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Letter from the Editors:

The Spring 2017 issue of *Chronos* contains contributions on a wide range of periods and fields: from early Medieval Francia and Al-Andalus, the American Civil War, colonialism and the veneration of saints, to the representation of war in cinema. Two of our articles are not historical papers in the conventional sense: Nicholas Dugan wrote a creative paper, a fictitious obituary of a member of the Carolingian court who converted to Judaism. Derreck Owens paper analyzes the cinematic adaptation of Joseph Heller's novel *Catch 22*. His paper is a cross-over between history and film studies.

This year the *Chronos* editorial team took on a new task: We organized a conference on the theme of *Building Bridges* which took place on April 7. Eleven professors at SU presented their historical research to an undergraduate audience. Our idea was to build bridges between academic research and undergraduate teaching, since most undergraduate students know very little about the research achievements of their professors and how their academic work impacts their teaching. Our conference ended with an exciting and thought-provoking panel discussion on the theme of *Teaching History in the Age of Alternative Facts*.

Building Bridges will hopefully be only the first of a series of annual conferences in which professors and maybe graduate and undergraduate students will talk about their work and their passion for historical research.

A third pillar of our work is the *Chronos* website: chronos.syr.edu. Since last year all articles of the printed version of *Chronos* are also published online. All previous issues of *Chronos* can be downloaded as pdf-file. We are currently working on broadening the scope of our website and transforming it from a repository of articles into an outlet for students interested in history that provides information about activities of the Department of History and historical student organizations. We will publish interviews and portraits of historians teaching at Syracuse University, provide links to resources, feature institutions that are relevant for history students – and hopefully more in the future.

We would like to thank the Department of History, Prof. Michael Ebner, Erin Borchik and Faye Shephard for their support of *Chronos*! Everyone who is interested in hands-on historical work – selecting and editing historical papers, designing a journal, creating a website and organizing a conference – is invited to join the *Chronos* editorial team. If you have written a paper that received an A or A- and contains original historical research, please consider submitting it to *Chronos* to be published in our next issue. Please e-mail us: chronos@maxwell.syr.edu.

Syracuse, May 15, 2017

The *Chronos* Editorial Team

Table of Contents

Image of Toledo Synagogue from Wikimedia Commons

Bodo-Eleazar Dies At Age 61 or 62

By

Nick Dugan

Bodo's obituary is a creative piece. The class was asked to write a fictional obituary of an individual in the early Middle Ages from the perspective of a different person of the same time period. I selected the subject of my obituary to be Bodo, a ninth-century Frankish deacon. Raised and educated at the royal court at Aachen, Bodo, in his early twenties, experienced a deep spiritual crisis and, while on a pilgrimage to Rome, made a sudden conversion to Judaism. He moved to Cordoba in Spain, changed his name to Eleazar and spent the rest of his life trying to convert other Christians to the Jewish faith. The perspective from which the obituary is written is that of the Empress Judith, the second wife of Carolingian ruler Louis the Pious. While the empress herself died in 843 C.E., the following work is my own interpretation of how Judith would have reflected on the life of Bodo.

It is with great sadness that I, Empress Judith, announce the death of a friend; once close, but still dear to our hearts. Bodo, formerly a member of our fine and upstanding court, has died at the age of 61 or 62. While some may know the man of whom I speak as Eleazar, if you will forgive me, I shall refer to the young man, whom I knew well, as I knew him before the grave day of his apostasy. It was a day recalled in the kingdom as, "something to be bewailed by all of the children of the Catholic Church."

But of course, Bodo's story should be told from the beginning. For what way is it to remember such a friend as to speak first of the darkest and most troubling moments of his life.

A child of Alemannic heritage such as myself, Bodo was raised by a proud family and quickly showed promise. As a child, he was educated and took to knowledge with great

ferocity at the palace in Aachen, and soon the handsome young boy had grown into a charming young man. Also deeply devoted to the teachings of Christ and the Catholic religion, he, by his eighteenth year, had risen beyond the Minor Orders of the Church and earned status as a subdeacon under the guidance of archchaplain Hilduin, then a chief of the royal abbey at Saint-Denis.

It is at this point in Bodo's life, however, that many rumors began to spread of his affinity for the religion of Judaism. While it would be foolish to deny that Bodo, as a subdeacon, did not deal with the sacred texts of the Old Testament, it would be unreasonable to believe that interaction with this text would sway him to the ways of the Jews. Have many not read the word of God and his prophets in the Old Testament and been strengthened in their faith, as opposed to being persuaded to lose it?

Indeed, for our dear friend to have made such a tragic decision, he must have been "seduced," it is written, "by the enemy of the human race," none other than the devil himself. In a correspondence with Pablo Alvaro, a Spaniard and a layman of exceptional Christian faith and knowledge, many years after his conversion, he is said to have broken his vow of chastity many times in the very chapels in which the Lord is praised. It pains me to know these words to be confirmed true by his own writing, as the young Bodo seemed far too devout, too devoted to the Lord our God, to have strayed on his own accord.

He spoke also in his letters of bishops and other religious officials preaching and teaching heretical doctrines within the court of Aachen itself. But how could this be? How could such unspeakable atrocities occur in the kingdom of my most pious and venerated husband, Louis? It is with great shock and disbelief that I approach such claims.

But, returning to the subject at hand. Looking back at the young Bodo of only 23 or 24 years of age, all looked promising. When he requested to take a most holy pilgrimage to the city of Rome in the year 838, we were at first saddened, but willingly agreed to let him go. For though we were going to miss his captivating presence at home, who were we to keep him from journeying to the Holy See of St. Peter? He was supplied well, both with wealth and with men, to ensure a most successful journey.

As to what happened next, there is much contention. There appear to be conflicting opinions on whether the misguided young Bodo ever made it to the city of Rome. Many, including myself, would like to believe that if he had made it to that most splendid place, that he would have been overcome with the presence of God and set straight on the path of the Catholic faith. But alas, in the year 839, Bodo had made his final decision and abandoned the Christian faith and the court at Aachen.

As the story is told, Bodo (may God have mercy on his soul) discussed, "apostasy and his own perdition with some Jews he had brought with him to sell to the pagans." And so he did, after making up his mind, sell all but his own nephew over into slavery, forcing the poor soul to convert alongside him. When those in the court at Aachen heard of what had happened, all were completely shocked. Poor Louis could scarcely believe the tale himself.

Within about three months time he formally renounced his baptism and taking the new name of Eleazar, he let his hair and beard grow, was circumcised and took a Jewish wife. He left the lands of the Emperor and entered into the region of Spain, still under rule of the Umayyad Emir of Cordoba. The city of Saragossa was home to him for some time, but he soon moved further south, finally settling in Cordoba.

What is more, this conversion did not lead him to a life of humble piety in his newfound religion, but instead he began to

speak out and even condemn the Catholic faith. He began to spout nonsensical claims against the Messiah and even went so far as to suppose Christianity as a polytheistic religion.

In his continuing correspondence with Bodo-Eleazar, Pablo Alvaro, though not advocating for the conversion of all Jews, made the effort to reincorporate the misguided man back into the faith out of kindness and consideration. However, as the exchange grew more hostile over the doctrine of the two faiths, the once kind and gentle soul snapped, addressing Alvaro saying, “You are like a yapping dog.” It was, at this moment, clear that Bodo was never again to return to the court at Aachen and to the Catholic faith.

Bodo-Eleazar lived out the rest of his days seeking to convert the Mozarabic Christians of Spain to Judaism. Many of these Christians began, in the 850s, to be persecuted by the caliphate, and, having made a name for himself, many felt Bodo-Eleazar was to blame.

In some ways, I too feel responsible for the apostasy they young man, now grown old, and gone. Perhaps if my dear Charles (God rest his soul) had not delayed the restriction on the practice of Judaism throughout the kingdom, Bodo would have remained in the favor of the court at Aachen and died as a servant of the holy Catholic Church. I despair to think what might have been.

Even still, may God have mercy on his soul. Amen.

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Painting of Padre Antonio Vieira from Wikimedia Commons

Saint Anthony of the Portuguese Empire

By

Alex Penny

Introduction

For centuries, saints have been seen as a source of authority. The holiness of a saint was often interpreted as a reflection of God's grace. Saints were, and still are, mortal men and women believed to have been in close proximity to God. They were exceptional and selected by God. Going beyond their chosenness, one can observe a deep relationship between saints and globalization dating back to Christ's ministry. The Gospel of Matthew 28:18-20 proclaims, "Jesus came and said to them [his apostles], 'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'." Consequently, it is unsurprising that saints were invoked as a legitimizing force for empire during the early modern period.

In 1455, Pope Nicholas issued the Bull *Romanus Pontifex*. He cited saintly authority on decisions about empire when he proclaimed his linear connection to Peter,

> The Roman pontiff, successor of the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom and vicar of Jesus Christ, contemplating with a father's mind all the several climes of the world and the characteristics of all the nations dwelling in them and seeking and desiring the salvation of all, wholesomely ordains and disposes upon careful deliberation those things which he sees will be agreeable to the Divine Majesty by which he may bring the sheep [Non-Christian, Indigenous groups] entrusted to him by God into the single divine fold.[1]

However, influential clerics and rulers were not the only ones calling upon the power of saints. The average population and marginalized groups also used saints, often in fantastic ways, to attempt to sway the power

[1] "The Bull Romanus Pontifex (Nicholas V), January 8, 1455." P. De Noxeto, accessed April 17th, 2016. https://www.nativeweb.org/pages/legal/indig-romanus-pontifex.html.

balance. Some saints became stark figures of resistance. When different groups mobilized a specific saint, they emphasized, transformed, or even recreated the defining characteristics of the saint to fit their own purpose. This often resulted in radically different interpretations than those found in hagiographies or other works.

Anthony, a thirteenth century Franciscan preacher, renowned for his intellectual prowess and teaching, was one saint constituents of the Portuguese empire repurposed and found new meaning in. In a famous incident shortly after he had joined the Friars Minor, Anthony performed an awe-inspiring, albeit surprising, sermon. Prior to this sermon, his intellect and learnedness were unbeknownst to his superiors. *Saint Anthony of Padua: According to His Contemporaries*, by Ernest Gilliat-Smith, is a modern compilation of hagiographic texts about Saint Anthony that documents this episode. The text reads,

> When he had lived in this hermitage for a very long time there was an ordination in the city of Forli and certain Dominicans went there to be ordained and some of our people, amongst them the men of Monte Paola, and Brother Anthony accompanied them. At the luncheon after the ordination the Minister of the place invited the Dominicans to address the company, and when they all excused themselves saying that they were not accustomed to speak on the spur of the moment, turning to Anthony he asked him to propose a toast, for he knew that he could speak Latin [...] But he was not aware that he was a student, indeed he was under the impressions that he had never read anything except perhaps what pertained to his sacred profession. [...] The speech was well put together, the subject profound, the language simple, concise, clear. The audiences sat, with ears pricked up and eyes staring at him, astounded at his learning and eloquence, and at his sweetness and self-effacement. [...] The echo of that discourse soon reached the ears of the Minister General, and he bade him come forth from his hermitage and call the world to Christ.[2]

Examining his hagiographies, this appears as a quintessentially Antonian episode. It can serve as a sort of baseline description of his character. We see that Anthony was most basically depicted as a humble, intelligent man who was chosen to spread the word of God.

With this depiction in mind, I set out to explore what Saint Anthony became in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. How was Saint Anthony used, contorted, and re-portrayed by different groups that constituted the Portuguese empire– namely religious orders, indigenous peoples, and settler populations? What parts of his legacy were selected and most emphasized? Why Anthony and why certain specific episodes and/or portrayals that come from his life and memory? What did these groups wish to accomplish? And finally, what insight and knowledge about them, empire, and sanctity, can come from answering these questions?

With the support of Antonio Vieira's Sermon of *St. Anthony to the fish*, the assorted texts and prayers from the Antonian movement led by Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita in the Kongo, and local legends and church art from Goa, I make a case for Anthony's mobilizations. I draw upon a host of modern scholarly material to define, situate and refine my argument. My research sets out to explore some of the facets of Anthony's use and representation: the regular religious, indigenous people, settlers, and those how had been converted. I propose that the portrayals and invocations of St. Anthony in

[2] Gilliat-Smith, Ernest. *Saint Anthony of Padua according to his contemporaries*. (London: Toronto: J.M. Dent and sons, limited, 1926). 56-57.

these seventeenth and eighteenth century contexts were widely different from those found in his hagiographies. Anthony becomes indignant, angry, heretical, and physical.

In his sermon, Vieira called upon a short story about Saint Anthony found in the Little Flowers of St. Francis, a text composed at the end of the fourteenth century, to critique the secular Portuguese harshly from a Jesuit perspective.

Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita expanded upon and reconfigured Anthony's legacy as a great saint and powerful preacher to create a divine being which could empower and ignite resistance against war and the trans-Atlantic slave trade and function as a rallying figure for the native Kongolese population. Finally, I propose that settler and converted populations in Goa localized Anthony. His reputation as the patron Saint of Portugal led him to be deeply connected to local identities. Common people found in him a vessel that at times was tangible and visible, through which they could connect to their heritage as Portuguese and/or Christian persons and resist outside or internal pressures.

My research focuses on the representations of Saint Anthony by different groups living in the Portuguese Empire, because the invocations of this particular saint serve as an excellent starting point for studying the relationship between sanctity and empire. The Portuguese initiated the age of European imperialism in the fifteenth century when they first searched for new sea routes to trade directly with distant markets. It was Portugal and Spain that were first able to capitalize on exploration and establish empires. As a result, Portugal developed some of the first notable European settlements in Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

Their religion was also a highly significant motivator and governing force. From the beginning, Portuguese colonization was deeply intertwined with Catholicism. Missionary work and the desire to convert native peoples went hand-in-hand with trade and other obligations. Anthony's veneration by nearly all factions of the Empire can be seen as a testament to how important evangelism was to Portugal.

The later Protestant powers, the British and the Dutch, did not support the veneration of saints. They were primarily concerned with establishing trade and gaining territory. Religion as a motivating force was not as deeply imbedded.

The case study of the Portuguese Empire and Saint Anthony is important to the study of saints and globalization, because the use of saints is a uniquely Catholic phenomenon. Sanctity, being a central tenet of Catholicism, was highly celebrated by the Portuguese, but not by the Protestant Dutch and British. Consequently, it is only in a Catholic context that we can see how power and identity were contested by groups who used saints as their means. Furthermore, the example of Anthony and the Portuguese Empire can serve as a model for trying to understand the relationship between saints and empire in a Spanish context.

I chose Anthony because he was arguably the most esteemed saint of the Portuguese Empire, integral to Portuguese Catholicism. By understanding distinct mobilizations of him, we can better understand those who used him; their concerns, desires, and problems, whatever their backgrounds may have been. I believe that this research presents an opportunity to re-examine the power dynamics of the Portuguese Empire, and the relationship between different classes and groups. Through a specific lens of sanctity, this research is an attempt to illuminate how religion fits in the broader geopolitical context of empire. My methods and findings can be examined and used to lead to further scholarship on Catholic Empires, or it can be used in junction with examples of resistance coming from the Protestant Empires to highlight the contrasting ways that power was negotiated globally and across centuries.

Historiography

Since my work is multi-dimensional, the historical scholarship pertaining to my research topic can be broken down into different categories: religion, empire, and art, interpretations of saints, how saints relate to empire, and how Saint Anthony connects to the Portuguese Empire. For the first category, I consult the works of John Gasciogne and Gauvin Alexander Bailey. For the second, I call upon the work of James Goehring. For the third, I examine the work of Ronald J. Morgan. Finally, I examine the texts produced by Ronaldo Vainfas and John K. Thornton. These authors and their works have influenced my work immensely, and my research is meant to add to this rich, historical discussion.

Religion, Empire, and Art

In his chapter, *Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective*, John Gascoigne writes about the intricate and complex relationship between empire and religion. With the British Empire as his framework, he makes a number of compelling arguments about empire in general. Gascoigne argues that the leaders of empires needed creeds and religions to survive and thrive.[3] According to this understanding, religion functioned as a sort of instrument of control. However, he also argues that religion and empire did not always coexist smoothly. He notes that there was often tension between the state and religious authorities.[4] Moreover, he argues that religious teaching and education sometimes led to heightened tensions and even resistance from native peoples.[5] The last point that I wish to emphasis, is that religion is not static. Gascoigne argues convincingly that religion is reformulated for local needs, purposes, and after certain developments.[6]

My research is directly connected to Gascoigne's work, because I am dealing with one subset of religion, sanctity, and how it is utilized by different portions of the Portuguese Empire. My research will borrow from the idea that empire is complicated and not one coherent unit. Like Glascoine, I will document the activities and struggles of secular leaders, indigenous groups, religious authorities, and settlers. This approach has an element of totality and inclusiveness that I believe is beneficial. However, my argument moves away from Gascoigne by focusing on a much more specific topic. In addition, I will focus on *how* and *why* rather than *what*. For instance, instead of arguing that religion had the potential to stir up indigenous resistance, I will argue that Saint Anthony was used as an agent of resistance by the Kongolese, and that they used him because they were discontent with Capuchin missionaries and their worldly kings.

In his book, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1713*, Bailey argues that missionary art was a sort of mixture of European and Indigenous styles. He writes, "Most art and architecture on the Jesuit missions was produced with the more or less willing participation of indigenous communities, and almost all of it can be described as a hybrid."[7] Using Bailey as a starting point, one can push further and argue that works of art completed during the early-modern period were often directly influenced by themes of empire. This relates to my research, because I use art from across the Portuguese Empire to anchor my claims about the ways in which Saint Anthony was depicted and used. However, instead of examining just how artists borrowed concepts and styles, my incorporation of art seeks to also uncover for what purpose artists borrowed and created the works that they did. This research is important because it

[3] John Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective" in *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 32, No. 2. (Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Asia, 2008), 159.
[4] Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective," 162.
[5] Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective," 171.
[6] Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective," 174.
[7] Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 5.

attempts to bring to light a new dimension, meaning.

Interpretations of Saints

Focusing on the interpretation of saints in particular, Goehring argues that hagiography can serve as better evidence for those who composed the text than the saint being described. He writes, "The historical claims of hagiographic sources have long been suspect and rightly so. Written as paeans in remembrance of a saint, historical memory conforms itself with and in service of the author's ideological agenda. History of the events described is shaped by the later concerns of the author's time and his religious environment."[8] Like Goehring, I adopt the idea that representations of saints are inherently connected to their historical context and contorted, consciously or unconsciously, by their creators. In particular, I believe that this argument can help bring to light the concerns and motives of those who mobilized Saint Anthony in the Portuguese Empire. I diverge from Goehring to argue that other sources outside of hagiography, such as sermons, art, and prayers, display this phenomenon as well. Moreover, my research gives significant attention to groups that have typically received less scholarly attention, as well as paying necessary attention to more studied groups.

Saints and Empire

Morgan, in his work *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity,* argues that in a colonial setting, saints can be extremely important to identity. He writes, "The saint's Life was not simply a religious text; it was for centuries a vehicle through which towns, religious communities, or ecclesiastical factions formulated community identities and articulated group interests."[9] My work expands upon this notion that saints can be linked to identity. I believe that Saint Anthony, in the instance of Goa, was mobilized for social reasons. My argument is somewhat different than Morgan's because he primarily argues about the role of saints born in the New World for their native communities. Part of my argument is that patron saints and popular saints, like local saints, were also extremely important for the formation of an identity. Furthermore, I build upon these ideas to claim that the veneration of Saint Anthony, the patron saint I am focusing on, was a way for settlers abroad to connect to their Portuguese history and heritage.

Saint Anthony and the Portuguese Empire

Vainfas' *St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration*, has had perhaps the most profound impact on my research. Vainfas asserts that Saint Anthony's image was warped by the Jesuit Antonio Vieira and others for specific royal audiences to become a supporter of the Portuguese Empire and a symbol of Portuguese resistance abroad and internally. He writes,

> Vieira had no doubt that St. Anthony had defended Bahia. By the same token, he believed the saint would next free Pernambuco from the heretics. 'Restoration' was therefore the subject of Vieira's sermon, which praised the victory in Bahia and urged the reconquest of Pernambuco. Strictly speaking, the enemies in this conflict were the Dutch heretics, but could the Jesuit have been referring to another enemy, the Castilians, who had by then reigned in Portugal for more than half a century?[10]

It is evident that Vieira gives new meaning to the saint. Anthony now functioned militarily. Going

[8] James E. Goehring, *Politics, Monasticism, and Miracles in Sixth Century Upper Egypt*: *A Critical Edition and Translation of the Coptic Texts on Abraham of Farshut,* (Tübingen: Laupp and Gobel, 2012), 50.

[9] Ronald J Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rehtoric of Identity, 1600-1810*. (Tuscon: University of Arizon Press, 2002), 3.

[10] Ronaldo Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration" in *Colonial Saints*, ed. Allan Greer and Jodi Blinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 108.

a step further, Vainfas claims that Vieira cleared up all ambiguity about whether or not he intended for Saint Anthony to be seen as a symbol of the restoration in a later sermon. In this sermon, commissioned by king of Portugal in 1642 to address the topic of financing restoration wars, Vieria conveyed the message that Anthony would function as a sort of protector and that he was able to, "preserve conquered territories."[11] Like Vainfas, my research explores the sermons produced by Vieira. However, Vainfas explores the mobilization of Anthony by Vieira for a royal audience. The sermons that he cites are all motivated by and created for different leaders of Portugal. My research seeks to push further. Using Vieira's *Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*, I attempt to uncover the ways in which Vieira employs Anthony for his own personal and religious agenda.

Vainfas also makes a brief argument that Saint Anthony is used by the Kongolese people as a symbol of resistance. He writes, "In the Congo, for example, toward the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, Kimpa Vita, a bakongo prophetess of noble origin, promoted the restoration of a decadent kingdom by proclaiming herself the reincarnation of St. Anthony."[12] My research also makes this claim, but I try to unpack this idea and give it its due attention. Furthermore, I argue that Saint Anthony was integral to the identity of this Kongolese sect.

The last major publication I draw from is *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*, by John Thornton. Thornton argues that the Antonian movement was a response to civil wars and the slave trade that had plagued the Kongo. He writes, "Dona Beatriz' movement, although primarily aimed at ending a long-lasting civil war and reestablishing a broken monarchy, can also be seen as a popular movement directed against the slave trade in Africa at the time of the export slave trade."[13] At its core, the movement was a religious movement centered upon Saint Anthony. I borrow from Thornton's composition, because it provides the background for one facet of Anthony's mobilization. My work pushes further and compliments Thronton's. His context is invaluable and with that as a foundation, I attempt to set Anthony as my focal point rather that the movement as a whole. Ultimately, I strive to give more attention to the specificities and focus my effort on illuminating how Anthony in particular was used as an agent of resistance and simultaneously used as a symbol of Kongolese identity.

I chose saints for their unique human yet almost divine status. Anthony in particular is recognized as a Doctor of the Church to this day. He struck me because his legacy was so complex and was changed by many groups. Ultimately, my interest in Anthony draws upon and incorporates many of the key ideas that these aforementioned scholars have so wonderfully articulated.

An Analysis of *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish: A Jesuit perspective of Saint Anthony*

Ronaldo Vainfas argues that António Vieira, "was perhaps most responsible for St. Anthony's rising political status, as both patron saint of the Portuguese, and as the divine promoter of the wars of resistance."[14] Vieira was born in Lisbon, Portugal in 1608, and moved to Bahia, Brazil at age six. In Brazil, he joined the Jesuit order and he was ordained a priest in 1635.[15] He worked as a speaker, missionary, and, for a period, as the King of Portugal's

[11] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 109.
[12] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 110.
[13] John K. Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*, (New York: Cambridge Press, 1998), 1.
[14] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 105-106.
[15] Gregory Rabassa, trans., *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts* (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2009), 1.

ambassador to the French and the Dutch.[16] In his later years, Vieira faced accusations and denunciations from the Portuguese Inquisition for his more radical ideas. He ultimately died in Brazil in 1697.[17] Perhaps his most memorable works are his nine sermons concerning Saint Anthony of Padua.[18] These Sermons do not have a static message; in each of them, Saint Anthony is mobilized for contextual reasons and he is contorted to fit his audience. In earlier sermons, Vieira mobilized Saint Anthony's legacy of being the 'Hammer of the Heretics' to raise morale against the Dutch.[19] He also mobilized Anthony's nationality to support the Portuguese restoration and the subsequent wars with Spain[20]. In one particular sermon, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*, composed in 1654, Vieira draws upon the power he had previously vested in Saint Anthony for a different purpose. In this sermon he recounted Anthony's sermon to the fish, to identify himself with the Saint, create a more perfect example in him, and use his status and legacy as a means to critique the secular, Portuguese leaders and colonists.

Before examining *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*, it is important to note the circumstances surrounding Portugal and its colonial possessions. In 1580, the Portuguese Crown was left without an heir. As a result, the Crown was seized by the Spanish under King Felipe II.[21] The Spanish promised to retain Portugal's independence and originally the union was not heavily opposed by the leading Portuguese nobility. When Felipe IV tried to establish a strong and united central Iberian actor, many prominent Portuguese groups felt marginalized and grew dissatisfied with the Spanish King.[22] In addition, they complained that the Spanish entangled them in conflicts with the Dutch and other European monarchies by association.[23] The Portuguese eventually rallied against the union in 1640.

By 1635, the Dutch had claimed portions of Northern Brazil and they attempted to control the province of Pernambuco.[24] Consequently, the Portuguese and Dutch were locked in war until 1663.[25] Skirmishes occurred all across Northern Brazil. The war was as much economic and territorial as it was religious.[26] In one sermon, Vieira attributed the success of his hometown, Bahia, and their resistance to Saint Anthony.[27] Here, Saint Anthony represented the Catholic struggle against the Protestant heretics. Moreover, Vainfas notes Vieira's rhetorical choice to attribute victories against the Dutch only to Portugal. Vieira even avoids mentioning the king of Spain by name.[28] In this way, Anthony is used as a Portuguese actor independent from Spain.

Together, the Spanish occupation and the war with the Dutch are the original reasons that Vieira calls upon and uses Saint Anthony. In this way, he sets up a history of invoking the Saint's memory. Anthony's power is legitimized by the successes against the Spanish and the Dutch. The war-time context is also important, because it is partially responsible for why Vieira critiques the Portuguese in his *Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*. Resources from Brazil and indigenous labor were used to support Portugal's struggles. Boxer writes, that against the Dutch, "the bulk of the Portuguese, or rather of the Luso-Brazilian forces in this campaign

[16] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 106.
[17] Gregory Rabassa, trans., "The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts," 1.
[18] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 107.
[19] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 108.
[20] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 108-109.
[21] C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). 45.
[22] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion,* 47.
[23] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion,* 48.
[24] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion,* 51.
[25] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 51-52.
[26] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion,* 51.
[27] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 107-108.
[28] Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 108.

consisted of Mulattoes, Negroes, Amerindians, and half-breeds of various kinds."[29]

The immediate context was that the sermon was given to Portuguese colonists in Sáo Luís do Maranháo.[30] The sermon is quite condemning in content. Through allegory, it expresses his growing discontent with the greed of colonists and the more powerful authorities in Portugal. As a result of his prominence, Vieira's words were relayed to others in Brazil and Portugal. It is important to note that Vieira left for Portugal three days after giving this sermon. He sailed there to propose the radical idea that the Brazilian natives would be better off with less Portuguese, secular leadership.[31]

In the sermon, Vieira recalls a short scene in *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*, in which a crowd will not listen to Saint Anthony of Padua, so instead he preaches to a school of fish. The anonymous author of *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* writes,

> Being at one time in Rimini where there were a large number of heretics, Saint Antony (sic) wished to recall them to the light of true faith and the way of truth [...] but they ejected his holy teaching, and were hardened and obstinate, refusing to listen to him at all. So one day, under God's inspiration, Saint Antony went down to the seashore at the mouth of the river. And standing on the bank between the sea and the river, he began to speak to the fishes as a preacher sent by God. And he said: 'Listen to the word of God, you fish of the sea and river, since the faithless heretics disdain to hear it' [...] At these words and counsels of Saint Antony the fish began to open their mouths and bow their heads and, with such other signs of reverence as their nature permitted they gave thanks to God.[...]When this miracle became known the people of the city began to hasten to the shore, dragging the heretics with them. And seeing so wonderful and unmistakable a miracle, they were touched to the heart, and all threw themselves at Saint Anthony's feet to listen to his words.[32]

Shortly into his sermon, Vieira identified his position as similar to the position Saint Anthony was in when he preached to the fish. Vieira preached, "All the more so because the state of my doctrine, whatever it may be, has had in these lands a fate so similar to Saint Anthony's in Rimini that it has become necessary to follow him in everything."[33] Furthermore, he directly identified himself with the Saint when he said, "With this in mind today, in imitation of Saint Anthony I wish to turn from the land to the sea, and since men no longer make use of my words, I shall preach to the fish."[34] By imitating Saint Anthony, Vieira used his legacy as a holy man to give his own words authority and meaning. He conveys the idea that his words should be heeded just like Anthony's should have been.

The sermon proceeded as a one-sided dialog in which Vieira spoke to the attentive fish. He began, "What shall we preach to the fish today, then? No better audience. Fish at least, have two good qualities as listeners: they listen and they do not speak. There is only one thing here that might discourage a preacher, which is that fish are people who are not going to let themselves be converted, but that difficulty is so widespread that it is almost no longer felt anymore."[35] In this portion he did not allude to the reluctance of natives to convert. He was

[29] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion,* 51.

[30] António Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts.* Trans. Gregory Rabassa (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2009), 21.

[31] Vincent Barletta, "Antonio Vieira's Empire of Word, Sea, and Sky" in The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts. Antonio Vieira and trans. Gregory Rabassa (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2009), 10.

[32] Anonymous, *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis* trans. L. Sherley-Price (London: Penguin books, 1959), 110-112.

[33] Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 22.

[34] Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony,* 23.

[35] Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony,* 23.

criticizing the Portuguese who he believed strayed from Christianity.

The structure is then divided into two portions, praising the fish and criticizing them. Vieira made mention of a number of different species, and their unique virtues and their shortcomings. However, unlike the fish, Vieira did not praise man. Through this allegorical technique, Vieira inserted commentary on the faults and flaws of men. While he educated the fish on their tendency to eat one another, in reality he was highlighting the tendency for men to metaphorically do the same. He exclaimed, "The oldest who are listening to me and are present here have surely seen it in this State and have heard[…]that the great ones[men]who were sent here, instead of governing and helping this State prosper, have destroyed it, because they have satisfied all the hunger they brought with them by eating and devouring the small."[36] Vieira placed himself in the lineage of Saint Anthony and sharply critiqued the non-religious Portuguese. To attempt to limit Portuguese involvement in Brazilian affairs, Vieira used Saint Anthony's original sermon as a framework to bring to light the abuses they had committed.

Vieira also portrayed Anthony as an exemplary man. Throughout the sermon, he explained Anthony's virtues. In one instance he writes, "But Christ's faithful servant Anthony, having some much knowledge, as I have already told you, and so much power, as you yourselves have experienced, had no one who had ever heard him speak of knowledge and power, much less boast about it."[37] In another part of the sermon, he said, "Anthony has also made himself smaller so that he can cling more to God. It follows from this that all who cling to God, who is immortal, are safe from dying like the other clingers."[38] The other clingers in this example were those who clung to secular leaders and materialistic things. Saint Anthony represented the opposite of how the colonists present were acting, and his example functioned as a way for them to once again return to goodness and God. Vieira made this clear when he referenced the biblical story of Tobias and the Fish in the *Book of Tobit* and its similarity to Anthony. In this story, an angel instructs Tobias to take the innards of the fish because they have mystical properties. Vieira exclaims,

> Surely, if that fish had been dressed in a monk's habit with a cord tied around it would have looked like a maritime portrait of Saint Anthony. Saint Anthony would open his mouth against heretics and come to them carried away by the fervor and zeal of divine faith and glory. And what did they do? They cried out like Tobias and were afraid of that man and thought he wanted to eat them. Oh, men, if only there were an angel who could reveal to you the nature of that man's heart and that gall that embitters you so much and how necessary it is for you! If only you could open that breast and see the insides, how surely you would discover to know clearly that there are only two things asked of you and for you: one is to enlighten and cure your blindness and the other to drive the demons from your homes…Oh, people of Maranhao, there is so much I could tell you now about this case! Open up, open these innards. Look, see this heart. But, oh yes. I was forgetting! I am not preaching to you, I am preaching to the fish.[39]

Vieira designated himself as an angel instructing the Portuguese to embrace Anthony's example and his holiness.

In the end, Antonio Vieira mobilized Saint Anthony for different reasons at different stages of his life. The *Sermon of Saint Anthony to Fish* invoked the Saint for a specific reason. It used the prominence of Anthony, which he had earlier helped to build, to advocate for the dismissal of Portuguese governments. He used Saint Anthony's example to give his words spiritual power and show the derogatory

[36] Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony* , 35.
[37] Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony,* 39.
[38] Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony,* 40.
[39] Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony,* 28-29.

character of the colonists. He also explained how one ought to act from a regular, Jesuit perspective by describing Anthony and his characteristics. Context is crucial to the development of this sermon. Its necessity seems to have come from the ill-treatment of natives that stemmed from Portugal's wars and imperialism in general. Additionally, it is important to note a potential motive of Vieira. He planned to go to Portugal just days afterwards, and if the king had supported Vieira's desire for a more local government, the Jesuits would have benefited and gained more authority in the absence of more secular, powerful men. This remarkable sermon was highly political. Saint Anthony's legacy functions as Vieira's rhetorical weapon in a clash between secular and spiritual authorities.

This idea that secular authorities had abused their rights and went too far and that Jesuits should be the protectors of indigenous peoples does not seem to be unique to Vieira. In the Chinese City of Macao, there is a spectacular sculpture of Anthony by the altar in Saint Anthony's Church. The Church, founded in the mid-sixteenth century, is one of the oldest in China.[40] The sculptor is not listed nor is the date of competition, but it was presumably done by a twentieth-century, Jesuit artist in an attempt to restore the original artwork. The church was plagued by fires, most recently having burned down in the 1930s.[41] I believe the sculpture is an authentic representation of seventeenth century art, because it was customary to portray Anthony in this way. Other forms of art, such as paintings, display this tradition. Figure A. depicts Anthony carrying a baby Christ with a globe right next to him. I believe that this particular depiction speaks about the duties and responsibilities of Jesuits. The globe represents their authority and call to help and convert all people. It is a symbol of evangelism. The infant Christ can be seen as a symbol of indigenous groups. They are primitive but innocent and they must be taken care of and looked after by a paternal figure, such as Saint Anthony.

Figure A. "Saint Anthony at the altar", www.Virtualtourist.com, accessed April, 10th, 2016. https://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Asia/Macao/Things_To_Do-Macao-St_Anthonys_Church-BR-1.html

Saint Anthony and the Kimpa Vita: Kongo 1684-1706

The Portuguese first landed in the Kongo in 1483.[42] The second mission, which came in 1491, saw the baptism of King João, and the kingdom's transformation into a Catholic state.[43] However, this was not a smooth or seamless religious change. Anne Hilton documents some of the friction that existed for centuries between Catholicism and native Kongolese beliefs. In the early sixteenth century, João's son, Afonso I, adamantly supported Christianity. He was even later believed by much of the Kongolese population to have been the first convert. Afonso pushed Christianity as an ideology to gain a new source of spiritual authority and to monopolize

[40] "St Anthony's Church, Macao" www.Virtualtourist.com, accessed April, 10th, 2016. https://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Asia/Macao/Things_To_Do-Macao-St_Anthonys_Church-BR-1.html

[41] "St Anthony's Church, Macao".

[42] Anne, Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1985), 50.

[43] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 51.

relations and trade with the Portuguese.[44] Interestingly, Catholicism was thought to be a religion bound to the nkadi mpemba realm; a realm Hilton writes, "was concerned with the cultural world of man and with man's material striving."[45] Indigenous practices still thrived in the mbumba realm, the realm of water and earth deities channeled by Kitome or native priests.[46] Moreover, Catholicism, being located in the nkadi mpemba realm, was associated with death while Kitomes were associated with life[47]. Afonso took advantage of the perceived nature of these two religions to legitimize his authority in both realms. As a result, from nearly the beginning Christian doctrine was spread widely, but not necessarily understood. This dual-religious nature and the Kongolese language obfuscated key tenets of Christianity such as Heaven, Hell, Christ's divinity, and monotheism.[48]

The Portuguese were important to the Kongo for two main reasons. The Kongolese depended on Portuguese goods and trade, and initially, only the Europeans could perform Christian sacraments.[49] However, direct rule from Portugal was resisted. Since first contact, the Portuguese did not have the manpower to subdue the Kongo. They exercised their control through trade, taxes, and religion. Skirmishes with Portugal ravaged the Kongo between 1640 and 1670.[50] However, all Portuguese forces were later withdrawn. When a group of Portuguese forces from Angola tried to conquer the Kongo in 1670, they were repelled. Thornton writes, "The colony of Angola, which bordered Kongo to the south, was held by the European country of Portugal, but Portugal had not been much of a threat since the princes of Soyo [a portion of the Kongo] crushed an invading force from Angola in 1670."[51]

While the Kongolese still depended on Portuguese trade, by the mid-seventeenth century they were able to negotiate a deal with Portugal and the Vatican, which relegated spiritual authority to secular Kongolese priests and Italian Capuchin monks. Thornton mentions this compromise when he writes,

> While Kongo would not have the right to choose the bishops who now resided in Portuguese Angola and were very reluctant to ordain any Kongolese priests, the Vatican sent missionaries to Kongo to perform the sacraments. These missionaries were to be Capuchins from Italy, a 'neutral' European country that would not damage either Kongo's or Portugal's place in international relations. Since Kongo already had a parish organization, the Capuchins established separate hospices and were not allowed to perform the sacraments within five leagues of any practicing secular parish priest.[52]

The Kongolese leaders had struggled with the Portuguese over issues such as religion and control; the bulk of the problems for ordinary citizens came from civil-war and the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

To explain the tendency for war in the late seventeenth century, it is necessary to first explore the historical development of Kongolese regional politics. The political structure of the Kongo was originally a system of tributary zones[53]. Each zone had lineages or clans, called kandas, which were matrilineal in nature.[54] The mani Kongo, an important title for males, was reserved for members of the Mwissikongo, an elite kanda and noble set of citizens who chose the king.[55] The mani Kongo and Mwissikongo dominated the interior of the Kongo. However, as the mani Kongo gained territory in the fourteenth century and formed political marriages, more people became eligible for the

[44] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 62.
[45] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 62.
[46] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 99.
[47] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 62.
[48] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 92-94.
[49] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 27.
[50] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 194.
[51] Thornton*, The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 27.
[52] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 62.
[53] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 32-33.
[54] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 8.
[55] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 34-37.

title of king, even those that were not of Mwissikongo kanda. Hilton displays this development when she writes, "As the kingdom expanded and the ruling kanda of distant extra-kanda chiefdoms provided wives for the mani Kongo, the possibility of kings being selected from members of these non-Mwissikongo kanda grew."[56] Succession and leadership became extremely complex as there were many distant groups vying for the throne.

In the early sixteenth century, the Kongo had achieved some stability. Afonso I and his lineage became the most prominent kings, though they were not without contention. By the 1540s, his grandson defeated rival factions and the Kongo again enjoyed relative peace.[57] These Mwissikongo kings used Christianity and the wealth that they had achieved by trading slaves to strengthen and secure their power. Moreover, they changed the ways the Kongolese thought about family descent. Hilton writes, "The Kingship itself was monopolized by a slave-based patrilineal segment supported by slave soldiers and slave councilors. The Christian religion was further adapted to provide the elite with a legitimating ideology."[58] Relative peace had been established by this kanada until the end of the sixteenth century.

Between 1600 and 1641, the development of new ports outside of the mani Kongo's jurisdiction, the ability for other regions to purchase Dutch guns, and the reconfiguration of local politics led to the decline of the mani Kongo. Hilton writes, "The centre weakened and the balance of slave and gun holding began to favour the provincial title-holders against the mani Kongo.[59] Provinces such as Ndembu, Matamba, Sonyo, Mbamba, and Wandu, all became increasingly more powerful.[60] Minor battles and wars sprung up intermittently.

The arrival of the Capuchins in 1645, lead to more disunity. The Capuchins had interfered and tried to ban local customs such as concubinage.[61] For some, this had caused a sort of identity crisis and sparked a distrust for Capuchins. In addition, by the 1650s Portugal had re-established its independence from Spain after a series of costly wars and demanded the Kongo to pay its trading debts. Many of the Kongolese resisted and were ultimately defeated at the Battle of Mbwila.[62] It was at this battle in 1665 that "most eminent Mwissikongo were killed."[63] With the loss of so many Mwissikongo, and no clear successor designated by the king, the Kongo was plunged into civil-war and nearly disintegrated.

Constant civil-war raged and caused great despair. By the late seventeenth century, the Princes of Soyo, Queen Ana, Pedro Kibenga, King Pedro IV, Duke Pedro Valle das Lagrimas, Alvaro, and Antonio were the major political leaders of different portions of the Kongo.[64] They were involved in a number of entanglements, conflicts, and alliances. Thornton captures Kongolese worries about war during this time when he writes, "The cost of warfare went way beyond battlefield deaths, hunger, loss of houses and possessions, and disruption. Wars always resulted in the capture of people as slaves."[65] Records suggest that between 1700 and 1709 alone, some 70,000 slaves were taken from a population of about 600,000.[66]

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a woman was born who seemed to offer hope for ending these awful conditions. A Kongolese noble-woman, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, went on to start a popular religious movement aimed at establishing stability in the Kingdom. She had experienced the toll war had on her father and fellow citizens and she desired change. She was not without contention but none-the-less amassed a significant group of followers. Her authority was derived from her claim to have died and been resurrected as Saint Anthony of Padua. In her

[56] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 36.
[57] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 65.
[58] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 103.
[59] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 141.
[60] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 141.
[61] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 194.
[62] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 198.
[63] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 198.
[64] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 76-77.
[65] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 98.
[66] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 100.

teachings Anthony, who was one with her, surpassed all other saints and perhaps even the Trinity in holiness, virtue, and rank. On the surface her doctrine seems quite bizarre, like some extreme perversion of Catholicism. However, Dona Beatriz's mobilized different aspects and figures of Christianity, particularly Saint Anthony, for a particular reason– to attempt to bring about social change. The closest surviving account of her words exists in the prayer *Salve Antoniana*. This prayer became not only a symbol of identification for the Antonians, but also an agent of conversion. Ultimately through the *Salve Antoniana* and the missionary accounts of her movement, it is apparent that Saint Anthony was mobilized within an African and Kongolese theological framework, as a means of resistance against constant wars, inequality, and the trans-Atlantic slave trade, all of which had plagued her people. Her prayer reads,

> Salve you say and you do not know why. Salve you recite and you do not know why. Salve you beat and you do not know why. God wants the intention, it is the intention that God takes. Marriage serves nothing, it is the intention that God takes. Prayer serves nothing, it is the intention that God wants. Good works serve nothing, it is the intention that God wants. The Mother with her Son on her Knees. If there had not been St. Anthony what would they have done? St. Anthony is the restorer of the kingdom of Kongo. St. Anthony is the comforter of the kingdom of Heaven. St. Anthony is the door to Heaven. St. Anthony holds the keys to Heaven. St. Anthony is above the Angels and the Virgin Mary. St. Anthony is the second God. [...][67]

Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita was born in 1684 to a noble kanda.[68] She was baptized and went on to consider herself a good Christian.[69] Like most Kongolese, she was well versed in the basics of Christian theology and she could recite common prayers.[70] In the Kongo, all children regardless of class were taught the basic tenets of Christian belief.[71] Amazingly, "Everyone could say the prayers, even in rural areas far from the centers of culture, even in sections of the country that had not seen an ordained priest in anyone's lifetime."[72]

At a young age she had received visions and apparitions.[73] By 1696, her spiritual gifts became more evident, and she trained to become a Nganga, or a medium to the Other World.[74] Although she had considered herself a Christian, she still practiced local traditions. A key tenet of Kongolese spiritual belief that greatly influenced her was Kindoki. Thornton writes, "The power of Kindoki was simply the gift of possessing the ability to operate with the assistance of the Other World. [...] There could be good and bad Kindoki."[75] Shortly after, she offered services as a spiritual vessel, through which advice was granted to those attempting to resolve personal and/or societal problems. The Italian Capuchin priests outlawed this practice and tried to eradicate it. Disheartened, she tried to live as a married woman. However, this did not last.[76] Within the Kongolese populace, growing distrust over the priest's use of their own perceived kindoki was emerging.[77] Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita eventually returned to religious matters where she would become significantly more influential.

Around 1700, there had primarily been a lull in fighting. One Kongolese leader, Pedro IV, maneuvered competing factions towards accepting him as king. He found an extremely beneficial ally in the Capuchin Order.[78] Though some distrusted them, the Capuchins were generally well-respected as priests and as negotiators. Pedro, his supporters, and the

[67] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 216.
[68] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 36.
[69] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 17.
[70] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 35.
[71] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 28.
[72] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 29.
[73] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 26.
[74] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 53.
[75] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 42-43.
[76] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 70.
[77] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 70.
[78] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 69-70.

Capuchins planned to recapture the symbolic capital of Sao Salvador, which had been abandoned during previous wars, and restore the kingdom. However, Pedro was a calculated and somewhat indecisive man. Meanwhile, the Kongolese became eager for a stable king and the possibility of peace. In a bizarre series of events, a few men and women proclaimed to have started to receive strange visions and even possessions urging them to instruct the King to act swiftly.[79] They further revealed that God would punish those who disturbed or delayed the process towards achieving peace.

Shortly after in 1704, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita herself was the center of a fantastic event. She was stricken with an illness, died, and was resurrected as Saint Anthony.[80] After her resurrection, she asserted her beliefs about Anthony's supremacy and that Christianity had Kongolese roots through her sermons and prayers. John Thornton writes, "God revealed another truer version of church history to her. The Capuchins were not telling the Nativity story correctly, and the Kongolese needed to know the truth. Jesus had been born in the royal city of Sao Salvador."[81] In her view, Jesus and all major Christian actors were actually African. The *Salve Antoniana* was fundamentally shaped by this knowledge of the alleged truth about Christianity's origin. This was a direct pushback against Capuchin notions of sanctity and race: that Africans could not be saints.[82] In this way, the *Salve Antoniana* becomes an assertion of independence from the European mendicants and also a redefinition of what it means to be Kongolese.

Through miraculous restorations of fertility to barren women and her captivating speeches, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita drew a great following, comprised mostly of commoners.[83] The *Salve Antoniana* became an instrument of recruitment. It mimics the *Salve Regina*, which the people had no doubt sung before. It became a prayer of hope and an alternative to the ruling groups which had failed the common people. She would capture Sao Salvador. There, God would coronate a King. Peace would be established.

Her movement transcended class and gender. Thousands of commoners and nobles, men and women, soon joined her to travel to Sao Salvador. Her supporters often wore Crucifixes with Anthony on them instead of Christ.[84] Figure B. comes from around this period, and it would have been a typical piece worn by wealthier followers. Together they captured the abandoned city and thrived for some time. Alliances with other warlords were secured through the dissemination of "Little Anthonys", her disciples who themselves were believed to be carnate vessels for other saints.[85] However, her success was short-lived. Pedro and the Capuchins were convinced that she was demonically possessed and they tried to suppress her heretical movement[86]. Ultimately, while in the capital, she became pregnant with the child of one of her chosen followers.[87] To avoid scandal she fled and gave birth. Unfortunately she lodged at a settlement that had been directly in the path of a band of Pedro's men[88]. She was found guilty of inspiring disunity, and burned at the stake. Even after her death her supporters stood firm and, once again, war ravaged the land. Common people on both sides once again found themselves as victims, and those caught were most often sold into slavery. What Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita had tried so hard to avoid, once again consumed the land. Due to the slave trade and the African Diaspora, the Antonian movement had long lasting and far-reaching effects. Slave revolts and modern African democracy movements can be argued to have been influenced by this spiritual revolution.

[79] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 107.
[80] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 110.
[81] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 112.
[82] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 112-113.
[83] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 132.
[84] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 148.
[85] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 148.
[86] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 123.
[87] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 166.
[88] Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony,* 168.

Figure B. "Dona Beatriz: Kongo Prophet", www.metmuseum.org, October, 2003. Accessed April, 15th, 2016. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/pwmn_4/hd_pwmn_4.htm

The *Salve Antoniana* and the broader context, are ultimately significant because they depict mystical and strategic representations of Saint Anthony for reasons unique to these Kongolese circumstances. Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita was reborn as Anthony; she alluded gender and challenged the established secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies. It is not just Anthony's legacy and namesake that are mobilized, but also his spirit and his essence. Practically, there are a few potential reasons as to why Anthony. His legacy and renowned position as a patron Saint of Portugal certainly contributed to Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita's alleged possession, just as well as his noted passion for mothers and children seems to have been in line with the nature of her most prominent miracles. Moreover, Hilton proposes that Anthony was potentially utilized because he was not attached by name to any religious groups in the Kongo.[89]

It is Anthony, through Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, who wants to move to the capital, establish a legitimate king, and stop the atrocities. When the *Salve Antoniana* repeatedly states that intention matters, this is an attempt to stand up against the blatant abuses and greed of the secular lords and rulers and also those Capuchins who were seen as corrupt. Anthony became a figure of resistance against a reprehensible system that served the desires of the elite. He was the actor who fought against those who created war and perpetuated the slave trade with no regard to the well-being of the common people.

Because Christian and Portuguese concepts did not always translate well and fit within the boundaries of the Kikongo thought and language and vice versa, there is some inherent tension between the two groups. In the Salve Antoniana, Saint Anthony was recreated to become African, just like Christ and many others. There is an interest in owning their history and their future. Anthony becomes central to this sect's identity. He had possessed Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita's body. Experience trumped the scriptural knowledge of the Capuchins and proved the movement's validity and worthiness. Ultimately, Anthony served as more than just an agent of resistance against physical maltreatment. The movement also resisted some Capuchin and European concepts of race and religion through the reinvention of Anthony, the Gospels, and Saint's lives as local and African. In this regard, Anthony's utilization breaks down the established power dynamics.

Analyzing the art of Settlers and the Converted: Case study of Saint Anthony's role in Goa

Goa is situated on India's western coast. Its favorable location allowed for it to become a successful region of trade. R.P Rao, writes, "In its days of glory, Goa was the chief centre of commerce between the east and the west."[90] Starting around 1510, Afonso d'Albuquerque led a military campaign against the Muslims in India.[91] During this time, the Portuguese focused their attention on capturing and fortifying advantageous ports, such as Goa.[92] In

[89] Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo,* 209.

[90] R.P. Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa: 1510-1961, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 13.

[91] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 29.

[92] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 35.

the many ensuing military struggles, the Portuguese were ruthlessly intolerant of the Muslims, reigniting an almost ancient feud that stemmed from the Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. Albuquerque recalled, "Wherever they were found and caught, no life was spared to any Musalman, and their mosques were filled up and set on fire. We counted 6,000 dead bodies. It was, my lord, a great deed, well fought and well finished."[93]

Portuguese treatment of the local Hindus was similarly abhorrent. Certain Hindu chiefs petitioned for Portuguese help against Muslim forces. Unfortunately, Rao writes, "The foreigners took advantage of these invitations and not only defeated the enemy of the Indian friend but later subjugated the friend himself."[94] As a result, Portuguese persons and converted-Christians were given greater opportunities in Goa. Mixed marriage was encouraged and Islam and Hinduism were shunned.[95] In 1540, it was ordered that all Hindu temples be destroyed. By 1560, the Inquisition had been introduced.[96] Rao writes, "The choice the foreign rulers offered Indians was the cross or the sword."[97] The most willing converts were those from lower classes, the poor and oppressed. Mass conversions rapidly changed the religious make up of Goa, and forced individuals to adapt quickly. [98] With this knowledge, the agency of converted Christians comes into question. There was no other choice than to be Christian. Resistance meant great struggle and potentially death. Ultimately, Goa became the heart of Portuguese trade, religion, and military power in India, until Protestant intervention towards the end of the seventeenth century started to bring about decline.[99]

Saint Anthony was quite the important figure in Goa. One marvelous church dedicated to him, which dates to this colonial period, can be found in Siolim-Bardez, Goa. In 1568, Franciscan monks first built a church there to serve the spiritual needs of local converts and the Portuguese colonists.[100] However, by 1600, it was decided that a newer, larger church was in order. Construction was planned but the order did not have the necessary capital to build. [101] Legend has it that a string of fantastic miracles performed by Saint Anthony first involving the salvation of a pair of Portuguese merchants and then the subordination of a menacing serpent, led to the new church's construction.[102] As a result, the church boasts a distinct and unparalleled set of artwork reminiscent of these miracles and a religious character that is uniquely local. Ultimately, in this Goan context, Saint Anthony is invoked in legend and art in ways that connect him to their identity and heritages.

Local tradition asserts that around the time when the Franciscans were wishing to build a new church, a pair of Portuguese merchants were struck by a terrible storm at sea.[103] On board, they carried a small statue of Saint Anthony, and to this statue they promised that if they were to land safely they would found and dedicate a church in his honor.[104] The men were saved and soon after landed in Goa. Here they came into contact with the Mendicants, themselves desiring to build a church.[105] However, the story does not stop there; the church experienced trouble during construction. A cobra terrified workers and

[93] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 30.
[94] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 29.
[95] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 31, 35.
[96] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 36, 42.
[97] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 41.
[98] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 43.
[99] Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 37, 39.
[100] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa, accessed April 17, 2016, http://www.stanthony-siolim.org/?pg=historychurch.
[101] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.
[102] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.
[103] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.
[104] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.
[105] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

delayed the building.[106] Seemingly nothing could be done to remove the snake. In a last ditch effort, a statue of Anthony was placed inside. Miraculously, the next morning workers found the snake subdued by a cord in Anthony's hand.[107] Construction continued, and the Church was finally completed in 1630.

The legend is wonderfully reflected in the church's sculptures. They would have been intended to glorify and portray Anthony's legacy to a mostly illiterate populace. All three groups of this small settlement, the Franciscans, the Portuguese settlers, and the converted Goans, would have enjoyed these renditions. However, it is important to note that the Church was rebuilt in the early twentieth century.[108] The dates of origin of the sculptures were not recorded, nor do we know the artists. Nonetheless, the church has expressed a desire to be authentic. They have outlined some of their plan to restore paintings and other artistic mediums. Therefore, it seems most likely that the sculptures are either original or direct reproductions. Therefore, I have used them as evidence from the seventeenth century.

In Figure C. Anthony is situated just above the altar. Like in many other portrayals, he is holding the infant Christ and a book. It was believed that Anthony once experienced a divine light and was visited by the young Christ. During this visitation, Anthony nurtured Christ in a paternal role. Furthermore, the book may be a symbol of wisdom and his dedication to evangelism. Perhaps most interesting, is the presence of the serpent. Just like in the legend, Anthony pacifies the snake with his cord. This sculpture is a unique fusion of established Catholic tradition and local legend. In it, Anthony is presented as something more; he is local and orthodox.

In Figure D, Anthony is facing out from the church. Like in Figure C, Anthony is holding Christ, a cross, and the serpent. The simple repetition suggests the power and importance of the event. These sculptures do not show just Saint Anthony of Padua, they show Saint Anthony of Padua, patron of Siolim-Bardez, Goa. In essence, Anthony is localized.

Figure C. "Anthony above the altar", http://joegoauk.blogspot.com, June, 2011. Accessed April19th,2016, http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony.

[106] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

[107] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

[108] "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

Figure D. "Anthony looking outwards", http://joegoauk.blogspot.com, June, 2011. Accessed April 19th, 2016, http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony.

To understand the significance of this legend more fully, the relationship between those born in colonies and those born in Portugal must also be acknowledged. C.R. Boxer documents the animosity between the two when he writes, "Even men born of European parents in the East were regarded with disdain by their colleagues born in Portugal. […] In the 1630s a determined attempt was made by the European-born Franciscan friars to prohibit any friar born of white parents in the East from holding high office in the Order." Given this context, it is possible that the miracles of Saint Anthony served as divine argument for the legitimacy of Portuguese religious and settlers abroad.

Ultimately, Anthony is depicted because he is the church's patron. However, the way he is artistically portrayed is enlightening. From the present sculptures and the accompanying legend, it is apparent that Saint Anthony was utilized and acknowledged as a personal entity, supportive of the church and the population. Whether this was done consciously or not, this remains important because it shows how his story was mobilized in a specific way and how this achieved certain ends. To those in Goa, Anthony was not remembered for just his oratory ability and from his hagiographical legend, but rather he was also recognized as the founder and savior of their church. Anthony became something local and infused with the settlement's identity.

To the Portuguese settlers and Franciscans, Anthony's perceived presence in the form of miracles may have also been seen as a confirmation of his dedication to them. Anthony was with them and it is plausible that by venerating him they found a way validate and connect to their European and Christian heritage. Moreover, the colonial history of Goa cannot be divorced from the history of this church. Because of the prevalence of the Portuguese Inquisition during the time of construction, dedication to the epitome of Portuguese Christianity, Anthony, by new converts, may seem unsurprising and perhaps even strategic. It is overly dismissive to argue that Saint Anthony was only venerated by converts at Siolim to appease Portuguese authorities and avoid the cruelties of the Inquisition, or conversely, that they were all forced to venerate him. However, the possibility that this was a factor cannot be ignored. Alternatively, venerating Anthony could have been a move of power to have some control over their religious practice and direction. In the end, determining which groups were the most influential in the construction of Anthony's church and the accompanying narrative has not been established. However, it is evident that all three groups, Franciscans, Portuguese settlers, and native converts, seem to have played some part in this unique depiction.

Conclusion

Having been somewhat familiar with the different accounts of the Life of Saint Anthony and his general story, I was perplexed when I first read Vainfas' argument that he was invoked as a military figure by various leaders of Portugal during the seventeenth century. Was Anthony not just a distinguished preacher and academic? Did I miss a crucial part of his remembrance? I found that the portion of his life that seemed to vaguely connect him to the military and thus the Portuguese wars with the

Dutch was his condemnation of heretics. The Dutch were heretics, and the logic followed that Anthony was a protector of the Orthodox Catholic faith. This line of thought is not too much of a stretch, but after Anthony became a military figure against the Dutch, he took on another new role.

His legacy against the Dutch reshaped him to also be fit to been seen as the restorer of Portuguese sovereignty from the Spanish crown through military means. His established legacy and his new, contemporary legacy both dictated how he was used in the future. The importance of context is a pervasive theme throughout this paper. Anthony's new status was directly dependent on present events and concerns of that time. I decided to look further. I wondered if, and how, Anthony had been used by non-dominant groups during the early modern period. What problems and concerns afflicted religious orders, indigenous groups, and settler populations? How did Anthony remedy or appear to possess the potential to remedy them?

I found that Anthony was indeed a figure with widespread adoration, who possessed different meanings to different groups. Antonio Vieira served as my Jesuit source, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita as my indigenous source, and the population of Siolim Goa as my example for settlers and newly converted people. To Antonio Vieira, I found that Anthony was a forum through which Vieira could criticize the Portuguese secular authorities for their injustices against the native Brazilians. To the Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, Anthony became physically incarnate in her body as the utmost spiritual authority, to condemn greed and hypocrisy and their spawn: war, destruction, poverty, racial inequality, and the slave trade. Finally, to those in Siolim, Anthony became a largely local figure. His miracles may have served as evidence of his dedication to those ethnic-Europeans who may have been deemed impure or lesser by mainland Europeans. Moreover, because of the inquisition and benefits available to Christians, venerating Anthony may have served as a way for natives to have some agency in a system that forced conversion. In each case, I found that this Anthony was far from the one found in his hagiographies.

One can argue that each of these cases mobilizes Anthony as a figure of resistance. His power seems to eclipse the power of the secular realm. Although they may have been weak or viewed as lesser, Anthony was greater than kings and other powerful groups and with him they could achieve their goal. This idea that religion can function as form of resistance is particularly interesting in indigenous contexts. Christianity can be seen as a weapon of domination, but it also seems that there are religious avenues, such as saints, through which the dominated can fight back.

However, just because Anthony was used in each of these contexts does not mean that these representations were done so purposefully, strategically, or even consciously. It is most likely that Vieira knew what he was doing and that he realized that Anthony was the perfect figure to accomplish a specific goal. The other two examples are less clear. Perhaps Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita was molded by her circumstances and acted on impulse. Evidence is scant and that which we have is translated. It seems to be the case that the Siolim population really believed the tales about Anthony's miracles. The idea that they deliberately flocked to or praised Anthony for the benefits he could have offered can be debated. In the end, whether they invoked Anthony purposefully or not, is not as important. What is important is how Anthony served them.

This research adds to the scholarly conversation, but it also leads to and generates new questions. Did images of other saints during other times undergo similarly fantastic transformations? How about Protestant countries? Considering their lack of saints, did their religion offer a religious forum of resistance to marginalized groups? Were there religious substitutes or did non-European, non-State actors find opportunities elsewhere? How did the immergence of periods of immense social change such as the Industrial Revolution

and the enlightenment factor in? All these questions and more seem to merit attention.

Furthermore, I am very interested in other aspects of the relationship between sanctity and empire. In particular, I would like to explore how living saints, such as Saint Xavier, complicated matters. On the one hand, Xavier is saintly because of his missionary work. On the other, he simultaneously seems to be saintly independent of his work. The Jesuit journal of Le Comte and Louis Daniel displays this discrepancy.[109] How then, did his nature legitimize and confirm contemporary European and Christian ideas about conquest and imperialism? How did native groups receive him? Was he in any way a source ojohf tension?

Ultimately, this research provides insight in how people confront the troubles that they face. I have focused on religion but that is just one option. Likewise, research opportunities are not confined to the early modern era. Similar techniques and methods can be applied to other segments of the past and to our contemporary. We can learn more about how power is contested by studying topics like the relationship between sanctity and empire.

[109] Le Comte, *Louis Daniel. Memoirs and observations typographical, physical, mathematical, mechanical, natural, civil, and ecclesiastical, made in a late journey through the empire of China, and published in several letters particularly upon the Chinese pottery and varnishing, the silk and other manufactures, the pearl fishing, the history of plants and animals, description of their cities and publick works, number of people, their language, manners and commerce, their habits, economy, and government, the philosophy of Confucius, the state of Christianity : with many other curious and useful remarks*. London: C. 1700

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Anonymous, *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*. Trans. L. Sherley-Price. London: Penguin Classics, 1959.

This text, translated by Sherley Price, is a hagiographical account of the life of Saint Francis. It is fantastical in nature, and it describes the events and episodes of his life. Moreover, the book includes accounts of other prominent Franciscans, such as Saint Anthony of Padua.

"Anthony above the altar", http://joegoauk.blogspot.com, June, 2011. Accessed April 19th, 2016, http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony.

This image displays the altar piece of the church at Siolim-Bardez, Goa. Anthony is located high above. He is depicted with Christ, a book, and a serpent.

"Anthony looking outwards", http://joegoauk.blogspot.com, June, 2011. Accessed April 19th, 2016, http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony.

Anthony is shown staring outside of the aforementioned church at Siolim. With him, he holds the infant Christ, a book presumably of scripture or preaching related materials, and a serpent in his other hand.

"Dona Beatriz: Kongo Prophet", www.metmuseum.org, October, 2003. Accessed April, 15th, 2016. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/pwmn_4/hd_pwmn_4.htm

This is a depiction of a crucified Anthony created sometime around the 17th or 18th century. It is a wonderful blend of European and African styles.

Gilliat-Smith, Ernest. *Saint Anthony of Padua according to his contemporaries*. London & Toronto: J.M. Dent and sons, limited, 1926.

This text, translated by Gilliat-Smith, tells the story of Saint Anthony in a modern way by combining Anthony's Hagiographies. It draws upon the *Primitive Legend* which was written by an anonymous author, *Julian von Speier's Legend*, and the *Dialogus Legend* which was written for The Franciscan General Crescentius. The piece gives particular attention to the *Primitive Legend*.

Le Comte, *Louis Daniel. Memoirs and observations typographical, physical, mathematical, mechanical, natural, civil, and ecclesiastical, made in a late journey through the empire of China, and published in several letters particularly upon the Chinese pottery and varnishing, the silk and other manufactures, the pearl fishing, the history of plants and animals, description of their cities and publick works, number of people, their language, manners and commerce, their habits, economy, and government, the philosophy of Confucius, the state of Christianity : with many other curious and useful remarks*. London: C. 1700

This is a series of letters written by Le Comte and Daniel that describes the state of affairs in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It ranges from the Chinese economy to the state of the Chinese governments. The text is Jesuit in nature, and gives a great deal of attention to the state of Christianity.

"Saint Anthony at the altar", www. Virtualtourist.com, accessed April, 10th, 2016. https://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Asia/Macao/Things_To_Do-Macao-St_Anthonys_Church-BR-1.html

This representation and sculpture is just near the altar at Saint Anthony's Church in Macao. Anthony possesses the infant Christ, and a globe.

"The Bull Romanus Pontifex (Nicholas V), January 8, 1455." P. De Noxeto, accessed April 17th, 2016, https://www.nativeweb.org/pages/legal/indig-romanus-pontifex.html.

This text is a translation of the bull Romanus Pontifex. The bull was written by Pope Nicholas V to King Afonso of Portugal in 1454. Written as a sequal to *Dum Diversas*, in this bull Nicholas permits Afonso to control more territories in Africa and elsewhere. Nicholas bestows the power to subjugate natives and bring them to Christianity.

Thorton, John K. *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*. New York: Cambridge Press, 1998.

This text by Thorton, provides translations of Kongolese and Portuguese religious authorities pertaining to Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita. It documents the rise of the heretical sect known as the Antonian movement and its subsequent suppression. Moreover, Thorton provides eloquent commentary and his own interpretation of the material.

Vieira, Anthony, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts*. Trans. Gregory Rabassa, Vincent Barletta. Tagus: 2009.

This work is a translated account by Gregory Rabassa of Vieira's sermons. It displays some of the major works that the prominent Portuguese Jesuit composed in the early and mid- seventeenth century. The texts that Rabassa has translated are controversial texts which propelled Vieira into conflict with the Portuguese inquisition.

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Boxer , C.R *, Four centuries of Portuguese expansion, 1415-1825; a succinct survey*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969.

Boxer's survey gives significant attention to the history behind the Portuguese empire and its colonial possessions. It focuses on early Portuguese exploration, and then provides in depth research on Portuguese Africa and South America. It

also deals with the contemporary European struggles that Portugal was involved with during the early modern era.

Gauvin Alexander, Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

This text includes a number of Jesuit and Native paintings, and offers commentary on their meaning. It explores the evolution of art, particularly religious art, by both European and Indigenous groups after the Jesuits had made contact.

Greer, Allan and Bilinkoff, Jodi, *Colonial Saints: Discovering the holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

This book, edited by Greer and Bilinkoff, compiles a number of scholarly articles that deal with the importance of Saints to Native populations and settlers in the colonial period. In particular, Ronaldo Vainfas' article, *St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration*, deals with how Saint Anthony became an important symbol for the Portuguese and peoples colonized by the Portuguese. Other entries, deal explicitly with the importance of Saints to local contexts.

Hilton, Anne. *The Kingdom of Kongo*. New York: Oxford Press, 1985.

This text deals with the history of the Kingdom of Kongo from its early history to the modern age. It provides ample background for the political, economic, and social sectors. Moreover, its section on the Antonian movement provides in-depth discussion and context.

James E. Goehring, *Politics, Monasticism, and Miracles in Sixth Century Upper Egypt: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Coptic Texts on Abraham of Farshut*, (Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 50.

Goehring's book explores the relationship between hagiographies and the context they were written it. It affirms the belief that hagiographies are suspect to be biased and reflect the circumstances the writer existed in.

John Gascoigne, John, *Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective*,in journal of Religious History, vol. 32, No. 2. Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Asia, 2008.

Gascoigne's text explores other scholarship done on the historiographies of Empire. It uses the British Empire as a framework to explore questions of empire and religion. Its format can function as a methodology for examining other empires outside of Britain

R. P, Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa: 1510-1961*. Delhi: P.S. Jayasinghe, 1963.

Rao's work goes into the Portuguese history of the colonization of Goa. It focuses on the economy, social movements, and the religious history of the land. Moreover, it moves beyond the colonial period and examines the effects into the twentieth century.

Ronald J, Morgan, *Spanish American saints and the rhetoric of identity, 1600-1810*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, c2002.

Morgan's work deals with how important the concept of Sainthood is to Spanish settlers. It examines how those born in the New World can identify with their European and Catholic heritage through newly recognized and canonized saints. It deals less with established saints and more with saints who emerged during the colonial time period from colonial settings.

"St. Anthony's Church - Siolim Bardez Goa." St. Anthony's Church - Siolim Bardez Goa. Accessed March 24, 2016. http://www.stanthony-siolim.org/.

This website deals with the history of a particular church in Goa dedicated to Saint Anthony. It deals extensively with the two local legends. It highlights Anthony's supposed eradication of a serpent and his role as the miraculous savior of two fisherman. In addition, this website supplies pictures of the artwork present in the church, dedicated to the Saint.

Image of Alexis De Tocqueville, from Wikimedia Commons

The Enlightened Colonist

By

May Selcraig

French liberal Alexis de Tocqueville stressed the utmost importance of the three ideals of the French Revolution: liberty, fraternity and equality. He argued for gradual change that would bring about individual liberties and the democratic ideals of the French Revolution. His desire to have France follow in America's democratic footsteps evolved into his acknowledgement of democracy's fragility. In Tocqueville's analysis, he theorized that democratization required a guide for democracy to be implemented smoothly. Given his support of democracy, it may seem inconsistent that he also supported the conquest and subjugation of Kabyles and Arabs in Algeria. This paper argues that it is indeed a contradiction that he believed in colonization while supporting a system that endorses equality, fraternity, liberty and democracy.

Tocqueville strongly believed in a political system where liberty and democracy were the primary political values. A classic prototypical French liberal of the time period, he believed a civilization would gradually evolve from barbarianism to a civilized democracy through continuing change. Tocqueville believed the Old Regime to be dead, and rejected the July Monarchy and Louis-Philippe. He held individual rights in the highest regard, and opposed regimes and teachings that meant to suppress them. Tocqueville trusted the beliefs emitted by the revolution, believed democracy was both inevitable and foolish to fight, and continuously reiterated the importance of individual liberties. Like other classic liberals at the time, he was fearful of a revolution and argued instead for steady change. He went on to write about democracy and equality, even using these ideals to justify his later colonization of other peoples. Tocqueville agreed with the concept of equality for all, but he also believed in a hierarchy with France at the top, a direct contradiction to the idea of equality.

Just as other countries at the time, France had begun colonization in order to remain on the international scene. As a colonist sympathizer, Tocqueville essentially set out to subjugate a civilization with the intention of forcing his political ideals of democracy and equality upon them, while assuming a direct hierarchy with France at the top. When first colonizing Algeria he had a very respectful approach to the citizens already living there. He believed in learning their language, religion, culture and gaining more insight into their way of life.[110] He understood the need for coexisting with Arabs and Kabyles to a certain extent, and while he did eventually plan on conquering them, his intention was not a militaristic conquest right away.

Tocqueville saw the two inhabitants, the Kabyles and Arabs, as separate entities. He favored the Kabyles, mainly because he believed they were half-civilized, unlike the "savage" Arabs, and could eventually be trained, educated and made into soldiers by the French. He admired the Kabyles' skill in the "necessary arts"[111] such as iron mining, weapon production and fabric weaving. He was also conscious of the territorial nature of the tribe, and respected their model of government. Tocqueville was less favorable toward the Arabs, notably because they practiced Islam. He noted the large inequality that existed within the Arab community that did not exist within the Kabyles. He believed the Arabs were "half-savage peoples, they honor power and force above all else."[112] When it came to conquering the Kabyles and Arabs, his ideas for the Kabyles were more moderate, and decided "it would be much easier to conquer them with our luxuries than with our cannon."[113] Tocqueville acknowledged that "the country of the Kablyes is closed…but the soul of the Kabyles is open to us,"[114] meaning that the mountains made the country impenetrable, but the French could influence the Kabyles through their predisposition towards commerce. Tocqueville planned to "continue to establish frequent and peaceful relations with the Kabyles,"[115] so that they would fear war more than they feared Tocqueville and his men. He saw the Arabs as a more complicated, difficult race to conquer and believed them more inclined to war. Unlike the Kabyles, who found pleasure in material objects, Arabs valued government, forming a great nation and immaterial pleasures. His first aim was to familiarize the Arabs with the French and their involvement in their internal affairs. He then planned to create anarchy and disrupt their leader, so that the Arabs would fall more easily to the French.

Four years later, Tocqueville's tone changed from one of mild tolerance and respect to one in support of geopolitical militaristic imposition over the Algerians in order to keep France from facing decline and maintaining French presence on the international stage.[116] He believed he had two options in colonizing Algeria: he could "subordinate the inhabitants and govern them indirectly"[117] or he could "replace the former inhabitants with the conquering race."[118] He also rejected the idea of only dominating Algeria and not colonizing it. Tocqueville argued "colonization without domination will always be incomplete and precarious work,"[119] and that the colonists must unite the two systems. While he may have valued the Algerian's cultures and opinions in

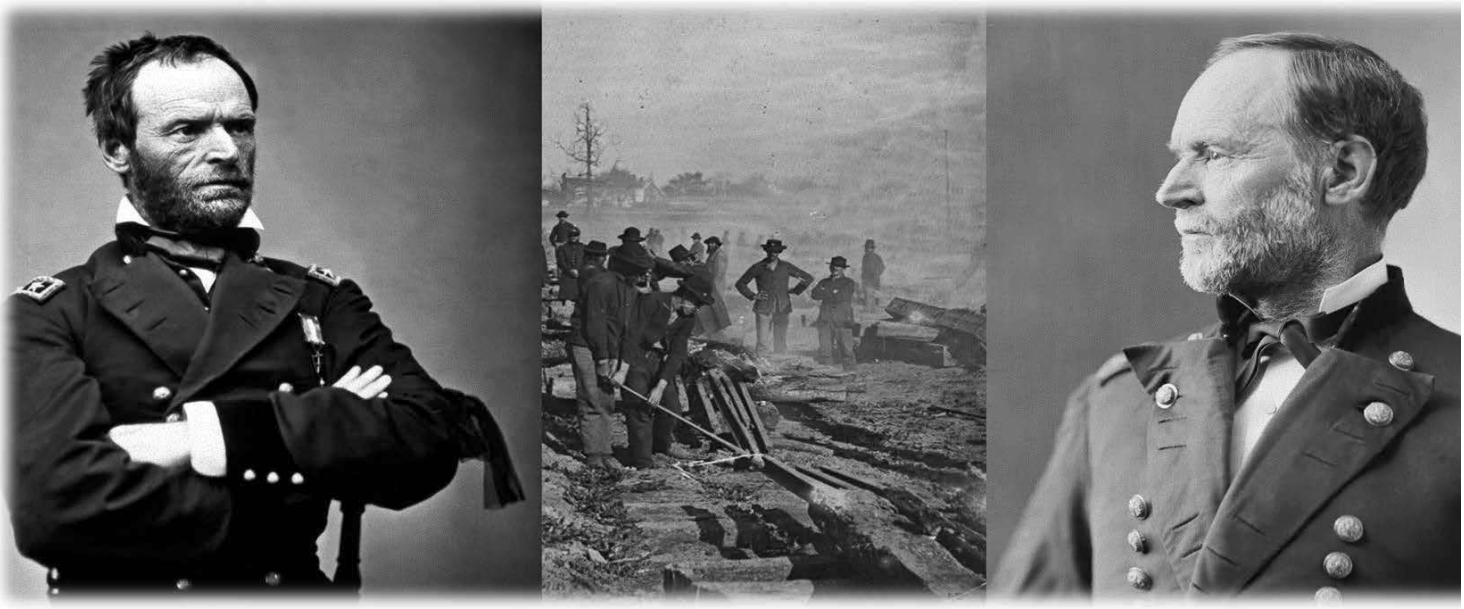
[110] Alexis de Tocqueville, "Letter on Algeria," in *Writings on Empire and Slavery*, ed. Jennifer Pitts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 25.
[111] Tocqueville, "Letter," 6.
[112] Tocqueville, "Letter," 10.
[113] Tocqueville, "Letter," 7.
[114] Tocqueville, "Letter," 20.
[115] Tocqueville, "Letter," 20.
[116] Alexis de Tocqueville, "Essay on Algeria," in *Writings on Empire and Slavery*, ed. Jennifer Pitts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 29.
[117] Tocqueville, "Essay," 61.
[118] Tocqueville, "Essay," 61.
[119] Tocqueville, "Essay," 63.

the past, he now believed that "if they are not for us, they will be against us"[120] and that France would use violence if necessary. He rejected any idea of armistice, claiming that "to flatter ourselves that we could ever establish a solid peace with an Arab prince of the interior would…be a manifest error"[121] and argued instead to "dishearten and exhaust the tribes through war."[122] When Tocqueville first came to Algeria he had encouraged coercive and strategic ways to conquer the people there, but four years later he advocated to "fight them with the utmost violence and in the Turkish manner…by killing everything we meet."[123] He also advocated cutting off the Arabs from commerce and trapping them between their troops, as well as destroying and ravaging crops and harvests during harvest season.

Several things had occurred in France that led Tocqueville to take this new stance. France was attempting to sustain the international balance of power, as England, Germany and many other European countries were also colonizing African and Asian countries. The country also used colonization to display a show of imperialistic nationalism for their people to adopt. Once this idea was adopted people found many ways to show their patriotism and support of colonization; for example, painter Eugene Delacroix was able to create paintings that visualized the romanticism and nationalistic sense of pride that colonization brought to France. The expedition to Algeria also reminded the French of Napoleon I's expedition to Egypt, where he recovered the Rosetta Stone, a timeless artifact for the Enlightenment. With this in mind, Tocqueville and other colonists were able to stress the importance of the French expedition into other countries.[124]

Tocqueville and other French liberals were able to use their political beliefs to reinforce and justify their colonization of Algeria. Tocqueville in particular used his personal theories about democracy to support and validate his expedition. While he wanted other countries to follow France's example, he did not believe that every country could find democracy on their own, rather that democracy was fragile and required a guide. This was part of his justification for remaining in Algeria and continuing France's conquest of the country. French liberals, along with Tocqueville, believed that Algerians were barbarians and had a need for a country like France, a country that could act as a benevolent mother and guide them through the process of democratization.[125] Like the July Monarchy, Tocqueville did not believe in revolutionary rupture, but rather a gradual change to implement revolutionary ideas, so the Arabs and Kabyles could not be entitled to equality right away. Tocqueville believed they would be granted equality, liberty and fraternity once they had earned it and were deemed worthy. As colonization continued, Tocqueville believed that, if the Algerians were to become more involved and civically engaged, they could be civilized enough to be democratic partners with the French.

[120] Tocqueville, "Essay," 60.
[121] Tocqueville, "Essay," 63.
[122] Tocqueville, "Essay," 68.
[123] Tocqueville, "Essay," 70.
[124] Junko Takeda, "Liberalism and Colonialism: A Contradiction?" (lecture, Syracuse University, January 29, 2011).
[125] Takeda, "Liberalism and Colonialism: A Contradiction?".



Images of Tecumseh Sherman from Wikimedia Commons

Sherman's Bummers and the Depths of Modern War

By

Nate Wilkins

The destruction wrought by William Tecumseh Sherman's soldiers during the Civil War still inspires resentment among Southerners today. Scavenging Southern homes for crops and family valuables, U.S. soldiers foraged for supplies but also outraged civilians. Nicknamed bummers, these soldiers played an important role in influencing how we remember Sherman's march. Some paint the bummers as thieves, while others stress the necessity of their acts as well as the treachery of their victims. To the Confederate army, the bummers were not soldiers but criminals who violated the laws of war. Confederate troops even executed bummers across Georgia and South Carolina who were surrendering. Sherman believed them to be the key component to his march, as they instilled fear among the Southern people and supplied food for his men.

This work will start with an evaluation of past precedent for the laws of war in order to provide context for the bummers' actions. The history of foraging from the Roman Empire all the way up to the Napoleonic Wars will give further background to their behavior. After setting the stage with a discussion of Sherman's march, the main section of this paper will describe the life of these bummers, using firsthand accounts to help better illustrate why they were so reviled and what set of circumstances led them to forage upon the Georgian farmscape. Turning to reactions from both Southern and Northern civilians, newspapers, and politicians, these portraits of American thought will properly

showcase the wide range of opinions towards bummers.

The paper will conclude with an analysis of Sherman's justification for the use of bummers and how Francis Lieber, the writer of the landmark code for Laws of War at the time, would judge the bummers' seizing of property. When confronted with the indecent behavior of his bummers Sherman said, "They did some things they ought not to have done, yet, on the whole, they have supplied the wants of the army with as little violence as could be expected."[126] This paper will give a breadth of context to this statement and attempt to determine if Sherman was correct in his perception of the bummers. The march to the sea saw the line between foraging and pillaging blurred and brought the war right to the doorsteps of Southern civilians, lending support to the belief that great and unforgiveable injustices were committed by the bummers.

Laws of War

Before America's founding, European warfare had been fought from the view that the enemy's unjust acts were unlawful, while one's own righteous army committed illegitimate violence and pillaging out of necessity.[127] The eye of the beholder determined how the men fighting would be judged following a conflict. The ethicality behind the bloodshed played a crucial role as well and, if it was a just war, "armies could lawfully plunder the goods of the enemy and enslave them."[128] In contrast to this position, the Enlightenment era of Europe brought a new wave of thought that did not rely on a wavering definition and heavy reliance on the word necessity. This philosophy, pioneered by Emmerich de Vattel in his *Laws of Nations*, protected "women, children and feeble old men," arguing that they made "no resistance," so the state had "no right to maltreat their persons."[129] He went on to say that "the sovereign declaring war can neither detain the persons nor the property of those subjects of the enemy."[130] In less progressive and nearly contradictory statements, Vattel's new rules supported the state taking "all moveable property" or, in other words "booty," which is inherently owned by the sovereign.[131] These rules also allowed for the lawful taking of property from an unjust enemy "in order to weaken or punish him."[132] Although the Laws of War became more defined and securing of people's rights in this era, the justification needed for the boundless taking of property during wartime was being established.

The laws that govern warfare in the newly formed United States had a turbulent history similar to that of the Civil War. The founding roots of our code of war can be found in the first formal document of our nation, the Declaration of Independence of 1776. Among several sentiments, it criticized King George's acts in how he "ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the lives of our people;" behavior not associated with any "civilized nation." This laid the groundwork for the Revolutionary War, where George Washington regularly displayed the moral high ground, even handing out a copy of the Articles of War to every continental soldier, in an effort to deter abuse against civilians.[133] In one of Washington's General Orders he forbade all "plundering" done by

[126] Jospeh T. Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*, (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 125.
[127] John Fabian Witt, *Lincoln's Code: The Laws of War in American History*, (New York: Free Press, 2012), 17.
[128] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 17.
[129] Emmerich De Vattell, *The Law of Nations; Or, Principles of the Law of Nature Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns* (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1797), 351.
[130] De Vattell, *The Law of Nations, 3*17.
[131] De Vattell, *The Law of Nations,* 365.
[132] De Vattell, *The Law of Nations,* 365.
[133] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 20.

soldiers in an attempt to "distinguish brave Americans…from mercenary ravagers, whether British or Hessians."[134] With this progress came setbacks involving unsuccessful prisoner exchanges and even executions that were antithetical to the moral reasoning of the Enlightenment era. Washington's image still remained intact, with Americans lauding his humanity throughout the conflict.[135]

In the United States' second clash with Britain, the War of 1812, the issue of property seizure in wartime came to a head. The country came into the war with Benjamin Franklin's newly envisioned standards in mind, which gave greater protections to "economically productive private property."[136] Thomas Jefferson embraced this idea because it would bring about the "softening and diminishing [of] the calamities of war" by protecting the interest of farmers' fields and homes.[137] In the Supreme Court case *Brown v. United States*, Chief Justice John Marshall brought Franklin's view closer to reality. In Marshall's majority opinion he wrote "war gives the right to confiscate, but does not itself confiscate the property of the enemy, and their rules go to the exercise of this right."[138] With this statement, he accepted that war gives armies the right to take property but as he elaborates further on, having Congress give a declaration of war did not automatically allow such confiscation. Following the War of 1812, legal scholar James Kent wrote in his book *Commentaries on American Law* that the civilized and modern way of war was one in which soldiers were "not to touch private property on land, without making compensation."[139] The decision in *Brown* was not as strong a declaratory ruling as many might have hoped, but it was the beginning of a legally enforced idea that restricted the concept of the unregulated taking of the spoils of war.

History of Foraging in Wartime

The origins of scavenging for supplies during times of war can be traced back hundreds of years before the Civil War, which reflects how advancement and change in this area of military strategy had been limited, if not nonexistent. For the Roman Empire to expand its borders to the degree to which it did, it necessitated an expansive supply system which involved strategically placed stockpiles of food along an army's route and occasional relief from ships when a harbor was close by.[140] Some grain and meat was provided by the surrounding communities, who were "indemnified by the imperial treasury" for their service.[141] When this level of planning could not be feasibly accomplished in enemy territory, the act of foraging became key. Taking from the land became important not only to enrich the Roman army's supply but also to hurt the enemy's. Having a military campaign's foundation built on foraging was far too risky for the Romans because it meant stripping the land of all its resources, limiting long-term military offensives. This method was to be used sparingly and only when necessary.

Jumping forward several hundred years to the first conflict the young country of the United States faced, the American Revolution's guerilla style warfare resulted in desperate British forces and an inexperienced Continental Army having to resort to foraging. Entering the war, Britain was depended on their prior history of living off the land in the French and Indian War in order

[134] George Washington, General Orders (Trenton, NJ: *National Archives*, January 1, 1777)
[135] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 26.
[136] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 70.
[137] Lawrence S. Kaplan, *Thomas Jefferson: Westward the Course of Empire* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1999), 213.
[138] Brown v. United States (1814).
[139] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 71.
[140] Paul Erdkamp, *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 328.
[141] Erdkamp, *A Companion to the Roman Army*, 326.

to feed and supply their forces, but they overestimated the generosity of Americans.[142] The loyalist assistance was not as bountiful as they had hoped. Another factor that pushed the British to forage, and ultimately lose the war, was the significant amount of time it took to ship items across the Atlantic and the inconsistent travel times for vessels carrying supplies.[143] The defending army also employed scavenging tactics, as shown in Samuel Downing's memories of foraging during his time as a Continental Army soldier. When speaking about the men in his regiment he recounts, "The rest had been out foraging. One had stolen a hive of honey; some others had brought in eight quarters of good mutton, and others, apples and garden sauce."[144] This shows how the foraging adventures were done mainly to quench one's hunger, with a few niceties thrown in. What differentiated this era from the Civil War was that the colonial soldiers were foraging for food in their home country, while several decades later the same was being done in an enemy territory where items taken were not for survival but for personal wealth.

At the turn of the century, the Napoleonic War demonstrated the usefulness and danger of foraging tactics in a new era of warfare. Britain typically discouraged their armies to live off the land, except in the American Revolution when the direness of the situation forced officers to overlook the deviations from their military code. In contrast, the French armies liberally foraged when invading territories, often relying on the practice to sustain their army with no contingency plan. When successful, foraging "decreased an army's dependency on magazines and convoys which improved the army's overall mobility."[145] This was not always the case, as when Napoleon's army started their campaign in Egypt. Many of the 55,000-man army threw away their biscuits, expecting to find plentiful food and water during their invasion. This approach backfired, with many soldiers losing their lives and even resorting to taking their own because of the starvation and heat of the desert.[146] The situation was just as dismal in Russia, where French foot soldier Jakob Walter described in his diary that, "when there was nothing to be found, they could hunt up cabbage stalks here and there from under the snow...and let the core slowly thaw out in their mouths."[147] This experience of searching for food in the frozen wasteland and of the dry desert in Northern Africa illustrates the limits of foraging and the obvious drawbacks to the process.

Sherman's March

The march of General William Tecumseh Sherman's troops through the South can be seen as a defining moment of military strategy that sent shockwaves throughout the country for its daring and innovative campaign. Others, such as the General himself, saw it as "a means to an end, and not as an essential act of war," playing down the accomplishment by saying he "simply moved from Atlanta to Savannah."[148] As the commander of the Western Forces of the Union

[142] John A. Takor, "Logistics and the British Defeat in the Revolutionary War," (Sept. 1999).

[143] John A. Takor, "Logistics and the British Defeat in the Revolutionary War," (Sept. 1999). .

[144] Merril D. Smith, *The World of the American Revolution: A Daily Life Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2015), 856.

[145] Norman L. Durham, *The Command and Control of the Grand Armee: Napoleon as Organizational Designer* (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2009), 7:

[146] Nina Martyris, "Appetite For War: What Napoleon And His Men Ate On The March," *National Public Radio* (June 18, 2010).

[147] Walter, Jakob, and Marc Raeff. *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier*. New York: Doubleday, 1991. 63.

[148] William Tecumseh Sherman. *The Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, Volume II*, (New York: Literary Classics of America, 1990), 697.

Army, General Sherman was tasked with seizing the city of Atlanta in the summer of 1864. The primary reason it was targeted was to dismantle the transportation and railroad hub which provided a base for dispersing supplies throughout the Confederate States.

After Sherman burned down Atlanta, his army sat waiting for new orders and purpose. Sherman's plan consisted of a mass movement of troops through the southern heartland as a strong show of force to the Southern people. In a letter to General Grant, Sherman wrote about how this would affect Jefferson Davis' Confederate country; "If we can march a well-appointed army right through his territory, it is a demonstration to the world, foreign and domestic, that we have a power which Davis cannot resist...proof positive that the North can prevail."[149] It was to be a prolonged expedition, equal parts psychological and physical. The main goal, as he outlined, was to "cut the confederacy in two, and come up the rear of Lee."[150] In his preparations, Sherman used livestock and crop production from statistics in the 1860 census, interlaid with a Department of the Interior map showing Georgia counties, in figuring out where his army would pass through.[151] The march was a premeditated and calculated event intended to hurt the Southern war effort, while also giving the Union soldiers great prospects for survival in enemy territory.

The logistics surrounding the march reveal the radical and methodical approach Sherman and his subordinates were undertaking. The Savannah campaign, as many called it, was divided into two columns covering two distinct areas of the land between Georgia's most populous cities; Atlanta and Savannah. This was designed to avoid any traffic generally seen in single pronged troop movements and to "broaden not only the foraging area but also the swath of destruction."[152] Sherman's regiments were isolated from Union supply routes, and telegraph wires were cut in his wake making his movements unpredictable. Sherman hoped that, "Instead of my guessing at what he means to do, he will have to guess at my plans."[153] Part of the motivation for these fierce and destructive tactics was fueled by revenge, as Sherman said, "since they have been doing so much to destroy us and our government we have to destroy them."[154] The small Confederate Army in Georgia employed many tactics to stop this passionate force encroaching on their territory, such as planting mines, burning provisions, and destroying bridges, but this accomplished little.[155] Along the way the Union army created chaos by welcoming newly freed slaves into the march, twisting railroad lines into trees, burning towns to the ground, and terrorizing the locals.

Sherman's glorious march to the sea ended with his taking of Savannah. Before moving his troops North through the Carolinas to further punish the South for their traitorous exit from the Union, Sherman telegraphed President Abraham Lincoln, informing him of the gift of Savannah he had just secured. The Northern Newspapers celebrated the great victory; *The New York Times* wrote, "The campaign will stand as one of the most striking feats in military history, and will prove one of the heaviest blows

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[149] Shelby Foote, *The Civil War; a Narrative, Red River to Appomattox* (New York: Random House, 1974), 623.

[150] James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 808.

[151] Noah Andre Trudeau, *Southern Storm: Sherman's March to the Sea* (New York, NY: Harper, 2008), 52.

[152] Foote, *The Civil War; a Narrative,* 642.

[153] Robert B. Mitchell, "Sherman's March to the Sea," *America's Civil War* (December 9, 2015)

[154] Robert B. Mitchell, "Sherman's March to the Sea"

[155] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 809.

at the vitality of the great Southern rebellion."[156] The march through Georgia lasted from mid-November to December 21st, barely over a month. The widespread wreckage and havoc it caused on the Southern landscape was apparent in early 1865, but its effect on the morale of Southerners could only truly be seen many years after the march, when diaries and memoirs documented the horrors of this traumatic event.

Bummers

The life of a bummer was fraught with both risks and opportunity. In order to sustain the revolutionary military strategy that Sherman endeavored to accomplish, he could not maintain any supply lines to his constantly moving army. He was without any source of supplies marching to Savannah 200 miles away, "like a trapeze artist flying from one bar to another."[157] The only avenue through which to get food, medicine, and crops was to take them from the surrounding lands. Foragers were given the responsibility of searching the neighboring towns and properties for supplies and, if they were lucky, valuable items such as jewelry and silver.[158] The bummers would return back to camp at night lauded as heroes with "strings of chickens dangling from the saddle, pigs, bacon....mostly food confiscated from the hapless citizens."[159] Sherman encouraged his men to "forage liberally on the country" and, when writing to army chief of staff General Hallack about his foragers taking the crops and livestock of rich planters, he said Southerners "will have something more than a mean opinion of the 'Yanks.'" Sherman did not just want to destroy the Southern army and its resources but also to demoralize its people.

General Sherman believed that his march was unique in the history of armed conflict, a version of total war on a modern scale never seen before. As he articulated, "We are not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people, and must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war."[160] The obtrusive entrance of the foragers into the lives of Southerners began early in the morning when groups of twenty to thirty men were sent out, mostly on horses that were stolen in previous days of the march.[161] This allowed for a mobile force that could sweep across the Southern countryside and escape trouble quickly if it stumbled upon Confederate troops. There were certain restrictions in place to limit the foragers unlawfully taking advantage of the Southern people, such as laws against entering the dwellings of inhabitants and leaving enough food for the Southern families to sustain themselves, but these were rarely heeded. Instead, bummers took all that was in sight with little to no regard for what was in the best interests of the original owner. In Georgia alone, 10.4 million pounds of grain and more than 20,000 cattle, mules, and horses were taken from the Southern people.[162] This disregard for human life can be seen in Major Lewis Warner's illustration of the effects of bummers; "I have seen families of helpless women and children completely stripped of everything which could afford food for their larders."[163]

The common illustration of a bummer was similar to any typical Union soldier, but described as more scowling, mysterious, and strange, alluding to their criminal history of confiscating the possessions and livelihood of the Southern people. An 1866 magazine article

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[156] "The Close of Sherman's Great Campaign Savannah Ours," *New York Times* (December 26, 1864).

[157] Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 175.

[158] David Nevin, *Sherman's March: Atlanta to the Sea* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1986), 54.

[159] Mark H. Dunkelman, "Death to All Foragers," *American History* (August 2002): 30.

[160] Dunkelman, "Death to All Foragers," 31.

[161] Nevin, *Sherman's March: Atlanta to the Sea*, 53.

[162] Dunkelman, "Death to All Foragers," 35.

[163] Dunkelman, "Death to All Foragers," 31.

portrayed the bummers as, "a motley crew...rough and rugged from their long campaign, some in blue uniforms, some in rebel gray."[164] The bummers were usually stragglers from the infantry, thrust into a position of greater importance by lack of morals and Sherman's daring plans.[165] A select few would wear the clothes they had scavenged, going so far as to wear an entire 'Southern belle' outfit.[166] Bummers were also seen coming back from foraging expeditions in full Revolutionary War uniforms that veterans had saved for half a century.[167] One Sherman officer's interpretation was that the bummer was a "ragged man, blackened by the smoke of many pine knot fire, mounted on a scrawny mule."[168] Some were even "barefooted," and one newspaperman wrote that they appeared to be "possessed by a spirit," showing just how unique and peculiar the bummers were.[169] [170] The scavengers rode with reckless abandon, most without saddles on their horses, pushing their beasts to the absolute limit by going at full speed in order to wreak havoc on as many homes as possible in one raid. The writer of the magazine article compared the bummer to "a spoiled child" who will take anything and everything in their path, whether it would help the Union cause or not.[171] The act of scavenging became less of a necessity in order to supply the army with food, and instead became a competition with other foraging parties; the game based on the idea of first come, first served.

Although foraging became popularized in Sherman's march mainly because an army of that size, 60,000 men, had never sustained itself off the land for such a long period of time, it was actually a common practice before the campaign to Savannah. When rations were low, soldiers had no other choice but to look for their meals elsewhere. Foraging was technically illegal, but officers looked the other way because of the tasty benefits that came back to camp on scavenging raids. Nothing dramatically changed when Sherman made foraging legal except that the foragers had formal approval from their superiors. As one Michigan man said about the recent order making foraging legal, "The fiction of respecting property rights of citizens was no longer maintained."[172] This shift in legal principles, legitimizing near-pillaging, defined the march and what made it a success.

The main purpose for foraging parties, when they were not searching for hidden valuables, was food and livestock. Capturing smaller farm animals was occasionally a tough task, as bummers were encouraged not to use their live rounds to take down their innocent prey.[173] These war hardened and "rough looking set of soldiers" were forced to chase and tackle pigs, chickens, geese, and turkeys around a plantation, offering a vaudevillian act in the process.[174] Of all the provisions to be found out in the Southern heartland, honey was the most desired among the men. It was a risk to obtain it, but some of the spryer and lighter-footed bummers simply stuck their bayonets into hives and sprinted as fast as they could hoping to outrun the bees on their trail. After looting one of these hives, an Illinois private said, "We had

[164] "Bummers in Sherman's Army," *Beadle's Monthly, a Magazine of Today* (May 1866): 2.

[165] Henry O. Marcy, *Sherman's Campaign in the Carolinas* (Boston, MA: Commandery of the State of Massachusetts, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, 1900), 340.

[166] John Gilchrist Barrett, *Sherman's March through the Carolinas* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 55.

[167] Nevin, *Sherman's March: Atlanta to the Sea*, 54.

[168] John F. Marszalek, *Sherman's March to the Sea* (Abilene, TX: McWhiney Foundation Press, 2005), 70.

[169] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*., 122.

[170] Barrett, *Sherman's March through the Carolinas*, 55.

[171] "Bummers in Sherman's Army," *Beadle's Monthly*, 4.

[172] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 120.

[173] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 124.

[174] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 123.

a sweet time and some swelled eyes besides."[175] These stories of the bummers' silly antics were used to distract the Northerners and sway the public's perception of these men.

The bummers, with no other demographic to forage from, targeted the Georgia whites to vandalize. Charles Ewing, an Ohio soldier who bore witness to the bummers taking advantage of the Southern people, said that "when we pass through there was but little left for rebel troops to live on." In his letters to his father he also spoke of the greedy intentions of the scavengers, "If money, watches or jewelry was found it was inevitably confiscated."[176] The Buffalo Tribune published a story following the war titled "The Doings of Sherman's Bummers." The article details an interaction between a group of twenty bummers and a woman alone in her house while her husband was fighting in General Lee's army. After barging into her home, stealing all her chickens, and singing The Star Spangled Banner in her parlor, they "inquired about the silver plate." She begged and wept, pleading them to not take the silver. After strapping her silver goblet to his knapsack one of the bummers said, "Madam, war is a dreadful thing," and then said his goodbye.[177] There are hundreds of stories just like these and they all tell a similar story of depravity and desperation.

From the opposite perspective, many letters and diaries from this month-long campaign exist that recount the trials and tribulations bummers faced while making their rounds. The personal narrative, *Recollections of a Bummer* by Major Charles E. Belknap, attests this struggle. It took approximately two or three days to collect his load before returning to the march from, sometimes, fifty miles away. When tasked with foraging he was told, "everything on foot and wing, all things of the earth and air, were 'contraband of war'"[178] Although there were benefits to his position, it was a dangerous business. As he remembers, one soldier who strayed too far from the group was met with an overwhelming Confederate force that "gave him a volley, four bullets hitting him; then a trooper gave him a cut on the head." Other stragglers were even less fortunate, as Belknap describes, one lieutenant had "a trail rope about his neck" and was pulled "up over the limb of a roadside tree."[179] From his memoir, it is evident that the major was not one of the more outwardly criminal bummers in Sherman's army, having never assaulted Southern civilians or stolen their most precious items, but there were many crazed and savage men who took up this duty recklessly.

Tensions ran high and violent outbursts fueled by rage were frequent occurrences among the bummers. This attitude may have been more prevalent among these men than the soldiers on the front lines since bummers were met face-to-face with their enemy, while their counterparts on the battlefield only saw a sea of gray when facing opposition. Being in the homes of possible traitors only fostered greater hatred toward the rebel cause. The Southerners had to face such anger whether they were sympathetic to the Confederacy or not. As one officer recounted, a bummer "came away with a feeling of hardness towards the Southern Confederacy he had never felt before."[180] An example of this brutality can be seen in foragers who would seek out dogs on plantations and kill them, simply out of suspicion that they were used as bloodhounds to track down runaway slaves.[181] Bummers would enter the smokehouses and barns of residents, killing livestock on a whim when their wagons were full and could not carry

[175] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 124.
[176] Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 197.
[177] "The Doings of Sherman's Bummers," *Buffalo Daily Courier*, 5/22/1867.
[178] Charles E. Belknap, (1898), 3.
[179] Belknap, *Recollections of a Bummer*, 12.
[180] Nevin, *Sherman's March: Atlanta to the Sea,* 68.
[181] "Bummers in Sherman's Army," *Beadle's Monthly,* 6.

anything else.[182] Given this type of freedom to pillage the countryside, men did what might be expected of them. Having been constricted to the monotony of marching and facing bitter defeats and pointless victories, how joyous it must have been to break free from those shackles and express their true disdain for the Southern people. The bummers themselves are partly to blame, but it is largely General Sherman's burden to bare for the destruction and robbery of the Confederate populace, for it was he who suggested they forage liberally on the land.

While this characterization might make the foragers seem like ruthless, autonomous, and daring men, they were not a brave group of soldiers. Although there were definite signs of reckless activity, there was also a lack of bravery as shown in the magazine article from Beadle's Monthly, when "the enemy is in any respect of equal force, discretion leads our bummers to leave so unpleasantly a locality..."[183] This demonstrates the cowardice that most foragers displayed on their raids. Their valor and determination only lasted as long as the reward was great enough. If they were being run down by approaching Confederates, they would drop any food they had in order to escape their pursuers, leaving their fellow soldiers hungry for another day. Bummers were antithetical to the basic tenets of soldiers who fight in war, illustrating the lack of fearlessness and honor among them. While their self-interest was their own, General Sherman was the individual who provoked such behavior and allowed their actions to taint the accomplishments of his march through the South.

Southern Reaction

The plight that many Southerners faced at the hands of bummers is well documented and shows just how contradictory their actions were to the moral standards placed on soldiers during wartime. Foragers typically targeted plantations where the loot gathered had a higher chance of being worth the trip. When Federal troops invaded her large plantation, Dolly Burge described their entrance; "But like demons they rushed in! To my smoke-house, my dairy, pantry, kitchen and cellar, like famished wolves they come, breaking locks and whatever is in their way."[184] In her diary, Burge goes on to detail how her livestock was "shot down in my yard and hunted as though they were rebels themselves."[185] Other descriptions of similarly chaotic events say that in seconds, one's home became completely ransacked and they would "invade your most private apartment."[186] Lieutenant Thomas Taylor recounted an example of men in Union garb entering a home in Georgia, "and after robbing the family" they completed "their inhuman and fiendish act...by driving the lady big with child, her innocent children and her aged mother from the house."[187] Accounts like these show how pillaging of Southerners was widespread and not were just Southerners embellishing encounters with federal troops.

Another famous account of the bummers' relentless seizure of every belonging their Southern victims owned comes from May Jones Mallard, a clergyman's daughter, who described what happened when manic foragers entered her home. "We heard the clash of arms and noise of horsemen... forty or fifty men [were] in the pantry...[they] flew around the house, tearing open boxes. It was impossible to utter a

[182] Nevin, *Sherman's March: Atlanta to the Sea*, 54.
[183] "Bummers in Sherman's Army," *Beadle's Monthly,* 7.
[184] Dolly Sumner Lunt and Christine Jacobson Carter, *The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, 1848-1879*.(Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 159.
[185] Lunt, *The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, 160.*
[186] "Bummers in Sherman's Army," *Beadle's Monthly,* 4.
[187] Trudeau, *Southern Storm*, 193.

word, for© we were completely paralyzed by the fury of the mob."[188] Dolly Burge's, Lieutenant Taylor's, and Ms. Mallard's depictions of foragers give support to the idea that these bummers had crossed a significant line in the standards of war. Confiscating the property of uninvolved women and children, who most likely were innocent parties to the war that surrounded them, was inexcusable behavior.

Northern men were not the only soldiers who foraged off the land when Sherman's march created a lawless environment where acts paramount to pillaging were allowed. While many Northerners preferred to view the Southern people as one massive group that all voted for secession, there were many Georgians who remained loyal citizens to the Union. These numerous Georgian Unionists, along with post Emancipation Proclamation blacks, used this opportunity to seek revenge upon the rebel traitors and their former owners. Even greedy Confederates who had given up on the cause joined in the foraging being carried out against their fellow Southerners, gaining a reputation of being worse than the Union boys. The Southern newspaper, *Charleston Courier*, printed the letters of a Confederate soldier reinforcing this sentiment; "I do not think the Yankees are any worse than our own army...[they] steal and plunder indiscriminately regardless of sex."[189] Following the campaign, one citizen wrote to a Confederate States of America secretary complaining about the "destructive lawlessness of members" of Confederate General Wheeler's command. This concerned citizen went on to say, "It is no unusual sight to see these men ride late into camp with all sorts of plunder."[190] While Federal soldiers made up the majority of bummers, some Southerners also decided to partake in the foraging, making the South's interpretation of the march a little more complex.

With no other choice, the Southern people attempted to peacefully fight back their invaders on a house by house basis. To prevent bummers from stealing everything on their property, families would bury the most crucial food for their survival and priceless family heirlooms in their garden. The bummers soon caught on and gained a heightened perceptivity to any freshly turned earth. The soldiers also used ramrods and bayonets as a form of a 19th century metal detector to search for items buried deep within the ground.[191] Some Southerners even hid their valuables in fake burial sites, trusting that the bummers would honor this scared ground and not stoop so low as to commit grave robbery.[192] Knowing that foragers would dig up the ground surrounding a grave stone, Southerners placed bombs in these coffins, with one instance of a wooden box blinding four Indiana men when its contents exploded.[193] Others stood up to the invading force with their words, as an Iowa solider remembers one bold woman saying to incoming Federal troops, "You can kill us, but you can't conquer us."[194] This remark and the nonverbal resistance that these 'rebels' displayed symbolizes the Southerner's proud defiance towards foragers, even as these home invaders violated every principle of ownership, neutrality, and privacy of innocent citizens in the South.

Northern Response

An important fact to be aware of when analyzing Northern reaction to the bummers is that, during Sherman's march through Georgia and the following campaign in the Carolinas, no soldier in his army "was ever brought to trial for unauthorized foraging."[195] No soldier would

[188] R. Q. Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation* (Richmond, VA: Whittet & Shepperson, 1892), 221.
[189] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 810.
[190] Trudeau, *Southern Storm*, 375.
[191] Nevin, *Sherman's March: Atlanta to the Sea*, 54.
[192] "Bummers in Sherman's Army," *Beadle's Monthly,* 6.
[193] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 124.
[194] Nevin, *Sherman's March: Atlanta to the Sea*, 56.
[195] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 129.

report any abuses committed by the bummers because they reaped the benefits of their exploits in the field. Among the men, it was seen as a necessity to survive and, they thought it better the Union Army have the food than the rebels. As one Michigan private argued in a letter back home, "You seem to think that our foraging...does not speak well for our morals. I think if your stomach was crying for bread, you would not think of morals or names." Even more harshly explained was another private writing to his wife who said, "I don't know what the wemon and children is going to do for something to eat, but I don't know as I care if they nevver see eny more to eat."[196] If any major backlash was to escalate against the bummers it would have needed to start from the source, and most of their fellow boys in blue were not about to ruin their only supply of sustenance.

Even though knowledge of the bummers' nefarious exploits spread throughout the states, the public perception in the North was one of condonation and acceptance. This opinion can be traced back to the origin of their nickname. In Sherman's right wing during his march through Georgia, Dr. Edward A. Duncan commented on the foragers causing a delay in the crossing of the Oconee River. He exclaimed, "Damn the bummers they are always bumming around when they are not wanted."[197] The name stuck from that moment on. Foragers were perceived as harmless, weak-willed, and independent scavengers, not participating in the real fighting, but just 'bumming around.' The joyful and innocent nature of the name made it more difficult to believe that such awful atrocities could be committed by these men. This dichotomy is expressed by a solider in the Fourteenth Corps, "The typical bummer was a character full of good humor...but with a soul sternly set upon the duty of despoiling the country."[198]

This inherent bias among the Northern people can be seen in newspapers from the time. *The Iowa Hawkeye*, a Northern newspaper, published a story on foragers mere weeks after Savannah fell that gives heroic and inspiring nicknames to the bummers including "'Smokehouse Rangers' and 'Do-Boys.'" When describing the bummer's scavenging habits the paper said, "He never objects to gold watches or silver plate 'if he can find them in a swamp a mile away from any house.'"[199] We know now, from reading testimony from Southerners, that two of the main incentivizing factors for foragers were the gold and silver. They would not distance themselves from a property before looking for prized possessions; rather they would force themselves into homes and dig through an entire yard just to find those precious valuables.

Other newspapers had this same attitude when they purposefully omitted the less favorable actions of foragers. *The Corning Journal* of New York printed a story on the bummers, detailing their heroics of "attacking a company of rebel cavalry," while not once mentioning all the personal belongings they searched for and stole.[200] Newspapers would only speak poorly of Sherman and his foragers when there was a political motive involved, not for journalistic integrity or to inform their readers. *The Hornellsville Tribune*, when promoting General Grant for President, called Sherman the "prince of a band of bummers, thieves, vagabonds and ruffians."[201]

The inoffensive portrayal of bummers carried through to the post-war period when Sherman's march was romanticized by Union politicians. These lawmakers blatantly ignored the

[196] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 133.
[197] Trudeau, *Southern Storm*, 265.
[198] Trudeau, *Southern Storm*, 266.
[199] "The Desolation of War—Foragers and Foraging," *Burlington Daily Hawk Eye*, 3/25/1865, 2.
[200] "Sherman's Bummers," *Corning Journal*, 4/27/1865.
[201] "Not Their Man." *The Hornellsville Tribune*, 12/19/1867.

bummers' actions or painted a picture of them as "carefree warrior[s]" who outsmarted the Southerners in their scavenging and persevered through great struggles. The passage of time also did not help the proper remembrance of hardships imposed by bummers, as participants later writing about the march discussed the bummers with little detail, and some men told tales of the foragers in a humorous light.[202]

Justification and Law Surrounding Bummers

Historians, as well as general citizens, remark on the march to the sea by weighing its effectiveness in destroying Southern confidence versus the legal and moral implications of its effects. Civil War historian Stephen Davis cites that Sherman "stands accused of four counts of war crimes" showing his obvious guilt. Davis also references the plundering and abuse of private property that was common among Sherman's campaign. John F. Marszalek, a distinguished professor at Mississippi State University, argues that "a hefty percentage" of this property damage and thievery was "caused by Confederate and Federal deserters, fugitive slaves and unscrupulous civilians." Using the small 4,000 person death toll for the march, Marszalek paints Sherman as an "American pioneer of modern war" and a humanitarian trying to save lives in the long run instead of the brute that many historians, such as Davis, portray him as.[203]

A different approach of argument comes from W. Todd Groce, the President of the Georgia Historical society. Groce admits that, from a 21st century perspective, the march looks like "a dramatic departure from earlier methods," leading many historians to classify it as the beginning of "modern total war." But when compared side-by-side with the atrocities of World War II, Sherman's deliberate targeting of foodstuffs and military property was a far cry from the mass killing of civilians seen only a few decades later. Indeed, private homes were ransacked and "civilians were stripped of more food than the army needed," but it was all for the purpose of protecting the Union and its people.[204]

Sherman entered the Civil War with the viewpoint that the entire population of the South was his enemy. He believed that, "people who would persevere in war beyond a certain limit ought to know the consequence."[205] From this position it was easier to enforce military tactics involving foragers which targeted civilians and their property.[206] Sherman was also a firm believer in trying to end war as quickly as possible, even if that meant more suffering and destruction. Shortly after the march he said, "The more awful you can make war the sooner it will be over."[207] We can hope that Sherman internally believed that his march and foraging would be conducted in a disciplined and restrained manner, but his previously held opinion on Southerners and his preferred technique for warfare did not support this sentiment and leaves him vulnerable to major criticism.

In analyzing the motivations of Sherman when issuing the order to forage liberally, a great deal of insight can be garnered from his communication with General Wade Hampton of the Confederate army. The murdering of foragers in South Carolina in 1865 and the response that Sherman gave of killing Confederate prisoners of war sparked these confrontational letters. The thought of ending the practice of foraging baffled Sherman because, as he says, "it is a war right as old as

[202] Trudeau, *Southern Storm,* 536.

[203] David Ibata, "Was General Sherman a War Criminal?," *Atlanta Forward*, 6/13,/2014.

[204] W. Todd. Groce, "Rethinking Sherman's March," *The New York Times*, 11/17,/2014.

[205] Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 172.

[206] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 276.

[207] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 279.

history." Sherman also argues that he has no other choice because there are no "civil authorities that can respond...[for] provisions." Hampton's reply does not attack this right to forage, but instead refers to an older right, "the right that every man has to defend his home." Hampton also directs Sherman's attention to when he set "fire [to] the dwelling-houses of citizens, after robbing them," harshly questioning his vague use of the term 'war rights' when justifying the use of bummers. This correspondence opens a window into Sherman's reasoning which futilely justified his pillaging with outdated rights of war that do not translate to the modern rules of armed conflict. [208]

The wartime political environment which developed at the start of the Civil War was a major factor in making Sherman's march seem acceptable at the time. The U.S. government began the war with an optimistic and progressive outlook towards the rights bestowed upon enemy civilians. By 1863 this mood had changed as 'hard war' became popularized. 'Hard war' was the term used to describe a set of policies that established how soldiers interacted with civilians towards the latter part of the war.[209] The army was becoming more vengeful and wanted to punish the South and its people for rebelling against the government. Many in the North argued that the Union could treat rebels as "disloyal citizens and international enemies."[210] Southerners were now not seen as a people under a protective shell, but rather a group upon which war and all its devastation would be imparted, giving Sherman the latitude to embark on his march.

A new standard for the Laws of War was produced by Francis Lieber in 1863, establishing rules which, almost predictively, significantly apply to the common characteristics of General Sherman's campaign, even though he made every attempt to ignore them. As the environment of modern war began changing towards "sprawling and disorganized wars," Lieber knew that the Laws of War needed some restructuring.[211] Lieber's Code, as it has hence been referred to, explicitly states, "The United States acknowledge and protect, in hostile countries occupied by them...strictly private property; the persons of the inhabitants, especially those of women...offenses to the contrary shall be rigorously punished."[212] It was certainly a progressive measure that on the surface does not speak well for Sherman's actions, but the words purposefully ignore the issue of confiscating property of citizens from an enemy's country, giving a glimmer of credibility to the strategies imposed in Georgia.

Article 38 of Lieber's code also reflects on the march to the sea as it says, "private property...can be seized only by way of military necessity."[213] Lieber's code fell into the same mistake as previous Laws of War in traditional Europe concerning the word 'necessity.' This term is key here for Sherman and also for historians judging the validity of the bummers' takings. Fortunately, Lieber gives this definition:

> Military necessity, as understood by modern civilized nations, consists in the necessity of those measures which are indispensable for securing the ends of the

[208] "Sherman and Wade Hampton," *St. Lawrence Republican,* 3/21/1865.

[209] Robert Christopher Welch, "Forage Liberally: The Role of Agriculture in Sherman' s March to the Sea" 2011. Graduate Theses and Dissertations. Paper 10372. 45.

[210] Daniel W Hamilton, *The Limits of Sovereignty: Property Confiscation in the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 32.

[211] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 194.

[212] Francis Lieber, *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1863) art. 37.

[213] Francis Lieber, *Instructions for the Government*, art. 38.

> war, and which are lawful according to the modern law and usages of war.[214]

Even with this summarization, the concept of a necessity during wartime is unclear. It is clear from testimony of soldiers in the march that they would have starved if it were not for foraging. As one Illinois private said, "We were told in no uncertain terms that henceforth we must live off the country or go hungry. We did both."[215] But what placed Sherman's men into this urgency in acquiring food was the general's ambitious, albeit ill-advised, mission. It was not *necessary* for his 60,000-man army to tear through the South burning homes and stealing livestock. Sherman could have taken his force on a more direct route through the Carolinas in order to put more pressure on Lee from the South. If he had failed in his march, it would have gone down as one of the worst blunders in military history and his actions, all for naught, would have been looked upon with even more sharp criticism. The march and the bummers look to have helped the Union war effort only in hindsight.

Lieber knew Sherman's typical military approach and was concerned watching the march unfold before him. Not only was he worried about the intense fury towards the Southern people that Sherman would hold throughout the campaign, but also about the disorganized strategy that could easily become unruly without a stern hand.[216] Sherman gave a tremendous amount of freedom and responsibility to individual bummers while trusting that they would avoid any misbehavior. However, it was not uncommon for many men in Sherman's march to have a rebellious and nonconformist attitude. Major Henry Hitchcock described one incident where a drunken soldier insultingly cursed out his General as he rode by encampments on his horse. This "laxity in the ranks" and a lack of discipline laid the foundation for an environment that did not harshly punish actions which broke military standards of the time and Sherman's own rules of foraging.[217] Even one of his own officers said in his diary, "I am bound to say that I think Sherman lacking in enforcing discipline."[218] Foraging may have opened the door for several other moral controversies such as "ruthless burning, killing" and rape which, as Lieber argued, "demoralizes an army."[219] The combination of decentralized foraging and limited chastisement that should have led to a catastrophic failure, instead gave rise to severe injustices towards Southerners and deep apprehensions from Lieber, the expert on warfare conduct of the time.

Conclusion

In reviewing the march to the sea, the similarities between that famous campaign and other military engagements, which also utilized foraging methods, show the normalcy of Sherman's plan. Referring back to *Laws of Nations*, Vattel most likely would have allowed Sherman to conduct the mass foraging of the Georgian civilians, but with the thought that his course of action was a step in the wrong direction and harkened back to a less enlightened time. James Kent, the author of *Commentaries on American Law*, would be disappointed with the lack of compensation given to Southerners whose entire livelihood was stolen from them. At the same time that Lieber's code advised soldiers to behave with more benevolence, it was too vague a document to impart real limits on the Generals of the Civil War. Also, Lieber did not outright condemn activity that the bummers took part in during the march. It did include this powerful sentence, "The more vigorously wars are pursued the

[214] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 235.
[215] Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, 119.
[216] Witt, *Lincoln's Code,* 280.
[217] Robert B. Mitchell, "Sherman's March to the Sea".
[218] Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 191.
[219] Witt, *Lincoln's Code*, 280.

better it is for humanity." [220] A historian could be forgiven for thinking that statement was uttered by Sherman himself.

The most significant information to apply when using Lieber's code to attack the march is the choice of the word 'necessity' and the fact that Lieber had doubts about Sherman's lack of control over his bummers. Are these enough to denounce Sherman? Is the fact that the premier thinker on wartime policy had concerns about Sherman's strategies sufficient evidence to call him a war criminal? The issue of Sherman's guilt or innocence is a complicated topic to say the least. What can be confirmed is that the bummers were thrust out into the Southern heartland with nothing but their musket and their impassioned disposition towards the Southern people in order to supply the march in ways that would not utterly destroy the Southern people, but instead damage their spirit.

Many see Sherman's march as a necessary evil of the Civil War, a significant capper to a gruesome and deadly conflict that squashed any hope of victory among the Southern people. Opposite with this opinion is outright resentment towards Sherman. He is despised by Southerners to this day for actions which were, from their point of view, carried out when the war was all but lost and meant to destroy the Georgian economy and society irreparably. The term 'War of Northern Aggression' owes some of its popularity to the ruin Georgia was left in by Sherman's foragers. While it is easy to look at the bummers as a ragtag bunch of scoundrels who cleverly took advantage of the wartime environment which surrounded them, they were more devious than that. They were criminals. Their more unlawful activity included stealing precious silver, throwing civilians out of their homes, and robbing Confederates of their money, all of which held no value for the other men in the march. These offenses seem to have accomplished little in winning the war, let alone sustaining the march, so from a military and moral perspective, the bummers are a permanent blemish on the Union's history in the Civil War.

[220] Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 151.

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Image from Mike Nichols' Catch 22 (1970), Wikimedia Commons

Nichols' Yossarian: The Adaptation of *Catch-22*

By

Derrick Owens

Introduction

In the year 1970, the United States was in the midst of an era of political upheaval and stood at a cultural turning point. The Vietnam War was dividing the nation. While the violent conflict raged in Southeast Asia, protests filled the streets of the home front. At the beginning of the 1960s, a book was published that gained popularity and fame as the war in Vietnam grew larger and more complex.[221] The book was *Catch 22* by Joseph Heller. It is a blistering satire that takes aim at the military-industrial complex, authoritarianism, the minutia of soldier's lives, and the insanity that inhabits war itself. The book follows Yossarian, a young bombardier stationed off the coast of Italy during World War II, along with numerous other men and women who serve on the base as they deal with the war in different ways. Yossarian's main mission is to finish the war alive amidst the hypocrisy that surrounds him. Soldiers

serving in Vietnam as well as those back in America felt a connection and saw a truth in the book. Harper Lee once famously said, "Catch-22 is the only war novel I've ever read that makes any sense." [222]

In the late 1960s, Hollywood was beginning to reevaluate itself. Studios were giving filmmakers more freedom. Mike Nichols, one of Hollywood's biggest directors after making the groundbreaking and award winning hit *The Graduate*, decided he wanted to adapt Heller's novel to the screen. The film was a disappointment, both critically and commercially, but it has historical significance and paved the way for the future of cinema. The adaption was different than the book, filled with new styles and ideas from the films of the 1960s. The film was also one of the first to address the moral quandaries brought about by Vietnam, and Nichols set the stage

[221] "What is Catch-22? And why does the book matter?" *BBC News*, (March 12, 2002).

[222] Chilton, Martin. "Just One Catch: The Life of Joseph Heller by Tracy Daugherty." *The ¢ŜfŜ∃ℕI·LJK¢* (May 22, 2011).

for American directors to address war in a new way. The film challenges the classical notion of good and evil. It allowed for the mission of a war film to become an exploration of the very nature of war itself.

Critical Reception

OPERATOR

Help him! Help him!

YOSSARIAN

Help who?

OPERATOR

Help the bombardier!

YOSSARIAN

I'm the bombardier. I'm all right.

OPERATOR

Then, help him! Help him![223]

This exchange is one that has most divided critics of Nichols' 1970 film, *Catch-22*, since the time of its release. It ultimately determines if the viewer does or does not buy into the approach that Nichols and screenwriter Buck Henry took in adapting Heller's novel. The scene's soundscape is imbued with the harsh sound of wind rattling outside of a plane, giving off a sense of isolation. The background is bright and heavenly white, adding distinctly surreal overtones, which show the director's affection for 1960s Italian cinema and the work of Federico Fellini. This scene involves Yossarian and Snowden, a young radio-gunner. Snowden dies in Yossarian's arms during a mission. In fact, the dialogue from this scene is directly pulled from Heller's words. In the novel and in the film, Snowden's death is slowly revealed through a series of flashbacks, numbering nine in the book and five in the film.[224] Nichols and Henry finally reveal Snowden's gruesome death in the second to last scene of the film, linking it to Yossarian's final decision to desert.

When asked about the role of Snowden in the plot of *Catch-22*, Nichols has said, "Everything Yossarian does is because of and about Snowden."[225] The film hinges on the central internal conflict of Yossarian and his decision whether to keep flying missions or leave the air force. The filmmakers relied on this scene to sell their anti-war message to the audience. In a film that is supposed to be a comedy, the scene is devoid of jokes and is punctuated by abject horror. Fred Marcus and Paul Zall in their book *Film and Literature* noted, "When Nichols does use the technique of repetitions, as in the evolving Snowden episodes, the results are potent and the viewer becomes involved."[226] Marcus and Zall speak to Nichols and Henry's vision for the project. Stylistically these scenes stand out more prominently than any in the film. Critic Richard Schickel disagrees. He wrote in his book, *Second Sight: Notes on Some Movies, 1965-1970,* that the filmmakers "betray him (Yossarian) as a human being and to betray the complexity of the vision."[227] Schickel rejected the notion that this scene might "explain" Yossarian and his motives.[228]

Schickel was not alone in his critique of the film. Like the novel it is based on, Nichols' *Catch-22* was ahead of its time when it divided critics in the summer of 1970. Nichols and Henry's decisions, in the film's direction and screenplay respectively, give the film a uniquely surrealist visual style seen through the eyes of its protagonist, as if it is his own personal nightmare. What Schickel and others failed to see in this scene and, in fact, the whole film was

[223] *Catch-22*, Dir. Mike Nichols. Paramount Pictures. 1970. Film.

[224] Joseph Heller, *Catch-22*. (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 426-430.

[225] Chuck Thegze, "I See Everything Twice," *Film Quarterly* (University of California Press, 1970).

[226] Fred H. Marcus and Paul Zall, *Film and Literature: Contrasts in Media*. (Scranton, PA: Chandler Publishing, 1971), 133.

[227] Richard Schickel, *Second Sight: Notes on Some Movies, 1965-1970*. (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 310.

[228] Ibid.

that Nichols and Henry were helping to bring to the American war film into the modern age. The filmmaker's ability to mix satire, surrealism, and psychological character study came from their willingness to stay true to the ideas of the source material while also incorporating their own cinematic techniques to strengthen their vision. Americans were beginning to grapple with the moral ambiguity and insanity of contemporary combat, specifically in Vietnam. Many critics and audience members failed to see the accomplishment and ambition of the film's goal to address these concerns. It would take a number of years before films like *Apocalypse Now* or *Full Metal Jacket* garnered more success while utilizing many of the same strategies. *Catch-22* showcases the influence of the filmmakers' work and their mark on the genre.

Since its release Heller's novel has been regularly regarded as one of the crowning achievements of 20th century American literature.[229] In its lifetime, the book has sold over ten million copies, appeared on thousands of high school reading lists, and even coined the phrase "Catch-22," which is now an official part of the English language. The phrase is defined by the Merriam-Webster English dictionary as, "a problematic situation for which the only solution is denied by a circumstance inherent in the problem or by a rule."[230] The term epitomizes the central idea of the novel that war is crazy and that one has to be crazy to participate in it. Although simple, this idea remains just as relevant today as it ever has, and is one of the reasons that the novel has enjoyed such an enduring legacy. Nine years after *Catch-22* was first published, the already fabled novel was adapted into a film, which holds its own unique legacy, themes, and historical influence.

The old adage goes "well the book was better than the movie," which alludes to the fact that many times people who have read the books that films are adapted from are disappointed with the result. The *Washington Post* cited a study in January 2016 that actually confirmed these feelings among many filmgoers.[231] With a famous novel like *Catch-22*, this was bound to be the case. Heller's novel spans over 450 dense pages filled with snappy dialogue, repetition gags, and dozens of characters, all connected by sprawling, non-linear chapters. A film, by its nature, can only be so long, and express so much insight into the mind of its characters. Nichols and Henry made choices in their adaption that directly altered the meaning of their film compared to its source material.

In his collection of notes on films from 1965 to 1970, critic Richard Schickel devoted a section of his book to his extensive critique of *Catch-22*. Schickel, an admiring fan of Heller's book, stated, "I think it fair to say that he (Nichols) and writer Buck Henry have mislaid every bit of the humor that made the novel not only emotionally bearable but aesthetically memorable, replacing it with desperately earnest proof that they hate war."[232] Schickel believed that the filmmakers had turned the characters of the film into "ghosts" of their counterparts from the novel. He found much of Nichols' style to be "both inhumanly and desperately manipulative," and used the film as a metaphor for a declining American film industry.[233] Although not as harsh as Schickel, John Mahoney of the Hollywood Reporter called the film "cynical and bitterly cold."[234] Mahoney was complimentary of the acting, technical proficiency, and imagery, but thought the film was, "less than the sum of these parts."[235]

Famous film critic Roger Ebert was also critical of aspects of the adaptation, although not to the degree of Schickel or Mahoney. He called the film "essentially a parasite, depending on the novel for its vitality. Nichols doesn't bring much to the party." Ebert felt that the characters were painted in too broad of strokes, and that the details that brought them "alive" in the book were absent in the adaptation.[236] Despite his harsh words, Ebert still thought the film had "fine moments" and gave the film three out of four stars, indicating that he admired the film to some degree. The conclusions of

[229] "What is Catch-22?" And why does the book matter?" *BBC News*, (March 12, 2002).

[230] "Catch-22," Merriam-Webster, (October 24, 2016).

[231] Ana Swanson, "The book really is better than the movie," *The Washington Post* (January 5, 2016).

[232] Schickel, *Second Sight*, 309-310.

[233] Ibid.

[234] John Mahoney, "Catch-22," *Hollywood Reporter* (June 5, 1970).

[235] Ibid.

[236] Roger Ebert, "Catch-22 Review," *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 1, 1970).

Schickel, Mahoney, and Ebert's criticisms were that Nichols and Henry performed a disservice to the novel with their interpretation, and failed to create a fresh cinematic perspective.

While some critics ravaged the film, others were much more positive, most notably *New York Times* critic Vincent Canby, who called *Catch-22* "quite simply the best American film I've seen this year." Canby praised the film as groundbreaking, saying in his review, "It looks and sounds like a big-budget, commercial service comedy, but it comes as close to being an epic human comedy as Hollywood has ever made by employing the comic conventions of exaggeration, fantasy, shock, and the sort of insult and reverse logic." Unlike many of his contemporaries at the time, Canby continually references the humanity in Nichols' film, while others thought of it to be cold. He conceded that the film could be difficult to understand to those who had not read the book.[237] Canby's review of the film is one that has fallen more in line with how the film has been received since its release in 1970. The film currently holds an 85 percent approval rating on the review aggregate site *Rotten Tomatoes*, indicating that the film has been viewed more positively in recent years.[238] This increasingly positive critical reaction over time indicates that the film's influence and style have become more appreciated in the context of modern film.

Differences in Adaption

One of the elements of the film that jumps out immediately to viewers is its elaborate and extensive opening title sequence. According to *Film and Literature*, "The opening scene violates one of the cardinal clichés of contemporary filmmaking."[239] It involves a nearly three minutes long time-lapse of the sun rising over the setting of Pianosa, a small Italian island where much of the film takes place. Added to this, no music plays under the titles. The only sounds are ambient: birds chirping, the sounds of the ocean, and, eventually, the sound of piston engines. An average filmgoer at the time would have been struck by how jarringly different this scene feels from Nichols' previous work, *The Graduate*, which was defined by its flashy and artistic editing. The slow fade-in that begins the scene evokes the feeling of waking up from a dream or possibly entering into one. This scene contradicts Schickel's assumption that Nichols' style is "desperately manipulative."[240] It is a scene that is ripe for interpretation from the viewer. Nichols is painting a huge canvas, revealing a looming landscape slowly with a variety of sounds. Right from the opening credits, Nichols begins using sound and visuals to immerse the viewers in the world of *Catch-22* by utilizing his own, distinctive cinematic language.

The second scene of the film demonstrates how Henry and Nichols restructure the narrative of the book in their film adaptation. As is noted in by Fred H. Marcus and Paul Zall, the scene "immediately differs from the novel," and would surprise those who would have read the book.[241] Henry and Nichols use part of a scene from the novel that takes place in the third to last chapter of the book.[242] The scene is mainly comprised of an elaborate tracking shot, which at first shows an airfield full of planes taking off, before revealing Yossarian, the film's protagonist, making some sort of deal with two high ranking officials in a severely damaged base headquarters. The shot follows him as he leaves the warehouse, and is stabbed by an unknown assailant. The film then "moves spasmodically into a series of random flashbacks,"[243] all of which stem from this moment. This scene is elaborately blocked and visually stunning. Coupled with the opening credits, it sets up the massive scale of the film.

Even with the massive aerial coordination of the scene, Nichols demonstrates to the viewer that this film will be told from Yossarian's point of view as the camera stays on him for the majority of the scene. It is his stabbing at the end of the scene that jolts the film into its rising action. The mixture of character and world building in this shot and scene work against Mahoney's statement that the film, despite its technical achievements, is "less than the

[237] Vincent Canby, "CATCH-22," *New York Times* (June 25, 1970).

[238] "Catch-22," *Rotten Tomatoes*.

[239] Marcus, *Film and Literature*, 131.

[240] Schickel, *Second Sight*, 310.

[241] Marcus, *Film and Literature*, 131.

[242] Heller, *Catch-22*, 421-429.

[243] Marcus, *Film and Literature*, 132.

sum of these parts."[244] The scene does set up the impressive scale of the film, but its main service is to character, specifically Yossarian. Even as the planes move across runways and fly across the sky, Nichols keeps the viewers eyes on Yossarian by framing him within frames (doors, walls, broken windows, etc.) and shifting the camera alongside his movements. This was a bold way to introduce a protagonist, because Nichols must convince the viewer of Yossarian's personality before he says a word. Much of this comes from Alan Arkin's performance. He does not look like a hardened vet, yet he appears stressed and confused. The only bits of dialogue we are able to hear him say are snippets from his conversation with his superior officers including, "What about the other men in the squadron?" and "Ah, what the hell." In the immediate next scene, where the viewer sees Yossarian and Snowden for the first time in flashback, the broad strokes of Yossarian's character have already been painted. The scene speaks more to Canby's statement of the film being an "epic human comedy,"[245] because it does not lose sight of its focus of telling Yossarian's story while maintaining the look of a big-budget war film.

Although the term "catch-22" is a general term that can be applied to a number of situations, it had its origin as the main conflict of *Catch-22*. Yossarian explains the demented logic at the center of the film in its opening minutes. While talking with the head medical officer of the camp, Doctor Daneeka, Yossarian discovers the truth behind his service, "In order to be grounded, I have to be crazy, and I must be crazy to keep flying, but if I ask to be grounded that means I'm not crazy anymore and I have to keep flying." Daneeka responds, "You've got it that's Catch-22."[246] Every time Yossarian nears the number of missions he needs to fly in order to be sent home, those missions are increased by his commanding officers. Because of this situation, Yossarian is desperate to be grounded. In other words, Yossarian is trapped in the hell of war, and, because of a "catch-22," he has no way out.

It is important to note that Nichols and Henry purposefully restructured this scene, where Daneeka tells Yossarian about "catch-22," so that it falls much earlier in the film than it does in Heller's novel. In the book, this exchange comes in chapter five on page 46.[247] The filmmakers position this exchange less than ten minutes in.[248] According to "I See Everything Twice," an article by Chuck Thegze, Nichols used the scene to define the style of the film and "tried to maintain that style of a nightmare throughout every scene."[249] He achieves this feeling by making the scene devoid of extras, even though it takes place on an active air force runway. According to Thegze, the scene was originally shot with over 300 extras in the background, which would be normal if Nichols was trying to emulate a realistic runway. Unhappy with the results, Nichols reshot the scene and cleared out all of the extras. Nichols stated, "You select in a nightmare; when you dream about an event you don't think about the numerous faces of extras."[250] Although Nichols still allowed cars and planes to move around the tarmac, he isolated the two characters. Similar to the second scene in the film, this scene is staged mainly as one long, tracking shot. Nichols' dreamlike style grows as the film progresses. One of the critiques of the film by Schickel was that the film's tone was "as hot and heavy, as the original (novel) was cool and light."[251] Nichols keeps the tone light in this scene as he does the vast majority of scenes throughout the film by letting his shots linger. The conversation between Yossarian and Daneeka is vital to the understanding of the main plot of the film as well as Yossarian's mental state, but Nichols never forces the viewer's attention through close-ups or rapid editing. Nichols lets the viewer see the joke and the reaction in one frame, while the actors perform with a half smile on their faces, acknowledging the insanity of the world their characters inhabit. This is one of the first

[244] John Mahoney, "Catch-22," *Hollywood Reporter* (June 5, 1970).

[245] Vincent Canby, "CATCH-22," *New York Times* (June 25, 1970).

[246] *Catch-22*, Dir. Mike Nichols. Paramount Pictures. 1970. Film.

[247] Heller, *Catch-22*, 46.

[248] *Catch-22*, Dir. Mike Nichols. Paramount Pictures. 1970. Film.

[249] Chuck Thegze, "I See Everything Twice," *Film Quarterly* (University of California Press, 1970).

[250] Ibid.

[251] Schickel, *Second Sight*, 309.

cleverly comedic moments in the film and it is conducted with a slick, laid back style.

Much of the story in the film and novel is also built around the other officers and servicemen on the base. Yossarian's main ally is the Chaplain, who, although weak-willed and cowardly, joins Yossarian on his quest to get the men grounded and end the constant escalation of required missions. There is also Yossarian's main antagonist, Colonel Cathcart, who is the man responsible for increasing the number of dangerous missions each pilot must fly in an effort to add to his own personal prestige and glory. The other opposing force to Yossarian, whose morally flawed character traits slowly unravel as the film progresses, is Milo Minderbinder. Milo is a lieutenant who uses the war as a way to build a thriving business. His practices begin to endanger the troops on the base under the guise that his business is actually helpful to them. Milo and Cathcart are described in *Reel Men at War: Masculinity and the American War Film* as being "Rear Echelon Motherfuckers", meaning they put their subordinate's lives in danger on the front lines, while staying in the back, out of harms way, and obtaining all of the glory.[252] The film contains a few other notable characters including Nately, the eighteen-year-old idealist patriot, General Dreedle, the apathetic, no-nonsense commander, Major Major, the bumbling, antisocial misfit, and Aarfy, the entitled elitist.

Even though Henry's script is considered to be generally loyal to Heller's novel, pulling much of its dialogue and scenes directly from the pages, he was still forced to cut a number of characters from the book, seventeen to be exact.[253] Included in that number is Clevinger, whose high education and buoyant optimism played foil to Yossarian throughout the book. The others left out are Corporal Whitcomb, whose main role in the book was to harass and continually undermine the Chaplain, and Lieutenant Scheisskopf, who oversaw Yossarian and his fellow pilots in basic training. Scheisskopf's true love is having the men march in parades, and his influence can be felt in Stanley Kubrick's Vietnam War film *Full Metal Jacket* through the character of Gunnery Sergeant Hartman. Lastly, Captain Black, who goes on a tirade and forces the men on Pianosa to sign loyalty pledges before each meal, was also eliminated from the film's script.

Thegze notes, "of the 17 people that Henry eliminated, only one, Clevinger, had much to do with Yossarian in the novel." He goes on to say that "eliminated characters fall into one of two categories: either they were autonomous, appearing only in their own special chapters, or they serve to enhance other minor characters, not Yossarian."[254] Thegze's point is that Henry's choices in his elimination of characters were meant to cement the film in Yossarian's point of view, which Nichols' direction compliments. Unlike in the novel, Henry chose to mainly include only scenes where Yossarian is present, and he plays up Yossarian's role in each scene. He is present when McWatt accidently kills Hungry Joe, when Dreedle is embarrassed at a briefing meeting, and when Nately is killed at the base.[255] The novel operates like an ensemble piece, giving each character a chapter, and letting the reader hear their backstory. It is told in third person omniscient narration. Nichols and Henry, lacking this ability in the film, shift the focus to Yossarian. Their story is told mainly in first person and Yossarian's internal conflict is what anchors *Catch-22*. Coupled with the filmmaker's intention to make the film in a dreamlike manor, and the jumpy, flashback structure of the narrative, it is possible that the story takes place inside the head of the Yossarian, a drastic change from Heller's work.

This is where Roger Ebert's claim that the film was a "parasite" to the source material and that "Nichols doesn't bring much to the party," falls flat.[256] This decision by Nichols and Henry to change the point of view in the film's retelling of the story was radical and daring. It directly went against what

[252] Karen MacDonald and Ralph Donald, *Reel Men in War: Masculinity and the American War Film*, (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011.), 101.

[253] Chuck Thegze, "I See Everything Twice," *Film Quarterly* (University of California Press, 1970).

[254] Ibid.

[255] *Catch-22*, Dir. Mike Nichols. Paramount Pictures. 1970. Film.

[256] Roger Ebert, "Catch-22 Review," *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 1, 1970).

many people had loved about Heller's book.[257] It completely changes the focus of the story. Due to the structure of the book, the reader gets to know each and every character. The idea of Yossarian's isolation is told not only through the screenplay, but also represented visually time and time again. As the bombardier, Yossarian is isolated in the bottom of the plane on every mission. There is a sequence involving him alone at sea swimming towards a naked woman on a floating dock. Finally, Yossarian receives a war medal wearing nothing but a hat, while the others airmen stand in full uniform around him. Nichols always keeps Yossarian in the forefront of each of these scenes, separating him from other characters not only in the blocking, but also within the frames themselves.

One of the most notable, but subtle, of these perspective changes comes in the final scene of the film, which is also the final chapter of the novel. This is a scene that Ebert called a "cop-out."[258] He compared it to the way Nichols ended his previous film, *The Graduate*. Ebert believed that Nichols avoided answering the tough questions that his film asks, but that was Nichols' intention. In the scene, Yossarian discovers that his former bunkmate, Captain Orr, has pulled off a miraculous escape to Sweden, after travelling there by raft after his plane crashed in the Mediterranean Sea. The scene starts in a wide master shot, before deliberately pushing in until the frame shows only a close up of Yossarian, who realizes the brilliance of Orr's escape. Yossarian then leaps out of the window and runs towards the sea. He has a conversation with the Chaplain and Major Danby as he runs away that makes no logical sense. As Yossarian runs hundreds of feet away from the Chaplain and Danby, they continue to have a conversation as if standing in the same room. According to "I See Everything Twice," Nichols has said about the scene, "It's an unreal situation. It's a conversation that could not be held and it seems right and feels right when you're watching it because it says: We're not talking about something literal here; we're talking about a moral decision."[259] Nichols wants the audience to struggle with the end of the film, and uses his style to do so. The scene retains Nichol's surrealism, but as Yossarian runs across the runway, the viewer sees, for the first time, multiple platoons of men marching, which is fundamentally different from the earlier scenes that were devoid of extras.

During this sequence, "The Stars and Stripes Forever" by John Philip Sousa, an overtly patriotic song, plays in the background. Its presence is ironic. It sounds like a victory tune for Yossarian's escape, but it is also a song that epitomizes the US armed forces, an institution he is outright rejecting. Instead of being a "cop-out"[260] the ending forces the viewer to ask his or herself tough questions about what inclines a solider to serve his country and at what cost. It is a powerful message that is not necessarily present in the ending of Heller's novel. Nichols enhances the scene and imbues with meaning what would be indicative of many Vietnam War films to follow, most notably the ending to Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket*. In the ending to that film, the soldiers sing "Mickey Mouse March" while walking through the burning street of Huế.

Henry and Nichols struggled during production to find a way to make it convincing.[261] The ending of the novel had been one of its few criticized aspects, as many felt it was cheesy and did not fit in with the rest of the book.[262] One of Nichols and Henry's inspired choices for the ending was the final shot of the film. The last shot involves Yossarian hopping onto a life raft as the camera pulls away to reveal the enormous scale of the ocean he is venturing into. As Richard Combs wrote in an article for the *Film Comment*, "This looks like an escape, a rah-rah victory over the madness of war, but it also looks like those other Nichols' endings where uplift plays like sarcasm. It's as if escape is just another stage in the ongoing process, a kind of confirmation by rejection."[263] The ending of *Catch-22* serves as an

[257] Chuck Thegze, "I See Everything Twice," *Film Quarterly* (University of California Press, 1970).
[258] Roger Ebert, "Catch-22 Review," *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 1, 1970).
[259] Chuck Thegze, "I See Everything Twice," *Film Quarterly* (University of California Press, 1970).
[260] Roger Ebert, "Catch-22 Review," *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 1, 1970).
[261] Chuck Thegze, "I See Everything Twice," *Film Quarterly* (University of California Press, 1970).
[262] Ibid.
[263] Richard Combs, "Matters of Life and Death: Mike Nichols," *The Film Comment* (January 29, 2016).

ironic exclamation point on the dynamic vision set forth by the filmmakers. It is a challenging film that ends with a challenging scene. As Yossarian rows out into the endless sea, he is finally waking up from the nightmare of war, but his struggles with life seem far from over.

Legacy and Influence

There was anticipation leading up to the release of *Catch-22* in June of 1970. Nichols was debuting his newest film after having won the Academy Award for Best Director with his groundbreaking hit, *The Graduate*.[264] The film also featured a star-studded cast, which included established legends like Martin Balsam, Anthony Perkins, Bob Newhart, and Orson Wells as well as rising stars Alan Arkin, Martin Sheen, Art Garfunkel, and Jon Voight.[265] By that point in time, the novel had broken through from its status as a critical favorite to a bon a fide best seller thanks in part to the Vietnam War.[266] Robert Altman's *M*A*S*H*, a film about the Korean War with allusions to Vietnam, had been released in January to overwhelming critical admiration and box office success. Even with all of the momentum going for it, *Catch-22* was a commercial failure and received mixed reception when it was released in theatres.

Historically, the film has never received the same attention or acclaim as its source material. Similar to how the book was ahead of its time, so was its film counterpart. The film stands as one of the most expensive studio films of 1970. It was an extensive, complex, and star-studded production.[267] Adjusted for inflation, the film's budget would come out to over $112 million in 2016, which is staggering; especially considering the film is a comedy.[268] *Catch-22* saw one of the era's most influential filmmakers experimenting with style and form on a large canvas in ways that were meant to address the current political climate of the country and would eventually influence the Vietnam War films that would follow in the decades later. The film was a blip on the radar when it was released in 1970 with its influence on future filmmaking unknowable at the time.

It was eight years after the release of *Catch-22* that audiences began to be exposed to films that focused on the Vietnam War, specifically from the perspective of serving American soldiers. It started with the releases of Hal Ashby's *Coming Home* and Michael Cimino's *Deer Hunter*, both of which achieved critical acclaim, receiving eight and nine Academy Award nominations respectively, as well as being box office successes.[269] These films dealt with both soldiers who went off to fight in Vietnam as well as those on the home front. Much of those films' subject matter revolved around the mental and psychological effects of warfare. The Vietnam War is a war that has become defined by disillusionment and insanity. It would not be until the release of Francis Ford Coppola's messy and complex masterpiece, *Apocalypse Now*, a year later, and Stanley Kubrick's absurdist *Full Metal Jacket* in 1987 that filmmakers would begin to approach the war in a new way. They were shifting away from realism. Americans had been exposed to the horrors of the war on broadcast television and then followed by documentaries like the 1974 Academy Award winning *Hearts and Minds*. Filmmakers were searching for a way to emulate the true horror and detachment of war through mood, feeling, and symbolism rather than hyperrealism. The styles they embraced were ones that had been championed by Nichols, years earlier, in *Catch-22*, through his use of satire and surrealism. The long-term effects of Nichols and Henry's film demonstrate that its impact extended far past the date of its release. Nichols had established a precedent for future auteurs on how to make an anti-war, hypnagogic

[264] Ibid.

[265] *Catch-22*, Dir. Mike Nichols. Paramount Pictures. 1970. Film.

[266] "What is Catch-22?" And why does the book matter?" *BBC News*, (March 12, 2002).

[267] Lawrence H. Suid, *Guts & Glory: Great American War Movies*. (Reading: MA, 1978), 270-273.

[268] "CPI Inflation Calculator," Department of Labor Statistics (October 24, 2016).

[269] Peter Biskind, "The Vietnam Oscars," *Vanity Fair* (March 2008).

Vietnam War film even though his took place during World War II.

Coppola's vision of Vietnam in *Apocalypse Now* is regarded as one of the greatest not only war films, but films in general, of all time.[270] The film presents a demented and fragmented odyssey based on the book *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad. While Conrad's novel took place at the turn of the century along the Congo River, Coppola set his film on the Nùng River near the end of the Vietnam conflict. According to Patricia Keeton and Peter Scheckner in their book, *American War Cinema and Media Since Vietnam*, "Francis Ford Coppola's 1979 *Apocalypse Now*: when all is said and done, the war in Vietnam was simply nightmarish, a dream gone insane."[271] Coppola was attempting to recreate the conditions of Vietnam in his film. During the film's premier at the 1979 Cannes Film Festival, Coppola famously said, "My film is not about Vietnam. It is Vietnam. It's what it was really like. It was crazy… And little by little we went insane."[272] *Catch-22* was also trying to emulate the insanity of combat on the human psyche, but focused itself on a different war.

A number of scenes in Coppola's film have direct thematic and visual connections to *Catch-22*. Both films deal with how war undermines the soldier's treatment of women. In *Catch-22*, Yossarian discovers that Aarfy murdered a local Roman girl after he raped her, while *Apocalypse Now* features a USO show gone wrong. In both situations, men have gone crazy at war and devalue the lives of women. In one of the most meaningful scenes of *Apocalypse Now*, Willard and the naïve Lance, whose character contains a number of similarities to Nately, come upon the last American outpost on the Nùng River, a bridge. They discover that the outpost lacks a leader and that the Viet Cong destroy the bridge every night, only for the Americans to rebuild it the next day. There are parallels to a scene in *Catch-22* where Yossarian watches in horror as an air raid destroys his air force base and kills a number of his friends. Milo Mindbender had made a deal with the Germans to bomb the American base themselves, so they will buy his cotton supply. Both scenes are epitomized by the feelings of anarchy and insanity. The explosions that the viewer sees come from an unseen enemy. Neither protagonist has any control over his environment. There is a hopelessness that runs through the heart of both scenes that echo the feelings of a nightmare. These scenes are memorable because they play as tragedy and comedy. The audience and the characters have no choice but to laugh at the senselessness unfolding on screen.

Eight years later, Kubrick released *Full Metal Jacket*, his first war film since *Paths of Glory* in 1957. *Full Metal Jacket* is an absurd, dark, and satirical look at the path a group of marines take from training camp to the battlefields in Vietnam. The film was received positively and gained major award nominations the year it was released. Kubrick had been interested in adapting Heller's novel after the release of his film *Dr. Strangelove: Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, but Nichols had been able to outbid him for the rights.[273] *Dr. Strangelove* would help set the stage for the big budget war satire, but *Nichols* would take the reigns with *Catch-22*. Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket*, which gets lumped in with *Apocalypse Now*, *Deer Hunter,* and *Platoon* as some of the definitive Vietnam War films, is different from those films in a fundamental way: it is part comedy and part drama.[274] Nichols and Kubrick took that concept towards their films. Both films are able to mix graphic violence with comedy, many times in the same scene, making for an uncomfortable and endlessly fascinating viewing.

Catch-22's noteworthy Yossarian/Snowden scene has a similar counterpart in Kubrick's film. As the second part of *Full Metal Jacket* begins to draw to an end, a sniper pins down the main platoon of soldiers. The extended sequence involves many of the soldiers dying slow, painful deaths. The sniper is

[270] "AFI's 100 GREATEST AMERICAN FILMS OF ALL TIME," *American Film Institute* (June 20, 2007).

[271] Patricia Keeton and Peter Scheckner, *American War Cinema and Media Since Vietnam*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), 47. (

[272] Richard Corliss, "Apocalypse Back Then, And Now," *Time* (July 29, 2001).

[273] Gavin Smith, "Of Metaphors and Purpose," *Film Comment* (May 1999).

[274] Paul O'Callaghan, "10 Great Vietnam War Films," *British Film Institute* (March 11, 2015).

revealed to be a woman before the main character, Joker, kills her. In a similar sense to Yossarian, this is Joker's loss of innocence. As has been noted previously, *Full Metal Jacket* concludes with the soldiers marching along while they sing "Mickey Mouse March," in an ironic way similar to *Catch-22*'s "Stars and Stripes Forever." It's interesting to note that Kubrick's main character makes the fundamentally opposite choice that Nichols' Yossarian does. Joker decides to stay in the conflict after being scarred by war, staying "in a world of shit."[275] Almost twenty years had passed since the release of *Catch-22,* and one must wonder whether *Full Metal Jacket*'s ending was influenced by the change in America's attitude towards war after Vietnam or was Kubrick just instilling his pessimistic world view on the characters in his film. This was the director who ended *Dr. Strangelove* with a nuclear holocaust. Nevertheless, Kubrick's film relied on the structure of the modern war comedy set in place by Nichols. His film is full of the irony and absurdist humor that was present in *Catch-22*.

Joseph Heller's 1961 novel will forever be entrenched as an American classic, one that redefined how Americans talk about warfare and combat. It opened the door for storytellers to address the themes of combat, such as death, patriotism, and courage, with complexity and allow comedy to make them accessible. Mike Nichols and Buck Henry set out to make a film that would bring this novel to filmgoers, by making it something that spoke in a cinematic language. Although many critics were harsh upon their first review, calling the film "manipulative,"[276] "bitterly cold,"[277] and "essentially a parasite,"[278] it was ahead of its time. Henry adapted a script that restructured and cut down the plot of the novel so that the film focused on the perils of Yossarian. Nichols surprised viewers, by shifting his directing to create a dreamlike, nightmarish style the flows through the film. Many scenes defy easy surface level interpretation. Audiences and critics were not ready for the tough questions and lack of simple answers Nichols and Henry presented. It would not be until years later that filmmakers would begin to embrace the values of *Catch-22* to make films about the more controversial Vietnam War. Nichols made a war film that intends to make one laugh, cry, gasp, and think. Many times it succeeds, sometimes all in one scene. This accomplishment and the legacy it holds elevates *Catch-22* from simply being a cult classic based off a famous novel, to one of the most underrated and influential American war films of the 20th century.

[275] *Full Metal Jacket*, Dir. Stanley Kubrick. Warner Brothers Pictures. 1987. Film.

[276] Schickel, *Second Sight*, 310.

[277] John Mahoney, "Catch-22," *Hollywood Reporter* (June 5, 1970).

[278] Roger Ebert, "Catch-22 Review," *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 1, 1970).

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