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PREFACE

While often overshadowed by faculty research, the efforts of students should not be overlooked, and this journal hopefully will encourage scholarly research by students and provide a means by which their efforts will be recognized. Phi Alpha Theta is greatly indebted to the History Department of Western Kentucky University headed by Dr. Richard Troutman. We are grateful to our Consulting Editors, Dr. Charles Bussey, Dr. Carol Crowe, and Dr. David Lee, for their assistance in this project. We also thank the Student Editorial Committee consisting of Judy Bussell, James R. Harris, Joan Richardson, and David F. Smith. A special thanks goes to Mr. Tom Foster for designing our cover. For her tireless and exacting effort Phi Alpha Theta thanks our typist, Ms. Medora Ann Woodward. Our most profound debt of gratitude goes to the contributing writers--those who were published and those who were not--that constitute a group which forms the heart of any publication.

Eta Pi Chapter
Phi Alpha Theta
Western Kentucky University
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JULIUS CAESAR'S USES OF THE ARMY

The career of Julius Caesar from 59 B.C. to 44 B.C. is of great importance to any study of the Roman Republic's demise; yet that career also presents problems for the historian. The noted scholar Ronald Syme summarizes the difficulty:

The conquest of Gaul, the war against Pompeians and the establishment of the Dictatorship of Caesar are events that move in a harmony so swift and sure as to appear preordained; and history has sometimes been written as though Caesar set the tune from the beginning, in the knowledge that monarchy was the panacea for the world's ills, and with the design to achieve it by armed force. Such a view is too simple to be historical.1

Another scholar, A. N. Sherwin-White, also criticizes studies that concentrate on the political generals in the Republic's last days. He says too many historians describe the era so that events appear more logical and evolutionary than they were in fact.2 Yet the methods of Julius Caesar, that imperator whose success was fatal to the Republic, require examination. Syme warns against seeing design in Caesar's use of armed force, but that warning itself should not lead to an interpretation which might not give enough emphasis to Caesar's use of the army. Caesar, according to Plutarch, chose "to be first rather amongst men of arms and power."3 Caesar's identification with the military and his use of the military as an instrument of propaganda, force, and intimidation were important factors in his achievement of hegemony. Although Caesar's use of the military was not the sole reason for his advancement, his methods, nevertheless, merit consideration.

The intimate personal connection between Roman military and political affairs which allowed Julius Caesar to exploit both war and the state for his own interests, had its real beginning late in the second century B.C. When in 107 Gaius Marius, a military demagogue and repeated holder of the consulate, opened the army to volunteers, the Roman army assumed a slightly different character. Traditionally, property qualification for service in the army had existed, but by the time of Marius that qualification was so low that many legionaries were relatively poor.4 Indeed, most came from rural regions and did well to own a house and a small plot of ground.5 So the entrance into the army of nearly propertyless soldiers as a result of the Marian laws was not so great an innovation as it might appear.

Neither was the introduction of volunteers a radical development. For many years, the territorial expansion of the Republic

Russell Harris
had placed great demands on the citizen population for filling the ranks of the legions. During the second century, the Republic sought volunteers for military service on many occasions to provide the numbers of troops which conscription could no longer supply from the propertied classes of small means. Although the Marian reforms caused a higher proportion of volunteers to be in the army, that development, too, was ameliorated by the continued use of the levy. Conscription still supplied many men for the legions.6

Whether the soldier of the post-Marian army were a volunteer or a conscript, his low average wealth had political results. The low property qualifications for service and the sixteen-year term of service combined to produce dire economic consequences for the individual.7 Long periods away from farm and family would often lower the soldier's economic level to that of a member of the urban masses.8 The individual soldier thus had to look to his general for war booty or for a grant of land upon discharge. Because possible Senatorial opposition to grants could be overcome only by the political influence of the general, the chief result of the Marian reforms was the separation of the army from its loyalty to Rome. The army tended to be loyal to its commander instead of to the government. Although Julius Caesar and other commanders appealed on several occasions to their troops' emotional ties to the constitution as a way to arouse them for battle, personal loyalty to the commander remained the decisive factor.9

The loyalty of the army to the state also was threatened early in the first century when Roman citizenship was extended to Italian provincials. The inclusion in the army of Italians who did not have traditions of loyalty to the Roman government weakened even more the tenuous hold the state had on its soldiers. During the years of disruption after the death of Marius, emergency armies followed Sulla, Pompey, Julius Caesar, and the other political generals with a loyalty of a more personal nature than that which the standing army had for its commanders. As R. E. Smith, the foremost modern scholar of the post-Marian army, observes, "the general's need of political support and the soldier's need of a powerful political figure to safeguard their interests after their discharge...enabled these partnerships to exercise a tremendous influence on Roman politics."10 The political importance of the personal leadership which Julius Caesar exercised with the soldiers of the post-Marian army is evident in the conclusion of modern scholar Michael Grant that "their fatherland was Caesar's camp, and their patriotism was loyalty to Caesar."11

In 58 Caesar took his post as proconsul for Illyricum, Cisalpine Gaul, and Transalpine Gaul, a move which soon would allow him to take full advantage of the tendency toward personal loyalty in the army. This consequential development had its origins in the political struggles of the year before, when Caesar as consul incurred opposition by his autocratic and illegal challenge to the Senate. In order to continue the exercise of authority, Caesar secured his position as a proconsul to follow his year in
the consulate. As proconsul he extended his term of authority, and he possessed extraordinary power to select his subordinates and to establish colonies. As F. R. Cowell points out, Caesar also possessed as proconsul, "an army large enough to protect him from any attack that his enemies might seek to mount against him in revenge for the high-handed treatment he had meted out to them as consul." In addition, Gaul presented great opportunities for Caesar to increase his fortune and his dignitas, that quality of rank, prestige, and honor a Roman statesman needed.

Although his military experience had been limited, Caesar made excellent use of his legions in Gaul for conquest and for propaganda based upon the exploits of his army. There were four legions under Caesar's command in Gaul, but he was probably given authority by the Senate to raise as many forces as he felt necessary. During his service as a general, Caesar implemented innovations in camp building, weapons, intelligence services, and training procedures. Also, about the time his proconsulship began, he convinced the other triumvirs to double the pay of his legionaries from 112½ denarii a year to 225 denarii a year, a move which, coupled with supplementary bonuses on occasion, did not make the legions any less loyal to Caesar. In addition, Caesar was able to use his army effectively because morale in his legions was unusually high.

Success on the battlefield, munificent payments to the legions, and generally good treatment of the troops had a desirable effect on the bond between Caesar and the army. Suetonius's description of his way with his soldiers serves as an example:

He did not take notice of all their offences or punish them by rule, but he kept a sharp look out for deserters and mutineers, and chastised them most severely, shutting his eyes to other faults. Sometimes, too, after a great victory he relieved them of all duties and gave them full license to revel, being in the habit of boasting that his soldiers could fight as well even when reeking of perfumes. In the assembly he addressed them not as "soldiers," but by the more flattering term "comrades," and he kept them in fine trim, furnishing them with arms inlaid with silver and gold, both for show and to make them hold faster to them in battle, through fear of the greatness of the loss. Such was his love for them that when he heard of the disaster of a commander killed in ambush by Gallic tribesmen, he let his hair and beard grow long, and would not cut them until he had his vengeance. In this way he made them most devoted to his interests as well as most valiant.

Personal bonds between the troops and their commander were an advantage in the accomplishment of Caesar's ostensible objective in Gaul--the subjugation of the Gallic tribes. During nine years of operations, Caesar used his army well for its own ostensible function of war. In campaigns against the Helvetii, the Nervii, and other groups, in the expedition to Britain, and in the suppression of the revolt of Vercingetorix, Caesar used his army with ability, if not always proper attention to immediate affairs.
For example, Caesar, embroiled in the affairs of the triumvirate among Pompey, Crassus, and himself, was sometimes distracted from his military duties by political affairs. In 56 Caesar had to leave the field to meet Pompey and Crassus in a conference at Luca, a meeting which resulted in the installation of Pompey and Crassus as consuls for 55, and in Caesar's renewal of command in Gaul for five more years. Perhaps the growing discord with Pompey and other political affairs following the Luca conference absorbed Caesar's attention too much; for in 52, during the war with Vercingetorix, Caesar found himself in a difficult position. While besieging Avaricum, Caesar inadvertently permitted himself to be surrounded in turn by another group of Vercingetorix's forces. In order to extricate himself from a situation that was as embarrassing as it was dangerous, Caesar ordered fortifications, facing both inward and outward, to be dug around the city. Eventually, Caesar and his army defeated Vercingetorix and drove away the Gallic relief force, but the episode was an instance in which Caesar's ability to get out of trouble barely surpassed his ability to get into it.

At Avaricum, his legions had served him well, and later in 52, when Vercingetorix defeated Caesar at Gergovia because the legions had acted without orders, Caesar returned his troops' loyalty. In an address to the legions, Caesar criticised them for disobedience, but he did not abuse them. He later wrote:

After delivering this harangue, and at the end thereof encouraging the troops not to be cast down on this account, not to attribute to the courage of the enemy a result caused by unfavorable ground, though he was still minded, as he had been before, to march off, he led the legions out of camp and formed battle-line on suitable ground.16

That he could maintain this relationship with his troops aided immeasurably in surviving such a crisis.17

In addition to his use of the army for conquest, Caesar based his Commentaries on the Gallic War on his exploits with that army. The contemporary audience for his book must have been small in number and part of his purpose in writing it might have been, as F. E. Adcock puts it, to satisfy "a kind of intellectual appreciation of his own doings," and to promote his own dignitas, his claim to high office.18 Lily Ross Taylor, however, mentions what is perhaps the real essence of the work's importance when she calls it, "an apology for the Gallic proconsulship... strengthened by the appeal made to men's pride in the victory of Roman arms and the expansion of Roman power."19

There would be considerable propaganda value in Caesar's appeal to the success of Roman armies if he could identify himself with that success. For example, in Book I of the Commentaries, Caesar recounts the wars against the Helvetii and against the
Germans. His accounts of the negotiations with these groups are based on his appeals to Roman tradition and national interest.

In addition, as Hubert Martin mentions, "there is a constant identification of Caesar's own interests and policies with those of the state." Martin also points out that Caesar even carries this process of identification a further step by claiming he is the agent of the gods.

In Book IV of the work, Caesar uses another technique in promoting his exploits with the army. Describing the massacre of two Germans tribes for attacking Roman troops, Caesar gives full explanation for his decision to attack the tribes even though a truce existed. K. H. Lee's evaluation is that Caesar "coaxes us to believe that the Germans brought this brutality upon themselves" and that his description is "intended to stir up the emotions and the sympathies rather than to inform." Caesar's identification with the army in fact and his identification with the national interest and even the will of the gods in his book, stand as a propagandistic use of the army's exploits.

While Caesar was building his military competence and reputation in Gaul, affairs were deteriorating in Rome. The failure to erect a governmental executive subordinate to the Senate and the people made the situation grave. As Cowell phrases it, "unless one man could be given a free hand... it seemed impossible to make any progress... There were only two possible candidates, Pompey and Caesar." Although Cowell's evaluation has the virtue of brevity and the fault of simplicity, he is correct in identifying Caesar and Pompey as the two most powerful men of the time.

They had been in an uneasy alliance in the Triumvirate since before the time of Caesar's consulate, but the death of Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife, in 54 and the death of Crassus in 53 severed two of the ties binding Caesar and Pompey. Caesar now wished to become consul again when his term in Gaul ended in 49. Yet there were attempts among Caesar's optimate enemies to recall him to face the consequences of his illegal actions as consul ten years previously before he could be reelected consul. Pompey, after much hesitation, allied with the oligarchy against Caesar, who at first tried to avoid a war by negotiations. Moderate in nature, Caesar's offers to retain only two of his provinces and one of his legions, were apparently genuine attempts to avoid a civil war. Yet Pompey's acceptance of the command of legions from the consul Gaius Marcellus for the purpose of "defending the state" from Caesar, was, in Taylor's terms, "practically a declaration of war." Rather than submit to legal prosecution as a private citizen, Caesar responded with an appeal to arms. Soon he crossed the Rubicon River into Italy with one legion and, in effect, committed an act of war against Rome. The civil war had begun. In this grave personal and national crisis, Caesar sought a solution in the use of his army for war. Yet the conflict changed not only the fortunes of its combatants, but also the nature of political affairs in the state. Taylor comments on the era's blending of politics and war:
Henceforth party conflict was mainly in the hands of trained soldiers, men who had taken an oath of allegiance to their commander and were fighting to bring about his victory and the bonuses he promised them. Although the Civil War was technically a war between Caesar and the senate, actually it was fought by the personal armies of Pompey and Caesar. 28

In swift marches across the country, Caesar recruited much of his army in Italy, thus denying Pompey several of the regions from which he himself had intended to recruit. After Pompey fled Italy, Caesar turned to Spain to deal with a Pompeian army there under Afranius. After a brilliant victory at Ilerda, Caesar returned to Italy and in 48, crossed to Epirus, the rest of his army coming later. Following an unsuccessful blockade of Pompey's forces at Dyrrhachium, Caesar met and decisively defeated Pompey's numerically superior force at Pharsalus. Suetonius quotes Caesar as saying, after viewing the dead of his enemies on the field at Pharsalus, "They would have it so. Even I, Gaius Caesar, after so many great deeds should have been found guilty, if I had not turned to my army for help." 29

Caesar next crossed to Egypt in pursuit of Pompey and fought a war against Ptolemy XIII, a conflict which resulted in the accession of Cleopatra to the throne. Next, after beating Pharmaces at Zela, in Asia Minor, Caesar returned to Rome. In 47, at Thaspus in North Africa, Caesar also defeated the Pompeian forces under Scipio in battle. At his triumphs in Rome in 46, Caesar continued his policy of generous gifts to his troops by awarding each soldier 5,000 or 6,000 denarii. 30 Every legionary received 20,000 sesterces, every centurion received 40,000 sesterces, and every military tribune received 80,000 sesterces, a gift whose size "is a revealing indication of the links between Caesar and the armed men whose support gave him supreme power." 31 In 45 Caesar finally met and defeated the last Pompeian forces, under Pompey's sons and Labienus, at the Battle of Munda.

By this time Caesar neared the zenith of his power in Rome. Earlier, after he returned from the Battle of Ilerda, he had been made dictator. In 46 his term as dictator was extended to ten years, and in 44, it was lengthened to life. He held the consulate in 48, 46, and 45, and 44. He received numerous powers and honors, among them traditional symbols of royalty, but he refused outright recognition as a monarch.

During his tenure as dictator, Caesar forced enactment of several reforms, including establishment of several public works, reduction of the grain dole, restriction on emigration, regulation of Italian city constitutions, abolition of tax farming in Asia Minor, and revision of the calendar. He also extended citizenship status in keeping with his authorized earlier grant of citizenship to Cisalpine Gaul in 49. It is significant that Caesar did not neglect the army in his programs. Cash awards, land grants,
and the founding of several veterans' colonies were all part of his generous attention to the army, which had been his support and upon which he still, at least in part, depended. Furthermore, in his enlargement of the Senate, Caesar included in the new numbers both soldiers and provincials. Some of the new Senators were centurians, an army group renowned for its loyalty to Caesar.

When he made Senators of some of his soldiers, Caesar in effect made official his dependence on the army, members of which now formed part of the political coalition that supported him. Here was his ultimate use of the army as a part of the official Caesarian political party, a part whose loyalty he sought to insure by his patronage. Despite the building of his political party and the establishment of his supremacy in the state, Caesar could not escape the opposition of republican conservatives like Cicero or the physical dangers of republican idealists like Brutus. Thus a conspiracy led by Brutus assassinated him on March 15, 44 B.C.

It is perhaps significant in evaluating Caesar's bond with the army that just before his death, at the time of his greatest political power and problems, Caesar was in preparation for another campaign in Parthia. Some authorities have suggested this new adventure was in part an attempt to retreat from the difficult problems of Roman politics to the realm of military affairs where he would exercise his familiar and unquestioned authority. In a sense, the army was a home, a tool, and a base of political support which Caesar always took care to maintain. With remarkable consistency and effectiveness since his consulate in 59, he had used the army for war, for propaganda, and for politics. It would be a distortion to evaluate Caesar isolated from his army, to credit his advancement to political manipulation and to personal abilities alone. It was his talent to combine in himself both military and political competence and to seize opportunities to achieve dominance. For Caesar, the army was, as Adcock says, "an unrivalled instrument" upon which "he could play the tunes of his time." It was, however, Sallust, writing during the civil wars that followed Caesar's death, who perhaps detects a greater importance in using any force the way Caesar used the army:

For to rule one's country or subjects by force, although you both have the power to correct abuses, and do correct them, is nevertheless tyrannical; especially since all attempts at change foreshadow bloodshed, exile, and other horrors of war.
FOOTNOTES


2 A. N. Sherwin-White, "Violence in Roman Politics," JRS 46 (1956), 1. Modern scholars of ancient history conventionally use a shortened form of reference to many scholarly journals dealing exclusively with ancient history. For example, JRS refers to The Journal of Roman Studies. Other shortened forms used in this paper to refer to scholarly journals include CJ, (Classical Journal), and G&R, (Greece and Rome).


4 Michael Grant, The Army of the Caesars (New York, 1974), 303. Grant explains the monetary values as follows: "Soldier's pay is generally reckoned in denarii or sestertii, of which there were four to the denarius, each sestertius being worth four asses... In the time of Caesar, silver denarii were coined, but not sestertii. Under Augustus, the monetary system, in so far as it concerned these two denominations was as follows. The denarius was the standard silver coin, valued at one-twenty-fifth of the standard gold coin, the aureus. The sestertius was at this period a large brass token coin. Unfortunately it is quite impossible to give any modern equivalents for these denominations, owing to the notorious absence of ancient economic statistics: our fragmentary pieces of evidence do not enable us to draw up a reliable list of prices and, in any case, these varied from one date, and one region, to another."


6 R. E. Smith, Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army (Manchester, 1958), 44.

7 Ibid., 35, 40.

8 Brunt, "The Army and Land," 75.

9 Ibid., 76; Caesar, BC, I, 7; and Appian, BC, II, 5, 33. Modern scholars of ancient history conventionally use an abbreviated form of reference to many well-known ancient sources. A shortened form for a classical source usually includes an abbreviated form of the author's name, a shortened title, Roman numerals indicating which book of a given source is being used, Arabic numerals denoting the chapter, and Arabic numerals denoting the paragraph. Thus the above citation refers to Julius Caesar's Bellum Civilum (The Civil War), first book, seventh chapter. The above citation to Appian's work refers to his Bellum Civilum, second book, fifth chapter, thirty-third paragraph.
The standing and emergency armies were identified in terms of the oath taken by the soldiers. The oath was to the general, who represented the state, and it was in force as long as the general commanded. It could be renewed by his successors. No time limit for service was expressed in the oath, but the army existed until the general discharged it. Thus did standing armies become permanent. Emergency armies were discharged supposedly when the war ended.

11 Grant, Army, 19.
13 Smith, Service, 19-21.
14 Grant, Army, 14-15.
15 Suetonius, Julius, 67, 1-2; and 68, 1.
16 Caesar, BG, VIII, 53.
17 Grant, Army, 18.
18 F. E. Adcock, Caesar as a Man of Letters (Cambridge, 1956), 21-23.
22 Ibid., 66.
24 Cowell, Cicero, 250.
25 Appian, BC, II, 5, 32; Plutarch, Caesar, 31; and Suetonius, Julius, 29, 2.
26 Taylor, Party Politics, 159.
27 Suetonius, Julius, 30, 3-4; and Appian, BC, II, 3, 23.
28 Taylor, Party Politics, 162.
29 Suetonius, Julius, 30, 5.
30 Brunt, "Army and Land," 79; Appian, BC, II, 15, 102; and Suetonius, Julius, 38.

31 Cowell, Cicero, 259.

32 Taylor, Party Politics, 173.

33 Syme, Revolution, 78.

34 Ibid., 53.


36 Sallust, Jugurtha, 3, 2.
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GREENWICH VILLAGE BOHEMIANISM IN ITS HEY DAY AND DECLINE

During the latter part of the 19th century in the midst of its cosmopolitan variety, New York afforded young intellectuals a quarter of their own, America's nearest equivalent to a Left Bank, the legendary Greenwich Village. This section has so often been caricatured, imitated and sentimentalized that it is hard to learn what it was really like and why it became a prominent center of what is termed Bohemianism. Unlike most Bohemian quarters of American cities, which sprang up for a short time, the Village has a history. This region of small twisting streets, south of Washington Square, had long been a quiet refuge from city traffic and a contrast to the methodical planning of the streets and avenues of uptown New York. The Square, itself, had been a stronghold of early 19th century aristocracy and the district housed such literary figures as Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, Samuel Clemens, and Winslow Homer. Yet, it was Poe's reputation as a loner and an outcast coupled with his distrust of mankind and his despair of the world, which was to be emulated by his followers. This attitude expressed by Poe strongly characterized the Village mood and his followers persisted in drinking, in pretending at melancholy, and in drawing charcoal sketches on the walls of their garrets, as they heard Poe did on his Rowdy Row walls. Long after Poe's prodigy had disappeared, the artistic souls of Greenwich Village continued the tradition of free and desperate expression in print, talk and on the walls of their rooms.

The first organized Bohemia of America, the Pfaffians, gladly and freely acknowledged their debt to Poe. They were grateful to his memory and in his writings they found justification for their conduct and writings; they were proud when likened to Poe, the writer, and Poe, the Bohemian. The Pfaffians were organized by the journalist, Henery Clapp, in the second half of the 19th century, and their meeting place, Pfaff's Beer Cellar, gave them their name. Scores of writers, actors, artists, and students joined Clapp, called themselves Bohemians, and tried to flout conventions. As they tried to imitate Poe they kept late hours, and clothed their poverty with a poetical cloak. The Saturday Press, the first Bohemian weekly in America, was founded by Clapp and many of literary fame contributed, although pay was irregular and at times nil.

One of the most striking personalities of this early period was Ada Clare, called the Queen of Bohemia. She was the first accepted female poet welcomed to the Pfaffians. Her poems were printed in the Saturday Press, and she used this weekly to further

Joan Richardson
her literary career. In one article she determinedly defended
the purity of the Bohemian cult as she declared:

The Bohemian is by nature, if not by habit, a cos-
mopolite, with a general sympathy for the fine arts,
and for all things above and beyond convention. The
Bohemian is not, like the creatures of society, a victim
of rules and customs . . . . Above all others, essential-
ly, the Bohemian must not be narrow minded; if he be he
is degraded back to the position of a mere worlding. 1

Eight of these early Pfaffians died veiled in a cloak of
romantic tragedy. But, the real end of Pfaff's jollity came
with the Civil War, for the War robbed Pfaff's of its poets,
artists, and writers. The situation was summarized in print:
"The old Bohemian Clique is smashed, and Pfaff's has become a
respectable and well-conducted larger beer saloon." 2

One of the most significant creative periods of Village
Bohemianism was from 1910 to 1917, when the divergent Villagers
pooled their creativity and worked cooperatively. One outcome
of this joint experimentation was the publication of a magazine
in 1910 by Piet Vlag. Vlag called together the Village writers,
artists, and their material for the first issue of the revolt-
inciting Masses. The writers and artists who owned the Masses
were not paid, nor did they pay others for any articles or
illustrations accepted for publication. Vlag intended the
magazine "to speak for the cooperative side of the socialist
movement." 3 Yet, this moderation did not prevail for a young
Columbia graduate, Max Eastman, took over the editorship of the
magazine in December of 1912; and at that point the Masses took
on a "red" leaning as later issues assaulted capitalism and its
culture. John Reed was also attracted to the magazine due to its
socialistic views and joined the editorial staff in 1914. His
views on the purpose of the magazine are as follows:

The broad purpose of the Masses is a social one: to
everlastingly attack old systems, old morals, old
prejudices—the whole weight of outworn thought . . .
and to set up new ones in their place. . . . we will
be bound by no one creed or theory of social reform
but will express them all providing they be radical.
   4

Although the Masses forced the artist colony to produce work
and criticize articles, it was not the only organ whereby the
intellectuals could exchange ideas. Just as the Masses brought
artists together to publish their work, the Liberal Club was
organized to exchange ideas and stimulate active discussions
of these ideas.

Formerly the Village housed groups and cliques which were
mutually indifferent or suspicious of each other. There was no
common center until a New York teacher, Henrietta Rodman, encouraged a split in the Liberal Club and enabled the vibrant members to move from uptown to rooms above Polly's restaurant on Macdougal Street in the Village. Henrietta, described in Floyd Dell's Love in Greenwich Village as Egeria, was a suffragette, explained sex to her high school girls, and agitated for simpler fashions. She was in many ways thought to be unorthodox, and her behavior does attest that fact. She once decided she must be a nudist yet this fashion she only practiced within the confines of her home, but she did receive visitors in her uninhibited state. Her spaghetti suppers were famous among her artistic friends. Henrietta's partner, Polly Holliday, was an anarchist from Illinois and in order to be of service to the Villagers she served food at low rates. Her restaurant had an anarchistic atmosphere and at times her waiter, unprovoked, would loudly voice such denunciations as "Bourgeois pigs" to her clientele.

This Club on Macdougal Street sponsored exhibitions of Cubists and revolutionary paintings and drawings. Poetry was read, one act plays were written and performed, discussions flared, and of course, every young body was "falling in love." Henrietta was in touch with the university, social, and socialist crowds and she encouraged their mingling with the Village artists. With the new elements added to the Liberal Club, a new character was visible.

The Village group was poor and lived informally and often cooperatively. These young artists gained confidence in their own importance as a group. They criticized and distrusted the middle class conventional norm from which many had fled. They made the Village a refuge from the social controls of "Main Street", and established the positive features of its challenge. The stream of artists during the decade before the First World War included such talent as Edna St. Vincent Millay and Theodore Dreiser. Edna Millay lived one winter on Waverly Place in that gay poverty which was traditional in the Village. In the following lines she gives her testimony to a life enriched by poverty:

We were very tired, we were very merry-
We had gone back and forth all night on the ferry
It was bare and bright, and smelled like a stable-
But we looked into a fire, we leaned across a table,
We lay on a hilltop underneath the moon,
And the whistles kept blowing and the dawn came soon.5

Floyd Dell, who later became one of the leading spokesmen for New York's Greenwich Village, felt the Village meant many things when he moved there in 1913. He wrote that "it was a
place where rents were cheap, where people were free to be themselves," where they came to solve their problems—"a kind of moral-health resort, where they found peace and tolerance," a refuge from middle class morality, especially the attitude towards sex. For many, of course, the Village was simply home, a place where work was done, where life was lived freely, creatively, but industriously. Gay, yet serious, many Villagers were as Dell said "... pilgrims on an unknown pilgrimage, ... seeking understanding of themselves and of the mysteries of life." These serious writers were genuine in their efforts to discover new values which they maintained they had inherited. They repudiated primarily the money drive, the "Babbittry", the purely acquisitive values which had come to dominate the American scene.6

The members of the Masses came to the Liberal Club, where political demonstrations were arranged. One noted anarchist, Emma Goldman, was a frequent visitor to the Club. It was from this Club on Macdougal Street that many intellectuals came to protest in front of John D. Rockefeller's office on Broadway, against the shooting of the Colorado coal strikers. Upton Sinclair, the leader of the protest, was for a time the ruler of the minds of the Liberal Club and the Village; however, he disliked the Bohemian atmosphere even at its most sincere.

When the First World War arrived, most of the restless American youths came back to the United States from the Left Bank cafes. They investigated the Village and found it much to their liking as they jammed into the attics, studios, clubs and restaurants of the Washington Square area. The Village was becoming more and more a place of distinction. The Liberal Club was getting too small for all the yearners, carrousers, and protesters, thus Villagers of the more opulent variety began to proclaim a salon of his or her own. The most famous one was that of Mabel Dodge. Bill Haywood, the I.W.W. leader, was a frequent visitor as was Max Eastman who came to extract monetary assistance for the struggling Masses from the rich uptowners. Mabel Dodge was celebrated for the flourish with which she helped the arts and the causes and their expressors. She also subscribed the rent of many meeting halls and the bail of political prisoners.

Much modern drama had its beginning in Greenwich Village. The first Villagers tried to make fun or tragedy of their own gropings, and thus, the new experimental stage was born. The Liberal Club produced plays amid much confusion and amateur earnestness, yet the rest of the city knew nothing of these efforts. Floyd Dell wrote, in playform, a fable and a satire "upon the earnest Bohemianism of our little World."7 The story concerned the liberation of a young girl from the rock of conventionality so that she could open a tearoom of her own. The scenery was primitive but the play was a tremendous success for the Villagers, for it concerned the actors and the audience themselves. The Provincetown Players came to the Village for the winter of 1916 and they rented a floor in the building adjacent
to the Liberal Club. They opened their first season with O'Neill's "Bound East for Cardiff", and the world took notice. O'Neill's work was not sentimentality about moonlight in the Village; neither was it sunny laughter about Village girls freeing themselves to start a tea shop, or a clever exposition of the Villagers' suppressed desires. O'Neill's play was universal and powerful. "Emperor Jones" as staged in Macdougal Street lifted Eugene O'Neill to the ranks of the great, and in 1920 the play was moved to Broadway. By that time the Washington Square Players were uptown also, momentarily to jump into fame and money under the new name of the Theatre Guild.

Not all the Villagers of the Masses period, 1910-1917, were artistic geniuses, and not all the American geniuses in art and letters of the decade came from the region south of Fourteenth Street. None of the renowned greats had their roots in the Village. There were a few though whose literary and artistic contributions must be noted for they kept alive the Bohemian atmosphere which flavored this section of the city.

One artist, Max Eastman, could be placed in this category. Eastman, known as the leader of the artistic, was a languorous philosopher and a daring thinker. His ability lay in his sharp insight into the worth or worthlessness of the work of others. His poetic style availed him nothing when he tried to emerge as a first-rate poet or novelist. Another Villager, John Reed, was a great reporter, but the excitement with which he constantly plunged into the storms of his time robbed him of a chance to be a great writer; he died too soon. Reed's Ten Days That Shook the World remains his best book because it is excellent reporting of the fiercest of Russian conflicts. The Villager, Randolph Bourne, had only begun to evaluate life and its struggles when death intervened. Due to his deformity, it was only in Greenwich Village where he felt comparatively free from pity or ridicule. There, in appearance, he was equal to many inhabitants. This happiness caused him to divert his thoughts from himself, and direct them to the ills of humanity which he understood well.

In poetry, Edna St. Vincent Millay is often identified with her one-time Waverly Place address. Although she wrote some of her best poetry in her little cold room and took a lively part in the little-theater movement of the Village, she was the product of New England life. The rigid beauty of her verse and feelings had nothing in common with the gay pretension and social protest of the Village. Harry Kemp, as a poet, was far more typical of the Village. He was one of the first to "walk the American city streets without a hat," and for a long time his love escapades provided copy for the boulevard press. Maxwell Bodenheim tried to be his successor in this respect, and though his exploits in love were less spectacular the yellow press of America had by then grown more sensational.

In painting and drawing, the patriots of the Village point to a few brilliant artists, among them are: Boadman Robinson and
George Bellows. Their roads merely passed through the Masses; neither made the Masses nor were made by it. Robinson is chiefly known for his cartoons in the Tribune, his trips to Europe during the War, and his teaching in the Arts Students League. Bellows was never fully attracted by Village Socialism even though he drew for the Masses, and he taught at the Ferrer School. He left the Socialist and anarchist crowds when War broke out.

The radical beauty of Art Young, John Sloan and Stuart Davis was fashioned by the Village. It was Art Young who opened the way for such cartoonists of the late phase of the Masses, as Robert Minor and William Gropper. These two artists were unique for they combined art and propaganda.

Some young men and women revolted against their surroundings and came to Greenwich Village—then revolted against Greenwich Village feeling that this new milieu was inconsequential and not an end in itself. The Village of the Masses period was not consistent for it waved the banner of revolt, but being middle class it revolted for revolt's sake, and not for the sake of reshaping the world. Secluding themselves, the writers and artists continued to wallow in their own middle-class virtues without a real understanding of the masses in behalf of which they shouted, wept, and laughed. The entire work of the Masses was a contradiction. It was inspiring, significant, and it did some good for the people in general and especially for the writers and artists themselves; but it did not make them the geniuses as some claimed to be. It was this contradiction that detracted from their quality of art.

In April 1917, with the American declaration of war, there was a serious desertion from the ranks of the radicals. Bellows used his talent to paint German atrocities, and others exhibited their patriotism by enlisting in the service. George Creel, who once indicted capitalism in the Masses, became famous as the head of the American war propaganda machine. The April 1917 issue, and later issues of the Masses, were barred from the mail. The indictment against the magazine pertained to several articles which encouraged draft evasion, a criminal act under the Espionage Act. Max Eastman in an editorial in the Masses tried to ease the reaction to the articles, declaring:

I think that when the boys begin to go over to Europe, and fight to the strains of that anthem (Star Spangled Banner), you feel very differently about it. . . . I thought of those boys over there dying by the thousands . . . with courage and even laughter on their lips, because they are dying for liberty. . . .

Due to the editorial Eastman was pointed out as an example of a Greenwich Villager who waned against the revolutionary tide. Even though the Masses won a victory, for its case was dropped, its name remained a stigma and most newsstands refused to handle the
magazine. In order to compensate for the loss of the Masses, Eastman and Young organized the Liberator. During the war years the Liberator was very tame, and with the end of the war and the generally more relaxed atmosphere which followed, the Liberator did try to resume the tone and the challenge of the Masses. But that was impossible for the war had depleted the ranks of the radicals and dulled its spirit.

In the post-war years, the old group of artists gradually broke up and drifted away. Many of the earnest Bohemians traveled to the Left Bank where the atmosphere influenced their work. Thus, the nature and the future history of literature was made abroad and not in the Village.

As the Village became better known and more generally sought as a place of residence, it lost its cheap rents which made it particularly attractive to artists and writers. At the same time many of those who had struggled in the Village in poverty and fraternity had become famous and sufficiently prosperous to live elsewhere with greater comfort and independence. Thus, those with the money to stay could also afford to leave and those without money could not afford to remain. Some who became successful retained their studios at high rents either because they liked the locality or because they found a Village address an asset. Charges that the artists had left because they became "bourgeois" were countered with statements that the Village had become "bourgeois."

The exodus of the old group did not check the flow of new young writers and artists into the Village. During the course of the decade following the war more and more of the Village population came to consist of young single people who held ordinary jobs, and came from ordinary backgrounds. Some of these people came with the deliberate intent of following the Bohemian path.

By the early and middle 1920's the fame of the Village as a "crazy place" was made. This reputation was due to the publicity received by the Village and the antics of the Villagers. One character, Tiny Tim, was known to all by his long black hair and pale face as he sold candy on the streets of the Village. With every package of candy he sold, he gave away a bit of verse or philosophy. Another character, named Doris the Dope, became a celebrity after she took a moonlight bath, nude in the waters of the Washington Square fountain, and the policemen stood by fascinated and helpless. For her livelihood Doris played on the sympathies of the bourgeois Villagers, for she pretended she was in the last stages of consumption, then when she reached a certain sum she would stop coughing and return to her expensive hotel.

The press gladly advertised Greenwich Village's image, realizing that the readers wanted to be like those free-love Villagers but dared not. The press of New York, with few exceptions, continued to print the facts of free-love unions and free-love suicides without moralizing. The press tried to show
that in New York such sophisticated happenings were natural. But, the tabloids which gave the racier details often invented them and the Village in the 1920's thrived commercially on such publicity.

The entrance of Freudianism into the Village was made through the Washington Square Book Shop. For the Villagers, the conditions they scorned and fled needed labels, and the new psychology supplied them with these labels. Psychoanalysis was, among other things, intimately associated with the desire for greater freedom among the post-war generation. The reaction of the intellectuals to Freud differed from the popular reaction in degree and kind, and it was received more seriously. Psychoanalysis suited the young intellectuals of the twenties, for they wanted a justification for their soul searching.

For those who could not accept the social pattern into which they had been born, the constructive alternate was social reorganization. The pre-war Village had been a center for radical thought—the literary proletarianism of the Masses, the vigor of the suffrage drive, and the challenge of I.W.W. anarchists and socialists. In the decade of the Twenties, few had the heart or faith to predict their conduct and their thoughts on the assumption of a new social order. The negativeness of all the forms of protest except the artistic, reflected the eclipse of the revolutionary spirit. Art was pursued for its own sake rather than its use as a social tool.

In the defection of some of its members, the failure to enlist new blood, and the psychological reaction to the war, lay a partial explanation of the Villager's loss of vigor as a radical center. The first break in the ranks had been made by the war itself, when some of the better known Village socialists turned patriotic in 1917. It was the close of the war rather than the war itself which hurt the radical cause as post-war disillusionment replaced the faith and zeal which had propelled both radical and patriot in the crisis years. It was in the Village, where the pre-war codes had already been repudiated, that there was no drive for any social reform. In the field of literary and artistic expression and of social freedom, much of the fight had been won. The social radicals who had survived the wartime defection found the radical ranks split and their parlor radicalism reduced to an amateurish pastime by the realities of the Russian Revolution. As a radical center, the Village ceased to function, in spite of the presence of radically minded individuals; for a considerable measure of social and political radicalism was taken for granted in most Village circles.

The Villagers, virtually without social institutions, scornful of bourgeois values, sought escape through sex, rationalized their conduct with the aid of Freud, and developed an extreme individualism; they made the Village a symbol of defiance. It mattered little that most of those who lived in the Village did not share in the extreme forms of its reputation or that the rest of the country adopted many of the habits unique to the Village in earlier times. Greenwich Village's manners and attitudes, its art forms and its gin
parties, became familiar from coast to coast. Its social influence grew as it drew less exceptional and adventurous residents.

The new invasion to the Village by "Babbittry" continued on an unprecedented scale. Lesbian harems were open to the knowing, and lady-like men were at the service of other secret sinners. By 1927 the Village was nothing but a bogus and a lewd bore, and there began a wave of escape.

In its own social life the Village offered no solution to the cultural problems which drove people to the area; escape it offered but not solution. It accelerated the breaking of old forms, but it contributed no new ones to take their place. In the face of cultural disintegration, it either fostered escape or erected the individual as a psychological entity into an end in himself.
FOOTNOTES

1Albert Parry, Garrets and Pretenders; A History of Bohemianism in America (New York, 1933), 26.

2Ibid., 61.


4Ibid., 21.


6Floyd Dell, Homecoming; An Autobiography (New York, 1933), 246.

7Ibid., 267.

8Parry, Garrets and Pretenders, 299.

9Ibid., 291.
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"SOCIALIZED MEDICINE" VERSUS "THE VOLUNTARY WAY":
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION CAMPAIGN OF
THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

In his amazing election effort in 1948, President Harry Truman proposed compulsory national health insurance. The American Medical Association had always opposed health insurance of any kind as being unnecessary interference in the medical profession. However, the AMA, like the rest of the country, considered Truman's reelection to be unlikely; and doctors felt secure knowing that the Republican nominee, Thomas Dewey, opposed national health insurance.

But Truman won the election, and one of the proposals in his State of the Union message in January, 1949, was national health insurance. His proposal was based on a report entitled The Nation's Health: A Ten Year Program, prepared by Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing. It called for complete medical, dental, hospital, and nursing care for all except the destitute, who would remain charity cases. A national health insurance board would be created within the Federal Security Administration and would head a national, state, and local administrative organization. The program would be financed by a 3 percent payroll tax, divided equally between employer and employee. Doctors and hospitals would be allowed to join or not to join the program. Patients would still be free to choose their own doctors, while doctors would be free to refuse unwanted patients. Physicians would be paid on a stated fee, per capita, or salary basis by the national health insurance board, with the method of payment being decided by the doctors under agreement in each health service area.1

Alarmed by the prospect of national health insurance, the AMA laid plans for the most ambitious public-relations campaign up to that time. The association hired a Californian public-relations firm, Whitaker and Baxter, to run what became known as the National Education Campaign. Clem Whitaker and his wife, Leone Baxter, already had a good deal of experience fighting government health insurance plans. They had been hired by the California Medical Association to fight Governor Earl Warren's health insurance proposal in 1946. Successful in their California effort, they came highly recommended.2

To finance the National Education Campaign, the AMA's House of Delegates voted to levy a $25 voluntary assessment on the 145,000 members of the association. Although some physicians objected to the kind of public-relations campaign that their money would be used for, the collection of the levy went well. By the end of 1949, 80 percent of the doctors had paid their money; and $2,350,000 had been collected.3

Raymond T. Tatum
Once hired, Whitaker and Baxter moved quickly. On February 10, they opened their campaign headquarters in Chicago. With a staff of 37, the campaign directors soon developed the basic outline for the campaign.\(^4\)

Whitaker and Baxter called their approach a "grass-roots crusade." Propaganda themes and material were developed by the national headquarters and distributed to individual doctors through their state and local medical societies. Doctors then passed it to their patients, local newspapers, organizations, and Congressmen. Whitaker and Baxter wanted Congress to believe that the pressure being placed on it was a widespread "grass-roots" pressure not directed from above.\(^5\)

Whitaker and Baxter perceived the AMA position on American health care to be one of satisfaction with the status quo. They argued that the U.S. had the world's highest standards of medical care. Health care problems existed, but were certainly not as severe as critics claimed. Whitaker and Baxter argued that national health insurance would mean heavy taxes, assignment of doctors to patients, and the destruction of medical privacy. It would be one more step in the socialization of American life.\(^6\)

The claim that national health insurance was "socialized medicine" was the key to the AMA campaign. Whitaker and Baxter based their campaign on the assumption that most Americans were opposed to widespread socialization, disliked great expenditures by government, and feared the invasion of privacy. Campaign propaganda argued that national health insurance was an "alien" proposal that did not fit in with American traditions and principles. National health insurance was "socialization" and would lead to "socialization" in other areas. A quote from the campaign pamphlet, "The Voluntary Way is the American Way," illustrates this point rather well. "If the doctors lose their freedom today--if their patients are regimented tomorrow, who will be next? YOU WILL BE NEXT!"\(^7\)

National health insurance would also be inefficient. The AMA claimed that a bureaucracy of 1.5 million clerks would be needed to maintain insurance records. Medical funds would be absorbed to pay for this increased bureaucracy and would not be available for medical research.\(^8\) Whitaker and Baxter also claimed that the local administrative boards called for in the Truman plan would destroy medical privacy. The campaign pamphlet, "The Voluntary Way," claimed, "Under this system your health record becomes a public record, and privacy goes out the window."\(^9\)

The AMA realized that their campaign could not be completely negative; a "counter-proposal" to national health insurance had to be promoted. Whitaker and Baxter argued that voluntary health insurance sold by private insurance companies had the advantages of national health insurance and none of its liabilities. Compe-
tition among insurance companies for lower rates and expanded benefits was considered "both healthy and American." Private health insurance was cheap; "If a family can afford a daily pack of cigarettes or a Saturday night movie, that family can afford... Voluntary Health Insurance." The AMA had always opposed health insurance of any kind, be it private or national. But private health insurance was now seen as the lesser of two evils.\(^\text{10}\)

Whitaker and Baxter used doctors to spread information and to convince people that national health insurance was a threat to their well-being. People considered doctors to be experts in medical affairs. Usually, the relationship with their doctors was a close and trusting one. This relationship was used quite effectively. People were more likely to believe their personal physician than they were some Washington bureaucrat. When a doctor told his patients that national health insurance would destroy his practice, they reacted with alarm. With a little encouragement, they wrote their Congressmen opposing national health insurance. These individuals often did not know any details of the administration bill, but that did not make any difference. If their doctor was against it, that was good enough for them.\(^\text{11}\)

The National Education Campaign was divided into four areas: the distribution of campaign materials, a publicity campaign using the mass media, a speakers' committee operation, and a drive for endorsements from national, state, and local organizations.

The production and distribution of campaign literature was the heart of the AMA campaign. There were several kinds of literature distributed to the public. The "theme-piece" of the campaign was a poster containing a color reproduction of a 19th century painting by Sir Luke Fildes, called "The Doctor." It showed a sick little girl in bed, being attended by an old, gray-bearded, wise-looking doctor. In the background stood the anxious father, while the distraught mother sat at a desk with her head resting on her folded arms. The caption read, "Keep Politics Out of this Picture!" followed by the text:

When the life or health of a loved one is at stake, hope lies in the devoted service of your doctor. Would you change this picture?

Compulsory health insurance is political medicine.

It would bring a third party--a politician--between you and your doctor. It would bind up your family's health in red tape. It would result in heavy payroll taxes--and inferior medical care for you and your family. Don't let that happen here!

You have a right to prepaid medical care--of your own choice. Ask your doctor, or your insurance man, about budget-basis health protection.\(^\text{12}\)
Besides the Fildes poster, the main propaganda weapons used by Whitaker and Baxter were pamphlets. The public relations team created a large number of publications suitable for different audiences. A minimum of 10 million copies of each pamphlet was printed, so that both doctors and interested organizations had enough material to distribute. Because a printing job of this magnitude was quite expensive, each pamphlet had to be effective. A pamphlet had to be "brief enough to read--dramatic enough to create sentiment and sound enough to produce action from the thinking people" of America.13

One pamphlet written by Whitaker and Baxter was a small "human-interest" booklet designed for general use. It was placed in waiting rooms, distributed to patients, and given to cooperating organizations. Illustrated, it explained in simple terms the AMA's position on national health insurance. Another publication was a question-and-answer pamphlet that served as the doctors' campaign handbook. It provided answers for patients' questions, along with handy suggestions for practicing "on the body politic." This booklet was also given to selected laymen important to the campaign. A third booklet, called "Calling Every Doctor--This Is An Emergency," was also written for doctors. It briefly presented the AMA's campaign objectives and the procedure to be used to obtain those objectives. There was even a publication for doctors' wives, called "It's Your Crusade Too!" It urged wives to keep plenty of campaign literature in their husbands' waiting rooms and to include campaign pamphlets in their personal mail, "even invitations to dinner parties."14

Probably one of the widest distributed pamphlets created by the campaign directors was a 15-page brochure, called "The Voluntary Way is the American Way." It asked, "Who is for Compulsory Health Insurance?" Its answer was, "The Federal Security Administration. The President. All who seriously believe in a Socialistic State. Every left-wing organization in America... The Communist Party."15

Most pamphlets were keyed to simple slogans that were constantly repeated. These slogans evoked emotion without saying anything of real value. Typical slogans were: "In America we don't want compulsion," "Guard your health, guard your pocketbook, socialized medicine would rob both," "Political medicine is bad medicine," "When you're sick, do you want doctors--or clerks?" and "The Voluntary way is the American Way!"16

Whitaker and Baxter urged allied organizations to print their own material denouncing national health insurance. If an organization did not print any literature, it was urged to use the AMA material under its own name.17

The publicity campaign was quite varied. Resolutions passed by allied groups were publicized. Each county had a press committee that argued the AMA's case before local newspaper editors. The
editors were encouraged to embrace the National Education Campaign's objectives in their editorials. The personal physicians of these editors continued to apply pressure throughout the year. The firm of Hofer and Sons of Portland, Oregon, was paid by Whitaker and Baxter to supply country newspapers with "canned" editorials supporting the AMA. "Hard hitting" statements by medical leaders to the mass media were encouraged, while the campaign staff worked with newspapers and magazines by providing ideas and information for favorable stories. Once these stories were published, reprints would be used to reinforce the campaign.18

Every county and state medical society was encouraged to have a speakers' bureau, composed of physicians and laymen. These speakers would be trained to speak before organizations on the evils of "socialized medicine." Form speeches were provided by campaign headquarters, but speakers were encouraged to change these speeches to fit their needs.19

Debates were not encouraged, however. Whitaker and Baxter felt that debates would help only national health insurance advocates because they would be given needed exposure. According to the campaign directors, "the opposition has begun to use the facts very loosely...the public has no way of knowing which is fact and which is fancy."20

A very important part of the National Education Campaign was the drive to obtain endorsements by organizations of the AMA stand on national health insurance. Every county medical society in the United States was encouraged to adopt a strong resolution opposing national health insurance. These resolutions emphasized "the danger to the public health" that compulsory health insurance represented, and praised the growth of voluntary health plans over the preceding years. Once passed, these resolutions were sent to the Congressman (or Congressmen) representing the county, and to the two Senators representing the state. The Congressmen were asked to reply, and copies of all replies were sent to the campaign headquarters in Chicago and to the AMA Washington office.21

Every state medical society received a list of conventions scheduled in its state during 1949. The list contained the name of each organization having a convention, the convention town, the estimated attendance, the right person to contact, and whether the convention was national, state, or local. Each convention would be encouraged to invite a speaker from one of the speakers' bureaus. Each speaker would be equipped with a speech suitable for the audience, additional information in the form of the question-and-answer pamphlet, and a form resolution for the convention to adopt.22

After an organization passed a resolution, it was publicized. Copies of a resolution from a national group were sent to President Truman, Congress, state legislatures, the AMA Washington office, and campaign headquarters in Chicago. A resolution from a strong,
A state-wide organization was sent to the state's Senators and Representatives, the state legislature, the Washington office, and campaign headquarters. A resolution from a county or city group went to the area's Congressmen and state legislators, the state campaign chairman, and to the Senators, if the group was important enough. Copies of all resolutions were released to the media through state or county medical publicity channels as soon as possible.23

An organization that endorsed the AMA's stand on national health insurance was asked by Whitaker and Baxter to help the campaign in several ways. It distributed campaign materials to its members, encouraging them to write their Congressmen. Pro-AMA editorials and articles were printed in its newsletter or bulletin. Members of the allied organizations were asked by the campaign directors to serve as speakers for the AMA and were requested to present resolutions in other groups that they belonged to.24

Whitaker and Baxter did not depend completely on doctors in the endorsement drive. As a test, professional organizers were sent to eight key states; the results were worth the effort. During a two-month period, these organizers obtained 817 endorsements, compared to only 337 endorsements obtained in the other 40 states.25 By the end of 1949, 1829 organizations had passed resolutions opposing national health insurance.26

Individual endorsements of the AMA campaign were encouraged by Whitaker and Baxter. By early June, 10 million envelopes and enclosed statements stating the AMA's objectives were printed and distributed to patients by doctors. Each letter argued that national health insurance would provide high-priced, inferior medical care, medical privacy would be diminished, and both doctors and patients would be under political control. Recipients were urged to write their Congressman and tell him of their opposition to national health insurance.27

Congressmen received pressure from sources other than the group resolutions and mail from concerned citizens. Their personal physicians wrote them urging support of the AMA. The AMA also sent all Congressmen a book entitled The Road Ahead: America's Creeping Revolution. Written by John T. Flynn, it attacked Democratic Party policies and urged resistance to socialism.28

The National Education Campaign had its desired effect. President Truman's national health insurance bill never reached either floor of Congress.29 The AMA waged a very effective, not to mention very expensive, lobbying campaign. In all, 54,233,915 pieces of campaign literature had been distributed at a cost of $1,045,614.52, while organizational and operational expenses had added $139,415.27 and $209,122.90, respectively.30 But the AMA considered its money well spent; the spectre of national health insurance would not haunt doctors for years to come.
APPENDIX

A PARTIAL LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSING NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE, 1949.

1. American Bar Association
2. American Dental Association
3. American Council of Christian Charities
4. American Economic Council
5. American Farm Bureau Federation
6. American Hospital Association
7. American Legion
8. American Pharmaceutical Association
9. American Protestant Hospital Association
10. Association of American Physicians and Surgeons
11. Blue Cross-Blue Shield Commissions
12. Chamber of Commerce of the United States
13. Committee for Constitutional Government
14. General Federation of Women's Clubs
15. Health and Accident Underwriters Conference
16. Health Insurance Council
17. National Association of Insurance Agents
18. National Association of Retail Druggists
19. National Association of Retail Grocers
20. National Catholic Welfare Conference
22. National Fraternal Congress of America
23. National Grange
24. Veterans of Foreign Wars

Sources: Blaisdell, American Democracy, 244.
Kelley, Public Relations, 81.
Congressional Quarterly, Congress and Nation, 1153.
FOOTNOTES


2"AMA: The Doctors Gird for Battle," Newsweek, XXXIII (June 20, 1949), 51.

3Ed Cray, In Failing Health; The Medical Crisis and the A.M.A. (Indianapolis, 1970), 76-78.

4Kelley, Public Relations, 73.

5Cong. Record, 81 Cong., 1 Sess., A3603-A3604 (June 9, 1949).

6Kelley, Public Relations, 75.


8Ibid.; Cray, Failing Health, 80.

9Truman, Governmental Processes, 231.

10Kelley, Public Relations, 75.

11Ibid., 76-77.

12Ibid., 77.

13Cong. Record, 81 Cong., 1 Sess., A3175 (May 20, 1949).

14Ibid.; Cray, Failing Health, 78.

15Cray, Failing Health, 80.

16Ibid., 78; Kelley, Public Relations, 76.

17Cong. Record, A3175 (May 20, 1949).

18Ibid., A3176; Kelley, Public Relations, 81-82.

19Cong. Record, A3176 (May 20, 1949).

20Ibid.

21Ibid.

22Ibid.

23Ibid., A3176-A3177.

24Ibid., A3177.
25 Kelley, Public Relations, 79.


27 Ibid., 363.


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ARCHITECTURAL TRENDS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY KENTUCKY
WITH EMPHASIS ON DAVIESS COUNTY

The current craze in America and abroad is the recycling of architecture. Many communities are salvaging what no contemporary architecture can duplicate. These communities attempt to bridge the gap between the richness of their past and the ever-increasing technology of their future. Renovations of unused railway stations, churches, houses, and other structures of architectural excellence have superseded new civic and commercial projects. Daviess County, Kentucky, is a prototype for such activities as preservation of old structures. This paper, thus, will attempt to show nineteenth century architectural trends in Kentucky and their impact on Daviess County, Kentucky.

Numerous communities with an instinctive gift for perpetuating treasured symbols of the past abound in Kentucky. The unique personalities and styles of various structures through the cities and towns in Kentucky provide a method for understanding the character of the individual homebuilders. Log cabins, complete with weather-boarded coverings, once existed in older towns as an example of Kentucky's first permanent houses. The native walnut, maple, beech, hickory, ash, chestnut, cherry, poplar, and maple timbers allowed the early pioneers to build sturdy, rustic houses, to construct farm implements, and to fence their land. The intrinsic beauty of the land provided appealing settings for their homes. With these early structures as a starting point, Kentuckians continued to develop their taste for the architectural styles predominant in America during the nineteenth century.

When the threat of Indian attacks cleared, well-planned log cabins of the 1780's followed the temporary log dwellings. Patterned along Colonial lines, these structures consisted of native limestone foundations and chimneys. Sturdy logs were hewn flat on four sides, split in two pieces, and smoothed with a broad ax or foot adze. The skillful settlers cut clean notches on the ends of the logs, fitted two pieces together, and pegged the ends to form square corners. On one side of the cabin the builders cut a door and several large windows. Small riven boards and a variety of mud mixtures sealed any large cracks. Smaller holes were caulked with moss or chinked with clay. Puncheon floors covered the dirt foundations, and heavy plaster, applied to "whip-sawed" lumber finished the ceilings. Puncheon stems from "punches," a medieval method where posts are set a few inches apart in the ground and the panels between the posts are filled with "wattle and daubing." These two story dwellings usually contained two large front rooms, a broad hall or "dogtrot," and a shed across the back for a kitchen, storage, and extra sleeping space. With the rapid depletion of Kentucky's timber, settlers resorted to the conservative use of stone, bricks, and lumber. With the beginning of sawmills, frame houses became common.

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These early structures presented a pragmatic approach to living by providing physical comfort during the formative period between 1750 and 1768. Rexford Newcomb divides ante-bellum architecture of early Kentucky into three phases: log cabins, forts, and stations; squared-log and log framed houses; and stone buildings. These early phases extended into Georgian architecture. The adoption of brick as a building material signaled the arrival of this style. Based on the Virginia house plan, this phase lasted from 1786 to 1825.

The Georgian style, modified from English Palladianism, carries the motif of a Palladian window over the principal entrance. It possesses a central circular-headed opening with lower square headed side openings. The general plan of the house consists of two rooms with end chimneys and a broad central hall. The larger room serves as a reminiscence of the old English "hall" with the smaller room as a "chamber." A stairway rose within the "hall." Over a period of time the rooms gained a more symmetrical shape. A porch-like entry supplemented the appearance of the house. Ceilings ranged from 14 to 16 feet. The "double-hung" windows contained a 12 or 16 pane sash. These impressive Georgian homes were emblematic of the newly acquired wealth of families following the recovery from the War of 1812.

By 1825 Kentucky architects, shying away from austere Georgian lines, desired new effects. Benjamin Latrobe, designer of the Bank of Pennsylvania, became the father of Greek Revivalism. In Kentucky Gideon Shryock, a pupil of William Strickland's, became the "apostle of classic beauty and Greek correctness." Broad, hospitable porticoes, usually with Corinthian columns, exemplified Greek Revival style. Large windows pierced the walls, which were equally divided by wide central doors. Fan sashed windows flanked and topped the doors. In this style of architecture, the Palladian window is missing. The hardwood floors were constructed of impressive cherry, maple, or walnut woods. Other prominent features included window facing, copings, base boards, panelings, and mantels. The mantels, similar to those in Georgian homes, flanked mammoth fireplaces and illustrated superb cabinetwork. The internal arrangement focused on a large hall for a reception room and an opening for a stairway. After 1830, most country homes, constructed for wealthy farmers, constituted this classical style and illustrated the genial social grace of the period.

During the 1840's and 1850's many Kentuckians traveled abroad. Captivated by the Romanesque villa, they returned home to duplicate the style. To their Georgian and Greek Revival homes, they added porticoes, port-cocheres, towers, and domes. This Gothic period, extending from 1835 to 1860, reflected the diverse interests and tastes of the wealthy planters. Benjamin Henry Latrobe became the first architect of Gothic Revival structure. Quaint wooden houses, styled after his initial designs, were fashioned of vertical boards. A dominant central gable and traceried porch became characteristics of the style. Kentuckians never constructed as many Gothic houses as in Ohio, as they were more fond of Federal and Greek Revival styles. As a vernacular for churches, nevertheless, the Gothic style continued on through the Civil War.
The Civil War and Reconstruction produced a backward era in architecture, especially in the border states. Numerous impressive ante-bellum structures in Kentucky fell to pillage or fire. It was not until after the readjustment period that building resumed in Kentucky. Eclecticism, which was long to characterize American architecture, now began its career. The Italian Villa style, a form of eclectic classicism of the 1860's, appeared with lofty interiors and much ornamental plaster. The French mansard roof appeared during the French Renaissance movement. This movement's primary features included trimmings of elegant scrollwork, bay windows, and towers. With the nineteenth century drawing to a close, Kentuckians searched for neo-classic designs in the direction of Roman, Greek, and Italian Renaissance styles. Victorian styles also became popular. Kentuckians have always retained a desire for the beauty of a classic structure. It is no wonder many Kentuckians shun the so-called modern architecture.

The architecture of structures in Daviess County, particularly in Owensboro, follow the basic trends found throughout Kentucky in the nineteenth century. Established in 1815, some 23 years after statehood, Daviess County lagged slightly behind the general dates designated for various architectural periods. Before the Civil War, Kentucky even reflected belatedly the architectural patterns of the South Atlantic Seaboard. With improved transportation, railroads, and the exchange of ideas and materials, the development of architecture in Daviess County more nearly paralleled other parts of the state.

Representing one of the oldest structures extant in Daviess County, the rustic beauty of "Willow Hill", a two story salt box house, remains a landmark in the area and illustrates the process of restoration. Early settlers in western Kentucky did not go through channels to prove claims to land. They simply wandered around until they found suitable ground, called it home, and defended their property with strong language and rifle. Such a man was Jesse Jones. In the early 1820's, he journeyed from Jonesboro, North Carolina, with a party of about 20 people. After dropping off members along the way at choice sites in Elizabethtown, Jesse and his wife Avaline chose Daviess County as their home.

In 1823, he cleared 166 acres and erected a log cabin complete with dirt floors. Augmenting the land was a running spring about 100 yards from the house. The original deed to the property dates from February 7, 1836. In 1954 "Willow Hill" became the registered name of the property.

During the restoration process of "Willow Hill", the owners stripped layer after layer of old newspapers, some dating back to 1862, and discovered handsome poplar logs. Some of them were as long as 14 feet and hewn 14 inches squared, thus requiring six to eight men to put them together. The original caulking consisted of hog hair and mud. The doors, standing 71 inches, are batten. The 12 interior rooms possess originality and immaculate charm. Rough primitive plastering defines the ceilings. The original
wainscotting, a paneling on the lower part of walls, remains throughout the house. The exterior of the house, reflecting rustic simplicity, is devoid of ornate trim or shutters. The outside dimensions measure 63 by 30 feet. Within a short distance of the house, a log barn, supposedly as old as the house, stables horses. A "root cellar" and smokehouse stand nearby. 31

Another impressive dwelling, the John H. McFarland House, built between 1836 and 1850, belonged to a prominent pioneer citizen, John H. McFarland. He was one of the most extensive farmers and tobacco growers in the area, often realizing $5,000 a year from his crops. Taking an active interest in politics, he supported Henry Clay's Whig Party. In the course of the Civil War, McFarland lost $40,000 in slaves alone. 32

The original section of the two story house is three-course common bond brick. The structure displays a simple, sturdy appearance typical of early brick farmhouses in Kentucky, lacks elaborate cornices, dormers, and overhangs at end gables. The original rectangular structure with gabled ends has a chimney on each end and ventilation windows on each side of the chimneys. The chimney on the east side of the house extends outside the exterior wall, while the chimney at the opposite end resides inside the exterior wall. Added seventy-five to one hundred years ago, a one story ell of weatherboarded wood extends from the original structure. The house, with its rich heritage, remains a point of interest in Daviess County. 33

On the other hand, the Major John Hampton Smith House, started in 1859, possesses distinct Georgian and Federal influences. Although still requiring completion, the Smith Family moved into the house in 1861 to protect it from Civil War pillaging. Major Smith ordered the wrought-iron trim, in the morning-glory or clematis pattern, from New Orleans prior to the Civil War. After the fighting commenced and the war effort required the iron, Smith had to wait until the end of the rebellion to acquire his wrought-iron. He became one of the many farmers, boatmen, and merchants, who were impressed with iron grill work from the front of buildings in the French quarters and purchased similar decorative work for their Kentucky homes. 34

The prominent features of the house include a "captain's walk" on the roof of the house and wrought-iron encircling the lower front windows. The original windows still exist and extend to the floor. Shutters accent the exterior of the two-story, red brick house. On the interior a wide stair hall extends one-third the width of the house, with a graceful circular stairway curving around an open well. The Smith family still owns the house. 35

Another significant point of conversation in Owensboro is the Campbell Club. The house, built about 1866, presents striking Italianate influences with a French mansard roof. This design stems from conflicting architectural influences controlling postwar Kentucky. Mansard roofs, decorative scrollwork, bay windows, and towers dotted the towns during the postwar period. 36 The one-story front
porch leads into an elegant entrance hall. The square, central tower ends in fancy dormers. The front bay window against white painted brick reflects Georgian design.37

The Trinity Episcopal Church, built in 1875 for $4,600, however, represents the Gothic Revival design initiated by Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Known for its homogenous and straightforward exterior and single western tower, this structure represents the oldest example of Gothic architecture in western Kentucky. Although this style was not prominent for houses, as a vernacular for churches, it prevailed through the Civil War. A 175 foot spire extends skyward over the nave and lower roof to the chancel. Soft, weathered, buff-red brick frames the exterior, and a slate roof completes the general appearance. The lovely front doors, constructed of heavy oak, pointed vault tops, and wrought-iron fittings, are a point of interest. Reverend Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Jr., who served as rector from August 1, 1875, to April 9, 1877, was the grandson of the renowned architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The younger Latrobe's elegant signature in the old parish record book evokes an interest among local historians.38

The La Vega Clements house, another interesting structure, built by the prominent Owensboro distiller Sylvester Monarch around 1893, typifies the Victorian or Queen Anne style. The red brick, four story house radiates stately charm with its large tower and circular porch. The interior contains twenty-four rooms with impressive twelve foot ceilings. The original shutters remain along with the sweet gum woodwork throughout. The house is indeed a focal point of interest in Owensboro.39

The prominent architectural structures in Daviess County indeed reflect the overall beauty of design in Kentucky in the nineteenth century. From log cabins to the impressive Victorian styles, the houses represent the general trends pervading the state during this century, yet they possess an indigenous personality. Mirroring the people who bought the land and built the dwellings, these architectural structures remain as existing elements of Kentucky's rich heritage.
FOOTNOTES


2Margaret M. Bridwell, Kentucky (New York, n.d.), 11.

3Thomas D. Clark, A History of Kentucky (New York, 1937), 366.

4Ibid., 367; Rexford Newcomb, Architecture in Old Kentucky (Urbana, Ill., 1953), 31.


7Ibid., 25.

8Ibid., 41.

9Ibid., 29.

10Ibid., 24.

11Ibid., 25. See appendix II for illustration.

12Ibid., 42.

13Clark, A History of Kentucky, 369.

14Rexford Newcomb, "Gideon Shryock - Pioneer Greek Revivalist of the Midwest," The Register, XXVI (Sept. 1928), 221.

15Clark, A History of Kentucky, 370. See appendix V for illustration.

16Ibid., 371.

17Ibid., 370.

18Ibid., 371.

19Newcomb, Architecture in Old Kentucky, 29.
Ibid., 143.

Ibid., 155. See appendix IV for illustration.

Ibid., 151.

Ibid., 157.

Ibid., 158.

Ibid., 159.

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Department of Agriculture, Commonwealth of Kentucky, Frankfort, Farm Registration Certificate, May 26, 1954.


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Interview with Raphael F. Smith and Margaret Clarke Smith, April 10, 1974. The house is also located in Insurance Maps of Owensboro, Kentucky (New York, 1900). This rare atlas is located in the Henryetta Schauberger Collection, Owensboro.

Clark, A History of Kentucky, 372.


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Insurance Maps of Owensboro, Kentucky. New York, 1900. This rare atlas shows the early locations of houses in Owensboro. It is an excellent and interesting source.

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Clements, Lucinda. Interview by Joyce Heldt Orrahood, Dec. 10, 1969. The notes from this interview were useful in obtaining information about the La Vega Clements house.

Coppick, Glendon. Interview by Joyce Heldt Orrahood, Feb. 2, 1972. The notes from this interview were a valuable source in obtaining the history of Trinity Church.

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