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The rhetoric of martyrdom: A case study analyzing the rhetorical situations of Joan of Arc, John Brown and Jim Jones

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**THE RHETORIC OF MARTYRDOM: A CASE STUDY ANALYZING
THE RHETORICAL SITUATIONS OF
JOAN OF ARC, JOHN BROWN
AND JIM JONES**

by

Chris Meservey

**Bachelor of Arts
Brigham Young University
1994**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the**

**Master of Arts Degree
Hank Greenspun Department of Communication Studies
Greenspun College of Communications**

**Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
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is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of


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ABSTRACT

The Rhetoric of Martyrdom: A Case Study Analyzing The Rhetorical Situations of Joan of Arc, John Brown, and Jim Jones

by

Chris Meservey

**Dr. Richard Jensen, Examination Committee Chair
Professor of Communications
University of Nevada, Las Vegas**

The study provides a critical analysis of the rhetoric used to establish a martyr in history. An indepth definition of martyrdom, along with a criteria for martyrs, is utilized in support of the theories. The text claims that the rhetoric of a situation is the key to becoming a martyr. Utilizing the theory of criteria for martyrdom as the tool, histories, biographies, discourses, and print media provide the input for the analysis.

The examination breaks into three case studies: Joan of Arc, John Brown, and Jim Jones. The examples of Joan of Arc and John Brown illustrate the positive role rhetoric played in their eventual classification as martyrs. The example of Jim Jones displays the negative effects rhetoric had on his failure to become a martyr. The study offers valuable insight into the questions, who deserves martyrdom and why?

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the many nameless, Christian Martyrs who sacrificed their lives during the Roman Empire. Without their dedication to Christianity, the world would be at a loss.

This thesis is also dedicated to my wife, who sacrificed her career to raise our family. Julie, I love you.

A special thanks to Dr. Richard Jensen for his time, patience, and understanding throughout the preparation of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Martyrs must choose between
being forgotten, mocked, or made
use of. As for being understood--
never! (Smith, 1997, p. 3)

There once lived upon this earth a simple man, born in Bethlehem and raised in Nazareth of Israel. This young man went throughout the land preaching the word of God and claiming to be the son of God. His teachings included obedience, faith, repentance, and baptism. In time, he developed a great following which created a sense of nervousness among the governing leaders. Many of his peers began to accuse him of breaking sacred laws and labeled him as blasphemer.

Betrayed by his trusted friend, he was brought before the governor to stand trial for his crimes. During his brief hearing, the masses shouted, "crucify him!" The Governor, unable to determine a crime, still sentenced him to death by crucifixion. The soldiers then took this man and did the following:

They stripped him and put on a scarlet robe. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand.... They spit upon him and took the reed, and smote him on the head. After they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him. (Bible, Matthew 27: 28-31)

Finally, the soldiers nailed the palms of his hands and his wrists to a wooden cross, and left him to hang, high above the ground until he died.

Should this man be classified a martyr? Why or why not? Who will make that decision? How does one become a martyr?

Recently, there was another man who claimed to be the Messiah. He went around teaching the words of God and prophesying the destruction of the world. He was described as a charismatic leader, "a high school drop out, rock musician, polygamist, and a preacher" (Lacayo, 1993, p.34). He believed in holding nightly bible study classes, stockpiling massive amounts of firearms, and having sexual relations with all female followers starting when they turned eleven.

Soon, word leaked out about the number of weapons collected by this man at his compound in Texas. Government leaders became nervous and attempted to confront him. This confrontation led to several deaths and a 51 day standoff. Impatiently awaiting a surrender, the government stormed the compound with tanks and tear gas. A woman inside the compound describes the incident:

The whole entire building felt warm all at once, and then after the warmth, then a thick, black smoke, and the place became dark. I could hear--I couldn't see anything. I could hear people moving and screaming, and I still was sitting down while this was happening. Then the voices faded. I was making my way out of the building, because it began to get very hot, and my clothes were starting to melt on me. I saw a little bit of light. I made my way towards the light, and on doing so, I could see where it--it was one of the bedrooms. I could--the window was missing. I looked out. I don't like heights, but I thought, I stay inside and die or I jump out of

the window. So I put my head--my hands over my head and leapt out of the window. (Reavis, 1995, p. 276)

This woman escaped with her life, but the charismatic leader and 79 of his followers tragically burned to death.

Should this man be classified a martyr? Why or why not? Who will make that decision? How does one become a martyr?

Answers to these questions can be directly linked to the rhetoric involved in each situation. Although, other factors have an impact, ultimately, it is the rhetorician who will decide the fate of the martyrs. Utilizing a theory of martyrdom to evaluate the situation and a rhetorical analysis of the histories, biographies, discourses, and print media relating to the candidates, classification of martyrs can be determined. First, a definition and explanation of the criteria for martyrdom must be established. Next, three case studies, Joan of Arc (Saint of France), John Brown (White Abolitionist), and Jim Jones (Reverend of the Jonestown Massacre), will be asserted into the criteria for martyrdom. Finally, a discussion will follow to summarize the findings of the thesis.

Purpose

Lacey Baldwin Smith (1997) stated it best, "Not even God, it is said, can change history, but the historian can; his profession requires him to do so" (p. 3). The purpose of this study is to analyze the rhetoric involved in creating martyrs. It is the quest of the rhetorician to find new topics to analyze, furthering their understanding of the process of communication. Many scholars have written biographies on historical figures, histories of historical events, and books focusing on the martyrdom theme. However, little has been done in

establishing a criteria for determining martyrdom. Therefore, historians and rhetoricians have enjoyed the liberty of creating martyrs wholly through the rhetoric presented in their texts. Why do scholars maintain such a stronghold over history? Obviously, they are determined in their message and use subjective language to promote their ideas. Thus, the rhetoric of historians molds images of how the world perceives history.

This study will prepare a standard by which historians and rhetoricians may better evaluate the acts of martyrs. Throughout history, people have performed similar acts of faith, but not all are remembered as martyrs. For example, Jesus Christ was put to death for his beliefs and is considered a martyr by most of the world, but David Koresh, who also died for his cause, is thought of by many as the “wacko from Waco.” This study will present a criteria for martyrdom, thus determining the elements utilized by rhetoricians in the creation of martyrs.

Review of Literature

The definitive books written on martyrdom include: A Noble Death, by Arthur Droge (1991) , Fools, Martyrs, Traitors, by Lacey Baldwin Smith (1997) , The History of Martyrs Epitomized, by Thomas Mall (1747) , Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563-1694, by John Knott (1993) , Crown of Thorns, by Eyal Naveh (1990) , and Foxe's Christian Martyrs of the World, by John Foxe (1954) .

Droge (1991) analyzes the difference between suicide and martyrdom, utilizing the debates of Plato and Aristotle as support. An evaluation of the martyrdoms of Jesus Christ and Polycarp are presented as a demonstration of Droge's theories. In chapter one, Droge (1991) uses three terms to define a

martyr: heroic, sacrificial, and noble. He maintains that humility and willingness to embrace death determine whether or not one will be a martyr or a suicide victim.

Smith (1997) provides background into the many debates over the definition of a martyr. Smith (1997) dissects the martyrdom of Socrates to illustrate the true meaning of a martyr. The author claims that historians control history. Several case studies are offered in support of this theory including a chapter on John Brown. Smith (1997) concludes that the quality of motive, self-control, and circumstance are significant characteristics of a martyr.

Mall's (1747) and Foxe's (1563) texts are an excellent reference, offering numerous stories of Christian martyrs. The works include the martyrs of Jesus Christ, the apostles, Sir Thomas More, John Wycliffe, John Calvin, and many others. Although no analysis is provided, the stories are written in such dramatic fashion as to support the theory that historians sometimes intermingle fiction with fact.

Naveh's (1990) work, Crown of Thorns, simplifies the definition of a martyr by defining him/her as a hero who suffers and dies. The book analyzes the effects of John Brown's and Abraham Lincoln's deaths on the American people. The work provides a detailed history of martyrdom in America and adds a political element to the evaluation. Finally, Naveh (1990) stresses that a martyr does not expect immediate change but hopes his/her death will affect the future.

Knott's (1993) study is two-fold: an evaluation of the individual vs. authority and an analysis of the last words of martyrs. He claims that by submitting to death, one's spirit will overcome authority. It is this spirit that will inspire the masses to push for change. Knott (1993) continues that it is the

words spoken during the last moments of life that define the true martyr and will create this spirit among the people. The compilation of these works enables this study to establish a standard criteria for martyrs.

Numerous historians have written books on the life of Joan of Arc. Five texts have been selected for their distinct styles to evaluate the martyrdom of Joan of Arc. These works include: The First Biography of Joan of Arc, by Frances Orleans (1964) , For Joan of Arc, by Ferdinand Foch (1930) , Fresh Verdicts On Joan of Arc, edited by Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (1996) , Joan of Arc: The Legend and The Reality, by Frances Gies (1981) , and The Judgments of Joan: Joan of Arc, A Study In Cultural History, by Charles Lightbody (1973) .

The First Biography of Joan of Arc presents a saintly image of Joan of Arc. Originally written in French, the work places Joan on a pedestal. Providing a thorough background into her life, the biography establishes a foundation for the study of Joan as a Saint. A similar work was offered by Foch (1930) , focusing only on her goodness as a perfect being. The text is written in a romantic style, intertwining fantasy with truth. Foch's (1930) work is a key example of a historian's use of rhetoric within the text.

Wheeler and Wood (1996) have compiled a work of essays focusing on different aspects of Joan of Arc's life. The essays that lend themselves to this project are titled, "Speaking of Angels" by Jane Marie Pinzino, "Readers of the Lost Arc" by Steven Weiskopf, and "The Joan Phenomenon and The French Right" by Nadia Margolis. Pinzio's essay argues that the truth of the Joan of Arc trial lies not in the testimonies, but in the popular myth created by the French. Weiskopf's writings explore the pendulum that exists between truth and fiction in the case of Joan of Arc. Margolis, in her essay, traces the rhetoric involved in

stimulating a political movement inspired by Joan's tragedy.

Frances Gies (1981) presents a simple perspective on the trial of Joan of Arc in his book. The work successfully places Joan in the context of her time by defining a woman's role during this era. However, the text offers little interpretation of the events and relies heavily on secondary sources. Although dependent on other sources, Gies bias is still evident.

Lightbody's (1973) study begins with the death of Joan of Arc. The text focuses on the reputation of Joan rather than the facts. Lightbody (1973) argues that people have created their own personal images of Joan to meet their needs. The work is dedicated to uncovering the roots of the many remarkable myths about Joan.

The chapter presenting the martyrdom of John Brown will utilize both texts and articles for rhetorical analysis. Primarily, The Life, Trial, and Execution of Captain John Brown, compiled by Da Capo Press (1859), The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown, edited by Richard D. Webb (1972), Man On Fire, by Jules Abels (1971), and His Soul Goes Marching On, edited by Paul Finkelman (1995), will provide the writings necessary for examination. The works by Da Capo (1859) and Webb (1972) are rich with primary documentation. Evaluation of the letters and testimonies provided within the book offer insight into the mind set of a pre-Civil War society.

Abels' (1971) study focuses on John Brown's rise to power. A majority of the work is dedicated to Brown's conquest throughout the Midwest. However, a chapter titled "His Soul Went Marching On" analyzes the effects Brown's execution had on the media. Abels (1971) points out that the southern press created Brown in the image of an insane old man, but the northern press promoted him as an abolitionist hero among the masses. Abels (1971) argues

that the media, via exaggeration, created the unwarranted positive image of Captain John Brown.

Finkelman's (1995) work discusses why Brown became known as a martyr. He points to the influence of politicians, orators, and the media in the construction of the legend. Finkelman (1995) feels that it was Brown's example which enabled many who died in the Civil War to be considered martyr's.

Several articles focusing on John Brown's martyrdom will be utilized to strengthen the argument of the rhetorical effects on martyrs. "Symbolic Martyrdom: The Ultimate Apology" by Thomas R. Burkholder (1991) examines the rhetorical methods used in Brown's final speech in attempting to justify his actions to the masses. He states that Brown used two common apologetic strategies: denial of intent and transcendence. The article clarifies which audiences Brown was attempting to persuade and how that persuasive effort was accomplished. Burkholder (1991) illustrates the effectiveness of these speeches by evaluating excerpts from the orations.

Another study, "Henry David Thoreau's Apotheosis of John Brown: A Study of Nineteenth Century Rhetorical Heroism," by Paul D. Erickson (1996) demonstrates the role taken by Henry David Thoreau in assisting Brown in becoming a martyr. Some scholars claim that Thoreau's three speeches which defended Brown and celebrated his accomplishments helped create a martyr for abolitionists. However, Erickson (1996) disagrees and argues that Thoreau transfigured Brown into a demigod, thus supporting Thoreau's transcendentalist propaganda. Thoreau used Brown to enshrine himself as a hero.

"Forgotten Surrender: John Brown's Raid and the Cult of Martial Virtues," by Robert E. McGlone (1989) argues that many historians classify

Brown as a hero based on the acceptance of an erroneous rendition of the climax at Harper's Ferry. McGlone (1989) is further distraught about the birth of the cult, based on martial values. McGlone (1989) claims that historians should not create the perfect soldier, enshrining these figures. These rituals falsely lead people to place these individuals on a pedestal. McGlone (1989) accuses historians of abusing their power and distorting the truth in history. If historians had printed the truth, Brown might only be remembered for his integrity.

An analysis is performed on the language used in the articles written during the events in the study, "The Martyrdom of John Brown," by Charles A. Jellison (1997). The study argues that the descriptive language used by the press, promoted a martyrdom image for Captain John Brown. At the outset of the incident, nicknames like "Bloody Brown" and "Crazy Brown" were standard. However, these titles were replaced with adjectives like "brave" and "God-like". With solid examples, Jellison supports his argument on the effects of the media on Brown.

The final model for the study will illustrate the negative effects historians have had on the legacy of Reverend Jim Jones. The following three texts have been selected for analysis: Raven: The Untold Story Of Reverend Jim Jones and His People, by Tim Reiterman (1982), Our Father Who Art In Hell, by James Reston Jr. (1981), and Salvation and Suicide: An Interpretation of Jim Jones, the People's Temple, and Jonestown, by David Chidester (1991). Reiterman's (1982) text presents a background on Jones and an in depth discussion concerning the beliefs and structure of the People's Temple. Utilizing letters, quotes, and interviews of all those involved, all facets of the event are well covered. Reiterman (1982) attempts to report the facts rather than interpret the situation.

Three days after the events at Jonestown, James Reston Jr. (1981) , a journalist in San Francisco, decided to fight through the sensationalism of the press and bring forth his version of the truth of the Jonestown Massacre. The study characterizes both Jones and his followers in an attempt to rationalize the event. Reston (1981) presents Jones as both a victim and as a murderer. This passionate work is loaded with primary documentation and interviews of those involved, making it a solid resource for the study of Jim Jones as a martyr.

Chidester's (1991) book emphasizes the religious aspects of the tragedy. A comparison is offered defining cults and religious sects. Chidester (1991) argues that by labeling the People's Temple as a cult, a negative stereotype of Jim Jones and his people was created. Chidester (1991) concludes that the People's Temple was a group of misunderstood religious zealots fighting to have their message heard.

Neal Osherow (1997) offers one of the few communications studies on Jim Jones, "Making Sense of the Nonsensical: An Analysis Of Jonestown". Osherow (1997) provides historical context before rhetorically analyzing the Jonestown situation. The article points out the importance of conformity, persuasion, and self-justification, in the eventual mass suicide. Osherow (1997) claims that Jones' followers reached total commitment due to the lack of alternatives available to them. Jones is presented as a cold hearted, manipulative, psychopath in the study.

"The Truth About Jonestown", by Keith Harrary (1992) takes a psychological approach to evaluating the activities leading up to the destruction of the People's Temple. The study analyzes the road to absolute control of a cult leader through the exploitation of the human mind. Harrary (1992) establishes two conclusions: people involved in cults are generally searching

for meaning in life and through humiliation and deterioration of the body the mind is easily controlled. This analysis illustrates one example of why Jones may have fallen short of martyrdom.

Methodology

There have been thousands of martyrs throughout the history of the world. However, what is a martyr? First, note that this study will present a universal definition and criteria of a religious martyr. This feat will be accomplished through an analysis of the Christian, Islamic, and Babi definitions of a martyr. The definition will also be based on the concepts of A Noble Death, by Arthur Droge (1991) , Fools, Martyrs, and Traitors, by Lacey Baldwin Smith (1997) , and The History of Martyrs Epitomized, by Thomas Mall (1747). A brief description of the criteria will be presented in this section, while a full explanation of the criteria will be developed in chapter two.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Quality of motive- | sacred reasons. |
| 2. Willingness to die- | face death without fear or reservations. |
| 3. Humble instrument of Divine will- | selflessness in doing God's will. |
| 4. Self-control- | full control physically, mentally, and spiritually. |
| 5. Timing and circumstance- | historical setting and situation of death. |
| 6. Recognition and acceptability- | promoted and accepted by the majority as a noble act. |

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 7. No concessions to the world- | hold true to beliefs until death. |
| 8. Dramatic mode of death- | sorrow and tragic thoughts must remain in the hearts of the observers. |

How does one become a martyr? When history is retold, bias can not be over looked. Therefore, this study assumes historians and rhetoricians are one in the same. Scholars rewrite history based on their perceptions of the unfolding events that they have witnessed or researched. As this rewritten history is presented to the masses, it carries with it rhetorical messages. The rhetorical situations presented in the texts, articles, and speeches written about Joan of Arc, John Brown, and Jim Jones, will be presented to determine the martyrdom status of each case. The rhetorical situation is defined using Kenneth Burke's Pentadic Process: the act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose. The rhetorical situations of each candidate will be inserted into the criteria for martyrdom, thus determining their fates in history. Joan of Arc was selected for this study based on her mass acceptance as a martyr. John Brown was chosen for he has both strong support and strong opposition for his case for martyrdom. Finally, Jim Jones was selected for his negative image that was developed by the media, thus defeating his martyrdom chances. All three candidates proclaim religious beliefs for their actions. Therefore, all three could be considered martyrs.

CHAPTER TWO

MARTYRDOM

I'll suffer the lash of the mental whip
and the cruel rack of stretching hours alone,
all done in silence- you won't hear me scream-
I can't let you see the damage done to me,
I'll close my gouged eyes to your temptation,
hide within myself, thoughts of nights past,
this martyr's smile tells more than you can know
of the pain and pleasure you've put me through.

(Jaime, 1995, p. 1)

The term martyr is universally accepted as one who willingly dies for a cause (Smith, 1997, p.11). However, besides that basic premise, the martyr is a complex term with many symbolic meanings. Throughout history the term has been defined using stories similar to the story of Perpetua.

Perpetua was only twenty-two years old and a new mother when she was arrested for refusing to pay tribute to the Roman emperor. She was also guilty of being a Christian and denouncing the Roman gods. Throughout Perpetua's trials, she was described as being exceedingly joyful in her sufferings. Perpetua had received four visions while imprisoned. These visions gave her the confidence necessary to become fearless in the face of death. Perpetua knew she was going to be celebrated upon entry into heaven's gates. On the night before her execution, those waiting to die enjoyed a last meal

together. Large crowds gathered to listen to the condemned speak of the judgments of god. This was to be Perpetua's last opportunity to testify of her beliefs. The day had come for the executions, as one observer recorded the event:

The day of Victory (the execution) dawned and they marched from the prison to the amphitheater joyfully as though they were going to heaven with calm faces trembling if at all with joy rather than fear. Perpetua went along with shining countenance and calm step putting down everyone's stare by her own intense gaze. The prisoners were first gouged by gladiators and then attacked by wild animals. Perpetua and Felicity (her servant) were both thrown to a wild heifer, an unusual animal for such an event, but one chosen that their sex might be matched with that of the beast. First Perpetua was hit by the heifer and tossed on her back. Seemingly oblivious to the hit, she covered her thighs which had been exposed and asked for a hair pin to fix her hair in order to not appear as though she were in mourning on her day of triumph. Perpetua was then called back after being gouged by the animal and, much to the amazement of everyone asked, when are we going to be thrown to that heifer or whatever it is? When told that this had already happened, she refused to believe it until she was shown the marks of the experience on her body and clothes. The prisoners who still remained were then to be put to death by the sword. Perpetua took the trembling hand of the young gladiator and guided it to her throat. It was as though so great a woman, feared as she was by the unclean spirit, could not be dispatched unless she herself were willing. (Dillon, 1997, p. 2)

Perpetua was one of the first martyrs in history. Through stories like this one

that have been passed down through history, the term martyr can best be defined.

The word martyr is a Greek term meaning witness or someone who testifies (Droge, 1991, p.3). This study will focus on the religious meaning of martyrs as it has been defined through history. Although it appears to be a simple word, based on the history and symbolism attached to martyr, it creates a very difficult concept to define. Rooted in religion, martyrdom was established as a form of canonizing those who had sacrificed their lives as a testimonial to their beliefs. Analyzing the Christian connotation, the Islamic meaning, the Babi significance, and scholarly insights on martyrdom, an explanation and criteria for martyrdom will be determined.

Christianity

The true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will instrument of God, not lost it but found it, for he has found freedom in submission to God. The martyr no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of martyrdom. (Bergman, 1996, p. 3)

When most Americans hear the term martyr, they immediately think of the most recognizable Christian martyr, Jesus Christ. Jesus, an innocent man with a message of goodness, was crucified for his beliefs. Jesus Christ represents the standard in martyrdom. All Christian martyrs must be compared to Jesus if they hope to achieve a similar status. Like Christ, the martyr no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of martyrdom. Augustine wrote, "The cause, not the suffering, makes genuine martyrs" (Bergman, 1996, p. 4). Christian martyrs must believe the advancement of the gospel of Jesus Christ is

more important than their own life. Humility is a necessary tool in becoming a martyr. It was Jesus and many other early Christian martyrs that established the meaning of martyrdom.

The Christian understanding of martyrdom can be further defined using several passages from the Bible. "You do not seek death, of itself, merely to die. If the holy spirit leads you to flee, then you are not being led to seal your testimony with martyrdom" (Bible, Matt 24:16). This passage explains that the Lord's servants should not look to become martyrs, however, if the situation arises, one must sacrifice his/her life in order to seal their testimony. Being a martyr is the ultimate witness of Christ. Similar to the Islamic and Babi teachings, martyrs are promised a heavenly reward, as this scripture alludes: "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life" (Bible, Rev. 2:10). The Lord also speaks of avenging his martyrs: "Vengeance is mine. I will repay saith the Lord" (Bible, Romans 10:19).

Love for Jesus must be the true motivation for martyrdom: "And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony and love not their lives unto death" (Bible, Rev. 12 : 11). Further, Christianity teaches that a martyr must concentrate solely on Christ and not the act of martyrdom. Isaiah stressed that one must fear God more than he/she fears man: "Sanctify the Lord of hosts Himself; and let Him be your fear, and let him be your Dread" (Bible, Is. 8:13). A martyr must also use his/her moment of glory to confess that Jesus is the Christ. The Lord promises that He will give you the words to speak and assure your spot in heaven. Finally, when in a position to become a martyr, one must prepare for this great undertaking.

Preparation is completed by accomplishing the following four steps: clear your thoughts of sin, maintain faith in your heart and mind, “Pray without ceasing” (Bible, 1 Thess. 5:17) , and stay focused on the mission of Christ. It is through these scriptures that a true understanding of a Christian martyr can be obtained. Later in this chapter, examples from the early Christian martyrs will be used to explain the criteria of martyrdom.

Islam

Majdi abu Wardeh, at the youthful age of nineteen, was preparing for the happiest day of his life. Majdi was convinced that his future was soon going to be filled with spiritual and physical bliss, a seat next to his God, married to seventy-two beautiful virgins, and a life time of honor and respect for his family. However, in order to achieve this, Majdi had to fulfill his duty. One Sunday morning, Majdi crowded onto a bus in downtown Jerusalem, proudly adorned in his finest clothes and a vest packed with dynamite, exploded, killing himself and twenty-five others. A few days later, his best friend, Nasim Abdelrazik, commented on the tragedy, “of course we are all proud of what he did. Given the chance we’d do the same” (Kraft, 1996, p. 1). Under Islamic teachings, Majdi’s act defines a martyr in his culture.

Another example is that of 24 year old Emawi. Emawi is Palestinian and is taught from a very young age to fulfill his duty as a Palestinian. Emawi’s duty is focused on one issue, expelling the Jews from the Palestinian promised lands. He too is taught of the paradise that awaits him if he sacrifices his life for the holy war. Thus, Emawi, intent on entering paradise, drove a booby-trapped car full of explosives to the center of the Gaza Strip and detonated the bomb. Emawi is the only one who died, but he injured nine Israeli soldiers. Following

Emawi's death, he was praised as a martyr. According to Islamic custom, Emawi's actions would classify him as a martyr.

The history of martyrdom (Shahada) for Islam is rooted in the concept of Jihad (holy war). Following the leadership of Muhammad, the Muslims sought land expansion. The idea of dying for Allah, resulting in direct ascension to paradise, began as a motivation for soldiers to risk everything for their God. The concept is clearly promoted in this passage from the Koran:

Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead. Nay they live, finding their substance from their Lord. They rejoice in the Bounty provided by Allah...the (Martyr's) glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they (cause to) grieve. They rejoice in the grace and the Bounty from Allah, and in the fact that Allah suffereth not the reward of the Faithful to be lost (in the least). (Winters, 1997, p. 1)

The Koran goes on to explain that present life is low and the afterlife, which is real life, is higher. It continues by describing paradise as a place full of rivers, green throughout, eternal happiness, and everything that one could desire. An Apostle to Allah supports this theory in an interview:

Someone came to me from my Lord and gave me the news that if any of my followers dies worshipping none along with Allah, he will enter Paradise. "Even if he committed adultery and theft?" Even if he committed adultery and theft. (Winters, 1997, p. 2)

Martyrs are not held to the standards of others. Upon death they bypass barzakh (the purgatory limbo) and go straight to paradise. Obviously, to the desert nomad, paradise seemed incredibly rewarding, described as a garden of cool breezes, beautiful companions, couches, and nearness to God. This ideology provided a highly motivated and zealous fighting force for Islam. Their

death would stand as a witness to the dedication to their faith. Many young Islamic boys are waiting for their chance to become martyrs.

Babi

Haji Mulla Ismael could save his life if he renounced the Babi faith. Haji would not consent. Instead he stood up and cried out, "Oh zephyr! Say from me to Ismael destined for sacrifice, to return alive from the street of the friend is not the condition of love" (Winters, 1996, p.2). Then he removed his turban and shouted to the executioner, "Go on with thy work" (Winters, 1996, p.2). Then the executioner struck the final blow and Haji had expired. This story illustrates the characteristics of a martyr under Babi tradition. The Babis thoughts on martyrdom are focused on four principals: (a) draw on similarities of other historical sacrifices, (b) right before death one must take advantage of the opportunity to proclaim their message, (c) willingness to die based on mystical intoxication, and (d) die for the Babi cause (Winters, 1996, p. 1).

The story of Ismael has often been compared to the biblical story of Abraham and Issac. People in stories share in their willingness to sacrifice on behalf of their beliefs. Another example of a historical comparison are the similarities between the death of Christ and the death of Bab, the father of the Babi faith. Both men broke sacred religious laws, their teachings caused the people to stir, and both turned down the opportunity to preserve their lives had they denounced their convictions.

According to principal two, the condemned must use his/her death as an opportunity to proselyte. A martyr's death was the supreme proof of their devotion to the teachings of Babi. The martyr of Haji Sulayman Khan exemplifies the importance of dying with many witnesses, thus cementing the

testimony of the martyr. Haji was asked how he wanted to die. Haji replied,

Pierce holes in my flesh and in each wound place a candle. Let nine candles be lighted all over my body, and in this state conduct me through the streets of Tehran. Summon the multitude to witness the glory of my martyrdom, so that the memory of my death may remain imprinted in their hearts and help them, as they recall the intensity of my tribulation, to recognize the light I have embraced. After I have reached the foot of the gallows and have uttered the last prayer of my earthly life, cleave my body in twain and suspend my limbs on either side of the gate of Tehran, that the multitude passing beneath it may witness to the love which the faith of Bab has kindled in the hearts of his disciples, and may look upon the proofs of their devotion. (Winters, 1996, p. 10)

This example is clearly stressing the importance of leaving a strong impression upon the witnesses. Martyr experiences like Haji's successfully motivated many into entering the Babi faith.

To be recognized as a Babi martyr, one must be convincing that death becomes irrelevant, no matter how much torture, pain, or suffering they endure. The mental, spiritual, and physical states must become focused on the faith of the Babi. This is evident in an excerpt from the biography about Ebrahim ibn Azam:

Ebrahim was on board a ship, wearing ragged clothing and unknown to the other passengers. He was in a spiritual ecstasy. A storm arose, and the sailors randomly chose him to throw overboard to lighten the craft and prevent its sinking. That moment when they took me by the ear to throw me into the water, I felt that I had attained my desire, and was happy. On another occasion I went to a mosque to sleep there. They

would not let me be...so they seized me by the foot and dragged me out.

Now the mosque had three steps; my head struck against each step in turn, and the blood flowed forth. I felt that I had attained my desire...I

said, "Would that the mosque had more steps, to increase my felicity!"

On another occasion I was rapt in a state of ecstasy. A joker came and urinated on me. Then too I was happy... (Winters, 1996, p. 14)

To be tortured to death, which would be the martyr's crown of life, was the Babi's aim and great desire. The Babis believed as did Ebrahim, that the more pain and suffering endured, the greater the reward in heaven.

The final principal is similar to the concept of Jihad of the Islamic faith. The Babi martyr would be expected to die protecting the lives of the women and children in the faith. These fighters in the army, Mahdi, are encouraged to sacrifice their lives for the Babi cause, guaranteeing them greatest of rewards. Their leader Babi revealed:

I am come into this world to bear witness to the glory of sacrifice. You are aware of the intensity of my longing; you realize the degree of my renunciation. Nay, beseech the Lord your God to hasten the hour of my martyrdom and accept my sacrifice. Rejoice, for...I...will be slain on the altar of our devotion to the King of Glory. (Winters, 1996, p. 22)

It was clear the Babi were expected to die fighting for the progression and preservation of the Babi traditions.

Martyrdom Theories

John R. Knott (1993) presents a well rounded definition of martyrdom by analyzing the works of many authors on the topic of martyrs. A martyr's experience is usually enhanced by the dramatic story telling of historical writers.

As an example, Knott (1993) uses the martyrdom of John Rogers as told by John Foxe:

Roger's encountered his wife and ten of his eleven children on the way to the Smithfield. ...one sucking on her breast...This sorrowful of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death, with wonderful patience, in the defense and quarrel of Christ's gospel. At the stake Rogers was offered a last-minute pardon, which he rejected, and allowed a few words, which he used to exhort the onlookers to remain in the faith and doctrine he had taught them. As the fire began to burn his legs and shoulders, Rogers washed his hands in the flames, as one feeling no smart, and held them up until they were consumed. (Knott, 1993, p. 11)

Although many accounts have been offered on the same scene, each differed in dramatic quality. Knott (1993) continues analyzing the works of Foxe and suggest two factors evident in most of the martyr cases: tremendous suffering and a final confession, sealing their testimony of their faith. He stresses the importance of not conceding in this quote, "Martyrs bear witness to the truth, not themselves" (Knott, 1993, p. 151). Knott examines Milton's thoughts on martyrs and concludes that it is the defense of the truth that should take precedence over the suffering. Milton believes too much is written on the dramatic death scene instead, he feels more should be written on the martyr's cause. If the act of death is too dramatic, Milton believes people will only remember the execution and not the martyr's testimony (Knott, 1993, p.151).

In the text Crown of Thorns, by Eyal J. Naveh (1990) , a further attempt is made to define the term of martyrdom. Naveh states that a martyr is a hero who suffers and dies; usually that death is a terrible death. A martyr's goal is to

leave a divine message that will pass through generations. A martyr must believe that his/her sacrifice will lead to a better tomorrow. Naveh (1990) offers an American definition of a martyr in these three points: (1) the belief of the majority of the society in biblical religion and its applicability to historical circumstances, (2) its compatibility with other cultural traditions that give meaning to human experience, such as the sanctity of human life, the ideal of freedom, the belief in progress, or the commitment to reform, (3) specific tragedies that require certain explanation in order to become meaningful (Naveh, 1990, p. 167). Naveh (1990) claims that the ultimate American martyr was Abraham Lincoln:

Whether idealized or not, the real Lincoln is now this portrait. For in him the American people find the personification of democracy....

Unsentimental loyalty to ideals, unpretentious sacrifice in the interest of the community, simple and unquestioning devotion to those forces which from the chaos of today we feel, are to make the better world of tomorrow- all these ideals which after all constitute the real America are found in him. (Naveh, 1990, p. 71)

Americans value with faith and respect, its martyrs.

Arthur Droge (1991) and James Tabor (1991) make an interesting comparison between suicide and the acts of a martyr. A martyr, without hesitation, embraces death. The example of Perpetua is used to display this concept. Further, a martyr must voluntarily submit to death, as stated by Christ, "No one takes my life, I lay it down of my own free will" (Droge and Tabor, 1991, p. 130). Christ made it clear that he was in control of his own destiny. Suicide differs from a martyr, in that its victim appears to have relinquished control to the enemy. A dramatic example of a martyr's control is presented in the story of

Daniel as he spoke to King Nebuchadnezzar:

If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out of your hand, O King. But if not, be it known to you, O King, that we will not serve your Gods or worship the golden image which you set up. (Bible, Dan 3:17-18)

Daniel was not willing to compromise which will stand as a powerful testament to his faith in his God.

Finally, Droge and Tabor (1991) insist that it is the duty of a martyr to proclaim his/her testimony before the final execution. People seem to take merit in and adhere to the final words of a condemned person who dies for a cause. An example of this is represented in a letter written by Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, to various churches enroute to his demise:

I am writing to all the churches, and I give injunctions to all men, that I am dying willingly for God's sake, if you do not hinder it. Allow me to be eaten by the beasts, through which I can attain to God... Rather, entice the wild beasts that they might become my tomb, and leave no trace of my body, that when I fall asleep I be not burdensome to any. Then shall I truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not even see my body. Beseech Christ on my behalf, that I may be found a sacrifice through these instruments. (Droge and Tabor, 1991, p. 130)

In this letter Ignatius is convincing in his humility and willingness to die for his principles. When people read this letter they will be touched by his tremendous act of faith and possibly become inspired to learn about Christianity.

The final scholar to offer insight into martyrdom will be Lacey Baldwin Smith (1997). By using the example of Joan of Arc, Smith (1997) explains a martyr as one whose death shakes the faith of the people in their judgments of

their leaders. This argument represents the direct disregard for authority by the martyr. Smith (1997) claims that one must refuse all offerings from the enemy, in order to become a true martyr. The next aspect of a martyr is style. The death of a martyr must be truly dramatic and artistic. Smith (1997) illustrates this in the death of Edmond Genings a priest. Richard Topcliffe, an overbearing Priest, asked Genings to confess his sins, Genings said:

I know not, Mr. Topcliffe, in what I have offended my dear anointed princess; for I had offended her, or any other, in anything, I would willingly ask her and all the world for forgiveness. If she be offended with me without a cause, for professing my faith and religion, because I am a priest...I shall be, I trust, excused and innocent before God. I must obey God, saith St. Peter, rather than men, and I must not in this case acknowledge a fault where there is none. (Smith, 1997, p. 12)

At this point Topcliffe ordered the execution to continue. As Genings was having his genitals cut off and his belly ripped open he clearly shouted, "Oh, it smarts."

Smith (1997) includes the idea of the necessity to endure suffering as a qualification to be a martyr. All martyrs suffer but they must not reveal their pain, like Blanche Gamond, a French Huguenot:

She was stripped naked to the waist and hung from the ceiling by her wrists, the cord being drawn as tight as her torturers could manage. She was beaten by six women who kept saying, "Pray now to your God." Suddenly in the midst of her ordeal, she sensed the greatest consolation that I can ever receive in my life, since I had the honor of being whipped for the name of Christ. Her experience, she said, transcended words: "Why can I not write down the inconceivable influences, consolations and

peace which I felt interiorly?" She had to fall back upon sexual comparisons to express her ecstasy. Her joys "were so great that I was ravished." Her torturers cried out, "We must double our blows; she does not feel them, for she neither speaks nor cries." Blanche's explanation was simple and direct. "How should I have cried, since I was swooning with happiness within?" (Smith, 1997, p. 14)

Any normal person would release chilling screams of pain except a martyr. Martyrs are strong. No matter how painful the torture, they will never perjure their beliefs. They believe they are the divine instruments of God, and their death will serve a purpose.

Smith (1997) concludes that Jesus Christ represents the ultimate martyr in Western civilization. His sacrifice established the qualifications of all martyrs: death, determination, choice, self-control, and recognition. Smith (1997) insists that, those who wish to enter the ranks of martyrs, must follow in the steps of Jesus Christ.

Criteria for Martyrdom

The term martyrdom carries with it vast meanings. Based on culture, history, and faith, a martyr can symbolize many things to many people. Using the various definitions presented by the Muslims, Jews, Christians, and scholars, a criteria for martyrdom is established.

The criteria for a martyr, not presented in any particular order, begins with the quality of the motive. To be considered a martyr, one must die for the most sacred of reasons. Although it varies with cultures, sacred reasons can be defined as attempting an act to either help another person or done in the name of a higher being. An example is illustrated in the execution of St. Stephen.

Stephen was an apostle of Jesus Christ. He was chosen by others to preach and give alms to the poor. Serving the Lord well, he was allowed to heal the sick and convert non-believers. However, this led to confrontations with many Jewish leaders, who found fault with his beliefs. Stephen was always able to successfully defend his ideas and thus angered the Jews. Therefore, the Jews bore false witness and accused Stephen of blasphemy. He was brought before a council and sentenced to death for his falsified crimes. In turn, the Jews dragged him out of the city and stoned him to death. Stephen's only crimes were serving the sick and needy. He truly died for a sacred cause.

The second demanding characteristic of a martyr is the willingness to die. A martyr must face death without showing fear to his/her persecutors or the gathered crowds. This confidence comes through faith in a final reward, whether it be paradise or heaven. An example of this fearlessness is found in the story of St. Andrew. An ancient writer tells of the story as he heard it:

When Andrew saw the cross prepared, he neither changed countenance nor color, as the weakness of mortal man is wont to do; neither did his blood shrink; neither did he fail in his speech; his body fainted not; neither was his mind molested; his understanding did not fail him; but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speak, and fervent charity did appear in his words. He said, "O cross, most welcomed and oft-looked for; with a willing mind, joyfully and desirously, I come to thee, being the scholar of Him who did hang on thee; because I have been always thy lover, and have longed to embrace thee." St. Andrew hung upon the cross three whole days, suffering dreadful pain, but continuing constantly to tell the people around him of the love of Jesus Christ. (Foxe, 1963, p. 30)

Andrew displayed tremendous faith in his Lord by walking to his death without showing any signs of fear. The sturdiness of a martyr gives the people hope to believe in his/her message.

A martyr must not in anyway think of his/her gain from the event. One must become a humble instrument of divine will. One example, is that of the crucifixion of St. Peter. He asked to be crucified upside down because he did not feel worthy to suffer in the same way that Christ had suffered. Another experience is the execution of Polycarpus, a converted Christian. He was condemned to be burned to death. After being tied to the stake, he did not scream or throw a tantrum, but he prayed to heaven. As the flames were engulfing him, Polycarpus sang praises to the Lord. He was a humble servant to the Lord. He sacrificed everything to be a tool in the hands of the Lord (Foxe, 1963, p. 56).

The fourth criteria for martyrdom consists of maintaining self-control , physically, mentally, and spiritually, during the horrifying experience. One must be able to control the physical emotion throughout the execution, be in a sane frame of mind allowing one to testify the validity of his/her beliefs, and one must be focused on the kingdom of God. Earlier a letter was presented by Ignatius. He wrote the letter only days before being fed to the wild beasts. The letter displays the tremendous self-control Ignatius must have had when he died. He found within himself the will power to maintain his emotions throughout the execution. Ignatius's example illustrates the control necessary to be a martyr.

" Timing is everything", is an old cliché that supports the next point of martyrdom. A martyr must have a hand in choosing the time, location, and circumstances, of his/her execution. The death of Haji Sulayman Kham exemplifies this characteristic. Haji, in a story previously quoted, chose his

method of death, where he wanted his body to hang after his death, and how long he wanted his execution to last. He displayed total control over his situation. The people who witnessed Haji's martyrdom took with them a belief that Haji stood firm on his beliefs and showed no fear, instead took control of his fate. The execution must also occur during a historical period that will allow the martyrs act to stand out. For example, one who dies during the Holocaust will gain more recognition than one who dies during the Victorian era. History must lend itself to the martyr's cause.

The most important key to becoming a martyr and the thesis for this study, is necessity of achieving recognition and acceptability. It is the basis of this paper that it is not so much the act, but it is the telling of the act that constructs a martyr in the eyes of the people. Very few people witnessed the executions of the Christians. Fewer people wrote down their experience while watching the events. Historians must use this limited information and make assumptions about these people who died. As stories get passed on, they tend to gain exaggerations and script a more magnificent tale rather than what really occurred. Historians tend to fill in the blanks that they come across with their personal bias or theories. So it may not be the person or the situation, but the rhetoric of the historian that creates the martyr. This theory will be further developed throughout the remaining chapters.

A martyr, no matter what is at stake, must never concede the beliefs of the enemy. If one accepts the will of the accuser, either death will be delayed or no one will have respect for his/her ideas.

Victor was a young Christian who always stood up for his beliefs. This tradition found him in trouble with the Emperor. First, he was examined by the magistrate and advised to return to the worship of the heathen gods. Victor

said, "I am a servant of Christ, and no position offered to me by an earthly prince should interfere with my duty to the King of Heaven" (Foxe, 1963, p. 109). This bold answer earned Victor a severe penalty. He was bound and dragged through the streets, beaten by an angry mob, tied to a rack, and thrown in a dungeon when he refused to worship the heathen gods. While imprisoned, he converted several people and was brought back out to face the Emperor. This time he was condemned to offer incense over an altar and an idol. Once again, he refused, declaring his faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ. At that time the Emperor had enough trouble and sent the boy to a mill to be crushed by stones. It is amazing, this young man suffered so much but never conceded defeat. For this act alone, Victor will always be considered a martyr.

The final criteria includes a dramatic mode of death. The more memorable the event, the more the people will respect the martyr. One of the most dramatic martyrs found is the experience of St. Matthew. Matthew was serving his Lord by preaching and helping the needy. As told in the Apocryphal New Testament, the story continues:

The King treacherously led him to the palace. They pinned him hand and foot to the earth and covered him with papyrus soaked in dolphin oil, and poured brimstone, asphalt, and pitch on him, and heaped up tow and wood. And the fire turned to dew, and all the people praised God. Much charcoal from the royal baths were brought and twelve gods of gold and silver were brought round the fire. Matthew looking up to heaven cried: "Adonai Elohi Sabbath marmari marmounth." The fire blazed up, and the king said: "Where is now your magic?" But all the fire blew out about the idols and melted them- whose weight was one thousand talents of gold. And the King lamented the gods of stone and

clay were superior. The fire burnt up many soldiers, and then took the form of a dragon and chased the King to the palace, and curled round so that he could not go in and made him come back to Matthew , crying for help. Matthew rebuked the fire and prayed, and gave up the ghost...The body and robe were intact. (James, 1924, p. 2)

The legend of how St. Matthew died will never die out. Anyone who hears of it must gain immediate respect for his superb faith. And thus, St. Matthew will forever represent the definition of a martyr.

The theory of martyrdom can become a valuable tool for historians, rhetoricians, and their audiences. The criteria for a martyr relieves the probable bias evident in many historical writings. The audience can more objectively understand the bias in historical writings and can better determine fact from fiction. Using the criteria as a communications model, rhetoricians can fully analyze the rhetorical situation of a martyr. For example, points 1-4 and 7 allow for a complete character analysis of the individual martyr. Further, points 5 and 8 establish the scene in which the rhetorical act was placed. Finally, point 6 presents the rhetoric both spoken and written in history concerning the martyr.

Using this theory on martyrdom as the standard, all possible candidates for martyrdom, regardless of culture, may be evaluated. Three such evaluations will be presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

JOAN OF ARC

I went to her Father's house and slept with her in loving friendship... She was a very good girl, simple and sweet. She loved to go to church, and to holy places. She would spin and do household chores like other girls... She went to confession frequently. She blushed when she was told that she was too devout, that she went to church too often. (Michelet, 1957, p.8)

The above quote was the testimony of Haumette, a childhood friend, during the trial of Joan of Arc. Who was this young French maiden? Was she charitable, pious, and Christlike, deserving of the label, martyr? Or were her prosecutors correct in judging her a heretic, who dialogued with devils and demons? Should Joan of Arc be classified as a martyr, or should her name be synonymous with evil? The events surrounding the execution and trial of Joan will be presented through a brief overview of the story and a step by step presentation of her case. Using the criteria for martyrdom as the standard, Joan's proper label in history will be determined.

Background

Joan of Arc was born on January 6, 1412. She was burned as a heretic on May 30, 1431. She was canonized as a Saint on May 16, 1920. Over the span of 500 years, Joan, otherwise known as the "maiden of God," went from an

innocent child, to a French hero, to a witch, and finally, one of the most honored Saints in France because of the writings and biographies that emphasize her mythical image (Belloc, 1929).

Joan was the third daughter born to Jaques d'Arc and Isabelle Romee in the town of Domremy, France. She was born into a middle class family that made its livelihood through sheep herding. However, unlike many children of that day, she did not tend to the flocks in the fields. Instead, Joan stayed with her mother sewing and spinning. She became proficient with her needle and was called on often to attend to the poor. She was popular with her friends and had many stay over on a regular basis to listen to her. As a child Joan did not learn to read or write, but she spent her time involved in holy activities. Joan's mother would continuously tell her stories of religious merit thus ingraining a spirituality within her daughter (Belloc, 1929).

At the tender age of thirteen something amazing happened to Joan that would guarantee her a place in history. She was gathering flowers when she heard a voice say, "Your mother needs you" (Belloc, 1929, p. 20). Joan quickly returned home only to discover that her mother had not beckoned her. Joan hastily returned to the hills, intrigued by the voice, she was searching for an explanation. At that moment, a bright light appeared to her and the same voice told her to search out the uncrowned King of France and return him to his throne. Nervous and terrified, she did not know how to react. She continued to receive visions and voices that began to soothe her fears and instruct her. The voices identified themselves as Saint Michael, Saint Margaret, and Saint Catherine. These Saints continued to teach her and inspire her towards the fulfillment of her mission (Oliphant, 1896).

Many decades earlier, a myth had been spreading through France that a

maid would restore France. At this time, Joan took it upon herself to reignite this legend as it quickly spread throughout the countryside. With fire in her eyes and passion in her heart, Joan's voices instructed her to discuss her mission with the governor. The governor laughed and demanded that she return to her family. Her father embarrassed, promised her to be married to a boy in the village, hoping to stifle the foolish ideas of his daughter. She refused marriage, stating that she had vowed herself to God and would remain a virgin. This bold attitude forced her to the courts to receive a judgment. To everyone's astonishment, she defended herself successfully and decided to leave town and her family to pursue her destiny.

Combined with Joan's rapid rise to popularity and the losing effort of the French in the Hundred Year's War, the King granted her an audience. At the age of eighteen, the humble village girl entered the presence of Charles VII. With many looking on in amusement, Joan went to Charles, knelt down and said: "Gentil Dauphin, I am Jeanne the Maid. I am sent to you by the King of Heaven to tell you that you shall be consecrated and crowned at Rheims, and shall be lieutenant of the King of Heaven, who is King of France" (Oliphant, 1896, p. 53). After much thought and a thorough examination of the Maid, the King declared that she was, in fact, sent from God and should be used to help France win the war. Joan was hurriedly prepared to attend to the battle at Orleans.

Dressed in her armor and equipped with her miraculous sword, Joan headed off to Orleans (an English stronghold). Joan quickly encountered resentment and a lack of respect from the French generals. The generals would hold secret meetings without Joan and plan their strategies for the battles. However, Joan illustrating courage, performing miracles, and acting on the

advice of her voices, disobeyed the commands of the Generals and was able to regain Orleans. The victory at Orleans gave her some credibility, allowing her to lead the charge into the next battle. While shouting out inspiring cries to her men, she was struck in the breast with an arrow. It appeared as if the legend would never be, but then, displaying incredible valor, Joan reached out and pulled the arrow from her chest. She then jumped back up on her horse and urged her troops onto victory. She continued this grueling pace of success by returning many lands back to France and ultimately reclaiming the throne for Charles (Oliphant, 1896).

Charles enjoyed the success brought to him by Joan but was still not satisfied and ordered her to make a surprise attack on Paris. Joan did not feel confident in this strategy, however, out of loyalty, she prepared to attack. The attack was disastrous for Joan and the French. Joan was injured severely and 1500 men had been slaughtered. Full responsibility for the attack fell upon Joan, and faith in Joan started wavering. Following her recovery, she was sent on another surprise attack. This time she was captured by the English.

The English were confronted with two choices in dealing with the Maid; they could let her go unpunished or accuse her of heresy and execute her. If the English let her go unpunished that signified that her miracles were valid and that God disliked the English. The English, of course, chose the second option. Joan suffered several trials, examinations, and reform opportunities, but in the end, the English judges charged her with heresy. With this indictment, Joan of Arc was executed by fire.

Motive

What were the reasons Joan of Arc followed through with her actions?

Did Joan die for selfish reasons or did she sacrifice her life for France? This segment attempts to clarify the motivations of Joan and her mission.

According to books and legend, Joan was truly inspired by her love for God and France. Joan had total faith in her God as she stated on many occasions, "Have no fear, God is preparing my path; it is for this I was born. My brothers in paradise tell me what I have to do" (Michelet, 1957, p. 18). These brothers she referred to were the voices of St. Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine that provided constant support throughout her life. One of the early messages received by Joan was, "Be a good girl, and God will help you" (Scott, 1974, p. 21). On another occasion, she was given specific orders on how she would achieve her mission of restoring France and recrowning the King. The saints are also credited with inspiring Joan to remain a virgin. Joan's voices followed her throughout her military campaigns. One experience unfolded at the battle of Orleans. The French generals were debating secretly the various plans of attack while Joan was sleeping. All of a sudden Joan awoke. She said, "My voices have awakened me and tell me to go against the English" (Oliphant, 1896, p. 77). So Joan put on her armor and led the charge against the English. On that day the French celebrated the recapture of Orleans.

During the trial Joan was asked many times by the prosecution about her voices. At first Joan explained: " ...concerning my revelations from God I will answer to no man, except only to Charles my King; I should not reveal them were you to cut off my head, unless by the secret counsel of my visions" (Oliphant, 1896, p. 249). Soon after, Joan fell victim of the constant harassment and recanted several experiences she had with the voices. She manifested her devotion to these voices in one of her final statements, "I have nothing but by

revelation" (Oliphant, 1896, p. 251).

Another motivational factor can be attributed to her patriotism. She maintained a strong bond with France and felt an obligation to her King and the people. Even without the voices she would have remained a faithful citizen to France.

Willingness

Did Joan serve her God and France willingly? Did Joan face death without fear for her own life? Evidence will be presented in this segment to answer these questions.

When Joan first heard her voices she was terrified. As time went on, she felt more comfortable with the voices and started acting on their advice. Joan dedicated herself to serve the words of St. Michael. Even though she was asked to do uncharacteristic things for a young woman in that era, she did them. Further, she was asked to sacrifice her friends and family for the accomplishment of her mission. Joan was obedient to the promptings of her voices (Oliphant, 1896).

However, there was a dark moment in the tale of Joan of Arc. When Joan was imprisoned she asked her saints for help and they responded by telling her she must prepare to suffer. For the first time recorded, she disregarded their counsel and threw herself off a tower in an attempt to kill herself. She lay half dead, but somehow survived the fall. During her recovery, she refused to eat for two days, claiming she wanted to die. At that time she was moved to a new location where, through prayer and a view of the sea, she was able to regain the focus that kept her stalwart through most of the trial.

On the day of her execution, wild thoughts rushed through Joan's mind.

Would the guards try to take away her virginity, thus depleting her of her inner strength? Would the English present her naked body to the masses and subject her to scorn and mockery? None of those things happened but Joan became upset when a priest entered her cell to communicate her method of death.

Upon hearing this Joan:

Cried out most piteously, flung her arms about and tore her hair, "Alas! Am I to be treated with such horrible cruelty, that my body, wholly pure and never sullied, should be consumed today and turned into ashes. Ah! I should prefer to be beheaded seven times over than to be burnt in this wise!... Oh! I appeal to God, the great judge, to right the wrongs and grievances done to me!" (Michelet, 1957, p. 113)

One must note that she was only eighteen years of age during this ordeal.

Following her outburst she calmed down, confessed, and took communion (Oliphant, 1896).

Joan was brought out of her cell into the public arena to be punished. After the reading of her sentence, Joan asked for a cross and was granted that wish. Then she was dragged by two guards to the platform and prepared for her death. She shouted out, "Ah! Rouen, Rouen, I sadly fear thou wilt suffer because of my death!" (Michelet, 1957, p. 120). When the flames began to envelop her body she made one last cry, "Yes, my voices came from God, my voices did not deceive me!" (Michelet, 1957, p. 121). Joan of Arc, the Maid of France was dead.

Humility

Joan of Arc at the age of thirteen heard voices while picking flowers in the garden. She believed she was chosen to serve God and return France to

Charles. Joan was but a young woman trying to take some authority in a male dominated society. Joan was an outspoken girl who had problems respecting her leaders. On many occasions Joan disobeyed her father's wishes, falling back on the premise that she must fulfill her mission. When sent to the field to assist in the war, she shunned the advice of experienced generals and did things her way.

However, Joan always obeyed two authorities, King Charles and God. Everything King Charles directed her to do was accomplished obediently. When in the presence of Charles she was always sure to bow and submit herself to him. There was one time when Joan challenged his authority concerning an attack on La Charite. The King had asked Joan to take it with a surprise attack, but Joan felt uncomfortable about that decision. Joan obeyed the King's wishes and attempted to take La Charite, but instead she was cut off from her men and captured.

Joan firmly believed that God used the saints to reveal his desires to her. Joan had a strong faith in her voices and relied on them to dictate her every move. Countless stories of Joan kneeling in prayer for advice are found in books. Only one instance is told of Joan failing to heed the advice of her Lord. That one act of disobedience almost killed her. It is written that even up until her final moments of death Joan never grew angry with God. Witnesses go so far as to swear that she asked forgiveness for her sins as well as the sins of the people, until her last breath was released (Oliphant, 1896).

Self-Control

Self-control refers to Joan's power to control her physical well being, her mental toughness, and her spirituality. According to accounts, Joan suffered

great pain but never showed it. During a battle she took an arrow through the heart, pulled it out, and pushed her troops on to victory. She would never step aside during a battle. She either led the charge or was cheering the soldiers on while enveloped in the battle. In another example of physical control, Joan was hit in the thigh by a bolt, losing lots of blood, she laid in a moat most of the night. The next day, showing no signs of weakness, she was ready to continue her mission. Yet another near death tale has her attempting suicide by throwing herself off a tower, refusing to eat, returning to prison and still managing to regain her composure. Finally, at the scene of her death she calmly went to the platform to be burned.

Joan was a stubborn woman in her ideas. When she set her mind to something, she usually remained focused and accomplished her task. Many examples of this took place on the battlefield, where she was often shunned by the generals but still performed her duties. Although, during the trial she broke down a few times, she never revealed her most sacred secrets. On the day of her execution, she realized her duty and remained focused.

Her spiritual convictions were legendary. Her mother implanted religious ideology throughout her childhood. During most of her life, she remained true to her God, never doubting. Her last words reflected her devotion and faith in God and his existence.

Timing and Circumstance

France had been losing the Hundred's Year War to the English. The French were struggling for ideas on how to regain their lands. A rumor surged forward, "Have you not heard how France, laid waste by a woman, shall be restored by a Maid?" (Belloc, 1929, p. 23). Joan of Arc came to be known as

that Maid of France. People all over France placed their hopes in her, praying that she was the chosen one sent by God to restore France. Although Charles did not devote himself to her ideas, few other options were available. Joan took that charge, fulfilled the prophecy, and became the war hero of France.

Unlike other martyrs, Joan had no say concerning her style of death. However, she attempted to control her own fate by trying to commit suicide. As evident in Joan's reaction to the news of her execution, she was not pleased. Displeased was Joan, but it may have been her death by fire that made her a legend.

Recognition

Therefore, I believe in good faith
that angels accompanied her,
For, as we see in St. Jerome,
They love and embrace chastity.
I hold for true that they helped her
to conquer the outer bullwarks
And at Patay blinded the English
[As they were] hurled backwards.

Therefore, as I surmise,
It was fitting that pride in high places
By a little humble creature
Should be toppled from its seat.
Having thus preordained all
To bring down and confound
The resolute English pride,

God willed to send the maid.
 People felt it was outrageous
 That she wore the habit of a man,
 For we read in Deuteronomy
 That Moses prohibited it.
 Don't you know what Gershon says on this?
 I mean Master Jean Gershon,
 Who about her little treatise wrote
 Shrewder than we think.
 Therefore, marvel not,
 Though unusual it may be,
 That the Maid wore a doublet
 And a short skirt,
 For thus she was more dreaded
 And capable and nimble,
 And looked upon as a proud prince,
 Not as simple little shepherdess.
 (Wheeler and Wood, 1996, p.187-88)

A poem is a beautiful way of expressing one's feelings. This was a poem by Martin Le Franc sharing his feelings for the Maid of France. After the death of Joan, she became a popular subject for the writings of historians. Those associated with the Church presented Joan in a negative image immediately following her death. Those scholars who were attempting to reform the Church supported Joan's actions. Current scholars and church historians have accepted Joan's acts as noble and recognize her as a hero for France.

Once Joan had declared her holy undertaking to the people, the masses

began to follow her from village to village. Few skeptics existed enroot to Joan's rise. As word of her miracles and military victories spread, the peasants began to esteem her above the King. Jealousy struck the King and his advisors, as they were beginning to fear that Joan's popularity was getting out of hand. So with plots against Joan from her own leaders and some misfortune in war, Joan was captured by the English.

During Joan's trial, imprisonment, and death, it appears most of the priests felt compassion for her and held a favorable opinion of her. As an example, it was recorded that the priests were weeping for Joan and attempted to delay her death. In contrasting with the views of the priests, the prosecutors and the guards had ill feelings for her, continuously mocking and belittling her. Finally, during her execution, the English mob witnessing her death cheered and chanted for the occasion.

Following her death a historian of that period wrote:

Thus died Joan, who reestablished the kingdom of France when it was almost destroyed and ruined; who having become a leader of armies, living among men, preserved her purity intact, of whom nothing that was not virtuous was ever reported. Whether this was the case of divine work or human invention I should not know how to decide. What is certain is that under her leadership the siege of Orleans was raised; that by her arms all the country between Bourges and Paris was reconquered; that by her contrivance Rheims was brought into submission and the King crowned; that by her impulse Talbot and his army were put to flight; that by her ability and diligence the fortunes of France were reestablished: things worthy to be remembered always, things which posterity will have more difficulty to believe than to admire. (Sabatini, 1971, p.190-91)

In the eyes of this historian Joan was a virtuous Saint.

While many believed in her virtue, others promoted her leadership qualities. This is evident in the writings of this historian:

Joan did not offer her soldiers terrestrial possessions; she offered them religious possibilities, even salvation. Though she was radically different from other contemporary military leaders, her troops followed her with a loyalty unsurpassed by any other late-medieval captain. (Wheeler and Wood, 1996, p. 3)

Years after her death, Joan's case was put to a retrial. Though judges still held mixed views, Joan's character came out with admirable qualities:

I persuade myself that one can never sufficiently condemn the unjust, even impious condemnation of the Venerable Joan of Arc, and, accordingly, one can never rejoice too much over the very thorough trial of rehabilitation that ensued. But from this it follows, in my humble opinion, only that the venerable maid can be proclaimed as admirable above measured and endowed with singular gifts, admired as a very chaste virgin and dear to God, and prayed to the stars as the liberator of France, with deeds inspired by God Himself. But she cannot, at least not on the basis of evidence thus far adduced, be declared a saint, that is one who practiced virtues in a heroic degree. (Wheeler and Wood, 1996, p. 225)

Modern historians present Joan in a favorable light. The negative opinions on Joan stem from the trial transcripts and the histories written in the years immediately following her execution. An example of this negative image is found in the final speech of the prosecution:

A woman named Joan, vulgarly known as La Purcelle, having, in

absolute oblivion of the decency proper to her sex, broken down the barriers of shame, had in contempt of all feminine pudicity, worn, with an astonishing and monsterring audacity, the indecent garments proper to the male sex. Further her presumption had reached such a point that she had not feared to utter many things contrary to the Catholic Faith and injurious to the orthodox belief. (Sabatini, 1971, p.165)

Today, many question the truthfulness of the Joan of Arc myth but few question her virtue.

Concessions

A true martyr will defend their beliefs until their last breath of life is forced out. Joan believed that the voices of St. Michael, St. Margarite, and St. Catherine instructed her on how to return the kingdom of France to Charles. In the beginning, Joan never refuted these voices, but instead proclaimed her experiences to all who would listen. She had to in order to gain support for her cause. Even in front of the King she defended the voices and explained their role in her life. In her military endeavors she was ridiculed by her leaders for speaking of the voices, but she remained true to her saints.

At the outset of her capture she was strong and stood up for her beliefs. However, poor living conditions, confrontations with the guards, and harassment throughout the trial, drained her of her faith. It is debated whether or not Joan was forced or freely signed an apology/confession. It is certain that the document she signed increased ten fold in its explanations of the offenses when it was presented to the public. One story of how she signed claims that after the long trial it seemed that the English were just going to read Joan her sentence and execute her. A few caring priests wanted to try one more time to

get Joan to repent and bring her back into the church. They brought her out into public and read a document that admitted that Joan had made everything up. The priests clarified that if she signed it her life would be spared. Joan, suffering and out of her mind, saw the executioner waiting and all of the people waiting for her death broke down and admitted she had made all her stories up. She said she did not believe she had revelations and she submitted herself to the will of the Church. She said this many times over. Later, she signed a short document stating the same things she had recanted. The English, in turn, changed this small confession into a long wordy confession more appealing to the masses. Thus, Joan had given in to the world.

Although supposedly forgiven, Joan returned to prison to serve her penance. The people, prosecutors, and the soldiers were angry that she had spared her life. They wanted an execution. While in prison, with regularity, she was tested to validate her repentance. Part of that test included the wearing of a dress and the shaving of her head to remove all signs of masculinity. It appeared as though the Maid of France had been defeated, all of her beliefs had been shaved away.

Joan continued to suffer extremely while in prison. Stories of rape and molestation are said to be included in her pain. Finally, as the story goes, Joan asked to be taken out of the irons for a purpose of nature. Her jailers would not let her go unless she put her male attire back on. Joan argued with them for hours telling them she had promised not to wear those clothes again. Finally, tired of everything, she gave in and adorned the male clothing again. When she returned to her cell the guards made her continue to wear her male clothing. At this time, one of her prosecutors came down to check her progress in her repentance. To his surprise, Joan was again wearing mens clothing. He

then questioned her about it and she replied,

I took of my own free will. No one constrained me to take it. I prefer to dress as a man than as a woman... I never understood that I had sworn not to use it... I did so because I thought it more proper, being amongst men, than to dress as a woman... I resumed it because you did not keep your word to me, that I should go to mass and receive my Savior, and that I should be taken out of the irons. I would die than be in irons, but if you will let me go to Mass and take off my irons, and put me in a pleasant prison, and let me have a woman, I will be good and do whatever the Church wants. (Sackville-West, 1938, p. 335)

Not finding satisfaction in her response, he continued asking if she was still hearing voices? She answered yes and explained,

They told me that, through them, God sent me his pity of the betrayal to which I consented in making the abjuration and revocation to save my life, and that in saving my life I was damning myself. Before Thursday, they had told me what I should do, and what I did that day. They told me when I was on the platform that I should answer that preacher boldly; he was a false preacher, and he said I had done several things which I had not done. If I were to say that God had not sent me, I should be damning myself, for it is true that God did send me. My voices have told me, since then, that I did very wrong in doing what I did, and that I must confess that I did wrong. It was fear of fire which made me say that which I said.

(Sackville-West, 1938, p. 336)

That was all the prosecutor needed to hear to report that she was a "relapsed heretic." Immediately the story got back to the judges and the people, and this time there would be no chance of her escaping her fate. She was condemned

to death. The Joan of old had revitalized and died in defense of her beliefs.

Dramatic Death

There have been hundreds of movies and plays written about the story of Joan of Arc. The story is incredibly inspiring and tragic. A young maid is called of God to save France. She is captured by the English, tried, and executed for her devotion to God and France. What a story.

A dramatic death is necessary for martyrdom because it is that episode, in one's mind, that brings out the emotion correlated with that cause. It had been a long trial, a long and hard imprisonment, and an inner battle of constant challenge, when Joan walked out in public for her execution. Joan was dressed in a long white garment, wearing a mitre upon her head. She was paraded through the streets with her confessor at her side, suddenly a priest dove at her feet, begging for her forgiveness. Eight hundred English soldiers were present along with an angry crowd anxiously awaiting the death of Joan. Joan continued walking while mumbling, "Rouen! Rouen! am I to die here? I fear that that you shall yet suffer because of this" (Oliphant, 1896, p. 390). The square contained three platforms. Two of the platforms contained seats for the judges and nobles. The other platform had a huge stake with an enormous pile of wood stacked under it. While Joan was held near the platform by the guards, a priest gave a sermon about the evils of Joan,

Jeanne was a rotten branch which had to be cut off from the Church for the good of her own soul, and that the Church might not suffer by her sin; a heretic, a blasphemer, an impostor, giving forth false fables at one time, and making a false penitence the next... Go in peace. (Oliphant, 1896, p. 391)

The crowd was now getting edgy, but Joan was focused and blocked them out and, She knelt down on the platform showing great signs and appearance of contrition, so that all those who looked upon her wept. She called on her knees upon the blessed trinity, the blessed glorious Virgin Mary, and all the blessed saints of Paradise. (Oliphant, 1896, p. 392)

She continued to pray for forgiveness for herself and the people France and England. The crowd then got impatient and shouted out, "Will you keep us here all day; must we dine here?" (Oliphant, 1896, p. 393).

The guards were beckoned to take her to the stake where a sign read, Jeanne called the Maid, Liar, Abuser of the people, Soothsayer, Blasphemer of God, Pernicious, Superstitious, Idolatrous, Cruel, Dissolute, Invoker of devils, Apostate, Schismatic, Heretic. (Oliphant, 1896, p. 394)

Just before being placed on the stake Joan asked for a cross. A cross could not be found so a guard broke a stick and bound a cross. She then asked for another cross, so her confessor sent someone to retrieve one from the nearby church. Joan was left at the stake holding her crosses as the fire was lit. The flames began to get higher and higher as Joan cried out. The smoke began to fill her lungs and her cries became mumbled until all one could hear was the crackling of the fire. Joan of Arc, the Maid of France, was dead. The executioner claims to have seen a white dove fly out of her mouth but nobody else supported the claim. As the flames died down, Joan's clothes had burned away and her naked, charred body hung there for all to see. All that remained of Joan was taken to the Seine river and cast in awaiting the measure of time.

Joan of Arc was an incredible person who endured much for her country at such a young age. Her death can be labeled a tragedy throughout the world. However, did she prove worthy to be classified a martyr?

CHAPTER FOUR

CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN

History has no better illustration of pure, disinterested benevolence.
It was not Caucasian for Caucasian--white man for white man;
not rich man for rich man, but Caucasian for Ethiopian--
white man for black man--rich man for poor man--
the man admitted and respected, for the man despised and rejected.
"I want you to understand, gentlemen", he said to his prosecutors,
that I respect the rights of the poorest and weakest of the
colored people, oppressed by the slave system,
as I do those of the most wealthy and powerful."

In this we have the whole key to the life and career of the man.
Than in this sentiment humanity has nothing more touching,
reason nothing more noble, imagination nothing more sublime;
and if we could reduce all the religions of the world to one
essence we could find in it nothing more divine.
(Jellison, 1997, p. 11)

Can John Brown, the man accused of murder and treason, be the man alluded to by Frederick Douglass in this speech? Is Brown really worthy of being considered a champion for the black cause. This chapter will present the evidence available for John Brown's claim to martyrdom. Once again, the evidence will be offered through a brief overview and established using the theory on martyrdom.

Background

John Brown was born in Torrington, Connecticut, on May 9, 1800. Fifty-nine years later, Captain John Brown left his mark on history as he hung on a scaffold in Virginia, on Dec. 2, 1859. Brown was the oldest son of a humble tanner and shoemaker, Owen Brown. Brown grew up in a very anti-slavery community in the North. At the age of 16, Brown joined the Congregational Church in Hudson. That was the starting point for a life full of faith and devotion in accordance with God's will.

Brown encountered many difficulties during his middle years. First, his wife died in childbirth. Next, Brown fathered 20 children only to witness seven die in their youth. Brown continued his troubles by bouncing around between jobs; farming, tanning, land surveyor and a woolman. Brown, who had a history of mental illness in his family, thought about killing himself on many occasions during his mid-life crisis (Hinton, 1968).

Out of nowhere, Brown envisioned his destiny in life, he must free the slaves. Brown always had a special place in his heart for blacks, as supported in this statement:

I am something of a pioneer, having grown up among the woods and wilds of Ohio, and I am used to the way of life that your colony find so trying; I will take one of the farms myself, clear and plant it, and show my colored neighbors how such work should be done, will give them work as I have on occasion, look after them in all needful ways, and be a kind of a father to them. (Hinton, 1968, p. 16)

With this desire to help, he began attending Abolitionist conventions with some of his sons. Brown became known as a very outspoken man with strong ideas. Brown maintained very stern beliefs on how to end slavery. With these stern

beliefs and a sudden rise to leadership, his ideas turned into violent reactions to slave owners.

The first outbreak of violence under Brown is rightfully titled, "Bloody Kansas." On the night of May 24, 1856, five men, pro-slavers, were dragged from their beds by a band of eight men, claiming to be the "Northern Army." The five men were found the next day, dead, with their skulls bashed in. Although never proven, Brown was blamed for the messy incident (Hinton, 1968).

Several other, less violent attacks were credited to Brown, but it was the events at Harper's Ferry that placed him in the history books. Brown's plan was to take over an armory, Harper's Ferry in Virginia, and turn it into a safehouse for runaway slaves. On October 16, 1859, Brown, with 21 of his men took over the U.S. Arsenal at Harper's Ferry. With little confrontation, they held the arsenal for two days. On the second night the Marines appeared, preparing to retake the arsenal. Negotiations were attempted but failed. Ruling out other alternatives, the Marines stormed the building and successfully retook the position. The short lived, bloody conflict, resulted in the death of four civilians, one Marine, ten of Brown's men, including two of his sons, and the capture of a seriously wounded John Brown. Shortly following this uprising, Brown stood trial where he was found guilty of treason, resulting in his eventual death.

Motives

When Brown spoke of his cause he always gave credit to the Lord and claimed he was freeing the slaves:

The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the

prison to them that are bound. (DuBois, 1997, p. 137)

John Brown was a very pensive man who suffered through many tragedies.

Only Brown knows his real intentions for his actions. However, three possible motives are provided in accord with Brown and his historians; desire for money and power, religious vigor, and the freeing of the slaves.

Throughout his life, Brown faced many failures, especially economic failures. Brown chose many paths looking for his calling, but found only minor success. Finally, he was overwhelmingly inspired to pursue the goals of the abolitionist movement. It is there that Brown mingled with such powerful people as Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Henry David Thoreau, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. These people granted him respect. With this new found respect, Brown began recruiting people to his cause. Along with respect came money. Brown was being bankrolled by wealthy northerners who supported his ideas concerning the anti-slavery movement. Therefore, Brown became rich and powerful (Hinton, 1968).

John Brown firmly believed that God had chosen him as an instrument to end slavery in America. He was taught that God ruled with fire and brimstone. This ignited him to treat slave owners in a similar fashion. While in prison, Brown made reference to several biblical passages that he felt justified his actions:

And ye shall... proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.

Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them...

Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my

people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.

Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?

Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil...

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; He hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. (Boyer, 1972, p. 153)

He even went so far as to compare himself to Christ and his mission upon the earth. When he was captured, someone asked him why he went to Harper's Ferry, he replied, "No man sent me here. It was my own prompting and that of my Maker" (Naveh, 1990, p. 25). Near his death Brown took the role of a very religious being, dying for the will of God. He played the part well.

The final motive was his pure hatred of slavery. With laws established like the Fugitive Slave Law and the Missouri Compromise, Brown felt that he was fighting a losing battle and something drastic had to be done. Brown's thoughts on slavery were very well stated in the Preamble of his group's new constitution:

Whereas, slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States, is none other than the most barbarous , unprovoked , and unjustifiable war of a portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment, and hopeless servitude, or absolute extermination in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Independence. (Da Capo, 1969, p. 51)

Slavery agitated Brown to the point he felt justified in taking extreme action. Up until his death he believed in freedom for slaves, as noted in one of the last letters he wrote to his family:

I beseech you all to live in habitual contentment with very moderate circumstances and gains of worldly store and most earnestly to teach this to your children and children's children after you, by example as well as by precept...And John Brown writes to his children to abhor with undying hatred... the sum of all villanies, slavery. (Da Capo, 1969, p. 107)

John Brown was definitely a driven man to attempt what he attempted.

Willingness

John Brown's last testimony during his trial established his willingness to face death:

I have , may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,--the design on my part to free the slaves...I never intended murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite the slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection... Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments,--I submit; so let it be done. (Lawson 1997, p. 1)

Brown spoke his mind facing the possibility of death. He conveyed a similar message in one of his last letters:

As I now begin what is probably the last letter I shall ever write to any of you, I conclude to write to you all at the same time...I am waiting the hour

of my public murder with great composure of mind and cheerfulness, feeling the strongest assurance that in no other possible way could I be used to so much advance the cause of God and of Humanity, and that nothing that either I or all my family have sacrificed or suffered will be lost...I have now no doubt but that our seeming disaster will be ultimately result in the most glorious success. (Da Capo, 1969, p. 107)

Finally, Brown shows his anxiousness to die in the waning moments of his execution. Brown was offered a handkerchief to drop when he was ready to die. Brown replied, "No, I don't want it- but do not detain me any longer than is absolutely necessary" (Da Capo, 1969, p. 101).

Humility

Those who met John Brown characterized him as friendly, focused, and down to earth. He was a simple man living a simple life. A federal agent, who visited Brown at his camp relates his experience:

Old man Brown himself stood near the fire, with his shirt sleeves rolled up, and a large piece of pork in his hand. He was engaged in cooking a whole pig. He was poorly clad; his toes protruded from his boots. The old man received me with great cordiality, and the little band soon gathered around me. But it was for a moment only; for the Captain ordered them to renew their work. (Da Capo, 1969, p. 17)

Brown was a gangly man who maintained a shaggy beard and wore raggedy old clothes. Based on his appearance, people were surprised at his natural abilities to lead (Hinton, 1968).

Captain John Brown was indeed a leader of men. He always credited the Lord with his abilities, often referring to himself as a tool in the hands of the

Lord. Before his execution, Brown spent many hours writing letters which assist in the clarification of his character. In a letter to his family he humbly wrote:

We are not disheartened, though nearly destitute of food, clothing and money. God, who has not given us over to the will of our enemies, but has moreover delivered them into our hand, will, we humbly trust, still keep and deliver us. We feel assured that He who sees not as men see, does not lay the guilt of innocent blood to our charge. (DuBois, 1997, p. 207)

In another letter he added, "To me it is given on behalf of Christ not only to believe in him but also to suffer for his sake" (Naveh, 1990, p. 24). Later, in a letter to an acquaintance he expressed, "Let them hang me, I forgive them for they know not what they do. I humbly trust that he will not forsake me till I have showed his favor to this generation and his strength to anyone that is to come" (Naveh, 1990, p. 24). Writing to T.R. Tilden he discussed his expectations, "It is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause...My whole life before had not afforded me one half the opportunity to plead for the right" (Naveh, 1990, p. 24). These letters offer valuable insight into his frame of mind directly preceding his execution.

What was Brown like immediately following the Harper's Ferry incident? Upon being captured he said, "I came here to liberate slaves, and was to receive no reward. I have acted from a sense of duty, and am content to await my fate; but I think the crowd have treated me badly. I am an old man" (DuBois, 1997, p. 211). In an interview, Brown was described as "vain and garrulous, with an undisguised pride that his plan had failed" (Finkelman, 1995, p. 236). Even though his own children were dead, he only cared about his plan. Finally, throughout the case Brown was described as maintaining a humble

state, as he laid wounded upon a pallet during the proceedings.

Self-Control

Throughout his journey to free the slaves did Brown ever breakdown or did he maintain control physically, mentally, and spiritually until his death?

Brown was a tall man in stature and a powerful speaker. He intimidated people with his confidence and leadership skills. There are few reports of him yelling or getting angry. At times when he did show anger, it was caused by new slave laws that supported slave owners. At that point he would take his violence out on pro-slavers, like the incident in Kansas. While being captured, Brown was severely injured by a bayonet, yet he demonstrated great strength, by controlling his emotion and enduring tremendous pain. For the most part, Brown was able to control his physical and emotional outburst during his adventurous life (Hinton, 1968).

Brown was considered a very persuasive man. He always thought out his plans in great detail and delivered them accordingly. He was a great strategist, always looking for the best way to advance his cause. However, many question his mental stability based on his poor plan to take Harper's Ferry. Others suggest that Brown, who had a history of mental illness in his family, was on the verge of insanity (Naveh, 1990). Throughout his imprisonment he appeared to be of sound mind, as he wrote hundreds of letters and offered many interviews. It is evident that he thought out a plan on how to utilize his execution as a means of furthering the Abolitionist cause. Everything he said and wrote successfully gained the sympathies of the North. His last plan worked.

Spiritually speaking, he was devoted to God's mission. All his actions

and writings were linked to God. God was his master and he followed him to the death. Ironically, there is no record of him receiving any signs from God or that he ever knelt in prayer. He just believed that he was doing the will of God by trying to stop slavery.

In his last letter to his family, he mentioned his service to God in his conclusion, "And now, dearly beloved family, to God and the work of his grace I commend you all. Your loving husband and father, John Brown" (Da Capo, 1969, p.108).

Timing and Circumstance

During this era, America was becoming divided, North and South. The country was on the verge of the Civil War. The North wanted to end slavery for moral reasons but the South depended on slavery for its quality of life. Within the Senate, constant debate continued over slavery and sectionalism. The stage was set for John Brown and his men to make a move against slavery. He felt that he would have the support of the slaves, free blacks, and the North. Newspapers were rapidly becoming a popular form of communication and would play a huge role in Brown's story. Enter the incident at Harper's Ferry. The papers took the story and ran with it. The entire nation was constantly briefed on the John Brown case. Brown used this forum to voice his anti-slavery propaganda. He wrote to friends, ministers, politicians, and his family explaining his final thoughts on life. Finally, his death, documented in detail, would live through history.

Recognition

The story of John Brown has been the focus of many books and speeches. This section will provide insight into the vast opinions available on

Brown.

John Brown made many friends and acquaintances during his campaign to fight slavery. One of his acquaintances, Henry David Thoreau, greatly helped shape a positive image of Brown. Thoreau quickly spoke out in behalf of Brown promoting his own transcendentalist ideology. Some of Thoreau's thoughts on Brown include:

When a man stands up serenely against the condemnation and vengeance of mankind, rising above them literally by a whole body-- though he were a slave, though he were a free man, though he were a late vilest murderer, who has settled that matter with himself,--the spectacle is a sublime one! - didn't ye know it, ye Garrisons, ye Bucchanans, ye politicians, attorney-generals? --and we become poor criminals in comparison. Do yourselves the honor to recognize him. He needs none of your respect. What though he did not belong to your clique'...

The evil is not nearly a stagnation of blood, but a stagnation of spirit. Of course the mass of men, even the well-disposed but sluggish souls who are ready to abet when their conscience of sympathies are reached, cannot conceive of a man who is actuated by higher motives than they are. Accordingly they pronounce him insane, for they would never act as he does so long as they are themselves. (Erickson, 1996, p. 306)

Thoreau not only wrote about Brown but he also delivered three speeches about him. Excerpts from those speeches follow:

Let us honor you by our admiration, rather than by short lived praises, and... by our emulation of you... The form of the souls is eternal; and this

we can retain and express, not by a foreign material and art, but by our own lives. (Erickson, 1996, p. 308)

Thoreau's perception of Brown contributed a lasting impression of heroism, romanticism and fictionalism, all justified, of course, through literature.

Frederick Douglass, the great African-American orator, known for his hand in the abolishment of slavery, was also a friend of John Brown. In a speech delivered over twenty years after Brown's execution, Douglass offers only positive memories of the man. Here is the introduction to that speech:

Not to fan the flame of sectional animosity now happily in the process of rapid and I hope permanent extinction; not to revive and keep alive a sense of shame and remorse for a great national crime, which has brought own punishment, in loss of treasure, tears and blood; not to recount the long list of wrongs, inflicted on my race during more than 200 years of bondage; nor yet to draw, from the labyrinths of far-off centuries, incidents and achievements wherewith to rouse your passions, and enkindle your enthusiasm, but to pay a just debt long due, to vindicate in some degree a great historical character, of our own time and country, one with whom I myself was well acquainted, and whose friendship and confidence it was my good fortune to share, and to give you such recollections, impressions and facts, as I can, of a grand, brave and good old man, and especially to promote a better understanding of the raid upon Harper's Ferry of which he was chief, is the object of this address. (Jellison, 1997, p. 12)

It must be noted that Frederick Douglass, who was one of the most admired men in the black community, strongly supported John Brown.

Richard J. Hinton (1968) , a friend of the cause and of John Brown,

immediately published a history favoring the Brown story. The book offered a saintly description of Brown and attempted to seal his claim to martyrdom. Brown's friends in the black community devoted services and sermons to his cause. In these sermons, Brown was compared to such men as George Washington, Nat Turner, and Jesus Christ. Other friends in the black community closed their businesses, wore crape on their arms, rosettes in mourning, observed it as a fast day, attended services to discuss their feelings, and prayed a lot. Among blacks, Brown was admired for both his morals and his actions.

Following Harper's Ferry, the "secret six" who financed the operation wanted to distance themselves from Brown. Many politicians who knew and agreed with his ideas denied their association with him, fearing that Brown's radical actions might lead to backlash and retaliation. Further, those in the Abolitionist movement, felt that Brown was getting out of control and avoided him. Some of Brown's friends abandoned him in his time of need.

Brown had radical beliefs, if carried out, levied a direct, negative impact on life in the South. Therefore, the South put together a campaign to prevent Brown's death from being used as a tool against slavery. An example can be found in a song containing anti-Brown propaganda:

Old Brown and Cook, and a dozen more, at Harper's Ferry went,
 They got into the arsenal there, they did not have no right;
 Old Governor Wise heard of this, he started from Richmond town,
 He went to Harper's Ferry and there he caught old Brown
 They took him down to Charlestown, and into prison throw'd him,
 they put two chains upon his legs, Oh yes! It was to hold him,
 they put two chains upon his legs and two upon his arms,
 The verdict of the jury was, old Brown he should be hung.

Now all you Southern people a little advice I give;
 Patronize the South and the State in which you live;
 And not unto Northern people you money never pay,
 They have their agents in the South, to run your slaves away.
 Now all you southern darkies, a word to you I'll say;
 Always mind your masters, and never run away,
 And don't mind these Northern agents, they tell to you a lie,
 They get you at the North, and starve you 'till you die. (Finkelman, 1995,
 p. 157)

Another, more direct method, was exploitation of the media. When the event took place the entire nation knew about it through the paper. Therefore, people in the South realized they could voice their opinion through its columns. The press took many different stances on the issue of Brown. An example from the Mississippi Press is provided:

It was not a negro insurrection at all...there were no slaves at all, except one or two, who were seized and held under terror; not one negro or mullato except some intruding free negroes, loafing vagabonds from other states, and no whites but such as came over the line from various points in the free states, to stir up a disaffection which they did not find. Instead of a Virginia insurrection or a slave rebellion in Virginia, it should be more properly described as an invasion of Virginia by a gang of abolitionists, dupes or emissaries of a treasonable fanaticism, going into a peaceful country to scatter "firebrands, arrows, and death." (Phillips, 1995, p. 123)

In another article, the Memphis Daily Appeal published a reply to some letters about the unfairness of the Brown trial:

It is, indeed, a terrible picture you have drawn [of Brown's trial], but the streets of Harper's Ferry had one more terrible still. There, innocent men, all unconscious of danger, were shot down like wild animals. There widows, newly bereaved, knelt moaning over their dead, and orphan children cried aloud for the parents that John Brown had so ruthlessly murdered. (Phillips, 1995, p. 125)

Obviously, the South did not esteem Brown. Finally, an article appeared in a political journal, it presented the South's theory of Brown's reasoning behind his actions:

[Brown] has been for years a man of blood--a highway robber and murder. And he was undoubtedly moved to the commission of his crime at Harper's Ferry by no more honorable or noble motive than hatred to slave holders. All that can be said in excuse of his conduct is, that he did not perceive his obligations to the community in which he lived. He had given way to his passions-- constantly fed and fired by Republican orators and writers--until he was incapable of judging his own position and duty. (Finkelman, 1995, p. 124)

Whether it was by song or through the press, the South successfully used Brown to further their cause, sectionalism.

Never Concede

Was John Brown a man of conviction? Was it in his character to face his death rather than go against his beliefs?

It is clear the type of man he was in his last speech:

I have , may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place , I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,--the design on my

part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. (Da Capo, 1969, p. 94)

Brown apologized for the misfortunes of his plan but he never apologized for trying to free the slaves.

Following, Brown's capture, his injury, and his losses, one might expect Brown to give up and recant his beliefs. Instead, his afflictions made him stronger. A statement, to the master of the armory, immediately after the capture, reflects his convictions:

We are abolitionists from the North, come to take and release your slaves; our organization is large, and must succeed. I suffered much in Kansas, and expect to suffer here, in the cause of human freedom. Slave holders I regard as robbers and murderers; and I have sworn to abolish slavery and liberate my fellow-man. (DuBois, 1997, p. 211)

With news of his capture, some abolitionist were discussing a rescue attempt. When Brown heard this he immediately put the word out that he did not want to be rescued. He said, "I am worth now infinitely more to die than to live" (Finkelman, 1995, p. 45). In an interview with Brown before his trial, he continued to remain firm in his beliefs as evident in his response;

I cannot implicate others. It is my own folly that I was taken. I will answer freely and faithfully about what concerns myself--I will answer anything I can with honor, but not about others. No man sent me here; it was my

own prompting and that of my Maker, or that of the devil, whichever you please to ascribe it to. I think I did right, and others will do right who interfere with you at any time and at all times. I hold that the Golden rule, "do unto others as you would that others should do unto you", applies to all who would help others gain their liberty. (Da Capo, 1969, p. 45)

Brown never once showed signs of concession even in death.

Dramatic Death

The drama of the John Brown experience started with the violence involved in the Bloody Kansas incident. Brown led his band of men to the farm of a slave owner, dragged five people outside, and beat them in the head until they were dead. This act resulted in a bounty being placed on the head of John Brown. From there, Brown was always on the run from the law and assisted fugitives whenever possible. Then Brown established a training camp for his band of mercenaries. It was from this camp that Brown developed the plan and gave the orders to take over a United States Arsenal in Virginia. His plan did not go accordingly and he was forced to take hostages and confront the U.S. Marines. In this confrontation, he was severely wounded, his own son died, and he ended up having to answer to charges of murder and treason. With America watching through the eyes of the press, Brown was convicted, and sentenced to death by hanging.

At 11 am on Friday, Dec. 2, Brown, as he was being removed from his cell, told the sheriff thanks for the hospitality, and gave a quarter to two of his men in another cell. He left the cell in his same attire that he wore through the trial and appeared calm and cheery. As he walked out he noticed the six companies of infantry soldiers and the fine oak coffin in the wagon and

remarked, "This is a beautiful country; I never had the pleasure of seeing it before" (Da Capo, 1969, p. 100). The last moments are best described in a government document:

The prisoner walked up the steps firmly, and was the first man on the gallows. Avis and Sheriff Campbell stood by his side, and after shaking hands, and bidding an affectionate adieu, he thanked them for their kindness. When the cap was put over his face, and the rope around his neck, Avis asked him to step forward on the trap. He replied, "You must lead me, I cannot see." The rope was adjusted, and the military order given, "not ready yet." The soldiers marched and countermarched, and took position as if an enemy was in sight, and were thus occupied for nearly ten minutes, the prisoner standing all the time. He was swung off at fifteen minutes past eleven. A slight grasping of the hands and twitching of the muscles were seen, and then all was quiet. (DaCapo, 1969, p. 101)

Brown's pulse lasted for another thirty five minutes before he was finally pronounced dead. With a military convoy, his body was placed in the coffin and rushed onto a special train. He was to find a resting place in the family burial ground near Albany. "He had no gift for life, no gift to bring life but his body and cutting edge, but he knew how to die" (Finkelman, 1995, p. 43).

John Brown was a brave man who devoted his life to ending slavery. Should his noble cause outweigh his violent acts? Does John Brown deserve the title of a martyr?

CHAPTER FIVE

THE REVEREND JIM JONES

...the atmosphere, the obvious need you have so remarkably filled in thousands of lives, how humanly, passionately and articulately you have redefined the role of the Church, Christ, religion--I also recommit myself to your congregation as an active and full participant, not only for myself but because I want my two children to have the experience. (Reston, 1981, p. 159)

Jane Fonda wrote this thank you note to Jim Jones after she attended one of his services. How could a man who received a note like this and dies for a cause, not be labeled a martyr? This chapter will provide a brief background into the story of Jim Jones. Further, evidence for the martyrdom case of Reverend Jim Jones will be presented using the theory of martyrdom as the structure.

Background

It was the 1930's. The depression was at its height. One day, in the descending dusk of a spring afternoon, a tramp wandered into the little Indiana town of Lynn. A young boy, sensing the man's confusion, immediately went up to him. Where, the boy asked, had he come from? What was he looking for? The tramp said that he did not have a single friend in the world; that he was ready to give up.

The young boy refused to listen to that defeatist talk. "What do

you mean, mister?" he replied. "God 's your friend and I'm your friend. And mom will help you get a job."

The boy was as good as his word. He took the stranger to his mother. She did exactly as he said she would; she found the tramp a job in the Lynn factory. (Naipaul, 1981, p. 236)

That was the first of many charitable acts performed in the life of Jim Jones. In the spring of 1931, in the settlement of Crete, a boy by the name of James Warren Jones was born to James and Lynetta Jones. Jimmy grew up a neglected child in a home where his mother worked and his dad stayed home. Jones was a loner in school who enjoyed reading. As he got older, Jones developed a special quality to attract friends and maintain them. At a young age, he attended some enlightenment type services and was being groomed by a Penecostal minister to become an evangelist. He had an IQ of 115 and always placed top in his class in public speaking. As a teenager, Jones hitchhiked to other towns and began preaching from his Bible on street corners. Jones eventually got married and started preaching at local churches. With his charisma and knowledge of the Bible he started his own church called the People's Temple. Jones' new church rapidly increased in size and moved from Indianapolis to San Fransisco in 1965. Based on reports from his congregation, Jones was characterized as kind, loving, and disciplined. However, information coming from those who withdrew from his fold classified him as greedy, lustful, abusive, and selfish. Even with conflicting reports, the People's Temple grew to 70,000 members by 1970. Throughout the next six years Jones' following continued to increase as did his support in the public. However, in 1977, several articles surfaced with accusations of abuse and socialism. Jones, who suffered from paranoia, took his loyal congregation to the jungles of Guyana. In

Guyana, Jones established his own community based on agriculture and communism. In an affidavit given by an exmember of the Temple, it described daily life in the compound:

The vast majority of the Temple members are required to work in the fields from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. six days a week and on Sunday from 7 A.M. to 2 P.M. We were allowed one hour for lunch. Most of this hour was spent walking back to lunch and standing in line for food. Taking any other work breaks during the day was severely frowned upon. The food was woefully inadequate. There was rice for breakfast, rice water soup for lunch, and rice and beans for dinner. On Sunday, we each received an egg and a cookie. Two or three times a week we had vegetables. Some very weak and elderly members received one egg per day. (Gov, 1979)

Another practice of the People's Temple was the practice of "white nights." Once again, they are described in the affidavit:

The entire population of Jonestown would be awakened by blaring sirens. Designated persons, approximately 50, would arm themselves with rifles, move from cabin to cabin, and make certain that all members were responding. A mass meeting would ensue. Frequently during these crises, we would be told that the jungle was swarming with mercenaries and that death could be expected at any moment. During one "white night" we were informed that our situation had become hopeless and that the only course of action left open to us was a mass suicide for the glory of socialism. Everyone, including the children, was told to line up. As we passed through the line, we were given a small glass of red liquid to drink. We were told that the liquid contained

poison and that we would die within 45 minutes. We all did as we were told. When the time came to drop dead, Jones explained it was only a loyalty test. (Gov., 1979)

Based on this affidavit and other monstrous reports, the United States government decided to open an investigation. Representative Leo J. Ryan was assigned the responsibility of uncovering the truth about Jonestown. Although warned by many not to go to Jonestown, Ryan went to Guyana for the investigation. After stumbling upon some of the ugly truths about Jones, Rep. Ryan was murdered while trying to return to the states. On November 18, 1978, Reverend Jim Jones, fearing the government would tear apart his dream, did more than hold another "white night." He ordered the mass suicide of 912 of his followers by demanding that they drink grape Kool-aid, laced with cyanide. A few days later when the deceased were discovered, Jones too laid dead among them (Naipaul, 1981).

Motives

"...I loved Stalin. I never would accept that Stalin was all that bad as he was portrayed..." (Naipaul, 1981, p. 242).

Jim Jones admired Stalin, but moreover, he dedicated his life to the principles of Stalin's government, communism. Even as a teenager, Jones was sold on the theory of communism, as related in this story from his younger years:

I'd get picked up hitch-hiking, talking communism--car would come to a screeching stop, and I'd be ordered out of the car, middle of nowhere. Happened not once, but dozens of times. I mean it must have happened two dozen times. But, equally, I'd convert people. (Naipaul, 1981, p.

237)

Jones believed that he was the reincarnation of Marx combined with Christ, meaning his mission was to not only to help those in need but do it in a socialist manner. In the early years of the People's Temple, Jones focused on assisting the less fortunate. Jones defined the less fortunate as the elderly, black Americans, and alcoholics and drug addicts. The People's Temple made many financial and service contributions to groups such as the NAACP, ACLU, and the farmer's union. Every morning the church opened its doors to the homeless and elderly and provided them with a healthy, free breakfast. Jones was awarded Man of the Year by some of the local service clubs. Jones stressed in his sermons the importance of loving thy brother, treating everybody equally, and sharing one's earthly possessions to promote the community. For a time Jones was an admired man in the community for his service. However, soon horrifying rumors started to spread and Jones' paranoia began to elevate (Naipaul, 1981).

The time had come for Jones to move his people to Guyana and dedicate themselves to a socialist lifestyle. Early in their stay, Jones learned of some difficulties with the Guyanese government, so the People's Temple printed this document in the newspaper in Guyana:

The People's Temple in Guyana intends to be an agricultural mission. Our only interest is to produce food to help feed our hungry world in whatever way best suits Guyana. It is the desire of our pastor, Jim Jones, that all of the members of our agricultural mission join with others in an ecumenical spirit to glorify Christ by faith through works. (Reston, 1981, p. 40)

This was the public face of Jones, for within the camp Jones did not state his

intentions and ideas quite so eloquently. An affidavit by an exmember, he clarifies this point:

Jim Jones said that the United States is the most evil nation in the world, referring to its political and industrial leaders as capitalist pigs. He said he would rather have his people dead than live in the United States. (Gov., 1979, p. 300)

Following the assassination of Representative Ryan, Jones felt that the United States government was going to take his empire away. Jones was quoted as saying, "The prophet is responsible to see that his prophecies come true" (Moore, 1986, p. 40). Thus ended the compound of the People's Temple in Guyana.

Willingness

Jim Jones spoke often of his willingness to face death as evident in one of his final sermons:

I don't mind losing my life. What about you? I don't mind losing my reputation. What about you? I'm no longer afraid. I've lost interest in this whole world of capitalist sin... I'd just as soon bring it to a gallant, glorious screaming end, a screeching stop in one glorious moment of triumph.

(Reiterman, 1982, p. 293) He expected his followers to make the same sacrifice. In an affidavit it states, "Jim Jones said that I will lay my body down for this cause and asked that others make the same promise" (Gov., 1979, p. 301). However, his followers did not demonstrate the similar faith when faced with the possibility of death. To remedy this situation, Jones attempted to explain how the United States was forcing them to take this step:

I don't know what else to say to these people. But to me death is not a

fearful thing. It's living that's cursed. I have never, never, never, never, seen anything like this before in my life. I've never seen people take the law and and do--in their own hands and provoke us and try to purposely agitate mother of children. There is no need to finish us; It's not worth living like this. Not worth living like this. (Gov., 1979, p. 507)

Other means employed by Jones were the previously explained practice runs called "white nights." Through rhetoric and rehearsal, Jones hoped to prepare himself and his people for their forthcoming deaths. When the time had arrived for the mass suicide Jones appeared eager but his followers did not.

Please for God's sake let's get on with it. We've lived...Let's just be done with it, let's be done with the agony of it. Die with respect. Die with a degree of dignity. Don't lay down with tears and agony. Stop the hysterics. This is not the way for people who are socialistic communists to die. (Gov., 1979, p. 510)

In these last words, Jones apparently was ready to sacrifice his people but was he prepared to sacrifice himself? After the mass suicide, Jones was found dead with a bullet to the head. Evidence supports that someone shot Jones. Was the shot by order of Jones or for some other reason?

Humility

A recruiting flyer passed out on college campuses best details the humility of Jim Jones:

This Modern-day Prophet Manifests all 9 Gifts of the Holy Spirit: Wisdom, World of Knowledge, Faith, Gifts of healing, Discerning of Spirits, Prophecy, Working of Miracles, Tongues, Interpretation of Tongues. and

The Blind See! The Deaf Hear! Cripples Walk! See the SIGNS, MIRACLES and WONDERS that God is MANIFESTING through PASTOR JONES! (Reston, 1981, p. 35)

Early into his ministry, Jones professed to hold many powers that were granted to him from God. However, as his congregation grew, Jones' ego grew too.

This is an example of who Jones had become:

The service began with the chorus singing: We live and die for free-eee-dom, free-eee-dom, free-eee-dom. No more poverty! Jones would shout out. I'm here to show you as a sample and example that you can bring yourself up by your own bootstraps. And you can become your own God! I came to show you that the only god you need is within you. I know where I am going. I know what I believe. And I know what I am doing. Because I am freedom. I am Peace. I am justice... I AM GOD!!! (Reiterman, 1982, p. 146-49)

On many instances Jones proclaimed himself God: "On numerous occasions I was in the congregation when he told us I am God and there is no other God, and religion is the opium of the people" (Gov., 1979, p. 303). He was also quoted saying, "I came as God to eliminate all your false Gods. I must say that it is a great effort to be God. ...I shall be God, and beside me, there shall be no other" (Reston, 1981, p. 56). He continued this tone by demanding, "I come with black hair of a raven. I come as God Socialist!" (Reiterman, 1982, p. 1).

Though Jones believed he was the almighty, his congregation at times questioned his beliefs. To prevent this lack of faith and to maintain total control over his people, Jones used strategy, guilt, and boldness. When new members would join, Jones would convince them to sign false reports, sign blank power of attorneys, and give him their money and their passports. During his sermons

he would expound on all that he had given up for his people. Jones felt: "I can do anything I want because I've sacrificed to give everybody the good life" (Reiterman, 1982, p. 344). Finally, Jones would boldly speak out against God attempting to prove that he was God. Jones would:

take the Bible and fling it before him, spit on it, and stamp on it with his feet. He would raise his arm to the roof of his Temple and shout "If there is a God in the sky, I say, F___ YOU," and when he was not struck dead on the spot, this was proof of the silliness of the Sky God. (Reston, 1981, p. 56)

Jim Jones did all he could do to promote himself as the supreme authority. Many believed he followed through on the mass suicide solely, to assure himself a place in history. If so, his goal was accomplished.

Self-Control

Jones was not in very good condition prior to his death:

If the potion we drank had been the real thing, then it would have been the end of Dad's[Jones] pain. He would not have to suffer for us anymore. Just like last night, the more he talked, the more pain in his tongue. (Reston, 1981, p. 83)

The letter found in the remains of Jonestown alludes to the physical, spiritual, and mental suffering endured by Jim Jones. Jim Jones had a history of hypochondria and self-medication. During his last days at Jonestown, Jones remained in his quarters unless absolutely necessary. When he did appear, reports described him as pale, weak, and feeble. However, in the end Jones did not suffer a painful death, for he was shot in the head and died instantly.

Jones' spiritual side remained strong as his powerful sermons continued

throughout his days in Jonestown. Jones never doubted his divinity.

In the end, it was the mental breakdown of Jim Jones that led to the mass suicide. Jones suffered throughout his life from a severe case of paranoia. Jones always imagined that the United States government was going to storm his compound and take away his dream. After Jones assassinated Rep. Ryan, he knew his dream was over. Jones would either return to the U.S. and be imprisoned or die in the name of glory. Jones chose death over imprisonment.

Timing and Circumstance

The decades of the sixties and the seventies witnessed the clash of liberalism and conservatism. People were still trying to recover from McCarthy's anti-communist propaganda and the American military was trying to clean up the world with democracy. John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. introduced major reforms in the Civil Rights Movement. The Vietnam War was the center of controversy, leading to riots nationwide. The hippie movement was spreading free love and hallucinogenics. Conspiracy was on the minds of many Americans rooted in the assassinations of political leaders and the resignation of President Nixon. The stage was set for a socialist like Jones to seek out those who opposed our capitalist society.

Jones established his own socialist regime in the late seventies. Surprisingly, he gained the support of many political leaders. Everything went according to plan until the government started to investigate Jonestown. Rep. Ryan placed the investigation at the top of his agenda. When Rep. Ryan arrived in Guyana he discovered some truth to the horrifying rumors and was promptly murdered by Jones' guerrillas. Believing that his regime would come crashing to an end, Jones killed himself and 912 of his faithful (Reston, 1981). With the

only other news of the day being inflation, the press and America anxiously desired the details and analysis of this tragic event.

Recognition

Dad(Jones), you are the savior of the world. If other people knew about you they would give the world and follow you. I saw so much honest principle, fairness with us all, I saw God in you. Dad, you are God. I will never turn back. No matter what the cost, I am going all the way with you. (Reston, 1981, p. 43-44)

That was a letter of admiration from an elderly woman in Jonestown called "grandma". Numerous letters were either found or came forward following the suicide. These letters demonstrate the love, faith, and devotion shown to Jones by his congregation. During the early years of the People's Temple, Jones also received many letters of support from people outside of his congregation. Letters of appreciation arrived from Walter Mondale, Sam Ervin, Jr., Hubert Humphrey, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and even Jane Fonda. Humphrey's letter reads as follows, "The work of Reverend Jones and his congregation is a testimony to the positive and truly Christian approach to dealing with the problems confronting our society today" (Reston, 1981, p. 159). Upon news of the mass suicide, politicians withdrew their support, but letters and testimony continued to uphold Jones and his cause. A letter from the parents of one of the followers, discussed thoughts on the death of their daughter within the cult:

We chose to affirm the girls in the good things they did, and that the People's Temple was involved in. To refuse to affirm them in their involvement in worthwhile and caring work would be to renege upon all

that we had believed and taught. (Moore, 1986, p. 269)

Another statement of support came in an interview with Larry Layton, Jones' right hand man:

Jones was the most highly evolved person in the universe. Not that Jones was God: He didn't create this mess called the universe, but he was the only metaphysical power there was. He was the God I could touch. (Reston, 1981, p. 25)

Finally, one of Jones' more intellectual followers, presents Jones in a virtuous light in her testimony:

I was not brainwashed by Jim Jones and he certainly is not here to brainwash me now. But most assuredly, I was deprogrammed by Jim Jones from a capitalistic mentality to a socialistic viewpoint, which, fortunately, is one of high moral commitment that supersedes money, illusion and geographical boundaries, and that places people first.

(Moore, 1986, p. 95)

Jones' people believed he was the only one who could save them from the destruction of the world. However, those who supported Jones the most were dead.

The lawyer of Jim Jones stated after at a press conference, "Jones became a devil. If you cannot be God, you don't just fall back to the rank and file...If you win you're Moses, If you lose, you're Charles Manson" (Gov., 1979, p. 411). Both exmembers of the People's Temple and the media felt as though Jones had lost. The government started to investigate Jonestown based on testimonies from members who had left Guyana. Stories which included brainwashing, torture, humiliation, all under a prison type atmosphere were depicted in these testimonies. This testimony offers examples:

Both men and women were routinely beaten, coerced into having sex with Jones in private and with other people in public. Husbands and wives were forbidden to have sex with each other, but forced to join other members in watching their spouses being sexually humiliated and abused. One man was made to remove all his clothes, bend over and spread his legs while being examined for signs of VD. A woman had to strip in front of the group so that Jones could poke fun of her overweight body before telling her to submerge herself in a pool of ice cold water. Children were tortured with electric shock, viciously beaten, punished by being kept in a bottom of a jungle well, forced to have hot peppers stuffed up their rectums, and made to eat their own vomit. (Harray, 1992, p. 5)

These published testimonies led to public disgust and a demand for the government to stop it.

The government arrived too late and the media was charged with cleaning up the mess based on their perception. The media made Jones out to be a horrifying monster. With pictures and detailed accounts of the mass suicide, the U.S. received a firsthand look into the carnage. The media jumped on the bandwagon and printed articles introducing psychological evaluations of Jonestown and other cults. America was going cult crazy. Everything the media printed displayed only the negative side of the story. The media concluded that Jones committed the mass suicide purely for selfish reasons, to become a legend.

Historians today classify Jones as a murderer. Many believe that Jones was "criminally responsible" for the death of those who trusted him. All the good that Jones accomplished in his early years has been brushed aside for his last destructive act.

Never Concede

It is not our purpose to die; we believe deeply in the celebration of life. Our motto is, "Give me liberty, or give me death." We are confident that people of conscience and principle understand our position. We make no apologies for it. (Reston, 1981, p. 236)

In this statement to Congress, Jones makes it clear that his people would not back down from their standards. The U.S. government had decided to open an investigation into Jonestown. Jones was not pleased with this decision. When Rep. Ryan arrived for the investigation in Guyana, he did not leave alive. Jones realizing that the government would either come and kill them or return them to America, chose to leave a final statement for their cause. Mass suicide! Jones was smart and taped his closing remarks, knowing they would be heard by the public. Cuttings of the recording follows:

We'll all fall tonight, but he'll raise us up tomorrow. I've tried my best to give you a good life. In spite of all that I've tried, a handful of our people, with their lies, have made our life impossible. There's no way to detach ourselves from what has happened today. (Gov., 1979, p. 506)

To further accentuate his message, Jones left a letter for the world to read: Take our life from us. We laid it down. We got tired. We didn't commit suicide. We committed an act of revolutionary suicide protesting the conditions of an inhuman world. (Gov., 1979, p. 510) The Reverend Jim Jones chose to die knowing he could not continue his socialist society.

Dramatic Death

Odell Rhodes was the only known survivor of the Jonestown massacre and she describes it in her story:

When the Rev. Jim Jones learned Saturday that Rep. Leo J. Ryan had been killed but that some members of the congressman's party had survived, Jones called his followers together and told them that the time had come to commit the mass suicide they had rehearsed several times before. They started with the babies, administering a potion of Kool-aid mixed with cyanide. Most of them who drank the deadly potion served to them by a Jonestown doctor, Lawrence Schacht, and by nurses, did so willingly. Mothers would often give the cyanide to their own children before taking it. Others who tried to escape were turned back by armed guards who ringed the central pavilion where the rite was carried out. They then were forced to drink the poisoned Kool-aid and shortly after the mass killing began, it just got all out of order. Babies were screaming, children were screaming and there was mass confusion. It took about five minutes for the liquid to take its final effect. Young and old, black and white, grouped themselves, usually near family members, often their arms around each other, waiting for the cyanide to kill them. They would go into convulsions, their eyes would roll upwards, they would gasp for breath, and then fall dead. All the while Jones was talking to them, urging them on, explaining that they would meet in another place. Near the end Jones began chanting Mother! Mother! Mother! (Gov., 1979, p. 373)

The following day bodies were lying everywhere, even the dogs on the compound lay dead. Many of the bodies were bloated and had a strong stench to them. Jones was found with a bullet wound in his head and a stomach full of pills. An investigation determined that he died from the bullet to the head and not the overdose of pills. The gun that killed him was found several feet away

and based on other forensic evidence it appears as though someone shot him (Gov., 1979). Nobody knows what Jim Jones was like the last moments of his life but his act will live forever through history.

Many people believed in the cause promoted by Jim Jones. However, the majority of people believed his ideas were wrong. Should the majority opinion wipe away the minority voice? Jim Jones died for a cause, should he not be memorialized as a martyr?

CHAPTER SIX

FINAL THOUGHTS

Martyrs represent the classic contrast of good versus evil. In all cases, evil receives immediate gratification, but good endures throughout history. In this thesis, three possible martyr situations were presented for study. Each case was outlined according to the criteria of martyrdom. The purpose of this thesis was to prove that all eight steps of the criteria had to be met in order to classify a person as a martyr. Emphasis was placed on recognition and acceptance as the major premise in the criteria for martyrdom.

Joan of Arc

1. Quality of motive- Patriotism and loyalty to God are the two motives for which Joan sacrificed her life. Joan believed her voices were from God and that her mission was to return the French throne to Charles. Her causes have been accepted by the world, thus validating her death.
2. Willingness to die- Throughout Joan's military campaign she displayed no fear of death. In the early phase of her imprisonment she attempted suicide, thus proving her desire for death. However, in the latter stages of her imprisonment she demonstrated signs of fear in both her words and actions. She felt God had forsaken her. In the end, Joan faced her death by fire with total willingness. Although, Joan displayed weakness during adversity she returned to her strengths in the end.

3. Humble instrument- Joan was chosen as a young girl to fulfill a mission for God. With this gift from God, Joan received fame and notoriety, but always knelt before God and the King. She faithfully abided the promptings of her voices and the commands of Charles, to successfully complete her mission. Without doubt, she died a humble servant of God.
4. Self-control- Joan endured incredible physical pain, possessed the mental toughness to outsmart experienced generals, and died claiming that her voices came from God. Joan of Arc may have agonized on the inside, but outwardly she died a pillar of fortitude.
5. Timing/circumstance- Joan's timing was perfect. She filled the need for France when all appeared lost. She was executed for heresy during a period in which the Church was obsessed with power. With her victories in the Hundred Year's War and her ridiculous charge of heresy, she developed into a national hero.
6. Recognition/acceptability- Joan's popularity was like a pendulum, swinging back and forth. When she first presented her mission to the public, they laughed and scorned her. As Joan's persistency and confidence increased so did her popularity. Upon news of her capture, the masses lost faith in her. The Church found her guilty of blasphemy and heresy, thus burning her at the stake like a witch. Those who judged her, thought her mission ended with her death. On the contrary, years later the Church forgave her and canonized Joan of Arc. Presently, historians present Joan in a very favorable image. Although her acceptance level changed with the wind, ultimately she was considered a martyr.
7. Never concede- Joan suffered many tests of her faith to prepare her for her divine mission. First, she had to stand up to her father and disobey him. Next,

she had to propose her beliefs to the King and convince him to allow her to lead the military. Finally, Joan had to testify to the validity of her voices in front of an angry court. Joan stood her ground on the first two tests but gave in on the third. Even though Joan recanted her beliefs publicly and on paper, it was her final acts that spared her from concession.

8. Dramatic- Picture a young maid being fastened to a stake, holding two crosses. She screams out in glory, moments before the flames engulf her body. That is a dramatic death.

Although Joan stumbled through the criteria at times, she died within the steps of the criteria. Therefore, Joan of Arc could be labeled a martyr.

John Brown

1. Quality of motive- The three possible motives for Brown's actions included: money and power, duty to God, and abolishing slavery. Based on statements given by friends and stories about Brown, one can conclude that Brown did not attack Harper's Ferry for money or power. Although Brown insists that his strategies were done in the name of God, he never prayed or attended Church. Therefore, it appears that Brown used the name of God solely for justification. However, his last motive, to free the slaves, leaves little doubt, that Brown was a man on a worthy mission.

2. Willingness to die- Brown knew that by using violence against his adversary, he too would be subject to violence. Brown never once slowed down, dedicating his life to the Abolitionist Movement. Story after story demonstrates how Brown continuously charged head on into danger. When Brown was on trial for his life, he realized he could do more with his death than he could with his life. In his final words, Brown obviously was prepared to die.

3. Humble instrument- In the numerous speeches and letters delivered by Brown, he credited the Lord for all he had accomplished. His accusers characterized him as a prideful and vain man. However, based on his appearance and the testimonials shared on Brown's character, he assuredly was a humble man.
4. Self-control- Physically and emotionally, Brown endured tremendous pain. However, he never displayed the characteristics of weakness. Many questions have come forth concerning Brown's mental health. These questions can be answered by examining his detailed military plans and his incredible foresight during his imprisonment that promoted his case for martyrdom. Spiritually, he defended to the death his belief that he was only acting in the name of God.
5. Timing/circumstance- Whether by design or by luck, the timing of Harper's Ferry increased the publicity of Brown's cause tenfold. First, Brown magnificently used the newspaper to present his anti-slavery message to America. Second, historians cannot study the Civil War without examining the escapades of John Brown. Many contend that Brown's actions played an important role in the start of the Civil War.
6. Recognition/acceptability- Throughout the events of John Brown he faced divided acceptance. The North, for the most part, agreed with his anti-slavery positions. The South, however, directly opposed Brown's ideology. A few years after Brown's execution, sectionalism was at its peak and the Civil War started. The North was victorious and slavery ended. With the dominance of the North and the effects of Radical Reconstruction, Brown's death became legendary. Presently, many historians disagree with the means he employed, but admire him for his cause.
7. Never concede- John Brown sternly believed that his methods were the only

way to end slavery. Even when others within the Abolitionist Movement disagreed, Brown did not shy away from his ideas. Following his capture, Brown thought of nothing except dying for the cause. Presented with opportunities to make amends or even be rescued, Brown did not budge from his platform. Brown's last speech proves that he would never concede his position on slavery.

8. Dramatic- Picture a ragedy, old man, a courtyard full of troops and onlookers, chanting for the death of John Brown. The noose is placed around the neck of Brown, the platform opens, Brown shakes, grasps for air, and hangs dead. That is a dramatic death.

The only negative position against Brown is his use of violence to achieve his cause. However, it has been accepted that his cause was noble and he remained faithful to the other points in the criteria. Therefore, history could label John Brown a martyr.

Jim Jones

1. Quality of motive- In the beginning, Jones maintained a noble cause by helping the less fortunate. However, he was unable to hide his true passion, the progression of communism. Everything Jones did and said pointed to socialist ideology. Jones committed the mass suicide in the hopes of promoting his cause. Needless to say, the majority of the nation felt the death of 912 people outweighed Jones' cause.

2. Willingness to die- It is difficult to gauge Jones' willingness to face death. However, he had no problems committing his followers to make the ultimate sacrifice. On many occasions he prepared his people for suicide through practice and rhetoric. If Rep. Ryan had not been murdered would Jones have

followed through with his threats? It appears as though Jones was forced to commit his people to mass suicide to prove his obedience to communism. It is not known if Jones died willingly for he was shot.

3. Humble instrument- Jones did not pretend to be an instrument of God. He believed he was god. Jones never bowed to anyone. With scenes of spitting on the Bible and telling God to go to hell, Jones did not possess the quality of humility.

4. Self-control- Jim Jones suffered from many physical ailments. Many psychologists have evaluated Jones' mental health and concluded that he suffered from a severe case of paranoia. In the last weeks of Jones' life he was bed ridden and awaiting death. It was his lack of self-control that led to his decision of suicide.

5. Timing/circumstance- Jones' rebellious propaganda came at a time when many Americans were fed up with government bureaucracy. Many were receptive to change and open to alternative measures of government. With very little competition, the Jonestown story remained in the headlines for several weeks. The message of Jim Jones was heard by the masses.

6. Recognition/acceptability- Jim Jones was a loved man by his people. The few followers who departed from the People's Temple, presented a very negative image of Jones to both the government and the media. It was the government that ultimately led to the downfall of Jones. Following the mass suicide the nation could not support Jones' decision. The media and historians presented a horrendous view of Jones. All who may have supported Jones lay dead in Jonestown.

7. Never concede- Jim Jones believed the the U.S. was an abominable capitalistic society. Jones went to the extreme to create his own communist

society in Guyana. Jones never relinquished his beliefs. Rather than satisfy the governments desire of destroying Jonestown, he took it away himself. Jones did not compromise his position.

8. Dramatic- Picture a frail leader, holding a microphone, distributing Kool-aid laced with cyanide to a large group of men, women, and children. As they wait to die, they begin crying out in pain, their bodies start to convulse, and they lay down to die. As you look around you see a mass grave sight of bloated bodies. That is a dramatic death.

In the beginning of Jones' ministry, he appeared to be a man that could, if he died, have met the martyrdom criteria. However, as he developed his teachings he fell off the path of the criteria. Although he upheld four of the points in the criteria, he failed on the remaining four. Therefore, Jim Jones cannot be considered a martyr in the history books.

Conclusions

Martyrs, throughout history, have carried major impacts affecting societal beliefs. Thus, it is important to distinguish who deserves the title of martyr. Based on the evidence presented and the analysis offered Joan of Arc and John Brown can be classified as martyrs. With the negative results of the Jim Jones case, as examined under the criteria, he did not achieve martyrdom.

The criteria proved to be an effective tool for determining martyrdom. However, the information gathered to illustrate each point carries with it a bias. When using historical sources it is impossible to escape personal prejudice in each case. The most precise means for determining the truth is a rhetorical analysis of the text and setting. By understanding who said it, who wrote it, why, and what the situation was, one can come closer to arriving at the truth. It is

through a combination of history and communication theory that the real messages of the martyrs can be made clear.

It has been stated that all eight steps of the criteria must be validated in order to achieve martyrdom. It has been pointed out that the recognition and acceptance point is the most important in determining this. Through the presentation of the rhetoric in the histories, the other seven steps can be created to fit the authors bias. For example, a writer can embellish a story to create a dramatic death or one can make a cause appear noble. Therefore, the fate of a martyr ultimately falls upon the rhetorician. When all is said and done, it could be argued that martyrdom is simply a popularity contest.

Further Studies

The criteria for martyrdom that was offered in this study can continue to be tested for its effectiveness. Every person who died for a cause could be considered a martyr. Thus, each of these cases could be critiqued using the criteria for martyrdom. Possible future candidates could include Martin Luther King, Jr., John F. Kennedy, Adolf Hitler, and Princess Diana.

Further, a rhetorical analysis could be used to evaluate the language used by historians when presenting "factual" information. For example, why do authors choose to describe an act as noble rather than necessary. Do rhetoricians create their own moral judgment in their texts? Why is Malcolm X described as both a hero and a villain in historical writings? These questions could be answered by rhetorically evaluating both the author and the setting.

Finally, a study could be opened on the time period necessary to become a martyr. When do these people who die for a cause achieve martyrdom? Is it a set time? Can one lose martyrdom status? When does history recognize their

noble acts?

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