpillar modified, manufactured, and sold separately inputs used in tractor production. For example, diesel engines, originally a component of the track-type tractor, were modified for use as electric generators in 1939.⁴² The selling of these modified inputs allowed Caterpillar to enter into new markets without great changes or additions in production facilities. Third, Caterpillar developed accessory product lines for Caterpillar tractors, such as

bulldozers, pipe layers, and tool bars. By developing and producing its own product accessories, Caterpillar was able to control the prices, offer the Caterpillar name, and earn profits from their sales.

In order to accommodate the increasing diversity of product lines, Caterpillar further developed its divisional system of organization. Each line or related lines were produced at different plants by different divisions. By separating product lines into divisions, Caterpillar could operate more efficiently, since the size and diversity of lines would be cumbersome to manage in a centralized, departmentalized system of organization. The increased size of Caterpillar, which occurred as a result of mergers and product development in order to secure profits in new, stable markets, caused the formation of a more modern organizational structure.

The number of top managers, particularly the number of vice-presidents, increased from 1925 to 1960 with the addition of new product lines. In 1925, the founding year of Caterpillar, there were five Caterpillar officers, three of them being vice-presidents.⁴³ In 1936, the officers consisted of sixteen members, six being vice-presidents.⁴⁴ In 1946, the officers had increased to eighteen members, of whom ten were vice-presidents.⁴⁵ The number of officers and vice-presidents remained the same to 1960.⁴⁶

By 1960, Caterpillar possessed a multidivisional, decentralized form of organization. Within Caterpillar, manufacturing divisions were separated from one another by product lines. Also, Caterpillar maintained a degree of centralization by possessing special divisions outside of manufacturing, such as

³⁹ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1931*, 2.

⁴⁰ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1933*, 2-3.

⁴¹ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1940*, 9.

⁴² Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1939*, 8.

⁴³ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1925*.

⁴⁴ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1936*.

⁴⁵ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1946*.

⁴⁶ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1960*, 23.

research and purchasing. For the most part, though, Caterpillar had become decentralized and modernized in line with Chandler's theory of business development. Multiple divisions existed separately from one another; a professional, loyal top management had replaced the earlier entrepreneurs. Another development, a committee system, also suggests such a transition had occurred.

Ever since the founding of Caterpillar, committees had existed in top management. The first committee, the executive committee, was made up of C. L. Best, Harry Fair, and R. C. Force in 1925.⁴⁷ By 1956, though, new committees, such as the finance committee, had formed at the top management level.⁴⁸ With the increasing size of Caterpillar and the number of top managers, committees of directors and top managers allowed Caterpillar's top management to more efficiently control its operations. Also, committees most likely relieved some of the workload of Caterpillar's president. However, by 1956 top management was not the only part of Caterpillar to incorporate committee systems. The system of middle management had developed committees also.

As a result of the separation of middle managers from one another by divisions, correspondence between related fields of middle managers did not occur easily between different divisions. However, as a result of training programs at Caterpillar, committees between middle managers, supervisors, and foremen developed by 1939.⁴⁹ At these meetings, both foremen and managers communicated with their counterparts about management skills, means of increasing production, and other approaches to reducing costs and increasing

efficiency. By developing committee systems, Caterpillar ensured communication between divisions and middle managers and developed better means of production.

Besides committees, Caterpillar also possessed special departments within its divisions, such as the Planning Department and Tool Design Department, for improving production methods. One of the most effective methods developed by these departments was a system of flexible mass production. By 1938, Caterpillar had built assembly lines for the production of tractors, large engines, and small engines. These assembly lines, which were used to produce similar models of tractors and engines, were for the most part generalized in function. In other words, each assembly could produce a variety of sizes of an engine or tractor without complications. However, large engines and small engines, for example, were assembled on different lines due to the inability of constructing an efficient, all purpose assembly line.⁵⁰

With the addition of new methods of production, Caterpillar became capable of mass producing a large number of diversified products for its customers. The advantage of this system of mass production, a reduced average cost of producing each product, could only be realized through large consistent demand for Caterpillar products. Fortunately, the two decades after 1938 saw increasing demand for Caterpillar goods. World War II, followed by a period of high domestic demand partially as a result of the building of the interstate system, allowed Caterpillar to effectively use its mass production system. This period and its high demand led Caterpillar into building new plants, adding even more product lines, and further increasing the size of the corporation.

Towards the middle and end of the 1950s, Caterpillar also began to build

⁴⁷ Haycraft, *Yellow Steel*, 59.

⁴⁸ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1956*, 22.

⁴⁹ Caterpillar, *The Year 1940*, 9-10. See also Caterpillar, *News and Views* 1/1/43, 3.

⁵⁰ Caterpillar, *News and Views* 10/27/38, 6.

production facilities and develop its distribution networks in foreign countries. By 1960, Caterpillar was operating and producing in numerous foreign countries, such as England, Australia, and Brazil. Nevertheless, these foreign manufacturing plants and distribution networks were separated from Caterpillar Tractor Company's organizational system throughout the 1950s. These plants and networks were organized as subsidiaries, which operated independently from the original Caterpillar.⁵¹ After 1960, under the direction of President William Blackie, these foreign subsidiaries would be added to the Caterpillar organizational system.⁵² But prior to 1960 and during the period of this study, these subsidiaries operated independently from Caterpillar, having little effect on Caterpillar's operations within the United States.

Caterpillar Tractor Company, the result of a horizontal merger between Holt Manufacturing Company and C. L. Best Tractor Company, developed through the early twentieth century into an example of a modern business enterprise. Originally, the predecessors of Caterpillar, Holt and Best, existed as family controlled, entrepreneurial enterprises. These enterprises developed efficient systems of middle management, became vertically integrated and formed into centralized, departmentalized enterprises. Nevertheless, ownership of these firms was not separated from top management, causing a lack of development within the top management of these companies.

With the formation of Caterpillar, the family controlled, entrepreneurial system of organization ended. In its place, a decentralized, multidivisional enterprise began to emerge. In order for this to occur Caterpillar had to expand its manufacturing system and, for mass production, its

marketing system. Through mergers and product developments resulting from its research division, Caterpillar began to produce numerous product lines with differentiated products within each line. Since demand for these products mostly remained high throughout Caterpillar's development as a result of the efforts of Caterpillar's marketing department, a system of flexible mass production developed in order for Caterpillar to reduce its costs of production and earn higher profits.

During the period ranging from 1925 to 1960, Caterpillar took the path of development of other large, contemporary corporations as outlined by Alfred Chandler's theory of business development. Caterpillar, which had roots in early entrepreneurial, specialized enterprises, developed into a modernized, multidivisional corporation with a developed system of mass production, distribution, and research. Committee systems, training programs, and professional managers enabled Caterpillar to operate efficiently and to continue existing after the retirements of its directors and top managers.

The record of Caterpillar's multiple division structure, based on product lines and special divisions, hints that Caterpillar began to become modernized during the late 1920s. The process of completing its development into a multidivisional enterprise seems to have occurred as a result of Caterpillar's increase of its product lines. Through these steps, Caterpillar becomes an example that supports Chandler's theory of business development. Caterpillar was now a modern business enterprise.

⁵¹ Caterpillar, *Caterpillar Annual Report 1960*, 7-8.

⁵² *Business Week* 8/13/66.

SLAVE MUSIC AND THE ROOTS OF MODERN MUSIC IN AMERICA

Scott Aronson

Music by slaves for slaves, consciously or unconsciously, became a cultural expression that integrated creative, social, political, emotional and religious attitudes, and in some instances, all at the same time. Part of an oral tradition that helped unite peoples of different African cultures, slave music offered the enslaved community a vitally important form of resistance from the beginnings of the Peculiar Institution in the late 17th century to the brutality of Antebellum America and racial uplift during Reconstruction. In the 20th century, African-American musical tradition would eventually gain widespread appeal in the form of Blues, Dixieland, Jazz, Swing and Big Band, consequently changing the way the western world viewed music. The rolling rhythms of repeated verses, the lack of conventional boundaries, the explosive emotional character, the use of the voice as a multi-faceted instrument and the lyrical complexity of slave music can all be identified within popular musical forms throughout American history.

A Lerone Bennet, Jr. lyric shows how some slave songs integrated religious, social, and economic attitudes all at once:

*Our father who is in heaven
Whiteman owe me eleven, and pay
me seven
Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done*

*And if I hadn't taken that, I wouldn't
have none.*¹

Bennet Jr.'s verse symbolizes a form of oral tradition that would tie a kidnapped African scholar from Timbuktu to a Virginia Creole who had spent his or her entire life on a North American plantation. Social status no longer mattered once Chattel Slavery was instituted. A scholar from one of the world's most historically renowned areas of higher learning, Timbuktu in West Africa, could find himself in the same boat as the Virginia Creole born in North America and accustomed to the violent and brutal institution of Chattel Slavery. These two individuals shared nothing in common save for the fact that they both were slaves in North America. Forced together, music served as a bond that transcended previous culture.

Bennet's verse addresses a number of important issues entrenched in the Peculiar Institution: knowledge of religious scripture by enslaved men and women, the unfairness existing between white men and women and black men and women, and the coming to terms with (but by no means surrendering to) the current situation of being an oppressed culture within a coercive and violent culture that was the Antebellum South. In 17th century English colonies, social status and the capacity in which men and women arrived on the North American continent determined slave status. But in the 18th and 19th centuries, the law established that condition of slavery was inherited from the mother; thus, the condition of the mother (slave or free) determined the status of the child.

The transplanted slave, from before he/she even entered a slave ship, was in constant jeopardy of not only losing his or her freedom forever, but also losing his or

¹ John Rublowsky, *Black Music in America* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), 66-67.

her culture. Both slave-traders and slave-owners worked to erase African culture; indeed, familial and cultural ties were broken as a point of necessity.² Many creative and artistic forms were forbidden, from keeping art supplies out of slave hands to outlawing the teaching of a slave to read and write.³ Yet oral tradition persisted throughout the trauma of the Middle Passage and slave auctions. Slave music became a vehicle in which oral tradition was successfully passed down from generation to generation.⁴ But by no means was oral tradition the only purpose for music. The multiple purposes of slave music helped give later African-American music its expansive and limitless nature.

It is impossible to take an in-depth look at American slave music without examining its African roots. There were many kingdoms within West Africa, and to generalize about a common African culture would be erroneous. The many peoples occupying West Africa spoke different languages, held different beliefs, and indeed possessed different cultures. However, music and dance held a prominent place within all of these cultures. The actual songs and dances themselves may have varied but not their importance. Song and dance within West Africa were practically inseparable.⁵ There were literally songs and dances for every conceivable occasion: marriages, funerals, festivals, love and war, work and worship.⁶ Music was one of the strongest if not *the* strongest cultural continuity in West Africa, the primary area of slave capture.

Music, being so important within the culture of the West African, was one of the

cultural traditions the West African carried off the slave ship. This did not mean that slave-traders and slave-owners did not try to stamp this out along with many other West African traditions. By breaking tribal connections – splitting up families within holding facilities on the African coast and again upon American shores – traditional West African music was undermined significantly.⁷ Possibly, the transcendent nature of West African music helped to cross tribal boundaries within North America and kept the tradition alive and flourishing. Also, the transcendent nature of West African musical tradition may have helped to turn a fractionalized African tradition into a new all-encompassing American tradition unified under the similar circumstances of enslaved Africans.

West African musical tradition formed the foundation upon which North American slaves would create their own traditions. General language change and external forces would help create some of the most beautiful and moving music in history. Early Work Songs, predominantly secular in nature, were primarily an African tradition carried over by slaves. The Spiritual was a combination of the secular Work Song and the external infusion of Christianity. As slave-owners tried to convert slaves to Christianity because of its afterlife salvation qualities, slaves chose to cling to a religion who provided concrete examples of peoples who gained their freedom in the here and now. The Spiritual conveys this feeling of hope and struggle and is primarily an American invention.

While early first-hand documentation from the musicians themselves is lacking, many second party observations are available. Jean Baptiste Labat, a French monk, described Sundays among slave communities in 1694. He describes a typical dance called La Calinda and the use

² Rublowky, *Black Music in America*, 10.

³ Rublowky, *Black Music in America*, 10.

⁴ Samuel B. Charters, *The Country Blues* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1959), 19.

⁵ Rublowky, *Black Music in America*, 12-19.

⁶ Rublowky, *Black Music in America*, 12-19.

⁷ Charters, *The Country Blues*, 19.

of drums and the banjo. He explains his exasperation at trying to teach “these people” a more innocent form of dance and song but states that they always return to the Calinda. He referred to the children’s propensity to dance and stated, “It seemed as if they had danced it in the wombs of their mothers.”⁸ Many English observers in the eighteenth century reported on the “heathenish” and “barbaric” practices involving slave funerals. Singing and dancing prevailed at these ceremonies.⁹ These observations are important in determining the importance of song and dance within African slave culture outside of Africa as well as the diffusion of song and dance among the younger generations born into slavery.

As early fascination with slave musical traits emerged, by the 18th century restrictions emerged as well. Needless to say, if songs were too inflammatory and heard by the master or overseer, the slave/slaves would be punished severely. This explains why many songs had double meanings. The slinging of insults within songs was not tolerated, so slaves devised ways of expressing their discontent by creating songs containing double entendres. This is also a common trait found in music today. But general musical forms were restricted as well (drumming, for example). After the first slave uprisings occurred in North America, anything resembling a kettle or drum was outlawed.¹⁰ Traditionally, one primary use of drums, kettles and tom-toms in West Africa was as a form of long distance communication. Slave-owners in North America were aware of the threat that a plantation-to-plantation communication

device could cause. One example of an official restriction on drums happened shortly after the Stono insurrection in the colony of South Carolina. The Stono insurrection, one of the first large-scale slave revolts in the colonies, proved to be extremely frightening to slave-owning colonists. Immediately after, the Slave Act of 1740 held a provision outlawing the “using or keeping of drums, horns, or other loud instruments, which may call together, or give sign or notice to one another of their wicked designs or purposes.”¹¹ Indeed, similar acts were passed elsewhere, and many were enforced up until the Civil War.

Of course this did not stamp out drumming within slave communities but merely placed restrictions on it. The Federal Writer’s Project of the 1930s documented one example of an underground drum-maker in Savannah, Georgia who still made drums in the traditional West African style.¹² Also, the restriction on drums led to the use of other rhythmic forms such as the hand clapping and knee patting that would accompany dancers known as “Patting Juba.” This was a less threatening method of keeping time that most likely developed fully as drums were restricted from area to area.¹³ This shows the actual importance of the drums and, more importantly, of keeping a rhythm. The importance of drums and rhythm within popular music groups of the twentieth century is directly derived from rhythmic traditions within African-American music.

Slave music that existed within North America is very hard to categorize because of its intermingling nature. Much like today there were general distinctive musical forms, but sometimes the lines between these forms became blurry or non-existent. Distinctive types of music were often

⁸ Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 30-31.

⁹ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 63-64.

¹⁰ Bernard Katz, *The Social Implications of Early Negro Music in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), viii.

¹¹ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 59-60.

¹² Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 54.

¹³ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 141-142.

attributed to distinctive areas of use: “Work Songs” were developed to regulate and minimize the discomfort of labor; “Spirituals” highlighted Christian beliefs and practices; “Hollers” signified a song sung by an individual; and “Shouts” encompassed group song. However, these neat categories often merged and diverged depending on the musicians themselves. Each slave community had its own routines and cultural characteristics, and it would be unfair to speak of these musical categories as being concrete. However, there are basic commonalities that appear to have existed within these flexible categories that help distinguish them from each other.

John Rublowsky’s book, *Black Music in America*, suggests that the “Work Song” may be the first musical expression of the slave in North America.¹⁴ West Africa had a strong tradition of easing the monotony of labor with song, and the tradition was carried on in North America. These were traditionally secular in nature and used to regulate work and help the weaker laborers keep pace.¹⁵

Most of the early Work Songs were African in origin; however, as slaves became acculturated, their “Work Songs” began to take on a double edge accredited to an external force not present in Africa. One scholar points out that many Work Songs included “social criticism, ridicule and protest.”¹⁶ Of course, these qualities would be covertly inserted if they were to be sung within earshot of the master/overseer. Frederick Douglass, one of the most famous and learned abolitionists of the 19th century and a former slave who gained his freedom, mentions many such Work Songs that meant one thing to the master and something completely different to members of the company. One example is:

*I am going away to the great house farm,
O yea! O yea! O yea!
My old master is a good old master,
O yea! O yea! O yea!*

Douglass explains that these songs simultaneously praised masters and expressed the singer’s desire for freedom.¹⁷ The play on words helps illustrate the façade of contentment among slaves and their use of music as a form of resistance.

Other sources point out the improvisational nature of the “Work Song.” One observer noted that traveling through the South during slavery, one would recognize many Work Songs whose lyrics would be different on every plantation.¹⁸ If needed, the song could be pointed at the master reminding him of “promised and ungiven [sic] holidays, additional allowance or change in the kind of their food, when sameness has rendered variety desirable.”¹⁹ The call and response pattern of the Work Song makes improvisation wholly dependent on the musical ability of the leader. This is a trait that became pronounced in the age of Jazz, which developed in the U.S. during the height of Jim Crow rule in the South. Skilled improvisation took a sharp wit and keen intelligence to keep time with the music while simultaneously thinking ahead and creating lyrics. Much of their improvisation came from their instruments instead of lyrics. The split-second, gut responses required an understanding of how sounds fit together to make music; in the case of improvised “Work Songs,” singers required a mastery of language.

¹⁴ Rublowsky, *Black Music in America*, 64-65.

¹⁵ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 68-71.

¹⁶ Rublowsky, *Black Music in America*, 66-67.

¹⁷ Eileen Southern, *Readings in Black American Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1971), 82-87.

¹⁸ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 185-188.

¹⁹ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 185-188.

Southern planters encouraged the Work Song, finding it useful in many different respects and generally preferring it in the fields to silence.²⁰ Frederick Douglass comments that encouragement and even forced singing in the fields “may account for the almost constant singing heard in the southern states.”²¹ Overseers used work songs to track slaves in the field. One saying noted, “Make a noise, make a noise or bear a hand are the words usually addressed to the slaves when there is silence amongst them.”²² Work Songs also helped regulate labor.²³ For this reason, slow melancholy tunes were highly discouraged, as they would tend to slow down labor.²⁴ These are examples of external forces, coerced or not, that helped diffuse Work Song patterns from community to community and plantation to plantation.

The Spiritual seems to have developed as southern planters slowly began to Christianize their slaves. Since Christian conversion did not happen immediately and did not really take root until around 1740 and the First Great Awakening, Work Songs were predominant first. However, Work Songs were probably combined with newly acquired scriptural knowledge to create the most influential type of slave music, the Spiritual. As planters began to Christianize their slaves, they discovered that their vision of replacing secular song and dance with “appropriate,” “pious,” “evangelical hymns” was never to take place.²⁵ Planters hoped to push their religion that promised salvation after death while encouraging obedience and labor in life. Conversion of slaves was

²⁰ Southern, *Readings in Black American Music*, 82-87.

²¹ Southern, *Readings in Black American Music*, 82-87.

²² Southern, *Readings in Black American Music*, 82-87.

²³ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 68-71.

²⁴ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 162.

²⁵ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 217-219.

generally successful; however, slaves brought their cultural expression with them regardless of planters’ views. Early evidence suggests that planters contemplated outlawing dramatic song and dance within religious settings, but it seemed too important to slaves in the actual conversion process.²⁶ Planters basically used musical expression as one of many tools to lure the slave into Christian practice.

Planters hoped to use Christianity to inculcate obedience, piousness and patience in their slaves. To their dismay, slave communities chose to gravitate towards recognizable lessons in the Bible, such as the Israelites in Egypt’s land. Spirituals illustrate how Christianity provided a means for an enfranchisement and attachment to a world within a world that offered little hope for slaves. As white preachers were promoting obedience, slaves were recognizing parallels in the form of the Israelites and slavery.

*When Israel was in Egypt’s land,
Let my people go:
Oppressed so hard they could not stand,
Let my people go;
“Thus saith the Lord,” bold Moses said,
Let my people go;
If not I’ll smite your first-born dead,
Let my people go.²⁷*

This is not what planters had in mind when they set out to Christianize their slaves. The Bible told slaves that their situation was unnatural and also that struggle to free oneself from bondage was natural and smiled upon by God. Spirituals reflect these feelings, providing a sense of hope and a motivation for struggle.

²⁶ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 108-109.

²⁷ Lindsay Patterson, *The Afro-American in Music and Art* (Cornwells Heights, Penn.: The Publishers Agency, 1978), 3.

The Shout is generally described as a dance accompanied by music that has a particular jerk of the body that distinguishes it from other forms of music or ceremonies. Sources have documented that Shouts usually took place at the end of a private religious reading or gathering. Two white observers, noting similar characteristics in their descriptions, remarked about the Shout in the following manners:

[T]he younger usually wish to end the worship with a Shout – a kind of slow, religious trot, accompanied by loud singing of a few lines or words repeated over and over again. The conclusion of the stanza or sentence is marked by a peculiar jerk of the body.²⁸

and

After the praise meeting is over, there usually follows the very singular and impressive performance of the Shout, or religious dance of the [N]egroes. Three or four, standing still, clapping their hands and beating time with their feet, commence singing in unison one of the peculiar Shout melodies, while the others walk round in a ring, in single file, joining also in the song.²⁹

Shouts seem to be closer in form to traditional African music, perhaps because they were less accessible to the prying eyes of masters. Their unadulterated emotional expression resembles the slow, methodical, passionate rhythms embodied in early Blues.

Another particular expression of music within slave culture was the Holler or Field Holler. These were usually the songs used in wide-open spaces and generally carried over long distances. Generally considered

to be private songs improvised by the individual, they would sometimes be passed on and joined in by a group. The Holler could be used to “bring people in from the fields, to summon them to work, to attract the attention of a girl in the distance, to signal hunting dogs, or simply to make one’s presence known.”³⁰ What made the Holler so unique from other musical forms discussed is that there did not seem to be any particular reason or ceremony associated with a Holler. A Holler could be sung at any time, for any reason. The Holler was a burst of creative expression. One source states that a Holler could be anything from “I’m hot and hungry,” to “pickin’ cotton, yoh-hoo!”³¹ The Holler does not conform to any category but instead emphasizes slave individuality. There did not have to be any reason or purpose other than pure emotional expression. The fact that ideas were more comfortably sang rather than spoken shows the depth of musical tradition within slave communities.

It is quite possible that Hollers came over from West Africa and were used in the fields as a way of getting around overseer regulations. Harold Courlander, in his book *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.*, seems to suggest that the importance of voice inflections within West African song and the varying meanings of words associated with these different inflections could explain the importance of the Holler in slave society as well as early observations of non-communicative slave Hollers.³² Indeed, these Hollers could very well have been fashioned in a way as to disguise the communicative qualities they possessed. Non-communicative Hollers, as Courlander describes, refer to Hollers that were

²⁸ Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 278-279.

²⁹ Katz, *The Social Implications of Early Negro Music*, 5.

³⁰ Harold Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 81-83.

³¹ Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.*, 81-83.

supposedly non-sensical to white listeners.³² These may have involved no discernable language but merely inflections and tones. As mentioned above, these could very well have had meanings all their own that were not meant for white ears. Hollers were often used to socialize during working hours when socialization was prohibited by distance.³³ Hollers were a form of individual expression that could take any form and communicate anything the singer wished to convey.

As Jazz emerged in the 1920s, only 50 years after slavery ended, southern black musicians took improvisational personal expression to new heights. It stands to reason that this type of musical form was a southern black musical continuity. Jazz music of the 1920s, 30s and 40s remarkably displays many qualities of the slave Holler. The improvised nature of Jazz, the private emotional expression, use of tonal inflection, and the lack of boundaries resemble the Holler more than any other form of slave music.

Slave music expressed all human emotion and accomplished this in ways that will never be fully appreciated. Humorous as well as painfully realistic, slave song lyrics tell stories as illustrative as the slave narrative. Two examples of slave lyrics of the Antebellum South possess the power to make one laugh and cry. The first is a song that John Greenway, in *American Folksongs of Protest*, claims was a redirection of slave angst against poor whites as opposed to slave owners.

OH, MY GOD, THEM 'TATERS
Paw didn't raise no corn this year;
Paw didn't raise no 'maters;
Had bad luck with the cabbage crop,
*But Oh, my God! Them 'taters!*³⁴

Slave songs depicted daily life, and the following song expresses the reality of sexual abuse endured by Black women:

Lookin' for my wife this mornin'
Where do you think I found her?
Down in the middle of the cotton field
*With the white boys all around her.*³⁵

In no more than four stanzas, the brutality that faced slaves on a daily basis is disturbingly illustrated. Particularly disturbing is the almost commonplace method in which gang rape of slave women by “white boys” is communicated. The inhumanity of antebellum southern slavery is truly illustrated when one discovers that this *was* a commonplace event for slave women and their loved-ones.

The importance of slave music within slave culture and society is a direct continuation of the importance music carried in West Africa. However, the American experience had profound effects upon the directions that music would take within slave communities. The boundaries placed on slave expression repelled some musical characteristics and greatly propelled others. Slave music follows the same pattern of other forms of slave oral traditions that grounded themselves in African tradition and gradually evolved to meet the needs of its society. American slave music provided an outlet in which members could express, create and discover within an oppressive over-society.

³² Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.*, 81-83.

³³ Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.*, 81-83.

³⁴ John Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), 72-73.

³⁵ Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest*, 72-73.

Music in slave communities was vital to the survival of slave culture and southern black culture in general. Its functions in this society were practically limitless. Musical themes such as the Work Song, Spiritual, Shout and Holler helped bind diverse peoples together who desperately needed to support each other under coercive and sometimes savage circumstances. As part of a rich and colorful oral tradition, music carried a creative intelligence that was seldom recognized, and when it was recognized, was habitually exploited. Nevertheless, this tradition persevered and flourished. With the pronouncement of so many modern musical characteristics that can be traced back directly and indirectly to Slave Music, it is hard to deny American slaves their place as the grandfathers and grandmothers of modern music in the western world.
