

The Gold Star Journal



2005



Major General John S. Grinalds



This year's editors and Dr. Mabrouk proudly dedicate the ninth edition of The Gold Star Journal to Major General John S. Grinalds. Through his strength and endurance, he has brought unprecedented progress and prosperity to The Citadel. Through his hard work, dedication, faith and kindness, he has touched all of those around him.

"Duty, Honor, Country - those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you want to be, what you can be, what you will be. They are your rallying point to build courage when courage seems to fail, to regain faith when there seems to be little cause for faith, to create hope when hope becomes forlorn"

*General Douglas MacArthur
In his farewell address to West Point*



CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1, 1914

TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

About the Editors



John H. Bergmans

John is a junior Political Science major from Saline, Michigan. He is a member of Lima company and is currently serving on the Regimental Staff. John is an avid fly fisherman and lover of all sports. During his time at The Citadel, he has been on the Dean's list, Commandant's list, President's list and earned Gold Stars. Following graduation, he will be commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the United States Air Force. After serving in the armed forces, John would like to attend law school.



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Elliot J. Pernula

Elliot is a senior English major from Palmdale, California. During his time at The Citadel, he has written for the Brigadier. He is a member of Lima Company and currently serves as the Regimental Religious Officer. Following graduation in May, Elliot will receive a commission in the United States Army National Guard and plans to attend law school.



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John is a senior Political Science major from Sealy, Texas. During his time at The Citadel, he has studied abroad in London, participated in The Center for the Study of the Presidency Fellows Program in Washington D.C., and has been involved with a number of activities and organizations on campus. He is a member of Echo company and is currently serving as a sergeant. Following graduation in May, John plans to attend law school.



Matthew J. Harakas

Matthew is a junior English major from Spartanburg, South Carolina. Upon graduation he will be commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the United States Army National Guard. He is a member of Alpha company and is currently serving on the Regimental Staff. After serving his time in the armed forces, Matt hopes to attend graduate school.



Timothy A. Devine

Sophomore cadet Tim Devine is a History major and plans to be commissioned into the United States Navy after graduating from The Citadel. Although born in New Jersey, he has lived most of his life in Roswell, Georgia. He has worked as a tutor at the Writing and Learning Center and for the Jumpstart Program. Currently, Tim ranks as a cadet corporal, serving the Regimental Staff as an administrative clerk.

Greetings from the Advisor!

It is always with great anticipation, joy, and pride that I present to you, the reader, *The Gold Star Journal*. This year's issue of *The Scholarly Journal of The Corps of Cadets and The College of Graduate and Professional Studies* features six original nonfiction papers that were written first for a course at The Citadel and subsequently submitted for consideration. These papers demonstrate the scholastic ability of Citadel students and their dedication to academics outside the classroom. Kathryn Hyman discusses Hollywood's current portrayal of liberated women in her paper entitled *Feminism Gone Wrong: Domestic Female Portrayal in Recent Film*. Deon Nelson reveals the Catholic and Protestant influences on the writings of Cormac McCarthy in *The Religion of Cormac McCarthy's West*. Joel Funk's *Massacre at Srebrenica and the U.N. Safe Area Calamity* addresses the UN's concept of a Safe Area and its failure. Paul Wheeler discusses the influence of a Muslim population on a Christian Middle East in the Byzantine Empire in *7th Century Alexandria: A Microcosm of Peaceful Muslim-Christian Relations*. In *Tetraethyl Lead – History, Chemistry, and Health Effects*, Michael Stelmach presents the preparation of tetraethyl lead, its use as an antiknock agent in automobiles, and its health effects. John Bergmans describes life in Charleston in the early months of 1861 in *Four Months of The Mercury: Prelude to Total War*.

Thanks to this year's editors who did a wonderful job of selecting appropriate papers for publication, editing, and designing the layout. It has been a pleasure working with you. You are a great group of men. You will make fine leaders and professionals. I greatly appreciate the effort, care, and sacrifices you have made in working on this year's issue. Congratulations on a job well done! Readers, please join me in recognizing this year's editors of *The Gold Star Journal*:

- E. Deon Nelson Jr., 2005, English Major.
- John H. Bergmans, 2006, Political Science (International Politics) Major.
- John J. Brothers, 2006, Political Science (Law & Legal Studies) Major.
- Elliot J. Pernula, 2005, English Major.
- Matthew Harakas, 2006, English Major.
- Timothy Devine, 2007, History Major.

Congratulations Editors and Authors!

Dr. Suzanne T. Mabrouk

Dr. Suzanne T. Mabrouk

Advisor and Founder of *The Gold Star Journal*

Associate Professor of Chemistry

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Feminism Gone Wrong: Domestic Female Portrayal in Recent Film



Originally from Lafayette, Louisiana, Kathryn Hyman is a 2004 graduate of the College of Charleston and is currently working on her M.A. in English. After graduation she hopes to attend LSU in pursuit of a Ph. D. Her main interest is Women's Studies, with a particular affinity for

women writers of the early twentieth century. Kathryn wrote this paper for a graduate Film Studies course at The Citadel.

Beginning with the landmark 1987 film Fatal Attraction, it is easy to see a consistent pattern of negative film portrayals of post-feminist liberated females. According to critic Susan Faludi, it was Fatal Attraction that truly represented the prevalence of the anti-feminist backlash in Hollywood, as it cast the liberated and sexually aggressive female as psychotic and the wife and mother as idyllic. While it is certainly plausible that Fatal Attraction is an excellent place to begin examining the backlash effect in Hollywood, the backlash has, in the seventeen years since the film's release, only worsened. In fact, there is much evidence in current Hollywood film production to prove that it has escalated to a point of no return.

Today's emerging film career women are in more danger of domestication than ever before. While Hollywood continues to kill the independent femme fatale in favor of the domestic goddess, as evinced in the recent teen thriller Swimfan, movie studios also employ new methods of disempowering liberated women. The 1994 film Disclosure makes excellent use

of the female foil concept used in Fatal Attraction, only the film uses not one, but five different women in contrast with the dangerous female executive. In this film's case, the purpose of contrasting the independent protagonist with other less independent female types is to eventually portray her as ultimately controlled by the company patriarchy. Ironically enough, in the end, other less independent or less desirable women are portrayed as able to think for themselves.

The more recent Quentin Tarantino films, Kill Bill: Vol. 1 and Kill Bill: Vol. 2, employ not only female foils, but also the same kind of ultimate vulnerability of the career woman already seen in Disclosure. Only, the situation is reversed. Even though the protagonist is the most dangerous character, able to kill innumerable people within minutes, she is the female choosing domesticity, thereby making her the character with whom the audience sympathizes. In essence, in only seventeen years, Hollywood has managed to turn the ideal stay-at-home mom of Fatal Attraction into a world-renowned assassin, as featured in Kill Bill, capable of killing anyone who poses a threat to the safety of her domestic sphere. This certainly leaves the opposing career women with no hope of surviving the next millennium.

Beginning with a discussion of Fatal Attraction's journey from a male-culpable scenario to a polarized female portrayal allows for a good background discussion of Hollywood's intentional perpetuation of stereotypical female roles. As explained in detail in Susan Faludi's book, Backlash, the box office hit Fatal Attraction actually began not as a screenplay tribute to the wife and mother, but as a short film in the late seventies entitled, Diversion. In British director and screenwriter James Drearden's imagination, the original storyline was meant to "explore an individual's responsibility for a stranger's suffering...to examine how this man who inflicted pain, no matter how unintentionally, must eventually hold himself accountable" (Faludi 117-8).

After garnering the attention of many at the 1979 Chicago Film Festival, Diversion eventually caught the eye of Sherry Lansing, who had recently left Fox in order to help start a new film production company

associated with Paramount that would offer her more opportunity to influence films. Lansing considered Diversion as a chance to create a “story from the woman’s point of view with a turning-of-the-tables message: The “Other woman” shouldn’t be getting all the blame; let the adulterous man take the fall for a change” (Faludi 118). Lansing’s idea for a culpable male protagonist was rejected at first, then later accepted on the condition that Drearden alter the characters so the male would appear more sympathetic and the female more dangerous.

The most interesting point about the film is that Beth’s character, the wife and mother in the storyline, was originally simply a nominal character not meant to influence the plot at all. However, producers and directors wanted to turn the movie into a struggle between, as Drearden puts it, “the Dark Woman and the Light Woman” (Faludi 120). So Drearden revised the script, turning Beth into a legitimate character while also casting her as a woman very anxious to return to her own career after years of rearing her daughter at home. Yet when the film was complete, Beth had turned into, as Faludi claims, “the complete Victorian hearth angel,” while director Adrian Lyne claims Alex, the very successful and independent editor, had turned into, “a raging beast underneath” (120).

The transformation of female characters into evil and angelic is by no means something new to the public scene. According to Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar in their cornerstone book concerning feminist literary criticism of the nineteenth century, The Mad Woman in the Attic, women have been battling the concept of the angel/demon paradigm in literature for centuries. As a basic premise in the very first chapter of their work, the authors state, “The ideal woman that male authors dream of generating is always an angel” (20). It follows naturally then that the anti-feminist sentiment in male-dominated Hollywood would manifest itself in celluloid form as Fatal Attraction’s throwback to the good vs. evil female archetype, in which the “angel in the house,” is responsible for killing the “mad woman in the attic,” much to Virginia Woolfe’s dismay. The entire concept of feminine polarization from one extreme to the other in favor of the submissive woman is representative of

Hollywood production studios marketing pre-feminist ideology to the public. This is evidence of the anti-feminist American backlash for which Faludi makes an excellent case in her book. However, the backlash was by no means curbed after the film’s release. Rather, it only escalated.

In 2002, Twentieth Century Fox released the film Swimfan, which may very well be subtitled Fatal Attraction 2. The film follows the story of young Ben Cronin, played by Jesse Bradford, a successful high school athlete with a good chance for a college scholarship. His girlfriend Amy, played by Shiri Appleby, is eternally supportive of his pursuits and ultimately willing to give up her college plans to follow him wherever he may end up. One night, Ben is drawn into a seduction scene by new-girl-in-town, Madison Belle, played by Erika Christensen. They have consensual sex, only Ben regrets it in the morning and Madison does not. She begins contacting Ben through phone messages, pages, and e-mails to the point of ridiculousness. Meanwhile he continues to reiterate to the love-struck teen that the brief affair was a mistake and it will not happen again. After a series of threatening actions on Madison’s part meant to ruin Ben’s life and hurt those he cares about, including bludgeoning one friend to death, killing two police officers, and running Amy off of the road, the two have a show-down at the high school pool, incidentally where the original impetus for all of this action, the sexual encounter, had taken place just days ago. Ben saves Amy from harm and eventually Madison drowns, no longer a threat to anyone.

The characterization of Amy as angelic and Madison as evil throughout the movie is inescapable. From the start, Amy is nothing but supportive and doe-eyed where Ben is concerned. She goes to school, works as a waitress at night, and otherwise spends her time attending to Ben’s needs, going so far as to make sure he does not need her for a sexual “release” the night before the big swim meet.

Madison, however, plays caretaker to no one. She has many hobbies that offer her personal fulfillment and keep her occupied. She plays the cello beautifully and seems to excel in school. In short, she has the

potential to succeed in life quite independently of a man, much like Alex in Fatal Attraction. What is so odd, then, is the characterization of the independent female as psychotic and the submissive female as angelic. It is a method Hollywood employs in order to stilt the potential development of the independent female, thereby promoting the value of the domesticated female, for whom everything works out in the end.

One way in which Swimfan differs from Fatal Attraction and adds weight to the idea of the backlash worsening, is the age bracket in which the film operates. These characters are no more than seventeen years old. In Fatal Attraction, some credence is given to Alex's obsession with Douglas's character because of her age. In her own words, "This might be my [her] last chance to have a baby." What is so disturbing about Swimfan is that Madison has no such motivation to encourage her behavior. Even worse, the movie offers no other explanation for her mental instability. All the viewer is aware of is that she wants to be the girl Ben loves. If this is the only kind of motivation Hollywood has to offer for the independent-woman-gone-psycho scenario, it seems fairly evident that the domestication of the radical female is not something that has diminished since 1987.

Though working in a more suitable age bracket of early to late thirties, Disclosure also uses the conveyance of the independent female as ultimately diabolical and unenviable in order to promote the good qualities of the submissive female. It is important to note here that the film was first a novel by Michael Crichton. However, since fourteen of his novels have been turned into movies, he served as executive producer of the film, and both the book and the movie came out in the same calendar year, it is certainly arguable that he wrote this piece specifically with Hollywood in mind.

The film is the story of Tom Sanders (played by Michael Douglas – an actor who seems to have a certain panache for playing the male victim). Douglas plays a family man and production manager for the Seattle-based high tech company Digicom, who is passed over for a promotion that ultimately goes to Meredith Johnson, played by Demi Moore. Meredith is a cut-throat,

gorgeous executive with whom Tom had an affair several years ago. The basic premise is that the company president, Bob Garvin, played by Donald Sutherland, concocts a corporate scheme to oust Tom by first trumping up a sexual harassment charge to attack his character, then sabotage the production of the company's newest product, for which he is directly responsible. This would render Tom apparently incompetent in front of the board, which would subsequently dismiss him from his job.

The irony of the situation is that Garvin explicitly uses Meredith to achieve his scheme. It is Meredith who is responsible for fabricating the sexual harassment scene; it is Meredith who is responsible for orchestrating all of the different aspects of the production sabotage, and it is Meredith who is responsible for labeling Tom incompetent during his presentation. So while Meredith is presented as a woman operating entirely independently of male control, she is, in fact, the character most controlled by male authority in the film.

The film actually uses four female characters in order to highlight Meredith's negative characterization as well as her eventual vulnerability to the corporate boss's Machiavellian schematics. First there is Cindy, Tom's secretary, played by Jacqueline Kim. During the sexual harassment mediation, she admits that Tom sometimes touches her inappropriately, though she would never say anything to him about it. After that admission, in one of the final scenes, where Cindy helps Tom prepare for his ultimate victory in the boardroom, the two make light of the previous comment. Cindy even taps Tom on the behind as he leaves. Cindy serves as a perfect example of the submissive girl succeeding. While Meredith fabricated a sexual harassment case in order to carry out a direct order from her boss, Cindy comes to make light of the fact that she is actually the victim of sexual harassment by teasing the violator himself. In the end, all is forgiven and the two work perfectly happily together, leaving the viewer to wonder why things can work out for Cindy, who was legitimately sexually harassed, and why Meredith is forced to cry sexual harassment, only to be fired by those men for whom she was performing unethically.

Then there is Stephanie, played by Rosemary Forsyth. She is an older executive, and is coincidentally up for the same promotion as Tom, though no one thinks she will get it. Within seconds of being introduced to Stephanie, the viewer finds out that not only is she a mother of a college-age son, she is a mother who would gladly take a pay cut in order to stay in Seattle so she could be closer to her son. Stephanie is obviously meant to be the woman who has a successful career, though never at the expense of her family, a trait Meredith certainly lacks, as she has neither the time nor the inclination for a family herself. Some may paint Stephanie as a positive example of a "you can do it all" kind of woman who is successful in the end, as she eventually receives the promotion, but the interesting aspect of her character is that she cannot simply be a good executive and not be a mother. Being a female independent of family in the corporate world renders you too ruthless, too masculine, too much like Meredith.

Tom's wife, Susan, played by Caroline Goodall, plays a key role in opposing Meredith's character, as she represents the domestic fear most intensively. She is a lawyer, characterizing her as diligent and intelligent from the very beginning. Yet, she works part-time in order to spend more time with her children. Interestingly enough, when Tom is passed over for the promotion, Susan even suggests her going back to work full time while he looks for another job that would not take advantage of him. Tom very quickly asserts that he can "provide enough for his family," and Susan quietly but certainly agrees. She is completely supportive of her husband in public, namely when she first hears of the sexual harassment charges from one of Tom's co-workers at a business dinner. She claims that she knows about the whole situation, a lie, and she supports her husband in every way. No matter how much he hurts her, most notably during the mediation proceedings about the sexual incident in question, Susan remains steadfastly supportive. In the end, Tom ultimately wins by uncovering the corporate scheme in enough time to head off Meredith's pre-planned confrontation and actually proves her to be the incompetent employee. However, Tom's victory is not only a victory for himself, but also for Susan, as she wins in the end for supporting her

husband no matter how troubling the circumstantial evidence may have been.

Finally there is the Catherine, played by Roma Maffia, the lawyer who represents Tom in his sexual harassment case against Meredith. She is completely successful in her career, and, following naturally, quite happily married. In order for the female foils for Meredith's character to be most effective, it seems that they must be overtly submissive, as in Cindy's case, or they can be outspoken and successful, as long as they are linked to some kind of familial environment. The ostracization of Meredith's character through female foils works on the premise of her ostensible exertion of complete control and her total isolation from natural female identity: that of wife and mother.

While many insist that *Disclosure* is anti-feminist in that it portrays females as just as legitimately guilty of sexual harassment as males, thereby making light of a threatening situation many females find in the workplace, the real problem with the film is that even the hyper-intelligent, full time career woman driven only to succeed is still entirely controlled by the men of the company. Ultimately, she becomes just their pawn. She is painted as cold and calculating and eventually fired for it, while the men who organized the whole scheme remain untouchable. For example, after Meredith has been fired, Garvin walks into the corporate office to announce who is to receive the promotion left by Meredith's removal. He is greeted with overwhelming applause. It is completely undeserved considering he is responsible for potentially ruining Tom's career, and most definitely ruining Meredith's.

What makes *Disclosure* even more dangerous than the previously discussed *Fatal Attraction* and *Swimfan* is the film's increased complexity in terms of subtle propagandistic typecasting. Rather than overtly characterizing one female as everything good and the other as everything bad, *Disclosure* portrays five types of women, all with differing degrees of independence and familial connection. By creating a corporate situation in which certain good female types are more subtly drawn, thereby more recognizable and empathetic characters, in contrast to an isolated female who is

stripped of all things feminine and consequently punished in the end for it, Disclosure serves as an even more radical example of the Hollywood backlash that still continues today.

While the previously discussed movies certainly contain evidence of Hollywood backlash, the most evidently pro-domestic film is the very recently released Kill Bill series. Much like the previous films, Kill Bill volumes one and two make use of the female foil. In this case, Uma Thurman's character, The Bride, is a female assassin attempting to leave the business because she is pregnant and wants to get married and raise her daughter in a safe environment. On her wedding day, her boss, Bill, played by David Carradine, shows up and orders her, along with everyone else in the chapel, assassinated execution style by Thurman's former co-workers. Thurman wakes up from a coma years later and sets out to kill everyone that interfered with her life on that day, namely for taking her daughter from her (as she believes her daughter to be dead). She eventually kills all of her assassins, except for the male assassin who was already dead by the time she found him, and ultimately kills Bill, allowing her to take her daughter, whom Bill had been raising, and ride off into the sunset, safe from all harm.

The most notable foil used in the film is Vivica A. Fox's character, Vernita Green. Like Thurman, she is also the mother of one little girl. In fact, the scene in which Thurman kills Fox takes place in Fox's kitchen, while her daughter watches after she has just gotten home from school. What is interesting about this dynamic is that while Thurman had intended to give up being an assassin, so nothing like that would ever happen in front of her daughter, Fox has, ostensibly selfishly, chosen to continue working as an assassin, only to have her daughter witness her murder. This is the most influential foil as it casts Thurman, the woman who wants to give up her career to be a mother, as the good woman, capable of killing anyone who threatens her sphere of domesticity. It also casts Fox as the woman who ends up dead for trying to "have it all." Unlike the less developed good women in Disclosure, Thurman is actually the most dangerous of all of the characters. In fact, in his review of the movie in USA Today, Mike

Clark claims director Quentin Tarantino "establishes Thurman as the premier action heroine yet." Despite her ability to and insistence on killing everyone that poses a threat to her safety and that of her child, Thurman remains the most sympathetic character in the end, due to her desire to be domesticated.

Obviously Thurman is the ultimate mother. Hollywood has gone so far as to make the ideal woman, the wife and mother type, the best assassin in the world so that no one can ever defeat her. While the other women who chose to keep their careers, for example Lucy Liu's character as head of the entire Japanese mafia known as the Crazy eighty-eight, had to die, Thurman ends up with all she wanted in the beginning, minus the original husband for which her true desire is debatable. This film is the epitome of the modern anti-feminist backlash.

Looking back, Fatal Attraction seems too obvious to be effective. It is like a fairy-tale that is over-simplified to the point of inefficacy. Over the course of seventeen years, Hollywood has managed to refine its filmmaking skills in order to produce films of the most subtle, and thereby influential, caliber yet. The domestication of feminism seems to be complete, as any film studio would be hard-pressed to best a film in which the domestic goddess is actually an assassin. The complexity of the story is what makes it interesting and, most importantly, appealing. All films considered, the progression of Hollywood films from stereotypical to innovative has progressed the anti-feminist backlash to a point of no return. It seems that the only place to go now is in the other direction.

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The Religion of Cormac McCarthy's West



Deon Nelson is a senior English major from the interminably stagnated town of Nederland, Texas. After graduating, he will enter law school at either Tulane or The University of Texas at Austin. He composed this paper for an oral presentation he gave at the Mideast Conference

on Christianity and Literature in Dayton, Ohio.

In response to Vereen Bell's argument in *The Achievement of Cormac McCarthy*, which contends that McCarthy's novels are fundamentally nihilistic, Edwin Arnold proposes that there is an overall sense of moral guidance in his body of work, causing a "profound belief in the need for moral order, a conviction that is essentially religious" (44). Arnold continues to advocate his belief in grace and redemption, justifying these by alluding to McCarthy's use of moral parables to structure his novels, his frequent biblical references, and the interpretation that many of McCarthy's characters are somehow led to the light of salvation through their misfortune. However, while Arnold weaves this moral net through his reading, he fails to define just what type of God McCarthy is dealing with. While his southern novels seldom mention denomination, *All the Pretty Horses* seems to question McCarthy's God by juxtaposing the Protestant ethic of the Anglo John Grady Cole with the strong Catholicism of the Mexican culture he enters. The conflict of denominations should come to mind with this confrontation; however, the divergence is often overlooked in critical surveys of cultural divisions, losing precedence to race, class standing, and ideology. Yet, Catholicism shapes the culture of Mexico and often clashes with the ethics of John Grady.

McCarthy's Roman Catholic background is evident in his writing, and the religious overtones cannot be ignored. But, the text does not firmly support which denomination survives through this conflict of cultures, for each is flawed and as equally destructive as it is divine. This is not to say that *All the Pretty Horses* can, or should, be whittled down into a religious parable. Bell says that "McCarthy's narratives always seem to verge upon, without ever moving wholly over into, allegory," and readers should be wary of thinking McCarthy would ever directly champion either denomination over the other (Bloom 39). More than being non-denominational, *All the Pretty Horses* is anti-denominational. Much of the novel is about both physical and emotional adaptation, which suggests the novel's religion is neither Catholic nor Protestant but a blending of the two – a truth existing above what mankind has established as doctrine.

John Grady leaves Texas with independent disregard of authority and youthful ideas of the old cowboy days propelling him southward. Both his family and his life in America have deteriorated, and McCarthy says he is a boy who is losing faith that the world is a decent place. However, to call him an idealistic optimist is not a stretch. The sixteen year-old dreams of owning a ranch with horses and believes that untouched land comparable to paradise lies south of the border. The illusion that man can search alone and find a place where evil does not exist can be attributed to youth, but it is an idea that is predominately Anglo-protestant. Catholic conquistadores explored the Americas before the Anglos, but their quest was at least said to be under the divine guidance, which controlled the state that controlled the expeditions. In the Protestant settling of the American West, the justification was shifted from divine blessing to natural right, and John Grady accepts the anti-structured, self-centered belief with the same conviction. To call John Grady a Protestant is really a deductive process, for he is better described simply as non-Catholic. Religious order is nothing more than an antiquated idea to John Grady. At his Grandfather's funeral there is a storm and the "preacher's words [are] lost in the wind" and confusion as the chairs "race away tumbling among the tombstones" (McCarthy 5). Often, religion simply brings guilt on John Grady when he sins. It does not affect his decision-making, and provides so

little substance in his life that when questioned about a spiritual world he only tells Rawlins, "I guess you can believe what you want to" (91). Religious force is not strong, and oftentimes leaves John Grady with no guidance other than his young sentiments and dreams of adventure.

Still, regardless of his lack of religious structure, the text shows John Grady to possess a sort of inherent goodness, the basis of Arnold's argument for religious feeling in the novel. Gail Morrison says that John Grady has a "straightforward, unsophisticated notion of right and wrong," and "his code of honor and his simplistic conception of good and evil" will be "challenged by an older...civilization" through the course of the novel (Arnold 176). Although his Protestant ethic is not as entrenched as Mexican Catholicism, it is equally capable in maintaining a sense of good in the face of trial. A dichotomy is present in the fact that John Grady's individual idealism seems to be his path to nobility, as well as his fault. The ability to form opinions on the events around him, and to assign merit in accordance with what he sees as true instead of what a society has established as right, are moral positives. In a conversation with the Dueña Alfonsa, the sexism of Mexico is thoroughly explained to John Grady, but he can do nothing but respond, "I guess I'd have to say that don't seem right" (McCarthy 137). He is tested in the same way several times by both the police captain and the crime lord in the Saltillo prison, but he holds firmly to what he sees as correct, insisting that "There ain't but one truth. The truth is what happened. It ain't what come out of somebody's mouth" (168). Therefore, Arnold believes John Grady is portrayed as an unlikely knight errant, "stubbornly faithful to a chivalric code" that, regardless of weakness, possesses a morality formed by his ideas and knowledge of God" (176).

Like Protestantism in America, Catholicism dominates Mexico. The culture seems more stable, mature, and conscious of an Old-Testament biblical morality, and it essentially wins out by expelling John Grady back to Texas and away from his lover Alejandra, his boss's daughter. However, the religious state enveloping the characters in Mexico hardly remains without fault. The structure of Catholicism seems to dominate values and society with harsh rigidity. Like

the Dueña Alfonsa, Alejandra has little hope of escaping masculine dominance in the way that John Grady fled from the society that bound him in America. The Dueña is correct in saying, "The names of the entities that have power to constrain us change with time. Convention and authority are replaced by infirmity. But my attitude toward them has not changed," for she, despite her wisdom and education, has only limited freedom (McCarthy 136). She rejects John Grady as Alejandra's suitor because of his idealism and unconcern for the rules of society that the Dueña knows to be real. Her idea of the world is bedded in realism and structure, subordinate to a hierarchy that keeps her from realizing happiness or truth which is not grounded in "outmoded custom." The judging power of right and wrong belongs to what is strong enough to decide, and tradition repeatedly holds this strength. The story of the Madero brothers' inability to defeat upper-class rule proves his theory. It was the peasants of Mexico, in a subverted attempt to restore a conservative social normalcy, who killed the liberal Gustavo after he had financed a revolution in their behalf. When debating whether Alfonsa should have had more avenues of choice in her life, Don Rocha concedes that "She should have been left to make her own choice," but follows by justifying that "One country is not another country. Mexico is not Europe;" therefore, Alfonsa missed the chance to have personal freedom based on her sex (145). Perhaps the most telling statement on the entrenchment of Catholic culture comes from Don Rocha while he plays billiards in the old chapel of his home. He says to John Grady, "the table has been here for years now and the chapel has yet to be whatever the word is. To have the priest come and make it be no longer a chapel. Personally I question whether such a thing can be done at all. What is sacred is sacred" (144). Don Rocha's main point is that anything established as sacred must remain throughout the changing of the world, and it is important that he doubts whether man can truly alter an establishment. Whether classified as social hierarchy, sexism, or the disallowance of any sort of idealism, he applies this sentiment to his home and his views on society. Catholicism is thereby seen to affect Mexican culture on the whole, causing a disassociation between

the powerful and unpowerful and the refusal to accept anything outside the established traditions of society.

John Grady's protestant ethic is harmfully naive, and Catholicism's absolute hold on Mexico is suffocating. If a victory is present in the novel, it exists when John Grady returns to America after surviving both prison and Mexico. However, in his quest for salvation, he must kill an inmate and allow the death of a police captain. This brings him to the realization that life cannot be entirely molded to his prearranged ideals, and, therefore, is not completely in his control. While in prison, the crime boss Perez offers to intercede for the boys and help with their protection and release, at a price. John Grady refuses the offer by telling Perez he can make it out alone. Perez counters by calling the boy naïve, discussing how "the mind of the anglo is closed in [a] rare way," and directly telling John Grady that he "cannot stay in [prison] and be an independent person" (192, 188). Eventually, John Grady is forced to give himself to the system. He pays his debt to Perez by knife fighting, and accepts the intercession of the Dueña Alfonsa when she miraculously buys his way out of prison. The process shatters his immature belief in the purity of independent cowboy life he had fought so hard to maintain. His idealism is changed by reality; however, he does not accept the systematic world of the Saltillo crime lord and of the police captain as absolute. John Grady refuses the command to return to Texas by riding south to retrieve his stolen horses. His quest is as improbable as any he had previously attempted and is a direct affront to structure and order. After taking the captain hostage, John Grady is told he does not have the right to reclaim his horses, "You are not the officer of the law," the captain says, "You don't have authority" (272). Yet, McCarthy allows John Grady to succeed, triumphing over the system as he leaves the country with his retrieved horses. The basic structure of the novel's ending has a symbolic Catholic structure with the purgatorial prison stay and the final confession to a judge that absolves John Grady of his sin. But, John Grady survives without hinting toward religious conversion, or giving the reader a glimpse of an internal dialogue that ultimately questions his faith, and McCarthy is careful to show that he never completely gives up his idealism as he journeys westward at the novel's close.

Neither culture definitively conquers the other. Mexico purges itself of the weaker John Grady only after he exposes its faults. Even though John Grady survives, he is jaded and alone as he ominously passes into "the darkening land, the world to come" in the book's closing line. Because each culture is heavily influenced by religion, the confrontation can be approached from a denominational viewpoint. Arnold is correct in his reading of religious order, and Bell's caution against rigid allegorical interpretation helps to uncover the novel's overall spiritual feeling by warning readers to avoid insular religious interpretation. Therefore, the answer lies in religious adaptation. In *All the Pretty Horses*, Catholic and Protestant denominations serve as converging beliefs that dialectically form John Grady's final moral attitude that saves him both from himself and from the wild deserts of Northern Mexico.

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The Massacre at Srebrenica and the UN Safe Area Calamity



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Introduction

The Fate of the First United Nations "Safe Area"

Thursday, 6 July 1995, signifies the beginning of an event that both decimated the name of the United Nations (UN) and will haunt the pages of history for generations to come. Declared a UN safe area by UN Security Council resolution 819(1993) and protected under the auspices of a UN peacekeeping force, the enclave of Srebrenica came under attack from advancing Bosnian Serb forces. Ten days later, Serb forces controlled the enclave; the entire Bosnian Muslim (Bosniac) population had been expelled and 7,079 Bosniac men were missing. This catastrophe marks the darkest days of the Bosnian war and is considered the single worst atrocity in Europe since World War II. It is imperative for international actors and the foreign policy decision makers of the world to completely grasp the innate failure of the UN "safe area" concept and the factors which contributed to the demise of Srebrenica and the murder of its inhabitants. Failure to

learn from and abide by the lessons of Srebrenica dooms the world to repeat the mistakes made there.

Background Information

Upon the demise and disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the governmental power holding the multiethnic region of Yugoslavia into one sovereign state disappeared. A product of extended occupation by great empires, this region's demographic is divided into three distinct religious-based ethnic groups. As stated in David Rohde's work, *End Game: The Betrayal of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre Since World War II*:

Those who converted to Catholicism under the rule of the Catholic Holy Roman Empire became known as Bosnian Croats. Those who converted to Orthodox Christianity under the rule of the Eastern Orthodox Byzantine Empire became known as Bosnian Serbs. Those who converted to Islam under the rule of the Muslim Ottoman Turks became known as Bosnian Muslims.¹

Reverting and feeding off of classic fears and hatreds, the people of the former Yugoslavia developed strong feelings of nationalism. Movements for and declarations of independence followed in close order. A major force behind this nationalistic fervor was the President of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević. After consolidating power, he sought to bring about a consolidation of Serbian people into one "Greater Serbia."

On 25 June 1991, both Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence from Serbia. Six months later, Serb nationalists within Croatia had seized approximately one-third of Croatia, but fighting stagnated and a ceasefire was reached. One month later, fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BH) began in the eastern and northern regions as troops and nationalistic paramilitary units invaded from Serbia. As hundreds of thousands of Muslim and Croat citizens fled westward, Croatia responded by sending their own resources to aid the Croat nationalists living in Bosnia. Rhode also suggests that "Serbian President Milošević and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman hoped to divide

Bosnia between themselves and create a 'Greater Serbia' and a 'Greater Croatia.' Bosnia's Muslims, trapped between the two more powerful groups, had few weapons and no outside backer."² The ensuing conflict was an extremely complicated and awkward war that encompassed forces from three political bodies, countless paramilitary units, and shifting allegiances as each ethnic group sought a strategy to accomplish its objectives. As presented in the *Srebrenica Report: Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35(1998)*, "Most of the territory captured by the Serbs was secured by them within the first 60 days of the war... During those 60 days, approximately one million people were displaced from their homes. Several tens of thousands of people, most of them Bosnian Muslims, were killed."³

As Muslim civilians were forced to flee their homes in eastern and northern Bosnia, they inevitably resettled in regions still controlled and defended by Bosniacs. Often accompanied by elderly family members and lacking proper means of transport in the rugged region, these civilians would settle in the closest region possible that supplied relative safety. Thus, the close proximity and relatively defensible regions of Gora•de, •epa, and Srebrenica attracted many of these internally displaced peoples (IDP's). As the advancing Serbian forces encircled these enclaves and continued their push south and west, these IDP populations were trapped within their safe havens. By the middle of March 1993, "over 60,000 Muslim civilians packed the town of Srebrenica and a small area around it."⁴ As the advancing Serbian forces began to lose their momentum, they began to lay siege to these pockets of Muslim resistance. Serb forces restricted food convoys, trade routes, and cut off power to the enclaves they surrounded. The inhabitants of Srebrenica were forced to live with no electricity or fuel, little running water, and meager food rations for nearly three years. The implications of this serious situation can be further enhanced after one considers census figures that indicate only 9,000 citizens inhabited Srebrenica before the war.⁵

In conjunction with a renewed assault by Serb forces, this state of affairs was the predicament that faced the UN Security Council as it weighed its options

in regard to Srebrenica and the other vulnerable Muslim enclaves. As Serb forces bore down on Srebrenica's defenders, "The High Commissioner for Refugees wrote to the Secretary-General on 2 April 1993 (S/25519), that the people of Srebrenica were convinced 'that the Bosnian Serbs [would] pursue their military objectives to gain control of Srebrenica,'"⁶ and this predicted state was imminent. Influenced by this report and under tremendous pressure from the international community to act, the UN Security Council voted on April 16 to enact Resolution 819 (1993).⁷ The resolution stated:

1. Demands that all parties and others concerned treat Srebrenica and its surroundings as a safe area which should be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act;
2. Demands that effect the immediate cessation of armed attacks by Bosnian Serb paramilitary units against Srebrenica and their immediate withdrawal from the areas surrounding Srebrenica;
3. Demands that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) immediately cease the supply of military arms, equipment and services to the Bosnian Serb paramilitary units in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;⁸

Operating without foresight and providing a temporary solution to an enduring problem, the UN Security Council altered the course of the Bosnian war and ultimately doomed the inhabitants of Srebrenica.

Principles of Peacekeeping Regarding "Safe Area" Concept

What Are Peacekeeping Operations?

The loose term "peace operations" encompasses several different methods of peacekeeping operations. According to Terry Mays in his work *African's First Peacekeeping Operation: The OAU in Chad, 1981-1982*, "Peace operations are 'Peacekeeping, preventive deployment, and peace

enforcement operations mandated by an international organization or coalition in support of diplomatic efforts to establish or maintain peace.”⁹ Furthermore, peacekeeping is construed to encompass three additional subcategories: “traditional peacekeeping,” “aggravated peacekeeping,” and “peace building.”

Aggravated Peacekeeping

Aggravated peacekeeping is a common form of peace operation in modern times as it gives forces the flexibility to undertake a more robust mission than a mere observation force. Mays defines aggravated peacekeeping as:

Deployment of an international organization or military force, which can include police and/or civilians, undertaken with the nominal consent of all major belligerent parties, but which is complicated by subsequent intransigence of one or more of the belligerents, poor command and control of belligerent forces, or conditions of outlawry, banditry, or anarchy. In such conditions, peacekeeping forces are normally authorized to use force in self-defense of the missions they are assigned, which may include monitoring and facilitating implementation of an existing truce agreement in support of diplomatic efforts to reach a political settlement, or supporting or safeguarding humanitarian relief efforts.¹⁰

Aggravated peacekeeping is considered a “Chapter Six and a Half” type of operation by the UN, where “Chapter Six of the Charter discusses pacific settlements of disputes and Chapter Seven permits the organization to field intervention forces.”¹¹ Therefore, aggravated peacekeeping is, in essence, a hybrid of these two types of operations and is considered to lie somewhere between these two concepts.

Upon the implementation of Security Council resolution 836 (1993), the UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia, UN Protection Force Former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), was provided a mandate that closely correlated with this concept of “aggravated peacekeeping.” The two key paragraphs of this resolution relating to this issue are:

5. Decides to extend to that end the mandate of UNPROFOR in order to enable it, in the safe areas referred to in resolution 824 (1993), to deter attacks against the safe areas, to monitor the cease-fire, to promote the withdrawal of military or paramilitary units other than those of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to occupy some key points on the ground, in addition to participating in the delivery of humanitarian relief to the population as provided for in resolution 776 (1992) of September 1992,...

9. Authorizes UNPROFOR, in addition to the mandate defined in resolutions 770 (1992) of 13 August 1992 and 776 (1992), in carrying out the mandate defined in paragraph 5 above, acting in self-defense, to take the necessary measures, including the use of force, in reply to bombardments against safe areas by any of the parties or to armed incursion into them or in the event if any deliberate obstruction in or around those areas to the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR or of protected humanitarian convoys.¹²

Peace Enforcement

Peace enforcement is a form of peacekeeping that strives to reestablish and maintain a defined status quo through the use of force. Mays defines peace enforcement as a “deployment of an international force or coalition military force to compel compliance with international peace and security.”¹³ Peace enforcement is considered a “Chapter Seven” type of operation by the UN, because these operations are mandated under the auspices of Chapter Seven, Article 42 of the UN Charter, which states:

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such actions by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations,

blockade, and other operations by air, sea or land forces of the United Nations.

Although the UN Security Council invoked Chapter Seven of the UN Charter in adopting resolution 836 (1993), the Security Council used politically ambiguous language and terminology in mandating the mission of UNPROFOR. The vague mission and power imbued to UNPROFOR did not encompass the full range or power potentially attainable under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter.

Factors for Successful Peacekeeping

The deployment of a peacekeeping force to a conflict or crisis zone is by no means a final solution in itself. Unraveling the binds of conflict and establishing a peaceful and lasting environment is a complicated process requiring extensive planning and consideration. There are countless internal and external factors that determine the resultant success or failure of a peacekeeping operation. In regard to the UN "safe area" concept and the failure of UN intentions at Srebrenica, there are several key issues that require further elucidation.

Consent and Acceptance of Belligerents

The expressed consent and request of the belligerents is required to both invoke Chapter Six of the UN Charter, and to field a peacekeeping force mandated under this provision. This prerequisite can be found in Chapter Six, Article 43 of the UN Charter, which states, "without prejudice to the provisions of Article 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all parties to any dispute so request, make recommendation to the parties with a view of pacific settlement of the dispute."¹⁵ Without this required consent, any intent to field an international force would require a peace enforcement mandate empowered under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter.

Acceptance and respect for peacekeeping forces and the initiatives they represent are also keen in resolving a dispute via peacekeeping. If the belligerents do not accept or respect neither the mission of the peacekeeping force nor the goals they seek, situations may develop that hinder the pursuit of the mandate,

placing the attainability of peace and security into question.

Neutrality

The perception of neutrality is paramount in peacekeeping operations, because prejudice or favoritism to one belligerent group over another leads to confrontations when belligerents seek to maneuver and attain political and military objectives. Impartiality is the only means possible, outside peace enforcement, to properly attain a desired end state quickly and efficiently while minimizing confrontation. However, an ideal perception of neutrality is often difficult, if not impossible, to attain in disputed conflicts. As each belligerent seeks additional clout and power over its opposition, they will frequently attempt to utilize the presence of the peacekeeping force to their advantage. For example, belligerents may seek to coerce or force the peacekeepers into conflict with its opposition or criticize measures of the peacekeeping force to weaken its presence to their advantage. Maintaining a semblance of neutrality is a complicated process to administer, but lacking a defensible position of neutrality outside the framework of peace enforcement causes a peacekeeping force and its mandates to lose viability.

Concurrent Peace Negotiations

A peacekeeping force is a military contingent with a physical goal of providing safety and security with minimal human suffering. But, it also has a much larger mission to stabilize a region and provide lasting peace. An international peacekeeping force is limited in the resources, power, and influence it can have over a dispute. Concurrent peace negotiations are a vital aspect of ensuring positive and lasting peace. Without either peace negotiations or a deliberate intent by the belligerents to cooperate and abide by these negotiations and subsequent agreements, a peacekeeping force is destined to either fail or never fully accomplish its objectives.

Clear Mandate

A peacekeeping force and its mission are dependent on the interpretation of the established mandate, which is an internationally binding agreement

and has the power of international law. Operating within the framework of the mandate is paramount as infringement and actions outside the established guidelines violate the international law the mandate represents. Abiding to a clear and definitive mandate is often difficult, because mandates are adopted under political influences and pressures rather than strategic military realities. This condition often yields mandates that are vague and difficult to tangibly interpret. Indistinct mandates place peacekeeping forces in difficult and nearly impossible situations. Peacekeeping forces which are instilled with extensive responsibilities and objectives to undertake, but lack the flexibility or definitive right to use certain degrees of force to obtain these objectives, are left with impossible missions of which they are incapable of completing.

Aggravated Peacekeeping vs. Peace Enforcement

An important issue and argument under much discussion in regard to its implications to the field of peacekeeping, which factors into the UN "safe area" concept, is the employment and distinction between aggravated peacekeeping and peace enforcement. As previously stated, these two forms of peace operations have clear theoretical distinctions under the UN, but, in reality, their employment and mission often blurs the framework of theory.

Military vs. Political Tool

The theoretical distinction between the means to establish the shared goal of instituting a peaceful settlement to a dispute is clearly defined in aggravated peacekeeping and peace enforcement. As Mays states, "Peace enforcement operations are military rather than political in nature. Soldiers assigned to these missions are using force to establish the conditions for negotiations to arrange a cease-fire..."¹⁶ Aggravated peacekeeping operations maintain a more political role than peace enforcement operations, but are also imbued with the right to use force in "self-defense" of the missions they are assigned and not merely for the safety of their personnel. The degree of force that an aggravated peacekeeping operation utilizes in "self-defense" has the potential to unintentionally crossover into the boundaries of a peace enforcement operation.

Neutrality Issues

Another key theoretical distinction between aggravated peacekeeping and peace enforcement is the desired state of neutrality. Peace enforcement operations inherently lack neutrality as they seek to compel, through force, belligerents to seek an end state that reestablishes peace and security. It is technically feasible for a peace enforcement operation to attain a semblance of neutrality, but only in the unlikely situation that the peacekeeping operation applies equal levels of force to all belligerents. Precedence demonstrates that peace enforcement operations are prejudice and apply force to the belligerent, which is perceived by the international community as the major aggressor in the dispute.

In contrast, the implementations of aggravated peacekeeping operations seek to maintain a position of neutrality. As the definition implies, aggravated peacekeeping operations are authorized the use of force only in "self-defense" of their personnel and mission, not in the means to compel belligerents to comply with international peace and security. Neutrality is a key aspect of these operations, as a perception of prejudice against the belligerents threatens the peace process and the safety of the operation's mission and personnel. However, very volatile situations may develop in the circumstance that force must be used in "self-defense."

The Basis for the UN "Safe Area" Concept

It is imperative to understand the legal and situational framework that the UN Security Council was operating within to better understand the establishment and ultimate failure of the UN "safe area" concept. In the beginning months of 1993, the UN was faced with the growing pressure from the international community resulting in large part from the "CNN effect." The "CNN effect" is defined by Dennis Jett in his work *Why Peacekeeping Fails* as, "...the creation of the global electronic village in which the same images were transmitted simultaneously to millions of households."¹⁷ The world public, predominantly western states, were appalled as they watched their televisions and saw the faces of eastern Europeans fleeing their homes in the wake of atrocities and human rights violations. Initially,

the UN sought ceasefire agreements and peace settlements as a means to solve this crisis. The eventual rejection of these peace agreements, the vulnerability of Muslim enclaves in Serb-held eastern Bosnia, and the proclamation of one maverick French UN Commander forced the UN Security Council to generate the most error ridden decision of the war.

The Vance-Owen Peace Plan

On 2 January 1993, the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), established by the Conference on the Former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, presented a plan to the UN Security Council to end the conflict in BH. The plan became known as the Vance-Owen Peace Plan (VOPP) and called for, "...a set of constitutional principles which would have established a decentralized state of Bosnia and Herzegovina; military provisions, which provided for a cease-fire and the eventual demilitarization of the whole country; and a map delineating ten provinces."¹⁸ The plan, after some negotiated adjustments, was accepted by Croat and Bosniac leaders, but the Serbs had reservations:

The objections of Serb leaders were reportedly focused on Province 5, which would have had a Bosniac majority. That province included not only Srebrenica and Žepa but also most of the areas of eastern Bosnia recently 'ethnically cleansed' by the JNA (Yugoslav People's Army), the BSA (Bosnian Serb Army) and their paramilitary associates.¹⁹

Eventually all three sides signed the VOPP, but the signature on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs was subject to approval by the National Assembly of Republic Srpska, the defacto government of the new Bosnian Serb republic. Operating under this context despite the lack of Bosnian Serb ratification of the plan and responding to the destabilizing situation around Srebrenica, the UN Security Council adopted Security Council resolution 819 (1993). This resolution declared Srebrenica a "safe area" to ensure both the safety of the Muslim enclave and the projected path towards peace in the face of a renewed offensive. However,

they rejected the VOPP during a session of the National Assembly of Republic Srpska from 5-6 May 1993.

Responding to this development, the UN Security Council approved Security Council resolution 824 (1993) on 6 May 1993, which deterred further Serb aggression in the wake of the rejected VOPP. This resolution expanded the "safe area" concept and extended the same protections stated in Security Council resolution 819 (1993) to the BH capital city Sarajevo and the towns of Goražde, Žepa, Tuzla, and Bihac. Additionally, the resolution called for, "full respect by all parties of the rights of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the international humanitarian agencies to free and unimpeded access to all safe-areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and full respect for the safety of the personnel engaged in these operations."²⁰ The UN Security Council hoped that this resolution and the "safe area" concept would provide a temporary respite in conflict in the absence of a peace agreement. It was also thought that the potential for additional Serb offensives and subsequent "ethnic cleansing" in the stated enclaves would be hindered by this development long enough for a lasting peace agreement to evolve.

The Actions of French UNPROFOR Commander, General Philippe Morillon

In the beginning weeks of March 1993, while the future of the VOPP was still in question, reports were beginning to reach UNPROFOR Commander, General Philippe Morillon, concerning the dire circumstances of the refugees in Srebrenica. The Serbs had begun a new attack to take the enclave, and "the Bosnian Army commander in Sarajevo, Sefer Halilovic, warned Morillon that the town was on the verge of falling."²¹ On 11 March 1993, General Philippe Morillon left for Srebrenica without permission from his superiors.

The general had intentions of staying for one day, but was twice prevented from leaving the enclave by women and children encircling his vehicle and refusing to let him pass. The following day, General Philippe Morillon stood in the window on the top story of Srebrenica's post office and proclaimed, "You are

now under the protection of the United Nations... I will never abandon you.”²² This proclamation, in conjunction with the High Commissioner for Refugees’ report to the Secretary-General on 2 April 1993 (S/25519), the renewed Serb offensive, and the potential and subsequent refusal of the VOPP all had significant influence over the UN Security Council’s resolutions 819 (1993) and 824 (1993) and the UN “safe area” concept.

Factors of the Failure of the UN “Safe Area” Concept

The broader sense of the failure can be better understood by taking into account two major factors: the UN Security Council and the international community’s inability to follow a decisive and united direction, and the belligerents’ lack of cooperation in settling the dispute.

Political Will

All activity within the international system is solely dependent on the influence held by political will – the desire and aspiration to carry out initiative and policy. As an international organization, the UN is only as powerful and influential as the member states allow it to be. All member states of the UN with voting power are autonomous sovereign states with distinct national interests. A state’s national interest and foreign policy objectives define their political will and their willingness to support UN initiatives.

This factor is incredibly true in regard to peacekeeping and is explicitly present in the UN’s involvement in the Bosnian war. Throughout the Bosnian crisis, many member states lacked interest and willingness to be involved in a conflict seemingly impossible to either regulate or solve. As the “CNN-effect” took hold, the political will of some of these member states shifted, and they became more willing to oversee a peaceful end to the conflict. But, the UN secretariat and the UN Security Council never developed a unified means to achieve this desire. Furthermore, many member states yearned for a peaceful resolution to the Bosnian conflict, but lacked enough political will to become openly involved in such measures as contributing troops.

Several member of the UN Security Council wished to lift the arms embargo against the region to empower the outgunned Bosniacs, while some members wanted a more robust peace enforcement operation in the region to stabilize the region:

Those countries which opposed lifting the arms embargo committed increasing number of troops to UNPROFOR, but resisted efforts to expand the UNPROFOR mandate in such a way as to bring the Force into direct military confrontation with the Serbs. Those countries which favored more robust action, but which did not have troops on the ground, sought progressively to expand UNPROFOR’s mandate and to use the Force directly to confront the Serbs. The result was the deployment by France, the United Kingdom and others of forces which were largely configured and equipped for traditional peacekeeping duties rather than enforcement action.²³

The lack of a unified political will in the UN Security Council resulted in a mandate, a mission, and troop contributions that were incompatible with the situation in BH. In essence, the very concept of “safe areas” results from a lack of unified will and opinion in dealing with the Bosnian war decisively in the UN Security Council. The BH representative “saw the safe area regime as an expression of the lack of will of some countries to provide an effective deterrent to Serb aggression. That being the case, the safe area regime could, at best, benefit some people temporarily, but none permanently.”²⁴

Another important aspect of political will deals with the will of troop contributing countries and their troops’ willingness to achieve the objectives of both their mother country and the UN Security Council. Many states that contribute troops to peacekeeping operations merely participate in such ventures for political aspirations rather than inherent interest in the region. This common characteristic of UN peacekeeping does have the positive effect that the

soldiers in the operation will likely lack any vested interest in the region and will be less likely to be prejudice to belligerents. It also has the adverse consequence of deploying soldiers on a mission to protect a people they have no care or concern for.

Troop Contributions

A proper troop contribution level is another key ingredient for successful peacekeeping which lacked in the BH "safe area" concept. Without proper troop contributions, a peacekeeping mission is impossible. However, a state's choice to place its soldiers in danger is completely dependant on political will. Often, international organizations do not possess their own military forces, and "are dependent upon members to provide men and material for peacekeeping missions. While state funding of peacekeeping operations is theoretically mandatory in the UN, contributing soldiers or equipment is totally voluntary."²⁵

Although the number of peacekeepers in BH was quite significant, over 30,000 troops supplied mostly from the United Kingdom and France, the troop contributions to the safe areas was far from sufficient. On 19 May 1993, a memorandum was sent from the Permanent Representative of France to the President of the Security Council detailing a plan to set the necessary troop contribution size of the safe areas. It later became the framework for troop contribution levels in the safe areas. It listed three viable options with the first two being able "to deter aggression." The first option, "a light option without formed units" would be a rather meager force of mostly military observers:

For the 'light option with formed units' a brigade (5,000) soldiers would be required in Sarajevo, plus a battalion (900 soldiers) each in Bihac and Tuzla, a battalion divided between Srebrenica and Zepa, a battalion divided between Gorazde and Foca. For the 'heavy option' a division would be required in Sarajevo, and a brigade in each of the other areas.²⁶

As previously stated, the mandate for the safe areas placed a very extensive demand on UNPROFOR in the safe areas, and only the "heavy option" would have

had the manpower and means to actually prevent and not simply deter a determined assault on an enclave. This would have meant a brigade size force of 5,000 troops would be required to defend Srebrenica.

The size of UNPROFOR's Dutch battalion (Dutchbat) in Srebrenica at the time of the Serb conquest of the town did not even meet the "light option with formed units" level of combat capable soldiers. Of the 600 Dutch peacekeepers deployed in the Srebrenica enclave, only 300 were lightly equipped infantry soldiers. The Serbs were prepared for war in contrast to the lightly armed Dutch peacekeepers: "they used 1,000 to 2,000 well-equipped soldiers from three brigades of the BSA 5th "Drina" Corps to maintain the siege around the enclave... The Serbs were well armed with tanks, tracked armored vehicles, artillery and mortars."²⁷

Mandate

A peacekeeping operation, its force, and its mission are entirely dependent on the interpretation of the international mandate. The UNPROFOR's mandate was vague and subject to different interpretations by members of the UN Security Council, the UN Secretary General, the UN secretariat, the commander of UNPROFOR, and the officers of the Dutchbat. With every subsequent level in the UNPROFOR's chain of command interpreting the mandate differently, confusion, miscommunication, and contradictory order were destined to occur.

In addition to being vague, the mandate did not provide the UNPROFOR force with enough comprehensive power to foresee the accomplishment of its extensive responsibilities. Having failed politically, "the West then fell back on a peacekeeping whose mandate was woefully inadequate to the realities on the ground."²⁸ Without much inherent guidance, UNPROFOR was forced to evolve in a manner dictated by circumstance. As Yasushi Akashi, who was Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) during the Srebrenica massacre, wrote:

With a consensus absent in the Council, lacking strategy, and burdened by an unclear mandate, UNPROFOR was forced to chart its own

course. There was only limited support for a 'robust' enforcement policy by UNPROFOR. UNPROFOR thus chose to pursue a policy of relatively passive enforcement, the lowest common denominator on which all Council members more or less agreed.²⁹

This trial-by-error worked to the disadvantage of the UNPROFOR force as General Mladic was capable of manipulating UNPROFOR as he did in May 1995 when he tested the UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) will in utilizing air power.

Close Air Support vs. Air Strikes

The use of air power as a tool to deter and halt Serb aggression was in constant debate throughout the UN's involvement in the Bosnian war. As the Secretary General report to the UN Security Council on 14 June 1993 in regard to the use of the "light option with formed units," stated, "While this option cannot, in itself, completely guarantee the defense of the safe areas, it relies on the threat of air action against any of the belligerents."³⁰

NATO would provide this air support from bases in Italy and the carriers deployed in the Adriatic Sea. NATO's objectives were to support UNPROFOR and, "to support the Geneva negotiations...to demonstrate its solidarity and resolve."³¹ The use of air power had to be initially authorized by the UN Secretary General and then by both the UNPROFOR Force Commander and NATO's Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces South. This led to countless instances where necessary air support was delayed or never authorized because of either reluctance to use force, or a miscommunication along the chain of command.

The most common miscommunication throughout the UN's involvement concerning air support was the distinction between close air support and air strikes. Close air support was considered a defensive tool to be used in the event that UNPROFOR personnel were under immediate attack. Air strikes were considered an offensive tool to be used against targets which may be a distance from the battlefield to bring about a broader military or political goal. Several times

during the Serb conquest of Srebrenica, requests for air support were denied because the UNPROFOR chain of command mistakenly called for air strikes and not close air support.

The most important situation that impacted the use of air support during the Serbian assault on Srebrenica occurred in late May of 1995. As the Serbs grew more aggressive, they violated multiple UN Security resolutions by shelling the safe areas regularly and Sarajevo extensively. Air strikes were authorized in order to stop and deter future actions of Serb aggression. NATO carried out two strikes, and within hours Serb forces took more than 350 UN peacekeepers hostage:

The Serbs declared them 'human shields,' and vowed that the peacekeepers would not be released until they received assurance of no further NATO air strikes. Images of a Canadian peacekeeper handcuffed to a Bosnian Serb ammunition dump and French soldiers surrendering with white flags were broadcast worldwide.³²

In response, Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and other nations with peacekeeping forces in custody blocked all further air strikes. Serbian General Mladic had discovered a means to stop the only obstacle in his path to conquer the weakly defended safe areas. As soon as Serbian forces in their assault on Srebrenica overran the Dutchbat observation posts, they took the Dutch peacekeepers hostage. This led to initial reluctance by the SRSG to use air support and the ultimate cancellation of all such attacks after Serb forces threatened to kill the Dutch hostages and fire artillery into the Dutch compound in the safe area where refugees were gathered.

Dutchbat requested close air support on 6 July 1995, after their observation post came under fire. Six days later, the first NATO planes arrived and flew one sortie over the enclave before all further close air support attacks were cancelled. Poor communication in the chain of command, confusion over the terms close air support and air strikes, and reluctance to use force while Dutch peacekeepers were held hostage by Serb forces

prevented UNPROFOR and NATO from using the one resource that could have stopped General Mladic and his Serb forces.

Cooperation of Belligerents

Despite the extensive fault lying with the UN and its "safe area" concept, a peacekeeping force can do nothing to preserve the peace if the belligerents have no interest in resolving the conflict. As stated in the official Dutch report into the Srebrenica massacre according to BBC News, "Dutchbat had to keep the peace where there was no peace. All the warring factions were guilty of gross violence."³³

Ethnic Enmity and Hatred. The situation in BH was a unique conflict that UNPROFOR and the international community was not prepared to handle. As French General Philippe Morillon stated in a BBC News article in February 2004, "It wasn't the sickness of fear that had infected the entire population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the fear of being dominated, or being eliminated. It was pure hatred."³⁴ Although not all Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims were bent on murderously eradicating their rival ethnic groups, enough hatred was innate in the region that once given the opportunity the conflict spiraled out of control. Serb nationalists "saw themselves as the latest generation of Serbs defending themselves and Europe from the Islamic horde, a recurring image in Serb mythology."³⁵ A volatile conflict like that in BH, with so much deep-seeded abhorrence, is complicated to unravel as hatred and murder form a vicious circle that is difficult to bring to a halt.

Concept of "Greater Serbia". The "safe area" concept was never a compelling or serious hindrance to Serb expansion in the eyes of Serb nationalists seeking a unified and "ethnically pure" Serbian state. To Bosnian Serb nationalists, Srebrenica and the other eastern Bosnian enclaves were merely pockets of inferior ethnic Bosniac resistance threatening the foundation of their "Greater Serbia."

Mladic had to act quickly once his strategy was established to prevent NATO air support, because the Bosniacs were rapidly smuggling more weapons into the country and reequipping their Army. The UN

intelligence unit in Sarajevo reported in a March 1995 memorandum that, "...the Serbs would launch one final offensive in the summer of 1995, try to take the safe areas and sue for peace from a position of strength in the fall."³⁶ Although the execution of this plan stretched General Mladic's force, allowing for a very successful offensive in the fall, he did succeed in conquering and expelling the Bosniac inhabitants from two of the safe areas deep in Bosnian Serb territory. The Bosnian Serbs were also the clear winners in the Dayton peace accords, for even though they comprised "only 31 percent of the country's population, [they received] 49 percent of Bosnia's land and the de facto "ethnically pure" that they had brutally created."³⁷ The Bosnian Serbs would also keep their newly conquered possessions of Srebrenica and •epa.

Safe Area Disarmament. The disarmament of Srebrenica, although extensive enough to render the Bosniac defenders incapable to protect their enclave, was not extensive enough to prevent the Bosniacs from conducting raids in the surrounding Serb-held territory. The Bosniac defenders of Srebrenica relinquished control of their two tanks, artillery pieces, and strategic hills around the enclave, but were supplied on several occasions with small arms from secret helicopter flights into the safe area.

The Bosniacs went on repeated raids throughout the time that the enclave was supposedly demilitarized. They would withdraw back to the safety of the UN protected enclave after looting and burning Serb villages and ambushing Bosnian Serb patrols. These actions enraged the Bosnian Serb forces as they could do nothing to stop the Bosniac forces hiding in the safe area. They believed Srebrenica's UNPROFOR force was inept in their inability to disarm and prevent the Bosniacs from attacking. The Bosniacs raids also put into question the neutrality of Srebrenica's UNPROFOR force as many Serb forces began to perceive the peacekeepers as favoring the Bosniacs. Both the Bosniacs refusal to completely disarm and their subsequent raids hindered the peace process and further encouraged armed aggression by the belligerents.

Naser Oric's Operations Around Srebrenica During Spring of 1995.

Naser Oric was a charismatic Bosniac soldier that led Srebrenica forces for the majority of the war. He was both revered by the people of Srebrenica as a savior and despised by the Serbs as a criminal for his harsh treatment of Serb prisoners of war and his atrocious raids on and subsequent destruction of Serb villages. According to an October 2004 BBC News article, "...Mr. Oric commanded troops that destroyed 50 Serb villages around the town between 1992 and 1993, causing thousand of Bosnian Serbs to flee."³⁸

Oric's raids on the surrounding Serb territory from the safe area of Srebrenica violated UN Security Council resolution 819 (1993) and incited profound hatred that called for revenge by the Serb forces. Oric's raids and attacks on the surrounding Serb-held territory reached a climax in the spring of 1995. Reports of numerous village burnings, civilians being burnt alive in their houses, and grave desecrations enraged the Serbs. In July 1995, "Serb nationalists viewed Srebrenica as the 'epicenter of Genocide' that the Muslims had been carrying out against Serbs for centuries."³⁹ The actions of Naser Oric encouraged the Serb forces to rid the enclave of Srebrenica of this notorious man and to seek retribution for his crimes against Serbs.

Conclusions

In a matter of ten days, from the 6th to the 16th of July 1995, the world's first UN safe area under the protection of UN peacekeeping force UNPROFOR was overrun with little resistance, and 7,079 Bosniacs, ranging in age from 16 to 61, were systematically executed and buried in mass graves. The world stood idle while witnessing Europe's worse atrocity since WWII and the greatest disaster to ever befall the UN. Confidence in the UN was shaken to its core, and 600 Dutch peacekeepers were sent home – disgusted with their impossible mission and traumatized over the atrocities they passively allowed to ensue.

Multiple parties across several fronts share the blame and responsibility for the genocidal disaster that befell the small town of Srebrenica. Ultimate accountability for the atrocious murder of 7,079

unarmed men and boys lies on the shoulders of the Serbian soldiers and commanders that issued the execution orders. These malevolent men have had, or will have, their day in court at the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia at The Hague, and will be tried for their crimes against humanity. However, the international actors and others that allowed through passivity this atrocious act are also blameworthy.

Representing the world's security interests, the UN Security Council has major roles to play in international relations, the monitoring of conflict that destabilizes international security, and the overseeing of peaceful resolution to such conflicts. The UN Security Council is vested the power to ensure international peace and security, and, in the case of Srebrenica and the UN "safe area" concept, it failed miserably. Lacking a distinct and unified agenda on the implementation of the UN "safe area" concept, the UN Security Council developed an operation with an extensive mission, no clear means to carry out the mission, and a lack of troops to accomplish the mission in a political and military environment entirely incompatible with success. There was "...a fantastic gap between the resolutions of the Security Council, the will to execute these resolutions, and the means available to commanders in the field."⁴⁰

The circumstances of the war in BH and the Bosnian Serbs deliberate intention to eradicate Bosniac existence in the new "Greater Serbia" they strove to create, dictated an avenue of intervention that the UN Security Council could not cohesively adopt. Member states lacked an interrelated political will, which resulted in resolutions with vague and indistinct language. These mandates and their indefinite specifications required the commanders in the field to interpret them as situation dictated. In the situation of the safe area of Gora•de, as Serb forces moved to take the enclave, 300 Welsh Fusiliers were forced to adopt a dangerous and foolish tactic, in regard to accepted military strategy, to save the enclave. Basically, "the Welsh fusiliers would defend the key positions, then hand them over to the Muslim soldiers who were rapidly scaling the hills from their homes in the town."⁴¹ Faced with a vague mandate that did not dictate the extent of force allowable, the

Welsh peacekeepers decided to hold their positions until relieved by Bosniac defenders, which under the terms of the UN Security Council, were supposed to be disarmed.

The different interpretations of the UN mandates inevitably became an advantage to the Serb forces as they tested the UN and their willingness to utilize air support to protect the safe areas while faced with a hostage crisis. General Mladic used the resulting lack of political will two months later as he conducted his assault on the enclave of Srebrenica. The UN and NATO's lack of will to use force to counter Serb aggression allowed General Mladic to pursue his "Greater Serbia" and subsequent murder of the citizens and refugees of Srebrenica.

There were only two viable options that would have ensured the safety of the people of Srebrenica at the point that the safe areas were created. The inhabitants of the town could have been peacefully removed by international forces to Bosniac held territory, ceding the town to the Serbs. As previously stated, this was not possible because the citizens did not want to leave, and the international community would not accept a deliberate Geneva Convention violating relocation of a people based on ethnicity. The other option would have been a deliberate and unwavering peace enforcement operation directed at the Bosnian Serbs, to compel them to come to a ceasefire and subsequent peace agreement. This option was also not possible because the UN Security Council was not willing to take the UN to war against the Serbs.

Despite the seemingly impossible solution that eluded the international system from 1993 to 1995 over the crisis in BH, it is essential that the lessons of the failed UN "safe area" concept and the factors contributing to the demise of Srebrenica and the murder of its inhabitants are not forgotten. Neglecting this sinister history and failing to abide by the lessons of Srebrenica disrespects the memory of those lost on these ten dark days.

Endnotes

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- ⁴ Rohde, Endgame, p. XV.
- ⁵ Ibid, p. 45.
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- ¹³ Mays, Africa's First, p. 6.
- ¹⁴ Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice, Chapter VII, Article 42.
- ¹⁵ Ibid, Chapter VI, Article 38.
- ¹⁶ Mays, Africa's First, p. 7.
- ¹⁷ Jett, Dennis C. Why Peacekeeping Fails. New York: PALGRAVE, 2001. 29.
- ¹⁸ Srebrenica Report: Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution, 53/35 (1998), 30 November 1998, paragraph 31.
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- ²⁰ Security Council Resolution 824 (1993) of 6 May 1993.
- ²¹ Rohde, Endgame, p. 45.
- ²² Rohde, Endgame, p. 46.
- ²³ Srebrenica Report: Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution, 53/35 (1998), 30 November 1998, paragraph 43.

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²⁸ Jett, *Why Peacekeeping*, p. 39-40.

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³² Rohde, *Endgame*, p. 27.

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³⁵ Rohde, *Endgame*, p. 214.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 372.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 342.

³⁸ "Srebrenica Muslim Chief on Trial," *BBC News*, 6 October 2004. 29 November 2004 <<http://www.lexis-nexis.com>>.

³⁹ Rohde, *Endgame*, p. 216.

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7th Century Alexandria: A Microcosm of Peaceful Muslim-Christian Relations



Senior International Politics major Paul Wheeler hails from Xenia, Ohio. Upon Graduation, Paul will be pursuing a graduate degree in Political Science. His paper was the final term paper in Dr. Bishop's History of the Byzantine Empire class, and is a look at religious

and political cooperation of the Muslim Caliphates and Byzantine Christians in the midst of a time of war between the two powers.

The occupation of the Christian Middle East by the Muslims was a large component of the downward spiral of the Byzantine Empire. However, what some historians might view as a Muslim military occupation, others view as an opportunity for religious independence. For the Monophysite Christians living under the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the Muslim take over was an opportunity to worship free from the hindrances of proposed "Byzantine Orthodoxy."

Heraclius was said to have the best military intelligence of all concerning the Muslim invasion, yet he still could not stop the onslaught. Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa introduces his, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, by telling of Heraclius, who had had "a vision depicting a circumcised nation coming against him to vanquish [the empire] and take possession of the land."¹ According to al-Muqaffa, Heraclius thought that this phantom menace was the Jewish nation.

Upon thinking this, he quickly had every Jew and Samaritan in the empire baptized. This was going

against common practice as there were many laws in place to prevent such things. Among these were laws written a mere hundred years prior, in which Justinian ordered all synagogues destroyed and turned into churches, and directly forbade all Jews from leasing property in order to build new synagogues.² There were other such laws of the time making it very difficult for the Jews to interact with society as normal Byzantine citizens. It was this sort of segregation that caused the Jews to side with the Islamic cause in their conquest of the Middle East.

Concomitantly, the empire was having increasing problems with Monophysites. After the Council of Chalcedon, Monophysitism, the view that Christ has one divine nature as opposed to a human and a divine nature, was considered heretical. Conveniently, the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem were, at that time, governed by Monophysite patriarchs. The people of the Patriarchy of Alexandria were obviously not subtle about their feelings for the empire's view of their sect, as recorded by al-Muqaffa in his history of the patriarchy. This text also leads the reader to believe that the people of Alexandria believed the Muslim occupation was a punishment for the decision made at the Council of Chalcedon. This worked to the Muslims' advantage. While the people of the Christian Middle East were being conquered, many merely sat by and accepted this as the price of heresy. Muhammad had instructed his people on a very astonishing piece of foreign policy. In writing, al-Muqaffa tells of Muhammad's commands, "As for the province of Egypt and any city that agrees with its inhabitants to pay the land-tax to you and to submit to your authority, make a treaty with them, and do them no injury. But plunder and take as prisoners those that will not consent to this and resist you."³ This ultimately allowed both Jewish and Monophysite peoples to worship how they like without the influence of either Orthodox Byzantine or Arabic Islam.

The Jewish and Christian occupants of the city of Hims, which the Muslims conquered, seemed to welcome their new rulers. Upon leaving for the Battle of Yarmuk, al-Baladhuri explains that the Muslims were ready to give money to the other monotheists because the Muslims claimed "We are too busy to support and protect you. Take care of yourselves." However, the

denial of this gave credit for the new loyalty to their captors. The citizens of Hims replied, "We like your rule and justice far better than the state of oppression and tyranny in which we were. The army of Heraclius we shall indeed, with your 'amil's' help, repulse from the city."⁴ The Jews of the city rose up and made a similar covenant, "We swear by the Torah, no governor of Heraclius shall enter the city of Hims unless we are first vanquished and exhausted!"⁵ He goes on to explain how the inhabitants of the other occupied cities, Jews and Christians, did likewise, professing, "If Heraclius and his followers win over the Moslems we would return to our previous condition, otherwise we shall retain our present state so long as numbers are with the Moslems."⁶

The Muslims then formed an agreement with the Byzantines living in conquered Islamic territory. Known as the Pact of Umar, this seventh century treaty allowed for the outcast monotheists to live peaceably with the Muslims. The pact was originally written specifically for the Monophysite Christians living in the Holy Land, but also included people of the Jewish faith. The source of the Pact of Umar, Al-Turtushi, states specific guidelines on how the Muslims and non-Muslims were to interact. The pact was very specific as to the non-proliferation of either religion, Christian or Muslim, upon the other. On this topic the pact reads, "We shall not manifest our religion publicly nor convert anyone to it."⁷ One such provision outlines the insistence that the Christians not be forced to teach their children from the Qur'an. However, Al-Turtushi goes on to clarify that the Christians agreed, "We shall not prevent any of our kin from entering Islam if they wish it."⁸

The Christians were also very obedient when it came to their proposed lack of militaristic might. The pact goes on to state, "We shall not mount on saddles, nor shall we gird swords nor bear any kind of arms nor carry them on our- persons."⁹ Also, the Christians were neither to hide nor give shelter to any spies abetting the cause.¹⁰

By virtue of the agreement, the Christians also heeded the authority of the Muslims in religious matters. One such matter in which the Christians defaulted to the Muslims was that of the continual construction of religious worshiping centers. Al-Turtushi accounts, "We

shall not build, in our cities or in their neighborhood, new monasteries, Churches, convents, or monks' cells, nor shall we repair, by day or by night, such of them as fall in ruins or are situated in the quarters of the Muslims."¹¹ Other customs included the prohibition of fermented drink. The final stipulation of religious segregation stated, "We shall not display our crosses or our books in the roads or markets of the Muslims. We shall use only clappers in our churches very softly. We shall not raise our voices when following our dead. We shall not show lights on any of the roads of the Muslims or in their markets. We shall not bury our dead near the Muslims."

Among other cultural nuances respected by the Christians was the denial of any non-Muslim to impersonate a Muslim. The text reads, "We shall not seek to resemble the Muslims by imitating any of their garments, the qalansuwa, the turban, footwear, or the parting of the hair. We shall not speak as they do, nor shall we adopt their kunyas."¹² Their correspondence was even to be marked differently: "We shall not engrave Arabic inscriptions on our seals."¹³

The Pact of Umar gives detail that lends itself to the idea that the Christians were making themselves an inferior people. In his law code, Justinian did not allow for Jews to have Byzantine slaves. Similarly, the provision was included in the pact to forbid Christians from holding Muslim slaves or for the Christians to post bail for a Muslim-held prisoner.¹⁴ A less obvious, but still important aspect of Christian inferiority within the pact deals with their architecture. Al-Turtushi writes as the Christians put it, "We shall not build houses overtopping the houses of the Muslims."¹⁵

Under the provisions of the pact, Christians were expected to quarter Muslim travelers. "We shall give board and lodging to all Muslims who pass our way for three days."^{16, 17} However, what most people would find as the best evidence for Muslim superiority is an issue that is at the forefront of every twentieth century American historian's mind. The Byzantines in these occupied cities seemed to have no consideration as to the legislation of civil rights. The pact clearly points out, "We shall show respect toward the Muslims, and we shall rise from our seats when they wish to sit."¹⁸

The Christians offered this pact to the conqueror, Umar ibn al-Khittab. He agreed, but added two stipulations. The first was the clause about not being able to set bail for a prisoner of the Muslims, and the second one deals with the striking of a Muslim. "Whoever strikes a Muslim with deliberate intent shall forfeit the protection of this pact."¹⁹ This was the final clause to be agreed upon by the Christians and Umar.²⁰

All was not exactly as the Christians would have liked; their freedom was not free. To worship and go about as a non-Muslim required a tax. According to Al-Baladhuri, Umar met a man in one of the occupied provinces by the name of Jabalah and ordered him to convert to Islam and pay an Islamic alms tax. Refusing, the man stated, "I shall keep my faith and pay *sadakah* (the alms tax)"²¹ To this Umar replied, "If thou keepest thy faith, thou least to pay poll-tax." Jabalah refused again. Finally Umar said, "We have only three alternatives for thee: Islam, tax, or going whither thou will."²² And so it is seen that a poll tax was instituted for those who were not of the Muslim faith. The taking of Alexandria and its occupation by a commander of the Arab army, Amr, sheds light on the situation in Alexandria concerning the treatment of non-Muslims.

Upon finding out about the necessary poll tax imposed by the Muslims, word was sent back by some of the inhabitants of Alexandria, loyal to the Byzantine Empire, to Heraclius. The Byzantines still living in the city wrote of how few Muslims there were in the city.²³ Upon hearing this, Heraclius sent Manuwil with a garrison of men to retake the city. They were met with the army of Amr and defeated in a battle in which Manuwil died.²⁴

Al-Muqaffa writes that Amr decimated Alexandria after he took it. He leveled many of the churches and buildings. However, upon sacking the city, he gave the order not to harm any Byzantine citizen. After the conquering of Alexandria, Amr took control of the city and seemed to run it rather smoothly. However, the former governor and patriarch of the city feared being taken prisoner so he drank the poison contained in a ring he had and died.^{25, 26} Then Sanutius, the dux of the city, spoke to Amr of Benjamin, the leader of the Coptic Church, and told him how he was a fugitive from the Romans and about the desire of the people of

Alexandria to have him back. Amr then sent a letter to the cities of Egypt saying, "There is protection and security for the place where Benjamin, the patriarch of the Coptic Christians is, and peace from God; therefore let him come forth secure and tranquil, and administer the affairs of his Church, and the government of his nation."²⁷

It is noteworthy to see this occasion as a case for the good and honorable treatment of Christians by Muslims. When Benjamin returned from his thirteen years of exile to lead his church, Amr had the dux brought before him, "with honour and veneration and love."²⁸ When the new patriarch was brought before Amr, he remarked to his friends and close colleagues, "Verily in all the lands of which we have taken possession hitherto I have never seen a man of God like this man."²⁹ This statement shows just how much respect and admiration even the Muslim leaders were willing to give the Christians. Then Amr told Benjamin, "Resume the government of all your churches and of your people, and administer their affairs. And if you will pray for me, that I may go to the West and to Pentapolis, and take possession of them, as I have of Egypt, and return to you in safety and speedily, I will do for you all that you shall ask of me."³⁰ This statement by Amr raises an interesting point. It would seem that the leader of the Muslim army in Alexandria had enough respect and admiration for this Christian that he desired for the "polytheist"³¹ to pray for him in his campaign. Al-Muqaffa recounts, "Then the holy Benjamin prayed for Amr, and pronounced an eloquent discourse, which made Amr and those present with him marvel, and which contained words of exhortation and much profit for those that heard him; and he revealed certain matters to Amr, and departed from his presence honoured and revered. And all that the blessed father said to the commander Amr, son of Al-Asi, he found true, and not a letter of it was unfulfilled."^{32,33}

The peace between the occupied Byzantine cities and the Muslims did not last forever. Before long the Muslims were forced, due to sheer population growth, to inhabit the cities along with the Christians. However, sources show that what was initially a desire for religious independence, a desire that an occupation by the Muslims could bring about,

turned into a mutual respect of peoples and a desire to live in harmony.

Endnotes

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2. Justinian Code of Law from James Parkes: *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism*, (New York: JPS, 1934), 379-388, 392-393.
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5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Al-Turtushi, *Siraj al-Muluk*, pp. 229-230.
8. Al-Turtushi, *Siraj al-Muluk*, pp. 229-230.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Al-Turtushi, *Siraj al-Muluk*, pp. 229-230.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. This seems to show that there was not a complete separation between the Muslims and the Christians. The Christians also agreed to keep their gates open to all travelers. The traffic of travelers and pilgrims through these large cities must have influenced the Christians and Jews heavily. It is difficult to lodge a person or group for up to three days and not have some sort of influence.
18. Al-Turtushi, *Siraj al-Muluk*, pp. 229-230.
19. Al-Turtushi, *Siraj al-Muluk*, pp. 229-230.
20. While I was unable to find the translator of this work, I did find another copy of the pact. I chose to use this edition because the Muslims wrote it closer to the time of the taking of the Holy Land. The other version was not written until the 9th century. The alternate version can be found in *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315-1791* written by Jacob Marcus in 1938. The pact is found on pages 13-15.
21. Al-Baladhuri.
22. I added the comma after the word 'Islam' for clarity.
23. This seemed to be the case during the occupation. In other sources I read, it seemed that the Muslims allowed the people to go on living as they did simply because there were not enough people to enslave them all.
24. When recalling the battle, Al-Baladhuri, refers to the Christians as, 'polytheists.' This is obviously a remark on the Christian belief concerning the trinity of God.
25. Al-Muqaffa.
26. The Muslims obviously saw this, as do I, as a sign of cowardice. Al-Muqaffa refers to the nameless leader as an 'infidel.'
27. Al-Muqaffa.
28. Al-Muqaffa.
29. Ibid.
30. Al-Muqaffa.
31. Referenced earlier in the paper.
32. Al-Muqaffa.
33. This did not seem to be a half-hearted prayer. Proving what Amr had said about him, the new Patriarch was true to form.

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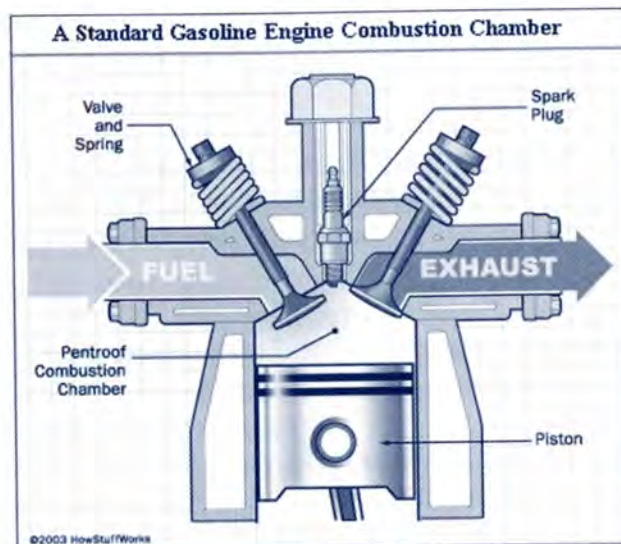
Tetraethyl Lead- History, Chemistry, and Health Effects



Junior chemistry major Michael Stelmach hails from Westlake, Ohio. Upon graduation from The Citadel, Michael plans to attend graduate school for chemistry. He wrote this paper on Tetraethyl Lead for Inorganic Chemistry class.

Tetraethyl lead (TEL) is an organometallic compound that was important as an anti-knocking agent in gasoline for a good part of the 20th Century. The chemical formula for tetraethyl lead is $\text{Pb}(\text{CH}_2\text{CH}_3)_4$, its symmetry is C_{4h} , and its structure is such that four ethyl groups are positioned around a central lead atom. At standard temperature and pressure, TEL is a colorless to light-yellow oily liquid with a sweet, musty odor. Its melting point is -136.8°C and it decomposes at approximately 84°C .¹ A non-polar liquid, TEL is insoluble in water; however, it is soluble in organic solvents.

To understand how and why tetraethyl lead was developed, one must understand how an engine works. A standard gasoline engine works by utilizing a four stroke cycle, in which there is an (1) intake stroke, (2) compression stroke, (3) combustion stroke, and (4) exhaust stroke.



During the intake stroke the piston is lowered and the fuel valve is opened, filling the combustion chamber with fuel. The piston is then raised, compressing the fuel in the combustion chamber. The spark plug creates a spark that ignites the fuel, and the piston is forced down by the pressure caused by the combustion. The piston is then raised again, forcing out the exhaust, and the whole cycle begins again.²

The spark in the combustion chamber actually occurs before the combustion stroke. That is, the spark takes place slightly before the piston has reached its maximum height. If the fuel burns too quickly and the shockwave produced by the combusted fuel collides with the still rising piston, a "pinging" sound is produced. This condition is called engine knocking. Engine knocking wastes a great deal of energy that could be used to drive the engine. If knocking is not corrected or prevented, serious engine damage can occur.^{2,3}

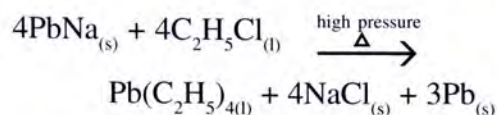
The easiest ways to prevent engine knocking are to use a higher octane gasoline or to add octane-increasing TEL or isooctane additives.^{2,3} Octane rating is defined as a fuel's resistance to detonation during compressed combustion.³ The octane rating of gasoline is determined by a number of ways. One way to determine the octane number of a sample of fuel is to burn the gasoline in an engine under controlled

conditions. These controlled conditions include spark timing, compression ratio, engine speed, and load. These factors are adjusted until a standard level of knock occurs. The engine is then operated on a fuel blended from a form of isooctane that is very resistant to knocking and a form of heptane that knocks very easily. When a blend is found that duplicates the knocking intensity of the sample under test, the percentage of isooctane by volume in the blended sample is taken as the octane number of the fuel.⁴ Another, less common, way to determine the octane number of gasoline is to take the ratio of the ΔG of isooctane to the ΔG of the sample gasoline when combusted.⁵

Near the end of World War I, researchers from General Motors Corp. (GM) began researching ways to make bigger and better engines. The problem was that they were restricted by the fuel they used. At that time, gasoline was normally limited to a compression ratio of 4.5:1; that is, when the piston was entirely back, the volume of gases was 4.5 times that when it was fired by the spark. The researchers needed an additive in the fuel that would allow a larger compression ratio.^{6,7} It was initially discovered that iodine (I_2) would prevent engine knocking, but iodine was very expensive at the time and corroded the cylinder walls.⁷

In 1922, GM researchers Charles Kettering, Thomas Midgeley, and Thomas Boyd reported their success of reducing engine knocking and improving engine performance by adding tetraethyl lead to gasoline. Compression ratios were quickly increased to 5.5:1, and within 10 years, compression ratios were increased to approximately 12:1.^{6,7,8}

Thomas Midgeley spent the entire winter of 1923 developing a cost effective method to produce TEL. He came up with a procedure that is still used wherever TEL is produced. Solid lead is melted and mixed with sodium under a blanket of nitrogen to form a sodium-lead alloy. It is then solidified and ground. The alloy is reacted under high heat and pressure with ethyl chloride to form tetraethyl lead. The reaction is as follows:



This reaction allowed tetraethyl lead to be marketed on a large scale.^{9,10}

A subsidiary of the GM Corporation, the Ethyl Corporation, patented the process for production of tetraethyl lead and began marketing TEL in early 1924 as the savior of the American automobile industry. Their discovery allowed auto manufacturers to create better engines that could handle higher RPMs and had more power. However, their innovation posed many health risks, and academia as well as the public soon became aware of its dangers thanks to the highly publicized deaths of many workers in the plants that produced TEL. The workers had showed symptoms of headaches, mental distress, and eventually had died.^{6,9}

In November 1924, the New York Board of Health banned the sale of gasoline enhanced with TEL in the state of New York. In 1925, the U.S. Surgeon General followed suit and banned the sale of TEL-enhanced gasoline in the United States. The Surgeon General then appointed an investigatory committee to assess the risks of TEL in gasoline. Unfortunately, industry dominated the investigatory committee, and the Ethyl Corporation's lobby held much sway in their decisions. The gasoline and automobile corporations defended their case to the committee using these three self-serving arguments: (1) leaded gasoline was essential to the industrial progress of America, (2) any innovation entails certain risks, and (3) the deaths and illnesses at TEL processing plants were due to worker carelessness.^{8,9} In truth, leaded gasoline was not the only additive to reduce engine knocking. Ethanol ($\text{CH}_3\text{CH}_2\text{OH}$) had been found as a safe alternative early on, but it was not profitable enough for the corporations to produce.

In 1926, the conference determined that there were no legitimate grounds for prohibiting the use of leaded gasoline while adding that proper regulations be instated and further investigations be conducted. However, the automobile and gasoline industry lobby in Congress held much power, and the suggestions to impose regulations and to conduct inquiries were ignored for the time being. The Surgeon General did impose a voluntary standard of 3mL of TEL per gallon of gasoline. This was not really much of a standard for the Ethyl

Corporation though, as they were already adding less than that amount to their gasoline.⁹

Throughout the next several decades, much was learned about the toxicity of lead, and competitors marketing ethanol and other anti-knock agents began publicly criticizing the safety of tetraethyl lead. The Ethyl Corporation became agitated with these 'slandorous statements' and wrote a complaint to the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), which would be heavily influenced by the automobile and gasoline industries. The FTC proceeded to issue a statement that read, "...[tetraethyl lead] is entirely safe to the health of motorists and the public." The FTC also announced a ban on further slander and disruption of the distribution of TEL. The statement that TEL was entirely safe was untrue, but because of the political pull of the gasoline industry, the statement and the ban held. As a result, millions of tons of toxic lead polluted the U.S.^{6,8,9}

The Clean Air Act of 1970 eventually led to the demise of TEL usage in the United States. This legislation declared that all cars made following the passage of the bill were required to have a catalytic converter.⁶ A catalytic converter is essentially a honeycomb of Platinum (Pt) and Rhodium (Rh) that takes nitrogen oxides, carbon monoxide (CO), hydrocarbons, and volatile organic compounds and converts them to substances that are safe to enter the atmosphere. Requiring cars to be manufactured with catalytic converters was a big step towards reducing pollution in the U.S., but there was another obstacle. Byproducts of combusted TEL can clog a catalytic converter within as little as six minutes, rendering it useless.⁴ In 1973, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) realized that since lead left catalytic converters ineffective, there had to be something done with the use of TEL in gasoline. Within the next month, the EPA issued regulations calling for the gradual reduction of lead in gasoline. The average amount of TEL in gasoline then was approximately 2.0g per gallon. By 1 January 1979, gasoline was to have a maximum of 0.5g per gallon. The phase-out of leaded gasolines in the United States was completed by 1986.^{6,9}

The EPA estimates that ambient lead levels dropped 64% between 1975 and 1982, and 75% between 1986 and 1995.⁶ The decision to ban the sale

of leaded gasoline by the EPA has greatly contributed to the good health of the nation because there are many health risks associated with tetraethyl lead, and lead in general.

Tetraethyl lead is considered a powerful poison and a carcinogen. The NFPA classifies its health hazard as a 3. TEL also has a low boiling point and vaporizes very readily. The legal airborne permissible exposure limit (PEL) for tetraethyl lead is 0.075 mg/m³. If inhaled, TEL is absorbed into the bloodstream through the lining of the lungs. Because of its carcinogenic traits, TEL can cause tumors, kidney damage, damage to blood cells that can lead to anemia, and severe mental disorders, all of which can eventually lead to death. Symptoms of TEL poisoning include headache, irritability, reduced memory, disturbed sleep, and convulsion. Lead poisoning has many of the same symptoms and effects of TEL poisoning.^{11,12}

Tetraethyl lead has had a great impact on America. Many automobiles were made possible because of TEL and perhaps more importantly, it helped launch America's concern for pollution. Tetraethyl lead was a great discovery at the time, but it has since been replaced by much safer alternatives, such as ethanol, that increase a gasoline's octane and reduces engine knocking without polluting the atmosphere with dangerous lead. Some of the Ethyl Corporation's arguments for tetraethyl lead, made back in 1925, are still very powerful and true statements. Leaded gasoline was essential to the industrial progress of America, and any innovation entails certain risks, but had leaded gasoline not been regulated and eventually banned, our health and the environment would have been unduly sacrificed for this progress and innovation.

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Four Months of The Mercury: Prelude to Total War



Saline, Michigan native John Henry Bergmans is a political science major with a concentration on international politics and military affairs. His plans for the future include finishing his degree at The Citadel and being commissioned into The United States Air Force. After

completing his time in the military, he would like receive a law degree and practice law. He wrote this paper concerning analyzing the Antebellum Charleston Newspaper The Mercury for Professor Moore's Old South History class.

The first four months of 1861 are undeniably some of the most significant in American History. They outline a path to the dissolving of the Union, the building of a Confederate States of America, the inauguration of one of the most controversial presidents in American History and the first shots of the bloodiest conflict in our nation's history; The American Civil War.

In this essay, we will examine these four months in our history through the lens of The Charleston Mercury, perhaps the most hard-line and militant of the southern secessionist newspapers. After resigning his seat in the United States Senate, Robert Barnwell Rhett and his son used the paper as their main platform to preach secessionist rhetoric. It quickly became the most prominent of the "fire-eating" newspapers in the South and reached thousands every week. Its editors and readers witnessed the conventions, the politics and ultimately the evolution of words to violence in the Star of the West incident and later on in April, the siege of Fort Sumter.

Prelude to War

To understand thoroughly the vast amounts of literature published by *The Charleston Mercury* in these four months in the history of Charleston, one must first understand the historical context and framework from which to construct our analysis of early 1861.

The New Year brings us to a Charleston in a frenzied state. Only a few short weeks prior, The Convention of South Carolina had voted to secede from the Union and set the nation on a collision course towards violence. Robert Barnwell Rhett, one of the most outspoken of the secessionists, of whom *The Mercury* was one his "organ[s]", had proposed the selection of commissioners to be sent to every other southern state and the creation of a constitution for a Confederate States of America.¹ They moved quickly to enact Rhett's and other's proposals, and the convention pressed forward.²

On Sullivan's Island across the harbor from the city, Major Robert Anderson, Commanding Officer of the Union Garrison, began to sense the growing tension and threat to his men.³ On December 26th 1860, shrouded under the cover of darkness, he moved quickly to evacuate the 70-odd men from Fort Moultrie aboard several small boats to the safety and security of the defensible location of Fort Sumter in the middle of the harbor.⁴ *Charlestonian's* declared Major Anderson's move an act of war. South Carolina quickly seized the U.S. Armory and Castle Pinckney the following morning.

By early January, both sides had reached a political stalemate. On January 2nd, the convention chose their delegates to be sent to the seven other Deep South states to promote the building of the Confederation.⁵ For Major Anderson, the politics taking place in Washington had prevented any kind of peaceful withdrawal for now and also eliminated his capacity to act offensively. He understood that at the rate the fort was using materials; his main enemy would be running out of provisions to maintain the occupation.⁶ However, he hoped with a replenishment of supplies from the sea, he would be able to hold out. But, this too was a delicate issue. There was an immense fear that the attempted replenishment of the fort would be the spark that touched off a powder keg of violence.

These fears were soon realized. On the morning of January 9th, Charleston was rocked by the sound of

heavy cannon fire. At around seven o'clock, the steam ship *Star of the West* was spotted off the batteries installed at Morris Island. Its intended destination was the resupply of Major Anderson and the garrison at Fort Sumter.⁷ As it traveled up the shipping lane, it was fired upon by a detachment of Citadel Cadets under the command of Major Peter Fayssoux Stevens. Two shots hit home causing minor damage to the vessel which turned away.⁸ Though heavily debated, many historians agree that this was the first angry shots fired by the South in the war. The action rattled Washington and sent shock waves across the country. By the end of January, six more Deep South states had seceded from the Union, bringing the total number to seven.⁹

On March 4th, Lincoln was inaugurated. For many in South Carolina and elsewhere, this was the last straw. Lincoln was a widely hated figure and symbol of northern aggression to many common southerners. His defeat of Steven Douglas and John Breckinridge only showed the belligerent intent of Northern Republicans to further curtail the rights of the South. With the unfinished capital building as his backdrop for his address, he declared the South's actions as unlawful and dangerous. His speech was a call to arms and a stern warning: "no state, upon its own mere notion, can lawfully get out of the union" and that "the power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government".¹⁰ These words resonated across the South. It was the indication that Rhett needed to further convince to rest of the South of his cause. To him, it showed Lincoln's intent to make war and not peace. Confederate commissioners from South Carolina and elsewhere arrived in Washington to initiate formal parley. However, Lincoln refused to recognize them and they were forced to use an intermediary to conduct business.¹¹ Secretary of State, William Seward, seized this opportunity, and told them that Lincoln was "untutored" in national affairs and that he would see to it that Lincoln saw the advantages of evacuating the fort.¹²

It seemed as only a matter of time before Anderson would be evacuated. In a message sent to Lincoln, he stated that the confederate forces were building in strength, his garrison only had 40 days of provisions left and that his officers and he agreed that it would take nearly 20,000 men to defend Charleston and the area. The assessment was agreed upon by General Winfield Scott, Commanding General of the

Army, and others who believed the continued occupation of the fort was fruitless.¹³ However, Lincoln would not evacuate. In his opinion, a withdrawal from the fort would be contradictory to his promise to "hold, occupy and possess". He refused to back down.¹⁴

By April, spring had arrived in Charleston. Ladies and Gentlemen could be seen promenading the battery and waterfront area with rumors of Anderson's evacuation being spread rampantly by *The Mercury*. The Army of South Carolina had now assembled ten regiments with some 8,835 men. Local photographers were making a fine living on taking pictures of the young men in their new uniforms. The men at Sumter froze at night in the heatless fort while the aristocratic residents of Charleston drank Madeira, champagne, smoked Spanish cigars and talked of the glorious fight to come.¹⁵ Still, there were some hoped to avoid a fight.

On April 3rd, Anderson sent a message to the new Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, that the fort was down to its last barrel of flour.¹⁶ It seemed that the time for action had arrived, and the tension had come to a head. In a message delivered to South Carolina Governor Pickens, the Union made its intent known:

I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to resupply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and that if such an attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw men, arms or ammunition, will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort.¹⁷

The decision had now been placed in the hands of Pickens. If the batteries along the shipping lanes spotted a steamer on its way to the Fort, he would be forced to choose to attack or to let a resupply occur.

General P.T.G. Beauregard, the Commanding General of Confederate Forces in Charleston, made his last attempt to avert a battle by asking his long time comrade from West Point, Major Anderson, to leave the Fort. As expected, Anderson vowed not leave until his government had given him orders to do so.¹⁸ Beauregard wasted no time. The first shots were fired from Fort Johnson on James Island at 4:30 am on the morning of April 12th. Sumter's guns did not answer till after reveille around 6:00 am, and despite gallant efforts, their fire was mainly ineffective. Enemy fire gained accuracy, cleared the parapet and started fires across

the fort. Despite hopes that ships visible off on the horizon would come to reinforce the struggling Union troops, their hopes never materialized and they were left to fend for themselves. The warships never made an attempt to resupply the fort.¹⁹ Facing the total expenditure of ammunition and food, and widespread fires, Anderson surrendered.²⁰ After 36 hours of bombardment, the Sumter flag was lowered at 1:30 pm on April the 13th. A few men had been injured on both sides, but the whole affair was largely bloodless. It was a rather humane opening battle for the bloodshed that was to come.

Robert Barnwell Rhett, Commissioners and War Mongering

The political atmosphere of Charleston was electrifying. By the time our analysis begins on the 1st of January, *The Mercury* political machine was at full tilt. The days leading up to the New Year had been extremely exciting for citizens of Charleston. Robert Barnwell Rhett and the rest of the South Carolina Convention voted to secede from the Union of December 20th. The negotiations continued under his guidance, and by the 2nd of January, commissioners had been selected to travel to the seven other Deep South states to promote the cause. Rhett and other radical southern democrats such as William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama, proposed the creation of the constitution and the forming of a provisional government.²¹ To Charlestonians, a glorious revolution was brewing.

The Mercury focused heavily on the events of the South Carolina Convention. On January 8th, they published in its entirety, the four resolutions passed by the convention and the names of those who had been chosen to represent the state as commissioners.²² Here again, Rhett's influence could be seen. The article spoke in great lengths about the need for the provisions in order to repel Northern aggressions: "In view of the threatening aspect of our 'Northern Brethren', it was supposed that the speedy organization of some sort of government by the seceding states, might be necessary to repel aggressions".²³ Rhett knew that timing was everything for the "fire-eaters", and that South Carolina could not stand alone. Part of Rhett's strategy for getting other southern states to secede was to scare them with the threat of northern military action. In reference to the need for a government in the January 8th article, Rhett states: "there is imminent danger of aggressions from

the North – if war exists – it may be necessary that an immediate Provisional Government should be organized... to lay out the foundation of a Southern Confederacy, which will last for ages to come".²⁴ At first, many states were skeptical. But, soon all the Deep South states had started their own conventions and talks on secession. Rhett's endeavor was successful, and one by one, the states voted to join South Carolina in the forging of a Confederate Government.

The Star of the West Incident and Its Particulars *The War Begun!!! Engagement at Fort Morris. Attempted Reinforcement of Fort Sumter. The Star of the West is Fired Into and Driven Back*²⁵

On the calm morning of January 9th, the city of Charleston was awakened by the sound of heavy gunfire in the distance. A steamer on its way to Fort Sumter to resupply the beleaguered Major Anderson, was fired upon as it traversed the shipping channel into the harbor.²⁶ *The Mercury* editors could barely hold their delight at the news that a Union ship had been assaulted; "The first gun of the new struggle for independence has been fired, and Federal power has received its first repulse".²⁷ The violence they so desperately desired, had finally arrived.

Upon hearing the shots, *Mercury* reporters raced to the scene to gather the facts on the event. They took great care in eliciting the specifics from the incident and painting a very detailed account from all points on the harbor for their readers. They talked with many of the units involved, such as the German Rifleman, The Vigilant Rifles, The Zouave Cadets, and a detachment of 40 Citadel Cadets who were directly responsible for the action.²⁸ The article that was published the next day was painstakingly detailed with the chain of events from the time the Citadel Cadets were marched to their battery on Morris Island to the "long roll" of the drums under the command of Major Peter Fayssoux Stevens, to a young cadet named George E. Haynesworth pulling the lanyard on the number one 24lb smoothbore Columbiad cannon.

At 7 o, when the Star of the West had reached a point within range of the guns, Major Stevens fired a shot across her bow, as a signal for her to heave to. After waiting three or four minutes no diminution in the

speed or change in the course of the steamer could be noticed. A moment after, the United States flag was run up at her foremast. The *Star of the West* continuing thus defiantly to pursue her course towards Fort Sumter, the order was given to the men at the Morris Island guns to open fire. Five rounds were fired in quick succession. Two of these were thought to take effect.²⁹

This account of the action by *The Mercury* is incredibly accurate. In fact, the steam ship had in fact suffered two minor blows, one forward and two aft before she heaved to.³⁰ After the ship turned away, it proceeded out of the channel and off the bar out to sea. It was then met by a larger tender vessel, and the two ships steamed off "together in an E.N.E. direction".³¹ Though the engagement was short in duration and in military significance, *The Mercury* did not hesitate to praise the cadets for their termination of "the first attempt of the Federal Government to reinforce the great stronghold of coercion in our harbor." The incident was short, but it sent shock waves across the country.

It was not just the action that Charlestonians desired. In fact, they were very interested in Major Anderson as well. An article that appeared on January 10th, went into great lengths to describe Anderson's responsive actions. This may be in response to the large amount of curiosity and speculation that surrounded the man in general. *The Mercury* printed stories that gave detailed biographical information and family histories of Beauregard's nemesis and the other officers that were marooned in the harbor. Several hours after the incident with the steamer, a boat came from the fort bearing a white flag. Aboard was Lieutenant Hall, one of the Major's trusted subordinates, bearing dispatches to Governor Pickens.³² The spectacle caused much excitement: "The presence of this officer in the city, owing to the events of the morning, gave rise to considerable excitement, and speculation was rife as to the object of his visit".³³ Hall had come on orders from Anderson to find out if Pickens had in fact ordered the firing on the ship and that it was not a renegade incident. When Pickens answered affirmative, Hall returned with Anderson's intentions to cut communication between the fort and the city. The atmosphere was tense and the article explained that the "expressions of indignation were deep and universal" and that Lieutenant Hall was

a "Menacing character".³⁴ This is one of the first times Hall's name is mentioned, but shortly there after, the editors used him and several others of Anderson's junior officers as the villains for the months to come. They went so far as to state that men such as Captain Doubleday had gone mad and totally insane. The insults were continuously hurled.

The next day, the paper published an article from its reporters in Washington describing President Buchanan and General Scott's responses to the incident:

President Buchanan and Gen. Scott have both expressed their gratification, this morning, at the narrow escape of the *Star of the West* on the morning of the 9th from the batteries on Morris Island.³⁵

Despite the message, it was largely drowned out by the praise of the harbor defenders.

The January 11th article is also a telling piece of literature on the failure of an American President. Buchanan's inability to deal with the situation is one of the main contributing factors to the escalation in Charleston. At this point, Buchanan's term is over, and he is soon to be replaced by Lincoln. Instead of sending a strong message about the incident, Buchanan suggests that the conflict should be "transferred from the political assembly to the ballot box" and that the 36'30 lines be reevaluated to meet the South's needs.³⁶ Buchanan's incompetence and lack of clarity is again seen in an article printed on the 31st of January in which the *Mercury* goes so far as to say: "Buchanan [is] at his tricks again - The time has come to let loose the dogs of war".³⁷ Buchanan's lack of forceful presence and power further encourages South Carolina.

The Star of the West incident was the most significant event of January 1861, and a prelude to the battle to come. It was the first time that shots had been fired in anger by the South. The event electrified the Charleston public and encouraged the further bolstering of the southern war machine.

Parades, Propaganda and The Siege of Fort Sumter

In the two months following the *Star of the West* incident, the city remained transfixed with the saga taking place in the harbor. In Washington, the fruitless talks of the commissioners through Seward continued. However,

the events taking place on the street seemed as equally interesting. Almost weekly, there were massive parades through the streets of the city. On February 5th, one such parade hailed the victorious cadets:

The detachment of Citadel Cadets who have been on the seashore since the first of January, passed our office yesterday on their way to The Citadel, to resume their studies. By their skill and energy the first battery was erected for the defense of Charleston: by their admirable gunnery Federal insolence was checked, and the Star of the West... was sent back without having accomplished her mission.³⁸

The city was alive with excitement. Ladies and clergymen often visited the men at the batteries and gave them food and asked the men how long they thought it would be before there was war.³⁹ Rumors and speculation prevailed in the city. At one point, the paper declared that Major Anderson had resigned his commission and that Buchanan had in fact ordered the withdraw of Fort Sumter, as evidence by the headline of a March 12th article: "Orders given for the withdrawal".⁴⁰

The Mercury's reaction to Lincoln's comments in his inaugural speech was a final indicator that a fight was not far away. In a summary of the speech, the paper declared on March 6th:

But Mr. Lincoln, while dwelling upon the folly of the South in seeking in disunion a remedy for their supposed ills, holds out to her no promise of any new guaranty of her rights... That is the whole thing in a nut shell.⁴¹

For many Charlestonians, this was the last shred of evidence that what Rhett had been preaching was true. If there was any doubt that there was a war to come, it was quickly swept aside.

By April, Charleston was on the brink of war. On April 3rd, a dispatch from the commissioners was sent from Washington that read: "A change in policy. We understand the liberal supplies heretofore permitted to Major Anderson, will shortly be cut off".⁴² Though the news undoubtedly raised eyebrows, the most anxious news came on the night of the April 11th. The article,

entitled "War News – The Times", announced that Beauregard had offered his final demand for the evacuation of Fort Sumter and that Major Anderson had refused it. The level of energy in the city reached as all time as "men met in crowds at the various corners of our thoroughfares, and the only topic was the all-engrossing one of War. Every moment the names of Beauregard, Anderson, Sumter, Moultrie and Morris Island would reach the ear..."⁴³ The men stood poised to pull the lanyards, and fire the guns trained at Fort Sumter as the city held its breath and settled in for the night.

At around midnight on the morning of April 12th, a light rain began to fall and continued on and off through the next couple of hours. At around 4:30 am, the haze and relative calm of the area in all directions was shattered with the sound of heavy guns and flashes of light. The bombardment had begun. Immediately, men on both sides sprung to action and as one correspondent reported, "the camps were all astir".⁴⁴ However, it wasn't just soldiers who awoke to the noise. Within minutes, the socialites of Charleston had climbed to their roofs to witness the scene:

The course of the shells on their fiery way could be easily traced until they exploded in a white cloud of smoke, followed by a dull detonation, over the parapets of Fort Sumter.⁴⁵

As the morning progressed, the intensity of the barrage increased. The paper described the scene as the batteries at Fort Johnson, Sullivan's Island, Mount Pleasant and a floating iron-clad battery near Sullivan's Island all opened fire. The confederate shots were pounding the masonry walls of the fort and sending huge sprays of water in the air with near misses.⁴⁶

At approximately 6am, the article reported that Major Anderson's guns opened up on the harbor. At first the confederates were not sure the kind of firepower that Anderson could produce:

He began with his heavy casemate guns bearing upon Cumming's Point. His first efforts were directed to batter down the Iron Battery. For a time his shots were watched with intense interest, but after fifteen minutes' firing, it became apparent that he could make

no serious impressions upon the iron cased roof. Ball after ball rebounded from the close layers of railroad iron, and splashed their way harmlessly through the marsh behind... ricocheting over the surface of the water tearing up vast masses of seaweed, and giving terrible fright to hundreds of seafowl which rose in every direction from the marsh.⁴⁷

At 7am, despite Major Anderson's orders not to man the guns of the parapet because its vulnerability to enemy fire, Private John Carmody saw an opportunity. He disobeyed and stowed above, knowing that the bigger barbette guns were aimed and loaded at Fort Moultrie. In quick succession, he ran down the row pulling the lanyards as he went. The Confederates noticed, and *The Mercury's* correspondent chronicled the events by saying:

At half past 7, the flash from the parapet of Fort Sumter announced that Anderson had begun to work his barbette guns. This, however, did not continue for very long, for the continual explosion of our shells in every direction, on and around the parapets, soon admonished him of the risk of exposing his men in that position.⁴⁸

However, what was not known at the time, was that the event was the work of a lone private who disobeyed orders to strike a single handed blow to the Confederacy.

Despite Anderson's desperate attempts, he was outnumbered and outgunned. The Confederates made it difficult to fire the few cannons he had and the rebel's fire became more and more accurate. As the day wore on, it became apparent that Anderson was fighting a losing battle. Over the course of the next 12 hours, the fires caused by the bombardment began to creep close to the powder magazine and caused Anderson much concern. The Confederates could see the fires too, and reported: "as we saw the red flames piercing the top of the barracks and borne eastward by the high wind, wrapping the entire parapet in dense clouds of smoke".⁴⁹ As the fires burned on into the night, it became evident that the fort could not hold out much longer.

During the early afternoon of the second day, with the fort crumbling and burning, Major Anderson

concluded that the fight could no longer be sustained by the Union troops. At around 1:30 pm, the fort was surrendered unconditionally to General Beauregard to which multitudes of Confederates could be heard cheering along the beaches:

The scene that followed was altogether indescribable. The troops upon the hills cheered again. A horseman galloped at full speed along the beach, waving his cap to the troops near the lighthouse. These soon caught up the cry, and the whole shore rang with glad shouts of thousands.⁵⁰

Not a single man had been killed during the battle on either side despite the murderous barrages that took place. Fort Sumter and the Union garrison had been routed and South Carolina had prevailed. However, as Horace Greeley would say later, it was "a comparatively bloodless beginning for the bloodiest conflict America ever knew".⁵¹

Closing Thoughts

When Fort Sumter fell, Robert Barnwell Rhett thought himself as a great and successful instrument of a glorious revolution. He began looking forward to his future, in which he thought himself the best candidate to become president of the new confederacy and father of the southern cause. But, his hopes never materialized, and he soon became as staunch an opponent of Confederate President Jefferson Davis then he was of the Union.

Though he did not know it at the time, this glorious revolution would become America's bloodiest. It would bring millions of young men from their homes and farms to fight on some distant battlefield, and it would ultimately bring about the destruction of The Old South way of life. Upon seeing his beloved Confederacy fall, he moved to Louisiana in 1867, and lived out the rest of his days in seclusion away from the public eye.

The Mercury is an incredible piece of American History. Through its preservation, we have been given the ability to step back into the city of Charleston in the early months of 1861. It has given us an opportunity to analyze peoples' thoughts, justifications and overall general feeling of the atmosphere in the days that lead up to the American Civil War. Through the Charleston's media outlets of 1861, we view the world in much the same manner that the average everyday citizen would have: What it was felt like during the attack on the Star of the West and the siege of Fort Sumter. Without publications such as *The Mercury*, an important perspective of an American conflict might be lost forever.

Endnotes

1. Charles B. Dew, *The Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 2001), 38.
2. Dew, *Apostles*. 38.
3. W. C. Davis and B.L. Wiley, *The Civil War Album: The Complete Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: Tess Press, 2000), 22.
4. Major Anderson was even more eager than most to leave Fort Moultrie and Sullivan's Island. Nearly a century earlier, it was the same place that his father was captured by the British during the American Revolutionary War. Davis and Wiley, *Civil War Album*. 22.
5. Dew, *Apostles*. 38.
6. Davis and Wiley, 22.
7. *Ibid.*, 22.
8. *Ibid.*, 22.
9. William J. Cooper, Jr. and Thomas E. Terrill, *The American South, A History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 323.
10. Davis and Wiley, *Civil War Album*. 25.
11. *Ibid.*, 25.
12. *Ibid.*, 25.
13. When there was some rumor that Southern rebels were going to attempt to disrupt the swearing in of President Lincoln, General Winfield Scott was quoted, stating: "I have said that any [such person] should be lashed to the muzzle of a 12-pounder and fired out of a window of the capital. I would manure the hills of Arlington with fragments of his body... It is my duty to suppress insurrection – my duty!" *Ibid.*, 26.
14. *Ibid.*, 26.
15. *Ibid.*, 26.
16. *Ibid.*, 27.
17. *Ibid.*, 27.
18. *Ibid.*, 27.
19. The ships described by the watchmen were later discovered to be the warships under the command of Gustavus Vasa Fox, sent by Lincoln to ascertain the situation in Charleston. However, during a storm, two vessels veered off course and never made it to Charleston. Captain Fox waited, and the ships did not make it in time to participate in an engagement. *Ibid.*, 28.
20. *Ibid.*, 29.
21. Dew, *Apostles*. 38.
22. The editors went to great lengths to educate the public as to the events taking place inside the convention. In this particular article, they name the following deputies to be sent to a convention of southern states to start a provisional government. Those elected were: Hon. R.B. Rhett, Hon. R.W. Barnwell, Hon. James Chesnut, jr., Hon. C.G. Memminger, Hon. W.P. Miles, Hon. L.M. Keitt, Hon. T.J. Withers and Hon. W.W. Boyce.. R.B. Rhett Jr., "The Southern Confederacy," *The Charleston Mercury*, 8th January 1861.
23. Rhett, Jan 8.
24. *Ibid.*, Jan 8.
25. The headlines were bold and unmistakable. "The War Begun" sent the electrifying message across the city about the engagement of the steam ship Star of the West by the Citadel Cadets and Morris Island. R.B. Rhett Jr., "The War Begun!!!," *The Charleston Mercury*, 10th January 1861.
26. Rhett, Jan 10.
27. *Ibid.*, Jan 10.
28. The Citadel cadets were not the only units available on Morris Island and the vicinity for use. There were several other extremely proud and distinguished units waiting for action near the beach that day under the command of Lt. Col. J.L. Branch of the Regiment of Rifles. Some of the units included the Vigilant Rifles, The German Rifleman and The Zouave Cadets. *Ibid.*, Jan 10.

29. Large excerpt dealing directly with the details of the Cadets under the command of Major Stevens. Ibid., Jan 10.

30. The after action description of the damage to the steamer indicated that she had been struck twice and although it surprised the crew up, the ship was relatively unharmed. Davis and Wiley, *Civil War Album*. 24.

There were some reports from the confederate battery at Fort Moultrie that a third round had found its mark, but there is no evidence to substantiate the claim. Ibid., Jan 10.

31. Ibid., Jan 10.

32. Ibid., Jan 10.

33. Ibid., Jan 10.

34. One of the interesting things about the incident with Lieutenant Hall was the vilification that took place after in regards to the junior officers of Anderson's command. In later articles, we will see a great deal of hatred poured out on Lt. Hall and other such as Capt. Doubleday and Capt. Foster. Ibid., Jan 10.

35. R.B. Rhett Jr., "Our Washington Dispatches. The War News in the Federal City," *The Charleston Mercury*, 11th January 1861.

36. Rhett, Jan 11.

37. R.B. Rhett Jr., "Our Washington Correspondence," *The Charleston Mercury*, 31st January 1861.

38. R.B. Rhett Jr., "Military," *The Charleston Mercury*, 5th February 1861.

39. One such occasion was at Fort Moultrie with the Rev. A Toomer Porter. The men became very fond of the man and allowed him to stay at the fort for several nights. Rhett, Feb 5.

40. Davis and Wiley, *Civil War Album*. 26. and R.B. Rhett Jr., "Latest by Telegraph," *The Charleston Mercury*, 12th March 1861.

41. R.B. Rhett Jr., "The Abolition Regime," *The Charleston Mercury*, 9th March 1861.

42. R.B. Rhett Jr., "A Change in Policy," *The Charleston Mercury*, 3rd April 1861.

43. R.B. Rhett Jr., "War News - The Times," *The Charleston Mercury*, 12th April 1861.

44. R.B. Rhett Jr., "The Fight Seen From Cummings Point," *The Charleston Mercury*, 15th April 1861.

45. Rhett, April 15.

46. Ibid., April 15.

47. Ibid., April 15.

48. Ibid., April 15.

49. Ibid., April 15.

50. Ibid., April 15.

51. Davis and Wiley, *Civil War Album*. 30.

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