

BULLY BEEF, BISCUITS AND SCURVY: THE GALLIPOLI RATIONS OF NEW ZEALAND SOLDIERS IN 1915

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ABSTRACT

Gelibolu'daki Yeni Zelandalı askerlerin anlattıkları, beslendikleri kötü beslenmeyi ve sağlıkları üzerindeki etkilerini kaydediyor. Gelibolu rasyonunun kalitesizliği ve çeşitlilik eksikliği tarihçiler tarafından sıklıkla yorumlanmış, ancak çok azı bunu bilimsel bir analize tabi tutmuştur.

2013'te Otago ve Massey Üniversitesi araştırmacılarından oluşan bir ekip, karşılaştırılabilir gıdalar için modern gıda bileşimi verilerini kullanarak Gallipoli gıda rasyonunu analiz etti (Wilson ve diğerleri, Yeni Zelanda Tıp Dergisi 2013 19 Nisan; 126 (1373): 12-29). Bulgular, askerlerin rasyonlarının çoklu besinler (A, C ve E vitaminleri, potasyum, selenyum ve diyet lifi) bakımından beslenme açısından yetersiz olduğunu doğruladı. Bu nedenle diyet muhtemelen iskorbüt vakalarına neden olmuş ve Yeni Zelanda Seferi Kuvvetleri arasında Gelibolu'daki 200 hastalık ölümünün bir kısmına potansiyel olarak katkıda bulunmuştur. Daha ileri araştırmalar, Yeni Zelanda askerlerinin yetersiz beslenmesinin sağlıkları üzerinde uzun vadeli bir etkiye sahip olduğunu ve önemli ölçüde kısaltılmış yaşam sürelerine katkıda bulunmuş olabileceğini düşündürmektedir.

Ağustos 1915'te Gelibolu'daki Anzak askerlerine Sarı Bayır tepelerini ele geçirmek gibi imkansız bir görev verildi. Bunu yapacak fiziksel bir durumları yoktu. Gelibolu rasyonu, Yeni Zelanda askerleri üzerindeki etkileri ve diğer dört karmaşık faktör bu bölümde tartışılmaktadır.

Accounts of New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli record the poor diet they were fed and its effects on their health. The poor quality of the Gallipoli ration, and its lack of variety, has often been commented on by historians but few have subjected it to a scientific analysis.

In 2013 a team of Otago and Massey University researchers, analysed the Gallipoli food ration using modern food composition data for comparable foods (Wilson et al, New Zealand Medical Journal 2013 April 19; 126 (1373):12-29). The findings confirmed soldiers' accounts that their rations were nutritionally inadequate in multiple nutrients (vitamins A, C, and E, potassium, selenium and dietary fibre). As such the diet was likely to have caused cases of scurvy and potentially have contributed to some of the 200 disease deaths at Gallipoli amongst the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Further research suggests that the poor diet of New Zealand soldiers had a long term effect of their health and may have contributed to their significantly shortened lifespans.

In August 1915 Anzac soldiers at Gallipoli were given the impossible task of capturing the Sari Bair heights. They were in no physical condition to do so. The Gallipoli ration, its effects on New Zealand soldiers and four further complicating factors are discussed in this chapter.

KEYWORDS: Gallipoli, food consumption, disease, malnutrition, lifespans

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After three months of deadlock on Gallipoli, General Sir Ian Hamilton looked for a breakthrough elsewhere on the peninsula. The area he eventually selected was around Anzac Cove and to its immediate north. This new attempt to break out of the small enclaves that had been established on Gallipoli was the August offensive of 1915. It marked the high point of action for the Anzac soldiers at Gallipoli.

For this new offensive Major General Alexander Godley's New Zealand and Australian Division was allocated the task of capturing the key features of Sari Bair range including Hill 971 (Koja Chemen Tepe), Hill Q and Chunuk Bair. This was an immensely difficult patch of ground to cross, seize and hold; a critical point that Godley seemed to overlook. His plan involved two distinct phases with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles capturing the foothills and then the infantry taking the Sari Bair heights all within six hours. Historians have been scathing in their condemnation of Godley's plans for this offensive. Christopher Pugsley writes that Godley produced 'a highly ambitious plan and placed great demands upon the tired troops and weakened staffs of the Anzac Divisions.'¹ John Tonkin-Covell stated that: 'The tactical complexity of the geography, the distances to be covered under the timetable, the logistical problems and the operations intentions would have presented problems even for fresh, experienced troops'.²

Godley had given the Australian and New Zealand infantry a near impossible task especially given the poor physical condition of the men he commanded on the eve of the offensive. Those Australian and New Zealand soldiers taking part in the August offensive may have been experienced now but they were far from fresh. They were in fact worn out and most were ill. A New Zealand soldier, Ormond Burton, watched the Auckland Battalion pass by Walkers Ridge on the eve of the attack. He recorded of them:

... the men were but shadows of their former selves. Nearly all were suffering from diarrhoea or dysentery. Not a few were on the verge of collapse, and most of them were greatly weakened. And yet these sick and weary men were going out to attempt one of the most difficult feats ever planned in the history of the war.³

The Australian historian, Les Carlyon, wrote that while the Anzac soldiers had 'great spirit' they were already 'worn out' before the offensive commenced and that around 75 per cent of them were suffering from dysentery.⁴ The condition of the New Zealand soldiers on eve of August offensive can only be described as poor.

So why were the Anzac soldiers on Gallipoli in August in such poor physical condition? There are several reasons for this including the deteriorating effects of frontline service, the harsh climate and terrain and the poor diet. It is the last of these causes that is the focus of this chapter.

The rations of New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli consisted primarily of four basic food items. These were bully beef (also known as corned beef from the old salting process), army biscuits, black tea, and, on some occasions, apricot jam. Sometimes additional rations of onions, lime juice, fatty bacon, rice, and fresh meat reached the frontline soldiers, but

this issue was sporadic. Bully beef and biscuits remained the staple diet for Australians and New Zealanders on Gallipoli. As Fred Waite, the first historian of the campaign and a Gallipoli veteran wrote:

Food was always plentiful (except just after the Great Blizzard in November when stocks ran very low). Tinned meat, jam and hard biscuits and a mug of tea provided 99 per cent of the meals.⁵

William McAra, a New Zealand doctor, recorded in his diary prior to his evacuation from Gallipoli with severe dysentery:

Been sick for three days – never ate a bite, felt savage & wanted to be left alone, just too much meat & tea & no potatoes or green vegetables.⁶

Bully beef or corned beef was the main source of protein for New Zealand soldiers on Gallipoli. The bully beef on Gallipoli came mostly from Uruguay in South America: the Fray Bentos' brand. Bully beef is naturally salty and greasy but the South American variant in 1915 was stringy and more salty than other varieties. Fred Waite commented that its inferior quality and the fact that it was served for three meals a day 'becomes more than the constitution of a New Zealander can stand.'⁷

In September 1915 the inferior quality of the bully beef at Gallipoli became a political issue in New Zealand. A member of the opposition asked this embarrassing question in the New Zealand House of Representatives with the Minister of Defence, James Allen, unable to provide a satisfactory answer:

Mr PEARCE (Patea) asked the Minister of Defence who was supplying meat to our men at the front. Farmers from his district who had gone to the front had written back complaining that they were being supplied with American tinned meat, which was very salt[y], and in a hot climate where they were short of water it is very objectionable. The men were aware that meat in this country had been commandeered for them, but none of it was reaching them. If the Minister could not supply our frozen meat to the men at the front would he supply them with our tinned meats? The American article was affecting the health of the men.

The Hon. Mr. ALLEN (Minister of Defence) was afraid he could not give a very satisfactory answer to the question, as he did not know enough about it. The Imperial Government was providing all the supplies at the front from the Imperial Ordnance Stores. He had heard indirectly that our men had been getting American tinned meat, and that some of the "Tommyes" next door had been getting New Zealand tinned meat, to the great joy of the "Tommyes".⁸

While Allen undertook to make enquiries to improve the situation, the Fray Bentos brand of bully beef remained the staple diet for New Zealand Gallipoli soldiers. One Australian

soldier described Fray Bentos bully beef on a hot day as ‘cats’ meat floating around in a tin of oil’.⁹ Once, as a joke, some cans of bully beef were thrown across no-man’s land into the Ottoman trenches. They were quickly returned with an attached note that read: ‘Cigarettes yes, bully beef no’. As Richard Stowers who recorded this story noted: ‘So, even the Turks weren’t impressed with the bully beef!’¹⁰

The New Zealand medical history of the war, citing the obfuscation in the official report of the Dardanelles Commission wrote.

there was nothing actively injurious to health in the meat; but it was of poor quality, and, from being salt[y] and stringy, it caused some intestinal irritation and so conducted to diarrhoea.¹¹

So while the meat could be eaten, it did have unpleasant side effects which those eating it had to endure. In short it made those who consumed it ill. Rachel Duffett, in her authoritative publication *The Stomach for Fighting. Food and the soldiers of the Great War*, wrote that bully beef as an alternative to fresh meat ‘was generally met with approval only by the hungriest of soldiers’.¹²

The other staple of the New Zealand soldiers’ diet on Gallipoli was the army biscuits, now commonly known as hard tack. They were made of flour, water and salt and baked until hard and dry. The army biscuit was the main carbohydrate source on Gallipoli. Hard tack biscuits were popular with army ordnance as they were portable and could be stored for long periods of time. New Zealand soldiers disliked them because they found them tasteless and their rock-hard quality made them difficult to eat. Fred Waite recorded that the hardness of the army biscuits ‘was beyond belief’.¹³

A New Zealand sergeant, Ralph Smith, told a story about these two army staples. When the New Zealand Division arrived in France the locals were given tins of bully beef and some army biscuits. This prompted the gratitude of a little French girl who said: ‘Mama gives beaucoup thanks for the bully biff and returns the plates’. Smith elaborated:

That is fair comment on our hard tack. You couldn’t bite it, or chew any piece broken off; all one could do was to suck it. The only way to make it edible was to bash it to pieces with the butt end of a bayonet and mix the result with the McConchies [sic] meat and vegetable rations as a thickener, Quite good!¹⁴

Another New Zealand soldier on Gallipoli recorded of his daily diet:

Our rations are 7 biscuits a day, a very little each of jam, tea & sugar & a very fat chunk of bacon. There is any amount of bully beef but only because it is poor & barely eatable. I have to struggle to get satisfied; it takes a lot of gnawing to fill up on biscuits & our 7 are as many as a man with ordinary jaws can manage.¹⁵

Australian soldiers soon developed a highly appropriate name for their army biscuits. They dubbed them concrete macaroons.¹⁶

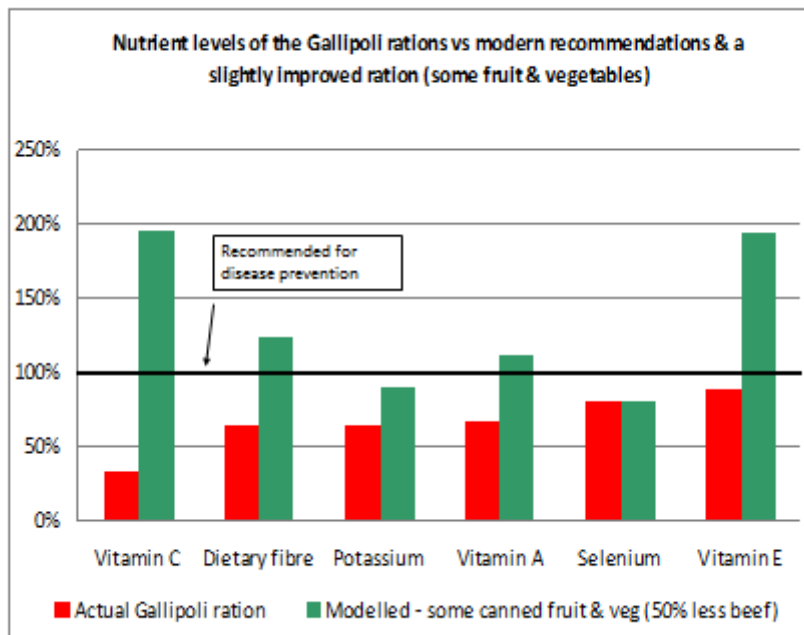
Bully beef and biscuits with some jam and tea was an inadequate diet. It could not maintain anybody at peak health. While a diet of this nature had enough calories to provide energy it was lacking in several essential vitamins and minerals. As Rachel Duffett has written, the role of vitamins, minerals and trace elements as part of a healthy diet was ‘not fully understood until after the First World War’.¹⁷ Certainly medical professionals and even many soldiers knew that their diet on Gallipoli was making them ill. What they did not know was just how dangerously deficient the Gallipoli rations were.

The diet fed to New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli was subjected to a detailed nutritional analysis by researchers at the University of Otago and Massey University in 2013. Their research showed that not only was the food provided at Gallipoli unappetising and monotonous it was also seriously inadequate. This was because a diet based around bully beef and biscuits lacked several essential vitamins, trace elements and minerals. It was deficient in vitamins, A, C, and E, as well as potassium, selenium and dietary fibre.¹⁸ The study further revealed, with benefit of hindsight, that if military planners had provided modest amounts of canned fruit and vegetables which were readily available and cost less than tinned meat, four of these deficiencies in the diet could have been eliminated.

The deficiencies in the Gallipoli diet and how this could have been improved by a modest amount of canned fruit or vegetables can be seen in the bar graph below:

Graph 1: Nutrient levels of the Gallipoli rations compared with a slightly improved ration based on modern recommendations.

Compiled by Professor Nick Wilson, University of Otago, Wellington. Specific data for this graph is available at footnote 18.



Of the dietary deficiencies identified in the graph above the lack of vitamin C or ascorbic acid was probably the most serious.

Before focusing on what this serious lack of vitamin C meant for New Zealand's Gallipoli soldiers, there are four other factors relating to food consumption on Gallipoli that seriously impacted on the soldiers' health.

First there were the ever present flies; the swarms of them that were particularly active during the hot weather. These flies fed on the corpses, faeces, and the food. They were particularly attracted to the jam given as part of the ration which was one of the few sources of vitamin C for Gallipoli soldiers. It was impossible not to consume some flies while eating so that cross contamination and infection was inevitable. One of best descriptions of the fly plague at Gallipoli and its effect on food consumption is from the published diary of an Australian Light Horseman. It is expressed with the eloquence for which Aussie troopers were renowned:

We have just had "dinner". My new mate was sick and couldn't eat. I tried to, and would have but for the flies. I had biscuits and a tin of jam. But immediately I opened the tin the flies rushed the jam. They buzzed like swarming bees. They swarmed that jam, all fighting amongst themselves. I wrapped my overcoat over the tin and gouged out the flies, then spread the biscuit, held my hand over it, and drew the biscuit out of the coat. But a lot of the flies flew into my mouth and beat about inside. Finally I threw the tin over the parapet. I nearly howled with rage. I feel so sulky I could chew everything to pieces. Of all the bastards of places this is the greatest bastard in the world.¹⁹

The second factor was tobacco consumption. Cigarettes and pipe tobacco was one of the few comforts available to the Gallipoli soldiers; the tobacco being supplied as part of rations issue. Richard Holmes has written that tobacco was ‘perhaps the most welcome single item’ and that the British army in the First World War ‘marched less on its stomach than in a haze of smoke’.²⁰ Tobacco was seen as having medicinal value as a relaxant and a tonic. It was issued freely on the hospital ships as an added stimulant to recovery.²¹ After a recent issue of tobacco and matches, John Persson recorded in his diary in May that ‘I don’t know how we would get on’ without the free supply of it.²² But two months later Persson complained in his diary of a ‘tobacco famine’. ‘What wouldn’t I give for some good tobacco’, he lamented.²³ Most soldiers on Gallipoli smoked and many became heavy smokers. ‘My word I am becoming a degraded wretch’, wrote Stanley Natusch to his mother in August. ‘You should see me wallowing in the rum issue and making a fiery smoking furnace of myself with cigarettes.’²⁴ His mother was probably not too pleased to hear this news but may have been glad that Stanley was receiving some comforts. While the detrimental effects of smoking are now well-known, one of the lesser publicised effects is the harmful impact on vitamin C levels. For men, smoking reduces vitamin C levels in the body by as much as 40 per cent.²⁵

The third factor to consider was the dental health of New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli. The state of many New Zealand soldiers’ teeth on enlistment in 1914 was appalling and was responsible for around 35 per cent of medical rejections. Bad teeth and the associated dental problems plagued many soldiers during their war service. The effect on teeth of rock-hard biscuits, a ‘concrete macaroon’, as the main source of carbohydrates can only be imagined. Rachel Duffett found that in relation to the army hard tack ‘even men with good teeth found it a challenge, and for men with bad teeth it could verge on the torturous’.²⁶ This was certainly the case for many New Zealand soldiers. Bill Leadley recorded a common experience in his diary:

I broke my bottom set of [false] teeth on board the transport through eating hard biscuits, and have lost my top set since, so now I have to pound the biscuits into powder with two stones from the beach before I can eat them. I have just finished grinding up a bagful, and had a meal of bully and powdered biscuits soaked in water.²⁷

Little wonder many Anzac soldiers nibbled away at the edges of the biscuits and threw the centres into no-man’s land. The hardness of the biscuits was a serious problem and ‘were the main reason for a visit to the army dentist on Gallipoli’.²⁸

The last factor which had an adverse effect of the diet at Gallipoli was water. It was always in very short supply on Gallipoli. Just two quarts a day (1.9 litres) was the usual ration for a New Zealand soldier and it had to be used for every purpose. The two quarts was his drinking water, as well as the amount he needed for washing and cooking. It did not go far and as Fred Waite wrote ‘those in the trenches were always desperately short’.²⁹ Little wonder that one Gallipoli soldier wrote that: ‘Water is worth its weight in gold here’. The hot sun when combined with a salty bully beef and biscuit diet, the limited water supply must have been a torment. Indeed it was:

As it is, the bacon & bully keep us in an awful state of thirst. One’s mind recurs continually to this one thing besides which all our other discomforts – heat, flies, lice, poor food & daily chances of a shell or bullet are easily borne. I find myself thinking of the cold stream around Dunedin with maddening persistence and

wondering why I didn't drink more when I had the chance. I find the best thing to do is to drink as little as possible during the day and save as much water as possible for a drink after sundown. One is then able to sleep instead of lying awake with a dry tongue counting the hours till the morning issue.³⁰

Of the dietary deficiencies identified in the graph above the lack of vitamin C, or ascorbic acid, was probably the most serious. A lack of vitamin C causes scurvy, a disease which had ravaged armies in the recent past. During the Crimean War of 1853-56, 85% of illness in the British Army were cases of acute scurvy and the Union Army during the American Civil War had suffered some 47,000 cases.³¹

Medical reports at the time did identify some cases of scurvy amongst Gallipoli soldiers and it is also alluded to in the New Zealand medical history. That history records that:

Lieut.-Col. Dudgeon, R.A.M.C. [a Sanitary Commissioner] inspected part of the lines of the New Zealand and Australian Division occupied by the Australian Light Horse. His advice was to push on with the flyproofing of latrines and to enforce the chlorination of all drinking water. He noted a marked prevalence of gingivitis or pyorrhoea incident to a great extent in the older residents, considered by some to be an evidence of scurvy which certainly existed amongst the Indian supply and transport drivers at Anzac.³²

Scurvy, a disease of malnutrition caused by lack of vitamin C, is a three stage disease. Some of the symptoms in the first two stages include lethargy, irritability, loss of appetite, diarrhoea, swollen tissue – especially in the gums, bleeding gums, loose teeth, skin complaints (boils and spots) and dry mouth and eyes. Many New Zealanders' letters and diaries record symptoms of this kind. Fred Waite's first history of the campaign recorded that the end result of the bully beef and biscuits diet for all soldiers was 'sore gums and rebellious stomachs'.³³

Rachel Duffett's research on the food given to British soldiers during the war concluded that those who could not supplement their rations with fresh produce were likely to have scurvy. She writes:

In a diet where fruit other than jam was virtually unheard of and vegetables other than potatoes, and even those lacking in the latter years of the war, were rare, it is likely that many men were suffering from this intermediate, sub-medical stage of the disease.³⁴

This was also the conclusion of Otago/Massey University research. It showed conclusively that the rations at Gallipoli were nutritionally inadequate and were likely to have caused scurvy and contributed to the high rates of other illnesses seen there.

The rations at Gallipoli supplied to both Australian and New Zealand soldiers were totally inadequate. There is no doubt at all that the deficient diet contributed significantly to the poor health of these soldiers on the eve of the August offensive. There is more though. The effects of living on this deficient diet for nine months most likely had long term health implications too. Indeed, it may have been a contributing factor to the notably shortened lifespan of the 1914 cohort of New Zealand soldiers when compared with the 'non-combatant' cohort of late 1918. The difference is a staggering 8.3 years of life. Even surviving veterans died earlier than those who joined the war in late 1918.³⁵

If, as Napoleon said, an army does march on its stomach,³⁶ then New Zealand soldiers could not be expected to do much at all in the weeks and months after landing at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915. That they soldiered on for nine months, capturing Chunuk Bair for a short time and then part of Hill 60 during the August offensive is a tribute to their endurance, commitment and courage. The failure of the August offensive and the Gallipoli campaign in general can in no part be blamed on the soldiers who fought there. After some months on Gallipoli New Zealand soldiers were in no physical condition to fight. United States anthropologist Sidney W. Mintz has written that while 'armies travel on their stomachs; generals ... decide what to put in them'.³⁷ The nutritionally deficient rations of the Anzac soldiers in 1915 were symptomatic of the poor planning and command ineptitude that had dogged the Gallipoli campaign from its inception.

¹ Christopher Pugsley, **Gallipoli. The New Zealand Story** (Auckland: Raupo Books, 2008) 269.

² John Tonkin-Covell, 'From the uttermost ends of the earth: the New Zealand battle for Chunuk Bair', in Ashley Ekins (ed.), **Gallipoli: A ridge too far** (Auckland: Exisle Publishing Ltd., 2013) 141.

³ O.E. Burton, **The Silent Division** (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935) 93.

⁴ Les Carlyon, **Gallipoli** (Sydney: Macmillan, 2001), 375.

⁵ Fred Waite, **The New Zealanders at Gallipoli** (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1921) 161.

⁶ William McAra, diary entry 6 November 1915, MS 2934/002 Hocken Library, Dunedin.

⁷ Waite, 163

⁸ 'Order of Business, Meat for New Zealand Troops, 28 September 1915', **New Zealand Parliamentary Debates V174, 1915**, 273.

⁹ Private Victor Nicholson, quoted in Carlyon, 295.

¹⁰ Richard Stowers, **Bloody Gallipoli: The New Zealander's Story** (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd., 2005) 265.

¹¹ A.D. Carbery, **The New Zealand Medical Services in the Great War 1914-1918** (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1924) 113.

¹² Rachel Duffett, **The Stomach for Fighting. Food and the soldiers of the Great War** (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012) 123.

¹³ Waite, 161.

¹⁴ Ralph Smith 'Trip from Alexandria to Armentiers', in **Those were the days!**, unpublished manuscript, copy in author's possession.

¹⁵ John Henry Thomson, diary entry 2 May 1915, PC-0316 Hocken Library Collection, Dunedin

¹⁶ W.H. Downing, **Digger Dialects** (Melbourne and Sydney: Lowthian, 1919) 17.

¹⁷ Duffett, 30.

¹⁸ Nick Wilson, Nhung Nghiem, Jennifer A. Summers, Mary-Ann Carter & Glyn Harper, 'A nutritional analysis of New Zealand military food rations at Gallipoli in 1915: likely contribution to scurvy and other nutrient deficiency disorders', **The New Zealand Medical Journal**, 19 April 2013, vol. 126, No. 1373, 12-29.

¹⁹ Ion L. Idress, **The Desert Column** (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1932) 42.

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- ²⁰ Richard Holmes, **Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front 1914-1918** (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004) 326.
- ²¹ Gavin McLean, **The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships** (Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society (Inc.), 2013) 67, 78, 130.
- ²² John Persson, diary entry 16 May 1915, property of Beryl Persson, copy in author's possession.
- ²³ John Persson, diary entry 15 July 1915, property of Beryl Persson, copy in author's possession.
- ²⁴ Stanley Natusch, letter to Dear Mum, 29 August 1915, Documents 12330, IWM London.
- ²⁵ Nick Wilson, et al. 21.
- ²⁶ Duffett, 169.
- ²⁷ Jan Chamberlin (compiled by), **Shrapnel & Semaphore. A Signaller's Diary from Gallipoli** (Auckland: New Holland Publishers (NZ) Ltd., 2008), diary entry, 27 April 1915, 24.
- ²⁸ Stowers, 265.
- ²⁹ Waite, 161.
- ³⁰ John Henry Thomson, diary entry 13 June 1915, PC-0316 Hocken Library Collection, Dunedin.
- ³¹ <https://www.warhistoryonline.com/history/starving-men-britains-epic-supply-failure-crimea.html>, accessed 23 September 2020, A.J. Bollet, 'Scurvy and chronic diarrhea in Civil War troops: were they both nutritional deficiency syndromes?', **Journal of History of Medicine and Allied Sciences**, 1992;47:49-67.
- ³² Carbery, 123.
- ³³ Waite, 161.
- ³⁴ Duffett, 170.
- ³⁵ Nick Wilson, Christine Clement, Jennifer A Summers, John Bannister, and Glyn Harper, *Mortality of first world war military personnel: comparison of two military cohorts*, **BMJ** 2014; 349 doi: <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.g7168> (Published 16 December 2014), accessed 24 September, 2020.
- ³⁶ Napoleon Bonaparte, quoted in Peter G. Tsouras, **The Greenhill Dictionary of Military Quotations** (London: Greenhill Books, 2000) 274.
- ³⁷ Sidney W. Mintz, **Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom; Excursions into Eating, Power and the Past** (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996) 25.

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