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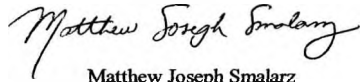
The Histories
Volume 2, Number 2
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Welcome to the Histories

Welcome again to another installment of the Histories! For those of you who are unfamiliar with the Histories, we are student organization that is dedicated to educating all Lasallians about historical topics through scholarly historical research articles. Once again, we hope to provide the same quality product as we did last semester.

As with most student journals, change is an integral part to the survival of most student literary exploits. In the Histories' case, we have strived to publish papers that discuss historical matters that are sometimes neglected or entirely forgotten. With regard to this particular issue, we have abandoned American history in order to analyze a fuller world historical perspective. From Medieval European history to 19th century Chinese history, our breadth and depth has expanded to meet new historical areas left untouched.

Since this is my last semester at La Salle University, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those individuals that have assisted me in the production of this journal. First, and foremost, without the encouragement and support from our History department, the Histories never could have achieved the level of notoriety it now possesses. Likewise, our writers' contributions have enhanced the scholarly reputation of this journal. Lastly, I would like to extend a special thank you to the La Salle community. While the Histories is less than two years old, professors and students alike have accepted this journal wholeheartedly as their own. As a graduating senior, this bears much hope for the future success of this journal.



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Russia and the Assassination of Franz Ferdinand
Matthew Kowalski

Ever since that June day in Sarajevo, there has been a cloud of mystery surrounding the events that led up to the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Although there is little doubt that the Bosnian assassin Gavrilo Princip and the rest of the murder squad were part of a wider conspiracy centered in Serbia proper, the question of Russian compliance in the plot remains an unanswered question. In his letter to the Kaiser following the murder of his nephew, Emperor Franz Josef first raises the possibility of Russian responsibility. His statement that the events of June 28th was “the direct consequence of agitation carried out by Russian and Serbian Pan-Slavists” and that Serbia is “completely under Russian influence” firmly assert the claim of Russian involvement. Since then accusations have been made claiming that various Russian officials in both the foreign ministry and the Imperial General Staff had received prior information of the plot. However, when one examines the nature of St. Petersburg’s relationship with the radical Pan-Serb organizations, it becomes apparent that the extent of Russian compliance with the plot was limited to a handful of sympathetic officials in Belgrade.

The relationship between Russia and radical Pan-Serbian organizations, such as the Black Hand, was characterized by feelings of mutual distrust. Although, the ideology of Pan-Slavism appeared to unite the two, the reality was very different. Pan-Slavism had existed since the mid-19th century and was based on the concept of the liberation of all the Slavic peoples from the rule of either Austria or the Ottoman Empire. Russia had from the start taken the leadership role in this movement and due to both political benefit and feelings of ethnic brotherhood adapted the ideology into its foreign policy. The extent to which Pan-Slavism had become part of Russia’s foreign policy by 1914 can be clearly seen in the Russian Foreign Service’s Balkan specialist Prince G.N. Trubetsoy’s statement that, “Russia’s true role in the world is to protect the smaller Slav states’ cultural and political independence from Germanic pressure.”¹ Trubetsoy’s statement was especially relevant in regards to Russia’s relationship with Serbia.

The Serbian Pan-Slavic movement had from the time of its inception been radical in its nature and given a tendency toward violence. Hans Kohn notes that this radicalism was characterized by “a brutalization of public life and the celebration as heroes of terrorist martyrs.”² It was this affinity towards violence that strained relations between the Russian government and organizations like the Black Hand. The government in St. Petersburg held deep reservations about both the tactics and political leanings of Black Hand, particularly those of its leader Colonel Dragutin Dimitrevic. Dimitrevic and most of the other Black Hand leaders had been involved in the 1911 assassination of the King Alexander and Queen Draga, which although resulting in increased Russian influence also raised the question of Dimitrevic’s possible republican sentiments. Many die-hard absolutists in the

¹ Levin, D.C.B, Russia and the Origins of the First World War. New York: St. Martin’s Press. 1989, 93.

² Kohn, Hans, Pan-Slavism- Its History and Ideology. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press. 1953, 92.

Russian court viewed the regicides as dangerous precedents in regards to their own positions. Further more, the violent and ultra-radical brand of Pan-Slavism preached by Dimitrevic and his colleagues were in direct opposition to those of the staunchly pro-Russian government of Prime Minister Pasic and the 'Old Radicals'. On several occasions the Tsar informed Serbia's King Peter of his fear of the growing republican movement and the need to eliminate the influence of the regicide officers.³ The Russian ambassador to Belgrade Nicholas Hartvig further echoed these sentiments by stating that, "Russia's Balkan policy required Pasic in office."⁴

For their part, the radical Pan-Serbs were as critical of Russia as she was of them. In both the constitution of the Black Hand and the radical Pan-Serb daily *Piejemont*, reliance on Russia in the creation of a "greater Serbia" is never mentioned. Instead, the radical Pan-Serb movement stressed concept of the self-reliance of Balkan peoples over the need for any outside leadership. This point is clearly stated in Article 4 of the Black Hand's constitution when Serbia, not Russia is referred to as the "Piedmont of Serbdom." Also, rather than praise Russia's policy in the Balkans, Colonel Dimitrevic openly criticized her secret diplomacy with Austria-Hungary dividing the Balkans into different spheres of influence. An October 1911 issue of *Piejemont* went as far to characterize Russia as a "Brotherly Judas", engaging in secret diplomatic arrangements at the expense of Serbia and the other Balkan Slavs.⁵

After looking at the differences that existed between the Russian government and the radical Pan-Serb movement, it becomes very unlikely that the government in St. Petersburg had any official role in the plot. Therefore, one must conclude that any Russian compliance in the conspiracy must have come in the form of individuals working on their own initiative. Several Russian officials, largely due to their affinity toward Pan-Slavic ideals, may have received prior knowledge of the assassination attempt. However, when assessing the available evidence, several of these candidates were most likely completely ignorant of the conspiracy.

The first candidate that may have possessed knowledge of the assassination was the Foreign Minister, Serge Sazonov. Sazonov was a committed adherent of the Pan-Slavic ideology and was instrumental in forging the close relationship between Russia and Serbia. He was also strongly anti-Austrian and a proponent of Serb expansion in the Balkans. His remarks to his Serbian counterparts in April 1913, "that in the future they would eventually get much territory from Austria",⁶ makes clear his sympathy with the Pan-Serb movement. However, Sazonov was a supporter of the more moderate brand of Pan-Serb nationalism professed by the Pasic and the Old Radicals and not that exposed by radicals under Dimitrevic. Besides this, his action during the 'July Crisis' seem to indicate that Sazonov was unaware of the conspiracy. It can be argued that had he been fully aware of

³ Dedijer, Vladimir *The Road to Sarajevo*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1966, 430.

⁴ MacKenzie, David *Apis: The Congenial Conspirator*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1989, 121.

⁵ Dedijer, Vladimir *The Road to Sarajevo*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1966, 429.

⁶ Seton-Watson, R.W. *Sarajevo*. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1966, 59.

the fact that the assassins were aided by elements within Serbia proper, he would have shown greater willingness to compromise with Vienna.⁷ Instead, Sazonov assumed that the Austrian charges of Serbian involvement in the plot were nothing more than an attempt to justify an invasion.

Another Russian official that may have received prior information concerning the assassination plot was Sazonov's top diplomat in Belgrade, Nicholas Hartvig. Like his superior, Hartvig was a dedicated "Slavophil" and saw a war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary as being inevitable. His strong identification with the Pan-Serbian cause led one Russian official to comment, "that it would be better if in the first place he pursued only Russia's interest."⁸ He was, however, a firm supporter of the Pasic regime and was concerned about the growing influence of the radical Pan-Serb movement. Indeed, it was largely Hartvig's efforts that saved the Pasic government during the 'May Crisis' of 1914 when Dimitrevic's radical faction was preparing a coup. As expected, this intervention on the side of Pasic did not win Hartvig any friends amongst the radicals, who mockingly referred to him as "being the real ruler of Serbia."⁹ The very notion that Dimitrevic would inform a man that he universally loathed of the conspiracy seems highly unrealistic. Also, Hartvig's response on hearing the news of the Archduke's assassination, "let us hope he is not a Serb"¹⁰, speaks against his knowledge of the conspiracy.

The one solid link between the conspiracy to assassinate the Archduke and Russia comes in the form of St. Petersburg's military attaches in Belgrade. Both Colonel Victor Artamonov and his deputy Alexander Verkhovsky were committed Pan-Slavists and through their official capacities had links to the leaders of the Black Hand. The Russian military's officer corps, in contrast to their counterparts in the Foreign Service had always been more sympathetic to the "direct action" tactics preached by the radical Pan-Serbs than the moderate policy of Pasic. In the army's daily newspaper *Novoye Vremya*, editorials echoing Pan-Slavic themes and anti-Austrian sentiments were common. Hartvig took note of the military's feeling towards the radical Pan-Serb elements after a conference with the Naval Minister Vladimir Lebedev. According to Hartvig, Lebedev characterized the Black Hand "as most popular, unselfish, idealistic and patriotic and whose aims was solely unification and liberation of the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian peoples."¹¹ He went further in saying "the most honorable of the South Slav elements grouped themselves around Colonel Dimitrevic," a view that was in complete contrast to that of both that of the Russian government and Foreign Ministry.

Besides the already strong Pan-Slav direction of the Russian officer corps, the Black Hand's leaders had an established working relationship with the Russian military attaches

⁷ Lieven, D.C.B *Russia and the Origins of the First World War*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1989, 140.

⁸ Lieven, D.C.B *Russia and the Origins of the First World War*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1989, 42.

⁹ Dedjier, Vladimir *The Road to Sarajevo*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1966, 431.

¹⁰ Jannen, William *The Lions of August - The Prelude to World War I*. Novato, CA: Presidio Publishing. 1996, 7.

¹¹ MacKenzie, David *Apis: The Congenial Conspirator*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1989,

in the Serbian capital. In his duty as chief of Serbian Military Intelligence, Colonel Dimitrevic had official contacts with the Russian military attaché Artamonov. It is known that Artamonov was privy to intelligence gathered by Dimitrevic's agents in Austria-Hungary and from time to time provided a sum of money for their expenses. Aratamonov also had actively helped Dimitrevic infiltrate agents into both Bosnia and Macedonia and unlike Hartvig, never expressed any strong sympathy for the Pasic regime. Finally, the two men also trusted each other a great deal, so it is conceivable that Aratamonov would have been told of the plan to murder the Archduke.

After the war, some former members of the Black Hand stated that before the assassination Dimitrevic had made a point of asking Aratamonov and his associate Verkhovsky about Russia's stance. The answer he was supposedly given was, "Go on. If they attack you, you are not going to be alone."¹² However, it should be mentioned the fact that this conversation ever took place must be called into question, largely because the testimonies were made by second hand sources. Also, had he actually made such a statement, Aratamonov was only expressing his personal view, and not quoting official Russian policy. Finally, Aratamonov and Verkhovsky not only denied any knowledge of the plot, but also had been given strict instructions by their superiors not to influence the Serbian positions.¹³

The true nature of Russia's role in the plot to murder Franz Ferdinand will probably never be known. There existed no hard evidence to support the claims that various Russian officials had either a hand in or received any advanced knowledge of the assassination plot. What we can deduce from the available evidence seems to show that at least a few sympathetic Russian officers in Belgrade may have had prior knowledge of the plot. At the same time, the distrust between the Russian government and the radical Pan-Serbs almost certainly discounts the allegations of wide ranging Russian participation.

¹² Dedijer, Vladimir *The Road to Sarajevo*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1966, 433.

¹³ Mackenzie, David, *Apis-The Congenial Conspirator*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989,

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Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Non-Recluse
Julie Stanoch

Although Saint Thomas Aquinas is mostly known for his religious, political, and philosophical documents such as *Summa Theologica*, there is more to the man than his writing and the events of his life. What of the man himself? He is often considered a man who was withdrawn from society and is thought to have merely sat alone in his cell, writing famous religious works. However, this is not the case. The events in his life, the activities in which he partook, and the character of the man himself would not allow for Aquinas to be a man of reclusion. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to prove that Thomas Aquinas was not a recluse.

To begin, let us first recognize where most of our information on Thomas Aquinas derives from. The acts of his canonization process on July 18, 1323, by Pope John XXII, left behind most of the information available today on this Saint. In fact, the canonization bull presents an extremely valuable document that sets forth the very character of Aquinas. Most of these canonization documents have been organized and analyzed by author Dr. Martin Grabmann, who remains the most well-accepted historian on Aquinas. The second main source of our knowledge of Aquinas is his personal writing. However, these do not prove extremely useful discovering the interior life of the Saint. Most of Aquinas's writings are so far removed from the writer that they often seem not human at all; it appears as if Aquinas wrote directly from the Holy Spirit or some other divine nature rather than from his personal thought process. Unfortunately, Aquinas never had the time to write about his personal life, and we therefore lack another main source. Despite this fact, Aquinas's religious documents provide us with a base to start from. At the very least, he believed, followed, and created what he was writing, and therefore we can discover important insights into his very character from these texts.

Physically, Aquinas was a man of very lofty stature and heavy build, but very straight and well proportioned. His complexion was like the color of new wheat. His head was large, well shaped, and slightly balding. Most artists have represented Aquinas as being noble, meditative, yet gentle and strong (Newadvent.com). He had a heavy chin and jaw, with a very Roman nose. Thomas even good-naturedly joked that he was like a walking wine barrel (dur.ac.uk.com). However, his bulky, sluggish appearance and quiet ways earned Aquinas the nickname "dumb ox" at Cologne while studying under St. Albert the Great (saints.catholic.org). But St. Albert Magnus thought better of Aquinas than his fellow classmates: "You call him Dumb Ox; I tell you this dumb ox shall bellow so loud that his bellowing will fill the world (Catholic.org)."

And bellow Aquinas did, even at an early age. At the age of five, he began his education at Monte Cassino with his uncle, Abbot Sinibald (Grabmann B1). Studying here aided in the development of his strong religious beliefs and may have led him to a religious life. In class, he surprised his teachers by easily becoming learned in his studies and the spirit of virtue. He did not sit quietly at his desk, as a recluse would, but, rather entered into calm, mild, yet heated arguments. Further, he asked his teacher one day, with his heavenly, inquisitive manner the most profound of questions, when he asked, "What is God?" (Grabmann B1) For the rest of his days, Aquinas sought an answer to this most perplexing question.

With this question in mind, he set out at the age of 19 to join the Dominican order. His parents, especially his mother, were outraged. Not only did he join a religious order, but the

Dominicans of all things! His mother ordered his two brothers, who were soldiers, to lock him in the castle fortress of San Giovanni at Rocca Secca for two years. There he was to stay until he changed his mind. However, this would not be the case. He was not swayed from his decision. Aquinas was a man who was certain about his convictions and beliefs, and this matter was no different. During this time, his brothers and mother arranged for a woman of impurity to enter his chamber and tempt him. His response was clear as he chased her out of his room with a piece of burning wood from the fire (domesticchurch.com). He later confided in his friend Reginald of Piperno that, after the whore left his chamber, he knelt and asked God for integrity of mind and body. He then fell into a deep, gentle sleep, and two angels appeared and put a white girdle on him and said, "We gird thee with the girdle of perpetual virginity." From that point on, he had no concupiscence (NewAdvent.com). Obviously, Thomas Aquinas was a man of self-control, and virtue. Instead, he focused on the goals he hoped to achieve.

As rumor has it, he eventually escaped his chamber by his sister, whom he was very fond of, using a basket/pulley system and letting him down the side of the castle. It would have to have been a very large basket for a very large man, and no one is quite sure if the rumor is true. Whatever the case, Aquinas was let out of the castle and eventually became the Dominican that his heart was set on. We can see from this incident that he was not a recluse of his own choosing as some may misconstrue. He evidently wanted to exit this prison cell, but could not do so without disturbing the peace; being a man of peaceful character, Aquinas was unable to escape by his own doing.

But why did he join the Dominican Order, and why did his parents object? During the years of his early childhood, Aquinas attended the order of St. Benedict on the holy heights of Monte Cassino. He would probably have joined this Order if his father had not removed him in 1237 in fear of looming war. However, the Dominican and Benedictine Orders are similar in the fact that both believe in "*veritas et pax osculatae sunt*"- truth and peace embrace (Grabmann A 51). This search for truth in a peaceful manner also characterizes our champion Aquinas, and drove him to join this Order of Preachers.

Also, at the time Aquinas was joining his Order, there was a voluntary poverty movement taking place within the mendicant orders. This was brought about by a radical return to the Bible, a want of evangelical perfection, and an attempt to imitate Christ. With this all going on around Aquinas, he evidently could not be a recluse, as he seemed to be participating in the movement as well (Pieper 22, 29).

Concurrently, Aquinas ventured to the University of Paris, where he became an intense teacher, dedicated to his profession. Aristotelian ideas were being brought into existence, and Aquinas, immersed in the culture around him, was severely affected by it; Aristotle became a major component of most of the major works he completed. His dedication to teaching can be seen through the way in which he wrote his major work, *Summa Theologica*. Aquinas wrote this piece in the form of a textbook, as much of his work came from his teachings. Clearly, Thomas's character fit perfectly with the role of a teacher. Said the Saint:

"Teaching is one of the highest manifestations of the life of the mind, for the reason that in teaching the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa* are joined- not just patched together superficially, not merely connected "factually," but united in a natural and necessary union. The true teacher as grasped a truth for itself, by purely receptive contemplation; he passed it on to others who likewise despite to partake of this truth. The teacher, then, looks to the truth of things; that is the

contemplative aspect of teaching. It is also the aspect of silence, without which the words of the teacher would be unoriginal in the primary meaning of that word, would be empty talk, gesture, chatter, if not fraud. But the teacher simultaneously looks into the faces of living human beings- and he subjects himself to the rigorously disciplined, wearisome labor of clarifying, of presenting, of communicating. Where this communication does not take place, teaching does not take place (Pieper 93).”

Obviously, Aquinas believed that, as a teacher, he had to communicate with his students. He did not sit back quietly, and write notes on the board or sit at his desk. Rather, he was an orator that spoke to large groups of people in order to live his life objective: “I feel that I owe it to God to make this the foremost duty of my life: that all my thought and speech proclaim Him (Pieper 92).” When he spoke to groups outside of his classroom, listeners sought him out; they enjoyed his clarity of thought, accuracy, lucidity, brevity, and power of exposition even more than they enjoyed his mentor, St. Albert Magnus (newadvent.com). In fact, many enjoyed his speeches so much that he was believed to have a certain *castitas*-that is, a purity and radiance that made anyone who met him feel like they just encountered a fresh cool breeze (ophthrd.com). And in reality they did. Aquinas spoke of new, fresh ideas that were being heard for the first time. He was not the cold, rigid intellect that many believed him to be. Rather, he had an attractive personality and manner. (Grabmann B 30). Once again, we see that Aquinas is not the recluse that many make him out to be. In fact, he seemed to live a balanced life of both peace and discourse. In the testimony of the Dominican, Peter of St. Felix, for St. Aquinas’ canonization, he swore to the following:

“I myself have seen him, have been his student, and have lived him in the Order for one year. I have seen him in his cell in the Convent at Naples, in the choir of the church, and in the lecture-hall teaching and preaching (Grabmann A 11).”

Despite the fact that he was very active in teaching, Aquinas was also active in his role in the Church. He highly respected the leaders of the Church, and tried to fulfill his duties to the best of his ability. He had a high sense of responsibility to them. However, when granted the position of Archbishop of Naples by Pope Clement IV in 1265, he refused to accept it so that he could continue to write his works (newadvent.com). Although this can be seen as being a bit reclusive, that is not the case. He merely wanted time to be able to teach, pray, preach, write, and journey (as he did constantly) rather than being tied down to just one job.

His other tasks in life required him to travel and Aquinas only did so by foot. He refused to use luxuries such as horses or carriages. He also was very sparing on his food. He did not indulge in any excessiveness; he deemed it unnecessary. As the Dominican James of Cajatia said: “Never did he seek special food, but was content with whatever was placed before him, using it moderately (Grabmann A 10).” Aquinas came from a wealthy family and could have quite easily indulged in the finer things of life, but he chose not to. This shows yet more characteristics of the Dumb Ox: humility and modesty. He was free from worldly inclinations and ambitions, allowing his soul to remain innocent and pure (Grabmann B 31). This *fervor charitatis*, this undivided and unhampered “adhering to God through charity,” as he said, allowed Aquinas to love God whole-heartedly and without distraction (Grabmann A 38).

The same can be said regarding Aquinas’s opinions on earthly and material possessions. He

once had the opportunity to dine with King Louis IX of France, and reluctantly attended. His companion remarked when they arrived at the king's palace, "How wonderful it must be to own all this!" Aquinas' reply was, "I would rather have that Chrysostom manuscript I can't get a hold of." He did not care much about anything but his work for God; pious Thomas' life goal was to serve Him (saints.catholic.com).

At the same banquet, Aquinas entered into a type of trance, stopped eating, and stared off into space. At one point, the Frenchmen stopped their noisy chatter, and in that instant, Aquinas slammed a fist down onto the table, shaking the food and goblets alike. He proclaimed: "And that will settle the Manichees!" King Louis, recognizing that the man probably had a great revelation of thought, sent two scribes to Thomas's side to take down the argument that he had just settled in his head (catholicism.com). In this, we see that Aquinas was a deep thinker, and unconcerned with pomp and circumstance.

This leads us to another side of Aquinas: the way in which he thought. Thomas believed that one must be chaste in order to gain a God's wisdom. Even theology to him was not merely a science, but rather a wisdom- *sapientia divina* (Grabmann A 29). He was a thinker living totally in the world of the supersensory, the supernatural, and the divine (Grabmann A 17), yet used his life experiences to refine his thought. The scholar within him was thought to be inseparable from his ethical and religious personality (Grabmann B 30). His pursuit of wisdom was so strong that he believed the meaning and happiness of life was reached through metaphysics, supernatural theology and the gift of wisdom received from the Holy Spirit (Grabmann A 21). Most of his ideas came from Aristotle, Plato, and the Holy Scriptures (Grabmann B 54). He was smart enough and capable enough in his religious manner of thinking to reach his own conclusions using the history of philosophy (Pegis xxx).

In his search for wisdom and truth, other characteristics of Aquinas are seen. For example, he avoided exaggeration, and wrote in a steadfast, logical method. He was clear in thought, and used Latin, not his native tongue, Italian. This was the language of the universities, of the schools, and of scholasticism at its apogee, all for clarity (Pieper 106). He also believed in *nominibus utendum est ut plures utentur*- we must use names as they are generally used (Pieper 114). This belief and usage of language was not true only in his writing, but also in his daily life. He rejected anything that might conceal, obscure, or distort reality. In this, he was special by trying *not* to be anything special (Pieper 21). Perhaps this and his manner of clear thought is the reason that his writing was so successful; the man behind the writing used words as they were meant to be used and believed in everything that he wrote.

However, despite all this, we cannot ignore certain reports of Aquinas being a recluse. For example, Bartholomew of Capua, a young student who personally saw and studied Thomas in Naples reported the following:

"I have heard from John of Cajatia that Brother Thomas was always the first to arise for prayers during the night, and as soon as he heard the others approaching, he withdrew and returned to his cell...When the brethren brought him to the garden for recreation, he would suddenly go off alone, wholly abstracted from his surroundings, and return to his cell (Grabmann A 14)."

However, as always when analyzing historical documents, we must prove the validity of statements and information. First, consider the above quote; it is merely hearsay from John of Cajatia. We know little of Bartholomew himself, and therefore have no support or ability to test this statement. Therefore, we can give little credit to this assessment. Also, all the other reports

of Thomas's teaching, preaching, and speaking to groups must be taken into consideration. There are more accounts of Thomas being open and expressive than those referring to Aquinas's reclusive behavior. It is impossible for him to have done so. We have accounts of his travels, jobs, and other events in which he partook; it is impossible for him to have only lived in his cell without ever leaving.

There is also the fact that his divine revelations and his moments of deep thought may have falsely led many to believe that he was reclusive and extremely introverted. For example, once he was so deep in thought, while writing at night, he did not realize that his robe's arm caught on fire. He was capable of cutting himself off from the world in order to hear God speak to him. It was also revealed to Bartholomew by Nicholas Fricino, a Dominican who attended the lectures of Brother Thomas and heard daily Mass at the convent of the Friars Preachers that:

"After hearing this Mass, he put aside the vestments and at once ascended the lecturing chair. His lectures being finished, he immediately began to write and dictate to numerous secretaries. After eating, he returned to his cell where he engaged in divine contemplation until time to rest. After this he would again assume his writing, and thus his whole life was ordered by God (Grabmann A 14)."

Bartholomew only recalled but two occasions when he had seen Aquinas outside of the cloister: once near the time of vespers and a second time in Capua at the royal court where he went because of some difficulty concerning his nephew (Grabmann A 14). Once again, we must look upon this Bartholomew character with a critical eye.

James of Cajatia also commented on Aquinas being withdrawn from the world: "I have known Brother Thomas to be a contemplative man (*hominem contemplativum*), totally withdrawn from worldly things and drawn to diving things (Grabmann A 10)." But other accounts must be taken into account as well. Conrad of Sues, an elderly priest of the Order of Preachers stated that: "Every day he either celebrated Mass with great devotion, or celebrated one or two. Except for the hours spent in necessary repose, he continually devoted himself to lecturing, writing, praying, or preaching (Grabmann A 11)." Out of those four descriptive actions of Thomas, two, lecturing and preaching are obviously done vocally. It is impossible for Aquinas to be described in this way if he were a recluse. Perhaps it was merely the fact that he turned to prayer, a silent activity, in order to gain insight for his writings. As William of Tocco, Aquinas' biographer, reported from his close, personal friend Reginald of Piperno:

"Thomas did not acquire his knowledge by natural ingenuity, but rather through the revelation and infusion of the Holy Spirit, for he never began to write without previous prayer and tears. Whenever a doubt arose, he had recourse to prayer. After shedding many tears, he would return to his work, now enlightened and instructed (Grabmann A 12)."

From this we see that Thomas was not cut off from the world, but rather had a mind that was constantly troubled and full of strife (opthird.com).

Although certainly not an extrovert, Aquinas was not a man who was completely introverted either. Rather, he was a deeply religious man who was deep in thought a large majority of the time, contemplating his one main task: presenting the Christian view of the universe while incorporating both Church and Aristotelian views.

Aquinas presented this view in his writings, which will allow us to gain more insight into his character and personality from. For example, from his *On Princely Government: To the King of Cyprus*, Book One, Chapter I.- The Necessity for a Political Regime, Aquinas wrote:

“So if it befitted man o live a solitary life, after the fashion of many other animals, he would need no other guide, but he would be a king unto himself, under God, the King of kings, and would have the gull ordering of his own actions by the light of God-given reason. When we consider all that is necessary to human life, however, it becomes clear that man is naturally a social and political animal, destined more than all other animals to live in community. Other animals have their food provided for them by nature, and a natural coat of hair...Even so, one man alone would not be able to furnish himself with all that is necessary, for no one man's resources are adequate to the fullness of human life. For this reason the companionship of his fellows is naturally necessary to man (Dawson 3).”

From this, it is clear that Aquinas believed that humans need other humans (Kerlin). With this belief and the fact that we know Aquinas tried to live the words that he wrote, we see that Aquinas did not believe in the concept of being an introvert. It was a foreign idea to him, and therefore it is impossible for him to have been a recluse.

Saint Thomas Aquinas was a man of many vocations that displayed his character and personality. He was a pure, humble, peaceful, patient, obedient, serene, friendly, kind, chaste, amiable man. He was the type of person who made one feel calmer after an encounter with him. With all of the activities that he participated in, it is clear that it is impossible for Aquinas to have been a reclusive introvert.

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Napoleon Bonaparte: From Corsica to Russia

Nicholas Lock

The Moscow campaign, June 1812 – December 1812, was the finale in what had been one of the most extraordinary military careers in history. Napoleon had astonished the world by his record of military successes ever since setting foot on the battlefield. In his battles he proved to be an unstoppable force and he conquered his enemies in rapid succession. By 1805, this young, short Corsican had become the greatest hero to France and by the age of 35 he became Emperor. The mere name of Napoleon was sufficient to strike terror in the hearts of men and women throughout Europe. Armies retired from the battlefield upon hearing that Napoleon would be leading the fight against them. This proved that Napoleon was more than a man, he was a reputation. This reputation lasts even today. "Being neutral about Napoleon has never been easy for Europeans. To the French he is almost universally a national hero, his excesses overlooked and unmentioned. By most other Europeans, whose ancestors suffered terribly under his conquests, he is, understandably, hated" (Schom xix). How an obscure man, from a provincial garrison town outside of France, became the greatest military figure since Julius Caesar is a question that has occupied the minds of historians ever since. In this essay we will consider how aspects of his personality and background foreshadowed the career Napoleon would have as well as his failure and, ultimately his defeat, in Russia.

Napoleon was born to Letizia and Carlo Maria di Buonaparte on August 15, 1769. Little did they know that their son would someday rule an empire. Yet we can find many hints in Napoleon's personality as a youth that made his rise to power no surprise. "The four-square self-sufficiency characteristic of the old Roman nature appears early in the nature of Napoleon Bonaparte" (Rose 16). He had a short childhood and soon was on his own. On December 17, 1778, Napoleon left Corsica for France where he attended the Royal Military School of Brienne-le-Château. Here he learned the French language, history, geography, mathematics, and other subjects, which prepared him for the Ecole Militaire of Paris. He was exceedingly good at geography and mathematics. He rarely left military school and studied often and hard. Aside from his comprehensive study of various subjects, which showed his strong desire to absorb as much knowledge as possible, Napoleon also gained strength against the taunting and bullying of the other school boys. "His diminutive stature, his very limited French, distorted by a strong Corsican accent, his arrogance and continual chip-on-the-shoulder attitude, and his anger against France as the occupier of his beloved country set him off from the others" (Schom 4). He would often shout to the French schoolboys, "I'll make you French pay, one day!" (Schom 5). Napoleon was as strong minded with his schoolmasters as he was with his schoolmates. "On one occasion he was disciplined by a master for disobedience and ordered to replace his uniform with rough clothing and then to eat dinner kneeling on the floor of the refectory with 109 smirking school boys looking on. Napoleon rebelled. 'I'll eat standing up, Monsieur, and not on my knees.... In my family we kneel only before God!' (Schom 5). His authoritative display of arrogant behavior was apparent at this early age. One thing is for sure, Napoleon had always been accustomed to the odds being against him. Napoleon never backed down and his future successes and his ultimate failure were a byproduct of this attitude.

Napoleon entered the Ecole Militaire in Paris on October 19, 1784. There he began to teach German, physics, the construction of fortifications, drawing, public law, and philosophy, as well as more advanced levels of subjects previously studied. Mathematics, fortifications, and artillery proved to be his favorites and he received his commission in the army artillery on September 28, 1785 (Schom 6-7). From here Napoleon began a quick ascension up the military ranks. His personality and study habits were noticed by many high ranking officers and his reputation quickly began to build strength.

Napoleon's quick wit and personality aided him in his mischievous and underhanded military tactics. Rose accounts Napoleon's method of dealing with the conflict of France and Spain: "I find far more of impetuosity than trickery. True, there were many occasions when he resorted to falsehood and deception. His policy towards the Spanish dynasty in the spring of 1808 is an example of insidious intrigue worthy of the Medici of Florence..." (36). Indeed, Napoleon was capable of bending the rules at times. He was not ashamed of these deeds, however, and he was dedicated to win at any and all costs. Although he was aware of his leadership skills and tactical mind, he always took care of his men. "... he was an ideal leader. To his generals he for the most part turned the colder side of his nature, exacting instant and unquestioning obedience, giving them abundant opportunities to enrich themselves at the expense of the liberated peoples, and finally dowering them with immense domains..." (Rose 84). He made his soldiers tremble at the sound of his very voice. He was arrogant and expected his troops to follow his every order. On one occasion, Napoleon shouted, "Death is nothing; but to live vanquished and without glory is to die every day" (Rose 85). Words such as these also give us insight into Napoleon's brilliant and eloquently spoken speeches. His words had the ability to stir his great armies into action. His men would follow him anywhere. In the end, they followed him into his greatest failure.

The previous portion of this paper has dealt with Napoleon's intelligence, his incredible drive to be the best, his arrogance, and his stubbornness. These personal characteristics aided Napoleon in his drive to become the emperor of France. However, as the remainder of this paper will show these are the qualities that also led to his downfall. If the seeds of Napoleon's downfall were sown as early as the winter of 1806, the speed of his decline was indubitably hastened by the catastrophic Campaign of 1812. Time was to show that the decision to invade Russia constituted the irrevocable step, which effectively compromised any remaining chance of survival for Napoleon and his Empire (Chandler 739).

In 1807, Napoleon and Tsar Alexander had created a friendship at Tilsit. They created an alliance, but by the end of 1810 the two empires began to develop hostilities towards each other. "Basically it was insatiable ambition, lust for power and a desire to regain the international position he had enjoyed in July 1807 that led Napoleon to make his fatal decision" (Chandler 740). The Tsar of Russia had attempted to create a "friendly accommodation" for Napoleon in favor of France. With these appeasements made, Napoleon seemed to be the "master of continental Europe." Over time, however, Tsar Alexander's opinions concerning his arrangement with Napoleon began to change. His fascination with the man had worn off and he started to hear more clearly his country's complaints. Napoleon continued to make many attempts to uphold a friendship with

Russia. He encouraged them to lead conquests into the neighboring countries of Finland, Turkey, and Persia (Chandler 740). Unfortunately, "The interests of Russia and France clashed at so many points that there was little prospect of lasting peace" (Palmer 24-25). The conflict between the two nations were due primarily for three reasons. Chandler describes these three issues, the first of which concerns the possession of land. "Alexander desired nothing so much as possession of Constantinople and the Balkan states known as 'the Principalities,' but these particular ambitions Napoleon was equally determined to thwart, having no desire to allow Russian influence into the Mediterranean sphere" (740). Secondly, Napoleon's presence in Poland was seen as directly trespassing into Russian territory and national interests. Finally, Russia's involvement in the alliance with France and the Continental System was costly and placed a financial strain on Russia, as well as putting a halt to the country's once lucrative trade in timber and natural stores with Great Britain. This "... led to grave unrest among the nobility and merchants who found their wealth threatened as the rouble rapidly devalued" (742).

In 1811, as tensions increased between France and Russia, Alexander thought about launching a preventive war against France. He decided that they did not have adequate means or supplies for a war. Instead, he decided to launch a defensive strategy. Alexander stated in a letter: "I intend to follow the system which has made Wellington victorious in Spain and exhausted the French armies – avoid pitched battles and organize long lines of communication for retreat, leading to entrenched camps" (Palmer 26-27). The Tsar realized that the strength of Russia lied in the size of his country rather than in his country's military might. Meanwhile, Napoleon was dealing with an economic crisis in France as well as unemployment in Paris. There was also the problem of the country's conflict with Spain. "That spring, however, he began to move more and more troops into Germany and he took every opportunity of emphasizing his military preparedness to the Russian diplomats in Paris." He told his ambassador in St. Petersburg, Caulaincourt, who warned Napoleon of happenings in Russia, "Puh! One good battle will see the end of all your friend Alexander's fine resolutions – and his castles of sand as well!" (Palmer 27). Here we see Napoleon's arrogance regarding the developing tensions with Russia. "The general confidence in Napoleon's coming victory had an apparently sound basis. Russia was being invaded by the manifold regiments of a superbly organized army, headed by a military genius long regarded as a captain greater than Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, or Frederick II, and who, even before 1812, had won far more victories, major and minor, than all these generals of the past" (Tarlé 262).

This event also gives us an idea of how organized Napoleon was. "A sign of a strong nature is the resolve to master every fact that is essential to success. Where a weak or nervous man pretends that he knows, the strong and able man will make sure that he knows" (Rose 89). On August 16, 1811, Napoleon began planning a campaign in Russia. In December he had started his meticulous study common to all of his campaigns. "On December 19 his librarian was requested to send him 'good books with the best information about Russian topography, and especially Lithuania, dealing with marshes, rivers, woods, roads, etc' and also 'the most detailed account in French of the campaign of Charles XII [of Sweden] in Poland and Russia'" (Palmer 28). Rose states that Napoleon was well equipped for the struggle of life. Napoleon was extremely thorough with regard to his military tactical style. In essence, his success depended upon his ability to

rationalize the military situation at hand and then proceed to implement it on the battlefield. (43).

Although attempts were made to defuse a potential conflict, Russia continued to insist that she be permitted to trade freely with other countries and that France withdraw her troops from Prussia. Napoleon decided that he would invade Russia in June of 1812, and on May 9 of that year he set out on his journey. Throughout the campaign, the Russians continued to use their strategy of retreat to avoid battle. One instance involved France entering Smolensk. They fought a small battle between 10:00 am and 6:00 pm on August 17, 1812. "When darkness came, Napoleon continued the bombardment of the city. Suddenly – in the middle of the night – one terrific explosion after another shook the earth. A fire broke out, spreading across the entire city. The Russians were exploding their stores of gunpowder and burning Smolensk.... At daybreak, the French scouts reported that the town had been evacuated by the troops..." (Tarlé 270). Napoleon entered the city with a somber manner. He had an incredible ability to maintain his temper. Another example of this is seen with the French army's march on Vilna.

In his attempt to surprise the Russian rearguard in Vilna, he ordered the famous cavalry general, Montbrun, to push on with his corps and seize the magazines. Etiquette required that the order should come from Murat, commander-in-chief of the cavalry. "He [Murat], therefore, on seeing Montbrun's advance, angrily bade him retire, and... lost the prize at Vilna. Napoleon, rightly indignant at Montbrun's retirement, vehemently reproached him in presence of Murat.... At last, unable to endure Napoleon's reprimand, Montbrun drew his sword, whirled it high in the air, and galloped off, exclaiming, 'You may go to the devil, all of you.' Napoleon remained speechless with rage... turned his horse and rode away, issuing no order for Montbrun's arrest." On the way back Murat explained the incident, and neither Murat nor Montbrun incurred a further reprimand (Rose 40). Yet, Napoleon never allowed his anger to overtake his ability to command his men successfully. Therefore, Napoleon always tried to "compose" himself in every situation and adopted a very charming disposition.

"After Smolensk, Napoleon no longer hoped to gain a complete and crushing victory over Russia" (Tarlé 270). He was becoming aware that the war was heading towards a bad end. He had entered the burning Smolensk quietly and morosely. There was no battle and he knew he had to press further east towards Moscow. His morale began to decline: "It was not only that his army had diminished by half, in consequence of the necessity of maintaining the tremendous communications line, of garrisoning the provision and munition stores, of having to engage in petty yet stubborn and sanguinary skirmishes, of having to contend with the terrible heat, exhaustion and disease.... It was that the Russian soldiers fought not a whit less bravely than at Eylau. Even apart from Bagration, the Russian generals were by no means as incompetent as he had been inclined to believe..." (Tarlé 271). Napoleon usually had a talent for judging people's abilities and he recognized the methods the Russian army was utilizing as being very difficult and worthy of praise.

Napoleon's arrogance left him unsatisfied with any victory not achieved through him exhibiting his skills in battle. This is the main flaw which inevitably led to his defeat. "After Smolensk... Napoleon's main objective was to enter Moscow, and from there to offer peace to Alexander. But no matter how he thirsted for Moscow, he had no desire to possess the city without a battle" (Tarlé 276). Napoleon became excited as he neared Moscow. He could finally give his troops a chance to rest and he thought he could use the city as a hostage to force Alexander into an agreement. He soon discovered that the residents of Moscow had evacuated. Mysteriously, flames began to appear in scattered areas through the city. The next morning, the flames grew and a strong wind enveloped the city and spread the fires. "When the first fires were reported to him, Napoleon did not show any great concern, but when on the morning of the 17th he made a tour of the Kremlin and from the windows of the place saw the raging ocean of fire sweeping in every direction, he grew pale and, contemplating the conflagration, in silence said at last: 'What a dreadful sight! And they started it themselves...'" (Tarlé 283). Indeed, Napoleon had no doubt in his mind concerning the origins of the flames. Russia, rather than give in to Napoleon's desires, had burnt down another one of their cities.

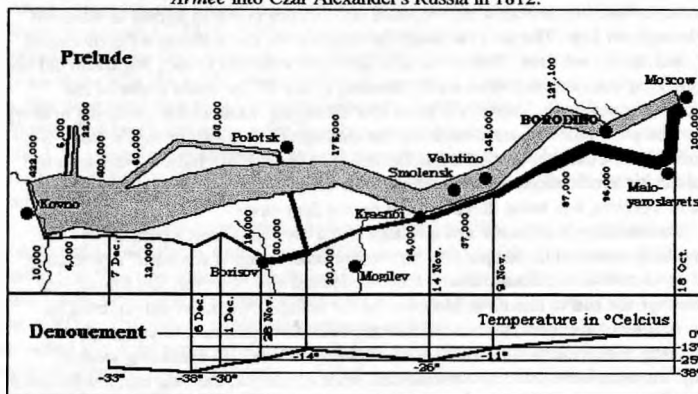
The situation in Moscow saw a change come over Napoleon's personality. He could no longer control his temper and "He was at times a raging madman" (Tarlé 284). He still continued to rule France from Moscow. He did not, however, feel France was stable enough for him to remain in Moscow for the winter. Napoleon did not trust his allies to maintain his empire; likewise, his supply line was insufficient to carry out the remaining winter campaign. His communication line was also becoming weaker. Although attempts were made to communicate with Alexander, the Tsar continually failed to reply. Whereas, previously, Napoleon patiently listened to the ideas of others without bias towards his own, now he no longer heard out his men without losing patience. His arrogance kept him from making his decision to retreat from Moscow. Finally, he decided to leave the city. The journey home was a disaster. "The weather grew colder and colder. The Cossacks and the Russian militia... raided the French provision train and captured all manner of foodstuffs and ammunition. Gradually Napoleon's army became weaker and more dispirited" (Tarlé 296). Napoleon's campaign of Russia finally came to an end in December of 1812. He had set off on the campaign with over 400,000 men and returned with only around 10,000 (Rubarth-Lay - see included chart).

Napoleon was a conqueror. He was perhaps the greatest and most feared force in Europe during his time. His reputation outlasts him even today. "Above all, there burnt in him the flame of genius. It defies analysis; it baffles description; but generals and troops felt the spell. Civilians who sought to control the young warrior found themselves in the meshes of an all-controlling will" (Rose 44). He lived a life devoted to the military and to France. He worked his way from a small, Corsican boy teased in military school, to a force to be reckoned with by all of Europe. "... we may assert that, able though Napoleon was in the Cabinet and on the battlefield, he was far more than an astute diplomatist, a discerning lawgiver, a triumphant warrior, a great Emperor. He was greatest of all as man" (Rose 44). Though Napoleon's defeat in Russia set off the idea that he could be defeated; and eventually led to his overall failure, his name will live on forever in history. Many historians, worldwide, will continue to devote their lives to the study of his reign and books upon books will be dedicated to his name. One may be tempted to view this

fascination with the man as his final success. He yearned to be respected and known all over the world in his time. Though after his death, Napoleon achieved this objective. In essence, he conquered his last front.

Napoleon's Invasion of Russia, 1812

Being an illustrated account of the ill-fated expedition of the Emperor Napoleon's *Grand Armée* into Czar Alexander's Russia in 1812.



The map, based on the 1869 chart by Minard, graphically illustrates (both literally and figuratively) how the size of the French army dwindled during the march into Russia and was reduced to almost nothing on the wretched rout back into Poland. The map can be read in several ways. The size of the peach colored bar indicates the relative strength of the French army during the march on Moscow. The black bar shows the dwindling French army during the retreat. In the lower portion of the map, the temperature in degrees Celsius is shown, along with dates during the retreat.

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Hong Xiuquan and the Subversion of Christianity

Matthew Smalarz

Hong Xiuquan may well be one of the bloodiest political and religious figures in human history. Many in the West are unaware of this man who was responsible for orchestrating a rebellion that led 20 million innocent men and women to their deaths. Yet even fewer understand the circumstances in which these 20 million died. (1) As China was recovering from the Opium War of the early 1840s, Hong, a disillusioned Confucian student, found solace in the Christian teachings of the West. But while finding peace in the teachings of Jesus, he also found a way to corrupt Christianity. Gradually, he came not to see himself as a disciple of Jesus, but his own brother incarnate. His display of megalomaniac tendencies knew no limits. Hong, having never received a formal Christian education, destroyed the purity of Jesus's teachings. He manipulated Christianity to the extent that he began to rewrite the Bible so that it would meet his personal inclinations. He was such a detestable character that he even offended Western Christian missionaries. In the end, he viewed his movement as the rightful kingdom of China as well as God's Heavenly Kingdom on earth. He failed to realize that his Heavenly Kingdom was a mere illusion. The objective of this paper is to spell out each of these preceding items in greater detail; by doing so, we will come to learn how one man and his movement subverted a faith for their own ideological purposes.

In the 1840s, China was an empire under attack. Reeling from the recent loss of the Opium War, China was an empire that lacked a strong centralized government to cope with the incoming European imperialist influence. The Qing Dynasty, which had been in power since 1644, continually had to contend with rebellions in Yunnan, Hunan, and Guangxi provinces. (2) In this hotbed of rebellion, Christianity became a spark of hope for the disillusioned. Protestant and Catholic missionaries were only allowed to preach in the Treaty ports after 1842. This, however, did not prevent the teachings of Jesus from seeping into China's interior. Organizations such as the American Seaman's Friend Society and the London Missionary Society maneuvered into China's treaty ports. The dissemination of Bibles had proliferated throughout Southern China's interior. Missionary preachers, such as Reverends Issachar Roberts, Karl Gutzlaff, William Milne, and Edwin Stevens, were popular Protestant missionaries who spread the word of God in China's treaty ports. Liang A-fa, the man whose writings influenced Hong, was distributing Bibles and tracts at Confucian examination halls in Canton during the 1830s. (3) Chinese Christian colporteurs, converts to Christianity, also carried Bibles into the interior of China.

Hong Xiuquan was just like any other young man, at that time, in China. His one hope was to pass the Confucian examinations. Each time he took the exams, however, he failed to pass. Upon his third failed attempt to pass the exams, he first became exposed to Christianity. While taking the exams in 1833 at Canton, he first encountered Liang A-fa's *Good Words To Admonish the Age*. Influenced by Christian missionaries, Liang's book, which had just been published, comprised large portions of Christian doctrine and Biblical references. (4) It is known that Hong did not really take these writings into consideration at first. Yet soon after he failed his third Confucian exam, in 1837, he experienced a dream that would have enormous repercussions. This dream was the first of many that would transform his personality forever. In this dream, a middle-aged man assisted Hong in slaying various beasts and demons that were attacking heaven. Hong successfully repressed

these demons and came to rest in his temporary heavenly abode. At times, he even identified his own family members as demons. (5) Yet his middle-aged assistant is of particular interest in this dream. He identified this individual as the Elder Brother or Jesus Christ. (6) After he re-entered the world of reality, he became an entirely different person. His personality apparently became more morally righteous as compared to the old Hong's witty, straightforward self. P. M. Yap indicates that Hong believed he was the recipient of a divine revelation. (7) His vision also brought with it a change in his name. He no longer referred to himself by his old name, Huoxiu, but, rather, as Xiuquan, or the Accomplished and Perfect one. (8)

Remarkably, Hong remained as a teacher in his local village until 1843. After he failed to pass the exams in 1843, he began to take greater interest in Liang's *Good Works*. It is apparent that Hong, for the first time, studied the Christian religion with intensity. From these texts, he began to interpret the dreams he had experienced some six years before. After reading these books, he became convinced that God the Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ were the two figures that had appeared in his dreams. Hong, for some strange reason, took himself to be the brother of Jesus; he also believed he was responsible for destroying all demons in the world. Hong began to preach to his family and friends about the virtues of his newly found religion. His enthusiasm for Christian doctrine, however, brought with it the destruction of his old faith. The strict iconoclastic beliefs of his Christian "interpretation" repudiated all forms of Confucian symbolism and Buddhist funerary rites. Because of his abnormal behavior, the village dismissed him from his post as a teacher in the local school. (9) Hong realized he could no longer stay in his village and thus began his spiritual movement. P.M. Yap suggests that he desired not only to convert China to his brand of Christian doctrine, but also destroy the oppressive Manchu Government in the North. (10) In my view, it is obvious that he already had the preconceived notion that he was in fact the savior of China, both morally and politically. For the next three years of his life, he traversed Guangxi province preaching his so called heavenly message. (11)

Hong's first experience with a Western missionary did not come until 1847. Issachar Jacob Roberts, a Protestant missionary, first encountered Hong in Canton. As mentioned before, most Christian teachings were taught primarily through Christian tracts, not missionaries. He was extremely enthusiastic about meeting his Christian counterpart. His enthusiasm was strengthened even more after Roberts decided he would instruct him on the fine points of Christian doctrine. Yet this relationship was brought to an unfortunate and mysterious end. Apparently, Roberts had come to the conclusion that his student should be baptized in the Christian faith. However, the committee responsible for conferring the baptismal rites on Hong remarked that he could not receive any form of employment from the church. Being a poor preacher of simple means, Hong was convinced his very survival would depend on the generosity of his mentor. Based on the evidence, Roberts was extremely dismayed that his student sought financial assurances regarding his future. It has been argued that because of this disconnect between the two men, Hong lost out on a great opportunity for further instruction in Christian doctrine. (12) In fact, I believe that Hong's failure to abandon financial security in return for a Christian education may have affected his later interpretation of Christian doctrine. I am also convinced Hong's objective was to manipulate the religion he had grown to appreciate in order to secure his own personal well-being. Even at these early stages, Hong's intentions were not holy, for if they were, he would have abandoned his desire for financial reward. However, it seems quite clear that Hong cared not for the sanctity of the word of God, but the word of Hong

Xiuquan.

Hong now returned to Guangxi in June 1847. At this time, he had successfully converted many to his movement, which he now identified as the God-Worshippers. He continued his missionary movement and built a strong coalition of worshippers and supporters. Yet in the bandit ridden rural areas, the God Worshippers soon realized they needed to defend themselves from being attacked from other bandit groups. However, it must be pointed out that the God-Worshippers were, to a large extent, bandits themselves. Beyond the element of protecting themselves, he also made it clear he was no friend of the state. While Hong was strongly convinced of his moral correctness in his iconoclastic policy, he also fervently believed the Qing dynasty should be destroyed. Instead, he proceeded to build his own Heavenly kingdom. This kingdom was based on a strict moral code that emphasized the community over the individual. All personal possessions, including money and gold, were utilized to build the army. Most importantly, he informed his followers that by dying in battle, they would achieve the ultimate goal: heaven. Word began to spread about what benefits this religion conferred upon its followers. By summer 1850, the God-Worshippers were prepared to take on the Qing dynasty for control of the Chinese state. (13) Throughout the next three years, the Taipings encountered success and defeat at the hands of their enemies. But the greatest victory came in March 1853. The conquest of Nanking marked the true beginning of Hong's vision of the Heavenly Kingdom on Earth. (14)

While the Taipings continued to battle the Qing for total control of China, Hong began writing "Taiping" Christian doctrine. In many ways, he withdrew from everyday life to implement the form of Taiping Christianity he felt suited his followers. But before we approach this topic, we must give some further background as to how he came into contact with the Christian Bible. Karl Gutzlaff, another prominent Protestant missionary in China, was responsible for the distribution of the Old and New Testament in China in the 1840s. (15) Gutzlaff's Chinese Union, a Chinese evangelization movement started in the 1840s, had been largely successful in the dissemination of bibles throughout China. It is highly probable that some converts to the Gutzlaff may have previously taught Taipings; there is no evidence that actually links Hong to Gutzlaff up to this point. Boardman points out that the Taipings first printed their own version of the Bible sometime in 1853. Yet we must not forget Hong's own encounter with the preacher Issachar Roberts in 1847. It has been previously established that he had taken up doctrinal studies with Roberts for two months in 1847. It is important to note, however, that Roberts largely received his translation of the Bible from Gutzlaff. (16) If this is the case, the Bible published in Nanking in 1853 was the one Hong had first seen back in 1847. From this, it is quite fascinating to see how he constructed his version of the Holy Bible.

First, the Taiping Biblical version of the Book of Genesis was not as true to the Gutzlaff version. For the first time, we see Hong take a degree of personal license with the way the Book of Genesis had been phrased. For example, in Genesis 19, Lot quickly escaped the soon to be doomed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Upon the death of his wife, Lot was left with his two daughters. Realizing their father was the last man known to them, the two girls took it upon themselves to have sexual relations with him. The following passage is what greatly disturbed Hong's personal tastes: "And the first-born said unto the younger, Our father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to come in unto us after the manner of all the earth. Come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father." (17) The very notion of incest in the Bible must have truly upset Hong. One might even say Protestant Christians would have also deemed this to be a licentious episode in

the Bible. Yet, without hesitation, it was ordered that this passage be struck from the Taiping Bible.

Hong's ability to manipulate the wording of the Bible to suit his needs was one of the most unnerving aspects of the Taiping faith. It is obvious that we are beginning to see the first signs of his megalomaniac tendencies. As Jesus Christ's "Younger Brother", he constantly felt obligated to rectify Biblical passages that did not fit his stream of thought. The purity of the Taiping Bible became extremely important to Hong and his Taiping state. There are many examples of Hong's reinterpretations of certain Old and New Testament Biblical stories. For instance, the story of a drunken, naked Noah found by his sons. He decided to take it upon himself to reword certain areas of this particular Biblical story. Hong rewrote this passage to state, "Noah while in a deep sleep tumbled from his bed onto the ground." (18) The attempt to conceal immoral behavior from his followers was priority number one to Hong. Also, Hong kept in mind the fact that he had to keep in check the good repute of his biblical ancestors. One story that truly disgusted him was the licentious tale of Tamar and Judah. Tamar had been married to Judah's three sons: Er, Onan, and Shelah. All three sons apparently disobeyed God's command and God subsequently killed each of them. The father, Judah, left Tamar behind to fend for herself. Yet Tamar had secretly planned to have sexual relations with her father-in-law. One day, Judah came across a prostitute and had sexual relations with her. Eventually Judah was informed by Tamar that she was with child and that the child was in fact Judah's. Hong could not tolerate this raunchy behavior. Therefore, he struck the entire passage from his version of the Bible. (19) Hong's revisions were not done, however. He believed God gave Moses too broad an interpretation on how sexual relations should be conducted. The following passage from Exodus 22: 16-17 will illustrate this point. The original verse stated, "And if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife. However, in Hong's version it stated, "And if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he is breaking the seventh commandment." (20)

Hong, although agreeing with most of what the Gospel writers had written, took it upon himself to make "editorial changes" in certain spots. For instance, most of his comments in the New Testament referred to matters involving God the Father and Jesus. Hong criticized the text for its purporting to believe that Christ alone was performing miracles. Simply put, he believed Jesus was not divine like God. This Arian belief system can be found in the Taiping Gospels. He was convinced God was working through Jesus to create these miracles. Therefore, Jesus was a man who was used as God's intermediary on Earth. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus healed the mother of Peter's wife, but only through "God's" direct assistance. (21) Another instance involved Jesus's healing of two blind men. Hong stated that, "God descended upon the Great Elder Brother. Thus a touch of the eyes restored the blind man to sight, and the dumb man was able to speak immediately." (22) It had now become Hong's mission to reedit the Bible to suit his religious belief system. Hong disliked the notion of disagreement between his own professed beliefs and the text he based his faith on. Without reconstructing the Bible, he would have not only done a great disservice to himself, but to future generations of Taiping followers. He also made it apparent that he wanted to maintain the spiritual character of the Bible. And finally, Hong realized Taiping Christianity had to follow in the footsteps of its ancestors. Johnathan Spence puts it best when he says that Hong, "made clear for all to see that Moses, God, and Hong Xiuquan think fruitfully as one." (23)

Hong's preoccupation with the development of the Taiping Bible was only one particular facet of Hong's total control over what was said and done in the Heavenly Kingdom. For example, he made it explicitly clear that Confucian texts were banned from his court. He deemed such texts as being demonic in nature. He explicitly stated that only the Bible and his own poetic compositions could be read aloud. Hong even went so far as to make sure that all names and geographic locations in the Bible were pronounced correctly. He also held an extreme reverence for the Ten Commandments. Hong made it court policy to preach the Ten Commandments every Sabbath. If those in his court failed to do so, they suffered severe punishment. (24) Hong, as much as he revered the Ten Commandments, still took the liberty to supplement his own commentaries for the Biblical version of the Commandments. He provided his own commentary alongside the Ten Commandments in order to inflate the seriousness of these commands. If his followers killed, stole, or committed adultery, the consequences may have involved public beatings or other harsh torture tactics. (25) Some of the Commandments were altered to either suit the Taiping community or Hong's own divine needs. For example, the sixth commandment, which states, "Thou shalt not kill", meant not only murder, but harming people as well. Likewise, the seventh commandment, which states, "Thou shalt not commit adultery", not only meant illicit sexual acts, but any covetous glance, thought, artistic idea, or even smoking opium. (26) In essence, Hong's intentions were quite clear. While he revered God, he had made himself into the image of a God. While one might say Hong resembled an Alexander the Great or Napoleon, I don't believe this is necessarily so. For example, it seems obvious that as much as Hong enjoyed the military successes that he encountered, his true passion lied in religious matters. Although Alexander and Napoleon both thought of themselves, at some point, as "demi-gods," Hong took his view of "God" to another extreme.

I think it is important to briefly divert from the theological discussion to understand the megalomaniac that lived within Hong's person. I believe it can be argued that Hong's mental illness took on a more pronounced form during his reign as the Heavenly King. It can be established that Hong's first true encounter with the Christian tracts of Liang, after his vision, may have caused him to believe he had experienced a divine revelation. While I argue Hong was a "Christian" in name, he was not in the doctrinal sense. Since he never received a formal education in Christian principles (besides the Roberts' visit), Hong believed he had discovered secret religious meanings only revealed to him. It is possible, as Y.M. Yap puts it, that Hong, when reading the biblical pronouns of "you" or "he", believed they referred directly to him. One must remember that Hong continually believed himself to be the Younger Brother of Jesus Christ. Also, Hong presumed his movement was destined to rid China of its Manchu conquerors from the North. Yet even though Hong led his Taiping army into battle, he would often withdraw into the confines of his mind. During the siege of Nanking, for example, Hong proclaimed men were useless and that God in heaven could only decide the final outcome of the conflict. Throughout his time in Nanking, Hong constantly abandoned earthly matters to his generals. (27) It is obvious, at least to myself, that he displayed a tendency toward delirium. Hong's attempt to implement his fantasy world in the real world was constant. In all probability, he may have not been able to tell the two apart. (28) He displayed a certain rigidity of the mind and an extremely suspicious mindset as he got older as well. These traits, as P. M. Yap argues, could be identified as schizophrenic-paranoid behavior. The only problem with such an argument is that no data can be provided to substantiate this point. Yet psychological studies have shown that

paranoia-like behavior can occur following religious encounters. (29) In my opinion, Hong did develop a behavioral disorder that inhibited his ability to make reasonable decisions. This disorder was responsible for destroying the purity of Protestant Christian doctrine.

Hong's ability to lead a constructive Christian movement was impeded by his dictatorial reach and his mental instability. And if this was the case, to what extent did he alter other basic New Testament doctrines? Taiping Christianity was, in fact, a combination of the orthodox, heterodox, and Chinese indigenous influences. While worshipping God, proclaiming Christ the savior, adhering to the Ten Commandments, and practicing the sacrament of baptism, they also began to incorporate a number of their own traditions. Hong was largely to blame for the implementation of these new practices. The first example that is important to point out was how the Taipings worshipped God. (30)

The worshipping of God was a central tenet in the Taiping faith. Hong is known to have borrowed and added to the Hebrew Bible with respect to understanding God. First, Hong believed that God was like a father to his people. (31) By using the notion of fatherhood, Hong was also trying to make an association with ancient Chinese Confucianism. The idea of filial piety toward parental figures and figures of authority (especially toward Hong) made the connection between God the Father and his Taiping children on Earth seem more realistic. (32) An excellent example of Hong's manipulation of God the Father took place on January 29, 1851. Hong informed his army officers that the titles Supreme (shang), Lord, (ti), and Father (yeh) were to be strictly used for praising God. Apparently, royal ministers, up to this point, had been called "royal fathers". Hong even acknowledged that he and his ministers had abused the word for their own worldly purposes. (33) Boardman points out that Hong's use of the Gutzlaff Bible led to a proliferation of similar Biblical terms by the Taipings. For example, Jesus was known as *Jiu Shizhu Tian-xiung yesu* or Jesus the Heavenly Brother and Lord who saves the Earth. (34)

The notion of the Fatherhood of God was taken to another level when Hong interpreted God's purpose to be a "productive" heavenly figure. In this sense, I believe Hong assumed God was responsible for the Taipings' military successes and the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom. So while God was portrayed as being peaceful, he also was recognized for his ability to craft successful military sieges against the sinful Qing. Likewise, while Hong took bits and pieces of core Protestant Christian principles to fit his needs, he also developed a new family system out of line with Protestant doctrine. In this family system, he inserted a "Heavenly Mother" (possibly Mary) in order to round out the Heavenly Father and Son. Remarkably, Hong gave Jesus a wife, but no son. Instead, he made his own son the adopted heir to his Heavenly Big Brother's kingdom. (35) I argue that Hong's reconstruction of the family of God and God as Heavenly defender were due for three reasons. His mental condition, his firm belief in the notion of filial piety in the Chinese Confucian tradition, and his lack of comprehending Protestant Christian concepts all contributed to these two preceding Taiping doctrines.

Yet we must understand that Hong still maintained a monotheistic outlook. While he honored God's image as the Father of mankind, the notion of personal reverence to God never wavered. He continually argued that God was a personal deity. In essence, he argued that God was not subject to earthly princes alone. All people of God could invoke God's name for their own needs. By building on the God to man idea, he was actually mirroring the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels' interpretation of God's relationship to man. (36)

The issue of the Holy Spirit did not figure as prominently in Taiping doctrine as

compared to Protestant doctrine. The Holy Spirit, which came down from heaven after Jesus's ascension from heaven, had filled the Apostles with God's transcendent power. (37) The Holy Spirit only occasionally appears in Taiping religious documents. Boardman argues that the Taipings may have failed to understand the significance of the Holy Spirit in Christian doctrine. For example, in 1860, Hong stated in a religious document that the Eastern King, Yang Xiuqing, was in fact the Holy Spirit. (38) This egregious alteration made by him may have been largely due to his own failure to rationalize the meaning of the Trinity in Protestant Christian doctrine.

How did Hong interpret Christ's life? There are many similarities borne out between the Taiping and Protestant Bible with respect to Christ's life. First, Jesus was recognized as God's son sent down to rid the world of sin. Basic stories of Jesus's crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension are also mentioned in Taiping texts in order to stress God's salvation. However, it must be recognized that he no longer considered Jesus to be God's only son. Remember, he viewed himself as the Younger Brother of Jesus Christ. Again, I think it is unmistakable that Hong's delusions got the better of him. Also, Hong only utilized a small portion of Christian texts to comprehend the life of Christ. The failure to utilize all aspects of Christ's life was an omission that Hong was obviously aware of. He only used selections of Christ's life so as to position him in relation to the construction of the Taiping hierarchy and in God's salvation for the Taipings. (39) Moreover, Hong denied Christ's divinity because he assumed Jesus was the heir to his father's inheritance, not his equal. Therefore, the Taipings failed to believe that Christ was God incarnate. Although his Resurrection was regarded as a momentous event in Taiping writings, this did not place Christ on an equal footing with the Heavenly Father. (40)

If Christ's position in Taiping Christianity was rather shaky, one must also look at the position Hong and the Taipings took with regard to the Trinity. Liang's printed text established the notion of a Trinity, but never fully established the basic principles which lied behind it. Hong could not adhere to the idea that there were three Gods in one. This may be due largely to his Confucian educational background. Since Confucian teachings taught the son should be submissive to the father, he never rationalized the notion of father and son being on the same power level. I think it is important to note how literally Taiping officials took this policy to be. For any Taiping religious text, God's name was to be inscribed four spaces above a line and Jesus's name was placed three spaces above. Beneath this, the Heavenly King and his other kings were allotted one space. Likewise, the notion of deference to the Father was taken even further with regard to the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit was considered unworthy to be inserted within the Trinity. It must be asserted that he thought it impossible to have a relationship between immaterial beings and material beings. In this case, he only viewed the relationship of God and his Holy Son in a bodily sense, not a metaphysical one. This, again, is mostly due to the ancient Chinese Confucian tradition's influence upon Hong. The failure to accept Greek philosophical traditions of the Trinity, I believe, was not so much his fault, as it was the influence his cultural upbringing had upon his interpretation of the Christian Trinity. (41)

If Hong's interpretation of core Protestant Christian principles was questionable, then how did he perceive the Holy Sacraments? The only two known Protestant sacraments and /or observances regularly observed by the Taipings were baptism and the Sabbath. Hong knew of baptism as early as 1843 when he baptized the first followers in his movement. In fact, throughout the 1840s Hong baptized all of his followers. In 1847, when he visited Roberts, Hong attempted to receive formal baptism from Roberts, but was denied it because of Roberts's

belief that Hong was converting for financial gain. After this experience, he taught his followers the practice of self-baptism. By 1852, Hong had made the baptism ceremony into an elaborate ritual that was meant to wash away sin and grant membership into the Taiping fold. The novitiates either bathed themselves or cleansed themselves in a river. While the baptism rite was largely preserved intact, the idea of self-baptism was something that Hong, I perceive, had developed out of his own experiences with Reverend Roberts. (42)

With regard to the Sabbath, Hong made adjustments and kept some things in place as well. From Western Christian thought, he implemented the Sabbath day, yet maintained the Chinese solar term festivals. The Taiping Sabbath took place on a Saturday, but this is where the comparisons end with Western Protestant doctrine. The Taipings, on the day before, placed a large flag in the street that said: "Tomorrow is the Sabbath. Each should be reverent and worship." As the new day began, the followers made baked goods, while singing obnoxious background music out in the open or at local worshipping places. (43) It must be understood that the Sabbath event was not taken lightly. Instead, the Sabbath was a mandatory event that, if not followed, resulted in a severe punishment for those who failed to comply with it. (44) One might make the assumption that this closely resembled Calvin's Geneva or the Puritans in Massachusetts. Unfortunately, this once again reveals Hong's failure to fully appreciate the true meaning of Protestant doctrine.

Finally, how did Hong view hell and the devil? In Taiping scripture, hell was a miserable place. In essence, you were condemned to an eternity of wailing and grinding of teeth. (45) While hell closely resembled the Western conception of hell, there was a significant difference. I believe Hong used the image of hell as a political tool. If one was, in fact, a true Taiping fighter (in other words, a soldier who desired to bring down the Qing), then he would willingly sacrifice himself for the Taiping state. If a Taiping male failed to adhere to this principle, the ultimate result would be eternal damnation. Similarly, if a person failed to follow Taiping doctrine, that person would also face the bonfires of hell. (46) Obviously, those who followed Taiping religious law and fought for the Taiping cause would enter into the blissful state of heaven. (47) With respect to Satan, Hong believed those who worshipped earthly princes or followed earthly matters were under the devil's sway. He even argued that Satan had a group of assistants in his quest for an evil world. He called Satan's assistants' "corrupt devils" and "followers of the fiend." Whatever the case may be, Hong believed that anything not pertaining to the Taiping Christian ideology was doomed to end up in hell. (48)

I think it is important to stress that Taiping Christianity also encountered opposition from the one group it assumed it had the support of: Western missionaries. In 1847, Hong's first meeting with Issachar Roberts was unsuccessful. Roberts must have assumed this young man was not out for the good of Christianity, but for his own personal well being. Yet when Roberts caught word of his one time disciple's revolution in September 1852, he displayed a change of heart. He enthusiastically supported Hong's attempt to evangelize China's interior, something Roberts had never been given the opportunity to do. While Hong waged his war against the Qing Dynasty, Roberts was unable to reach Nanking throughout the 1850s because of personal issues. However, in 1858, Hong sent a communiqué to the British Minister, Lord Elgin, requesting Roberts's presence at court. In September 1860, Roberts arrived, but to a situation he had not expected. When he entered to meet Hong, he was surprised to find the court was not bowing to worship God, but their Heavenly King, Hong Xiuquan. Roberts was taken aback even further when Hong discussed the matter of Taiping evangelization. Roberts could not believe Hong had been so bold as to ask him to spread the

Taiping faith. On issues relating to the Trinity, Jesus's divinity, and the Lord's Supper, Roberts's was surprised to find the Taipings had abandoned or remodeled doctrines to fit their own purposes. (49) When Roberts left in January 1862, he expressed his disappointment about the Taipings. Roberts stated that "Hong was a crazy man, entirely unfit to rule without any organized government; His religious toleration, and multiplicity of chapels, turn out to be a farce, of no avail in the spread of Christianity – worse than useless." (50)

Roberts was not alone in expressing his anger toward Hong. Another prominent missionary, Joseph Edkins, sent him a collection of essays dealing with the issue of God's nature. Edkins's arguments centered largely on the divinity of Jesus and the immateriality of God. He thought Hong should heed the Nicene Creed and declare the teachings of Arius, the infamous Alexandrian priest, heretical. Unsurprisingly, he added his own commentary to Edkins's essays. Hong wrote Edkins to inform him that God had not only one "begotten son," but that "Christ is in God's form." He made certain to include this for fear that his own Sonship would be denied. With reference to Arius, Hong made it blatantly clear that Arius was correct and the Nicene Council was heretical. In his response to Edkins, he wrote, "God is vexed Most by idols and images, so human beings are not allowed to see the Father's likeness. But Christ and myself were begotten by the Father, and because we were in the Father's Bosom, therefore we saw God." (51) It is obvious that Edkins and Roberts both presumed the Taiping Movement, especially their leader, Hong, exerted fanatical control over Taiping religious life. Both men never anticipated the Taiping Movement would turn out to be a tyrant's field day in the sun. (52)

By May 1861, Hong's megalomania had reached epic proportions. One might say that Hong's reclusive state of being contributed to his belief that he should only focus on spiritual matters and abandon all things temporal. Moreover, Hong's display of abnormal behavior lingered over into his obsessive commentaries on the Bible. (53) His continual downfall into the abyss of mental decrepitude was something that he no longer controlled. In my opinion, he was no longer a spiritual man, but a tyrant who sought to achieve his own salvation. His abandonment of everyday affairs revealed that he no longer cared, in my view, about whether his movement succeeded or failed. (54) By 1864, as the Taiping Kingdom was crushed by the Qing dynasty, Hong's futile dream of a Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was destroyed forever. (55)

In conclusion, Hong Xiuquan is one of the most unique characters in all of human history. While great men have led momentous movements, such as Napoleon or Alexander the Great, Hong is quite different in one important aspect. While he desired power, he also exerted control over all matters involving Christian theology. In fact, I believe this may be the worst kind of megalomania. The combination of spiritual and temporal power led Hong to believe that he was unique. In fact, it is quite possible that he assumed he led an apocalyptic movement. Hong convinced himself that the Taiping movement would bring about a new day for China. (56) I believe Hong saw himself as possessing special traits necessary for ridding the world of evil (the Qing Dynasty/Confucian teachings) and making a new world order based on Taiping doctrine.

The purity of Protestant Christianity had been tainted by Hong's personal willingness to reconstruct key doctrines and biblical passages for his own ideological purposes. This argument, I believe, is valid because Hong was never ordained to be a preacher in Protestant doctrine. He was never educated in the Protestant tradition. Therefore, as much as he perceived himself as a religious man, he was, in fact, a secular leader. His government used and abused Protestant Christianity to wage a "holy war" of sorts against the Qing government. Hong had subverted the purity of Protestant Christian doctrine by placing strict moral codes

upon his people. Likewise, his demagogic and authoritarian approach toward religious matters was not "Christian" behavior. In 19th century Europe, most secular leaders had all but abandoned the doctrine of Divine Right. Hong, however, was the embodiment of the Taiping religion and state. Yet Hong was an incapable spiritual and temporal leader. In fact, he was not a leader; he was the antithesis of both the former and latter. Hong was the embodiment of future 20th century dictators who believed their conception of the world was the correct one.

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7. Yap, 293.
8. Boardman, 13.
9. Spence, 66-68.
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13. Boardman, 17.
14. Ibid, 20.
15. Spence, 177.
16. Boardman, 43.
17. Spence, 178.
18. Ibid, 256.
19. Ibid, 259.
20. Ibid, 260.
21. Ibid, 291.
22. J. C. Cheng, *Chinese Sources for the Taiping Rebellion: 1850-1864* (London and Hong Kong: London and Hong Kong University Press, 1963.), 83.
23. Spence, 261.
24. Hail, 107.
25. Ibid, 113.
26. Jen, 162.
27. Yap, 295.
28. Ibid, 298. The state of delirium Yap describes involves a twilight-state effect upon Hong. In this case, the patient is typically in a psychotic waking dream. There is normally no fever or other bodily illness which accompanies this condition. This condition is usually brought about by strong emotions in the patient. These emotions usually pertain to an event or events that had recently gone awry for the patient. If this is the case, Hong's delirium was largely related to the circumstances surrounding his failure of his latest Confucian exam. Therefore, it might seem quite reasonable to assume Hong's mental condition was an outpouring of his failure to pass the Confucian examinations.
29. Yap, 300.

30. Jen, 155.
31. Eugene Boardman, "Christian Influence Upon the Ideology of the Taiping Rebellion," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Volume 10, No. 2, (Feb., 1951), 115-124.
32. Jen, 157.
33. Boardman, 70.
34. Boardman, 120.
35. Hail, 104.
36. Jen, 158.
37. Boardman, 121.
38. Boardman, 72.
39. Ibid, 75.
40. Ibid, 79.
41. Jen, 161.
42. Boardman, 76.
43. Ibid, 78.
44. Hail, 115.
45. Boardman, 87.
46. Ibid, 84.
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49. Teng, 64.
50. Ibid, 66.
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52. Hail, 116.
53. Spence, 290.
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